
CULTURAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT

Cultural Impact Assessment for the 'O'oma Beachside Village Project Area

(TMK: 3-7-3-09:004 and 022)



'O'oma 2nd Ahupua'a
North Kona District
Island of Hawai'i

PREPARED BY:

Robert B. Rechtman, Ph.D.
and
Kepā Maly
(Kumu Pono Associates)

PREPARED FOR:

North Kona Village, LLC
C/o Midland Pacific Homes
6955 El Camino Real, Suite 200
Atascadero, CA 93422

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RECHTMAN CONSULTING, LLC

HC 1 Box 4149 Kea'au, Hawai'i 96749-9710

phone: (808) 966-7636 fax: (808) 443-0065

e-mail: bob@rechtmanconsulting.com

ARCHAEOLOGICAL, CULTURAL, AND HISTORICAL STUDIES

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	1
PROJECT AREA DESCRIPTION AND PROPOSED DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES	3
ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND	3
CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	9
Natural and Cultural Resources in a Hawaiian Context	9
An Overview of Hawaiian Settlement.....	9
Hawaiian Land Use and Resource Management Practices	10
Environmental setting of ‘O‘oma.....	11
Native Traditions and Historical Accounts of ‘O‘oma and the Kekaha Region	12
Land Tenure in ‘O‘oma and Vicinity	24
ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS	58
Interview Methods.....	58
Interview Participants.....	59
Summary of Oral-Historical Information.....	60
IDENTIFICATION AND MITIGATION OF POTENTIAL CULTURAL IMPACTS	61
REFERENCES CITED	64
APPENDIX A	67

FIGURES

1. Portion of USGS 7.5 minute series Kailua, HI 1996 showing project area location.....	2
2. Portion of Tax Map Key 3-7-3 showing current project areas.	4
3. Proposed development plan.....	5
4. Approximate locations of sites described by Reinecke (n.d.:37) projected on USGS Keahole Quad, 1928.....	7
5. Distribution of archaeological sites within the project area.	8
6. Copy of Native Register Vol. 8:543 Helu 9162, claim of Kahelekahi for <i>kuleana</i> at ‘O‘oma.	26
7. Portion of 1882 Register Map No. 1280 showing original boundaries of Grant No.1590, to Kauhini.	34
8. 1902 homestead map No. 6 showing Ooma-Kalaoa Homestead Lots (State Survey Division).....	38
9. 1899 Grant Map No. 4536 showing <i>makai</i> portion of ‘O‘oma 2nd to John A. Maguire.	41
10. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:53 (State Survey Division).....	44
11. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:55 (State Survey Division).....	45
12. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:69 (State Survey Division).....	46
13. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:73 (State Survey Division).....	47
14. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:77 (State Survey Division).....	48
15 <i>Kii o na alanui o Kona Akau</i> (diagram of the roads of North Kona): J. Kaelemakule Sr., Road Supervisor (HSA-Roads, Hawaii: December 22, 1890).....	57
16 Portion of the <i>Alanui Aupuni</i> crossing the <i>kula kai</i> land of ‘O‘oma 2nd; view to Kohanaiki.....	58

TABLE

1. Historic properties within the proposed development area.	62
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INTRODUCTION

At the request of PBR Hawaii & Associates Inc., on behalf of North Kona Village, LLC, Rechtman Consulting, LLC and Kumu Pono Associates have prepared this Cultural Impact Assessment for the ‘O‘oma Beachside Village Project, a masterplanned community encompassing approximately 300 acres in ‘O‘oma 2nd Ahupua‘a, North Kona District, Island of Hawai‘i (TMKs: 3-7-3-09:004 and 022) (Figure 1). This report is intended to accompany an Environmental Assessment (EA) compliant with Chapter 343 HRS, as well as fulfilling the requirements of the County of Hawai‘i Planning Department and the Department of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR) with respect to permit approvals for land-altering and development activities. This study has been prepared pursuant to Act 50, approved by the Governor on April 26, 2000; and in accordance with the Office of Environmental Quality Control (OEQC) *Guidelines for Assessing Cultural Impact*, adopted by the Environmental Council, State of Hawai‘i, on November 19, 1997 (the “Guidelines”).

The archival-historical research and oral-historical interviews that were conducted were performed in a manner consistent with Federal and state laws and guidelines for such studies. Among the pertinent laws and guidelines are the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended (36 CFR Part 800); the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation’s “Guidelines for Consideration of Traditional Cultural Values in Historic Preservation Review” (ACHP 1985); National Register Bulletin 38, “Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties” (Parker and King 1990); the Hawai‘i State Historic Preservation Statue (Chapter 6E), which affords protection to historic sites, including traditional cultural properties of on-going cultural significance; the criteria, standards, and guidelines currently utilized by the Department of Land and Natural Resources-State Historic Preservation Division (DLNR-SHPD) for the evaluation and documentation of cultural sites (cf. 13§13-275-8; 276-5); and the November 1997 guidelines for cultural impact assessment studies, adopted by the Office of Environmental Quality Control.

While the physical study area is limited to a portion of ‘O‘oma 2nd Ahupua‘a that lies *makai* of the Queen Ka‘ahumanu Highway extending to the shoreline, in an effort to provide a comprehensive and holistic understanding of the current study area, this report examines the entire *ahupua‘a* and its relationship to neighboring lands within the larger Kekaha region. The Guidelines also encourage the study of cultural resources and practices on a broader geographic area such as the region or district. Archival-historical literature from both Hawaiian and English language sources was reviewed, including an examination of Hawaiian Land Commission Award records from the *Māhele ‘Āina* (Land Division) of 1848; survey records of the Kingdom and Territory of Hawai‘i; and historical texts authored or compiled by Malo (1951), I‘i (1959), Kamakau (1961, 1964, 1976, and 1991), Ellis (1963), Fornander (1916-1919 and 1996), Thrum (1908), Stokes and Dye (1991), Beckwith (1970), Reinecke (n.d.); and Handy and Handy with Pukui (1972). Importantly, the current study also includes several native accounts from Hawaiian language newspapers (compiled and translated from Hawaiian to English, by Kepā Maly), and historical narratives authored by eighteenth and nineteenth century visitors to the region. This information is presented within thematic categories and ordered chronologically by the date of publication.

The archival-historical resources were located in the collections of the Hawai‘i State Archives (HSA), State Land Division (LD), State Survey Division (SD), and State Bureau of Conveyances (BoC); the Bishop Museum Archives (BPBM); Hawaiian Historical Society (HHS); University of Hawai‘i-Hilo Mo‘okini Library; private family collections; and in the collection of Kumu Pono Associates.

Over the last twelve years, Kepā Maly of Kumu Pono Associates has researched and prepared several detailed studies—in the form of review and translation of accounts from Hawaiian language newspapers, historical accounts recorded by Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian residents, and government land use records—for lands in the Kekaha region of which ‘O‘oma is a part. Most of the archival-historical research and oral interviews were previously assembled for an earlier, unrelated project that had been proposed within the current study area. A number of detailed oral history interviews were previously conducted with elder *kama‘āina* documenting their knowledge of the Kekaha region, including ‘O‘oma, that are highly relevant to the current Cultural Impact Assessment. As part of the current study, several new informal interviews were undertaken including a recent updated interview with the late *kupuna* Peter Keikua‘ana Park, the summary of which is outlined in this study. All of the interview participants (both past and present) have shared their personal knowledge of the land and practices of the families who lived in ‘O‘oma and vicinity.

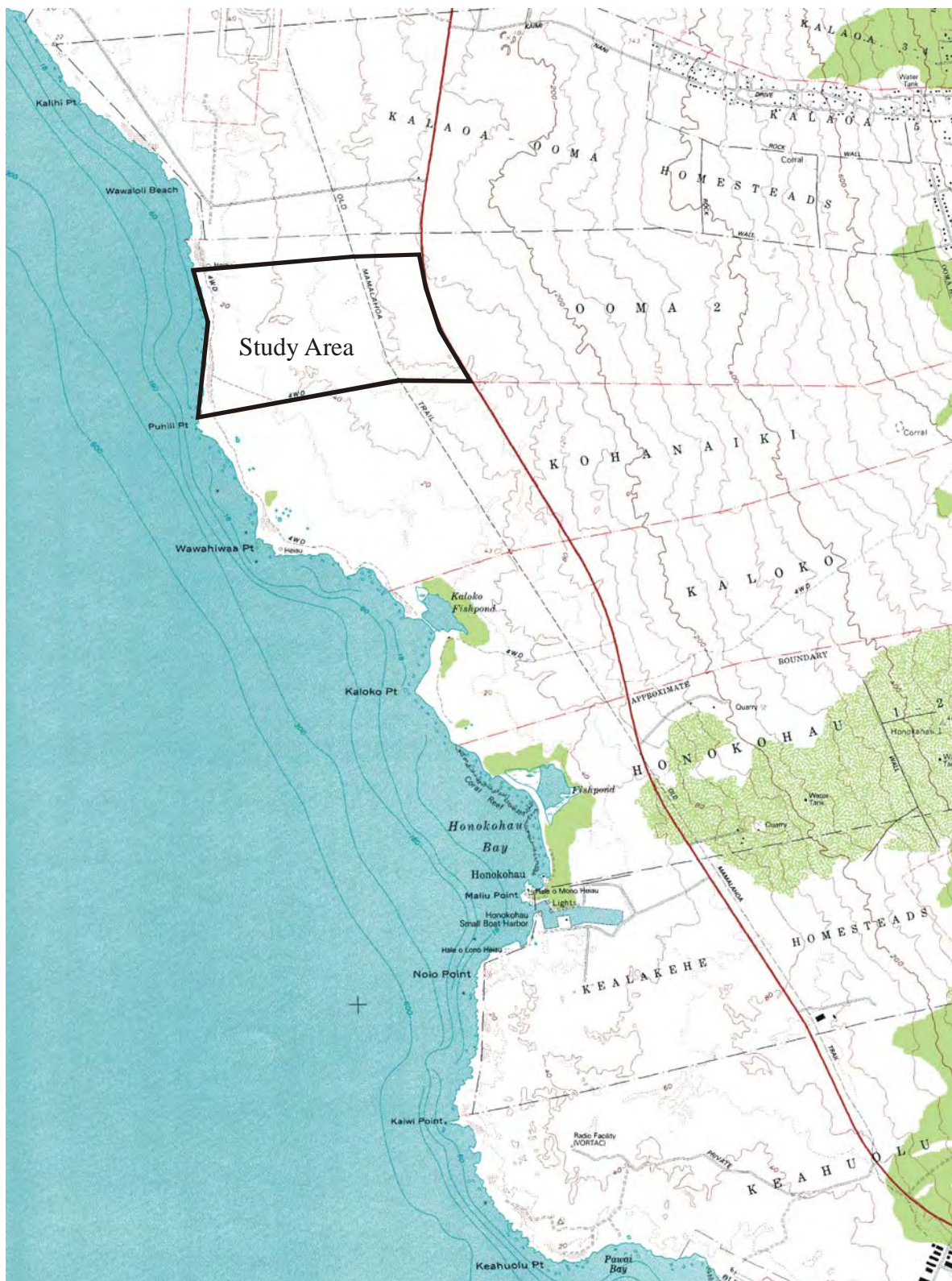


Figure 1. Portion of USGS 7.5 minute series Keahole Point, HI 1996 showing project area location.

This report begins with a description of the general project area and the proposed development activities. This is followed by a presentation of the archaeological background for the specific study area. A discussion of the cultural and historical background for the ‘O‘oma *ahupua‘a* and the Kekaha region was generated based on detailed archival research. It is a comprehension of this background information that facilitates a more complete understanding of the potential significance of any resources that might exist within the study area. Information from both prior and newly conducted oral-historical interviews is presented and summarized. While no specific traditional or ongoing cultural practices have been identified within the project area other than coastal access for beachgoers, fisherman, and surfers in more recent times, numerous archaeological studies (Barrera 1985, 1989, 1992; Cordy 1985, 1986; Donham 1987; Rechtman 2002, 2007; Rosendahl 1989; Walker and Rosendahl 1990) have documented a number of archaeological resources within the study area, nine of which merit preservation. These archaeological sites are described below together with, a discussion of the potential impacts, and the proposed mitigation measures.

PROJECT AREA DESCRIPTION AND PROPOSED DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

The project area encompasses approximately 300 acres in ‘O‘oma 2nd Ahupua‘a, North Kona District, Island of Hawai‘i and consists of two current Tax Map parcels (TMK:3-7-3-09:004 and 3-7-3-09:022) (Figure 2). Elevation across the project area ranges from sea level to 120 feet above sea level, and the terrain is characterized by weathered *pāhoehoe* and ‘*a‘ā* flows that emanated from Hualālai between 3,000 and 5,000 years ago (Wolfe and Morris 1996). Situated within the Kekaha region, the principle environmental features are a hot, dry climate, and extensive lava fields with little to no soil accumulation. This region receives roughly 10 inches of rain per year and has a mean annual temperature of 70 to 76 degrees Fahrenheit (Donham 1987). With the exception of a narrow strip of coral beach deposit, no soil is present within the subject parcel. Coastal vegetation includes tree heliotrope (*Messerschmidia argentea*) *naupaka* (*Scaevola sericea*), Christmas-berry (*Schinus terebithifolius*), and beach morning glory (*Ipomea pescaprae*), along with occasional stands of ‘*ilima* (*Sida fallax*), *noni* (*Morinda citrifolia*), and *maiapilo* (*Capparis sandwichiana*), with a blanket of fountain grass (*Pennisetum setaceum*) slightly further inland

The development plans for the project area include a combination of mixed-use village, single-family and multi-family residential lots, with shoreline and inland park facilities. Aside from a proposed shoreline park facility, the entire development is proposed to be set back a minimum of 1,100 feet from the shoreline (Figure 3).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Thrum (1908) compiled the earliest systematic report on archaeological features—*heiau* or ceremonial sites—on the island of Hawai‘i. Thrum’s work was the result of literature review and field visits spanning several decades. Unfortunately, Thrum’s work did not take him into ‘O‘oma, and his documentation on *heiau* ends at Lanihau, south of the study area; and picks up to the north, in the Pu‘u Anahulu vicinity. Likewise, the 1906-1907, J.F.G. Stokes detailed field survey of *heiau* on the island of Hawai‘i for the B. P. Pauahi Bishop Museum (Stokes and Dye 1991) stopped short of doing comprehensive work in the Kekaha region, and no sites were recorded in ‘O‘oma.

In 1929-1930, the Bishop Museum contracted John Reinecke to conduct a survey of Hawaiian sites in West Hawai‘i, including ‘O‘oma and the Kekaha region (Reinecke n.d.). A portion of Reinecke’s survey fieldwork extended north from Kailua as far as Kalāhuipua‘a. His work being the first attempt at a survey of sites of varying function, ranging from ceremonial to residency and resource collection.

During his study, Reinecke traveled along the shore of Kekaha, documenting near-shore sites. Where he could, he spoke with the few native residents he encountered. Among his general descriptions of the Kekaha region, Reinecke observed:

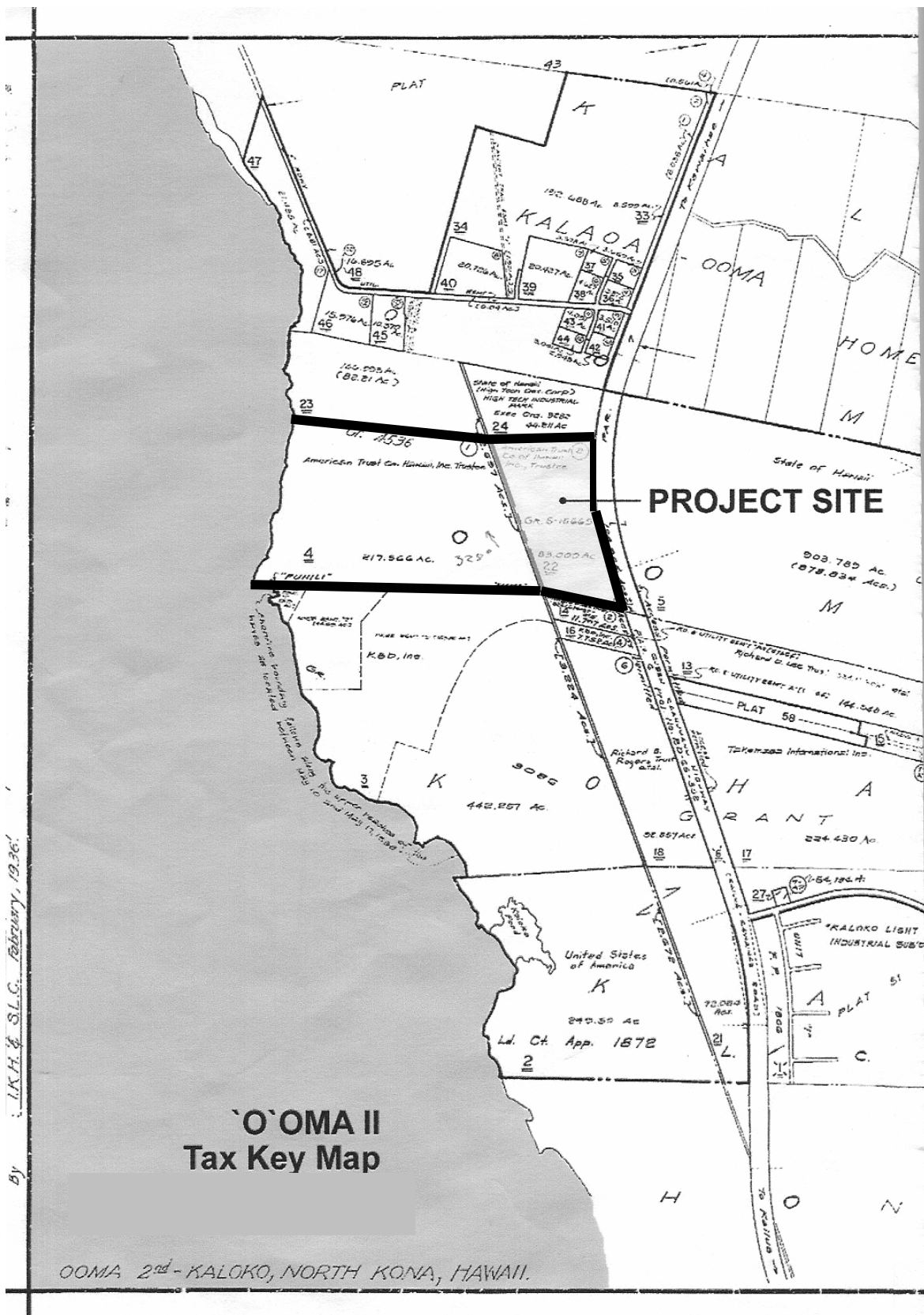


Figure 2. Portion of Tax Map Key 3-7-3 showing current project areas.

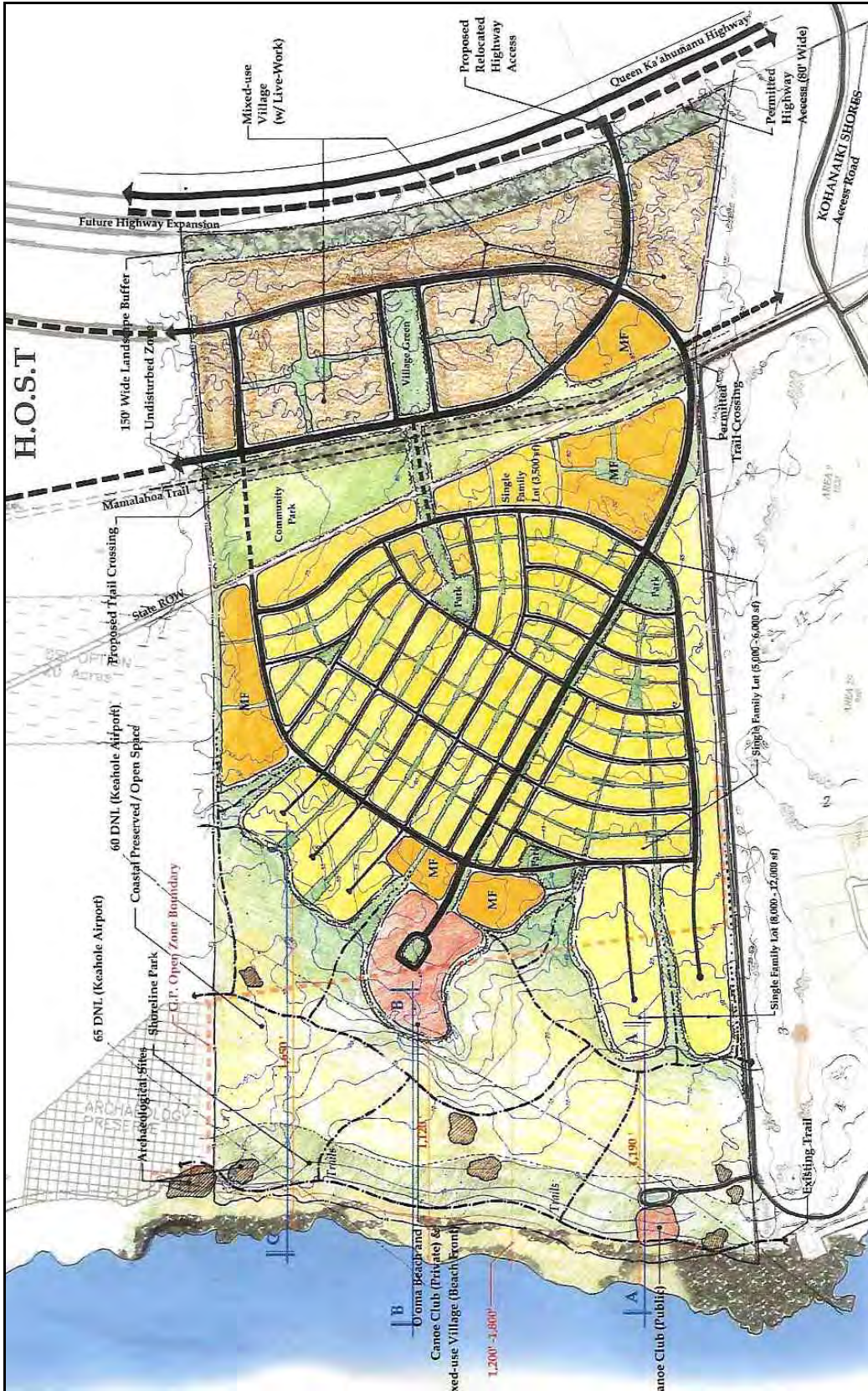


Figure 3. Proposed development plan.

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

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

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

The remains on this strip of coast have some special characteristics differentiating them from the rest in Kona. First, there is an unusual number of petroglyphs and papamu, especially about Kailua and at Kapalaoa. Second, probably because of the strong winds, there are many walled sites, both of houses and especially of temporary shelters... (Reinecke n.d.:1-2)

The following site descriptions are quoted from Reinecke's draft manuscript of fieldwork conducted between Pūhili Point on the Kohanaiki-‘O‘oma 2nd boundary, and into Kalaoa 5th (Figure 4). In the site descriptions below, Reinecke references the occurrence of at least—6-house sites; 7 enclosures and pens (one of which is an “old cattle pen”); 11 terraces and platforms (one of which he felt was a “*heiau*”); 2 caves; 2 *ahu*; 1 stepping stone trail; 3 waterholes and a well; and 11 shelters. Apparently, no one was residing in the area at the time of his field survey.

Reinecke's site descriptions, south to north, across ‘O‘oma 2nd and ‘O‘oma 1st included:

Site 66. Very doubtful dwelling site. Then a row of sand-covered platforms at the border of the sand and the beach lava, enough for 6-10 homes. Remains of an old, large pen.

Site 67. Dry well on the crest of the beach.

Site 68. Water hole, two small platforms, four or more shelters, pens with very small platform.

Site 69. Large cattle pen. Doubtful old, rough platform at its north end. Remains of two old platforms by an *ahu* to the north.

Site 70. Walled platform, S.E. corner terraced, badly broken down. Platform *mauka*. The walls of this and of Site 73 are built of thin pieces of pahoehoe surface lava, rather unusual in appearance. [Reinecke n.d.:15]

Site 71. A knob partly walled on its slopes, with house site. Adjoining it on the south is a rough platform with three smooth boulders – *heiau* and *kuula*? Back of this a house platform and a platform about a fine shelter cave. Another platform and wall are about a slight natural depression filled with bones, including those of a whale.

Site 72. Ruins of a pen.

Site 73. Apparently a modern dwelling site of unusual construction; two terraces of pebbles, the upper 29x25x2 in front and 4-5' high elsewhere; the lower 19x10x25x3, with a three-sided pen at N.E.; surrounded by a carefully laid wall.

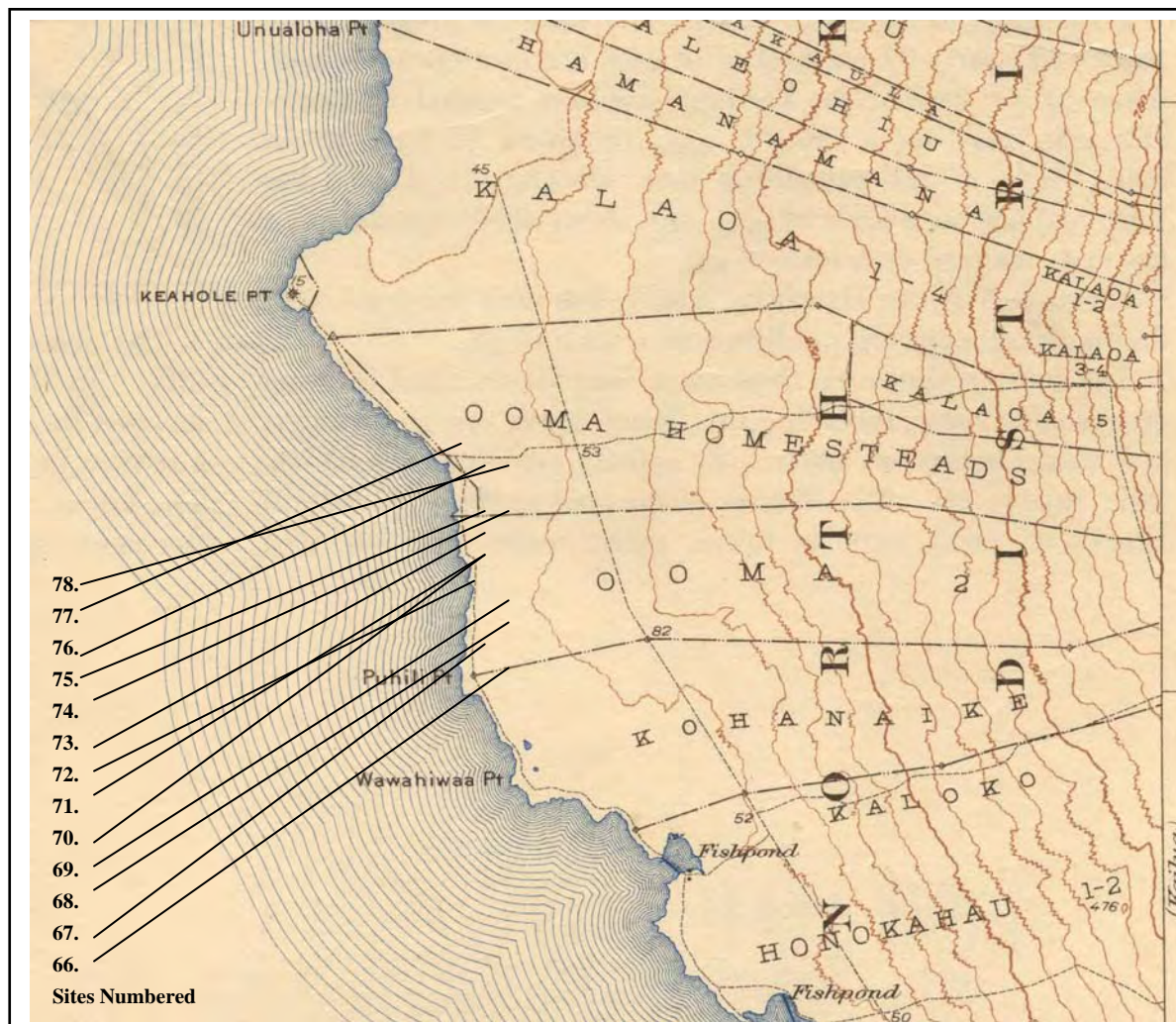


Figure 4. Approximate locations of sites described by Reinecke (n.d.:37) projected on USGS Keahole Quad, 1928.

Site 74. A shelter about a shallow cave; remains of another shelter; an ahu.

Site 75. Trace of site; house platform; enclosure on shore. There are many faint traces of sites on this strip of coast. Toward the north is an unmistakable small site.

Site 76. Modern shelter pen; house or shelter site; shelter mauka by kiawe tree.

Site 77. Platform; tiny pen; sites of some kind marked by stones in lines on the pahoe flow.

Site 78. Slightly brackish springs and pools; house site, shelters, stepping stone path leading to the walled house site... [Reinecke n.d.:16]

More recently, the current project area has been subject to intensive archaeological study (Barrera 1985, 1989, 1992; Cordy 1985, 1986; Donham 1987; Rechtman 2002, 2007). As a result of these studies a total of forty archaeological sites were recorded (Corbin 2000; Rechtman 2007). Collectively these sites document Precontact and Historic use of the project area for habitation, burial, and resource extraction activities. A prominent landscape feature that dates to the Historic Period is the *Alanui Aupuni* (Government Road), which runs a roughly north-south course through the *mauka* third of the project area. Archaeological inventory survey recording has already been completed within the project area, mitigating impacts to all but fifteen of these sites (Rechtman 2007), all of which (Figure 5) are slated for preservation (ibid). Two of these sites extend into, and will become part of, the newly created 15-acre archaeological preserve on the NELHA parcel to the north (Rechtman and Clark 2006).

Figure 5. Distribution of archaeological preservation sites within the project area.

CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Natural and Cultural Resources in a Hawaiian Context

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

An Overview of Hawaiian Settlement

Archaeologists and historians describe the inhabiting of these islands in the context of settlement that resulted from voyages taken across the open ocean. For many years, researchers have proposed that early Polynesian settlement voyages between Kahiki (the ancestral homelands of the Hawaiian gods and people) and Hawai‘i were underway by A.D. 300, with long distance voyages occurring fairly regularly through at least the thirteenth century. It has been generally reported that the sources of the early Hawaiian population—the Hawaiian Kahiki—were the Marquesas and Society Islands (Cordy 2000; Emory in Tatar 1982:16-18).

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

Over a period of several centuries, areas with the richest natural resources became populated and perhaps crowded, and by about A.D. 900 to 1100, the population began expanding to the *kona* (leeward side) and more remote regions of the island (Cordy 2000:130). In Kona, communities were initially established along sheltered bays with access to fresh water and rich marine resources. The primary “chiefly” centers were established at several locations—the Kailua (Kaiakeakua) vicinity, Kahalu‘u-Keauhou, Ka‘awaloa-Kealakekua, and Hōnaunau. The communities shared extended familial relations, and there was an occupational focus on the collection of marine resources. By the fourteenth century, inland elevations to around the 3,000-foot level were being turned into a complex and rich system of dryland agricultural fields (today referred to as the Kona Field System). By the fifteenth century, residency in the uplands was becoming permanent, and there was an increasing separation of the chiefly class from the common people. In the sixteenth century the population stabilized and the *ahupua‘a* land management system was established as a socioeconomic unit (see Ellis 1963; Handy et al. 1972; Kamakau 1961; Kelly 1983; and Tomonari-Tuggle 1985).

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

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

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

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

Hawaiian Land Use and Resource Management Practices

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

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

Kona, like other large districts on Hawai‘i, was further divided into ‘okana or kalana (regions of land smaller than the *moku-o-loko*, yet comprising a number of smaller units of land). In the region now known as Kona ‘akau (North Kona), there are several ancient regions (*kalana*) as well. The southern portion of North Kona was known as “Kona kai ‘ōpua” (interpretively translated as: Kona of the distant horizon clouds above the ocean), and included the area extending from Lanihau (the present-day vicinity of Kailua Town) to Pu‘uohau (now known as Red Hill). The northern-most portion of North Kona was called “Kekaha” (descriptive of an arid coastal place). Native residents of the region affectionately referred to their home as *Kekaha-wai-‘ole o nā Kona* (Waterless Kekaha of the Kona District), or simply as the *āina kaha*. It is within this region of Kekaha, that the lands of ‘O‘oma are found.

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

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

The *ahupua'a* of 'O'oma (historically, 'O'oma 1st and 2nd) are two of some twenty ancient *ahupua'a* within the *'okana* of Kekaha-wai-'ole. The place name 'O'oma can be literally translated as concave. To date, no tradition explaining the source of the place name has been located, though it is possible that the name refers to the indentation of the shoreline fronting a portion of 'O'oma. A few place names within 'O'oma were discussed in traditional accounts, thus we have some indication of the histories associated with this land.

While there are only limited native accounts that have been recorded about 'O'oma, we do know that the land was so esteemed, that during the youth of Kauikeaouli (later known as Kamehameha III), the young prince—son of Kamehameha I and his sacred wife Keōpūolani—was taken to be raised near the shore of 'O'oma under the care of his stewards from infancy until he was five years old (Kamakau 1961:263-264). Again, this is a significant part of the history of this land, as great consideration went into all aspects of the young king's upbringing (see I'i 1959 and Kamakau 1961).

The Environmental Setting of 'O'oma

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

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

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

Continuing into the *kula uka* (inland slopes), the environment changes as elevation increases. Based on historic surveys, it appears that 'O'oma ends at a survey station named Kuhiaka, 2,145 feet above sea level (cf. Register Map No. 1449). This zone is called the *wao kanaka* (region of man) and *wao nahele* (forest region). Rainfall increases to 30 or 40 inches annually, and taller forest growth occurred. This region provided native residents with shelter for residential and agricultural uses, and a wide range of natural resources that were of importance for religious, domestic, and economic purposes. In 'O'oma, this region is generally between the 1,200 to 2,200 foot elevation, and is crossed by the present-day Māmalahoa Highway. The highway is situated

not far below the ancient *ala loa*, or foot trail, also known as Ke-ala‘ehu, and was part of a regional trail system passing through Kona from Ka‘ū and Kohala.

The ancient Hawaiians saw (as do many Hawaiians today) all things within their environment as being interrelated. That which was in the uplands shared a relationship with that which was in the lowlands, coastal region, and even in the sea. This relationship and identity with place worked in reverse as well, and the *ahupua‘a* as a land unit was the thread that bound all things together in Hawaiian life. In an early account written by Kihe (in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai‘i*, 1914-1917), with contributions by John Wise and Steven Desha Sr., the significance of the dry season in Kekaha and the custom of the people departing from the uplands for the coastal region is further described:

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

It appears that the practice of traveling between upland and coastal communities in the ‘O‘oma *ahupua‘a* greatly decreased by the middle nineteenth century. Indeed, the only claimant for *kuleana* land in ‘O‘oma, during the *Māhele ‘Āina* of 1848—when native tenants were allowed to lay claim to lands on which they lived and cultivated—noted that he was the only resident in ‘O‘oma at the time (see *Helu* 9162 to Kahelekahi, in this study). This is perhaps explained by the fact that at time of the *Māhele* there was a significant decline in the Hawaiian population, and changes in Hawaiian land tenure led to the relocation of many individuals from various lands.

Native Traditions and Historical Accounts of ‘O‘oma and the Kekaha Region

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

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

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

Punia: A Tale of Sharks and Ghosts of Kekaha

Punia was born in the district of Kohala, and was one of the children of Hina. One day, Punia desired to get lobster for his mother to eat, but she warned him of Kai‘ale‘ale and his hoards of sharks who guarded the caves in which lobster were found. These sharks were greatly feared by all who lived along, and fished the shores of Kohala for many people had been killed by the sharks. Heeding his mother’s warning, Punia observed the habits of the sharks and devised a plan by which to kill each of the sharks. Setting his plan in motion, Punia brought about the deaths of all the subordinate sharks, leaving only Kai‘ale‘ale

behind. Punia tricked Kai‘ale‘ale into swallowing him whole. Once inside Kai‘ale‘ale, Punia rubbed two sticks together to make a fire to cook the sweet potatoes he had brought with him. He also scraped the insides of Kai‘ale‘ale, causing great pain to the shark. In his weakened state, Kai‘ale‘ale swam along the coast of Kekaha, and finally beached himself at Alula, near the point of Maliu in the land of Kealakehe. The people of Alula, cut open the shark and Punia was released.

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

Auwe no hoi kuu makuakane o keia kaha e! Alas, O my father of these coasts!
Elua wale no maua lawaia o keia wahi. We were the only two fishermen of this place (Kaha).
Owau no o ko‘u makuakane, Myself and my father,
E hoowili aku ai maua i ka ia o ianei, Where we used to twist the fish up in the nets,
O kala, o ka uhu, o ka palani, The kala, the uhu, the palani,
O ka ia ku o ua wahi nei la, The transient fish of this place.
Ua hele wale ia no e maua keia kai la! We have traveled over all these seas,
Pau na kuuna, na lua, na puka ia. All the different place, the holes, the runs.
Make ko‘u makuakane, koe au. Since you are dead, father, I am the only one left.

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

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

‘Umi-a-Liloa did two things with his own hands, farming and fishing...and farming was done on all the lands. Much of this was done in Kona. He was noted for his skill in fishing and was called Pu‘ipu‘i a ka lawai‘a (a stalwart fisherman). Aku fishing was his favorite occupation, and it often took him to the beaches (Ke-kaha) from Kalahuipua‘a to Makaula¹. He also fished for ‘ahi and kala. He was accompanied by famed fishermen such as Pae, Kahuna, and all of the chiefs of his kingdom. He set apart fishing, farming and other practices... (Kamakau 1961:19-20)

In his accounts of events at the end of ‘Umi’s life, Kamakau (1961) references Kekaha once again. He records that Ko‘i, one of the faithful supporters and a foster son of ‘Umi, sailed to Kekaha, where he killed a man who resembled ‘Umi. Ko‘i then took the body and sailed to Maka‘eo in the *ahupua‘a* of Keahuolu.

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

Landing at Maka‘eo in the night, Ko‘i took the body to the cave where ‘Umi’s body lay. Replacing ‘Umi’s body with that of the other man, Ko‘i then crossed the lava beds, returning to his canoe at Maka‘eo. From there, ‘Umi’s body was taken to its’ final resting place... (Kamakau 1961:32-33).

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

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

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

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

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

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-pepeleleu and Ulu-nui’s mother [were] the nurses who suckled him. Later Ka-‘ai-kane gave him her breast after she had given birth to Ke-kahu-pu‘u. Here at ‘O‘oma he was brought up until his fifth year, chiefly occupied with his toy boats rigged like warships and with little brass cannon loaded with real powder mounted on [their] decks. The firing off of these cannon amused him immensely. He excelled in foot races. On one occasion when the bigger boys had joined in the sport, a [rascal] boy named Ka-hoa thought to play a practical joke by smearing with mud the stake set up to be grasped by the one who first reached the goal. He expected one of the larger boys to be the winner, but it was the little prince who first caught the stick and had his hands smeared. “You will be burnt alive for dirtying up the prince. We are going to tell 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‘aheo-i-nā-kuahiwi-‘ekolu) was born in 1853, his parents were native residents of Honokōhau and Kaloko (his grandfather, Kuapāhoa, was a famed kahuna of the Kekaha lands). During his life, Kihe taught at various schools in the Kekaha region; served as legal counsel to native residents applying for homestead lands in ‘O‘oma and vicinity; worked as a translator on the Hawaiian Antiquities collections of A. Fornander; and was a prolific writer himself. In the later years of his life, Kihe lived at Pu‘u Anahulu and Kalaoa, and he is fondly remembered by elder kama‘āina of the Kekaha region. Kihe, who died in 1929, was also one of the primary informants to Eliza Maguire, who translated some of the writings of Kihe, publishing them in abbreviated form in her book “Kona Legends” (1926).

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

Kihe and his co-authors provide readers with several references to places and events in the history of 'O'oma 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.

"Kao 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'ihī. There is a place in the uplands of Kohanaiki, below Kūmua, to the northwest, a hidden water hole, that is called Kapa'ihī. Wailoa is a pond there on the shore of Kohanaiki. Because Wailoa married Kahunakalehu, a native of the area, she lived and worked there. Thus the name of that pond is Wailoa, and it remains so to this day.

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

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

Kapukalua was a son of Kūmua and Ka'uluhe. He was an expert at aku lure fishing, and all

other methods of fishing of those days gone by. He married Kauhi‘onohua a beauty with skin as soft as the blossoms of the hīnano, 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:

*E Loli nui kīkewekewe²
I ka hana ana kīkewekewe
I ku‘u piko kīkewekewe*

*Oh great Loli moving back and forth
Doing your work moving back and forth
You are in my mind moving back and forth*

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

<i>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.

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>

[October 4, 1923]

“O Loli, here is your desire, the one you command, Malumaluiki, who’s eyes see nothing else.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

When the daughter returned to her home, her eyes were all swollen from crying. Her mother asked her, "What is this, that your eyes are puffy from crying, my daughter?" She didn't answer, she just knelt 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 Wainānālī'i and Kīholo, in ancient times. At that time the high chiefs lived on the land, and these ponds were filled with fat awa, 'anae, āhole, and all kinds of fish that swam inside. It is this pond that was filled by the lava flows and turned into pāhoehoe, that is written of here. At that time, at Ho'onā. There was a Konohiki (overseer), Kepa'alani, who was in charge of the houses (hale papa'a) in which the valuables of the King [Kamehameha I] were kept. He was in charge of the King's food supplies, the fish, the hālau (long houses) in which the fishing canoes were kept, the fishing nets and all things. It was from there that the King's fishermen and the retainers were provisioned. The houses of the pond guardians and Konohiki were situated at Ka'elehuluhulu and Ho'onā.

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

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

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

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

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

Later in 1924, Kihe, described the changes which had occurred in the Kekaha region since his youth. In the following article, titled *Na Ho'omanao o ka Manawa* (in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i* June 5th & 12th 1924), Kihe wrote about the villages that were once inhabited throughout Kekaha, identifying families, practices, and schools of the historic period (ca. 1860-1924). In the two part series (translated by Kepā Maly), he also shared his personal feelings about the changes that had occurred, including the demise of the families and the abandonment of the coastal lands of Kekaha.

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

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

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

The schools included the school house at Kīholo where Joseph W. Keala taught, and later J.K. Ka'ailuwale taught there. At the school of Makalawena, J. Ka'elemakule Sr., who now resides in Kailua, was the teacher. At the Kalaoa School, J.U. Keawe'ake was the teacher. There were also others here, including myself for four years, J. Kainuku, and J.H. Olohia who was the last one to teach in the Hawaiian language. At Kaloko, Miss Ka'aimahu'i was the last teacher before the Kaloko school was combined as one with the Honokōhau school where W.G. Kanaka'ole was the teacher. I taught there for two years as well... [Kihe includes additional descriptions on the schools of Kona]

It was when they stopped teaching in Hawaiian, and began instructing in English, that significant changes took place among our children. Some of them became puffed up and stopped listening to their parents. The children spoke gibberish (English) and the parents couldn't understand (*nā keiki namu*). Before that time, the Hawaiians weren't marrying too many people of other races. The children and their parents dwelt together in peace with the children and parents speaking together... [June 5, 1924]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The lands of ‘O‘oma, and Kalaoa, and all the way to Kaulana and Mahai‘ula were also places of many people in those days, but today there are no people. At Mahai‘ula is where the great fishermen of that day dwelt. Among the fishermen were Po‘oko‘ai mā, Pā‘ao‘ao senior, Ka‘ao mā, Kai‘a mā, Ka‘ā‘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-‘ohu-ha‘aheo-i-nā-kuahiwi-‘ekolu [the penname used by J.W.H.I. Kihe]. I think that certain people may want to know the reason and meaning of this name. So it is perhaps a good thing for me to explain how it came about. The source of it is that in this land of Kekaha even in the uplands, between Kaulana in the north and ‘O‘oma in the south, there was no water found even in the ancient times. For a little while, I lived in the uplands of Kaulana, and I saw that this land of Kekaha was indeed waterless.

The water for bathing, washing one’s hands or feet, was the water of the banana stump (*wai 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

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).

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 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:

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

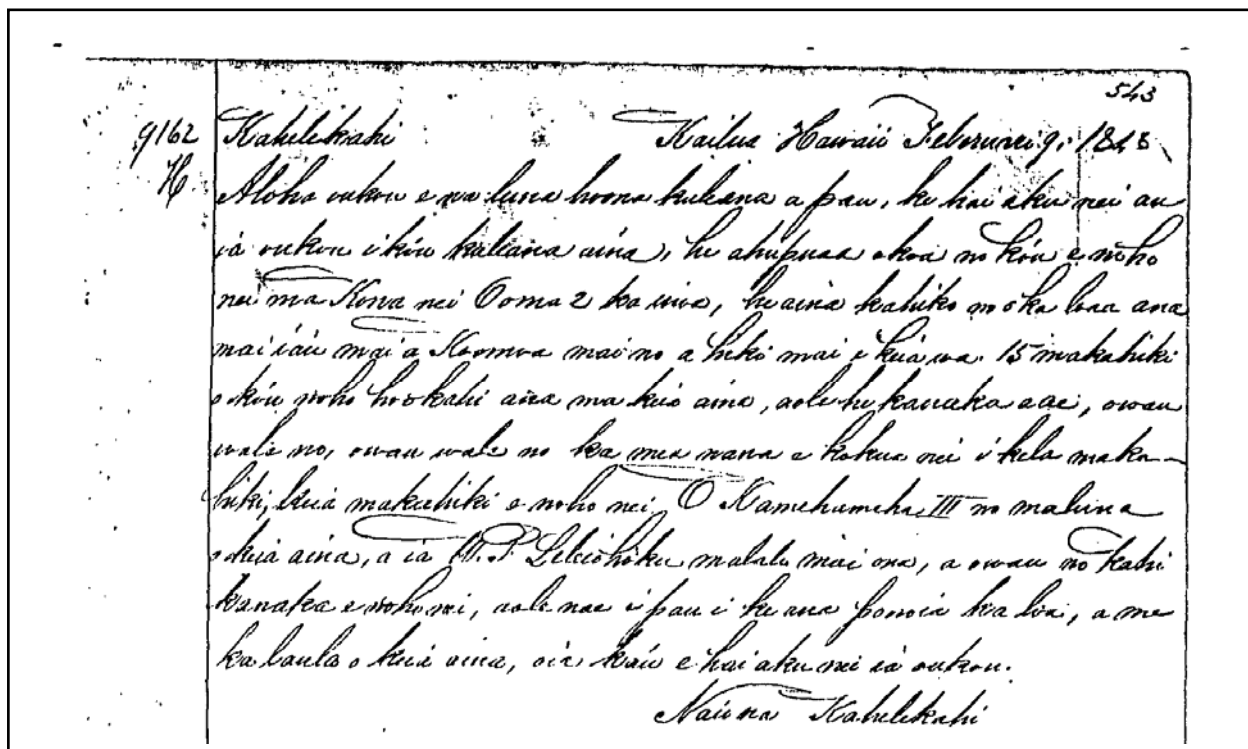


Figure 6. Copy of Native Register Vol. 8:543 Helu 9162, claim of Kahelekaahi for kuleana at 'O'oma.

Kahelekaahi – 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, Kahelekaahi

[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. Kaikeleaukai, 13. Kanahela, 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].

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

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 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:

<u>Grant</u>	<u>Applicant</u>	<u>Land</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Book and Year</u>
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.

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.

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:

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 Hueue, 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 Hueue'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 Hueue (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):

- # 107, Kalua (w), for Lot # 59, Map 6, Ooma;
- # 108, G.M. Paiwa, for Lot # 56, Map 6, Ooma;
- # 109, Namakaokalani, for Lot # 58, Map 6, Ooma;
- # 110, Pika Kaninau, for Lot # 57, Map 6, Ooma.

Lot # 57 above set forth, was formerly agreed with D. Kealoha Hoopii, but this applicant left altogether and lived a long time in Kohala, and has done nothing towards the land, and has never signed the agreement to this day. As two years have gone by, I thought it would be better to give the lands to the new applicant... [HSA – Interior Department, Lands]

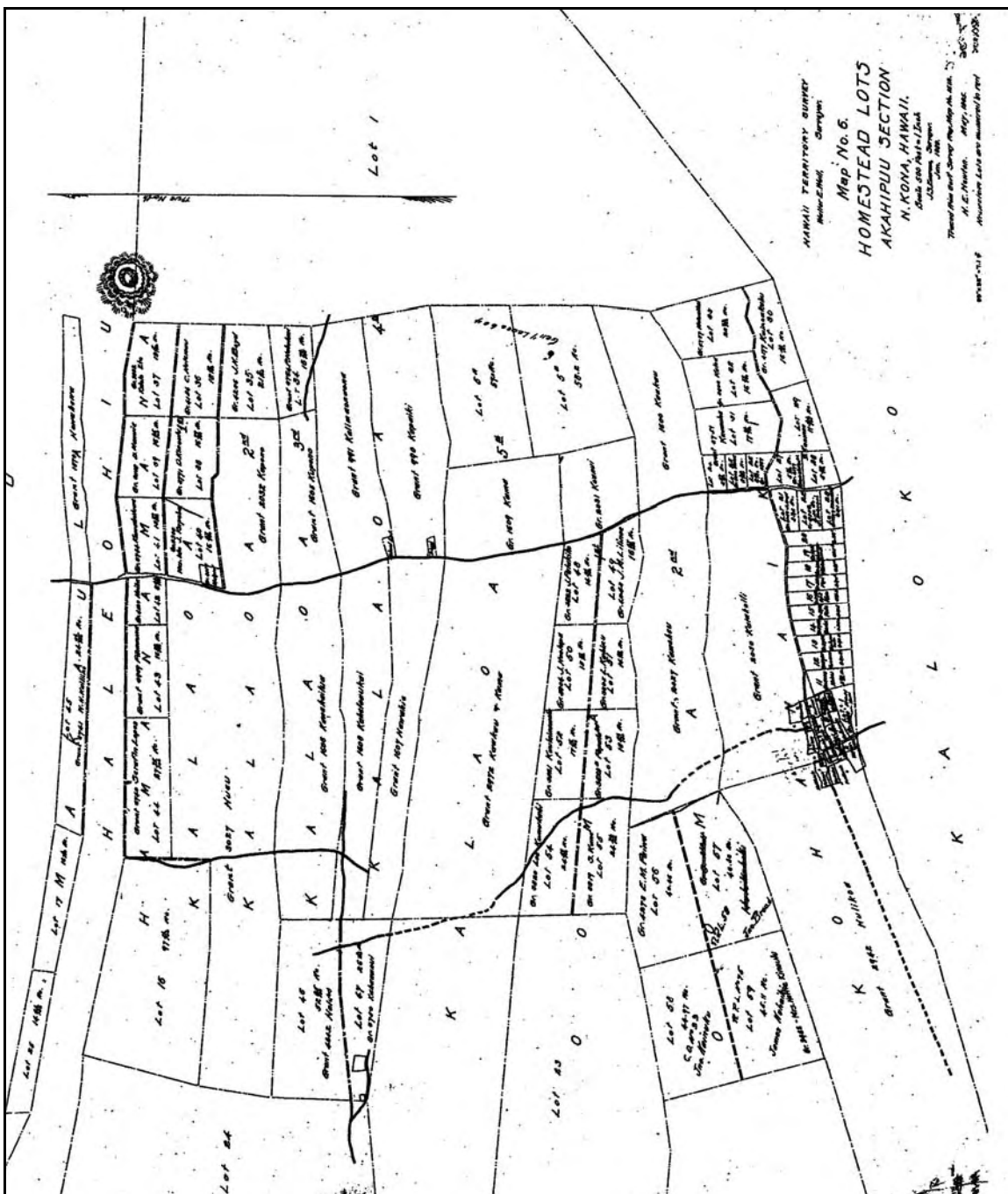


Figure 8. 1902 homestead map No. 6 showing Ooma-Kalaoa Homestead Lots (State Survey Division).

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.

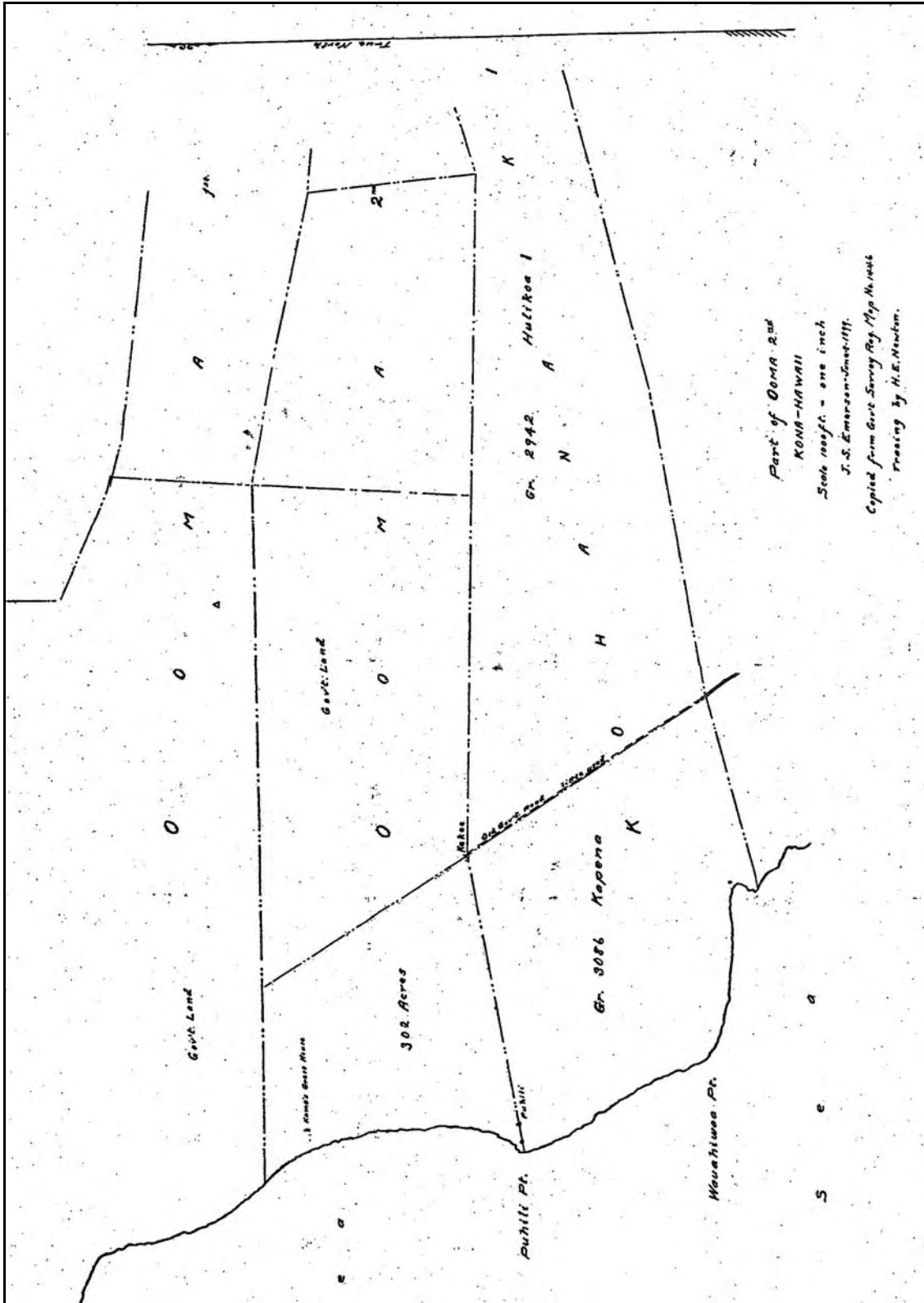


Figure 9. 1899 Grant Map No. 4536 showing *makai* portion of 'O'oma 2nd to John A. Maguire.

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.

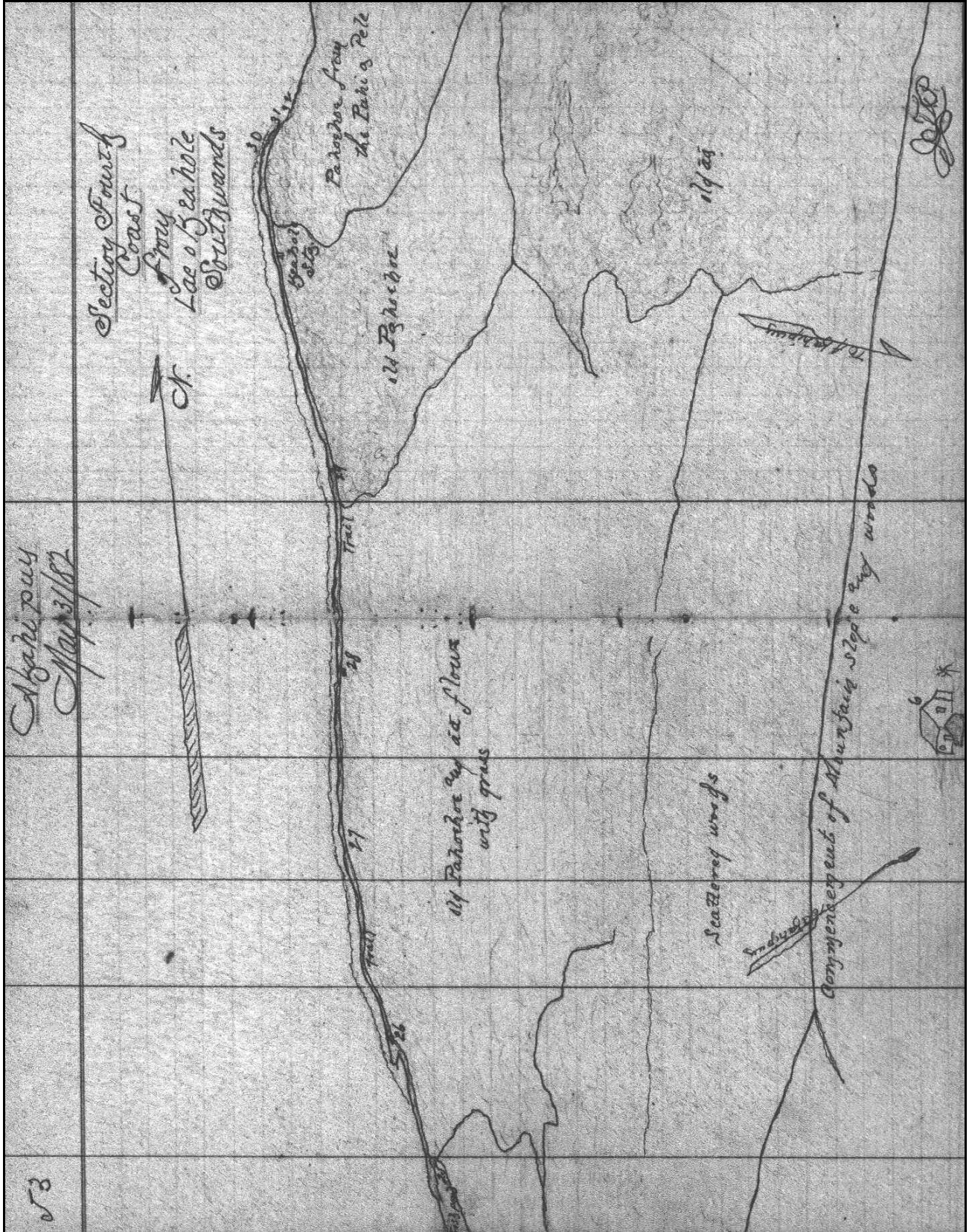


Figure 10. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:53 (State Survey Division).

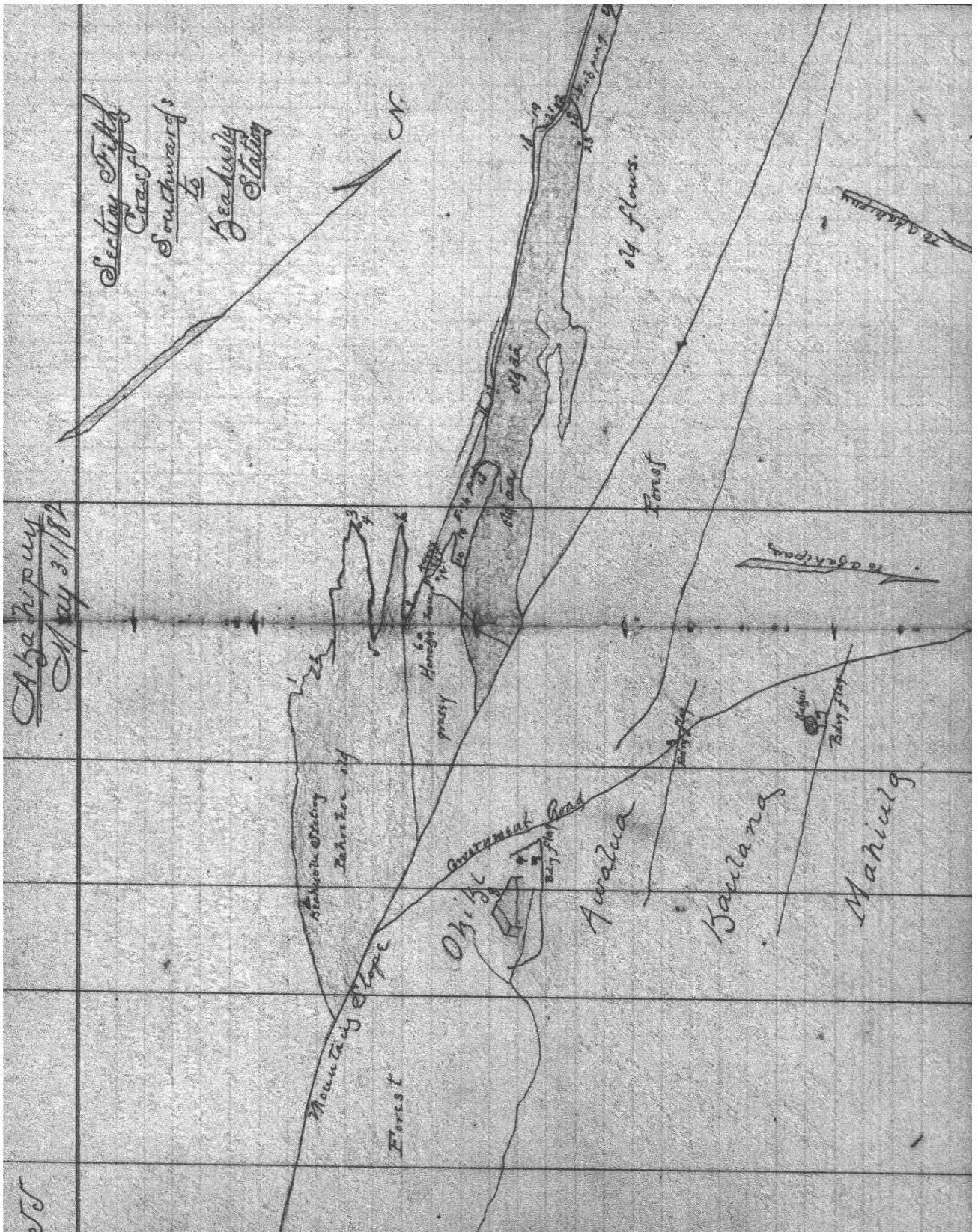


Figure 11. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:55 (State Survey Division).

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.

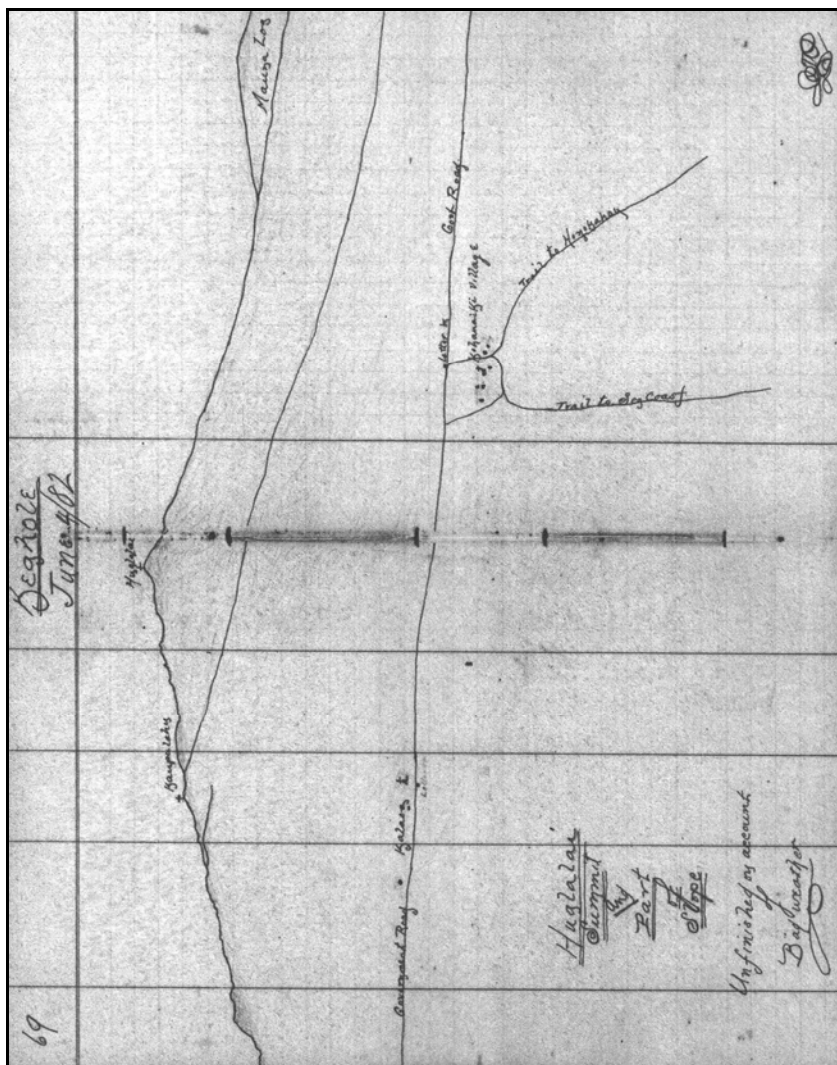


Figure 12. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:69 (State Survey Division).

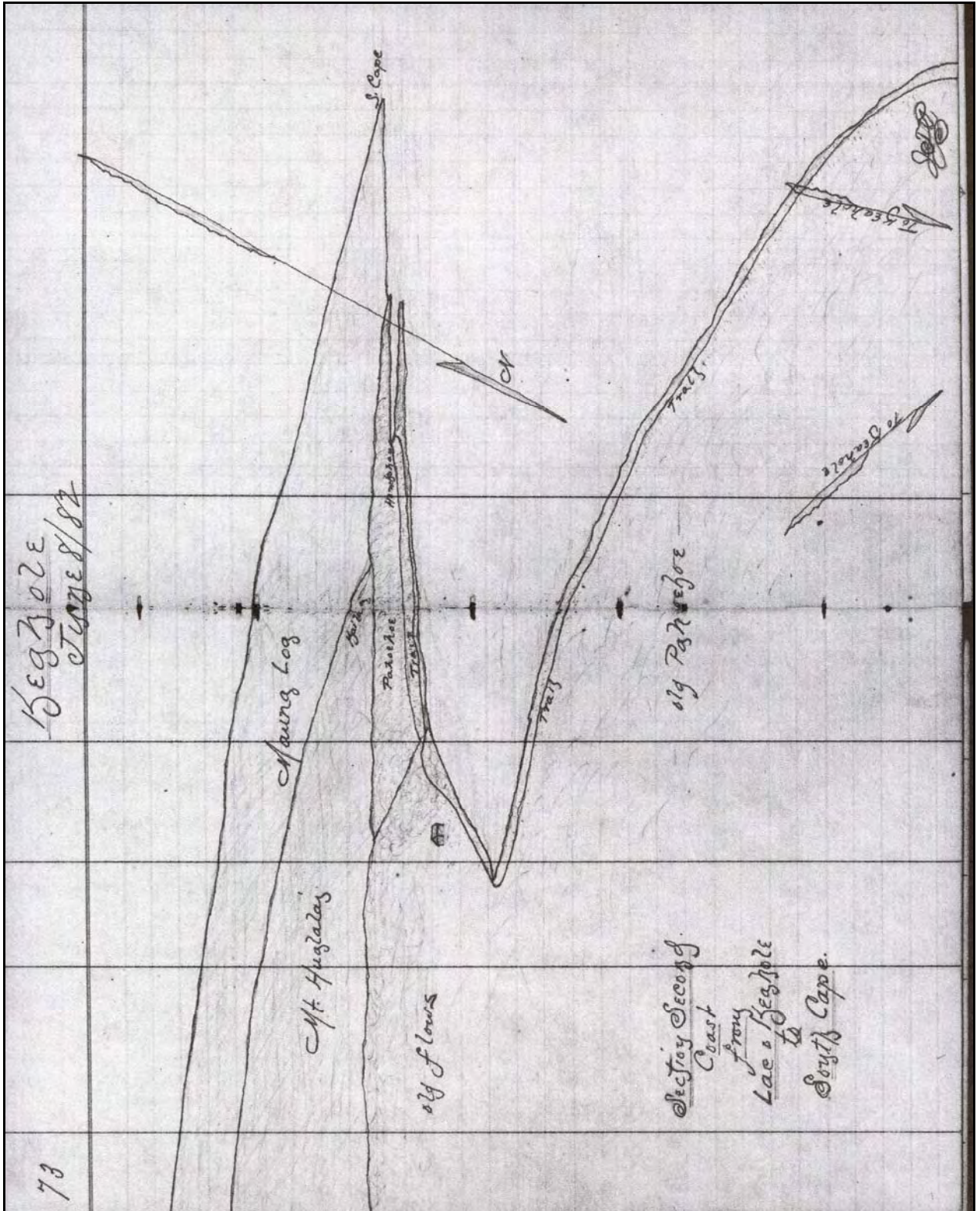


Figure 13. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 253:73 (State Survey Division).

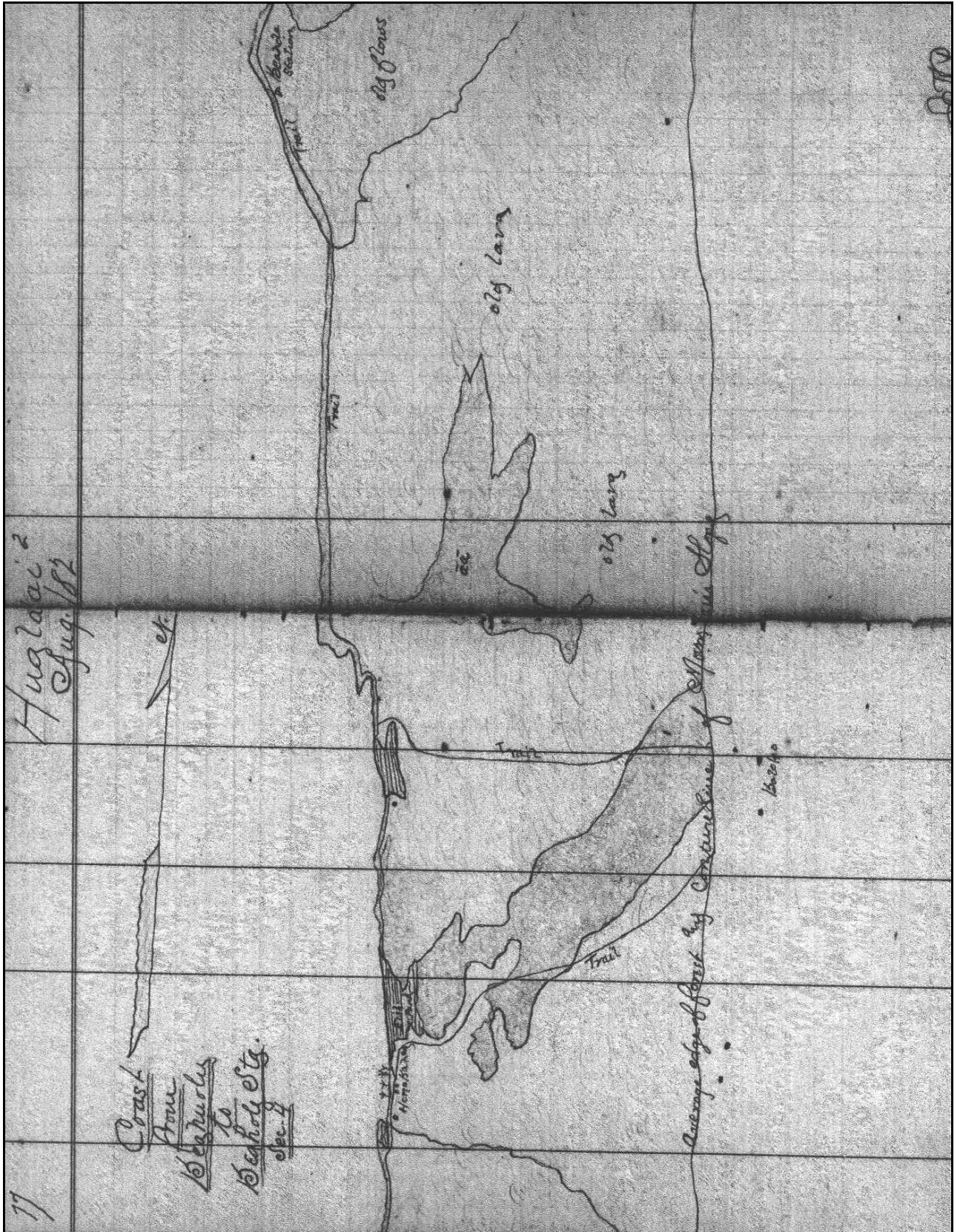


Figure 14. J. S. Emerson, field notebook map, Book 254:77 (State Survey Division).

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 kaula, which extends for a long distance to the E. and to the W...” (J.S. Emerson Field Book 291:137). An “ana kaula” 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, Pahiuhiu 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 Kīhōlo in Pu‘u Wa‘awa‘a. From Kīhōlo, 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 (cantoniers) in various portions of the district; several of the individuals named were also old residents and applicants for Homestead lots. Of interest, Kaelemakule's report indicates that maintenance of the Alanui Aupuni which crossed into the kula lands of 'O'oma, 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 cantoniers assigned to road work in various sections of North Kona. As in 1889, apparently no one was assigned to the lower Alanui Aupuni through the 'O'oma kula lands. Though Kaelemakule did include the road section on the land, extending through Kalaoa, on his attached diagram]:

...I forward to you the list of names of the cantoniers who have been hired to work on the roads of this district, totaling 15 sections; showing the alignment of the road and the length of each of the sections. The monthly pay is \$4.00 per month, at one day of work each week. The board wanted to increase it totwo days a week, but if that was done, there would not have been enough money as our road tax is only \$700.00 for this district... You will receive here the diagram of the roads of North Kona. [HSA – Roads Hawaii; Kepā Maly, translator] (Figure 14)

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 15) and some of the smaller trails along the shore were modified for vehicular traffic.



Figure 16. Portion of the *Alanui Aupuni* crossing the *kula kai* lands of ‘O‘oma 2nd; view toward Kohanaiki.

The primary routes of travel through the 1960s, descended from upland Kohanaiki and Kaloko, or came out of Kailua. In the 1950s, Hu‘ehu‘e Ranch bulldozed a jeep road to the shore at Kaloko. The ranch, and some individuals who went to the shore either as a part of their ranch duties, or for leisure fishing along the coast, used this jeep road. The *Alanui Aupuni* was modified from Kailua, to at least as far as Honokōhau and Kaloko, and remained in use through the 1970s. It was not until the Queen Ka‘ahumanu Highway was opened (ca. 1973) that travel across the *kula kai* (shoreward plains) of ‘O‘oma was once again made possible for the general public.

ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

Information is presented from six oral history interviews that had been previously conducted by Kepā Maly of Kumu Pono Associates. One of these interviews was conducted in 1996 and the others between 2000 and 2003. Rechtman Consulting, LLC conducted five additional interviews, two in 2005, one in 2006, and two in 2007. Transcripts of the recorded interviews are available upon request and are archived with Rechtman Consulting, LLC. A more socially oriented, community-based public analysis was also conducted for the current proposed development (Preister 2007); the informal and formal interviews conducted for that analysis were conducted independently of the present study.

Interview Method

The oral-historical information was collected using a standard interview format that included the following process. Personal and demographic information about each interviewee was obtained, as well as the details about how she or he came to know the lands of ‘O‘oma and the larger Kekaha region. Information was obtained from the interviewee concerning the time and/or place of specific events they recalled. The formal interviews were recorded, transcribed, and returned to the interviewees for review, correction, and release-approval. Copies of the final interview transcripts, along with the historical background and summary information were provided to each of the interviewees or their families. The informal interviews were conducted both in person on the land and over the telephone.

All of the interviewees had genealogical ties to early residents of lands within or adjoining the study area. Each is recognized within the community as being someone possessing specific knowledge of lore or historical wisdom pertaining to the lands, families, practices, and land use and subsistence activities in the region, and the older the informant, the greater the likelihood that the individual had personal communications or first-hand experiences with even older, now deceased Hawaiians and area residents.

Readers are asked to keep in mind that while this component of the study records a depth of cultural and historical knowledge of ‘O‘oma and the Kekaha region, by nature, the documentation is incomplete. In the process of conducting oral history interviews, it is impossible to record all the knowledge or information that the interviewees possess. Thus, the records provide only glimpses into the stories being told, and of the lives of the interview participants. Every effort has been made to accurately relay the recollections, thoughts and recommendations of the people who so openly shared their personal histories.

Interview Participants

All of the individuals that participated in the oral history interviews cited in this study are directly descended from traditional residents of ‘O‘oma and adjoining lands, and many of the personal recollections date back to the 1920s. The interviewees also benefited from the words of their own elders and extended family members, whose personal recollections dated back to the middle 1800s. Following is a summary of the interviewees.

Valentine K. Ako is of Hawaiian ancestry and was born at Hōlualoa in 1926. He currently resides on Kaua‘i. Interviewed in 1996, *kupuna* Ako visited families and fished at ‘O‘oma and neighboring lands of Kekaha (ca. 1930s-1940s). He is well known for his knowledge of Hawaiian fishing customs and fisheries, and is a member of several cultural committees.

George Kinoulu Kahananui Sr. is of Hawaiian ancestry and was born at Hōlualoa in 1925. Raised from infancy at ‘O‘oma 2nd, he continues to reside on old family land in ‘O‘oma. Uncle Kino regularly traveled the uplands and coastal lands of ‘O‘oma and Kekaha, learned of traditions and practices; and later managed the lands under Hu‘ehu‘e Ranch. He continues to fish on the coastal lands of ‘O‘oma and Kohanaiki. As a child he farmed the family lands that make up a portion of the current project area, a portion of which he retained ownership of until recently. Uncle Kino is well respected and known for his knowledge of the land, and is a valued resource on a number of cultural committees.

Elizabeth Maluahi Ako Lee is of Hawaiian ancestry and is the sister of Uncle Kino. Auntie Elizabeth was born in 1929 and was raised by her *hanai* family, Kahananui, in upland ‘O‘oma. As a child she walked the upland trails and cultivated sweet potatoes on her family land in ‘O‘oma 2nd Ahupua‘a, which are now part of the current project area. She is a well-respected *lauhala* weaver and retains valuable cultural knowledge.

Samuel Keanaaina is of Hawaiian ancestry and was born at Kolaoa in 1926, where he remains resident. Descendant of families with generational ties to various lands of the Kekaha region, including ‘O‘oma, *kupuna* Keanaaina regularly traveled the uplands and coastal lands of ‘O‘oma and Kekaha. He learned of traditions and practices of the families of the land, and was a fisherman in his youth.

Malaea Agnes Keanaaina-Tolentino (with daughter Cynthia Torres) is of Hawaiian ancestry and was born at Kolaoa in 1928. She currently resides in Kealakehe and is the Sister of Samuel Keanaaina, who shared in similar experiences as her brother. She was raised by her grandparents in Honokōhau Nui and as a youth she regularly traveled between the uplands and coastal lands of Honokōhau-Kaloko, Kalaoa-‘O‘oma and Kohanaiki. Kupuna Malaea has served on several cultural committees and is known for her knowledge of the land.

Ruby Keanaaina McDonald was born at Kalihi on O‘ahu in 1942 and moved to Kona when she was about six years old. *Kūpuna* Keanaaina and Malaea are her uncle and auntie. Ruby grew up with her aunties and uncles in Kona (*mauka* Kalaoa and Hōlualoa) and spent a lot of time with her *kūpuna* listening to their stories and later documenting the family genealogy. As a child her experiences on the land in ‘O‘oma included stopovers at the family’s *kula* house (Kamaka homestead) on the way to the shore to gather and process *lauhala*. She currently works as the Office of Hawaiian Affairs liaison for west Hawai‘i.

Peter Keka is of Hawaiian ancestry and was born at Waiki‘i in 1940. His family resided for years in the Kalaoa-Kohanaiki-Honokōhau vicinity, and he currently resides in Kohanaiki. Peter traveled the Kekaha region and fished at ‘O‘oma and neighboring lands. He has been employed by the National Park Service and was responsible for the restoration of the Kaloko-Honokōhau fishponds and other cultural sites in the park.

Peter Keikua'ana Park was born at 'O'oma 2nd in 1918. He currently resides in Kalaoa 5th. He was also raised there from infancy by his maternal grandparents, Peter Kaawa and Kahanawale Kamaka. Until *kupuna* Park's recent passing, he resided nearby in Kalaoa 5th. Although he grew up on his grandparents 10 acre homestead in the upland section of 'O'oma 2nd he regularly traveled with his grandparents to the coastal lands of 'O'oma. *Kupuna* Park described life on the lands and identified the elder families of 'O'oma and neighboring lands. He noted that there was much more evidence of house sites and other features, some quite large, on the shores of 'O'oma when he was younger. He also shared important documentation pertaining to traditions associated with fishing and cultivation of the land. *Kupuna* Park's elders were noted *lauhala* weavers, a craft that was passed on to him and his sisters, and was an activity that sustained their family. They collected *lauhala* from 'Ohikapua on the *kula* lands of Kalaoa 5th. *Kupuna* Park was a noted weaver and resource for several cultural programs and his loss will be greatly felt. A summary of a recent informal interview conducted with *kupuna* Park on July 24, 2007 is attached as Appendix A to this report.

Summary of Oral-Historical Information

Elder *kama'āina* of the Kekaha region, tell much the same story as that described in the communications from the period of homestead development, and in the accounts given by J. Puuokupa in 1875 and J.W.H. Isaac Kihe in 1924. By the late 1800s, only a few permanent residence remained along the 'O'oma (and Kekaha) coastline. Primary residences were in the uplands, in the vicinity of the old Māmalahoa Highway. In that region, people were able to cultivate a wide range of crops—both native staples and new introductions—with which to sustain themselves, and in some case even as cash crops.

By the middle to late 1800s, the *kula* lands, from around the 900-foot elevation to shore, were primarily used for goat, cattle, and donkey pasturage. The families of the uplands regularly traveled to the coast via trails. This was usually done to go fishing, or to round up cattle, goats, or donkeys. During periods of extreme dry weather, when water resources dried up, the families relied on the brackish water ponds in the near-shore lands. In 'O'oma, near Wawaloli, the area marked on J.S. Emerson's Register Maps 1280 (see Figure 7), as Kama's or Keoki Mao's house, families still took shelter, and drank the water from the spring, through the 1940s. Such was the case at various locations of the coast, between Kohanaiki, 'O'oma, Kalaoa, Ho'onā, Kaulana, and lands further north to Kapalaoa.

Near the coastline several sites were described and, during field visits, pointed out by *kūpuna* Peter Kaikuaana Park and George Kinoulu Kahananui. These are also described by other elder *kama'āina*. The features included old goat and cattle corrals, old *kahua hale* (house sites), shelters, springs, burial sites, and fishery resources. Except for the old *mauka/makai* trail, the *Alanui Aupuni* (*makai* Government Road – “Old Māmalahoa Trail”), and walls, few other features were known by the interviewees on the lower *kula* lands (the area of the current proposed development). This is not surprising as the interviewees observed, when they were young, they were instructed not to wander around, and *maha'oi* (poke their noses) into caves and such. Their primary interest while traveling *makai* was to get to the fishing ground, and in reverse, to get back home. In the region of the lower homestead lots (the area of the current project) and above, interviewees have described the occurrence of caves, walls, and various features, including burials. Occasionally, when working the range, rounding up cattle, *huaka'i pō* or night marchers have been heard, or even seen. The explanation being that the people of old, who once lived on the land, were traveling the trails in one direction or the other to attend to some ceremony or to venture out on fishing journeys, or other such activities. Both Auntie Elizabeth Maluihi Ako Lee and George Kinoulu Kahananui described their family's agricultural practices within portion of the current project area, and their father's use of the *mauka/makai* trails to access the shore for fishing.

When asked about proposed development on the 'O'oma lands and in other locations of Kekaha, the interviewees all speak with hesitancy. It is difficult for them to see the landscape that they have known all their lives, and for which traditions were handed down, change. None of the interviewees shared any specific knowledge about traditional cultural resources and associated practices within the boundaries of the current project area. All interviewees believe that *ilina* (burial sites) should be preserved in place; likewise, should any *heiau*, or other important sites be located, they should be protected. Whenever possible all sites, such as house sites, petroglyphs, walls, and other features should be protected.

IDENTIFICATION AND MITIGATION OF POTENTIAL CULTURAL IMPACTS

The OEQC guidelines identify several possible types of cultural practices and beliefs that are subject to assessment. These include subsistence, commercial, residential, agricultural, access-related, recreational, and religious and spiritual customs. The guidelines also identify the types of potential cultural resources, associated with cultural practices and beliefs that are subject to assessment. Essentially these are nature features of the landscape and historic sites, including traditional cultural properties. In the Hawai‘i Revised Statutes—Chapter 6E a definition of traditional cultural property is provided.

“Traditional cultural property” means any historic property associated with the traditional practices and beliefs of an ethnic community or members of that community for more than fifty years. These traditions shall be founded in an ethnic community’s history and contribute to maintaining the ethnic community’s cultural identity. Traditional associations are those demonstrating a continuity of practice or belief until present or those documented in historical source materials, or both.

The origin of the concept of traditional cultural property is found in National Register Bulletin 38 published by the U.S. Department of Interior-National Park Service. “Traditional” as it is used, implies a time depth of at least 50 years, and a generalized mode of transmission of information from one generation to the next, either orally or by act. “Cultural” refers to the beliefs, practices, lifeways, and social institutions of a given community. The use of the term “Property” defines this category of resource as an identifiable place. Traditional cultural properties are not intangible, they must have some kind of boundary; and are subject to the same kind of evaluation as any other historic resource, with one very important exception. By definition, the significance of traditional cultural properties should be determined by the community that values them.

It is however with the definition of “Property” wherein there lies an inherent contradiction, and corresponding difficulty in the process of identification and evaluation of potential Hawaiian traditional cultural properties, because it is precisely the concept of boundaries that runs counter to the traditional Hawaiian belief system. The sacredness of a particular landscape feature is often times cosmologically tied to the rest of the landscape as well as to other features on it. To limit a property to a specifically defined area may actually partition it from what makes it significant in the first place. However offensive the concept of boundaries may be, it is nonetheless the regulatory benchmark for defining and assessing traditional cultural properties. As the OEQC guidelines do not contain criteria for assessing the significance for traditional cultural properties, this study will adopt the state criteria for evaluating the significance of historic properties, of which traditional cultural properties are a subset. To be significant the potential historic property or traditional cultural property must possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association and meet one or more of the following criteria:

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

While it is the practice of the DLNR-SHPD to consider most historic properties significant under Criterion D at a minimum, it is clear that traditional cultural properties by definition would also be significant under

Criterion E. A further analytical framework for addressing the preservation and protection of customary and traditional native practices specific to Hawaiian communities resulted from the *Ka Pa‘akai O Ka‘āina v Land Use Commission* court case. The court decision established a three-part process relative to evaluating such potential impacts: first, to identify whether any valued cultural, historical, or natural resources are present; and identify the extent to which any traditional and customary native Hawaiian rights are exercised; second, to identify the extent to which those resources and rights will be affected or impaired; and third, specify any mitigative actions to be taken to reasonably protect native Hawaiian rights if they are found to exist.

As a result of the several archaeological studies (Barrera 1985, 1989, 1992; Cordy 1985, 1986; Donham 1987; Rechtman 2002, 2007; Rosendahl 1989; Walker and Rosendahl 1990) that have been conducted within the current project area, fifteen historic properties or portions thereof (Table 1) are recognized by DLNR-SHPD to retain the potential to be impacted by the proposed development activities. These impacts could be direct, as the result of development activities; or indirect, resulting from increased access and site visitation traffic. Preservation is the DLNR-SHPD approved treatment for all of these.

Table 1. Historic properties within the proposed development area.

<i>SIHP No.</i>	<i>Function</i>	<i>Temporal Association</i>	<i>Significance</i>	<i>Treatment</i>
2	Trail	Precontact	A, C, D, E	Preservation
1910	Habitation	Precontact	C, D, E	Preservation
1911	Habitation	Precontact/Historic	D	Preservation
1912	Habitation	Precontact	D, E	Preservation
1913*	<i>Heiau</i>	Precontact	D, E	Preservation
10181	Shrine	Precontact	D, E	Preservation
10155	Habitation	Precontact	D	Preservation
18027*	Habitation	Precontact	D, E	Preservation
18775	Habitation	Precontact/Historic	D	Preservation
18808	Habitation	Precontact	D	Preservation
18821	Habitation	Precontact	D	Preservation
18822	Habitation	Precontact	D	Preservation
18773	Burial	Precontact	D, E	Preservation
25932	Burial	Precontact	D, E	Preservation
26678	Burial	Precontact	D, E	Preservation

* portions of both of these sites are included in the archaeological preservation area established on the NELHA property to the north.

The three sites containing burials (SIHP Site 18773, 25932, and 26678), which are significant under both Criterion D and Criterion E, will be preserved pursuant to a burial treatment plan prepared in consultation with recognized descendants and the Hawai‘i Island Burial Council. The twelve other preservation sites, considered significant under multiple criteria, will be treated in accordance with a preservation plan submitted to and approved by DLNR-SHPD prior to final subdivision approval. Development activities will not commence until the site protection measures and stewardship aspects of these preservation plans are implemented. Two of these sites (SIHP Sites 1913 and 18027) are direct extensions of sites that exist to the north on state (NELHA) land, and the several others are part of the larger continuous archaeological landscape that remains for coastal ‘O‘oma. NELHA has committed to preserving a significant portion of this landscape (15 acres), and the developers of the current project area are committed to spatially extending that preservation commitment. In an effort to reduce direct impacts to significant cultural resources, as part of the NELHA preservation plan the coastal jeep road may in the near future be closed to vehicular traffic, as a more direct public access route for the “Pine Trees” recreational area is developed in neighboring Kohanaiki. The developers of the current project area will support this road closure, if and when it occurs.

While there were no specific ongoing traditional cultural practices identified relative to the land within the proposed development area, there are potential cultural impacts, both specific and nonspecific, related to coastal and near-shore subsistence and recreational activities, primarily among beachgoers, fisherman, and surfers. As these activities could be characterized as traditional and customary practices, the locations of these activities could thus be considered traditional cultural properties and as such would be significant under Criterion E. As the proposed development will in no way inhibit coastal access, and as most of the proposed development elements are significantly setback a minimum of 1,100 feet from the shoreline, it is envisioned that the

protection and preservation of the 'O'oma shoreline will be enhanced; and that no traditional and customary practices will be impacted. One additional resource deserves consideration, as it is associated with traditional practices. During their botanical survey of the study area Terry and Hart (2006) identified stands of *pilo* (*Capparis sandwichiana*), which is used in traditional Hawaiian medicine. While there is no evidence that this plant is currently being collected within the study area, *pilo* habitat could be conserved and the plants made available to cultural practitioners.

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APPENDIX A

Summary of talk story with Uncle Peter Park of Kailua-Kona, Hawai'i with interviewers Coochie Cayan and Shane Peters of Communications-Pacific, Inc. conducted on July 26, 2007 at Uncle Peter Park's residence.

Mālama 'Āina i 'O'oma

Uncle Peter Park expressed concern that the shoreline be cared for according to existing preservation laws. He cautioned that the new landowner for 'O'oma II not dig up the sand or allow any ATVs or anything that will destroy the land. Uncle Peter emphasized that "...people need to have pride and respect...no destroy things." This place was known for good fishing.

Uncle Peter Park was born in 'O'oma at the tree line, up mauka where his grandfather had 10 acres. His grandmother Kahanawale Kamaka was the midwife. His 'ohana – the Keana'aina's – often camped there at the 'O'oma shoreline. He recalled that "my father-in-law teach me fishing, make nets. We use suji, need double knot as it slides...All the old nets are illegal, now you make 2' eye..."

There were many families who had a hale (house) from the point to Honokōhau and through today's National Park at Kaloko. Everyone would go fishing and camping for a week or so at the shoreline. They usually would ride a donkey down on the small trail to the camp site.

He remembers that "...there was plenty 'ōpihi, crab and fishes you don't see much today. At low tide, they go out to the fish trap and on the papa to get limu...or go fishing out to the lighthouse and up to the Pine Trees area to catch moi, manini, 'ohu, āholehole with their throw net. Now the golf courses pesticides are killing the reef and the fishes – not just here but all along the shoreline..."

Uncle Peter said that when food was scarce all the families would gather wana and hā'uke'uke. He said some people didn't want others to know that times were hard and shared this mana'o. "...Before the area of Kalauao, no light is on, but people eating. You can hear chewing when someone passes, yet they no offer food to others. They are ashamed...gather the hā'uke'uke to make gravy, dip with raw fish. Salt 'em. Eat the wana too..."

Protecting Cultural Resources

Uncle Peter Park talked about the need to protect cultural resources. His family are known lauhala (pandanus) weavers. One sister, now deceased was Esther Makanaloa, a weaver who lived on Kaua'i till she was 92 years old. His other sister, Virgie Shim lives in Pearl City, O'ahu. His two sisters inherited the family's weaving implements, so he made his own ko'i and ipu to do his lauhala weaving.

Uncle explained that gathering and preparing the lauhala was the hardest work, especially when you are young. The weaving was easier and more enjoyable. In the old days, they would sell a fine lauhala hat for 30 cents or 50 cents per hat if you sold to the plantation workers. He added that everyone picked from the same trees in the area because no one cultivated their own grove. Now Uncle Peter has his own trees for ease in gathering and also ensuring the leaves are "clean" of mold and insects.

He noted that other native plants like the makaloa, an indigenous reed, are coming back along the pond as well as the native birds that live in those ponds. Uncle Peter added that they had dry land taro and cautioned "...no change the taro with GMO...less you lose the real one, the real kind taro...we had 'uala, 'ulu – different types like lehua, wai, mana – black, white, yellow kinds...my Grandfather planted taro mauka..."

We ended the talk story with Uncle Peter sharing his plans to visit his sons in Seattle, Washington. Not long after his return to Hawai'i, Uncle Peter Park died (ua hala) on October 9, 2007.