

# Historic Properties Identification and Context Study for the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands Community

TMK: (3) 2-1-011, 020-024, all parcels

Waiākea Ahupua‘a  
Hilo District  
Island of Hawai‘i

DRAFT VERSION



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## 1. INTRODUCTION

At the request of PBR Hawai'i & Associates, Inc. on behalf of the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (DHHL), ASM Affiliates (ASM) has prepared this Historic Properties Identification and Context Study for the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands Community (also known historically as the Keaukaha Hawaiian Homestead Community and Kūhiō Settlement), a DHHL beneficiary community located in Keaukaha, a coastal section along the northeastern portion of Waiākea Ahupua'a, South Hilo District, Island of Hawai'i (Figures 1, 2, and 3). This study has been prepared as supporting documentation for the Programmatic Agreement (PA) titled: *Programmatic Agreement Among the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), and the Hawai'i State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) for the Expenditure of HUD-Provided Funds Under the Native American Housing Assistance and Self-Determination Act (NAHASDA)*. Stipulation II of the PA requires the DHHL to prepare such a study for those Entitlement Communities exceeding 50 years old as a means to identify if there are historic properties listed or eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). This study also provides a professional opinion on the types of HUD-funded activities, projects, or grants that may be carried out under the terms of the PA or if the DHHL must assume its responsibilities pursuant to 36 CFR 800.13(b). This study identifies and evaluates the full-range of historic properties, as defined in 36 C.F.R. §800.16 (I)(1), that includes any prehistoric or historic district, site, building, structure, or object included in, or eligible for inclusion in, the NRHP. Also included under this definition are artifacts, records, and remains that are related to and located within such properties and properties of traditional religious and cultural importance that meet the National Register criteria.

The Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community was established as a result of the passage of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920 by the United States (U.S.) Congress in 1921. Spearheading the passage of the Act was Hawai'i delegate to Congress Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole who encouraged the federal government to adopt a policy of *'āina ho'opulapula*, aimed at rehabilitating Native Hawaiians with a blood quantum of 50% or more through a government-sponsored homesteading program (Hasager and Kelly 2001; PBR Hawaii & Associates 2002). Section 203 of the Act designated three major tracts of public land in the Waiākea portion of Hilo, including a section in Pana'ewa, two others in Waiākea Kai identified as Tract 1 that encompassed some 621.52 acres, and Tract 2 located along the northeastern tip of Waiākea Ahupua'a, comprising 1,372.23 acres. This study focuses specifically on the Precontact and Historic Era history and evolution of Tract 1. Over the decades, and primarily as a result of the expansions of the Hilo Airport during World War II and the 1960s, the size of the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community was reduced to its present-day size of 345 acres, and is referred to hereafter as the 'Study Area.'

This study is divided into five Sections. Section 1, Introduction, defines the purpose and scope of the current study and includes a description of the Study Area. Section 2, Background, provides a summary of relevant culture-historical information from the Precontact Period to the present-day, the identification of noted historical sites and buildings and previously recorded potential historic properties within the Study Area, and lastly a summary of prior archaeological studies conducted within and in the vicinity of the current Study Area. Section 3 present the results of a newly conducted Architectural Reconnaissance-Level Survey of the Study Area. Section 4 presents a summary of the consultation process with the DHHL beneficiaries and Native Hawaiian Organizations that attach traditional religious and cultural importance to the Study Area. Section 5 identifies and evaluates resources in the Study Area that area included in, or eligible for inclusion in, the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Lastly, Section 6 provides the DHHL with a professional opinion on types of HUD-funded activities, projects, or grants that may be carried out within the Study Area under the terms of the PA and includes recommendations that may be implemented by the DHHL to prevent or mitigate impacts to any identified and inadvertently discovered potential historic properties.



Figure 1. Study Area location.





Figure 2. Tax Map Keys comprising Study Area.





Figure 3. Google Earth™ satellite image showing Study Area location.



## 2. STUDY AREA DESCRIPTION

The Study Area is 345.579 acres of the DHHL-owned lands that comprise the entirety of four distinct Tax Map Key (TMK) plats, specifically (3) 2-1-020, 021, 022, 023, and 024 as well TMK parcel (3) 2-1-011:002 and 005 situated in the coastal area known as Keaukaha, Waiākea Ahupua‘a, South Hilo District, Island of Hawai‘i (see Figure 2). TMK plats 020-024, which cover 334.679 acres, make up the residential portion of the Keaukaha Hawaiian Homestead Community and are situated on the *mauka* (south) side of Kalaniana‘ole Street. That portion of the Study Area *makai* (north) of Kalaniana‘ole Street consists of TMK (3) 2-1-011:005, a 9.4-acre conservation-zoned parcel, and parcel 002, a 1.5-acre residential-zoned parcel. Collectively, parcels 005 and 002 make up the area known as Puhi Bay (also known as Keaukaha Beach Park; Figure 4), Kulapae (the former site of a community gathering space known as Hawaiian Village; Figure 5), and two other swimming/recreational areas including ‘Auwili and Chocks. This open space, beach park area contains an expansive manicured lawn and is dotted with both native and introduced tree species including *milo* (*Thespesia populnea*), *hala* (*Pandanus tectorius*), *hau* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*), *ti* (*Cordyline fruticosa*), *niu* (*Cocos nucifera*), *kukui* (*Aleurites moluccanus*), ‘ulu (*Artocarpus altilis*), *kamani* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), *ficus* *sp.*, false *kamani* (*Terminalia catappa*), and ironwood (*Casuarina equisetifolia*). East of Puhi Bay is a restroom facility and an asphalt paved road that extends northeast from Kalaniana‘ole Street and leads to an asphalt pavement marking the foundation of the former Hawaiian Village.

The residential portion of the Study Area, which includes 488 residential lots is accessed from Kalaniana‘ole Street via four main paved roads specifically (from east to west), Andrews, Baker, Pua, and Kauhane avenues. Crosscutting these four avenues are nine paved roads that run parallel to Kalaniana‘ole Street (from north to south) including Nahale-A, Desha, Pakele, Laua‘e Yung, Todd, King, Lyman, Krauss, and Ewaliko avenues (Figures 6 and 7). Situated at the center of the residential community on roughly 12.32 acres is Keaukaha Elementary School built in 1930 (Figure 8), Ke Ana La‘ahana Public Charter School (PCS) established in 2001, and Nā Kula Kamali‘i ‘o Kamehameha ma Keaukaha (Figure 9), Kawananākoa Gymnasium and Hualani Park (Figures 10 and 11), and the DHHL office. The entirety of the residential community has been developed; however, it is not uncommon to encounter wooded lots some of which are currently vacant and other that contain the remnants of unoccupied residential structures. Interspersed through the residential portion of the community are several churches including, Malia Puka O Kalani Catholic Church (also known as St. Mary’s Gate of Heaven) (Figure 12), Ka ‘Uhane Hemolele O Ka Mālamalama (Figure 13), Ka Hoku Ao Malamalama (Figure 14), and Kūhiō Chapel (Figure 15) a branch of the Haili Congregational Church.



Figure 4. Puhi Bay, view to the west.





Figure 5. Kulapae looking towards Hawaiian Village, view to the northeast.



Figure 6. View of Desha and Pua Avenue intersection, view to the west.





Figure 7. View of Nahale-A and Andrews Avenue intersection, view to the southeast.



Figure 8. Entrance into Keaukaha Elementary School with Building A in the background, view to the southeast.





Figure 9. West side of Ke Ana La'ahana PCS and Kawānanakoa Gym from Hualani Park (foreground), view to the northeast.



Figure 10. Kawananākoa Gymnasium, view to the southeast.





Figure 11. Hualani Park (foreground) and Keaukaha School (background left) with Kawanānākoa Gym and Ke Ana La'ahana PCS (background right), view to the north.



Figure 12. Front façade of Malia Puka O Kalani Catholic Church on Desha Avenue, view to the southeast.





Figure 13. Front façade of Ka 'Uhane Hemolele O Ka Mālamalama Church on King Avenue, view to the southeast.



Figure 14. Front façade of Ka Hōkū Ao Mālamalama Church on Lyman Avenue, view to the northwest.





Figure 15. Front façade of Kūhiō Chapel on Desha Avenue, view to the northeast.

### 3. HISTORIC CONTEXT

To identify the full-range of historic properties, as defined in 36 C.F.R. §800.16 (I)(1), within the Study Area that are included in, or eligible for inclusion in, the NRHP, this background section begins with a discussion of the area known as “Keaukaha.” This is followed by a summary of the Precontact history of the Study Area, the Historic Era history that includes a discussion of the *Māhele ‘Āina* of 1848, and the establishment and transformations of the Study Area into modern times. Lastly, a presentation is provided of noted historical sites and buildings and previously identified potential historic properties that are located within the Study Area.

The information presented below is based on research conducted by ASM Affiliates at various physical and digital repositories. Primary English and Hawaiian language resources were found at multiple state agencies, including the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands, State Historic Preservation Division, Hawai‘i State Archives, and the Department of Accounting and General Services Land Survey Division. Digital collections provided through the Office of Hawaiian Affairs Papakilo and Kīpuka databases, Waihona ‘Āina, the Ulukau Hawaiian Electronic Library, and Newspapers.com. Secondary resources curated at ASM Affiliates’ Hilo office offer general information regarding the history of land use, politics, and culture change in Hawai‘i, enhancing the broad sampling of source materials cited throughout this CIA. Additionally, the community publication *Ku‘u Home o Keaukaha* (1989), a compilation of stories, interviews, and images prepared by Rhea Akoi, provided an incredible wealth of information pertaining to the early development of the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community; excerpts from this publication are woven throughout the current document.

#### KEAUKAHA, ITS BOUNDARIES, AND INTERPRETIVE MEANINGS

Today, Keaukaha is generally used to refer to the coastal land area stretching from Kanakea Pond to Leleiwi Point. However, the *palena* (boundaries) of Keaukaha are fluid with no definitive indications as to where this land/sea area begins and ends. As described by the Edith Kanaka‘ole Foundation (2012:4-5):

In her mele “Nā Pana Kaulana O Keaukaha”, recorded on her album *Hi‘ipoi I Ka ‘Āina Aloha*, Edith Kanaka‘ole lists the boundaries of Keaukaha as “*mai ka palekai a i Leleiwi*”, from the breakwall to Leleiwi. The 1922 Annual Report to the Department of the Interior differs slightly in its boundary,

reporting that “Keaukaha is a local name given to that portion of Waiākea along the seacoast between Honohononui and the breakwater; these two lands have no definite nor known boundaries.” Both these definitions are true, depending on whom you ask. A random sampling of Keaukaha natives gave these [*sic*] following boundary delineations...

- “Keaukaha Market to Pu‘umaile. But when I was small it was Kauhane Avenue to Four Miles” (N. Garmon, personal communication, August 7, 2012).
- “Silva Street to King’s Landing. But then there’s just the homestead area from Kauhane to Andrews” (K. Kelekolio, personal communication, August 7, 2012).
- “The house right after Keaukaha Market to Hau‘oli’s [house – near Onekahakaha]” (M. Kalua, personal communication, August 7, 2012).

This study focuses specifically on the lands and waters surrounding and immediately within the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community (see Figures 1, 2, and 3). Since the eastern boundary of the community sits along the *palena* of Honohononui, *mo‘olelo* specific to that ‘*ili kūpono* (a politically independent subdivision of an *ahupua‘a*) are also provided. Mention is made of places farther east along the coastline past Loko Waka, but they are done so in relation to places that are closer in proximity to the homestead community.

There are multiple interpretations available regarding the meaning of the name “Keaukaha.” In lieu of assessing the veracity of one meaning over another, they are presented here to demonstrate the multiple ways in which scholars, historians, and community members have come to understand the meaning of this *inoa āina* (place name). Pukui et al. (1974:104) translate Ke-au-kaha as “the passing current,” whereas Andrews and Parker (1922:649) translate the name as “the swirling current.” Both names suggest an association with the ocean waters and currents along the coast. Another interpretation of the name Ke-au-kaha is “the time of writing,” with “kaha” referring to the act of drawing or marking something on a surface (Pukui and Elbert 1986:109). This interpretation is based on two other place names found along the coastline whose names connote the act of writing in the sand (Ke-one-kahakaha) and etching words and images onto *pāhoehoe* lava (Papa-kahakaha) (Kaai and Kahaulopua 1925:2; Nalimu n.d.:2). Furthermore, one of the earliest historical sources that refer to Keaukaha is an 1856 report by Hilo missionary and founder of Hilo Boarding School, David Belden Lyman regarding his visits to various schools in the Hilo district. The report, published in the newspaper *Ka Hae Hawaii*, makes note of a schoolhouse in Keaukaha and a teacher named Waiwai. Nalimu (n.d.:1) who was a pupil of Waiwai, situated the school next to Papakahakaha along the eastern boundary of the ‘*ili kūpono* of Honohononui.

In 1925, photographer and amateur ethnographer Theodore Kelsey conducted a trip with Mrs. Ka‘ōuli Ka‘ai along the Waiākea coastline. In Keaukaha, they met Ka‘ai’s brother, Kahaulopua, who shared that “Ke-au-kaha was so called because only potato was raised there and that fish was exchanged for poi with Hilo Pali Ku (Hilo of the Upright Cliffs, the northwestern section of the Hilo district)” (Kaai and Kahaulopua 1925:2). As other historical records indicate, the shallow soil and volcanic fields of Keaukaha were sufficient for cultivating ‘*uala* (sweet potato) using dryland agricultural methods such as *pu‘epu‘e* (piling stones and soil together) (see section titled “Cultivating The Land: *Mahi‘ai* (Farming) Practices”). Handy (1991:130-131) notes that:

[e]ven small pockets of semidisintegrated lava are utilized, and potatoes are grown by fertilizing with rubbish and by heaping up fine gravel and stones around the vines. Such cultivation produces inferior potatoes ; they are said to be rather tasteless and ridged ( ‘*awa‘awa‘a*) or wrinkled.

In Kahaulopua’s description of the meaning of Keaukaha, his reference to ‘*uala* likely illustrates the limited agricultural productivity of the area, as compared to areas with deep, nutrient-rich soils such as those found in Hāmākua and Kohala. As such, he may have been referring to a translation of Keaukaha, with the root word being *aukaha*, as “desolate” and “nonproductive” (Pukui and Elbert 1986:32).

## MYTHS AND LEGENDS ASSOCIATED WITH KEAUKAHA

Myths and legends associated with Keaukaha from antiquity and other more recent place-based stories offer rich insights for understanding the Precontact landscape, land use, and practices of Keaukaha. Furthermore, such accounts offer, from a native perspective, how certain geological features and natural phenomena came to be. Those narratives recounted here name an array of *akua* (deities), ‘*aumākua* (ancestral guardians), and *kupua* (supernatural beings) connected to the Study Area and other places along the Keaukaha coastline, as well as *inoa āina* (place names) that further illustrate land use overtime.

### He Mo‘olelo Ka‘ao Hawai‘i no ke Kaua Nui Weliweli Ma Waena o Pele a me Waka

Between May through December of 1899, Hawaiian literary author Moses Manu published *He Moolelo Kaaowai no ke Kaua Nui Weliweli ma Waena o Pelekeahiloa a me Wakakeakaikawai* (a Traditional Hawaiian Account Regarding The Ferocious Battle Between Pelekeahiloa And Wakakeakaikawai) in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Loea Kalaiaina* (Manu 1899). As the title suggests, this *mo‘olelo* recounts the battle between the fire deity Pele-ke-ahi-loa (Pele the long flame, an epithet for Pele) and the reptilian-water deity Waka-ke-aka-i-ka-wai (Waka the reflection in the water, an epithet for Waka). Although Manu named the *mo‘olelo* after this battle, the *mo‘olelo* also tells of Pele’s *mo‘okū‘auhau* (genealogy) and migration to Hawai‘i from Tahiti with various family members. Manu also recounts the story of Pele’s sister, Kapō‘ulakīna‘u, who is noted as the first of Pele and her relatives to arrive in Hawai‘i and traverse the archipelago in search of a new home. The significance of the *mo‘olelo* for the Study Area is that Waka was pursued by Pele and eventually killed in the largest brackish water pond in Keaukaha that now bears her name—Loko Waka, literally “Waka’s Pond” (Figure 16). Broadly speaking, the *mo‘olelo* records the physical transformation of Keaukaha’s landscape and other places in the *moku* (districts) of Ka‘ū, Puna, and Hilo from lush forests and white-sand beaches into the volcanic landscape that is seen today. Below is a summary of the *mo‘olelo*, derived from the original Hawaiian language text, with a focus on the battle, the events that led up to it, and the aftermath.

The segment of the *mo‘olelo* summarized here begins at Halema‘uma‘u, one of the *hale lua* (pit homes) of Pele and her extended family. One day, Pele spotted a white bird encircling her home; it had long tailfeathers and black feathers along its head and wings. After seeing the bird on multiple occasions, she became annoyed and wanted to know more about it. Using her magical powers (*mana kupua nui*) Pele discovered that the bird, a *koa‘e* (*Phaeton lepturus*), was half-man. She instructed her younger sister, Hulikapaauiānua, to spy on the bird-man, follow him home, and confirm what she saw. Hulikapaauiānua did as her sister commanded and followed the bird-man to his home near the sea in Pū‘ula, Puna. It was here that Hulikapaauiānua confirmed that the bird was indeed half-man—a handsome man named Puna‘aikoa‘e.



Figure 16. Loko Waka located in the ‘ili of Honohononui, view from Kalaniana‘ole Street.

When Hulikapaauiānua returned to Kīlauea and informed Pele of what she saw, Pele immediately departed her home without telling her family where she was headed. When she reached Pū‘ula, she shapeshifted into a beautiful young woman and offered a chant of arousal. Puna‘aikoa‘e, infatuated with this mysterious woman, invited her into his home and inquired about her identity. Pele revealed who she was and they became lovers. When Pele returned to Halema‘uma‘u, she told her family of Puna‘aikoa‘e and made it clear to her younger siblings that he was hers alone. Puna‘aikoa‘e went to live with Pele, who permitted him to roam freely around Kīlauea except for Pu‘u‘oni‘oni, a place that was reserved for Hi‘iakaikapoliopole—Pele’s favorite younger sibling. On numerous occasions, and with Pele’s permission, Puna‘aikoa‘e left Halema‘uma‘u for extended visits with his family in Puna, Hilo, and Ka‘ū. Pele and Puna‘aikoa‘e lived happily with this arrangement for some time.

One day, when Puna‘aikoa‘e was in ‘Ōla‘a, he saw a beautiful woman like no other in the forest. The next day, he saw her again and introduced himself. The woman was the *mo‘o* (reptilian water deity) Wakakeakaikawai (Waka) from O‘ahu. It was as if Puna‘aikoa‘e forgot about Pele, and thus he spent a great deal of time with Waka. Pele knew who Puna‘aikoa‘e was with, and in respect of Waka, sent her younger sister, Kapuokokaulaokeahi, to retrieve Puna‘aikoa‘e. When Kapuokokaulaokeahi reached Puna‘aikoa‘e, she witnessed him and Waka relaxing together and told him to return to Kīlauea per the instructions of her sister. He was reluctant at first, but upon being reminded of Pele’s power, he returned with Kapuokokaulaokeahi to Kīlauea. Waka, saddened by Puna‘aikoa‘e’s departure, cried out to him, instructing him that when he saw a spiderweb in front of his face, it would be her. When Puna‘aikoa‘e reached Kīlauea, Pele told him that she would not be angered by his behavior on this occasion, but in the future, death would be his punishment.

Waka loved Puna‘aikoa‘e dearly and constantly thought about him. Eventually, she resolved to retrieve him and made her way to Ka‘aua, where she released an eight-eyed, white-bellied spider. The spider reached the edge of the cliffs at Uēkahuna and peered into Halema‘uma‘u, where many men and women were resting. It descended into the crater, found Puna‘aikoa‘e, and crawled on one of his ears. Startled by the spider’s movements, Puna‘aikoa‘e woke up and noticed a web in front of his nose. Remembering what his lover told him, he realized that the spider was from Waka. Careful not to awaken anyone, Puna‘aikoa‘e made his way out of Halema‘uma‘u and to Ka‘aua where Waka was waiting. Once they were reunited, they made their way first to Kapulei, then to Kapāpala, then to a cave called Kaualehu in the uplands of Punalu‘u, where one of Waka’s *mo‘o* relatives lived.

In the morning, Pele woke up to find Puna‘aikoa‘e was no longer with her. Infuriated by his departure, she instructed Kapuokokaulaokeahi to find him and confirm if he was with Waka. Kapuokokaulaokeahi did as she was instructed and eventually found the couple at Kaualehu. When she told Puna‘aikoa‘e to return with her to Halema‘uma‘u, Waka refused and sent Kapuokokaulaokeahi back to Pele. Kapunohu, the *mo‘o* relative who lived at Kaualehu, warned Waka that her refusal would have terrible consequences. Before departing, Kapuokokaulaokeahi warned Waka and Puna‘aikoa‘e of the dangers they would soon face. Kapuokokaulaokeahi hastily made her way back to Halema‘uma‘u and told Pele of everything that transpired. Enraged, Pele met with her family who resolved to support her. This was the beginning of the battle that ensued.

Pele instructed many of her older relatives and younger siblings to stay at Kīlauea, while she took Hi‘iakaikā‘ālemoe and Hi‘iakaikā‘āle‘ī with her. Hi‘iakawāwahilani was left to assist their uncle, Lonomakua. The *pele* (lava) made its way underground from Kīlauea to Punalu‘u. Three earthquakes occurred because of the movement of lava. Pele then instructed her younger sisters to make the sea rise upon the lands of Punalu‘u. As the sea rose, it remained calm like water in a mountain stream and did not cause much destruction to the people living there. The sea rose to the cave of Kaualehu, and as Waka and Puna‘aikoa‘e saw this, they did not know it was Pele in hot pursuit of them. As the sea quickly receded away from the entrance of her cave, Kapunohu looked out and saw smoke billowing from the sea and uplands. She told Waka and Puna‘aikoa‘e, “See! You two have brought me danger and conflict due to your behavior. Leave quickly. Pele surrounds us, there is nowhere for you to escape. Think quickly about how you can resolve this.”

After responding to Kapunohu, Waka and Puna‘aikoa‘e exited the cave to fight Pele. Waka began calling to Mo‘oinanea and Kihanuilūlūmoku, respectively the head *mo‘o* and guardian of Paliuli. In turn, Mo‘oinanea called out to the *mo‘o* of Kaua‘i to meet above Kalalea. They did as instructed and Mo‘oinanea laid out a net made of spiderwebs that she used to transport the *mo‘o* to Punalu‘u. She then called out to the *mo‘o* of O‘ahu, Molokai, Maui, and Lāna‘i to gather; she used her spiderweb net to transport them all to Punalu‘u for the ensuing war. Once in Ka‘ū, the land was filled with *mo‘o*, and they knew that Pele was near and watching them. Mo‘oinanea instructed the *mo‘o* to wait before engaging with Pele.

Pele again made the sea rise two more times to the cave where Waka and Puna‘aikoa‘e were hiding. Once they began to flee, Pele’s fires ignited, smoke billowed from the dirt, and burning rocks were hurled at the two lovers. As



the other *mo‘o* saw this, they knew that there was a reason why Pele was pursuing their *mo‘o* relative. When they learned that it was because Waka took Pele’s man, they decided that Waka would face the consequences of her actions without their assistance.

Waka and Puna’aikoa’e attempted to flee from Pele and sought aid from *mo‘o* living in the mountains above Punalu‘u. They rested for a bit when they arrived, only to be forced to flee once more when Pele found them and began to burn the forest. They ran back to Punalu‘u, jumped into the sea, and swam to Honu‘apo in hopes that Waka’s *mo‘o* relatives, Ka‘ilioalono and Kawelohea, would assist them. Again, Pele thwarted their plans, killing any *mo‘o* that dared to disobey Mo‘oinanea’s orders and assist Waka.

Waka and Puna’aikoa’e eventually made their way to Hilea and later to Keāiwa. When Pele was near, they both transformed into birds (Waka became an owl and Puna’aikoa’e a *koa‘e* bird) and flew away to Pākau. To no avail, Pele was still in hot pursuit, and with all their strength, Waka and Puna’aikoa’e fled to Pānau, then to Kaimū, Kamā‘ili, ‘Ōpihikao, and numerous other places until they reached Puna’aikoa’e’s homeland of Pū‘ula. Having no time to rest, they continued to flee to Paliuli, then to Māwae along the coast of Hilo. Finally, at Waiākea pond in the *ahupua‘a* of Waiākea, Puna’aikoa’e was killed. Waka continued to flee but was soon forced into a large pond in Keaukaha and killed by Pele. Her body was turned to stone. The pond where Waka was killed now bears her name. It is a place where *‘ōwāowaka* (a type of Hawaiian mussel) was abundant in previous times.

It is said by the people of old that this battle is the reason why lava covered most of Puna, Ka‘ū, as well as a long stretch of white sand from Waiākea, Hilo to Pānau, Puna, known as Ke One Lau‘ena a Kāne. Pockets of white sand can still be seen along the coast today.

### **Pele Visits Residents in the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands Community**

Although the previously summarized *mo‘olelo* of Waka describes Pele’s association with Keaukaha’s antiquity, Pele frequently appears in historical accounts in Keaukaha and elsewhere across the island of Hawai‘i, especially during times of significant volcanic activity. The following two stories, *Mysterious Old Woman Foretells Fires And Quakes* and *Tale Of Strange Woman, White Dog And Bones Again Brings Pele Superstition To Attention*, published in the *Hawaii Tribune-Herald* between 1926-1927, describe two encounters with Pele by Keaukaha homesteaders. The names of the homesteaders were John Nakapuahi and Samuel Haina and their accounts describe an old woman appearing from nowhere, eating ravenously, and then suddenly disappearing. Haina’s account includes a description of a white dog (also associated with Pele) and finding an old grave behind his home.

#### ***Mysterious Old Woman Foretells Fires And Quakes***

The city of Hilo and the Island of Hawaii are due for a series of calamities, including fire, tidal waves, and statement which is credited to Pele by John Nakapuahi of Keaukaha who saw her last Thursday in the shape of an old woman.

Nakapuahi was at a friend’s house in Keaukaha eating dinner when an old woman appeared at the door. She was invited into the house to partake of the meal of fish and poi. Nakapuahi and the others present were surprised to see that the old woman possessed a large appetite. She ate a great deal of fish but very little poi.

#### **Prophecy Made**

It was nearly an hour before the meal was over and the old woman was ready to go. As she got up to leave she turned to the group and said in Hawaiian, “Hilo will have fire, tidal waves, a big lava flow and other calamities [*sic*] in the near future.”

No one present thought her to be Pele and as she left the house Nakapuahi followed her into the dusk. They had gone but a few yards down the trail toward Nakapuahi’s home when the old woman stopped and said, “Some one is calling you.”

Nakapuahi who had heard nothing turned to see if some one was calling him but perceived no one.

When he turned to speak to the old woman she was gone. It was then that the thought came to him, “She is Pele,” and he ran back to the home of his friend where he remained for the night.

That the forest fire which threatened to destroy part of Hilo yesterday is no ordinary fire is explained by the fact that large areas of dry grass and trees were left unburned while several feet away the fire raged and destroyed everything in its path.

“Pele is angry about something,” it is said, “and has decided to destroy the forest as a lesson to the people.” It is pointed out that the awa trees are being left standing. Pele is very fond of awa root and is saving the trees for her own use, it is declared.

The singing of the alae birds which was heard throughout Hilo last night is pointed to as a sign that Pele is rampant once more. Pele means business this time and Kilauea will come back, say the old Hawaiians who have watched her actions for many years past.

The haoles are saying these days, “There seems to be something to this Pele business after all—maybe the Kahuna’s know what they’re talking about.” (Hawaii Tribune-Herald 1926b:1-2)

#### ***Tale Of Strange Woman, White Dog And Bones Again Brings Pele Superstition To Attention***

Return in the near future of lava to Halemaumau, firepit of Kilauea the world’s largest volcano, is being freely predicted by Hawaiians and Haoles in Hilo with a leaning toward the superstitious, following reports that Pele, goddess [sic] of fire has been seen in the Keaukaha district on several occasions recently.

This news coupled with the announcements made by Professor Thomas Jaggar, expert volcanologist and “Pele’s keeper,” that there is unusual activity in the pit such as earthquakes and the pouring out of steam, only makes the contention that something can be expected at Halemaumau, stronger, it is said.

The latest Pele yarn comes from Samuel Haina, water tender at Kuhio Wharf who lives in a home on the edge of the Keaukaha rehabilitation houselots. Stories about town to the effect that Haina had seen Pele and that the bones of some human being or animal were found in the rocks near his home lead a reporter of the Tribune-Herald to seek the truth of the matter.

The reporter, a bit superstitious about this Pele business himself, called at Haina’s home yesterday morning.

#### **Greets Reporter**

Haina, an elderly grey haired Hawaiian with humorous brown eyes and a happy smile greeted the reporter as if he were a friend instead of being just “one of those prying newspapermen.”

“Hello, Haina, I hear you saw Pele down here,” said the reporter getting to the point at once:

“Pele! No Pele only one old native woman,” Haina answered and the reporter winced at the thought that a good story was about to be lost. But his hopes rose again when Haina said, “This woman she funny kind woman, I don’t know where she come from.”

Ah, thought the bright reporter for it was Monday morning, he doesn’t know where the woman came from so it might have been Pele. “Maybe she was Pele, Haina?” he asked trying to lead the old man out and Haina replied, “No me no believe in Pele, if I say I see Pele all my friends think I drink or I crazy.”

Then without more words between them Haina launched into his tale of the strange woman, a big white dog who slept on his bed just as a man would and the discovery of the bones in the brush back of his home.

Here is the story Haina told it to the reporter, “I come home Friday night. Too much rain this time, you know. By my by a come by the front steps I see one old woman, very old. I don’t know from where this woman come but she’s very old.

“Ah excuse me Haina,” she says. “I come your house because it is too rainy. I am looking awa root this place, you got some over here.”

“I told her no awa root this place because too much pahoe-hoe but she tells me she always find awa root this place. I think so she is hungry I take her in the kitchen. This woman has big appetite, she eat and eat and eat just like seh [sic] never eat for long time. I tell her to sit on the chair but she sit on the floor by the stove because it is more warm this place.

#### **Woman Leaves**

“By me by pau eat. I fix one bed for the woman down stairs and she go to sleep. When I wake up next morning she’s gone and blankets upstairs, I don’t know when she go in night time and I don’t think so she’s Pele because if Pele she no bring the blankets up stairs,” said Haina.

“Did she ask for tobacco,” inquired the reporter at this stage, knowing that Pele always asks for tobacco.

“No she never ask for tobacco but she smoke my pipe when I am not looking,” said Haina and the reporter was convinced that it must have been Pele.

### A Mysterious Dog

“How about the white dog,” the reporter wanted to know and Haina started his tale again with renewed vigour, illustrating it by going through the motions of the various parties concerned.

“I come home late Sunday night and I hear some one sleeping in my bed making plenty noise,” Haina said indicating with a guttural sound in his throat that whoever the sleeper happened to be was snoring loudly.

### Head on Pillow

“That time I look the bed I see one big white dog sleeping on top. He put his head on the pillow just like man,” Haina declared getting on the bed to show the reporter just how the dog slept.

“I grab one brush and I hit the dog. Then he run outside quick like anything by the back way. I know all around the back got brush and only one trail come by the front so I await by the front with stone for hit the big white dog but he no come. I don’t know where he go this dog,” Haina said with a quizzical expression on his face.

“Byme by, I go look for guava to make the banana tree stand up,” he continued, “and I hapai one rock. Auwe! I see underneath the rock plenty bones. Quick I put the rock back and I no look no more. Byme by I tell my friend Aki, one policeman. I tell him no tell nobody but byme by he come with plenty policeman. They go look the bones.

“Some say man bones some say maybe bones from the big white dog, but these boys they too old.” Haina then lead the reporter through a trail in the brush back of his home to where the bones were buried.

The bones appeared to be human and were wrapped in sacking, which was practically rotted away. A plumeria brush growing near by indicated that this was an old grave as these flowers are planted in nearly every graveyard in the Islands.

“Two years before I see these Make man flowers but I no can find bones,” said Haina, “I think so funny kind this flower stop over here like this, now I find bones.”

After a further talk with Haina on Kahunaism and kindred subjects the reporter left, reluctantly however, for Haina had the natural story telling ability of a native and as he talked he illustrated his words with hands until at times it was really not necessary for him to speak in order to be understood.

After hearing Haina’s tale the reporter became professionally convinced that Pele was seen by him and that lava would come back to Halemaumau.

For those who scott at Pele stories let it be known by them that prior to the Hoopuloa lava flow hundreds of tales of Pele being seen were told from Kohala to Kaauī [sic] and Hawaiians predicted that something would happen—and it did. (Stroup 1927:1, 4)

## ***Manō* (sharks) of Keaukaha**

Oral histories, historical documents, and other primary sources reveal that *manō* in Keaukaha were revered and that there were specific sharks who resided at different places along the coastline. *Mo’olelo* pertaining to *manō* can be found throughout the archipelago, naming numerous individual sharks that were celebrated in story and cared for by those who considered them to be their ‘*aumakua* (family guardian spirit). As Emerson (in Beckwith 1917:507) notes:

Each locality along the coast of the islands had its special patron shark whose name, history, place of abode, and appearance were well known to all frequenters of that coast. Each of these sharks, too, had its *Kahu* (keeper), who was responsible for its care and worship. The office of *Kahu* was hereditary in a particular family and was handed down from parent to child for many generations, or until the family became extinct.

Beckwith (1917:508) adds:

Shark gods may be male or female. Those described are invariably red, shining, light or spotted to correspond with their sacred character, as allied to the gods. They are of human origin, the constant

reference of shark or lizard gods to an abortive child being possible suggested by the appearance of the partly formed fetus. Their worship is handed down from father to son, a special keeper (*Kahu*) being intrusted with their care. They are invoked with particular prayers and have temples erected for their worship. Their special function is to aid in the food supply of the household—generally by giving the fisherman good luck at sea—and to protect him from drowning. They are, in fact, regarded as spirits of half-human beings which, rendered strong by prayer and sacrifice, take up their abode in some shark body and act as supernatural counselors to their kin, who accordingly honor them as household divinities.

There are at least three *manō* that are tied to the Keaukaha coastline, each with varying degrees of documentation. Their names are Ka-hole-a-Kāne, Kua, and Kāne-ia-Lehia.

#### ***Ka-hole-a-Kāne***

Ka-hole-a-Kāne (also known as Ka-holi-a-Kāne in some accounts) is a *manō* that was known to reside at Puhi Bay (see Figure 4). Confirmation of the name of this *manō* is derived from a note written in the margins of “A Mele for the Hula Mano (Shark Dance),” an annotated chant in the Theodore Kelsey Manuscript Collection at the Hawai‘i State Archives. Additionally, Kelsey notes that Ka-hole-a-Kāne was referred to as Kāne-‘ele‘ele and was known to be one of the shark deities of Kalani‘ōpu‘u (Kelsey n.d.-b). In *Ku‘u Home I Keaukaha, An Oral History* (Akoi 1989), Edith Kanaka‘ole conveyed the following story regarding a *manō* that resided at Puhi Bay near a *heiau* (temple, place of worship) that was once located in the area:

This area of Keaukaha has much to offer as far as history, that is not recorded today. We have two heiaus that I can think of. One is Puhi which was a fishing heiau. The other is in the pond of the Kepoo family.

There were two mano (sharks) in Puhi. According to the old folks, these mano were the white kind. It is said that one family use to be related to this mano. The old grandmother of this family would go to the heiau every morning, take food out of the bag and feed the mano everyday. It was sort of an aumakua for this family, and whenever they went to the beach, it protected them. (Kanaka‘ole in Akoi 1989:22)

Luka Kanaka‘ole, the husband of Edith Kanaka‘ole and another long-time resident of Keaukaha, offered more information regarding the *manō* and *heiau* at Puhi, with specific mention of a hole that the shark resided in:

This is an interesting, real story about Keaukaha. You know where cold pond is now in Puhi Bay. Well right on that hill used to be a house that we used as a club house. Across of that where the hau trees are now, used to be a heiau, an old Hawaiian fishing heiau. Just north of the heiau there is a shark hole. Everytime we used to go swimming or spear fishing, we would go and check the hole to see if the shark was in or not.

If the hole was empty, then we wouldn’t go swimming cause that would mean the shark was out looking for food. Certain times the shark would come back to its hole to rest. If it stopped flapping and the sand was settled, that would mean that it just came back. If the sand was not settled and the shark was still moving, that would mean that it would be going out again. When we knew that the shark had just come back from eating, we would go in the water. That was in 1930-1933 and I don’t know if the hole is still there or not. William Spalding used to be the one crazy enough to go down first to take a look at the hole. (Kanaka‘ole in Akoi 1989:56)

In 1926, the *Hawaii Tribune-Herald* published a piece that spoke of Pele, Lono, and the *manō* at Puhi due to the recent volcanic activity on Mauna Loa. The article titled *Hawaiian Legend Again Proved True By Latest Mauna Loa Lava Activity* discussed how Hawaiian myths and “occult visions possessed by the older natives” held much truth (Hawaii Tribune-Herald 1926a:1). Below is an excerpt from the article that focuses on a *manō* in Keaukaha, identified as an *aumakua* (misspelled “amaukua” in the article):

Another myth, and one of the more immediate moment, concerning the reappearance of Pele at her volcano homes, connects her activities with those of the shark god, Lono.

“Auwe! Lono and Pele have quareled,” Hawaiian mystics exclaimed when they heard of a shark biting a human being who was swimming in Hilo harbor on Wednesday afternoon. “Pele will now come quickly to start her fires going in the mountain,” the mystics declared.

One of the seeress who predicted only yesterday that a sudden outbreak was about to occur, declared that in her life time of 72 years she had never heard of anyone being bitten here by shark until



reading the story appearing in The Tribune-Herald on Thursday. “It is a myth of the old days, that something happens at the volcanoes when the sharks become savage here,” she asserted.

### Shark Story Recalled

Another of the shark myths, believed in by the Hawaiians, concerns the shark, Amaukua [sic], a minor one of the gods, which inhabits the ocean regions about Keaukaha.

When Hawaiians are out fishing in this part of the local waters, Amaukua [sic] puts in an appearance if there is danger from storm or other cause and the fishermen take warning from this and hasten to shore. It is then their custom extend offerings to Amaukua [sic], and at a place called Puhi, along the Keaukaha beach, they throw food to the shark, in acknowledgment of their appreciation for the warning given to them.

Again, if a fishing party meets with any disaster or their canoe is overturned at sea, they call upon Amaukua [sic] for assistance to get them back to shore. There are again offerings at the Puhi channel and much food is cast into the waters for the shark.

### Caution Is Used

Amaukua [sic] is always a sign for the Hawaiians to be cautious and and [sic] when the shark is seen they immediately stop fishing and keep away from its vicinity, taking its presence as a warning.

The alalaua fish is another which is closely connected with disaster by the Hawaiians, and it is declared that upon every appearance of this bright red fish in any of the harbors of the territory there will quickly follow a death in the royal family. This was true when Queen Liliuokalani died, and also when Prince Kuhio passed away, as is well remembered by all residents who were in the islands at those times. In the first instance there was the heaviest run of alalaua in Honolulu harbor ever seen there, and when Kuhio died they were seen in nearly all the harbors of the territory, including Hilo Bay. (Hawaii Tribune-Herald 1926a:1-2)

Another *mo'olelo* that may be associated with Ka-hole-a-Kāne was published in 1915 in the *Hawaii Herald* and speaks of a woman who was gathering *'opihi* (limpet) and became immobilized in the water. The *mo'olelo* makes note of “the cave of a man eating shark” located near “Old Pa Severance’s pond.” The Severance property was located near Keōkea Point a few hundred feet east of Puhi Bay. Thus, the cave in question may be Ka-hole-a-Kāne’s home at Puhi:

With bated breath (whatever that may mean) a strange story is being related wherever Hawaiians congregate, and it is about a mysterious incident that happened on Christmas Day at Keaukaha. A woman, apparently in a trance, was seen floating on the surface of the water and she, according to the declaration of those who went to her rescue, was held by an “invisible hand” which prevented her moving an inch until the magic root of the puhala was used. The story is best told in the quaint words of the reporter who wrote the story. It is as follows:

An Hawaiian woman, Elena, residing at Keaukaha, escaped death on Christmas Day in a mysterious manner after floating in the sea for nearly two hours. Elena and another Hawaiian woman, Kawaikuhea, early on Friday morning wanted to get some opihis on a ledge of rock just outside of Old Pa Severance’s pond. To get to this rock they must swim about fifty to one hundred feet from the beach. Elena was the first to plunge into the sea, to be followed later by Kawaikuhea.

Kawaikuhea reached the ledge of the rock and began to get busy with the opihis. About a minute or so later Kawaikuhea heard Elena cry out “Auwe kuu make; aloha aku i kuu mau moopuna.” (“Oh, I am going to die; love to my grandchildren.”) Kawaikuhea looked towards Elena and saw her floating motionless in the water. Kawaikuhea then cried out to her, “Say, you crazy woman, swim over here where I am.” But Elena did not say a word. “Oh, my, you crazy woman, swim over here and I will help you up.” But no answer came from Elena. Kawaikuhea’s hair began to stand straight up and she became nervous. She thought to herself, “What the dickens is the trouble, anyhow. The idea to float there, just above the cave of a man eating shark. She must be crazy.” Anyhow Kawaikuhea again plunged into the sea and swam towards the rock, but Elena did not move an inch. Kawaikuhea was being tossed hither and thither by the waves, but on Elena the waves had no effect. It seemed to be that Elena was being held on the spot by a mysterious hand. Kawaikuhea tried with all her might to pull Elena but Elena did not budge. So Kawaikuhea thought she would go behind Elena’s back and, with the help of the waves shove Elena toward the rock, but nothing doing. Kawaikuhea was now getting tired and fearing that she would die, she left Elena and swam towards the rock again. Reaching the rock she waved her hands to the people who were fishing on the beach

to come and help, and receiving no answer she tore a part of her holoku and with it waved to the people on land. Elena's husband, who was then at that time some where near the Lucas home, saw the people running on the beach and conceiving that somebody was in trouble ran along the beach to Pa Severance's pond and then plunged into the sea with two or three other men. Swimming towards the rock Kawaikuhea told them to go after Elena. Waea the husband reached Elena's side she was still floating. The husband talked to her but no answer came. The husband and others pulled Elena out but she never moved. The husband [sic] then swam towards shore again and after getting hold of the roots of a puhala jumped again into the sea and reaching Elena's side the husband dived under her with the puhala and then the hold of the mysterious hand loosened and the husband with the help of the others towed Elena to shore. When Elena reached shore, she could not move; she could not hear. The husband carried Elena home and after fifteen minutes Elena came to life again. According to Elena's statement she said that she thought when she was floating that some one was holding her around the waist. She wanted to cry out, but she could not. (Hawaii Herald 1915b:1, 6)

#### **Kua**

Another *manō* that was known to reside along the Keaukaha coastline was Kua, who according to Henry Nalimu resided in a *lua manō* (shark pit) at Waiuli (Kelsey n.d.-a). In Pukui and Elbert (1971:389), they offered the following description of Kua, which references his connection to Ka-hole-a-Kāne (also spelled Ka-holi-a-Kāne):

A shark god called the king shark of Ka'ū and the ancestor of numerous Ka'ū folk. With Ka-holi-a-Kāne he raised a storm between Kauai and Oahu in order to prevent the marriage of their divine relative, Pele, and Lohi'au, a mortal. His full name may have been Kua-a-Wākea (Kua, son of Wākea).

Handy and Pukui (1998:35-37) elaborate on Kua and his revered relationship to the people of Ka'ū:

...Kua was and is a guardian and an omen of good. His territory stretches along the coast of Ka'ū from 'Ahukini to 'Apua, and there were places of worship dedicated to him at Kalae, Wai-ka-puna, Pa-'ula-kai and Na'alehu. He is known also as Ka-wohi-ku-i-ka-moana (the chief-who-stands-guard-in-the-ocean), and there are many stories of specific warnings and rescues attributed to this great red shark. His shark son Kua-opio, or Pakaiea, has also been recognized as a benefactor through the years. The latter is recognizable by his deep brown skin and green markings, the pattering of the green *limu pakaiea* (seaweed) in which he was wrapped at birth by his human mother and carried to his father Kua in the sea.

The following anecdote by Keone Chin notes Kua, Kaholeākane, and the Niuhi family that cared for these *manō* in Keaukaha:

Accounts of the Kahaulopua and Nalimu family that resided at Mokuulu speak of the Niuhi family. Mo'olelo state that they were the hānai for the niuhi in the area. A name for *manō* in that area is Kaholeākane. I heard this shark frequents the Waiolena area. The next *manō* is Kua. Kua frequents the Puakahinano-Pu'umaile area. When I worked there [at EKF], there was a Niuhi family member who visited the area. (Edith Kanaka'ole Foundation 2012:23)

#### **Kāne-ia-Lehia**

Lastly, Kāne-ia-Lehia was famed along Waiākea's shores as the guardian of the waters along the Waiākea coastline, from Leleiwi (east of the Study Area) Makaokū in the west of the Study Area (Maly and Maly 2022). Maly and Maly (2022) offered the following synopsis and excerpt from *He Mo'olelo Kaao Hawaii no Keliikau o Kau* (A Hawaiian Tradition of Keliikau o Kau), a *mo'olelo* featuring the *manō* Keli'ikaua-o-Ka'ū and others. Kāne-ia-Lehia is noted in the *mo'olelo*, and mention is made of his "attendant family" residing at Kaumaui, Keaukaha:

Keli'ikaua-o-Ka'ū (Keli'i) was born to his mother as the result of her relationship with the spirit form of Kalani, a king of the sharks. He was a favorite of Kalani, and transformed into a shark whose body was almost three fathoms long. In this account, he was a war-loving shark and engaged in a journey around the islands to subjugate other sharks to his rule. Among those sharks was Mikololou, who had been the shark god of the Puna waters—and the ward of Kāne-ia-Lehia, the shark god/ruler of the waters fronting Hilo Hanakahi.

This version of the story appears only in one source and is incomplete. The narrative leaves readers hanging as to the fate of Kāne-ia-Lehia who confronts Mikololou along the cliffs near Pāpa'i. In

other accounts, Keli'i is vanquished by Ka-'ehu-iki-manō-o-Pu'uloa. Readers are immediately drawn to the Waiākea-Keaukaha section of Hilo and introduced to Kāne-ia-Lehia.

*No ka Mano Mikololou, ua oleloia ma keia moolelo no Papai ame Paukupahu i Puna, Hawaii, keia Mano o Mikololou, a o ka mano alii nona ka lae o Leleiwi a hiki i ke kai o Makaoku e pili la me kahi mokupuni hoopapa o Mokuola ka inoa, a oia no ka mano alii o Kaneialehia, a ua oleloia he kapu loa kona mau makalae ma kona kai makai o Keaukaha ma Waiākea-kai, ma Hilo Bay, Hawaii, aole loa hookahi kino kanaka maoli i nahuia e ka mano ma keia wahi, mai ka wa kahiko loa mai ahiki wale no i keia au hou. Aole loa e hiki i kekahi mano kamaaina a malihini paha ke nahu i ke kanaka, no ka mea he mana nui ko Kaneialehia, oiai, he elua ona mahele. Mai ke kai aku o Makaoku a hiki i ka lae o Makahanaloa a holo loa i Hilopaliku, hoi aku ke nahu a ka mano.*

*A mamuli o ko Kaneialehia manao aloha, ua ike oia i ka maalo ana ae o keia wahi mano uuku ma kumupali iloko o ka hua o ke kai, a ma kona nana pono ana aku, ua ike aku la oia he wahi mano kanaka unihipili – maopopo koke aku la no iaia he wahi mano unihipili he "Aikahu" a he mea ino keia ano he "unihipili hemo ole" a he wahi olelo aai loa keia ma ia ano o na unihipili ma na ike a ka poe Kahuna lapaau.*

*Aia no ia wa, ua lawe ae la ka mano alii Kaneialehia ia Mikololou i wahi mano lawelawe malalo ona me he keiki hookama la paha ke ano, a ua noho o Mikololou malalo o ia ano a hiki i kona nui ana, a e hoolohe ana hoi i na olelo apau a ke alii, aole nae oia i ae ia e maalo aku ma ke kai kapu o ke alii ma kahi i olelo mua ia ae nei.*

*Ua olelo ia no hoi ma keia moolelo, ua haawi aku o Kaneialehia i kona kai me na makalae mai Leleiwi aku a hiki i Keauhou e pili pu la me Hopoe ma Puna, a o na aina maloko o keia kihi ame kela kihi oia hoi o Papai a me Paukupahu, Papuaa, Haena, Paki, Aalamanu a hiki i Keauhou. Aia ma keia mau aina, ua nui wale na kahu o na mano Mikololou nei e hoi iho ai a noho iluna o na kane a me na wahine, a ua maluhia hoi ka hele ana o na mea apau ma kahakai, ame na lawaia maluna o na waa me he nahu ole ia la e ka mano, aia nae, mamuli o ka nui loa o na kahu ana e noho ai, ua ulu ae la na manao pono ole a me ka ohumud i kekahi poe kahu ina loa a me na waiwai o kahi poe e aku, a ua kena aku la lakou ia Mikololou e nahu i ka mea i manao ino ia, a ma keia kumu i hoomaka mai ai o Mikololou e aki (nahu) i ke kanaka me*

About the shark Mikololou, in this tradition it is said that the shark Mikololou was of Papai and Paukupahu in Puna, and that he was subject to Kaneialehia, the chief who controlled that water from the point of Leleiwi to Makaoku adjoining the flat island near Mokuola. It is said that Kaneialehia placed a strict kapu from that point to his waters off of Keaukaha at Waiākea-kai, Hilo Bay, Hawaii, and that no human was bitten by a shark at this place, from very ancient times to the present day. No native or visiting shark was allowed to bite a human. And because of the great mana of Kaneialehia, he also controlled a second division. From the waters of Makaoku to the point of Makahanaloa, and beyond to Hilopaliku, no shark would bite a person.

Now because Kaneialehia felt affection for the little retainer shark that stayed closed to the cliff sides in the ocean spray, and because he knew the little shark was one that had been transformed from his human form, Kaneialehia took Mikololou as a foster child and cared for him until he grew up. During all this time, Mikololou respected the commands and teachings of Kaneialehia, and respected the kapu that no human would be attacked.

As a result, it is said that Kaneialehia granted the ocean from Leleiwi to Keauhou, along with Hopoe at Puna—including from Papai and Paukupahu, Papuaa, Haena, Paki, Aalamanu and on to Keauhou—to Mikololou. Along all these places there were men and women who cared for Mikololou and all things were at peace—the coming and going of the fishing canoes—sharks never bit anyone. Then there were some people among those that kept Mikololou as guardian who began to mutter and let evil thoughts come into their minds. As a result, they began to send Mikololou to bite certain people. This was the beginning of the breaking of the law of Kaneialehia, which Mikololou thought he could keep hidden.

Kaneialehia knew that his command had been broken. He then took his human form to go speak with his attendants, families that resided at Kaunani, at Keaukaha. He told them that they must travel to Papai to check on the fishermen there. They agreed and

*ka hoolohe ole i na olelo ao a Kaneialehia me ka manao paha e nalo ana kana mau hana i kela mana nui e nana mai la.*

*I ka hala ana o kekahi mau la mahope iho o ko Mikololou nahu ana i ke kanaka mua loa, aia hoi, i kekahi la, ua hoi iho.*

*Ia ua Kaneialehia nei a noho iluna o kona haku, a hai iho la i kana huaolelo i ka ohana o ka hale e nonoho ana ma Kaunani Keaukaha, e hele kekahi poe me ia ma Papai, a ua hookoia kona leo me ka hakalia ole. I ko lakou hele ana a hiki mahope mai o Papai, ua ike ia aku la kekahi kanaka e lawaia paeaea mai ana maluna o ka lae pohaku, o keia no ka manawa a Kaneialehia i hai iho ai i kana mau hua olelo:*

*“O keia no ka mea a ‘u i olelo, aole i liuliu iho, ua hoku koke ae la ke kai iluna o ua lae nei kahi a ua kanaka nei e noho ana a nalowale pu i ke kai, a i ka mimiki ana iho o ke kai, o ua kanaka pu nei kekahi i haule iho iloko o ke kai, a oia i Mikololou e hakapono ae ana kona mau maka lena alohilohi, aia i kela wa i miki koke ai ua mano eueu nei e nahu i ke kanaka, o keia no ka manawa a Kaneialehia i lele koke aku ai iloko o ke kai me ka awiwi nui ma kona kino kanaka a hiki ma kahi o ua Mikololou nei e makaukau ana kona waha nui me kona mau papa-niho e upa iho i ua kanaka nei a palahe liilii me ka hoohuli ana aku i ke kumupali; aia i keia wa no, i lalau aku ai na lima lauahi o ke Kahu Kanaka maoli o Kaneialehia ma api ame ka lala, ku me ka pane ana aku ia Mikololou penei: “Ai a mano nana i kumu pali.”*

*Nolaila, ano e hoomanao iho kaua e ke hoa kuwiliwili o keia moolelo, ke kumu i loa mai ai a paanaau no hoi ia kakou i keia manawa ia wahi mapuna olelo ae la maluna e o mau nei i keia hanauna hou a hanauna hou aku no.*

Another *mo‘olelo* pertaining to Kāne-ia-Lehia can be found in the Theodore Kelsey Manuscript Collection located at the Hawai‘i State Archives (Kelsey n.d.-c). The *mo‘olelo* recounts the origin story of Kāne-ia-Lehia (spelled “Kanelehia” in the *mo‘olelo*), which takes place in Keaukaha (near Waiuli) and Pana‘ewa. The *mo‘olelo* which was originally scribbled in the Hawaiian language in a memo pad in presented below along with a translation prepared by the lead author of this study:

*O Lehia ka wahine, a o Kanelehia ke kaikunane. Ka hana a Kanelehia he mahiai ma Panaewa. Ua kanu ‘ia [ka] mai’a, kalo, ko, uala, awa, na mea i makemake. Ina makemake o Lehia e ai i kekahi mea, kauoha ia o Kanelehia e lawe mai. Kela wale no hana hana. I kela manawa o Kanelehia kino kanaka, a i kekahi wa kino manu o-o. Ina ono i ka lehua hele e ai lehua, a pau kona ona i ka momona o ka lehua, ho’i hou kino kanaka. Iaia noho mau malaila a hiki i kahi manawa ho’i hou me ke kaikuahine e noho ai.*

traveled on the coastal trail until they met fisherman at Papai. Because of the shark attacks, the fishermen who had once gone out on their canoes, now fished only from the stony shoreline. Kaneialehia then spoke to his family: “This is why I told you to travel with me so that you could see for yourselves that these fishermen have been getting killed by Mikololou.”

No sooner did he finish speaking, than a large wave rose out of the ocean and the person who was near the water’s edge was pulled into the sea and Mikololou pounced upon him with yellow glowing eyes, beginning to cleverly snap at that person. Kaneialehia adeptly leapt into the water, keeping his human form, and swiftly swam to where Mikololou had opened his jaws wide to reveal his rows of teeth and consume the man and chew him to bits, turning to and fro, looking at the base of the sea cliff. The attendant of Kaneialehia then took up a net trap and snare and called out to Mikololou, “Beware, the shark eats looking at the cliff base.” [Offered as a warning to those people along the shore.]

Therefore, my friends on this storied journey, remember the reason that this saying above was spoken, it is for this generation and that to come. (Maly and Maly 2022:44-47)

Lehia was the woman, and Kānelehia was her brother. Kānelehia was a farmer in Pana‘ewa. Banana, taro, sweet potato, and ‘awa was planted, as well as anything else they desired. If Lehia wanted to eat something in particular, she commanded Kānelehia to bring it to her. That is how they did things. At that time, Kānelehia had a human form, as well as the form of the ‘ō‘ō bird. If he craved lehua, he would go, in his bird form, to sip the lehua nectar. Once he had enough of the

*Noho me kona kaikuahine a hiki i ka pau ana o ka awa. Ono ke kaikuahine i ka awa. Aole awa i koe, ua au loa.*

*Ma Waiuli kekahi alii i noho ai, o Umi kona inoa (aole Umi a Liloa). Kana hana pa i'a. Keia alii noho pu me ia akahi mano kanaka na lakou e hana kela pa-ia a Umi. Hana [o] Umi a paa kela pa ia. Ka hana a Umi he inu awa ka hana. O kana puni ia o ka awa.*

*Makemake o Lehia i awa. Hoouna i ke kaikunane ia Kanelehia e pii mai e noi i awa i ke alii ia Umi. Olelo ke lii: "O ho'i a ka huluhulu o ka okole, a o ka awa ia. A o ka huluhulu o ka ma'i o Lehia, o ka manu ia o ka awa. Elua ekolu manawa i pii mai o Kanelehia, aole loa ka awa. Kela wale no ka olelo a ke lii.*

*I kekahi la pii hou mai i ke alii. Eia nae aole i hui me ke lii, a olelo iho la o Kanelehia, "maika'i keia pa, aia ka hewa ma kela puka malaila mai ke kai. Nona ka pa a ke 'lii. O loko o kela manawa lohe na kanaka a Umi i kela mau olelo a Kanelehia. Hele haha'i i ke 'lii. "E kahi kanaka i pii mau nei e noi i awa." Olelo mai nei "e noho ana ka pa, malaila mai ke kai ma kela puka e pii ai, a noho ka pa. Lohe ke lii i kela mau olelo. Huhu ke alii. Kauoha i na kanaka e pii i wahie i mea kalua no Kanelehia. Pii ke kanaka i ka wahie. Ho'i mai a ho-a ka imu e kalua ai no Kanelehia a me ke kaikuahine a enaena ka imu, kii ia Kanelehia e lawe mai ia Kanelehia me Lehia i kalua ai i hopu a lawe mai a kalua. Luu o Kanelehia iloko o ke kai. I kela manawa hapai o Kanelehia i ke kai koo. Ma kela puka i komo mai ai ke kai a noho ka pa a ka lii. Lilo aku o Kanelehia i mānō. A eia no o Kanelehia e noho nei me ke kino mano a hiki i keia wa he mano ikaika i ka hakaka. Makemake oia e hele hakaka me kekahi mano ikaika kaapuni a Maui, pau loa na mano i maui i ka make, pela, Molokai, pela Oahu, pela Kaua'i. Lohe oia ma Kaula kekahi mano ikaika. Puka oia ilaila i makemake no e hakaka me Kuha'imoana. Ike mai o Kuhaimoana ia Kanelehia. He mano ikaika ko Hawaii. Hooaikane mai o Kuhaimoana a me kona mau hoa mano ia Kanua i na mea ai elehia. Pau ae la i ka hakaka. Ua noho like laua, ai like laua i na meaai me Kuhaimoana a hiki i kona ho'i ana mai i Hawaii nei. O ia no o Kanelehia e noho ma Waiakea, Hawaii. Ua kauoha aku oia i na mano e noho ana ma keia wahi aole nahu i kekahi kanaka, ua kapu loa keia wahi o Waiakea. (Kelsey n.d.-c)*

sweet nectar of the *lehua*, he would return to human form. He would live there (in the Pana'ewa forest) until it was time to reside with his sister again. He would live with his sister until there was no more 'awa left to drink. His sister loved to drink 'awa until there was nothing left.

At Waiuli there lived a chief named 'Umi (not 'Umi-a-Liloa). He worked on fishpond walls. This chief also lived with a shark-person and it was they who built 'Umi's fishpond wall. 'Umi worked until that wall was secure. 'Umi also was an 'awa drinker. He loved to drink 'awa.

One day, Lehia wanted 'awa. She sent her brother Kānelehia to go to the chief 'Umi and to ask for 'awa. The chief said, "the hairs on the buttocks, that is your 'awa. And the hairs of Lehia's genitals, it is the bird of the 'awa" (an insult). Kānelehia visited him two to three more times without receiving any 'awa. Each time, the chief said the same thing.

One day, he (Kānelehia) visited the chief. However, this time, he did not meet with the chief, and instead, Kānelehia said "this wall is good, the problem is in that hole in the sea. That is who that chief's wall belongs to. In that time 'Umi's men heard what Kānelehia said. They went and told the chief. "It is that man who keeps coming back asking for 'awa," and he is saying that "the wall is situated, that hole is where the sea rises." The chief heard these words and was furious. He demanded his men to prepare a place to roast Kānelehia. The chief's people began to collect firewood. They returned and lit the underground oven to roast Kānelehia and his sister. When the embers burned brightly, Kānelehia and Lehia were captured to be roasted. Once they arrived at the underground oven, Kānelehia dove into the sea. Suddenly, Kānelehia was lifted by the high surf. The hole in the fishpond wall is where the sea entered and stayed within the chief's pond wall. Kānelehia then changed into a shark. This is how Kānelehia gained his shark form until today. He is a strong shark ready for battle. He liked to fight with sharks around Maui, and once all the Maui sharks were killed, he did the same thing on Molokai, then on O'ahu, and then on Kaua'i. He heard that there was a strong shark at Kāula. He emerged from there wanting to fight with Kūha'imoana. Kūha'imoana saw Kānelehia. Hawai'i's has such powerful sharks.

Kūha‘imoana and his shark friends befriended Kānelehia. They stopped fighting. They lived together and ate together until he (Kānelehia) returned to Hawai‘i. This is the Kānelehia that lives in Waiākea, Hawai‘i. He forbade all the sharks living there from biting anyone.

### He Mo‘olelo Ka‘ao Hawai‘i No Lauka‘ie‘ie

Published between January 1894 and September 1895 by Moses Manu in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Nupepa Ka Oiaio*, *He Mo‘olelo Ka‘ao Hawai‘i No Lauka‘ie‘ie* (A Hawaiian Tradition of Lauka‘ie‘ie) tells the story Mekanikeoe and his travels throughout the islands. Maly and Maly (2022) provided a succinct description of the *mo‘olelo* with a focus on the lands of Waiākea. Additionally, the *mo‘olelo* makes reference to Kānelelelia, the previously mentioned shark man who guarded the waters of Keaukaha. As a preamble to the telling of this story, Maly and Maly (2022) explain:

The following *mo‘olelo* recounts the travels of Mekanikeoe. During his travels, Mekanikeoe sought out caves and tunnels that served as underground trails. Through the description of his travels, we learn about wahi pana in Waiākea and neighboring lands. This is one of two substantial *mo‘olelo* that reference a shark god named Kānelelelia. Kānelelelia was the guardian of the ocean at Makaokū, Keaukaha, and Leleiwi, and the boundary of Puna, although his primary residence was at Waiuli. The name Lelelia was selected for a park and residence area east of Lokoaka in the mid-1920s and one must wonder whether some kama‘āina recalled the story of the shark god, Kānelelelia, and chose the name accordingly. (Maly and Maly 2022:39)

In narrating the story, Maly and Maly (2022) write:

Kaholokuaīwa [*wahine*] and Koa‘ekea [*kāne*] lived at Ulu, in Waipi‘o Valley on the island of Hawai‘i. They were descended from the chiefly and godly lines of Kahiki and Hawai‘i. Their first child was Lauka‘ie‘ie. But because she was born in an ‘e‘epa (mysterious) form, looking more like a plant than a child, she was wrapped in līpoa seaweed and set in the stream. Without her parents’ knowledge, Lauka‘ie‘ie was retrieved by Hinaulu‘ōhi‘a, a mountain goddess, and nurtured. Later, two other children [boys] were born to Kaholokuaīwa and Koa‘ekea. One was named Hi‘ilawe, and the other was Mekanikeoe [who was also a wind deity].

Koa‘ekea’s sister was Pōkahi, but her husband was Kaukuni. Though they had been married for a long time, they were childless, and because of their prayers and offerings, the forest goddess, Hinaulu‘ōhi‘a, approached Pōkahi while she was gathering seaweed, and told her that she would have a girl child to raise as her own. A condition was that no one, not even her brother and sister-in-law, were to know about this child. Because Pōkahi and Kaukuni lived on the mountain ridges between Waipi‘o and Waimanu, it was easy for her to keep the secret. It was in this way, that Lauka‘ie‘ie came to be raised by her own aunt and uncle. As a youth, Lauka‘ie‘ie’s companions were the spirits of the plants and animals of the forest. When she matured, she was very beautiful, and thoughts of finding an acceptable mate for her began to grow. One night when Lauka‘ie‘ie was sleeping, she dreamed of flying past the valley lands of Hawai‘i, and across, Maui, Moloka‘i, O‘ahu, Kaua‘i, Ni‘ihau, Ka‘ula, and on to Lehua, where she saw a handsome young chief named Kawelonaakalālehua. It was the chief that was destined to become her husband.

### He Mo‘olelo Kaa Hawaii no Laukaieie

*Ua hoi lakou ma Hamakua Hikina a me Hilo-paliku a hōea ma Hilo one. Ia lakou i hiki aku ai malaila, ua hookipa ia lākou e ko laila kamaaina o Kanelelelia, nona hoi ke kai maluhia mai ke kai o Makaoku ma Mokuola, a hiki i ka lae o Leleiwi ma Keaukaha, o ka lae uluhua keia a ka poe hula:*

*“Hookahi a‘u lae uluhua ea*

[Mekanikeoe and his traveling partners] returned to Hamakua, and then Hilo-paliku, and reached Hilo One. When they arrived there, they were welcomed by Kanelelelia, a native of the area. It was he who maintained the peace/safety of the ocean waters from Makaoku at Mokuola to the point of Leleiwi at Keaukaha. It is this point that is remembered by the hula people:

*O ka lae o Leleiwi ea*

*He ukali o Makahanaloa ea*

*Me ka ulili holo kahakai ea.”*

*A ua waiho aku lākou i kona lokomaikai, aole no hoi lākou iho malaila, a ua huli hoi aku lākou no Punapaiaala, a ua ukali pu aku hoi ke kama‘aina a hiki ma kai o Papai me Paukupahu. Ua kuhikuhi ae la o Kaneialehia i ka lua o ko laila wahi mano Kaulana i ka olelo ia, “Aia a Mano nana i kumu pali.”*

*Ina ua hele oe e ka mea heluhelu ma ke alanui mai Hilo aku no Puna, alaila, e ike no ‘oe i kahi i kapaia o “Ai a Mano, nana i kumupali,” mawaena o Kumu me Haena ma Keaau. I ka hiki ana aku a ua huakai mano nei ma ke lae o Kalohi ma Hopoe i ka wai koo lihilihi. (Maly and Maly 2022:40)*

Later in their journey, in the forests of ‘Ōla‘a, Makanikeoe called upon the goddess Hinahelani. Describing the ‘ie‘ie, he called upon her in mele, and she revealed herself in the forests of ‘Ōlaa. It was Hinahelani who first grew as an ‘ōhi‘a tree at ‘Ōla‘a, and then as the ‘ie‘ie plant which first grew near Pua‘aloa at the place known as Pā‘ie‘ie. From ‘Ōla‘a they then traveled to Pana‘ewa. (Maly and Maly 2022:41)

*Ua nalowale koke aku la ka mea nona keia moolelo me kona ohana a pau a hiki ma loko o kanahele o Panaewa ma kahi i kapa ia Kahiololo; aia hoi he mau puka elua keia e hamama ala a hiki i keia wa.*

*Aole nae he hohonu o keia lua i ka honua, e like me kekahi mau lua e ae, aka, o kona mau puka nae e hili pono ana iluna, aole he wahi e hiki ai i ke kanaka ke iho a ilalo, no ka mea, he pali kona mau aoao a pau, aia ma ke kolu o ka puka e huli pano ana i kai o Keaukaha, aia malaila e hiki ai ke kono mai ke kanaka.*

*He ekolu mau mana o loko o keia lua, ua moe pololei aku ka mua a hoea maloko o ke kai ma Puhi e pili pu ala me ke Poi Kohola o ka nalu o Milo. He mana keia e hele aku ai a loa ka wai e huai la ma na kahakai ma ia mau aina, o ka lua, ua moe aku ia a puka ma ka loko o Waiākea...o ke kolu o ka mana o keia lua, ua moe aku ia iuka pono o ke kuahiwi i ke komohana akau, a hoea ka puka mauka o kanahele laau ma Olaa. O Kepuhi ka inoa. He lua nui hohonu keia. He hookuukuu kaula ka mea e hiki ai ke kanaka ke iho ilalo o keia lua nei. Poepoe a hamama pono ana iluna*

There is one point that perplexes me,

The point of Leleiwi,

Makanahanaloa is the attendant,

Also the ulili\* which runs [\*wandering tattler bird] across the shore.

They soon departed from his kind hospitality, not staying there long, turning towards Puna of the fragrant bowers. Attended by their kama‘aina, they traveled to Papai and Paukupahu. Kaneialehia then pointed out Kaulana, the shark of that place, stating, “There is the Shark of the cliff base.”

If you, my readers, travel along this path between Hilo and Puna, you shall see the place named Ai a Mano, nana i kumupali between Kumu and Kaena at Keaau. The shark travelers then went as far as the point of Kalohi at Hopoe where the water props up the eyelashes [a poetic description of birds sipping the nectar of lehua blossoms]. (Maly and Maly 2022:41)

Makanikeoe and family then disappeared, coming into the forest of Panaewa at the place Kahiololo, where are found two large openings to this day.

The two openings are not deep in the earth like other pits, but the openings are joined together, and a person cannot enter to descend because there are cliffs on all sides. If one turns towards the makai side there is a third opening, and that is where a person may enter.

There are three branches of this pit. The first runs straight down to Puhi, adjoining the place of waves at Milo. This is the branch that one travels to get the fresh water for these lands. The second branch in this pit runs to the uplands of Olaa. Its name is Kepuhi. This is a deep pit. Its opening at the top is round, and covered with forest and the plants that grow within the pit. (Maly and Maly 2022:42)

*o na laau me na lau nahelehelehe a pau e ulu ana maloko o ua lua nei. Ia Mekanikeo i konoai maloko o kela lua, aia o Hinauluohia ke hooulu ia i ka ieie ma ua mau nahele kaulana ala o Hilo, a liko i mea nui ma na wahi a pau. (Maly and Maly 2022:41-42)*

At this point in the newspaper series, Manu stopped his traditional narrative and called his reader's attention to the nature of 'Ōla'a—a land that separated Puna from Hilo, and with no shoreline but with three mākāhā as described by the people of old. These were not like the true mākāhā of the Loko Kuapā (walled fishponds) but existed in the way that people lived on the land and exchanged things from inland with people who lived in Hilo, Puna and Ka'ū.

Manu added further details about meeting Kānekoa in the uplands of 'Ōla'a and the cave system, in the following issue. (Maly and Maly 2022:42)

*Aia keia lua ke hamama 'la kona mau puka a hiki i keia wa, na ko Olāa poe kamaaina e hooia mai i keia lua a me ka poe o kai o Keaukaha. A o keia hoi ka lua mua loa i ike ia ma ka aina o Hilo, Hawaii... Ia Mekanikeo i haalele aku ai la ia Kanekoa maloko o kanahale laau Olāa, ua huli hoi ma la oia a hiki ma kahi o kona kaikuahine Haku Lani e noho ana me na ohana a pau ma Lanipo.*

*Aia keia wahi ma kai ae o ke alanui aupuni e hele ana mai Hilo Taona aku no Puna ma kanahale o Panaewa, ua pili pu me kahi e pahoeheo o Kahiwakaa [Kawiakawa] pu a me Mawae, ka mokuna o Hilo a me Puna. Aia mawaena o keia wahi o Lanipo a ua kupono hoi keia wahi i kai o Papai, kahi i paa ai ka wawae o ka na'i aupuni kaulana a me kona lae i hauaia i ka hoe Kamehameha I.*

*Ia Mekanikeo i hiki aku ai ma kela wahi a ka mea nona keia nanea e noho mai ana a ua nee ko lakou no kahi o kela lokowai o Lokowaka, a ua au ia wahi iho la lakou nei a pau malaila me ka hana poi [illegible] o ana i na mea a pau maloko o kela loko. Ma keia makaikai mau o na poe malihini, aole he poe kama'aina nana lākou iki mai ma kela wahi, a mahope io o ko lākou hana ana, a ua hele aku ka huakai ma kai o Waiuli. (Maly and Maly 2022:42-43)*

*O kahi keia a Kaneialehia i olelo ai i kanaka oia wahi e hoala ana i kuapa, aole e paa i ke kai ke hoea mai, he mea oiaio ia, aole i paa ia wahi i manao ia'i i loko a hiki i keia wa.*

*A no ia wahi hoi o Waiuli ke kai halakika i haku ia'i i ke mele e kelii ka Moi Kalakaua i make, a mai keia wahi aku i hele aku ai ka ui nohea kaulana oia mau la o Waipio a hiki*

The opening of the pit [lava tube skylights] may be seen there to this day. Kamaaina of Olāa will attest to it, as will the people who live shoreward at Keaukaha. This was indeed the very first of the holes seen in the lands of Hilo. Mekanikeo left Kanekoa behind in the forest of Olāa and turned to join his elder lord sister and was with the family down at Lanipo.

This place was shoreward of the Government Trail that goes between Puna and Hilo Town, through the forest of Panaewa. It is near a place of pahoeheo lava, between Kahikawaa [Kawiakawa] and Mawae, which is the boundary of Hilo and Puna. There, in between these places, is Lanipo. It is very close to the shoreward place of Papai where the foot of the famous Conqueror of the Nation, Kamehameha I, was stuck and his brow struck by the paddle.

When Mekanikeo and companions arrived at this place, they then went on to the ponds of Lokowaka. They all bathed in the water of this place, splashing with one another in the pond.

This is a regular practice of visitors who travel to that place. Afterwards Mekanikeo and companions traveled to the shore of Waiuli. (Maly and Maly 2022:43)

This (Waiuli) is the place of Kaneialehia who was previously mentioned. At one time, a pond wall was being made, but it does not keep the ocean out. Truly, it is not set firmly at the pond to this day.

It is for this place, Waiuli, with the ocean that slips and slides, that the mele was composed for the deceased chief King Kalakaua. From this place, the famous



*ma Leleiwi, ka lua o na Lae kaulana loa ma Hilo.*

*O ka lae o Leleiwi ma Waiākea kai o Hilo, ua kapaia kona inoa ma o Waiolama (k) me Punahoa kana wahine, a na laua mai o Leleiwi kane, me kona kaikuahine o Makahanaloa. E loa no ma ka moolelo o Keaomelemele.*

*A o Leleiwi nei keia i haina mai ai e Pele a make maloko o ke kai, aia kona Kino pohaku me he le Palaoa 'ia ke ano e waiho la maloko o ke kai o ka lae mai ka aina aku nei. He pohaku ula keia, a o ka leho maikai—ula a me ke ahi la ke nana aku iloko o ke kai. He lele ke ike mai i ke kanaka, e loa no i ke kanaka lulu leho o Hilo ma keia pohaku o Leleiwi. (Maly and Maly 2022:43-44)*

beauty of Waipi'o (Lauka'ie'ie) went to Leleiwi to see the very famous point at Hilo.

About the point of Leleiwi, at the shore of Waiākea, Hilo: its name was given by Waiolama and his wife, Punahoa. They named their son Leleiwi, and his older sister was named Makahanaloa. This account is found in the tradition of Keaomelemele.

It is said that Leleiwi was killed by Pele in the sea. His stone body, which looks like a whale tooth hook-pendant, may be seen in the ocean fronting the point. One may still see this, and those of Hilo who dive for leho (cowrie shells for lures) know where the stone of Leleiwi is. (Maly and Maly 2022:44)

### Ke Kupua o Pu'u 'O Milo a me Keonekahakaha

In addition to the *manō* that lived in the waters of the Keaukaha coastline, there are also stories of *kupua* (supernatural beings) who dwelled at particular places. Edith Kanaka'ole (in Akoi 1989), speaks of a *kupua* that lived in the tidepools surrounding a *pu'u* (hill) called Milo (the name provided in *Ku'u Home i Keaukaha*, "puuhomilo" is possibly a variant spelling of *pu'u 'o Milo* – Milo Hill, as Milo is the name of the area). As described by Kanaka'ole:

There's another story that is very interesting. It speaks about Puuhomilo, Puuhomilo was a great big hill right in front of my home. It is on the side of a very old trail and I think the trail is still there now though it is covered with bushes.

Puuhomilo is the home of a kupua. Kupua is somewhat like an unusual person. This one was referred to as a big octopus or he'e. The water came as far as Puuhomilo at one time. Today, the water is all covered up with coral land. The story goes, there was a tidepool where the children use to swim. When there were more than ten children, the kupua came up and one child would always be missing. This went on for a long time and the village people spoke to the Kahuna who was the advisor of the village as to what happened to the children.

He went down very early one morning when no one was about, and everything was quiet and still. He looked into the tide pool. There he saw a change of color in the ocean. It could only mean one thing! There must be a he'e because this is the way it acts up. Sometimes he'e change from one color to another so no one could tell what it was.

He gathered all the men folk and they decided that they had to fill the pool with rocks. The kupua could see that something was being done to his home. He struggled to get away but he could not work his way out of all those boulders. The explanation was, that it seemed that when the children went there for swimming, they disturbed his home while he was at rest. As they dove down, their little feet would touch one of his legs and he would become very angry that he would take the child. (Kanaka'ole in Akoi 1989:22)

Kanaka'ole also conveyed the following *mo'olelo* about a big white *kupua honu* (supernatural turtle) that dwelled in the waters of Keonekahakaha (today referred to as Onekahakaha Beach Park). She shared how this *kupua honu* was cared for by a man in the area:

There's another one that I would like to talk about. This is very true of most of the stories that have been told to me. This one is about a place that is known today as Onekahakaha which should be Keonekahakaha. There was a good man who lived for many years with his family. He was really the patriarch of that area. No matter how rough the ocean was, and if there was need for something to eat from the ocean, he would always get it. He had a special kind of attitude towards people that I think was so lovely, that I don't see too much of today.

His tradition like the Hawaiians of old, was to call anyone who came around his place to come in, eat and rest. He would do this all the time as it was part of his family's life style. Sometimes there was nothing at home to eat, but he would invite people in, and go to the beach and within a short while return with a bag full of fish.

It was said that in Keonekahakaha there was another kupua who was a great big white turtle. He would roam the waters there, and all the way down to Seaside. This turtle was this kind man's family's aumakua. He took care of the needs of this family. If there was anything they needed from the ocean no matter how rough, he would see that they (the family) got it. (Kanaka'ole in Akoi 1989:22)

#### ***Ka Wahine He'e O Puhi***

The account titled *Ka Wahine He'e O Puhi* (The Octopus Woman of Puhi) tells of the elusive shapeshifting woman who resided in Puhi. This story was told to Hau'olikeola Pakele by Leinani Whitney, a homestead resident as part of a University of Hawai'i at Hilo class titled Papa Pana Hawai'i, instructed by Larry Kimura. In a subsequent conversation with Pakele on September 14<sup>th</sup>, 2022, by ASM staff Lokelani Brandt, Pakele explained that he is family to Leilani and that when given this assignment, he met with her, listened to her story, then narrated and illustrated the version which he published. Pakele added that Leinani is a descendant of the Kela family and that she was from Puna but moved to the homestead after its opening. Pakele's account, which was published as a children's book, maybe another account of the *kupua* octopus previously described by Edith Kanaka'ole (see the preceding section titled *Ke Kupua o Pu'u 'O Milo a me Keonekahakaha*).

As recounted in Pakele's version, one-day several children went to Puhi which was a famous swimming place among the children of the area. The children spent the entire day, playfully splashing and swimming. As the day wore on, one of *keiki* (children)—a boy—disappeared and the other children assumed that he had returned home without their knowledge. The parents of the missing boy grew worried and went to Puhi to search for him to no avail. A few days later, the grandfather of the missing boy returned to the spot where the children were swimming and thought deeply about how his grandson had gone missing. While standing at Puhi, the grandfather saw something emerge from within a nearby *pu'u pōhaku* (rock hill). As the grandfather gazed in the direction of the mysterious creature, he saw that it was a large octopus. He immediately recalled the words of his ancestors who cautioned him about the *wahine he'e* (octopus woman) who lived at the *pu'u pōhaku*. The grandfather knew that it was the *wahine he'e* that had snatched his grandson. The grandfather summoned all the people of the area to gather at Puhi and erect a large fire on top of the hill. The kindling was lit and the infamous *wahine he'e* was caught and killed by fire. It is said, after the *wahine he'e* was burned and killed, no more children were ever reported missing from Puhi (Pakele 1990).

#### **Nā Ala Hele Kahiko (Ancient Trails)**

Whereas canoes served as the primary means of travel along the coastline, *ala hele* (trails) facilitated travel along the shore and into the *mauka* forested regions of Waiākea up until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Emerson noted that there was a coastal trail and another trail that cut through the Pana'ewa forest for those seeking to travel from Hilo to Puna and vice versa:

Now from Puna, there were two trails which might be taken into Waiākea, one went makai, below the forest, and the other went directly through the forest of Pana'ewa. While the makai trail was longer, it was the one most often traveled by those who went to and from Puna. The trail through Pana'ewa was a treacherous one, for the mo'o-god Pana'ewa lived there and was in the habit of waylaying travelers and eating them... Hi'iaka entered into battle with Pana'ewa and won, thus the trail through Pana'ewa became safe to travel.... (Emerson in Maly 1999:20)

Archival information regarding the coastal trail that Emerson references is scant, but the trail likely followed the contour of the island from Puna into the district of Hilo, passing through villages along the coast at places like (from east to west) Pāpa'i, Paukūpahu, Waiuli, Honohononui, and Puhi. Although Emerson (in Maly 1999:20) commented that "the makai trail...was the one most often traveled by those who went to and from Puna" in ancient times, this changed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century once the trail through the Pana'ewa Forest (known more commonly as the Puna Trail) became part of the "Ala Nui Aupuni" (Government Roads). Maly (1999:5) offers the following description of trails and their transformation to accommodate new modes of transportation, as well as the significance of the Puna Trail to the communities who relied on it:

Because ancient trails were established to provide travelers with standardized and relatively safe access to a variety of resources, the trails were (and remain) an important feature of the cultural

landscape. The *ala hele* were the link between individual residences, resource collection sites, agricultural field systems, and larger communities. Along Hawaiian trails one may see residences, enclosures and exclosures, agricultural complexes, resting places, resource collection sites, ceremonial features, and other sites which are of significance to families who once lived in the vicinity of the trails. The trails themselves, also exhibit a variety of construction methods which range from ancient—for example worn paths on *pahoehoe* lava, or cobble steppingstone pavements—to historic curbstone lined roads with elevated stone filled “bridges” that level out the contour of the roadway.

Following the early nineteenth century, western contact brought about changes in the methods of travel (horses and other hoofed animals were introduced, and by the mid century, wheeled carts were being used on the trails). In some cases the old *ala loa*, were realigned (straightened out), widened, and smoothed over, and others 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 shore line. By the 1840s, the modified alignments became a part of a system of “roads” called the “Ala Nui 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 (cf. Apple 1973). This was occurring on the Puna Trail, which by the 1840s, became the main Government road in Puna. The Kea’au section of the Government Road connected small coastal residence complexes at Kea’au Beach, Pāki Bay, and Keauhou Bay together. By the roadway, Kea’au residents also gained access to their schools and churches, and people from outside of Kea’au—those residing in neighboring lands of Puna and from the Hilo District—were provided access to Kea’au and beyond.

As depicted in Hawai‘i Registered Map No. 524 prepared by W. Webster in 1851 (Figure 17), a segment of the Puna Trail, labeled as “Road to Puna,” passes along the southern boundary of Honohononui. A second map (Hawai‘i Registered Map No. 705) also produced by W. Webster in 1851 (Figure 18) shows the “Road to Puna” along Honohononui’s southern boundary as well as a second route extending *makai* from the “Road to Puna” though Honohononui. Early historic maps indicate that the Waiākea section of the Puna Trail began in a forested region of “Hala Woods” between Māwae and Kāwiakāwā (both of which were traditional boundary markers separating the *ahupua‘a* of Waiākea and Kea’au), and passed along the southern boundary of Honohononui (see Figures 17 and 18), and descended to the mouth of the Wailoa River near Pi‘opi‘o, another *‘ili kūpono* in Waiākea. Additional information about the trails in Waiākea was recorded in 1873 when native-informant Naipo offered the following testimony to the Boundary Commission as part of settling the boundaries of Honohononui. Naipo referred to 1) the Puna Trail (noted as the “ancient Keaau road”); 2) a “road” that descended to Loko Waka, and 3) another “road” from “Waiākea down to Lokoaka” which may refer to a segment of the coastal trail that Emerson (in Maly 1999:20) noted. Naipo’s testimony reads thusly:

Naipo, <sup>k</sup>. Sworn

I know some of the boundaries of Honohononui but I cannot say that I know them perfectly. I went with Webster when he surveyed the land. A man named Uwe (now dead) was the kamaaina that showed him the boundaries. Kamauoha, a son of Uwe also went with us. I forget the name of the place of commencement. It is mauka of Pohakuloa and on the mauka side of the pile of rocks on the sea shore; thence to Kaehu, a pile of rocks near some breadfruit trees; **there is also an old road here that runs from Waiākea down to Lokoaka.** Thence to a place belonging to Waiākea called Kaunuhonu; thence to **Kapalihiolo, the junction of the Lokoaka and ancient Keaau roads;** there is also a swail there; thence to Piikea a place on the present Government road; thence it follows the road to Puna to this side of Kanoa. Kanoa is the place where water is always found, and where the people of Punanaiko [Puainako] went for their water. The boundary runs about three chains from this place; from thence to Kapalaho, a fish pond at the sea side. Mr. Webster surveyed the land on the boundaries that Uwe showed him. It was surveyed along the mawae, on the Puna side of the pond and from thence to the place of commencement. This land has a fishing privilege. CXs [cross-examined] (Maly and Maly 2022:86-87)

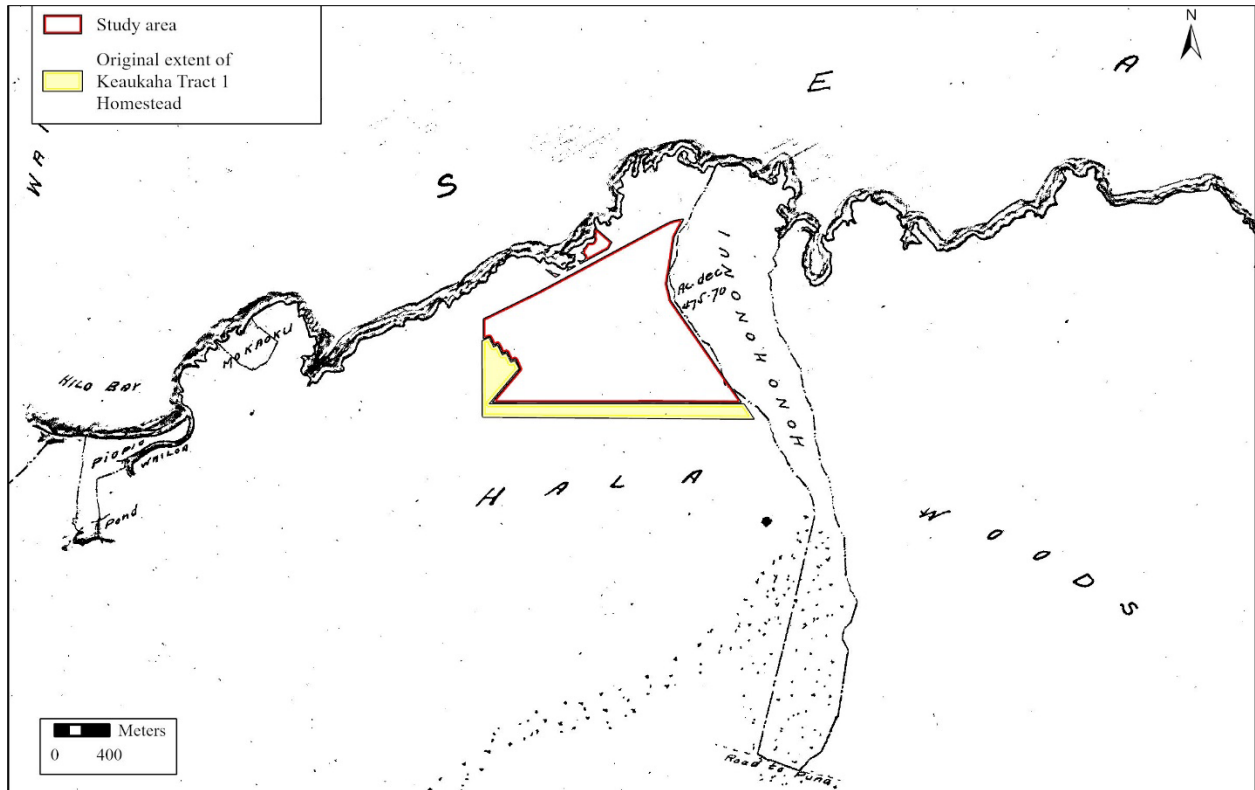
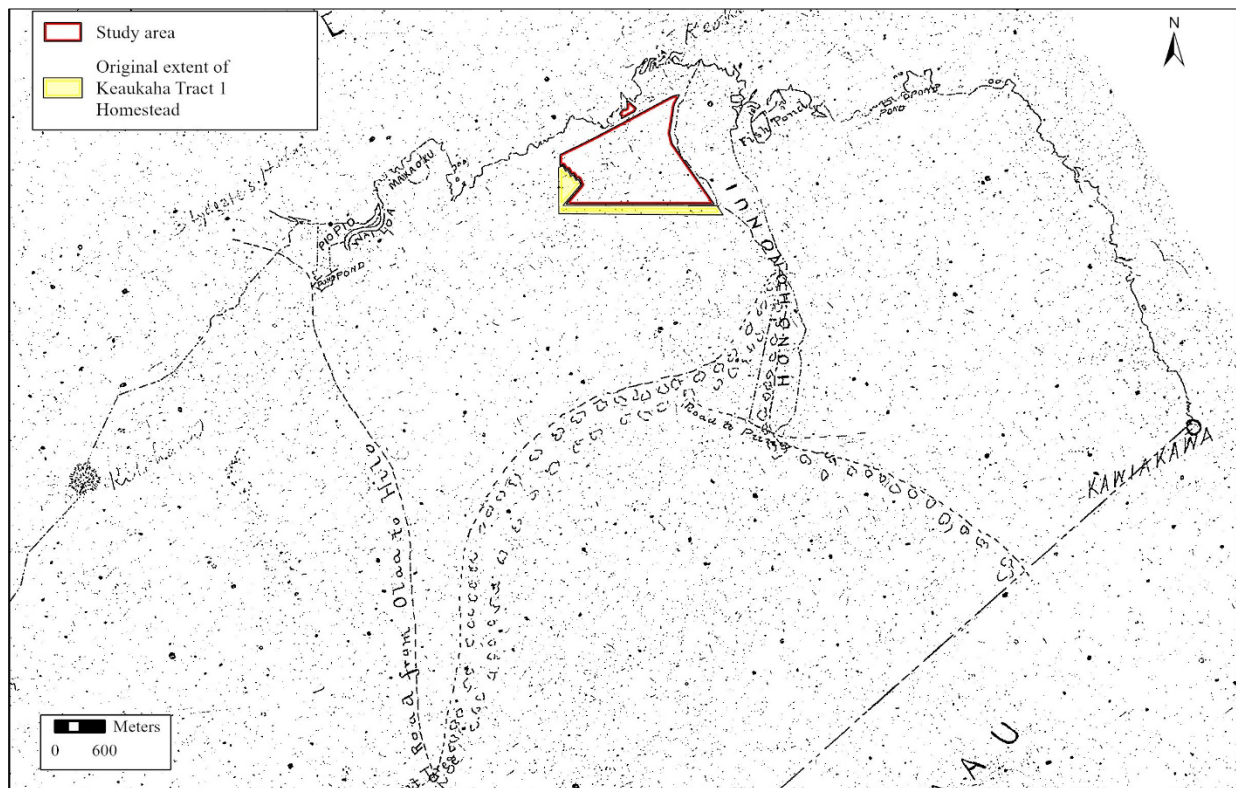


Figure 1. Aerial photograph of the study area. The red rectangle indicates the location of the study area. The north arrow is in the top right corner.



The junction where the Loko Waka “road” and Puna Tail met, named Kapalihiolo, may also be the area known as Kahiolo in the previously mentioned *mo‘olelo* of Lauka‘ie‘ie. Hawai‘i Registered Map No. 571 (Figure 19) by C. J. Lyons provides a more comprehensive view of the trails in the vicinity of Honohononui and greater Waiākea. Lyon’s map produced around 1870 shows the “Road to Puna” in roughly the same area depicted in both of Webster’s 1851 maps—along Honohononui’s south boundary—as well as the secondary trail descending *makai* through the inland portion of Honohononui. Lastly, a third trail is shown extending along Honohononui’s western boundary, which is coterminous with the Study Area’s eastern boundary. This third trail segment is shown connecting with the “Road to Puna” as well as the “Road from Olaa to Hilo.”

Evidence of the continual importance of trails into the early to mid-20<sup>th</sup>-century, specific to the Study Area and lands adjacent can be found in historical maps and the interviews that were conducted with *kūpuna* (elders) in Akoī’s (1989) book *Ku‘u Home I Keaukaha*. Trails used in the 20<sup>th</sup> century were likely a combination of older trails used to access resources in the forest and burials located inland, as well as newer trails created by Keaukaha’s first homesteaders. For example, the 1912-1914 (Figure 20) and 1932 (Figure 21) editions of the USGS Hilo Quadrangle maps show the trail network between Hilo, Keaukaha, and Puna. The 1932 USGS map (see Figure 21) shows a trail beginning at the Hilo Railroad (to the west of the Study Area) and traversing in a southeasterly direction through the Study Area and into the Pana‘ewa forest. To the east of the Study Area, this is shown intersecting with another trail, possibly a remnant of the trail through Honohononui as noted earlier. Both USGS maps also show a road into Keaukaha (present-day Kalaniana‘ole Avenue), which passes between the coastal and homestead section of the Study Area. East of Keōkea Point, this road transitions into a trail, suggesting that the road may have been constructed along the alignment of the former coastal trail.

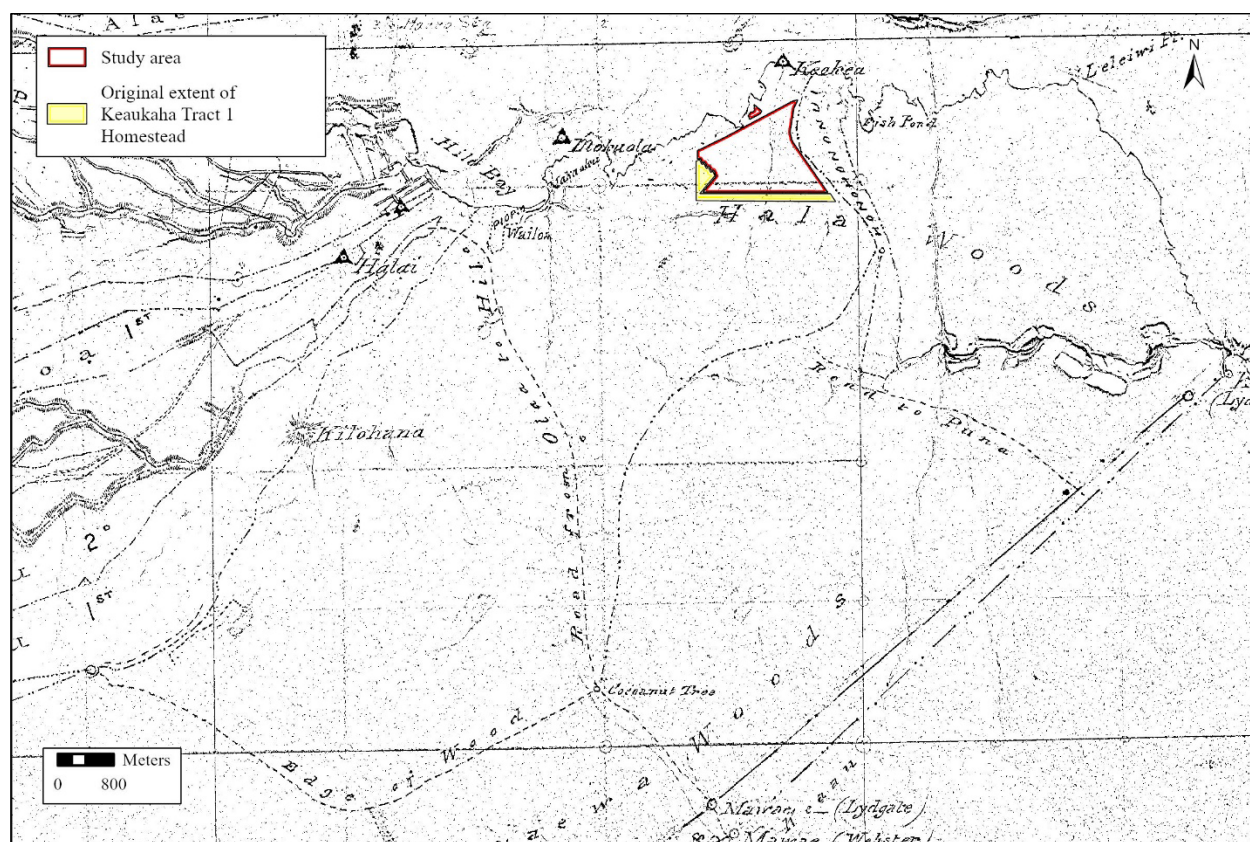


Figure 19. Portion of 1870 Hawai‘i Registered Map No. 571 by Lyons showing trails near Honohononui and throughout Waiākea.



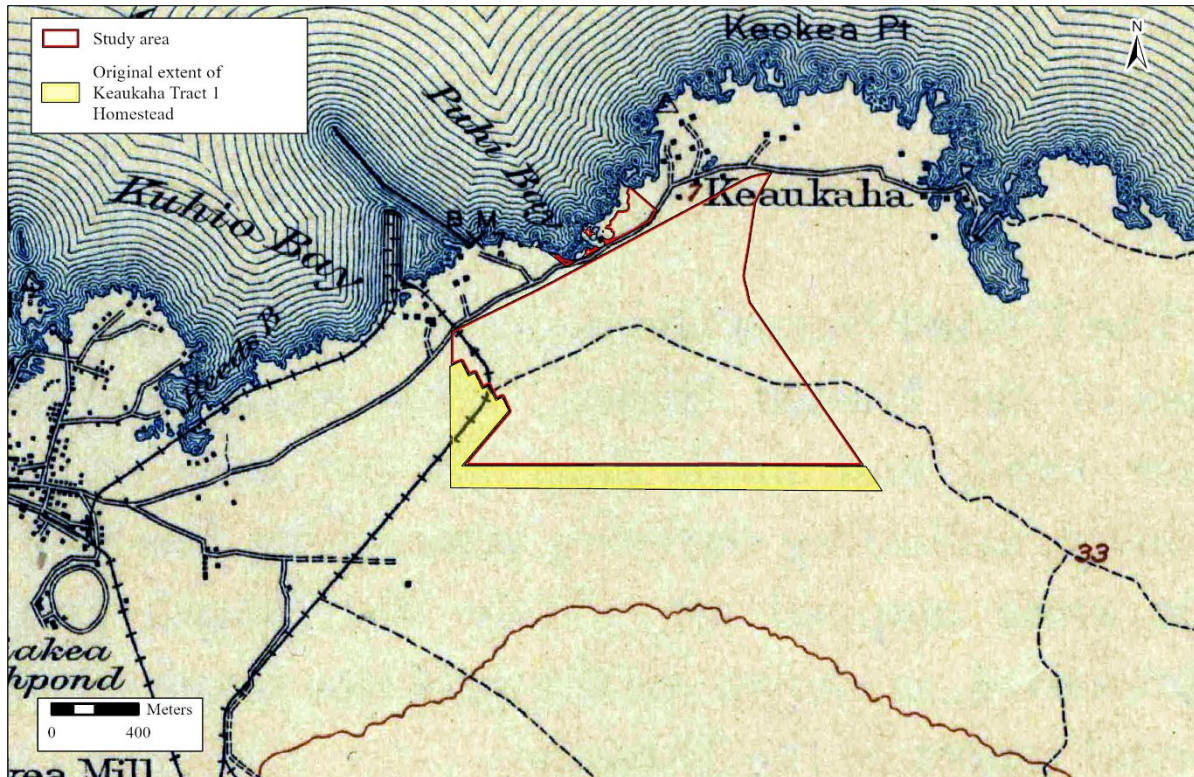


Figure 20. Portion of the 1912-1914 USGS Hilo Quadrangle map depicting the Keaukaha road and trail through the Study Area prior to its establishment.

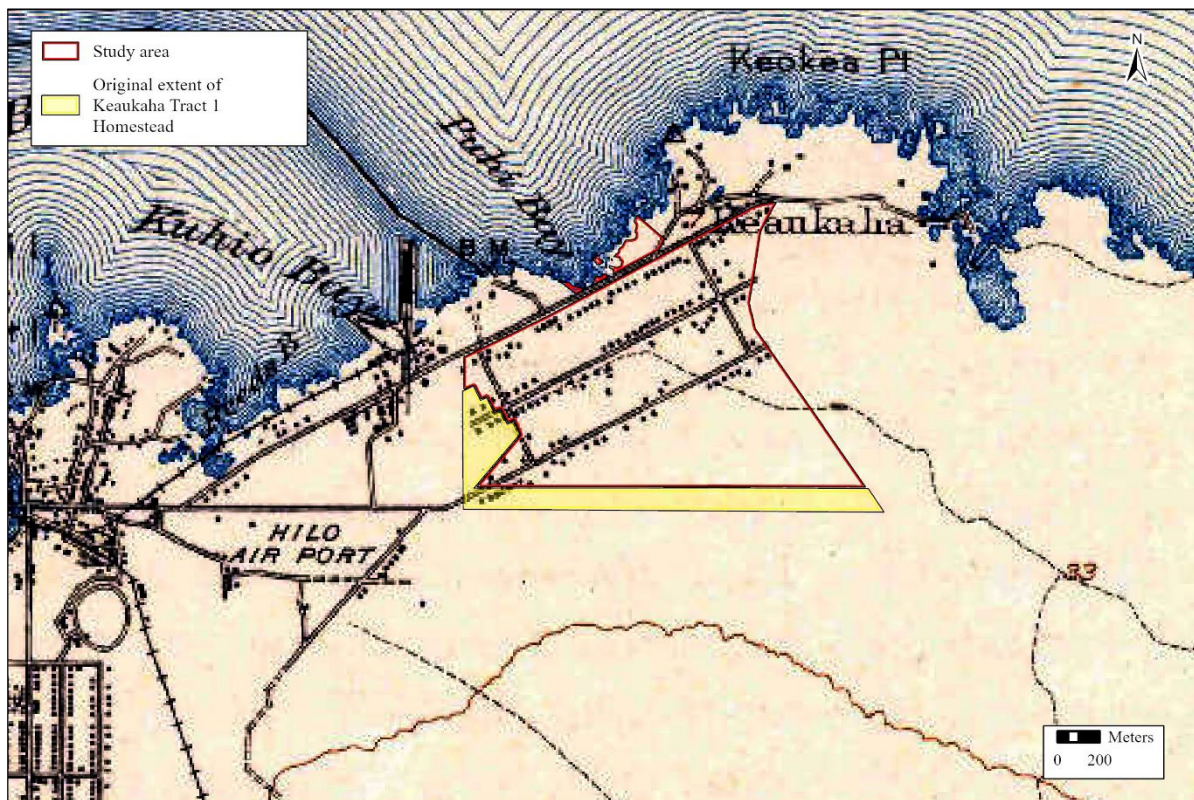


Figure 21. Portion of the 1932 USGS Hilo Quadrangle map showing multiple trails along the coast to Leleiwi and leading into the Pana'ewa forest.

## PLACE NAMES IN THE STUDY AREA VICINITY

*Inoa* ‘āina (place names) within a particular place evidences the long-term relationship of these communities to their immediate environment. Reacquainting ourselves with *inoa* ‘āina allows us to better understand the history, identify resources, and appreciate the environment as it was once observed and marked by ancestral Hawaiian populations. In highlighting the importance of *inoa* ‘āina Soehren (1963:13) opined:

The Hawaiian traveled by foot and by canoe, modes of travel which magnify distances greatly and which allow ample time to observe the land. Place names assume greater importance under such conditions and served the Hawaiians much as street addresses serve today’s urban dwellers to locate the scene of events.

For ancestral Hawaiians, their knowledge of *inoa* ‘āina was crucial to knowing where certain resource centers (e.g. water collection areas, ceremonial centers, caves, burials, villages, and rest areas) and boundaries were located. Furthermore, *inoa* ‘āina were sometimes connected to ancient stories and traditional practices of a particular locale, and when traversing the land or seascape, knowledge of *inoa* ‘āina made for safer traveling. As Kikiloi (2010:75) asserts, the recovery of traditional place names “help[s] to transform once-empty geographic spaces into cultural places enriched with meaning and significance.” The following is a presentation of *inoa* ‘āina in the land and sea areas within or adjacent to the Study Area. These names were gathered from various records, including historical government maps, Hawaiian language newspapers, *Ku‘u Home i Keaukaha* (Akoi 1989), and unpublished manuscripts in the Theodore Kelsey Manuscript Collection located at the Hawai‘i State Archives. The place names gathered are listed below in Table 2 and their locations have been plotted in Figure 22.

The following list and map of *inoa* ‘āina are by no means implied to be exhaustive or complete. The authors of this study recognize that within any given community, there are likely differences in pronunciation and spelling as well as differences when it comes to describing the exact location of a particular place. Furthermore, there is likely additional *inoa* ‘āina that have never been recorded and are known only by certain families or individuals. Lastly, transposing *inoa* ‘āina that only appears in the written record onto modern-day maps is a process that also has its limitations. Such limitations include changes to the physical landscape or simply the limited information recorded in the written record. These limitations make accurately transposing *inoa* ‘āina to a specific geographical location tedious and at times unattainable. The authors of this study, nonetheless, hope this list and map of *inoa* ‘āina can serve as a resource for the community.

As shown in Table 1 below, rather than select a single, “correct” spelling for a named place, we provide multiple name variations as they appear in historical records. Each name is followed by a brief description of the geographical feature the *inoa* ‘āina refers to. Interpretations of each *inoa* ‘āina that include ‘okina (glottal stops) and kahakō (macrons) are provided as well. In cases where there are no known interpretations or spellings of an *inoa* ‘āina by a *kama*‘āina, an approximate interpretation is provided to aid in the pronunciation of these names. Whenever possible, the meanings and pronunciation of *inoa* ‘āina, as remembered or interpreted by *kama*‘āina with in-depth place-based knowledge should be prioritized. Lastly, references are included to indicate the sources from which these *inoa* ‘āina were found.

**Table 1. *Inoa* ‘āina identified in and adjacent to the Study Area.**

<i>Inoa</i> ‘Āina	Description	Interpretation(s)	Reference
<b>Auwili</b>	Pond	<i>Au-wili</i> : Turning, mixing currents or <i>‘Au-wili</i> : Writhing while swimming	(Kalua in Akoi 1989:7)
<b>Awaau</b>	Cove	<i>Awa-au</i> : Cove with a current or <i>Awa-‘au</i> : Cove to swim in	(Nalimu n.d.:2)
<b>Honohononui</b>	‘ili kūpono	<i>Honohono-nui</i> : Much growth of <i>honohono</i> grass ( <i>Commelina diffusa</i> or <i>Oplismenus hirtellus</i> )	(Maly and Maly 2022:19)
<b>Kailele</b>	Place where waves crash into the reef and rocks	<i>Kai-lele</i> : Flying sea	(Nalimu n.d.:2)
<b>Keawehala</b>	Promontory	<i>Ke-‘awe-hala</i> : Hala ( <i>Pandanus tectorius</i> ) tentacle (possibly in reference to aerial roots) or <i>Ke-awe-hala</i> : Soft and thin hala.	(Nalimu n.d.:2)

*Table 1 continues on next page.*

Table 1. continued.

<i>Inoa 'Āina</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Interpretation(s)</i>	<i>Reference</i>
<b>Keokea</b>	Canoe landing, promontory, and villate site	<i>Ke-ōkea</i> : The white sand	(Nalimu n.d.:2)
<b>Keonekahakaha or Onekahakaha</b>	Beach	<i>Ke-one-kahakaha</i> : Sketching sands	(Kalua in Akoi 1989:7)
<b>Kokoiki</b>	Beach	<i>Koko-iki</i> : Little blood	(Kalua in Akoi 1989:7)
<b>Kulepae or Kulapae</b>	Canoe landing and village site	<i>Kule-pae</i> : Numbing-cold place to come ashore <i>Kula-pae</i> : Plain where one comes ashore	(Kalua in Akoi 1989:7) (Nalimu n.d.:3)
<b>Milo, Puu o Milo, Puuhomilo</b>	Hill (leveled), where the breakwater begins. Village	<i>Milo: Thespesia populnea</i> or <i>Pu'u 'o Milo</i> : Milo Hill	(Nalimu n.d.:2) (Kanakaoale in Akoi 1989:22)
<b>Na Maka o Hauiki or Hauiki</b>	Canoe landing and pond.	<i>Nā-maka-o-Hauiki</i> : The eyes of Hauiki	(Nalimu n.d.:3)
<b>Palekai</b>	Where the Hilo breakwater begins	<i>Pale-kai</i> : Breakwater	(Kalua and Kanakaoale in Akoi 1989:5)
<b>Puhi</b>	Canoe landing, village site and bay	<i>Puhi</i> : Blowhole	(Kalua in Akoi 1989:7) (Nalimu n.d.:3)
<b>Waialaki</b>	Pond, well	<i>Wai-ala-kī</i> : Rising, spurting water. According to Kahoilua, spring was buried.	(Kahoilua in Akoi 1989:26)

*End of Table 1.*





Figure 22. Inoa 'āina within and near the Study Area.

### “Hawaiian Place Names” by Henry Benjamin Nālimu

“Hawaiian Place Names,” a list of *inoa* ‘*āina*’ within Keaukaha and other parts of Waiākea accompanied by short descriptions of each place, is an unpublished manuscript in the Theodore Kelsey Manuscript Collection located at the Hawai‘i State Archives. Henry Benjamin Nālimu (Figure 23) was an ex-Hawaiian missionary born in 1835 in Kīhālani, a land area within the *ahupua‘a* of Pāpa‘aloa in the district of North Hilo. In 1840, Nālimu and his family left Kīhālani and moved to Waiākea where he became a student at the Hilo Boarding School for four years. Years later, he attended Lahainaluna Seminary on Maui and graduated in 1860. Upon his return to Hilo, Nālimu became a protégé of the missionary Titus Coan and would often accompany Coan on his tours through Puna and Hāmākua (Kelsey 1931). Between 1871-1882, Nālimu and his wife Keahiloa were missionaries stationed on the island of Tabiteuea in Kiribati (Gilbert Islands). He was excommunicated from missionary work for his role in a religious war that took place on the island between two warring groups but remained very active in religious life once he returned to Hilo (Morris and Benedetto 2019:216-218). In his later years, Nālimu lived in the ‘*ili kūpono*’ of Pi‘opi‘o in Waiākea. In the 1920s, Nālimu spent a great deal of time with Kelsey, sharing a wealth of information regarding *inoa* ‘*āina*’, stories, chants, and practices that he knew. He died in 1935 in ‘*Ālewa*, O‘ahu at the age of 98 (Kelsey 1931).

In “Hawaiian Place Names,” Nālimu notes that he farmed sweet potatoes with his parents in a place called “Nā-ōlaa” and went to school at a place near Loko Waka in Honohono-nui. Given Nālimu’s biography, this means he would have lived in Keaukaha sometime between 1840-1856. He may have also spent more time in the area later in life upon his return to Hilo in the 1880s. In his descriptions of the various places he named, Nālimu offered fragmentary information that notes various features that were found at different places. For example, in the excerpt provided below, Nālimu notes that Milo, Puhi, and Kulepae/Kulapae, all of which are along the coastal portion of the Study Area, were a village and canoe landing sites. The following is a reproduction of Kelsey’s notes, the information from which comes from Nālimu. Text in brackets has been added to clarify certain Hawaiian terms. It will be noted here that throughout the text, Kelsey and Nālimu use the term *mauka* and *makai* to describe the relative location of one place to another. A careful review of the notes indicates that the term *mauka* is used to reference the direction of Mauna Kea to the west and *makai* to the east.

*Nā-ōlaa*, *kela’ wahi makai aku o Keokea. Makai aku o Nā-ōlaa ko makou wahi e mahi ‘ai ai i ka ‘uala me ko‘u mau makua. Makai aku o Honohono-nui. Hele wau i ka‘u kula i Loko-aka (Loko Waka, for grandmother of La-‘ie-i-ka-wai) me ko‘u kaikaina. O Waiwai ka‘u kumu, he leo hana pilo, aohe puka maika‘i o kona leo...*

*Honohono-nui, mauka mai o Loko-aka. He aina pahoehoe mai Loko-aka mai a hiki i ka palena, he hapa mile paha. O ka palena mauka oia o Wai-akea. O Honohono-nui ko‘u aina i noho ai me ko‘u mau makua. Ma Ala-‘opae (kokoke i ka palena?) malaila ua kanu wau he laau kamani. Aia malaila i ke-ia manawa. Ke-one-, mauka mai o ka palena o Honohono-nui. Oia kahi i kahakaha ai na keiki iluna o ke one paha. He one ke‘oke‘o a he loko kai, o Ke-one-kahakaha ka loko.*

*Ke-awe-hala (ke‘awe, oia ka mo-‘ali o ka hewa paha), he lae kahakai mauka mai o Ke-one-kahakaha. Nui na puhala malaila. Makai o ke-ia lae he wahi e ku‘i ai (lawai‘a ai) i ka*

*Nā-ōlaa*, that place *makai* of Keokea. Nā-ōlaa is *makai* of where I farmed ‘*uala*’ with my parents. *Makai* of Honohono-nui. I went to school at Loko-aka (Loko Waka, for grandmother of La-‘ie-i-ka-wai) with my younger brother. Waiwai was my *kumu* [instructor], he wheezed, he couldn’t speak very well...

*Honohono-nui, mauka* of Loko-aka. It is a land of *pāhoehoe* from Loko-aka all the way to the boundary, about a quarter mile. The boundary is that of Wai-akea *mauka*. Honohono-nui is where I lived with my parents. At Ala-‘opae (close to the boundary?) is where I planted a *kamani* tree. It’s there till today.

*Ke-one-*, *mauka* of the boundary of Honohono-nui. That is where kids would sketch in the sand probably. There is white sand and a pond, Ke-one-kahakaha is the pond.

*Ke-awe-hala* (the tentacle, perhaps a scar of wrongdoing), a point along the coast *mauka* of Ke-one-kahakaha. There are many *hala* [pandanus]. *Makai* of this point is a place where fishermen would pound *uhua*, and that

*ulua, a malaila kekahi kai e po'i ai i ka pali kahakai a lele iluna.*

**Kai-lele**, *kahi e lele nei ke kai ma Ke-awe-hala.*

**Awa-au**, *(aia pii mai ke kai alaila pae iuka ka waa, a emi ke kai iwaho aole hiki ke pae ka waa), mauka mai o Kai-lele. He au ko kela' awa. Pae waa.*

**Ke-o-kea**, *he awa pae waa ke-'ia a he nui na kauhale. Mauka mai o Awa-au.*

**Kule-pae** (*kule, kukule, opili i ke anu o ke kai paha*), *he awa pae waa a he aina kauhale mauka o Ke-o-kea. O kahi o kauhale aia mauka o ke awa pae waa.*

**Puhi**, *mauka mai o Kule-pae. He wahi maika'i. He kulanakauhale mamua a i ke-'ia manawa. Ina' kaikoo na wahi a pau pae na waa malaila. Hiki na moku nunui ke ku malaila. Malaila ka hale o A-'ima Nawahī'.*

**Milo**, *he wahi maika'i a he kauhale mamua, mauka mai o Puhi.*

*Aia ma Milo ke kumu o ka pale-kai o Hilo.*

**Na-maka-o-Hauiki**, *mauka mai o Milo ma kahi o ka uapo hou i kapili ia iho nei. Elua poopoo pohaku i hana ia e ka po'e kahiko. Mauka mai he wahi maika'i a he loko. He awa pae waa. He po'e kanaka ma ke-ia wahi i ka wa kahiko.*

is where the sea crashes on coastal cliffs and fly into the air.

**Kai-lele**, a place where the sea flies at Ke-awe-hala.

**Awa-au**, (when the sea rises canoes can enter, when the sea recedes canoes cannot enter), *mauka* of Kai-lele. There is a current in that bay. Canoe landing.

**Ke-o-kea**, a canoe landing with many houses. *Mauka* of Awa-au.

**Kule-pae** (debilitated, cold, numb perhaps because of how cold the sea is), a canoe landing and village site *mauka* of Ke-o-kea. The village was *mauka* of the canoe landing.

**Puhi**, *mauka* of Kule-pae. A great place. It was a village then and now. If everywhere else is too rough, canoes can land here. Big boats can come here too. That is where A-'ima [Emma 'A'ima] Nāwahī's house is located.

**Milo**, a great place and a village before, *mauka* of Puhi. Milo is where Hilo's breakwater begins.

**Na-maka-o-Hauiki**, *mauka* of Milo where the new pier has been added. There are two stonelined holes created by the people of old. *Mauka* is a great place and a pond. A canoe landing. There were many people here in the past. (Nalimu n.d.:2-3)





Figure 23. Henry Benjamin Nālimu, photo from the Lyman Memorial Museum.

### **MĀHELE ‘ĀINA OF 1848 AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF CROWN LANDS**

By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the Hawaiian Kingdom was an established center of commerce and trade in the Pacific, recognized internationally by the United States and other nations in the Pacific and Europe (Sai 2011). As Hawaiian political elites sought ways to modernize the burgeoning Kingdom, and as more Westerners settled in the Hawaiian Islands, major socioeconomic and political changes took place, including the formal adoption of a Hawaiian constitution by 1840, the change in governance from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy, and the shift towards a Euro-American model of private land ownership in a process known as the *Māhele ‘Āina*. This change in land governance was partially informed by ex-missionaries and Euro-American businessmen in the islands who were generally hesitant to enter business deals on leasehold lands that could be revoked from them at any time. The *Mō‘ī* (Ruler) Kamehameha III, through intense deliberations with his high-ranking chiefs and political advisors, separated and defined the ownership of all lands in the Kingdom (King n.d.). They decided that three classes of people each had one-third vested rights to the lands of Hawai‘i: the *Mō‘ī*, the *ali‘i* and *konohiki*, and the *hoa‘āina* (tenants), the latter of which was later clarified through the passage of another act as native tenants (Chinen 1958).

In 1846, King Kamehameha III formed the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles (more commonly known as the Land Commission) to adopt guiding principles and procedures for dividing the lands, grant land titles, and act as a court of record to investigate and ultimately award or reject all claims brought before them (Bailey in Commissioner of Public Lands 1929). All land claims, whether by chiefs or *konohiki* for an entire *ahupua‘a* or *‘ili kūpono*, or by

*hoa‘āina* for their house lots and gardens, had to be filed with the Land Commission within two years of the effective date of the Act (February 14, 1846) to be considered. This deadline was extended several times for chiefs and *konohiki*, but not for native tenants (Soehren 2005). As part of the *Māhele*, many *ali‘i* surrendered a portion of their landholdings to the government in lieu of a commutation “so as to obtain an allodial title in Fee Simple to the remainder of the lands which they retained” (Commissioner of Public Lands 1929:vii). Unlike King Kamehameha I, the chiefs and *konohiki* were required to present their claims to the Land Commission to receive their Land Commission Awards (LCAw). The lands surrendered to the government by the King and chiefs became known as “Government Land.” The lands personally retained by the King became known as “Crown Land.” Lastly, the lands received by the chiefs became known as “Konohiki Land” (Chinen 1958:vii; 1961:13). To expedite the work of the Land Commission, all lands awarded during the *Māhele* were identified by name only, with the understanding that the ancient boundaries would prevail until the lands could be formally surveyed.

### **Disposition of Waiākea at the Time of the 1848 *Māhele* ‘*Āina***

Prior to the *Māhele* ‘*Āina*, the entire *ahupua‘a* of Waiākea was retained as the personal lands of Kamehameha I, which later passed to his son and heir Liholiho. At the time of the 1848 *Māhele* ‘*Āina*, Waiākea was claimed and subsequently relinquished to the Crown by chiefess Kaunuohua, a grand-daughter of Keawemauhili and *kahu* (caretaker) of Liholiho (Kame‘eleihiwa 1992). As a result of the *Māhele*, Waiākea Ahupua‘a was retained as Crown Lands for Kamehameha III. In the adjacent ‘*ili kūpono* of Honohononui, the high-ranking *ali‘i wahine* (chiefess) Victoria Kamāmalu, daughter of Mataio Kekuanā‘a and sister to Lot Kapuāiwa (Kamehameha V) and Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV), made a claim for and was awarded all of Honohononui as part of LCAw 7713:15.

### ***Kuleana* Act and Claims**

As the *Mō‘ī* and *ali‘i* made claims to large tracts of land during the *Māhele*, questions arose regarding the protection of rights for the native tenants. To address this matter, on August 6, 1850, the *Kuleana* Act or Enabling Act was passed, allowing native tenants to claim a fee simple title to any portion of lands that they physically occupied, actively cultivated, or had improved (Garovoy 2005). Additionally, the *Kuleana* Act clarified rights to gather natural resources, as well as access rights to *kuleana* parcels, which were typically landlocked. Lands awarded through the *Kuleana* Act were and still are, referred to as *kuleana* awards or *kuleana* lands. The Land Commission oversaw the program and administered the *kuleana* as Land Commission Awards (Chinen 1958). Native tenants wishing to claim land were required to register their claim in writing (either in the Hawaiian or English language) by submitting a register to the Land Commission. The Land Commission then assigned the claimant a number, and that number was used to track the claimant through the entire claims process. Subsequently, the claimant had to get supporting testimony from two individuals (typically neighbors) to confirm their claim to the land and hire a government-employed surveyor to establish the metes and bounds of their awarded parcel(s). The document generated as part of this process was known as a Native or Foreign Testimony depending upon the language used by the claimant. Upon submittal of the required documents, the Land Commission rendered their decision, and if successful, the tenant was issued the LCAw. Collectively the information contained in these documents provides a general idea of land use during the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.

Within Waiākea, twenty-six *kuleana* claims (LCAws) were granted for house lots and cultivation plots. All of these claims were located along major inland roads or centered around the fishponds inland of Hilo Bay (Devereux et al. 1997; Moniz 1994). None of these awarded LCAws are within the vicinity of the Study Area. *Māhele* records reviewed by Maly and Maly (2022) indicate that a single claim was made for a portion of Puhi in Keaukaha but was not awarded. Helu (number) 8868 (since it was not awarded this claim does not have an official LCAw number) was a claim submitted to the Land Commission by a woman named Kapaakiha. Since her claim was not awarded, no survey was produced for the land she claimed. Copies of Kapaakiha’s Native Register and Foreign Testimony, retrieved from the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, Papakilo Database is provided below in Figures 24 and 25, respectively, along with transcriptions and translations for improved readability.

8868 Kapaakiha E. Lohaina Feb 7<sup>th</sup> 1848  
 E na Luna Hoona kuleana  
 My aina Aloha oukou, Ke hoopii aku nei.  
 au iho ko'u wahi kuleana ili aina nei.  
 i 'Hilo ma Hawaii ma ke Ahupuaa i  
 Kapaia o Waiakea, Eia kona mau palena  
 i kona waiho ana mai uka a kai,  
 kuaau o Keokea makai o Milo ka ili  
 mauka, aia kela mawaena, eia kona  
 inoa o Puhi  
 O wau no me ka mahalo  
 E Kapaakiha

Figure 24. Helu 8868, native register by Kapaakiha for *kuleana* lands at Puhi, Keaukaha, Waiākea. Image source: Papakilo Database (Office of Hawaiian Affairs 2018).

[Native Register Transcription]

*E na Luna Hoona kuleana aina.  
 Aloha oukou. Ke hoopii aku nei au no  
 ko'u wahi kuleana ili aina nei i Hilo  
 ma Hawaii, ma ke Ahupuaa i kapaia  
 o Waiākea. Eia kona mau palena i  
 kona waiho ana mai uka a kai, o  
 kuaau o Keokea makai, o Milo ka ili  
 mauka, aia kela mawaena, eia kona  
 inoa o Puhi.*

*O wau no me ka mahalo,  
 E. Kapaakiha*

[Native Register Translation]

To the Land Commission. Greetings to you. I hereby petition you of my *kuleana* claim in an 'ili 'āina in Hilo, Hawai'i in the *ahupua'a* known as Waiākea. Here are its boundaries laying from the *uka* (uplands) towards the *kai* (sea), the lagoon of Keōkea is seaward, Milo, an 'ili is *mauka* and my *kuleana* is between [these two lands], its name is Puhi.

I am with appreciation,  
 E. Kapaakiha

3858	Kapaakiha	<p>Baranaba. Sworn, deposed. Knows that Kauai the former husband of Kapaakiha, did plant 1 field in the Ili Puhi Ahup. Waiakea, by permission of the Konohiki, but that the field has not been under cultivation for two or three years, never heard he had any claim to the Ili. Supposed it had reverted to Konohiki.</p> <p>Kaalau, Sworn, deposed. He is a kamaaina never knew Kapaakiha had any right in the Ili Puhi Ahup. Waiakea, and that the deposition of Baranaba was true.</p>
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Figure 25. Foreign testimony of Baranaba and Kaalau for Helu 8868, a claim by Kapaakiha for *kuleana* lands at Puhi, Keaukaha, Waiākea. Image source: Papakilo Database (Office of Hawaiian Affairs 2018).

[Foreign Testimony Transcription]

8868 Kapaakiha

Baranaba sworn, deposed. Knows that Kauai the former husband of Kapaakiha, did plant 1 field on the Ili Puhi Ahup. [Ahupua'a] Waiakea, by permission of the Konohiki, but that the field has not been under cultivation for two or three years, never heard he had any claim to the Ili. Supposed it had reverted to Konohiki.

Kaalau, sworn, deposed. He is a kamaaina never knew Kapaakiha had any right in the Ili Puhi Ahupuaa Waiakea, and that the deposition of Baranaba was true.

### Commission of Boundaries Testimony

By 1862, the Commission of Boundary (also known as the Boundary Commission) was established in the Kingdom to set the boundaries of all the *ahupua'a* that had been awarded, by name only, during the *Māhele*. In 1874, the Boundary Commission was authorized to certify the boundaries for lands brought before them. As part of this process, the Boundary Commission gathered testimony from informants—typically older native residents—who learned of the boundaries from their ancestors, relatives, or neighbors. The boundary information was collected primarily between 1873 and 1885 and was usually given in Hawaiian and simultaneously translated into English. Many times the boundaries of particular *ahupua'a* were established through the testimony regarding neighboring *ahupua'a*. Such was the case for Waiākea.

The informants, many of whom were born in the late 1700s, provided boundary data for Kea'au in Puna, Keauhou in Ka'u, Kukuau in South Hilo, and Humu'ula in North Hilo, all of which border Waiākea. Given that Keaukaha is not located along any of Waiākea's main boundaries, no information specific to the Study Area was ascertained. However, in general, those who provided testimony concerning Waiākea's boundaries referenced coastal landmarks, then-existing and former residential areas, planting areas (none extending above the 2,000 feet elevation), locations of wood where trees for canoes were acquired (above Hilo at a place called Nehuiki), and areas in the forest for bird catching. A point at the summit of Pu'u Kūlani marks the southwestern corner of Waiākea and is a named prominent landscape feature often referenced in legends and chants (Maly and Maly 2004).

### LIFE IN KEAUKAHA DURING THE LATE 19<sup>TH</sup> AND EARLY 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

In the years following the *Māhele*, Keaukaha remained a quaint but dispersed coastal community situated on the outskirts of Hilo Bay, an area that throughout the remainder of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was transforming into the main port, mission center, and bustling town. Much of the written history discussing the life of the people of Keaukaha during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century comes from the writings of Kelsey and Nālimu (Nalimu n.d.) and oral histories conducted by Akoi (1989) with those residents that lived in the area before the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community was established. From Nālimu, we know that a school existed in the area of Nāōla'a, east of the Study Area and that at Puhi and Kulapae were villages (Nalimu n.d.). From Akoi's (1989:11) interview with Mary

Kahaawi Kua, who was born in 1911 and lived in Keaukaha “way past Seaside” before the establishment of the homestead (Hawaii Tribune-Herald 1990), we learn of the families that lived in this area:

I am Mary Kua who lived in old Keaukaha before Hawaiian Homes ever was. Those days where I lived way past Seaside, there were only four houses. They were the Kapuni family, the Kahaawi family my family, the Mokuole family and the Malo family (Mary Kua in Ako'i 1989).

Kua also recalled how her grandparent's two homes were thatched, one with *pili* and the other with *lauhala*, and that “when it rained these huts never leaked.” Her parent's home, on the other hand, was “a corrugated iron and board house” (Ako'i 1989:11).

In Ako'i's (1989) interview with George Kahoilua, born in 1909 (Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1990), he recalled growing up at Keonekahakaha, which was also where his father George Nakapuahi Kahoilua was raised. Kahoilua added that the property at Keonekahakaha was owned by his great-great-grandfather and that a portion of the property was given to the [Mormon] church. In Ako'i's interview with Edith Kanaka'ole, she shared that the Kahoilua's home at Keonekahakaha was a “two story grass hut” which was “given to the church and used as the church's first chapel” (Ako'i 1989:14). In recalling memories of going to school in Waiākea, Kahoilua described walking with the neighborhood children and that “all we had was a trail plus the big guava trees and pili grass” (Ako'i 1989:13). Kahoilua also recalled memories of “a man named Kanakaleonui” who lived “where Doc. Hill's place is,” just inland of Keōkea Point, northeast of the Study Area (Ako'i 1989:14).

From the oral histories (Ako'i 1989), we know that the Hawaiian families that lived in the Keaukaha area during this time and through the formative years of the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community, were working-class families that also depended on the land and sea for their subsistence. The *kūpuna* whose interviews are drawn from in this section are Mary Kua, George Kaho'ilua, Louise Kaho'ilua, Akui Aina, Edith and Luka Kanaka'ole, Lucy Loa, Kaimoon Calles, Abbie Napeahi, Henry 'Auwae, Agnes 'Auwae, Ethel Pua Borges, and Eleanor 'Ahuna. Their stories of life in the community in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century offer an invaluable source for understanding land and sea use in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

#### ***Lawai'a (Fishing): Sustained By The Sea***

For early Hawaiian homesteaders, fishing was central to their diets and livelihoods. The brackish waters, sheltered bays, and numerous ponds along the coast were ideal habitats for numerous marine species. In *Ku'u Home o Keaukaha* (Ako'i 1989), *kūpuna* (elders) shared the following information regarding the fishing practices of the community. As evidenced in the recollections cited below, the gathering of marine resources was conducted throughout the coastline using a variety of methods for the early homestead residents:

**Mary Kua:** “We fished, we picked opihi, wana, from the beach we lived on. To preserve our fish, we cleaned them, slit, salted and then dried them. I loved fishing with the pole, and we use to have black crab (aama) shrimp and he'e (squid).” (in Ako'i 1989:11)

**George Kaho'ilua:** “I used to do a lot of fishing and diving. In front of Onekahakaha, out in the water, there use to be a round rock. The waves always went over that. That's the best fishing ground. It is deep, but fish always hang around that area.”

“The only thing you have to watch is the sharks. So far, my grandfather use to tell us, “As long as you were born in this area, you don't have to worry about sharks.” All you had to do was chase them out, so that has been grown in us. When I go diving about thirty or forty feet, we never bothered with them. We just catch what we want and bring back.” (in Ako'i 1989:13).

**Akui Aina:** “I know this place very well. The ocean was our fishing ground. We use to get wana, opihi, and the fish was plenty. We didn't need stores then.”

“This is a story my father told me. He went fishing with Poohina Kealohapauole. They went out about fifty miles or more in the biggest and fastest canoe which he built himself. About afternoon, my father looked toward the sun. He saw two lights as the waves went up and down. He told his companion to look, and he saw the same thing - two lanterns.

My father told him to haul everything up and put up the sail. He said, “This is life or death!” My father already knew that it was a tiger shark, the Hawaiians called it ni'uhi. Lucky the wind helped them. When they came by Leleiwi, the shark was catching up to them. My father told his friend to throw some fishes, but when he threw them, they went sideways and the shark didn't catch them. So my father told him to throw the fish the wide way and the shark caught them a couple times. But it would always catch up with them.



My father told his friend, “Tie the ahi (yellow fin tuna) on the sharp part of the canoe.” Again he said, “This is life or death, if we are successful we’ll be alright.” When the shark came and opened his mouth and grabbed hold of the fish, the canoe went all kinds of ways. Well, the sharp point of the canoe got stuck under the jaw, then pau he let go. So from that day on, they didn’t know what ever happened to the shark, whether it still was alive or dead.”

My father and mother went fishing down Waiuli side. Waiuli is where Leleiwi Park is now. They went cross netting. After they set the net, they pounded the water with a wood ball and a long oar. The fish got scared and swam into the net and got caught.

That night after fishing, on their way home, they misjudged the channel coming inside. They got caught in a wave, and the canoe turned over. My mother came up, she looked around for my father, but she couldn’t see because she was almost blind since my birth. She yelled for my father, and he said, “I’m behind here.” He was hanging on to the canoe because he didn’t know how to swim but he went fishing anyway.

My mother couldn’t swim either, but grabbed him by his hair, and lifted him up and swam to shore where the breakers are. She didn’t swim the channel, because the current was too strong, so she went where it wasn’t strong until she came inside. And that’s how his hair saved his life! He never cut his hair, he left it long.” (in Akoi 1989:15-19)

**Lucy Loa:** “My family was a working family. When we were all living together my mother use to catch our dinners. She went to the beach and catch fish with her bare hands. She would feel under the rocks to see if there were any fish. Then she would build up rocks in a circle so when the tide goes up, the fish goes in. Then a little later when the tide goes down, the fish can’t go back out. That’s when she uses her hands to catch the fish. She would do that everyday to get something to eat.” (in Akoi 1989:46)

**Kaimoon Calles:** “In fishing we use to tie a strong string around our waist with a piece of wire acting as a needle to poke the fish through. As we speared, we would put the fish in the string around our waist. When the string was full, we would swim to shore and empty them into a container. Then go fish some more. We had to put a padding behind our backs so the fish would not bite or poke us. We could catch uhu, kole, and any kind of fish this way.

We were not afraid of sharks. My mother taught us that there was always one shark that took care of its own area, from one end of the bay to the other end. We would also give the shark some of our fish. We started fishing from Scout Island and come up behind Doc. Hill’s place.

For net fishing, a man watches a wave carefully. He can see fish turn in the wave by their colors. Then he throw his net.” (in Akoi 1989:48)

**Abbie Napeahi:** “There’s one particular area that is still in my mind and that is Scout Island. It was a famous part of our growing up. That area was filled with fish and wana and Uncle Akui and his mother, though she was blind, was able to fish and bring home her family to eat. I watched that woman dive in the water and cast a net around the rocks and turn the rocks up and down and the fish would run into the net and she would pick them up and that would be sufficient for her family’s meal. Later on I was able to go with Uncle Akui and be able to see his skill in knowing where to fish and how to fish. He is a very intelligent individual as far as fishing is concerned.” (in Akoi 1989:50-51).

**Eleanor Ahuna:** “My grandfather was one of the first homesteaders to come on Hawaiian Home lands in Keaukaha. He was a good police office who rode on a horse. His sister, who was my grandaunt, was a fisherwoman and everybody knew her as Auntie Kalei, but I called her Tutu Kalei. Her full name was Kalei Waipa Kealohapauole Kepakaio.

She would lead the family to the Baker’s beach in back of Doc Hill’s. She would cross the nets and then everyone would kapeku (to make noise by splashing water). She lay nets, throw nets, dive, and do everything that a fisherman could do. She was a very good and skillful person.”

“I remember living at the beaches a lot of times as a youngster. My father would build us a tent and it was usually at breakwater or down in front of the sewer system. We would stay for months at a time and the only things that would send us home were stormy weather, strong winds, or high waves. All of our relatives and friends would come down and they would bring food.

My mother and I would go out to the breakwater and bring opihi, crab and hau‘uke‘uke. Dad would go diving and get wana. We never had to worry about paying our electricity and water bills or anything like that because we lived at the beach most of the time. I think that my childhood way of living was really like the way the old Hawaiians lived, in that they lived close to nature and off nature.” (in Akoi 1989:70-71)

In addition to the oral history excerpts presented above, a review of newspaper articles dating between 1920-1925 illustrates efforts by Keaukaha fishers to provide freshly caught fish for the local market. Often cited in these articles is John Ma‘a, Clerk of the local tax office who employed native fishers to catch fish from the Keaukaha coastline for sale at the market in Hilo. The types of fish species hauled from the waters of Keaukaha included “several varieties of uhu, brownish, blue and grey colors, which quickly sold at 25 cents per pound, some of the fish weighing between six and ten pounds” and other reef species including “manini, palani, maikoiko, which are all considered delicious eating” (Hilo Daily Tribune 1920:3). One newspaper article from the January 28, 1925 edition of the *Hawaii Tribune-Herald* describes the following tragedy of John Kahaku, age 80 and who, at that time, was considered “one of the oldest fishermen on the Island of Hawaii.”

John Kahaku, 80 years old and one of the oldest fishermen on the Island of Hawaii, took his canoe out last Friday morning from the beach at **Keaukaha** for the purpose of pulling in his lobster net, which had been lying some two miles out during the night.

As Kahaku was exalting over the catch of five lobsters his eye was attracted by a fire on the beach. Looking closely he beheld his fishing shack in flames. Dropping the net he paddled for shore but arrived too late. The shack and all that it contained was burned to the ground.

His nets, his clothes, everything that he owned in the world went up in smoke, except for a number of chickens, his dog and the garments he wore.

Kahaku made his way to Hilo, clad in fishing trousers and an old undershirt, all he had left, and sought his friend A. K. Aona, clerk of the circuit court.

Aona, who built the original shack for the old man some years ago, after hearing his tale, bought him a pair of trousers, a shirt and blankets and gave him money to keep him going until a new house could be built for him.

Aona is asking all who feel that they can contribute a bit to help Kahaku get a new start, to call on him. Harry Stroup, police reporter for The Tribune Herald, likewise will receive contributions. (Hawaii Tribune-Herald 1925a:1)

Just as fishing was a mainstay practice of the area’s people, *mahi‘ai* (farming) was also widely practiced. Information concerning the cultivation practices are further described in the ensuing section.

#### **Cultivating The Land: *Mahi‘ai* (Farming) Practices**

In addition to *lawai‘a*, land cultivation was another means by which food was produced. Although most of the Keaukaha coastline was not as fertile as other parts of the islands due to the *pāhoehoe* flows that covered the landscape, Hawaiians in the area utilized an array of dryland agricultural techniques to produce high yields of *‘uala* (sweet potato), *kalo* (taro), *mai‘a* (bananas), and other staple crops. In the early years of the homestead community, the Hawaiian Homes Commission noted the success of homesteaders in cultivating food after the first two years of settlement in Keaukaha. Prior to this, the Commission and others were skeptical as to whether these lands would produce a decent number of crops. By 1927, homesteaders were effectively cultivating their lots and producing an abundance of food crops. As an example, the following opinion piece, published in the *Hawaii Tribune-Herald*, praised homesteaders for their success in growing watermelon in Keaukaha:

Editor, Tribune-Herald:

I wish to extend my heartfelt congratulations to the water-melon farmers of the **Keaukaha** district upon the great success of their first crop.

You must realize that the condition of the land is very poor; nothing but rocks and guava bushes. Confident and game, the farmers set to work clearing the land of its debris. Each crack filled with soil provided a start for a seed. Each melon meant an income.

Now the land is more than repaying the farmers for their untiring efforts in the raising of this lucrative crop. Keep up the good work, you melon farmers.—A Hi-Y-Member. (Hawaii Tribune-Herald 1927b:8)

Another article from the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, published in 1921 and titled “Favors Opening Hilo Lands For House Building. Neither Panaewa or Keaukaha Suitable for Crops Declare George Cooke,” alludes to the Commission’s skepticism regarding the fertility of Pana‘ewa and Keaukaha, yet noted that the *pu‘epu‘e* (piling stones and soil together) method of growing food was already practiced by those living in Keaukaha:

Although declaring that, in his opinion, the lands of Panaewa and Keaukaha, Hawaii, made available for settlement under the rehabilitation project, cannot be classed as agricultural or pastoral lands, George P. Cooke, executive secretary, will recommend to the Hawaiian homes commission at its meeting tomorrow that these areas be cut up into lots and assigned to Hawaiians as home sites.

Secretary Cooke and Delegate J. K. Kalanianaʻole, a member of the commission, returned to Honolulu yesterday morning from the Big Island, where they inspected the Panaewa and Keaukaha tracts. Secretary Cooke today prepared a detailed report to the commission, and in it he states that in his opinion, the areas could be developed but little commercially. He states that both he and the delegate found that there exists a great need for homes for Hawaiians, and he will recommend to the commission that, if possible, the Hawaiian homes act be amended, if the plan cannot be developed under the act as it now stands, so that house lots may be assigned to Hawaiians, and that a loan, not to exceed \$1000, be made to each to assist the lessee in building a home.

“These lands,” says Secretary Cooke, “cannot be classed as agricultural-pastoral lands, but we believe them to be suitable for home sites.”

### **Considered Joke By Some**

While on Hawaii, says Chairman Cooke, he heard conflicting stories as to why the lands of Panaewa and Keaukaha were included in the bill as among available lands ready for settlement. One story was to the effect that they were included on the understanding that they would assist the measure, while the other was, in effect, that they were included for the purpose of ridiculing the bill.

The land of Keaukaha was found to be very rough, being “pahoe-hoe” and “aa.” It supports guava, Hilo grass and some ferns. The shore line is rocky, and a few homes have been established along the shore. The farming method of “puepue” is practiced, which means that piles are made of small stones, interspersed with soil in which are planted bananas, sweet potatoes and taro. One settler stated he was able to raise the bulk of his food on his house lot, which contained about an acre. He stated he sold from his lot about \$75 worth of products a year, these being purchased by passersby, and that he did not endeavor to dispose of his goods to a market owing to transportation difficulties and the low price offered by dealers.

On the evening of December 9 a public meeting was held at Hilo, attended by about 120 Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians, many of whom were women.

### **Couldn’t Use a Plow**

Secretary Cooke says that if the lands were converted into house lots, the owner could grow limited amounts of fruit and vegetables on the place, but declared that the land could not be worked with anything but a pickaxe, and that a plow could not be operated because of the composition of the land.

“By dividing the lands up into house lots,” he adds, “the commission would at least be giving homes to a large number of Hawaiians and getting them away from the tenements. Many Hawaiians who are now employed on the Big Island would welcome the opportunity to obtain homes of their own.” (Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1921:1)

In 1927, another article published under the title “Applicants Will Draw For Chance To Secure Lands. Roads Throughout Area Are Nearing Completion And Ditching Underway. Hawaiian Homes Commission Urged to Allot 300 More Tracts at Keaukaha” in the *Hawai‘i Tribune-Herald*, makes note of a man named “Kupe” and his success in cultivating his house lot. Below is an excerpt from the article with a focus on the gardens in the homestead community:

### **Land Is Productive**

One of the interesting features of the rehabilitation movement is the amount of produce that has been taken from the barren land with which the natives have to work. On one homestead, held by an Hawaiian named Kupe, papaias, bananas, breadfruit, pineapples, sugar cane, sweet potatoes,

avacado pears, taro and numerous flowering plants are growing as luxuriantly as though the soil were 20 feet deep, yet there is hardly a trace of earth on the pahoe hoe.

Kupe claims that he had no doubts as to the amount of produce he could use when he first saw his lot. He has done work on similar land before and uses the primitive Hawaiian methods of intensive cultivation.

#### Evidence of Settlement

In his work he has uncovered numerous mounds of earth surrounded by hills of stone in which he believes ancient Hawaiians planted their taro and sweet potatoes. According to Kupe and several other residents there are evidences of a large settlement at Keaukaha in years gone by.

Climate at Keaukaha is far superior than that in town, according to Kupe. He has lived at Pueeo, Kaumana, and Waiakea, but at none of his previous residences has he found the same invigorating climate and the same desirable living conditions as at his present home.

Kupe believes that the Hawaiian Home Rehabilitation act is the finest law that congress has passed in favor of the Hawaiians on the Big Island and he is very grateful to the late Prince Kuhio Kalanianaʻole for his work in putting the bill through.

#### Bananas Grow Well

There are other homesteads as productive as Kupe's. On almost every land one sees useful vegetation growing from seemingly solid lava. Banana trees sprout from cracks in the pahoe hoe where small deposits of soil have accumulated. Taro is grown in almost sufficient quantities to supply the homesteaders' tables with poi, while hills of sweet potatoes add another staple to the daily diet.

Each homesteader has running water, piped from the Kaumana reservoir, for drinking and washing purposes.

Cooking is done either out of doors over an open fire or over a small kerosene oil stove indoors. A glimpse into the kitchen of one humble home revealed a bright shiny row of aluminum utensils and all the orderliness and cleanliness of any modern kitchen. (Hawaii Tribune-Herald 1927a:1, 5)

In *Ku'u Home o Keaukaha*, the following stories were shared regarding the gardens that homesteaders cultivated on their lots. Although the land did not have deep deposits of soil, this did not hinder community members from cultivating an assortment of food crops and ornamental plants:

**Mary Kua:** "We planted sweet potatoes, our own taro, bananas, peanuts and carnations." There were always carnations planted in the different yards, sugar cane too." (in Akoi 1989:11)

**Akui Aina:** "Now this modern generation wonders how can people raise big families and provide food for them? I followed what my father did. We had taro, sweet potato, sugar cane, a few chickens, pigs, and there was plenty of fish. Sugar cane was our sugar, and we dried up the ocean water and got our salt." (in Akoi 1989:17)

**Edith Kanaka'ole:** "Our chores were to plant flowers, potatoes, taro, bananas, and other things to eat. No one had time to go swimming until all work has done." (in Akoi 1989:22)

**Luka Kanaka'ole:** "We planted things like sweet sour sap, mango, kukui, laamia. Laamia is a round seed that is used as ili-ili's. That type of plant is rarely found around now." (in Akoi 1989:55)

**Louise Kaho'ilua:** "For food, my parents would plant sweet potatoes, bananas and taro, a few vegetables." (in Akoi 1989:25)

"I remember she (Kaho'ilua's mother) planted all kinds of plants, anything you can think of she planted. That's one thing, we never had dirt, we couldn't even bulldoze as there wasn't any, and my mother would scrape the dirt and plant her onions and whatever and those things would really grow! I guess the soil was real good at that time. The pineapples were real huge and they were planted on rocks. And now when I try to do the same it doesn't happen that way."

"The taro and sweet potatoes were grown right in our yard. The sweet potatoes came real nice and big. Sometimes we used old tires from old automobiles and we would pile the dirt inside and plant our potatoes. The tires kept the dirt from running away when it rained." (in Akoi 1989:26-27)

**Kaimoon Calles:** "There was plenty of food. Ulu, poi, rice, sweet potato, fish, opihi, pipipi. We hardly ate meat but we had plenty to eat. To drink, my mother picked the nehe tea. These were leaves belonging to the kuku or prickly needle plant. We would drink this with brown sugar." (in Akoi 1989:48)

**Henry and Agnes ‘Auwae:** “When we moved to Keaukaha, we use to plant according to the moon. We fished according to the moon. That’s the way of life during those days roughly about 40 years ago. We planted potatoes, taro, watermelons, our neighbors were shocked! Our watermelons were so huge! Beans we use to plant, raise chickens, pigs.” (in Akoī 1989:60)

**Eleanor Ahuna:** “We lived on taro, ulu, and sweet potato. We grew taro where the present airport runway is located. Very seldom did we have rice.

I remember the area that our park is in right now. It was just young guava trees and nahelehele. The trees were not too high. You could look above trees and see Keaukaha School on the other side. The tallest trees were the puhala. The ohia trees were in the back street portion. The mango and other big trees were planted by the people who came into Keaukaha to live. There were many empty lots between the homes as not too many people lived here.” (in Akoī 1989:71)

## Burials

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and centuries prior, burials in Keaukaha were oftentimes located in caves and other lava rock crevices. A plot of land in Keonekahakaha was also used during this period as a burial ground for families residing in the area, and in 1921, the Hawai‘i County Board of Supervisors passed a resolution “requesting that the government and the public lands committee set aside a portion of the Keaukaha lands, near the Mormon Church, for a cemetery and burial grounds, for the residents of Keaukaha having buried their dead there for many years” (Hilo Daily Tribune 1921e:3). Archaeological documentation of burials in this area are poor, but fragmentary information regarding the presence of burials beyond the Keaukaha cemetery indicate that the dead were buried inland south of the coastline. Two *kūpuna* in *Ku‘u Home o Keaukaha* (Akoī 1989) spoke of the burial practices they remembered while growing up in the late 19<sup>th</sup> through early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries:

**Mary Kua:** “If someone died, like my grandparents, they were all buried in the caves behind the houses. There is a cave in the back of where the Baldwins live now. The bodies were wrapped in lauhala, sheets or put in coffins. We got the caskets from the county by boats. Our donkeys, Lady and Polokake helped carry heavy things for us.” (in Akoī 1989:12)

**Kaimoon Calles:** “There were no funeral parlors. We buried our people in our yards or in caves where the airport now is. A party was held after a funeral so families could forget their sorrows.” (in Akoī 1989:48)

In 1925, during the clearing of the first landing field in Hilo (now part of the Hilo International Airport), a burial complex was discovered and written about in *The Hawaii Tribune-Herald*. Titled “Ancient Burial Cave Found In Waiakea Region,” the article makes note of the contents of the burial cave, including the names of some of those who were buried there. Akoī (1989:48) included the article in *Ku‘u Home o Keaukaha*, and noted that Elizabeth Maiwela “confirmed the cave belonged to her family, the Kahauolopua, for many years:”

Discovery of an old Hawaiian burial cave was made yesterday afternoon, by laborers engaged in clearing the Hilo airport site in Waiakea, revealing a secret family cemetery used for centuries. How far the cave extends or how many internments have been made there has not been ascertained, but after a cursory investigation about 50 caskets were found.

The spot where the discovery was made is about 400 yards from the tuna canning plant and 200 feet mauka of the Hilo rifle range road. A cypress tree makes a distinctive landmark at this place.

Aside from some resident Hawaiians, few people are aware that private burial places are scattered through the Waiakea and Keaukaha lands it is said by kamaainas. As the laborers approached this particular place, in the clearing of the land, they were informed by an aged Hawaiian living in the district, that they were venturing in the vicinity of sacred ground.

### Entrances Found

With this admonition, the men kept a sharp lookout in their work and at 2 p.m. yesterday discovered an entrance to the cave, five feet from the cypress tree. About 40 feet further a second entrance was found. Each of these entrances is too small to admit a full sized casket and was apparently formed by a small caving in of the roof of the cave. Where the burial entrance is located has not been discovered and owing to the habit of the Hawaiians in hiding such places with large boulders it may never be found out.

At the two places of entrance the cave is less than three feet high and it is with difficulty that a person can crawl through. Equipped with kerosene torches, some of the workmen made their way from one entrance to the other and from the second they found the cave branching in three directions.

Following one of these courses a room was found high enough for a man to stand upright. Here the caskets were found.

All of them were much decayed and some even crumbled to dust. Here and there few skulls had rolled to the floor. Five were counted. A number of articles of minor importance were found, the most interesting of which was a chime clock of German make and its bells still giving out a musical note at the touch of a spring. Nothing of value or ancient usage was discovered.

From old-timers who best know the place, it is learned that the last burial here, with one exception, was of Kaelemakule, who died in 1914 at the age of 105. The one exception was the burial of a little son of Mr. and Mrs. James Kekela, who was drowned eight years ago. It is reported that the cave has been used as a private burial ground for more than 200 years by the Kahauolopua family.

With the introduction and enforcement of modern burial laws, the ancient customs of the Hawaiians have largely disappeared. Their ancient burial rites and forms are still adhered to in some of the more remote parts of the islands.

According to old custom, it is related, each Hawaiian family had its own burial plot, the secrecy of its location jealously guarded and every means used to prevent discovery. Internments were made at night and only the closest relations bore the remains to their last resting place.

Delbert E. Metzger, Hilo attorney, says that 17 or 18 years ago he knew of some of his workmen being buried in the Keaukaha district, but he never learned where any of the bodies were taken to. In all the quarrying work he did for the first section of the Hilo breakwater, no burial caves were found, but when he opened the Kapoho quarry, he says that the first dislodging of rock disclosed a large cave.

W. A. Todd, fire chief, is authority for the story that in ancient times there were about 10 factions, or tribal divisions of the natives on this island.

#### **As Spoils of War**

“It was the custom for one tribe to make war on another, and among the spoils of war one of the most sought objects were bones of the victims from their burial caves,” Todd says.

“These bones would be used to make fish hooks and as spear points and other implements of war.

“It was for this cause that the chiefs ordered their subjects to find secret burial places for their respective families and hold internments secretly at night. Through the centuries the custom became ingrown. The discovery of the Waiakea cave is one of the largest examples of the kind existing,” Todd declared.

From Police Office James Kekela it is learned that Kaimu Nakaikuana, a daughter of Kaelemakule, is living at his home and is well past 100 years of age. Mrs. Kekela is a granddaughter of this aged Hawaiian who still retains clear mental faculties but has grown blind with age. (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1925b:1,5)

### **The Transformation of Crown Lands Post-1893**

The late 19<sup>th</sup> century was a tumultuous time in the Kingdom of Hawai‘i as the eighth reigning monarch, Queen Lili‘uokalani faced serious pressure from American businessmen to abdicate her throne. On January 17, 1893, a small group of American businessmen and sugar moguls backed by a U.S. consul and marines illegally attacked the Hawaiian Kingdom government and the sovereign, Queen Lili‘uokalani (Beamer 2014). This group, consisting of thirteen men who referred to themselves as the Committee of Safety, and following the overthrow, proclaimed to be the Provisional Government that would manage the affairs of the Hawaiian Kingdom (Beamer 2014; Van Dyke 2008). The overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom government had a rippling effect that caused major instability for the Hawaiian nation and altered how Crown lands, such as Waiākea, were administered. To provide a context of how Crown lands were administered before 1893, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, Curtis P. Iaukea explained that:

Heretofore, or prior to January 17<sup>th</sup>, 1893, the Crown Lands were administered more or less in the nature of a private-estate, it being held that the Sovereign, to whom the revenues belonged, had a vested right to the lands. As the question of the validity of the claim was never raised, the Sovereign always exercised a certain amount of control over the management and disposition of the lands.

At the beginning of the year 1892, a new system of leasing was introduced, the main feature of which was to secure to small holders, more particularly native Hawaiians, the opportunity of

acquiring under fair conditions suitable sections on the Crown Lands, for homestead and agricultural purposes. (Iaukea 1894:3-4)

Van Dyke (2008:153) stated that “[s]ome also believed that abrogation of the Monarchy would open up the Government and Crown Lands for exploitation.” This belief was publicized as early as 1872 by Stanford B. Dole, the acting President of the Provisional Government. In an article published in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (1872:2) newspaper, Dole asserted that preserving Crown lands as inalienable under an 1865 Statute was a “mistaken policy.” Dole believed that maintaining Crown lands as inalienable hampered the economic development of the islands and argued that these lands should be made available to foreigners for homesteading (Van Dyke 2008). Following the overthrow of 1893, sizable portions of the previously inalienable Crown lands were administered in the same manner as Government lands thus making them available for homesteading and other public and private purposes. In his biennial report, Curtis Iaukea, Agent of Crown Lands, provided the following description of Waiākea. Although brief, his description points to features along the Waiākea coastline and notes ongoing and prospective land use during this time:

WAIAKEA—This head embraces all that land lying on the south side of Hilo and extending from the sea to the slope of Maunaloa far above the forest belt, a distance of 15 miles. The land on the coast is very rocky excepting about the bay at the mouth of the Waiakea river, a tract of about 100 acres, which is very valuable. The portions along the Volcano road and above or mauka of it are somewhat rocky, but the soil is very rich and is mostly under the cultivation of cane by the Waiakea Mill Co. This section contains about 3000 acres of good cane land. Above this and extending into the forest, which is very dense, is a vast region of excellent coffee land equally as good as the Olaa lands. A good road connects the plantation with Hilo town. The sugar from the Mill is boated down the Waiakea river about half a mile to the landing. A very good fishery belongs to the land, and several excellent fishponds. There are no running streams on the land, but several fine springs, especially at the sea coast. The ohia forest extends to within a mile of the coast and 2 miles to the Waiakea side of the harbor. Area about 95,000 acres.

The change in the way Crown lands were administered following the 1893 overthrow (and subsequent annexation in 1898 followed by incorporation as a Territory of the United States in 1900) ushered in major changes to Waiākea. Lands once held by the Crown became widely available and several large-scale projects were soon undertaken near the Study Area. Such projects included the construction of the Hilo Breakwater, Kūhiō Wharf, and the General Lyman Airfield, all of which were occurring just before and throughout the establishment of the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community.

To contextualize how the aforementioned public projects impacted and geographically shaped and reshaped the Study Area, the following section begins with a discussion of the establishment of the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community between 1921-1930. This is followed by a presentation on the development of the Hilo Breakwater, Kūhiō Wharf, and the General Lyman Airfield.

## **THE ESTABLISHMENT & DEVELOPMENT OF THE KEAUKAHA TRACT 1 HAWAIIAN HOME LANDS COMMUNITY**

This section summarizes the passage of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920, and the establishment of the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community—the first Hawaiian homestead community on Hawai‘i Island created under the Act. This section begins with a brief description of the Hawaiian Protective Association and the first Hawaiian Civic Club, two organizations formed during the mid-to-late 1910s to advocate for Hawaiian rehabilitation, as well as the political implications and legislative history of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920. Following this introduction, two sections of curated historical newspaper articles are provided, providing first-hand accounts of the community’s establishment and growth in these formative years. The articles attest to Keaukaha’s first homesteaders who worked tirelessly to clear their lots, cultivate food, build their homes, raise their families, and advocate for basic infrastructures like water, roads, and electricity. On several occasions, they also contested the sale of land in Keaukaha that they believed to be Hawaiian Home Lands. The section ends with a brief history of the development of the street system in the community.

### **The Hawaiian Protective Association, The Hawaiian Civic Club, And The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920 (1921)**

On July 9, 1921, the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920 (HHCA; also known as the Act) was signed into U.S. federal law by President Warren Harding. As described in the *United States Statutes at Large* (42 Stat. 108), the Act

codified numerous amendments to the Hawaiian Organic Act (also known as “An Act to Provide a government for the Territory of Hawaii”), including the establishment of the Hawaiian Homes Commission and the creation of Hawaiian home lands. Section 203 of the Act clearly articulated that the land base for Hawaiian home lands would derive from “available lands,” i.e. “all public lands” except for “(a) all lands within any forest reservation, (b) all cultivated sugar-cane lands, and (c) all public lands held under a certificate of occupation, homestead lease, right of purchase lease, or special homestead agreement.” The Act made clear that within five years after the first meeting of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, the only lands that would “be available for use and disposition” were lands situated on Moloka‘i and Hawai‘i Island. In East Hawai‘i, these lands consisted of Waimanu in the district of Hāmākua and the areas of Pana‘ewa and Keaukaha in South Hilo. Lastly, the Act established the U.S. Federal definition of “native Hawaiian” to mean “any descendant of not less than one-half part of the blood of the races inhabiting the Hawaiian Islands previous to 1778,” a definition which continues to be contested today for the ways in which it reifies blood quantum as a measure of Hawaiian indigeneity (Kauanui 2008).

The final version of the bill that would become the HHCA of 1920 represented years of organizing within the Hawaiian community led by political and religious leaders, coupled with numerous debates and political compromises in Hawai‘i’s Territorial Legislature and U.S. Congress that diminished the bill’s efficacy. As McGregor (1990) notes, the idea for a bill to rehabilitate native Hawaiians and return them to a land base stemmed from the efforts of middle/upper-class Hawaiian elites who wanted to find solutions to the dismal conditions—living in tenements, high death rates, alcoholism, and so forth—that many Hawaiians experienced in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the years leading up to the passage of the Act, these elites led efforts to form two political and social welfare organizations based in Honolulu that would advance their interests and promote Hawaiian rehabilitation: Ka ‘Ahahui Pu‘uhonua O Nā Hawai‘i (Hawaiian Protective Association) and the first Hawaiian Civic Club (now the Hawaiian Civic Club of Honolulu).

Ka ‘Ahahui Pu‘uhonua O Nā Hawai‘i was officially formed on November 13, 1914, when 200 Hawaiians met at the Waikīkī residence of Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole (Figures 26 and 27), Hawai‘i’s U.S. Delegate to Congress from 1903 until his death in 1922 (McGregor 1990:1). “From 1914 through 1928, the organization published its own newspaper and attracted into its ranks Hawaiian political leaders who were interested in uplifting the Hawaiian people through education, steady work, sobriety, and commercial enterprise” (McGregor 1990:1-2). McGregor (1990:2) recognized the ‘Ahahui as the organization that developed the initial plan for Hawaiian rehabilitation that became the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920.



Figure 26. Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole ca. 1871-1922. Image source: Hawaii State Archives PP-97-2-016.



Figure 27. Princess Elizabeth Kahanu Ka‘auwai Kalaniana‘ole and Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole at their silver anniversary at their Waikīkī Home in 1921. Image source: Hawai‘i State Archives PP-97-2-015



Four years later, in November of 1918, Prince Kūhiō met with Rudolph Duncan, Jesse Uluihi, John C. Lane, and Noa Aluli (Kūhiō and Lane are pictured in Figure 28) and decided that an “Ad Club” was necessary to “draw together the leading middle to upper-class Hawaiians to work on the tenement issue and to help gain support for a rehabilitation program” (McGregor 1990:4-5). In December of that year, their conversation led to a meeting of forty Hawaiians who met at the Alexander Young Hotel to form the first Hawaiian Civic Club. McGregor (1990:5) offered clarification regarding the differences between the two organizations and their activities:

The original purpose of the Hawaiian Civic Club was to create an open forum for Hawaiians to discuss and take action on matters of importance affecting the welfare of the Hawaiian people and to perpetuate the language, history, traditions, music, dances, and other cultural traditions of Hawai‘i. As it turned out, the first order of business for the clubs was the passage of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act.

The Ahahui Pu‘uhonua itself continued its programs of education and social work. Through churches, letters, news articles, and home visits, members taught Hawaiians about the dangers of the congested and poor living conditions of the city, pointed out the advantages of the country and outdoor life, extolled the benefit of sanitary and hygienic living, explained the advantages of home economics, offered instruction in pre-natal care and the care of infants, and emphasize the value of saving money. The volunteers worked through special agencies to get as many Hawaiian students as possible to take up special training in agriculture, medicine, law, dentistry, and other skills and trades that would help uplift the race. They encouraged the Hawaiians to purchase or lease homestead lands to live upon and secure their food and other necessities of life. In Honolulu, they encouraged Hawaiians to purchase and own and never to sell their own homes.



Figure 28. Congressional visit to Hawaii, 1915. Left to right: Representative Carter Glass; Speaker Holstein of the House of Representatives, Honolulu; Prince Kūhiō, Delegate to Congress; Representative Phil Campbell of Kansas; and Mayor John C. Lane of Honolulu. Image source: Hawai‘i State Archives, Albert P Taylor Collection PP-97-2-009.

J. Kēhaulani Kauanui in her work *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism And The Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (2008) offers one of the few book-length studies that closely analyzed the territorial and federal legislative debates that resulted in the passage of the HHCA of 1920. Kauanui's overall assessment of the records is that the HHCA, 1920 was co-opted by sugar interests in the islands "to amend the Organic Act land laws by repealing homesteading for the general public under the pretext of rehabilitating Hawaiians" (Kauanui 2008:165). With regards to the Hawaiian Protective Association and the Hawaiian Civic Club, she offered the following analysis:

The elite Kānaka Maoli in the Hawaiian Protective Association and the Hawaiian Civic Club first proposed rehabilitation through land reclamation as a form of reparation for those in dire straits who were likely to be *maka'āinana* and therefore had been disproportionately dispossessed through the Māhele division when the lands were allotted to the crown, and had subsequently been further removed after the U.S. backed overthrow of their monarch, the establishment of the provisional government, and the Republic of Hawaii in 1894. The republic then ceded these lands to the United States when it unilaterally annexed Hawai'i against the consent of Kanaka Maoli, and they became the "public lands" of the colonial territory in 1898. In the HHCA debates, both Wise and Kalaniana'ole argued that Hawaiians at large had a vested interest in these same lands. They maintained that these lands were held for the benefit of the people by the sovereign and had been stole through the overthrow and later ceded to the United States at the time of annexation, without Hawaiian consent. Even though the legality of U.S. control over those lands was subtly contested, neither the congressional nor territorial representatives agreed on whether the lands were part of the public domain or a Hawaiian inheritance. Their lack of agreement seems to have led to a revised approach taken by the Hawaiians involved in the debates, who underscored the connection between land access and a *moral obligation* to aid Hawaiians—hence, their focus on rehabilitation. (Kauanui 2008:79-80)

Kauanui expanded on this later in the text, while simultaneously outlining how the Act's power and purpose were diminished by political and economic interests:

What began as a well-intentioned plan for rehabilitation became problematically tied to welfare notions that constructed Hawaiians as a beneficiary class using blood criterion as a measure of social competency. Hawaiians of 50-percent were regarded as fully competent and therefore not in need of any land-leasing assistance since it was assumed that they could effectively compete in the free-market economy and secure their own property, and Asian blood among racially mixed Hawaiians was evoked to discount Hawaiian indigeneity. It was within this operational logic that identity was determined "in the blood." As the bill was progressively transformed, the project became little more than a rationale for changing Hawai'i's land laws to empower the sugar plantations and ranches a change which destroyed homesteading in the broadest sense for all people in Hawai'i. All along, the planters wanted one particular section of the Organic Act eliminated—that upon expiration of a lease, land would be withdrawn and opened to homesteading (Wright 1972:32).

Although the act was seen as helping a declining race, it was sharply limited in its potential for rehabilitating Hawaiians. Moreover, by advancing sugar and ranching interests, it adversely impacted small farmers at large. Accounting for the breakdown of the act's original rehabilitative intentions, Ulla Hasager argues that its outcome was a "tripartite form of political cooperation" among the federal and territorial bodies as well as the local ruling business elite (1997: 170-171). While the state goal of those in support of the HHCA was to increase the Hawaiian population, the act made no provision for any increases in that population in terms of the potential for increased availability of lands for leasing. As it was, only 10 percent of the acres set aside were usable for agriculture and pastoral purposes, and only two percent of that could be could be [sic] developed at a reasonable cost (Kent 1993:76).

The compromise of redefining "native Hawaiian" by a one-half blood quantum criterion—rather than accepting a more inclusive one-thirty-second definition or a hyperexclusive "full-blood" definition—seems to have been a last ditch effort to contain the bill's impact on the part of its opponents and a desperate attempt, by its supporters, to salvage *some* legislative action. A political compromise, it fully satisfied no one. It is thus ironic that this congressional definition of "native Hawaiian" has had such a lasting impact on Hawaiians, through its continued reification and status as quasi "common sense." There was no acknowledgement by the dominant players that part-Hawaiians who could not meet the 50-percent rule were dispossessed by the land-law

transformation. The logic by which their exclusion was figured was that of their American equality, their competency as citizens.

The 50-percent rule both reduced the demands of rehabilitation and limited the number of Kānaka Maoli who could access homesteading lands. Moreover, the blood racialization of Kanaka Maoli, through this legal construction of “native Hawaiian,” was the means by which the elites in Hawai‘i, both Delegate Kalaniana‘ole and Senator Wise worked with dominant white leaders in the islands and aligned themselves with their Americanizing agenda. The eventual revision of an inclusive definition necessitated more than just a downsizing of the land base and the number of people who would have access to it; this modification required redefining the relationship of the people to the particular lands in question. The move away from the recognition of Hawaiians’ land entitlement corresponds to an emergent welfare approach to the question of Native rehabilitation, and hence to a racialized beneficiary definition based on a blood criterion. That is, Hawaiian blood quantum racialization occurred at precisely the moment when Hawaiian sovereignty claims were disregarded. (Kauanui 2008:165-167)

### The Formative Years: Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands Community (1921-1924)

The Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community was officially open to homesteaders in 1924 and was the first community established under the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act (HHCA) of 1920 on Hawai‘i Island (the first two homesteads were Kalama‘ula and Ho‘olehua on Moloka‘i). Section 203 of the Act designated three major tracts of public land in Waiākea, a section in Pana‘ewa and two others in Waiākea Kai identified as Tract 1 (Study Area) which encompassed some 621.52 acres and Tract 2 located along the northeastern tip of Waiākea Ahupua‘a and included 1,372.23 acres. Plat map 2.0 prepared by J. Iao in 1931 shows the Study Area within Tract 1 (Figure 29) and Hawai‘i Registered Map No. 2723 from 1924 shows the planned layout of the Keaukaha Tract 1 community (Figure 30).

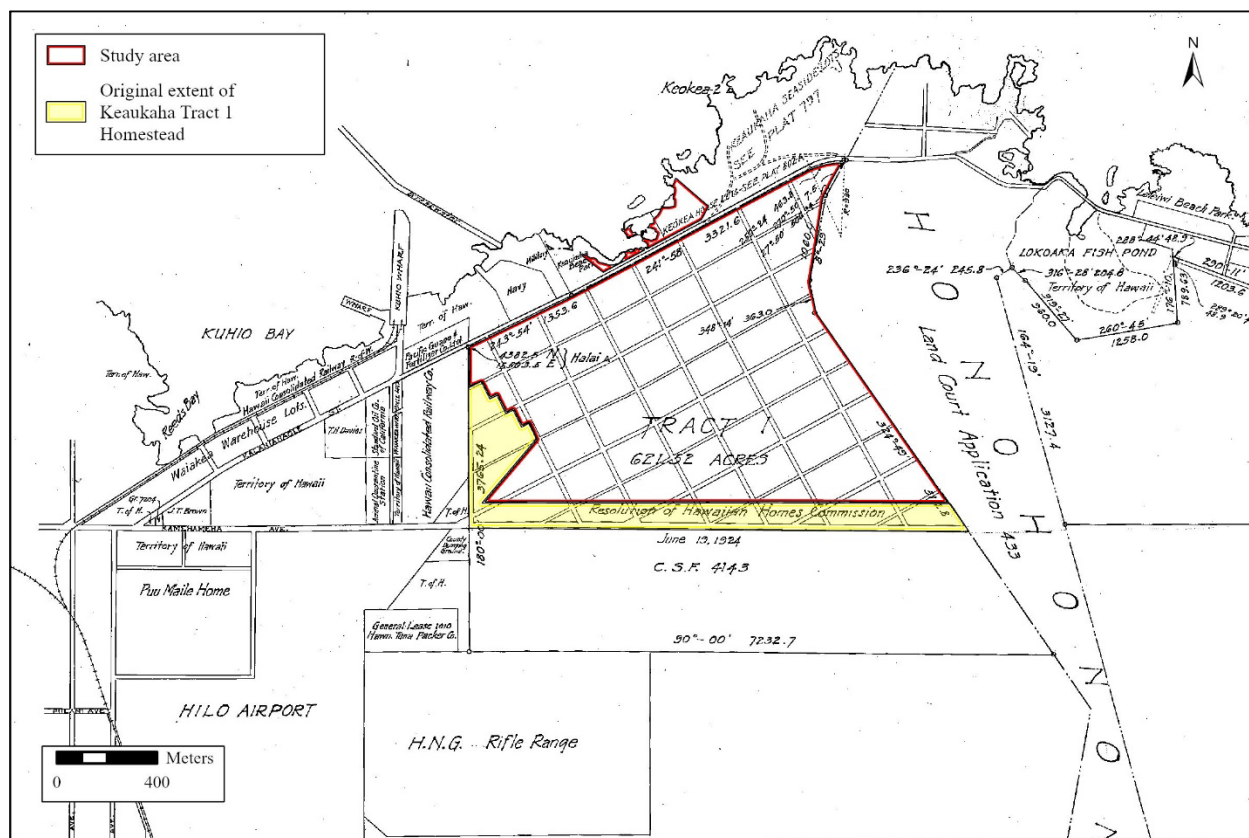


Figure 29. Detail of Plat map 2.0 by J. Iao in 1931 shows the Study Area in Tract 1.

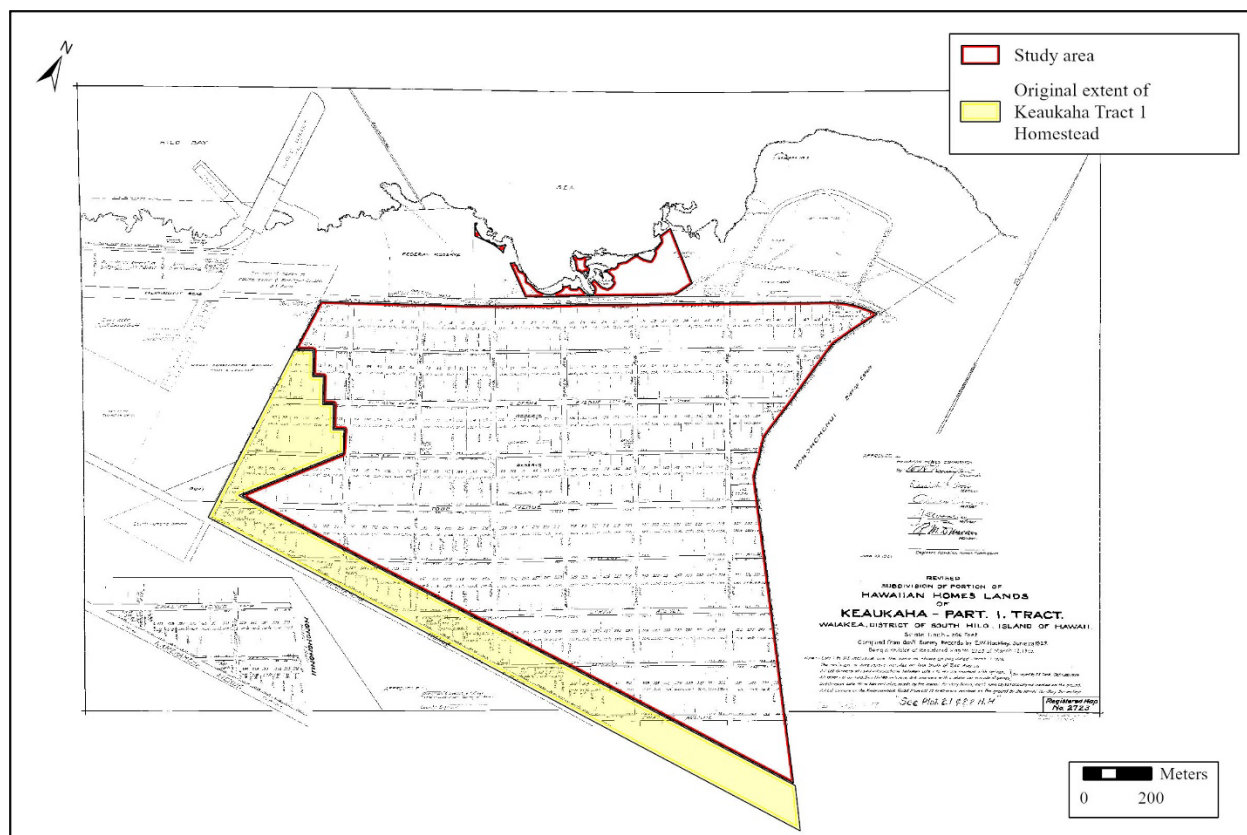


Figure 30. Hawai'i Registered Map No. 2723 from 1924 showing planned layout of the Keaukaha Tract 1 community.

Although Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaʻole and other Hawaiian Homes commissioners toured the lands of Keaukaha and Panaʻewa in 1921 to identify areas most suitable for homesteading, he died soon after on January 7<sup>th</sup>, 1922. One of the early organizations to advocate for the opening of lands in Keaukaha for homesteading purposes was the Hawai'i Civic Club, which circulated a petition to help garner support. The civic club opined that Keaukaha was most suitable for homesteading because the land there was “highly desirable as an agricultural and pastoral region” as well as its proximity to the ocean (Hilo Daily Tribune 1921a:1). The civic club also pointed to the number of *kīpuka* (area of land surrounded by younger lava flows) found throughout this tract in which “[f]orecasts have been made by agriculturalists that in time to come great enterprise will be built up among the kipukas found all through the Panaewa and Puna sections of this island” (Hilo Daily Tribune 1921a:1). Numerous Hawaiian residents in Hilo were eager for the lands of Panaʻewa and Keaukaha to be made available for homesteading, even petitioning the Hawaiian Homes Commission on numerous occasions to express their interests. James Koomoa was one such person who led these efforts as described in the article titled “Seek To Take Up Lands Without Financial Aid” published in the October 11<sup>th</sup>, 1921 edition of the *Hilo Daily Tribune*:

Yesterday a communication, signed by James N. Koomoa on behalf of 37 petitioners of this county of not less than 50 per cent Hawaiian blood, was mailed to Governor Farrington, as chairman of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, urging that agricultural and pastoral lands of Keaukaha and Panaewa be opened up at the same time as the Molokai lands, for the purposes of the rehabilitation act. The petitioners say that if the board cannot see its way clearer to advance financial aid, they are willing to take up these lands temporary without such aid, work and improve them under the terms of the act as soon as they are surveyed and divided up in suitable areas for the purposes intended. (Hilo Daily Tribune 1921d:6)

As Hawaiian residents eagerly waited for the lots at Keaukaha to be made available, the Commission, on the other hand, which in 1921 included Governor Wallace R. Farrington, Jonah Kūhiō as Chairman, Reverend Akaike Akana, and Rudolph M. Duncan, was busy working on amendments to the original bill to allow for residential house lots, while determining how to proceed moving forward without adequate support and funding from the territorial legislature and federal government to open large tracts of land for homesteading. While the area of Keaukaha was



prospected as a future location of a homestead, the Commission had yet to conduct a survey to determine the metes and bounds of the area that would become the site of the future homesteading lots. The inability of the Commission to conduct the proper surveys was attributed to the limited funding which was to be derived from 1/3 of revenue generated from the sale or lease of public (Crown) lands (Hilo Daily Tribune 1921b:6). In one such article published in the October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1921, edition of the *Hilo Daily Tribune*, the lands under consideration for homesteading were more aptly described:

Many of the petitioners for the opening of the Keaukaha lands for rehabilitation are in one capacity or another connected with offices in the county building, and a visit made there yesterday forenoon by Senator John H. Wise was devoted largely to talks with these petitioners on the subject of this proposed rehabilitation. Senator Wise, it seems, has a wide acquaintance with the lands under consideration, in former days having visited them extensively. He expressed favor for the project and will give the petitioners all the aid he can. From the Seaside to Keaau there is an old trail now fallen into disuse but which was formerly the highway through Puna when all travel was done on foot or horseback. Little homes then existed along the way and it is said that even now in many places banana plants, taro and sugar cane are still growing on the old sites. In the course of his talks, Senator Wise showed a familiarity with all these places.

One of the questions arising with regard to just what land is meant and desired by the petitioners, is that the names Keaukaha and Panaewa apply more in a descriptive manner than to definite or specified areas. The lands are all in reality portions of the Waiakea district as officially defined, and before further steps can be taken for setting apart a portion for rehabilitation the survey bureau will have to investigate the situation and run definite boundaries. It is not yet determined when active work shall be commenced but the issue is to be kept alive and there is little doubt the requests of intending settlers will be granted in due season. (Hilo Daily Tribune 1921f:1)

Organized under the efforts of Koomoa and others, those seeking lots continued to petition the Commission to act on the steps necessary to begin surveying and awarding lots to eligible Hawaiians. In December of 1921, the Commission made a tour of the lands under consideration (Hilo Daily Tribune 1921c:1). By January 1922, Kūhiō, pioneer of the HHCA, was growing ill and his untimely death on January 7<sup>th</sup>, 1922 sent the people of Hawai'i into a state of mourning. The announcement of Kūhiō's death was widely published but one such account printed in the January 8<sup>th</sup> edition of the *Hilo Daily Tribune* reads:

Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole died at 2:37 o'clock this morning. He had been ill for several days and grew worse during the night. At midnight it was clear that death was only a matter of a few hours. His closing hours were peaceful. He had been unconscious for some time. After a day of fairly good condition at nightfall he began to suffer extreme pains about the heart and his breathing was labored. He sat propped in an arm chair. At 2 o'clock there were two hemorrhages.

All during the night there were many friends in the house, including the Princess, Mrs. Stella Kea, Edwin Kea, Mr. and Mrs. John Lane, Mr. and Mrs. A. N. Campbell and Mrs. R. W. Shingle.

Shortly after Prince Kuhio passed away Governor Farrington was notified. He expressed his sympathy and offered his services.

The funeral is set for Sunday, January 15. The body will be taken to Kawaiahao tomorrow afternoon where members of Hawaiian societies will stand guard night and day until Saturday night when the body will be removed to the throne room of the palace to lie in state until Sunday afternoon, when a royal ceremony, probably the last of Hawaiian history, will be held.

He will be buried in the Kalakaua plot in the crypt of the Royal mausoleum at Hanaikamalama.

All the courts, stock exchanges, federal, territorial [sic] and city offices, as well as the prominent business houses were closed in honor of Prince Kuhio. All flags are at half-mast.

Prince Kuhio paid his last visit to Hilo on December 9 when he and George P. Cooker, of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, delivered addresses at a public meeting upon the matter of opening up the Keaukaha and Panawa [sic] lands under the rehabilitation act.

A few local citizens recall that in 1902 when Prince Kuhio was making a tour of the world while in South Africa he met Sir Reginald Dare, a member of the British aristocracy. Later in the same year Sir Reginald Dare visited at the Moana Hotel in Honolulu and while there prevailed upon Prince Kuhio to re-enter politics on the grounds that he owed it to his people. The two formed a wonderful friendship. Hilo Daily Tribune (1922a:5)

Following the death of Kūhiō, his wife, Princess Kahanu assumed his role on the Commission. Although Hawaiian residents organized under Koomoa continued to press the Commission and others in the government to move on awarding the lots on Keaukaha, the Commission throughout the remainder of 1922, waivered in uncertainty as evidenced in the following articles printed in the first half of 1922 in the *Hilo Daily Tribune* and the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*:

### ***Governor Is Not Favorable To Hawaii Lands***

HONOLULU, Feb. 23.—Governor Farrington today told a meeting of the Hawaii Homes commission that the commission's funds will not permit the proper development of the Keaukaha and Panawea [sic] lands on Hawaii in addition to those on Molokai and that it would be a mistake to place people on those lands and leave them entirely to their own resources.

The governor's statement followed an announcement by Princess Kalanianaʻole that she had received communications from Joseph Koomoa and others requesting early opening of the Panawea [sic] and Keaukaha tracts, stating that the petitioners were ready to go onto the lands immediately and build their own homes.

George P. Cooke, executive officer of the commission, said the problem was one as to whether the commission should devote all its energies to the Molokai project, now well underway, or undertake the settlement of Hawaiian lands generally. He also expressed the opinion that the Keaukaha and Panawea [sic] projects were more in the nature of local propositions for the furnishing of houselots for residents in the vicinity of Hilo, while the Molokai project would benefit the Territory of Hawaii at large.

Mr. Cooke was authorized to assemble all applications and investigate all applications with a view to placing families on the available lands at Molokai. It was decided that application blanks should be printed in English and Hawaiian. (*Hilo Daily Tribune* 1922b:1)

### ***Suggests Leasing Of Lands By Big Island***

If the lands of Panawea and Keaukaha, tentatively declared unsuitable for the purposes of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, are returned to the commission of public lands under the provisions of the Hawaiian Homes act, they cannot be utilized by the issuance of permits to prospective settlers, although they may be disposed of under a general lease only.

This is the substance of an opinion sent to George P. Cooke, executive secretary of the commission, by Attorney General Harry Irwin. The attorney general, however, suggests the following legal method by which results already suggested by the commission might be obtained:

"I suggest that the lease of these lands be put up at public auction and the same purchased by the county of Hawaii. The county of Hawaii could then make these lands available to sub-lessee under such terms as might be worked out, either by the county alone or in conjunction with your commission. This plan would give Mr. Lyman and other gentlemen in Hilo, who are interested in this project, an opportunity, by selection and otherwise, to place on these lands a desirable class from whom later might be selected persons who could participate with advantage in the benefits of the Hawaiian Homes act." (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 1922b:19)

By the end of 1922 and after an inspection of the lands of Keaukaha and Panawea, the Territorial Government along with the Commission were making headway on allocating these lands. The government concluded that those lands in Keaukaha were more suitable for residential lots as the lands under consideration, they felt, were not conducive to agricultural activities from which a resident would be able to make a living. Furthermore, the Commission on behalf of the delegates needed to return to Congress to amend the original Act to address the issues of funding and making the awarding of residential lots allowable by law. In the meantime, the Commission continually announced publically their plans to open up lands in Keaukaha and Panawea for homesteading over the next two years. Such sentiments are reflected in the following articles:

### ***Prof. Mead Leaves For Inspection Of Lands On Hawaii***

Solution of the problem of what to do with the lands of Panawea and Keaukaha on Hawaii, which are available for settlement under the Hawaiian Homes act, may be reached definitely as a result of a visit which Prof. Elwood Mead, head of the California land settlement board, will make to the district this week.

In company with George P. Cooke, executive secretary of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, and Charles T. Bailey, land commissioner. Prof. Mead left today for the Big Island on the Mauna Kea, and will return to Honolulu June 27. Albert Horner, territorial sugar expert, will be unable to accompany the party.

### **Make Good Houselots**

An inspection of the lands of Keaukaha and Panaewa by Governor Farrington, chairman, and other members of the commission, has convinced that body that the condition of the tracts is such as would not permit of a farmer making a living off the land. They will, however, make satisfactory houselots, and in view of the fact that there are many workingmen in Hilo desirous of obtaining small tracts of land upon which they could build their own homes, the commission has for some time been considering the division of the tract into houselots. It would be necessary, however, for the man taking over one of the lots to have a job on the outside, as the commission seems convinced that he could not make a living from the surrounding land, although he could grow sufficient vegetables to meet the needs of his family.

It has been the contention of Secretary Cooke that the law should be modified, that the commission could take certain of the available lands, cut them up into small tracts, and offer them to workmen as houselots upon which they could build homes. The building up in Hawaii of a class of industrious home-owners has been advocated on several occasions by the governor.

Professor Mead's inspection of the lands, and his conclusions are expected to be of value to the commission in reaching a final solution of the settlement problem in so far as it relates to these lands.

Aside from visiting the lands of Panaewa and Keaukaha, the party will visit lands at Piihonua, Waiakea and other tracts which become available for settlement purposes under the rehabilitation act. An inspection will also be made of homesteading as applied to the business of producing sugar cane.

Upon the return of the party, Professor Mead will be the guest of honor at a chamber of commerce luncheon June 28. On June 30 the party will go to Maui instead of to Kauai, as on the Valley Island there is more diversified farming to be seen than on the Garden Island.

Professor Mead yesterday afternoon was in conference with the members of the commission with regard to his recent trip to Molokai. In an interview with The Star-Bulletin upon his return, he said he could see no reason why the Molokai project should not be successful...(Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1922a:2)

### ***Would Create Home Owners In Territory***

Desire on part of the territorial administration to create in Hawaii a class of independent home owners, especially among the laboring people, will be realized if congress agrees to an amendment to the Hawaiian Homes Act of April, 1920, which is to be proposed by the Hawaiian Homes Commission.

Congress is to be asked by the commission to make two important amendments to the act. One will be designed to clear up misunderstanding with regard to the revolving fund, under which the commission operates, and over which there has been some difficulty, and the other will enable the commission to open up half-acre lots on available lands in order that Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian laborers and others may take them over for home sites.

Attorney General John A. Matthewman and Charles B. Dwight, secretary to Delegate Harry A. Baldwin, and also secretary to the late Prince Kalaniana'ole, have been invited to attend a meeting of the commission to be held this afternoon in the office of Governor Wallace R. Farrington, chairman. The proposed amendments will be discussed thoroughly, and may be put into such shape that Dwight can take them back to Washington with him, and possibly have them brought to the attention of Congress at the short session in December. It is the desire of the commission to have the proposed amendments considered, and perhaps acted on, at the earliest date possible.

Adoption of the second amendment will inject an entirely new phase into the work of rehabilitation that has been going forward during the last year and a half under the direction of the Hawaiian Homes Commission.

### **Would Create Settlements**

It is the desire of the commission to set aside portions of the lands designated in the act as being available for settlement under the rehabilitation project, particularly near towns and villages, which would be divided into half-acre lots and which would be taken over by workmen, and upon which they would build homes for themselves and families.

Asked today whether the commission would be in a position to assist such persons financially, Geo. P. Cooke, executive secretary, said that it would. This means that Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians who are laborers could take over the lots under lease, obtain money from the commission, and build homes. Persons who are selected as settlers on agricultural lands under the rehabilitation project are also aided financially by the commission through its revolving fund.

Secretary Cooke explains that not all Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians who might be benefited by rehabilitation desire to become agriculturalists, but that there is a strong desire among many of them to own their own homes—something that they are not now able to do. Many persons in this class have suggested that if they could obtain small lots, and be assisted financially in the building of their homes, they could depend upon their outside labor as a means of support.

Dr. Elwood Mead, head of the land settlement division of California, who was in the islands some months ago on the invitation of the homes commission, expressed himself as being thoroughly in sympathy with the proposal that a class of independent home owners be created here, if possible, in connection with rehabilitation. The California land settlement division has worked out in that state a system of laborers' allotments, which, according to Secretary Cooke, has proved extremely popular and beneficial. The local project would be developed somewhat along the same lines, although, of course, upon a much smaller scale.

### **Made Good**

Dr. Mead cited cases in which laborers, who could not take up agricultural lands, took up home sites and made good. Later many of them took up agricultural lands.

Provided the proposed amendment is acceptable to congress, the homes commission proposes to open up home sites of a half acre or so each, near Hilo on the lands of Panaewa and Keaukaha. These are lands mentioned in the homes act, but which have been held by experts to be unsuited for agricultural purposes, but excellent as home sites. Several Hawaiians now working on Molokai have taken up with the commission the matter of opening up home sites there. This proposal is now under consideration.

With regard to the other amendment, as the home act now reads, there is some question whether the proceeds from the sale of produce upon which the commission's money has been expended for development, should revert to the commission's revolving fund, or turned over to the territorial treasurer as a territorial realization.

The attorney general has not yet given any opinion on the question, but he will be asked to give an expression of opinion to the commission members this afternoon. The commission feels that the proceeds in question should revert to and become a part of the revolving fund. (Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1922c:1-2)

### ***Hawaii Homes Law Changes Are Forecast***

In a radiogram received today by Governor Wallace R. Farrington as chairman of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, Delegate Harry A. Baldwin, now at Washington, intimates strongly that he will have no difficulty in obtaining from congress, during the session which opens tomorrow, favorable action upon four proposed amendments to the Hawaiian Homes law.

The radiogram, in part, is in reply to a message from the governor inquiring of the delegate whether he desired the assistance of George P. Cooke, executive secretary of the commission, in presenting the proposed amendments to congress. Secretary Cooke had informed the commission that if his services were desirable at Washington, he might be able to finance the trip without calling on the commission's funds.

In view of the optimistic message from the delegate, plans for a trip to Washington by Secretary Cooke will be abandoned, at least for the time being.



### Permanent Revenues

The more important of the four proposed amendments to the Hawaiian Homes law are designed to provide ways and means by which the commission will be assured on permanent revenues from certain definite sources. An opinion handed down recently by the attorney general held that the commission was not entitled to the 100 per cent revenues derived from the leasing of “available” lands not actually in use by the commission for rehabilitation purposes. It is now proposed to have the law amended so that the commission will receive these revenues.

It is proposed to amend Section 213 of the law so that “the entire receipts derived from any leasing of the ‘available lands’ defined in Section 203, these receipts including proportionate shares of the receipts from the lands of Humuula Mauka, Piihonua and Kaohe-Makuu, of which land portions are yet to be selected...shall be covered into the fund until the total amount of the moneys paid therein from those three sources alone shall equal \$1,000,000.”

As a result of the opinion of the attorney general, there was withdrawn from the commission’s fund between \$15,000 and \$16,000 which had been collected from leases of “available” lands and approximately \$11,000 already paid into the fund from the same sources, will in all probability have to be paid back to the territory.

The same proposed amendment also makes the following additional provision:

“In addition to those moneys and the moneys covered into the revolving fund as instalments paid by lessees upon loans made to them, as provided in Paragraph 2 of Section 215, these shall be covered into the revolving fund all other moneys received by the commission from any source whatsoever.”

### As Residence Lots

Another proposed amendment provides that lots of half an acre or more in area, and of any class of land may be leased as residence lots. This amendment is asked in view of the fact that the home lands of Panaewa and Keaukaha, near Hilo, Hawaii, have been declared unsuited for agricultural purposes. It is the desire of the commission, however, to make them available as house lots for use by Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian laborers who desire to own their own homes. The commission would assist these persons financially in the building of their homes.

A third amendment provides that the amount of loans outstanding at any one time to the holder of a residence lot shall not exceed \$1000.

The amendment provided that additional money, received by the commission from any source whatsoever, shall be paid into the revolving fund, is a highly important one. Under the law as it now stands, if a dozen eggs, gathered at the demonstration farm at Kalamaula, are sold, the money must be paid into the territorial treasury. In other words, the commission cannot make use of any money obtained by it through its investments. Such money, instead of becoming a commission realization, becomes a territorial realization. The proposed amendment will remedy this situation. (Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1923:1)

During the first half of 1924, the Territorial Government and the Commission began to plan for opening thousands of homesteading lots in Keaukaha and Pana‘ewa in Waiākea, and Waimanu in Hāmākua. In the 1925 *Report of the Hawaiian Homes Commission to the Legislature of Hawaii*, the Hawaiian Homes Commission reported to the Territorial legislature that the lands of Pana‘ewa and Keaukaha were “not suited for agriculture” and would thus “be offered to Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians who desire to possess land upon which to erect their own homes” (Hawaiian Homes Commission 1925:14). Preparations were soon underway to begin awarding the lots to eligible applicants with the provision that the Hawaiian Homes Commission would not be able to finance the construction of homesteader’s homes. Furthermore, considerations were made by the Territorial Land Board to reserve that portion of beach fronting the Tract 1 Keaukaha subdivision for public purposes, as expressed in the following articles:

### ***Propose To Open Up 4200 Acres In Vicinity Of Hilo. Third Unit of Hawaiian Rehabilitation Tracts Are Proposed As Home Sites***

Plans for opening up approximately 4200 acres of land on the island of Hawaii as the third unit of the Hawaiian rehabilitation project, are under consideration today by the Hawaiian Homes Commission.

The commission proposes to set aside for immediate occupation 2000 acres of the lands of Keaukaha, 2000 acres of the lands of Panaewa and 200 acres of the lands of Waimanu, all located near Hilo, which will be surveyed and subdivided into lots that will be about two acres in area.

At a meeting of the commission today, R. M. Duncan, executive secretary, was authorized to go to Hawaii two weeks hence and arrange for the surveying and subdivision of the land. On Thursday of next week he will go to Molokai to take up fencing and pipeline construction matters.

#### **Suitable for Homes**

As the lands in question are not suited to agriculture, the lots will be offered to Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians who desire to possess land upon which to erect their own homes. There are large numbers of Hawaiians in and about Hilo who desire the lots, and it is expected that working men will form a majority of the applicants.

One of those who urged the immediate subdivision of the lands was the Rev. Stephen L. Desha of Hilo, a member of the senate, who called to the attention of the commission the advisability of building up a new unit of home owners.

#### **Aid to be Given Later**

For the time being the commission will be unable to finance the applicants for houselots on Hawaii, although they are entitled to such assistance under the terms of the rehabilitation law. It has been proposed, however, that the lands be subdivided and the lots offered, the Hawaiians taking possession of their holdings, and awaiting the time when the commission can assist them. It is felt that many of those who will apply for houselots will be in a position to erect homes at once.

It is proposed to have the tracts surveyed and subdivided under the direction of Thomas Cook, a surveyor, who is a Hawaii member of the land board. (Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1924e:1)

#### ***Four Thousand Homesites To Be Opened Up***

Four thousand homeseekers on the island of Hawaii will be given an opportunity to obtain acre house lots on 99-year leases at \$1 a year rental within the next three or four months, it was announced yesterday by Rudolph M. Duncan, executive secretary of the Hawaiian Homes Commission. Half the property to be distributed is on the Volcano road in the Panaewa section of the Waiakea district. The remainder is near the beach in the Keaukaha section of the same district.

Duncan said that he would waste no time in carrying out his plans, approved by the commission, for allotment of the property as requested by a large number of petitioners represented by Senator Stephen Desha. He will go to Hilo within the next ten days to study the water and road situation and to make arrangements for surveys. In the meantime advertisements for applicants will be published.

#### **For Working People**

"Division of these lands will be for the benefit of the working people of Hawaiian or part Hawaiian blood," explained Duncan. "Although the commission hasn't much money on hand at the present time for roads and other assistance to the homesteaders the opportunity for those who can help themselves somewhat will be excellent. It will result, too, in getting the best type of people on the lands; people who have the ambition to own their own homes."

Although the beach tract is to be thrown open for home sites it is not the purpose of the commission to deprive the public of the use of the waterfront. A strip of 50 feet wide from high water mark will be reserved to the Territory.

Hilo will be greatly benefitted by the plans of the commission it is pointed out. The scheme will mean the opening of two new additions to the city, one corresponding to the Nuuanu district and the other to Waikiki. (The Honolulu Advertiser 1924a:1)

#### ***Duncan Sees Good Future For Island If Well Developed. Land Secretary Has Plans to Open Up Territory About Hilo for Settlers. Thousands of Acres in Vicinity of Hilo Available for Such Purposes***

What do people of Hilo want in the way of land? This is the principal question asked by R. M. Duncan, secretary and executive [sic] officer of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, and the answer is the chief object of his present visit here. "Do the people want a half-acre, five acres, or twenty

acres,” he asks, “and how many people are there who wish to set food on their own soil and become permanent residents?”

His plans are that government lands shall be opened up for Hawaiians in particular and that there shall be no lottery business in the disposition of lots. He would ascertain that what use the prospective residents would put their land to and would have the commission look into the qualifications of the applicants. The object would be to dispose of the lands at nominal prices. “Why should the government go into the real estate business and put land up for sale at \$300 a lot?” Mr. Duncan asks. “This practice is going to stop and the government will give the lands to the people, who deserve land, and the money that they would otherwise pay to the government they may put into a house.”

### **Many Acres Available**

There are thousands of acres of government land in the vicinity of Hilo, which might be made available to settlers, and each person settling on the land would become an asset to the community by participant in island progress and in becoming a tax payer.

Big possibilities lie dormant in the Keaukaha lands, Mr. Duncan declares and he states that with a little work the AA and pahoe-hoe lava stretches can be made wonderfully productive. He spent most of the day yesterday in going over these lands and states that he saw great possibilities on all sides. In Waiakea district, he states, there are 92,000 acres of government land. “Why not make a special effort to have some area of many acres set aside for the benefit of Hilo and have the proceeds from their sale go to the construction of roads?” he asks.

“Opening up of thousands of acres would make new business here and would be one of the biggest things imaginable for progress on the island. There are many agricultural produces that could be grown and particularly grapes in the eKaukaha [sic] region. A new industry might be started in grapes and \$1,000 an acre realized from them,” Mr. Duncan stated.

### **Don’t Listen to Honolulu**

In connection with developing diversified farming, such as growing bananas, pineapples and especially grapes, Mr. Duncan declared that the island of Hawaii should have its own promotion committee and the people should have a direct steamer line to the coast. “What are you going to do? Sit behind and listen to the people of Honolulu? Speak for yourselves and tell people abroad to come direct to the greatest Volcano in the world. Also, I would suggest it as a good plan to have the island steamers leaving Honolulu for Hilo come by way of the coasts of Molokai and Maui, to give tourists a more scenic trip. Then allow the tourists to stay over night at the Volcano and spend at least a day in Hilo. Hawaii has the biggest attraction in scenery in the islands, outside of the Volcano. In returning, the steamers might go by a different route, also. These things would be an immense help to Hilo,” Mr. Duncan stated.

Hilo is a real live town, Mr. Duncan thinks, and he stated that he has come here to look around and see what he can do to help Hilo grow. Waiakea homesteads impressed him as being beautiful and he said, “If these [sic] homes have been made so beautiful in three years, what will they and other new home places be in ten years?” He enjoyed what little of the musicals of Music Week that he heard and declared the event has put Hilo on the map. Today he and other members of the commission are finishing their survey of Keaukaha lands and looking into further details to find out what the people of Hilo want in these respects.

J. Jorgensen, engineer of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, is one of the party, and he states that the Molokai project is going along very well, with 40 families there who are now self-supporting. The commission’s party will remain on the Big Island until the end of the week. (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1924a:1)

Although the Hawaiian Homes Commission announced the opening of lots in Keaukaha, the Territorial Land Board also began to survey lots in the area to be sold to private interests. Commissioner of Public Lands C. T. Bailey announced the sale of 18 government lots in the Keaukaha House Lots Tract fronting Puhi Bay, which are depicted in Hawai‘i Registered Map No. 2704 from 1923 (Figure 31). In the same year, the Territorial Land Board also surveyed portions of Machida Beach (Keonekahakaha) for other residential lots and established the Lihikai Park Reserve for public recreation to the northeast of the Study Area (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1924e:1).

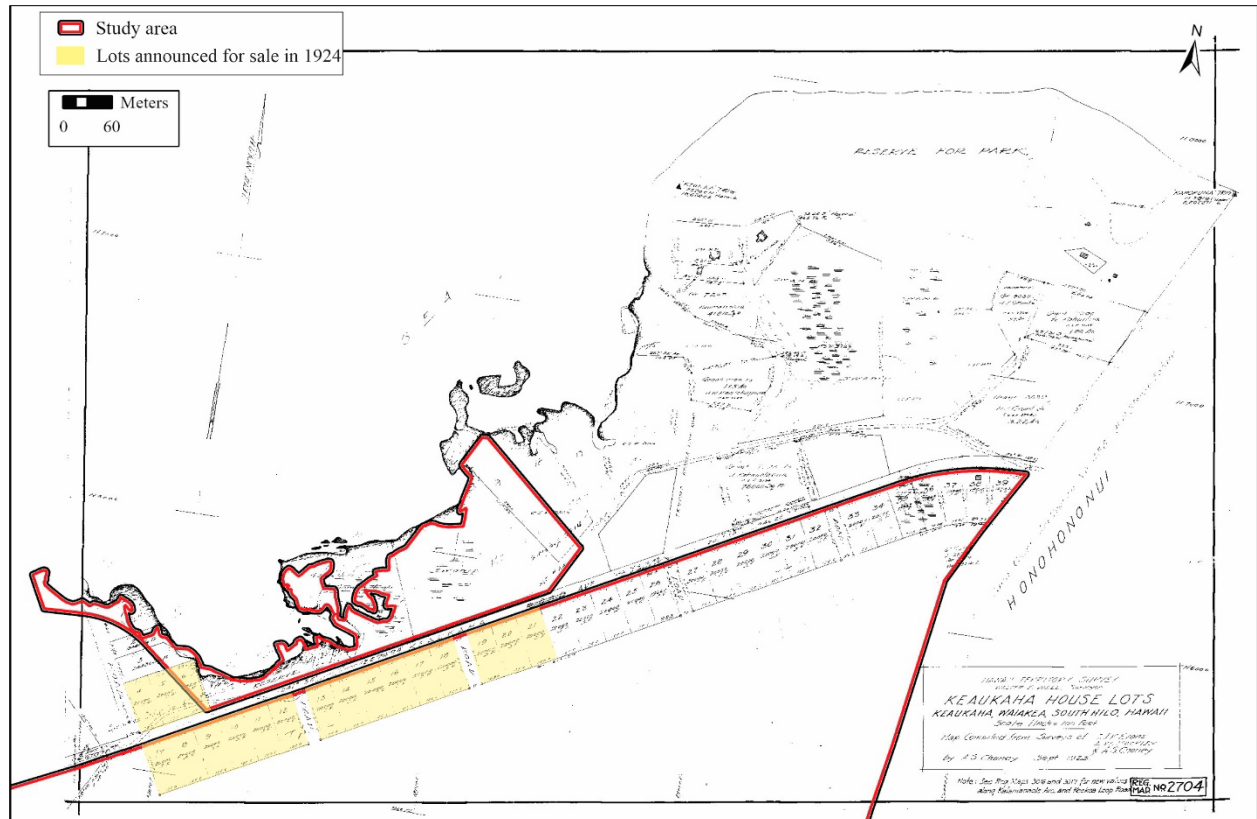


Figure 31 Hawai'i Registered Map No. 2704 by Chaney shows surveyed lands and homestead lots along present-day Kalaniana'ole Street.

On some of the lots designated for public auction were Hawaiian “squatters” who already settled on the land and built makeshift homes. When news of the notice of sale was announced, many Hawaiian residents in Hilo who were eligible for Hawaiian Home Lands protested, sending a petition to the Hawaiian Homes Commission and the office of Governor Farrington. The protest and petition were successful; the lots that were going to be sold at auction were recognized as being situated in the lands that were set aside for Hawaiian Home Lands, and those who were “squatters” became the first homesteaders of Keaukaha. The articles below offer an example of the “Notice of Sale of Government Lots” that was published in local newspapers, news coverage regarding the community’s protest over the land sale, further description of the Hawaiian Homes Commission’s plans to open as many lots as possible in Keaukaha and Pana’ewa for homesteading, and the notice to withdraw those lands in Keaukaha that were advertised for sale at public auction:

### ***Notice of Sale of Government Lots***

Public notice is hereby given that at 10:00 o’clock, A. M., Thursday, May 22, 1924, at the Office of the Subagent, Mr. C. H. W. Hitchcock, Hilo, Hawaii, there will be sold at public auction to the highest bidders under the provisions of Section 73 of the Hawaiian Organic Act, Sections 348 and 358 of the Revised Laws of Hawaii of 1915 and Act 143 of the Session Laws of 1917, lots in the Keaukaha House Lots Tract, Keaukaha, Waiākea, South Hilo, Hawaii, for residence purposes, as follows:

Lot No	Area Square Feet (more or less)	Upset Price
4	20,000	\$400.00
5	20,000	400.00
6	17,720	532.00
7	20,000	300.00
8	20,000	300.00



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9	20,000	300.00
10	20,000	300.00
11	20,000	300.00
12	20,000	300.00
13	20,000	300.00
14	20,000	300.00
15	20,000	300.00
16	20,000	300.00
17	20,000	300.00
18	20,000	300.00
19	20,000	300.00
20	20,000	350.00
21	20,000	350.00

The above lots [which are highlighted in yellow in Figure 31] will be sold subject to all of the terms and conditions of the Special Sale Agreements issued by the Office of the Commissioner of Public Lands, and subject also to the following conditions which will be incorporated as additional covenants and conditions in the Special Sale Agreements to be issued covering the lots sold.

- (1) The purchaser shall annually hereafter pay taxes on the value of the fee of said land and other assessments that may be levied on or assessed on or in respect of said land or any interest therein.
- (2) Patent will be issued three (3) years after date of sale or at any time upon the payment in full of the purchase price, interest and taxes due the Territory in respect to each lot sold.
- (3) One-fourth of the purchase price to be paid in cash at the fall of the hammer and the balance in three (3) equal annual instalments with interest at 6% per annum on any unpaid balance.

The sale of these lots is subject to the following conditions:

- (a) The purchasers shall, immediately after the sale, pay the costs of advertising and all other charges in connection with the preparation of the Special Sale Agreements to be issued pursuant to this sale.
- (b) The Special Sale Agreements to be issued pursuant to this sale covering Lots 4, 5, 6, 12 and 13, will contain a reservation reserving the present Keaukaha Road which crosses same until such times as the proposed realignment of the Keaukaha Road, as shown on the blueprint of the Keaukaha House Lots on file in the Office of the Commissioner of Public Lands, has been made.
- (c) A person is entitled to buy one lot only and only a citizen of the United States of America or any person who has declared his intention to become a citizen, may become purchaser.

Map showing the lots to be sold and form of Special Sale Agreement are on file and may be seen at the Office of the Subagent, Hilo, Hawaii, or at the Office of the Commissioner of Public Lands, Capitol Building, Honolulu.

For information apply at the Office of the Subagent, Mr. C. H. W. Hitchcock, Hilo, Hawaii, or at the Office of the Commissioner of Public Lands, this 17th day of April, A. D. 1924.

C. T. Bailey,  
Commissioner of Public Lands  
Apr. 22, 29, May 14, 21.—P-17  
(Hilo Tribune-Herald 1924g:4)

### ***Hawaii Land Values Too High Is Common Opinion Expressed***

In view of the proposed opening of lands for rehabilitation of Hawaiians another phase of land hunger has become apparent following the interview with R. M. Duncan, secretary and executive officer of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, given in the Tribune-Herald Thursday. Not only are

many Hawaiians anxious to obtain holdings of land where they can establish a permanent home or engage in farming on a small scale, but there are also many other Americans who are equally anxious to establish themselves permanently on the land of Hawaii.

#### **J. H. Baker Seeks Farm**

J. H. Baker, of the Hilo Iron Works, is one of the several to take an immediate interest in the remarks of Mr. Duncan and to follow them up. It appears that Mr. Baker has been considering the purchase of farming lands in California, but shows a decided preference for keeping his interests in the Territory, if practicable. He states that he has in view cultivated orchard land in California, with bearing trees, which is obtainable for \$300 per acre, or about the same price as would be asked for some of the undeveloped government land in Hawaii. He voices an opinion similar to many others that government lands are held at too high a figure on this island.

According to the rehabilitation laws only persons of Hawaiian ancestry, in whole or in part, are eligible for lands aer [sic] aside for rehabilitation purposes. There is an apparent demand from many others for home and farm lands, and opening up of tracts available to them would mean a larger class of desirable persons becoming permanent residents here, it is stated by a number of leading citizens. It is declared that if lands could be so opened up for settlement that it would be a great thing for the advancement of the island generally.

Mr. Baker has taken a course of agriculture in the Iowa State College and would bring to the development of a piece of land not only his scientific knowledge, but also practicable business administration of a small farm, by which a farmer of his type would be able to benefit neighboring farmers through his knowledge and, furthermore, by his farm work set a profitable example for others to follow, according to opinions expressed by Mr. Duncan, T. E. Cook, and others familiar with the circumstances.

#### **Fine Grape Land**

The immediate purpose of the present visit of R. M. Duncan is to survey the situation with regard to Keaukaha and Panaewa lands, where there are 4,000 acres for rehabilitation. This area is mostly rocky, but it is stated by those familiar with possibilities that it is wonderful land for raising grapes, which will do better here than in pure soil, it is stated. The only difficulty is to get the vines started, it is claimed, and then little trouble is to be expected in raising splendid crops. The Isabella grape is the one recommended for the purpose, as it has been found that other varieties do not ripen or sweeten in this climate.

Development of a grape juice industry on greater lines than the present is advocated strongly and it is declared that the Hawaiian grape juice product is meeting a particularly strong demand in Los Angeles and that over production need never be feared.

#### **Canned Pear Industry**

Another industry which could be started and which contains great possibilities is the preserving of alligator pears, declares Mr. Duncan, who states that he has observed many trees growing without care along the lines of the Hawaii Consolidated railway, through the Puna district, and that the trees could be made very profitable in the Keaukaha lands. He advocates preserving the fruit by peeling and sealing in jars of sweet oil, which he claims is a simple process. In the same area, he also states he has seen wonderful papaias growing without cultivation, and between these various fruits and with the addition of a few chickens and pigs, he believes that settlers on the land could make very good welfare.

#### **99 Year Leases**

The idea of the homes commission is to give Hawaiian people land in small parcels near the main roads and farther back to divide the lots into larger areas. The closer in lands would be divided into about 1-acre lots and given to applicants for a period of 99 years at the nominal rental of \$1 per acre a year, according to the statement of T. E. Cook based on information from the commission. Land along the beach in most places would be reserved for community rights among the residents, who would have privileges of fishing and camping there.

#### **Protest Lot Sale**

A meeting of residents in Waiakea was held Friday evening at the fire station, where they were addressed by Mr. Duncan, and during the course of the meeting a petition was presented asking for the withdrawing from public auction of a certain tract of house lots along Keaukaha road, which are within the rehabilitation area and on which are a number of families living at present. It is claimed by the petitioners that they are not financially able to compete with bidders for the proposed lots, and also that the appraisement values are too high. The lots are less than a half-acre in size and priced mostly at about \$300, or at the rate of \$700 per acre. (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1924c:1-2)

***Land Sale On Hawaii Protested. Rehabilitation Project Said to Be Threatened by Bailey's Plans. Held By Hawaiians. Squatters Would Be Dispossessed: Duncan Opposes***

Plans for the opening up of the third unit of the Hawaiian Homes commission by the allotment of 4000 acre lots on Hawaii are threatened by the proposal of the territorial land commissioner to sell some of the public lands in the Keaukaha section of the Waiakea district. It is believed, however, that the matter can be adusted between the land commissioner and the homes commission. It will be taken up at a meeting of the commsision next Thursday.

Rudolph M. Duncan, executive secretary of the Homes commission, who returned to Honolulu from Hawaii yesterday and said that upon his arrival on the Big Island to select 2000 home lots at Panaewa and 2000 at Keaukaha for the third unit of the commission's project he discovered that the latter tract was being advertised for sale at public auction n May 22. As the lands are largely occupied by Hawaiian squatters whom the commission wished to place on the lands as homesteaders the announced sale would interfere with the plan.

**Petition Filed**

A petition, signed by 235 Hawaii residents asking that the lands be withheld from sale was handed to Mr. Duncan who brought it to Governor Farrington. The governor is conferring with Land Commissioner Bailey and the Homes Commission and some decision will probably be reached Thursday.

Mr. Bailey explained that when he complied with a petition asking for the sale of the lands the property had not been selected by the Homes Commission.

Mr. Duncan hopes to stop the sale of the lands at auction as it would interfere with the plans of the commission to keep its settlements exclusively Hawaiian.

The petition signed by the hawaii residents reads:

"We, the undersigned, citizens of the United States of America, residing at Hilo, Waiakea, Panaewa, Keaukaha and vicinity, respectfully protest against the sale of the Keaukaha house lots, as shown on a certain government plan and registered as Government Survey Map Number 2704. Our reasons are as follows:

"1. Many of us are using portions of the land as shown on said map.

"2. The above mentioned house lots are on a portion of the land of Keaukaha and are a portion of the 2000 acres mentioned in the Rehabilitation Act which is to be set aside for rehabilitating the Hawaiian people.

"3. If the above mentioned lots are put up at auction we will not be able to purchase them, as we are not in a financial position to bid against people who have money.

"4. The appraisement of lots as advertised is prohibitive, only the rich people, and also aliens, will be able to make the purchases.

"Therefore we humbly request that you, as a member of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, use your influence to have the above named lands divided up in such sized lots allotted to those desiring same, and that the people now living on above lands be given the preference to select the lots upon which they now reside." (The Honolulu Advertiser 1924b:1, 9)

***Eleven Lots At Hilo Withdrawn***

Eleven lots at Keaukaha, Waiakea district, Hilo, that were to have been sold shortly at public auction by C. T. Bailey, territorial commissioner of public lands, have been withdrawn from the market, he

has informed Governor Wallace R. Farrington, as these lots were found to lie within the area in this section that is desired by the Hawaiian homes commission.

On his return from Hilo several days ago Rudolph M. Duncan, secretary of the homes commission, informed Governor Farrington and Bailey that following a careful inspection of about 4000 acres of territorial lands in Waiakea he had decided that 2000 acres that the commission is entitled to have set aside for its purposes, would include the 11 lots.

Duncan also brought with him a petition bearing about 250 signatures of residents of the section, addressed to Governor Farrington, protesting against sale of the lots. The governor later referred the petition to Bailey for his information. (Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1924b:10)

#### ***Third Unit of Home Project To Be Opened***

Withdrawing notices of sale at public auction of lots in Keaukaha, Waiakea district, Hawaii, Charles T. Bailey, territorial land commissioner, yesterday cleared the way for the opening of the third unit of the Hawaiian Homes Commission project.

The lands had been advertised by the commissioner on petition of applicants who desired to purchase home lots in Keaukaha. At the time the applications were received the Homes Commission had not selected the 4000 acres allotted to its uses in the 70,000-acre tract of territorial lands in Waiakea and there appeared to be no reason why the lots should not be sold as requested.

#### **Petition Received**

When Rudolph M. Duncan, executive secretary of the Homes Commission, went to Hawaii last week to select lands for Hawaiian homesteaders, he found that the lots being advertised were in the section most desirable for his purposes. A petition bearing more than 300 names was submitted to Duncan for transmission to Governor Wallace R. Farrington and Bailey asking that the sale be stopped and the lands set aside for homesteaders.

Bailey discussed the matter with the governor and Duncan agreed with them that it would be best to withdraw the advertisement for bids.

#### **Allotments Soon**

Allotment of the 2000-acre lots in Keaukaha and a tract of similar area in Panaewa, both sections in the Waiakea district will be made soon by the Homes Commission. It is anticipated that 4000 families can be put on the land in that unit within a few months. Many of the applicants for home lots are families of some means who will require little if any financial assistance from the commission (The Honolulu Advertiser 1924c:3).

#### ***Notice Of Withdrawal From Sale***

Notice is hereby given, that the Government House Lots, situate at Keaukaha, as advertised for sale on Thursday, the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of May, 1924, have been withdrawn from said, sale, and will not be sold as advertised.

C.T. BAILEY

Commissioner of Public Lands.

Dated at Honolulu, May 14<sup>th</sup>, 1924

(Hilo Tribune-Herald 1924h:4)

During and following the success of the protest in stopping the sale of lands in Keaukaha designated for Hawaiian Home Lands, the Hawaiian Homes Commission continued to promote their plans to open up Keaukaha and Pana'ewa for homesteading. In some articles they also stated that they would be able to financially aid "successful applicants" to build their homes, thought this was not the case as noted earlier (Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1924f:15). Plans were also made to set aside a portion of beach frontage for the creation of a beach park for homesteaders and the general public. The following articles trace these events:

#### ***Resolution To Take Over 4000 Acres For Houselots Proposed***

A resolution by which the lands of Keaukaha and Panaewa, island of Hawaii, will be taken over for distribution among Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians, will be introduced at a meeting of the Hawaiian Homes Commission tomorrow morning. The two tracts contain about 4000 acres, which will be



subdivided into house lots and turned over to Hawaiians who desire to own their own homes. The successful applicants will be aided financially by the commission in building their homes.

***Hawaii Lands To Be Opened Soon. Property At Keaukaha, Hilo, To Go To Hawaiians Who Want House Lots***

Survey and subdivision of the lands of Keaukaha, Hilo, into houselots, and their apportionment among Hawaiians and part Hawaiians desiring to own their own homes, will be undertaken immediately, Rudolph M. Duncan, executive officer, announced at a meeting of the Hawaiian Homes Commission today.

Tom Cook, Hawaii member of the territorial land board, will arrive at Honolulu on Sunday, and he and Duncan will work out the final plans for the project. It is proposed to subdivide the area into 100 one-acre lots, one lot to be given to each of the successful applicants.

This property is being used for houselots for the reason that it has been declared not suitable for agricultural purposes. In the opinion of members of the commission, the opening of the tract will serve to provide comfortable homes for laborers and others who desire them, but who cannot now afford to acquire them.

Keaukaha represents the second houselot project under the general rehabilitation scheme. The first project was put through on Molokai in connection with the establishment of Kalanianaʻole Settlement, although separate from that area.

More than 50 persons have applied for the new houselots. The successful applicants will be assisted financially by the commission in building their homes. (Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1924c:3)

***Woolley Here To Study Keaukaha Situation***

Tentative plans for the subdivision of Keaukaha lands have been submitted to the [sic] Hawaiian Rehabilitation Board and action in the matter of opening the tract will be taken as soon as possible, it was declared today by J. F. Woolley, member of the board recently appointed to succeed George P. Cooke who has resigned. A great many details must be worked out and the desires of interested parties must be learned before much further progress can be undertaken, however, and it is for the purpose of learning the sentiments of the people and getting their view points on the subject that Woolley is visiting Hilo at the present time. He arrived aboard the City of Los Angeles yesterday and will return aboard the same ship to Honolulu this afternoon.

“My main object in visiting Hilo is to get a grasp of the situation and learn the feeling of the people towards the contemplated projects. Open expressions of many interested opinion will be a big help to the board and we want to hear from as many interested parties as possible,” Woolley declared.

It was intimated by Woolley that it is the intention of the rehabilitation board to speed up as much as possible all matters relating to the Keaukaha project. (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1924k:3)

***Beach Frontage To Be Set Aside For Public Park. Governor To Issue Order When Keaukaha Houselot Tract At Hilo Is Opened***

When the Hawaiian Homes Commission opens up the Keaukaha houselot tract outside of Hilo, Governor Wallace R. Farrington proposes to issue an executive order setting aside a long strip of beach frontage for use as a public park for the benefit not only of the new home owners, but for all citizens.

Recommendation that this action be taken was made by J. Franklin Woolley, new member of the commission, who visited the tract recently, and met with instant approval from the other members. Woolley suggested that, if possible, the park strip be set aside under the jurisdiction of the commission so that it would become a part of the “kuleana” of the new settlers.

***Government Land Available***

Charles T. Bailey, land commissioner, was called into a meeting of the commission in the governor’s office this morning, and said there was plenty of government land available in the immediate vicinity which could be set aside for park purposes. He recommended a strip of beach frontage running toward Kuhio wharf, but Woolley said he did not believe this was sufficient, and suggested that an additional strip, running toward and including an island desired for Boy Scout activities near the

Lokoaka fish pond, be set aside also. Bailey said this could be done. There is an excellent beach and fine swimming all along the strip, and is much favored by Hilo people, Woolley said.

Acting upon another recommendation by Woolley, the commission voted to instruct Rudolph M. Duncan, executive officer, to take such action as may be necessary to prevent “squatters” from settling on the Keaukaha land in order that these lands may be protected for those persons legally entitled to go on them.

“The commission had to pay nearly \$4000 worth of bills which were held up in the same manner as these,” Duncan said. “I asked Lyman to send these bills to the commission three months ago, but he failed to do it.”

An opinion by the attorney general’s department, holding that a homesteader cannot lease, assign or otherwise dispose of his holdings to any corporation, or any person other than a native Hawaiian, nor cause any lien to be attached to his holdings was discussed at length. The opinion covers also crops grown in the soil. It was sought largely for the purpose of clearing up a number of points in connection with the possibility that the Palaa and Hoolehau [sic] homesteaders may grow pineapples on a large scale.

The governor suggested that while homesteaders might make contracts they could not mortgage their crops or in any manner transfer or assign them, except to a native Hawaiian. He said that no pineapple company would want to cultivate the land if it was already being cultivated properly. On the other hand, he added, a company would not want to see a crop go to pieces, and in that event, would want to step in and save it. He expressed the belief that this could not be done. (Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1924a:17)

#### ***Farrington To Provide New Beach Park For Hilo***

Governor Wallace R. Farrington announced late yesterday that at the time when the Hawaiian Homes Commission opens the Keaukaha houselot tract outside of Hilo he will issue an executive order setting aside a long strip of beach frontage as a public park for the use and benefit not only of the new home owners but all citizens of the Big Island as well.

Survey work is now being done on the Keaukaha lands which are to be opened for settlement by Hawaiians in the near future, under the jurisdiction of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, it was said today. This work will be finished very shortly and completion of other details will [sic] put the land on the market within three months.

#### **Some Squatters There**

Already there have been several temporary homes built on certain portions of the lands, by persons hoping to obtain those particular sites, but their occupancy will have no effect in helping them to obtain such places when it comes to the sale of the lots, it is said, while on the other hand the builders may find themselves at some loss, if other parties prove to be the successful purchasers. There are also a few squatters on the tract, who have been there for many years and have established substantially improved places.

J. F. Woolley, of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, who visited Hilo this week for the purpose of looking over the rehabilitation situation, has expressed himself as strongly in favor of the project, and after many interviews with parties interested in the Keaukaha [sic] proposition has declared that he has found a great many of them satisfied with the plans for opening up one-acre lots.

#### **Self-Support of People**

Further than making simply a residence district for Hawaiians in the Keaukaha tract, Woolley is interested in seeing to what extent conditions will help towards self-support of the people. Owing to much of the land being very rocky in character, so that little cultivation can be done on many of the individual lots, he has conceived the idea of setting aside some selected portion of the tract for a community pasture or farming land where cultivation can be carried on by any of the residents who may wish to do so.

Owing to the Keaukaha conditions where the arable land is found only in certain places, the idea of its being at the disposal of the community section in general instead of being owned by individuals, is believed to be an excellent method of aiding all to become more nearly self-supporting. (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1924b:1, 2)

As the opening of the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community neared, the Hawaiian Homes Commission needed to address the issue of the “squatters” who already settled in the area. Rather than evict those families who were eligible for Hawaiian Home Lands and had already built their homes, the Commission allowed them to remain on their lots since they were “bona fide [Hawaiian Home Land] applicants” (Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1924d:17). When the first 65 lots were awarded, seven of the “squatters” and their families were awarded lots that they previously settled on. It is unclear what happened to other “squatters” living in the area. The articles presented below trace some of the discourse surrounding the “squatters” and some of the first leases to be awarded in the newly established Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community:

### ***No More Squatting On Keaukaha Lands***

Apparently there is some over-anxiety on the part of certain persons to get in on the ground floor in the drawing for lots under the rehabilitation act as applied to lands of Keaukaha and Panaewa, according to opinions of officials of the Hawaiian Homes Commission and the public lands department.

A notice was received yesterday from R. M. Duncan, executive officer and secretary of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, which appears [sic] in the advertising columns of the Tribune-Herald, reading as follows:

“No further squatting on the lands of Keaukaha and Paneawa [sic] in the district of South Hilo, Hawaii, will be permitted, or on any other lands under the control of the Hawaiian Homes Commission.”

The lands in question extend from near the breakwater along the seashore district out towards Leleiwi point and to some distance inland. Within this area are a number of squatters and others who had been tenants at will on the lands, and who have been until recently paying rent for them to the government. At the time that the lands were withdrawn for settlement by the commission the collection of rents was suspended and the tenants are now occupying their places rent free until the drawing of lots, or other disposition is made of the property.

The kamaainas on the lands are not affected by the notice which is published today, but it is intended to put a stop to any further occupancy of the lands by new squatters. It has been observed that there are ten or twelve families who have recently taken possession temporarily of certain places and have built squatter’s cabins and cottages there. This work has been done at their own risk, it is said by officials of the land office, and in case some other party makes a successful bid for the particular lot, the squatter will be at a loss for his pains and have to remove his dwelling. (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1924f:5)

### ***May Not Evict Hilo ‘Squatters’. Duncan Ascertains They’re Bona Fide Applicants For Houselots***

Wholesale eviction of ‘squatters’ on the Hawaiian home lands at Keaukaha, near Hilo, Hawaii, may not take place after all, it developed at a meeting of the Hawaiian Homes Commission today.

Rudolph M. Duncan, executive officer, reported that the ‘squatters’ are all bona fide applicants for the houselots into which the Keaukaha tract has been divided, and have merely moved onto the land in advance of the official opening and assignment of lots.

The commission voted to inform the ‘squatters’ that the fact that they have moved onto the land does not give them a preference right to the tracts which they have selected. In the meantime, all further ‘squatting’ on the land has been prohibited by order of the commission. (Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1924d:17)

### ***Squatters Of Keaukaha To Be Left In Place***

(By Associated Press to Tribune-Herald)

HONOLULU, Nov. 14—Rudolph M. Duncan, secretary of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, announced yesterday that the wholesale eviction of squatters from the lands at Keaukaha near Hilo, may not take place after all, as the squatters are bonafide applicants for houselots, among whom the tract is to be divided.

It has transpired that the applicants have simply moved on the land in advance of the official opening.

The commission voted to inform the squatters that the fact that they have moved on the land does not give them a preference to the tracts which they have selected.

As far as can be ascertained locally, it is believed the dispatch with reference to squatters at Keaukaha, is based on misapprehensions arising from the published notice from the Hawaiian Homes Commission declaring that no more squatting on the lands would be allowed.

There are more than half a dozen new temporary residence structures in the tract, visible from the road, and it is believed there may be still more further back in the guava lands. It has been the prevailing opinion with land officials in Hilo that these squatters were taking a chance in erecting their abodes there, in that they would be put to the expense of removing them in case the owners are not the successful bidders for the properties.

The entire matter of the rehabilitating of these lands rests with the Hawaiian Homes Commission and the local land office has no jurisdiction in the matter, neither are the public lands agents informed in any manner as to the ultimate methods of disposition of the lots, or other matter pertaining to property.

All inquiries with regard to the Keaukaha lots in the rehabilitation tract should be addressed to R. M. Duncan, secretary and executive officer, Hawaiian Homes Commission, Honolulu, it is said by C. H. W. Hitchcock, sub-land agent, Hilo. (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1924j:1)

#### ***Seven Families Allotted Land They Squatted On. Hawaiian Homes Commission Acts on Seven Keaukaha District Applications***

Seven Hawaiian families, squatting on house lots in the Keaukaha district, near Hilo, were today allotted these same lots when members of the Hawaiian Homes Commission met in the capitol building to determine what lots should be given to a list of 65 applicants.

Those to be given the lots they are now living on at a rental of \$1 a year are Joseph Kumali, Solomon Kahaawi, Mrs. Mary Fuji, Mrs. H. S. Liftee, Jr., Mrs. Sam Kalua, Jr., Samuel Kalua and Samuela Akoni Mika.

To a list of 62 persons granted house lots at last week's meeting three people were added, Mrs. Annie Namahoe, Laikealoha Kekuewa and Mrs. Maraea Paahao Carter.

Members of the commission expressed their pleasure over the fact that there are 169 children among the 65 Hawaiians to settle in this district, an average of 2.5 children per family. John Ho-a has 10 children, the largest family scheduled to make their home in the district. (Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1924g:1)

#### ***Seven Lots At Keaukaha Are Awarded To 'Owners'.***

Seven squatters on the Keaukaha rehabilitation lands have been awarded the lots upon which they have been living following investigation of the circumstances Monday afternoon by Rudolph M. Duncan, secretary and executive officer of the Hawaiian Homes Commission.

Those who are residing in the tract and to whom awards of lots have been given are:

Mrs. Martha Akana, lot 3; Solomon Kawaawi [sic], lot 6; Mrs. Mary Fujii, lot 14; Isaac Kamoku, lot 15; Mrs. Kalua, Jr., lot 21; Mrs. H. S. Liftee, lot 22; and Samuel Kalua, lot 24.

As much as about a year ago several families who were anxious to secure certain lots in this tract, took forehanded methods of squatting on the property and erecting small homes on the lots of their choice. Some of these houses cost from \$300 to \$400, it is declared, and in every way it was made apparent that the squatters held serious intentions of becoming permanent residents.

#### **Allowances Made**

Owing to the methods of the commission in awarding lots in serial order to the applicants, there was some doubt as to whether the previous occupation of the lands could be recognized, and Monday several of the parties appealed to Duncan to see what could be done in the matter. In response to these appeals, Duncan visited the various premises and satisfied himself of the intentions of the residents. Upon reviewing minutes of the commission, he found that the matter of pioneering had been considered in the meeting and allowances made whereby the tenants could be given the lots. This has now accordingly been done.



Upon making a survey of the lands Monday it was decided by Duncan to set aside lots No. 116 to 121 inclusive, at the suggestion of Hilo people, and recommend that these be approved by the commission as public park. Norman K. Lyman was the one to make the suggestion originally, and his recommendations met with much approval on the part of local representatives of the land board, it is said. The name of Hualani Park has been suggested for the site.

### 20 New Applications

Since it has become known more generally that selections of lots are to be made this week, there have been many other persons appearing to make applications for residence sites in the tract. Twenty new applications have already been received at the office of Thomas E. Cook, where Duncan is making his business headquarters, and it is expected that a great many more will be filed during the next few weeks.

Owing to there being so many more applicants for lots, there will be a second drawing held at the next meeting of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, which it is expected will be on the Thursday following New Years. Duncan will return to Honolulu Sunday and will then confer with the commission with regard to the new drawing, he says.

It is declared by Duncan that he is giving every encouragement possible to the settlers on the lots to beautify the tract with ornamental trees and also to plant useful trees on their own lots, such as [sic] breadfruit, orange, papaya, and others. He declares that he would be greatly pleased to cooperate with the outdoor committee of the Hilo Woman's Club, in regard to tree planting, and he recommends a uniform system of ornamental trees for the main streets in the tract. (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1924i:1, 2)

### ***Keaukaha Lots Are Awarded By Commission***

(By Associated Press to Tribune-Herald)

HONOLULU, Dec. 4.—The Hawaiian Homes Commission today awarded houselots in the Keaukaha section on the outskirts of Hilo at a rental of \$1 a year, to the following persons:

Mrs. E. S. Pookalani, W. Waddell, Mrs. W. K. Kahana Kiupe, J. K. Kumalae, J. H. Nahuina, P. K. Pua, John Keala, J. K. Hiapo, Sr., S. B. Lainaholo, John Hoa, S. K. Kenoi, Akina Ako'i, J. N. Koomoa, Mrs. M. K. Kuikahi, J. K. Kaoioi, Philip Luahiwa, Sarah Maliikapu, Solomon Kahaawi, Mrs. Mary Fuji, Violet Kalauakapua, R. K. Kahakua, C. K. Kealoha, J. A. Punahau, David Brown, Ohia Nahau, Samuel Keanu, Mrs. Dina Pokini, Lucy Pokini, Mrs. Lilo Kaao, Mrs. Louisa Kealoha, Mrs. Stella Kaiminaauao, Mrs. Lehulu Reidel, J. W. Kepoo, Jr., David Eleneke, Mrs. Martha Lepen, W. K. Kahuna, J. K. McAulton, S. K. Kipi, Mrs. S. K. Kamaka, Mrs. May Nakamoto, F. K. Namahoe, Mrs. Haleola Pea, Mrs. Jennie Winchester, Mrs. H. S. Liftei, Jr., Mrs. Sam Kalua, Jr., Mrs. L. K. Nobriga, Mrs. Martha Akana, James Kealoha, Mrs. Poli Kalau, Mrs. Kamalii Kai, Samuel Kalua, Samuel Amika, Keahi Kalauai, C. H. Ainaaiona, J. K. Kamoku, Mrs. Sara Higa, Mrs. Hattie Keahi, N. K. Meheula, Makaea Kahaku, K. Iwaaole, Mrs. W. K. Makaea. (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1924d:1)

### **Early Development of the Tract 1 Keaukaha Hawaiian Homestead Community (1925-1930)**

By January 1925, the Hawaiian Homes Commission began receiving more applications for Keaukaha Tract 1 which exceeded the number of available lots. Of the 70 available lots, 56 were already settled by homesteaders and their families (Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1925a:1). Recognizing the demand for lots in Keaukaha, Rudolph Duncan, Executive Secretary of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, stated that "the large number of applicants shows that there are Hawaiians who are anxious to do honest homesteading" (Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1925a:1). In the same year, the Commission received an application from Reverend Stephen L. Desha Sr., pastor of Haili Congregational Church, for a church site, which led the Commission to set aside "two lots opposite the park for church sites" (Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1925a:1). Although plans were discussed to loan new homesteaders funds to build their home, the territorial legislature was unconvinced that this was needed based on an inspection of the homestead in March of 1925. As stated in the article below, published in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, homesteaders were already resourceful, building homes with their own funds and materials:

HILO, March 15.—After inspecting the homes of persons who have been assigned to lots in the Keaukaha house lot district members of the legislature yesterday expressed disapproval of the proposal to provide a territorial loan system for the people who obtain lots there.

The general opinion was that it is much better to encourage independence among the Hawaiians who have applied for the lots and to let them build their homes with their own money. Several of the 30 persons who are now living on their house lots have erected comfortable homes which cost them from \$250 to \$600 each.

The plan followed by the owners of the lots is to purchase the lumber and erect the houses themselves. One family is just completing a large house which is built on a modern plan and in a substantial manner. The house cost the owner \$600. Another of the Hawaiians is working on a new house which he is erecting back of a smaller cottage which he built to live in while saving money for the new place.

The people living on the house lots are already fixing up their yards and some of them have flowers and trees planted. About 30 families are living in the Keaukaha district, almost 60 more applications have been granted and the homes commission plans to open about 300 additional lots soon.

The inspection was prompted by a resolution introduced in the house proposing that the homes commission follow the plan of loaning \$1000 to each person who is granted one of the lots. Indicates are that the resolution will be killed. (Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1925e:3)

In May of the same year, a party of United States Congress members traveled to Hawai'i and toured Keaukaha. Included in the party was Senator Tasker L. Oddie of Nevada, who praised the Hawaiian Homes Commission on its success, even suggesting that he would duplicate some of the methods utilized by the Commission for large homestead projects in his home state (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1925f:5). For the Commission, this tour was an opportunity to show Congress that the homesteading program was successful and should be extended beyond the initial five-year experimental period that was to end in 1926 (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1925f:5).

In addition to building their homes and clearing their lots, early Keaukaha homesteaders actively petitioned the Board of Supervisors of the County of Hawai'i and the Hawaiian Homes Commission to express their needs. In 1925, a petition was prepared and sent to the Board of Supervisors requesting for a temporary 2-inch pipeline to be installed in the community so that homesteaders would have fresh water (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1925e:4). The document, signed by 29 community members, was prepared and sent due to the failure of the legislature to appropriate funds that year for water mains to be constructed in Keaukaha (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1925e:4).

In early August 1925, Keaukaha lessees formed an "improvement club." In September, they notified the Hawaiian Homes Commission of this new club, formed "for the purpose of bettering their condition" (Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1925b:16). The following article, published in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, provides further description of the newly formed Keaukaha Improvement Club, known in the Hawaiian language as Ke Kalapu Hooholomua o ka Aina Hoopulapula o Keaukaha (The Keaukaha Hawaiian Home Lands Improvement Club), and lists the names of the club's first executive officers and working committee:

On Monday evening, 5:30 p.m., August 3, a meeting was held to establish a club of residents residing in the Keaukaha Hawaiian Home Lands [community] at the home of Isaac Kekaulike.

The name of the club is stated as follows: "Ke Kalapu Hooholo Mua o ka Aina Hoopulapula o Keaukaha" (The Improvement Club of the Keaukaha Hawaiian Home Lands [community]).

There were 40 lesees who arrived at that meeting, both men and women, and if the children are also counted, the total would be 60.

The mission of this club is to seek out work to improve the Keaukaha Homestead so that the good deeds of Prince Kalaniana'ole is not lost to the Hawaiian Homes Commission who treats [the act] like a play thing.

Here is the message of the Board and Working Committees that were chosen by members of the club: We will all work together, with one dream, under the circle of unity.

A meeting will be held Monday evening, August 17, 5:30 p.m. in Keaukaha, and all Keaukaha residents are invited to attend so we can discuss our needs and blessings.

The name of the Board of this Club is listed below:

DANIEL NAMAHOE	President
SAMUEL KALUA SR.	Vice President
JAS. A. PUUOHAU	Secretary
ISAAC KEKAULIKE	Treasurer

**WORKING COMMITTEE**

JOS. N. KOOMOA

J. K. HIAPO

MRS. KEKAULIKE

MRS. SAM KALUA SR.

MRS. PUUOHOU

The President and Secretary are also members of the Committee.

JAMES A. PUUOHOU

Secretary (Puuhau 1925:2)

Between 1925-1926, the Public Lands Commission surveyed and advertised house lots for sale beyond Loko Waka along the new Keaukaha Road, referred to in local newspapers as the “Keaukaha Beach Lots.” These fee simple lots caused great concern for Hawaiians living in the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community. In April 1925, the Hawaiian Civic Association of Hilo passed a resolution protesting the sale of these lands (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1926k:1, 2). Joseph Ko‘omoa, secretary of the Civic Club and the Keaukaha Improvement Club, sent the resolution to the Public Lands Commission, the Hawaiian Homes Commission, and Hawai‘i’s delegate to Congress W. P. Jarrett (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1926k:1, 2). In response to the resolution, Bailey wrote a letter to Ko‘omoa clarifying that the Keaukaha Beach Lots were not in the area set aside for Hawaiian Home Lands (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1926d:1). The following articles provide further information regarding these events:

***Hawaiians Seek To Hold Keaukaha Lands***

A petition is being circulated by certain interested parties in an effort to save a strip of beach land at Keaukaha, which it is said will be cut up and auctioned off as house lots, if nothing is done to stop it for the Hawaiian rehabilitation project at Keaukaha.

The petition describes the strip of land as lying east of the Lokoaka Fish Pond and fronting the road to Lehia Park. This land according to the petition belongs to the Keaukaha Rehabilitation Land Reservation. If this land is cut up into house lots and sold the Rehabilitation reservation will be cut off from the main road and will be without an outlet, it is said.

The petitioners ask the governor to save this land for the Hawaiian people and classifies the proposed plan to sell the strip in question as an invasion of the rights of the Hawaiians.

The petition is in the hands of Archie Hapai, county clerk. (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1925d:4)

***Resolution Filed Against Use Of Keaukaha Lots***

A resolution protesting against the sale of the Keaukaha beach lots fronting the new road to Keaukaha beyond the seaside has been passed by the Hawaiian Civic Club, it was announced this morning by Joseph N. Koomoa, secretary of the club.

The members met on Wednesday evening at which time the matter was taken up. A committee of nine from Kuhio Settlement in Keaukaha attended the meeting and heartily recommended that the resolution be passed.

Copies of the resolution will be sent to the governor, to Delegate W. P. Jarrett, the land board, and the Hawaiian Homes Commission. The resolution as finally adopted follows:

**Resolution Is Given**

THAT WHEREAS, it is the intention of the Public Land Board of the Territory of Hawaii to put up at auction for sale to the highest bidder, lands at Keaukaha in the Ahupuaa of Waiakea, District of South Hilo, County of Hawaii, Territory of Hawaii; and,

WHEREAS, by Act of Congress of the United States of America known as the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920, these historical lands were set apart for the expressed purpose of Rehabilitating the Hawaiian People, and for them alone; and,

WHEREAS, in an address in Congress by the Hon. H. A. Baldwin, the then Delegate from Hawaii to the United States Congress, he stated unequivocally before that distinguished body that the late lamented Delegate Kalanianaʻole from Hawaii, most fervently urged those around him, saying: “Boys stick together for the Rehabilitation of our Race; and,

WHEREAS, this gracious and benevolent [sic] act of the U. S. Congress and the fair minded American people in behalf of the Hawaiians is being brought to nought by this proposed act of the Territorial Land Board; and,

WHEREAS, we have the highest faith in the integrity and sincerity of the United States Congress, who prompted by love and desire to do justice to the Hawaiian race, in its wisdom, has set apart the said lands at Keaukaha for the purposes and intent therein set forth, and we pray, may its intent be not evaded; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, that we, the officers and members of the HAWAIIAN CIVIC ASSOCIATION OF HILO, County and Territory of Hawaii, in meeting assembled, do hereby most solemnly enter our protest against the proposed sale at public auction by the said Territorial Land Board, and that said Board does forthwith and henceforth cease from any attempt whatsoever to dispose of said Keaukaha Lands, excepting by the methods intended by Congress, and not otherwise; and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED that the Hawaiian Homes Commission under whose control and authority the said Keaukaha Lands have been placed in trust by Congress for the Hawaiian people, and for none other, immediately take steps to possess and exercise proper control over said lands, and carry out faithfully the true spirit of the law and the intent of Congress in said Act of 1920.

IT TAKES AWAY Beach Frontage and places adjacent to that frontage a racial element who will purchase such lots, and who will more or less further encroach on the fishing of the Hawaiian aboriginee [sic] whose sustenance, livelihood and happiness is derived from the sea and beaches.

IT IS FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of these resolutions and protest be forwarded to the Hawaiian Homes Commission, the Territorial Land Board, the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii, and our Delegate in Congress, the Hon. W. P. Jarrett.

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that Cable message of protest be forwarded to Washington to the Governor of Hawaii.

Hawaiian Civic Association of Hilo  
(Hilo Tribune-Herald 1926k:1, 2)

### ***Keaukaha Beach Lands Boundary Shown By Bailey***

The land which the Commissioner of Public Lands is advertising for sale in the Keaukaha beach district is outside of the boundaries of the Hawaiian Homes Commission land in the same district and is not available for the use of that commission, according to a letter received by Joseph N. Koomoa, secretary of the Hawaiian Civic Club, from C. T. Bailey, commissioner of public lands.

The letter to Koomoa is written in answer to the resolution passed by the Hawaiian Civic Club protesting against the sale of the beach property in Keaukaha for home sites on the grounds that the property should be reserved for the Hawaiian Homes Commission to be used in its rehabilitation project.

#### **Selection Is Made**

In his letter Bailey points out that the Hawaiian Homes Commission has already made its selection of lands in the Keaukaha vicinity. Bailey also points out that the subdivision of the property along the beach does not extend to the high water mark and that a reservation varying in width from 100 to 300 feet lying between the ocean and the subdivision has been made for the use of the general public.

Koomoa said this morning that he is awaiting replies to the resolution from Governor Wallace R. Farrington, W. P. Jarrett, delegate to congress, the secretary of the Hawaiian Homes Commission and others to whom copies were sent. So far Bailey has been the only one to answer.

#### **Letter is Given**

Baileys' reply follows:

Hawaiian Civic Association of Hilo, James N. Koomoa, Secretary, Hilo, Hawaii.

Gentlemen:

I acknowledge receipt of resolution by your Association, protesting against the sale of certain lands in Keaukaha. This resolution is based on the assumption that the lands that this office is offering for sale are lands available for the use of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, Please be informed that

the Hawaiian Homes Commission has already made its selection of lands in this vicinity and the land which this office is advertising for sale for residence purposes lies entirely outside the boundaries of the Hawaiian Homes Commission land.

By reference to map, which may be seen at the office of Sub-Land Agent Hitchcock at Hilo, you will note that the subdivision which we are offering for sale does not extend to the high water mark, but that a reservation, varying in width from one hundred to three hundred feet lying between the subdivision and the ocean has been made, together with ample rights-of-way thereto so that the entire beach frontage will be at all times open for the use of the public.

Very truly yours,

C. T. Bailey,

Commissioner of Public Lands

(Hilo Tribune-Herald 1926d:1)

In March of 1926, the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community was given the name of “Kūhiō Settlement” by the Hawaiian Homes Commission upon the recommendation of Senator Stephen L. Desha (The Honolulu Advertiser 1926:3). The name was given in honor of the late Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaʻole. By May, Executive Secretary of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Rudolph M. Duncan began to distribute deeds to the “180 settlers who have already been on their land for a year or two” (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1926e:1). Duncan also commented frequently on the success of the first homesteaders of Keaukaha in improving their homestead lots and building small homes for their families. The following two articles capture the excitement around the burgeoning homestead:

***Future Progress Of Keaukaha Seen By Commissioner. Development Possibilities Are Stressed by R. Duncan in Talk Before Homesteaders***

Rudolph M. Duncan, secretary of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, declared when addressing the meeting of the Keaukaha homesteaders yesterday that he is much surprised with the progress made by settlers in the Keaukaha district, and emphasized the fact that he believes that there are great possibilities for future developments in that district.

The meeting was held at the home of Isaac Kamoku, in Keaukaha, and was attended by more than 100 homesteaders. Here a number of them received deeds for their lands and talked over a number of matters concerning their land with Duncan.

**Duncan Makes Visits**

Duncan, since arrived here last week, has visited everyone of the 200 homesteaders in Keaukaha, and declared that in every instance he was found that the settlers have done something toward improving their land.

He pointed out that it is not necessary for the settlers to build fine houses on their lots. There have been several complaints received that the settlers have not built on their lands. This is not necessary, Duncan declared, as long as the settler does something towards developing his homestead. He may even live in a tent if he so chooses [sic].

**Places Are Improved**

In every case Duncan declared, he found that the settlers have done a considerable amount of work in improving their places. Some have their homes built and have planted gardens. The entire project is progressing most favorably, he pointed out.

Duncan also answered many questions put to him by the homesteaders in regard to the matter of more roads and water.

Some of the settlers declared that they will build their homes as soon as the new roads are built, giving them access to the main road. These roads are to be built in the near future, and the pipe line construction will also go forward soon. (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1926c:1)

***Keaukaha Rehabilitation Success***

In setting aside a section of land along the Seaside road from the vicinity of the Standard Oil plant towards Keaukaha for settlement by Hawaiians, the Hawaiian Homes Commission has accomplished a project of exceptional value to the settlers and the community in general.



Rudolph M. Duncan, secretary of the commission, declared yesterday that he is much surprised with the progress made by the new residents in this tract and indicated that great possibilities for future developments exists.

Mr. Duncan would also be surprised to see what progress has been made in the district and it is a revelation to see how many small homes have been built there already. This may not be apparent from the main road, but photographs taken by the air service of the navy department and exhibited in some of the local store windows recently bring out a graphic illustration of this.

The people of that district are showing a mutually progressive spirit and are taking a considerable interest not only in their individual holdings but in the section as a community nit.

An improvement club has been organized among the residents and has approximately 200 members. Through the meetings of this association closer relations of friendship, sociability and neighborliness are established and community interests are advanced materially.

As to individual pieces of property, many of these are being developed by degrees into vegetable and flower garden plots and give promise of becoming productive and ornamental before long.

The district itself lies in what is the logical direction of industrial development of the city and in time the residents will find plenty of remunerative employment within short walking distance of their homes.

The setting aside of this tract, which the residents wish to have called the Kuhio Settlement, has been a wise and timely step by the commission. The establishment of homes and progress of developments indicates a success meeting all anticipations. (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1926f:8)

By August of 1926, the first religious institution was built in the homestead proper. Note that in years prior, the Church of Latter Day Saints maintained a chapel and cemetery near Keonekahakaha, but this area was not within the lands designated for Hawaiian Home Lands. The first church in the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community was Kūhiō Memorial Chapel, a branch of Haili Church located in Downtown Hilo. Like the renaming of the community to Kūhiō Settlement, the name was given in honor of Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaʻole, primary architect of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920. In 1927, when a new voting district was established in Keaukaha, the chapel served as the polling place (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1927b:1). The following articles detail the dedication ceremony of the chapel and another dedication ceremony held shortly afterwards for a few articles that were donated to the new institution:

#### ***Kuhio Chapel To Be Dedicated At Keaukaha Today***

The dedication of the Kuhio Memorial chapel at Keaukaha this morning and the union service of all Christian churches in Hilo at the Haili church this evening make up the program for the closing day of the annual island convention of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association.

“This convention has been one of the most successful we have ever had and I am sure that a great deal has been accomplished in the way of exchanging ideas for the betterment of our work during the coming year in building up Christianity,” declared the Rev. S. L. Desha, Sr., moderator.

#### **Will Officiate**

The Rev. Alice Kahokuoluna, pastor of the Kipahulu Hawaiian church at Kipahulu, Maui, who has been in attendance at the convention, will officiate at the dedication exercises tomorrow. She will be the main speaker and there will be speeches by several other of the convention delegates.

There will also be the reception of new members, baptisms and the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper.

The Kuhio Memorial chapel is located on the rehabilitation grounds at Keaukaha. It was recently completed at a cost of approximately \$12,000 which money was raised by subscriptions among the Hawaiians and others throughout the islands interested in the Hawaiian people.

For a long time the peopel in the Keaukaha district have desired a church of their own near their homes and they are now pleased that their desires have been realized. The church has a seating capacity of 500. A large crowd, including the residents in that district and the convention delegates, are expected to be in attendance. Services will start at 10 a.m.

### A Woman Pastor

The Rev. Kahokuoluna, one of the few women pastors in the islands, made the trip to Hilo at this time particularly to officiate at the dedication of the new chapel. Arriving in time for the convention, however, she has been in attendance daily, and brings a message of encouragement from her district. Following the church services there will be a big feast, for which preparations have been underway for several days. A big pig is to be cooked underground, Hawaiian style with sweet potatoes for the feast.

The union services of all churches in Hilo is called for 7:30 this evening at the Haili church. There will be special music, and speeches by different pastors. The public is invited to attend. This meeting will bring the convention to a close. (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1926g:1)

### ***Picture Of Prince To Be Shown Today. Dedication Exercises At Keaukaha In Honor Of Prince Kuhio***

Local folk of the Hawaiian church are holding a big service and celebration today at Keaukaha, where a dedication is being made at Kuhio Memorial Chapel of a picture of the late Prince Kuhio, a church table of koa and several other articles.

The services are to commence early in the forenoon and will consist of communion and the baptism of a number of children, in addition to the usual ritual and sermon.

It is expected that the religious services will be finished a littler after noon, and then a luau will be served for the entire assembled congregations. The Rev. S. L. Desha returned yesterday from Kohala and will be present at the services. (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1926i:1)

### ***Many Gather At Kuhio Services. Picture Of Prince Unveiled At Ceremony; Rev. Desha Is Speaker Of Day***

More than 100 people gathered at Kuhio Memorial Chapel in Keaukaha yesterday for the ceremonies which attended the unveiling of the picture of Kuhio recently presented to the church.

No services were held at Haili church yesterday in order that all might join in the services at Kuhio chapel, with the residents of the Keaukaha district.

The Lord's supper was observed and the sermon was preached by the Rev. S. L. Desha, pastor of the Haili church. The picture of Kuhio was unveiled with an appropriate message and presentation was also made of a koa table and three chairs to the chapel.

Fifteen babies were presented for baptism during the service. These babies included Anna Piilani, Edward Keha, Elizabeth Pua, Mercy Polilauoeomakana, Baby Wahinehele, Tom Poe, Libeka Lilia, Maria Maleilani, Mary Pehealii, Olsen Kaleoloha, Pele Lilia Abelehama, Marian Kai Lawson Paelua, Baby Kuuleimakihana, and Baby Kuuleilehua.

Following the servces [sic] a feast was served in the chapel yard, with most of the congregation remaining to take part. (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1926h:1)

Although the Hawaiian Homes Commission touted the success of the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community, the Keaukaha Improvement Club continually had to pressure the Commission and County of Hawai'i for basic infrastructure, including the development of roads and the installation of water pipelines. In April 1926, Governor Wallace R. Farrington allotted \$20,000 for "the extension of the pipeline through the Keaukaha lots" (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1926j:1). The extension would "be from the portion of Kalaniana'ole street extension, along Kauhane and Desha avenues, up Hapai avenue, to the Kalaniana'ole street extension again and thence to Honohono'ui tract" (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1926j:1). The contract for the pipeline extension project was awarded to local contractor Lui Kwan and was completed in February 1927 (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1927a:1). Soon after, the Office of the Superintendents of Water Works notified Keaukaha homesteaders to register with their office to determine who was tapping into the water line and who was not (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1927d:4). This was done so that "...the office can make connections so that all can receive water from the recently completed water main through that section" (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1927d:4). As the community grew, more extensions were needed. In 1929, Chairman of the County of Hawai'i Samuel M. Spencer sent a letter to the Hawaiian Homes Commission urging them to consider pipeline extensions in Keaukaha for Kauhane, Todd, and Andrews avenues (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1929:1). The Commission agreed with this need, and agreed to make the funds (\$10,000) available once a formal resolution requesting the work was created by the Board of Supervisors for Hawai'i County (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1929:1). The Commission also

requested that the Board of Supervisors request reimbursement for these funds from the Territorial legislature during the next legislative cycle (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1929:1).

In the 1929 *Hawaiian Homes Commission Report to the Territorial Legislature of Hawaii*, the Hawaiian Homes Commission reported that “Kuhio Settlement, in the subdivision of Keaukaha near the town of Hilo, Island of Hawaii, has proven to be an unqualified success, according to report of Dr. Elwood Mead of the Bureau of Reclamation, Washington, D. C.” (Hawaiian Homes Commission 1929:12). They also noted the lack of water services in the community and discussed six acres of land that were set aside to create a playground for Keaukaha’s children (Hawaiian Homes Commission 1929:12).

In the same year, homestead lessees petitioned the government for a primary school to be built in Keaukaha for the community’s children (Walker and Todd in Akoi 1989:82). In their 1929 report to the legislature, the Hawaiian Homes Commission also noted the need for a school “due to the large number of children in Keaukaha” who were “being transported to Waiakea-kai” at the expense of the County (Hawaiian Homes Commission 1929:12). Children residing in Keaukaha also walked approximately five miles along the Keaukaha road to reach the Waiākea Kai School. In September 1930, Keaukaha School opened its doors to 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> graders in a two-classroom wooden structure that was relocated from Waiākea Kai School (Walker and Todd in Akoi 1989:82). The first educators at Keaukaha School were Mrs. Keahiloa Braun and Mrs. Josephine Todd (Walker and Todd in Akoi 1989:82). The following excerpt by Ruth Walker and Josephine Todd narrate the early years of the school:

And so it was that in September, 1930, Keaukaha School opened its doors to many 3rd and 4th graders with Mrs. Keahiloa Braun as acting principal and Mrs. Josephine Todd, as teacher. The school which is located at 240 Desha Ave. was originally a two classroom wooden structure which was relocated board by board to the present site from a former Waiakeaa [sic] Kai School site.

Mrs. Braun spent two years at Keaukaha. In those days, she used to raise sweet potatoes and taro as she painstakingly gathered dirt from between the rocks to form mounds for the plants. The students were later taught to do this and the produce was used to supplement their school lunches.

In 1932, principal-teacher Mrs. Samang. L. Kong and District Superintendent Mrs. Giacometti, with financial help from Mr. Doc William H. Hill, initiated the leveling of the school grounds which resulted in a playground for the students. Mrs. Kong formed the first PTA organization with Mr. Daniel Namahoe serving as the first president.

The teachers during this time involved parents by visiting the homes. Senator Doc Hill and the C. Brewer Company assisted the school with funds for school supplies.

It was under Mrs. Kong that Mrs. Todd used to cook the students’ lunches, and all on an oil stove! Using the mutton that Mr. Todd hunted, and the discarded vegetables from Ebesu’s, Mrs. Todd prepared the students’ lunches for a penny a serving. Mrs. Todd functioned as the health aide and as such she supervised the students as they took their cod liver oil daily. Mrs. John Notley, Sr. later assumed the cooking responsibilities from Mrs. Todd.

It was in 1938 that Tom Pedro introduced a bill which provided for children on Hawaiian Homes Land to learn the Hawaiian language. At Keaukaha School, Mrs. Emma Kelso taught the Hawaiian language, Hawaiian arts and crafts, and Mrs. Martha Ludloff taught the music. The May Day programs were highlights of the school year then as they are now. They were colorful and exciting and lovely to see and enjoy. (Walker and Todd in Akoi 1989:82)

By 1930, the Hawaiian Homes Commission and the Keaukaha Improvement Club had greatly improved the condition of the homesteaders residing in the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community. In addition to the installation of water pipelines, improving the roads throughout the community, and establishing the community’s first chapel, Keaukaha Elementary School was established to serve the community’s children. The following article, published in the *Hilo Tribune-Herald*, offers the reflections of Hawaiian Homes Executive Secretary Rudolph M. Duncan and Reverend Akaiko Akana, *Kahu* (Minister) of Kawaiaha’o Church in Honolulu as well as a fervent supporter of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act in its early years. Their thoughts offer a useful summary of the community’s development in its first few years:

#### ***History and Accomplishment Of Homes Commission Given***

In the past twenty years the Hawaiian race has increased from 36,000 to 43,000 persons.

Saving deposits of Hawaiians in the banks of the territory have increased from \$25,000 to nearly \$2,000,000 during this period.

Real and personal property owned by Hawaiians today is valued at \$23,000,000 as compared with \$16,000,000 twenty years ago.

These are three definite results which have been realized through the work of the Hawaiian Homes Commission in providing home settlements for Hawaiian people.

R. M. Duncan, secretary and Rev. Akaiko Akana, member of the commission, who are now paying a visit to Hilo, have outlined for the Hilo Tribune-Herald the inception and results of this homesteading project to rehabilitate the Hawaiian race, a project which is entirely unique in the history of homesteading, both in Hawaiian and other parts of the world.

#### **Government Aid**

In the Hawaiian Homes Commission work, and for the first time in the history of homesteading in Hawaii, the government has been a real father in its relation to the homesteaders, it is pointed out by the officials.

The commission takes care of all homesteaders instead of letting them struggle along against too great odds, or letting them drift.

With what the homesteader upon the approval of the commission, first loans which are absolutely necessary to develop the lands. In the second place, general supervision is given the homestead by the commission which looks after the needs and chances for development. In the third place, through the field superintendent the homesteader is given definite instructions as to the care of the soil, what to raise, and what markets are available for his products. Last but not of least importance, the commission, cooperating with the Board of Health, provides a nurse who takes care of the health of the people.

#### **No Speculation**

In order that there can be no chance of land speculation the bill which creates the Hawaiian Homes Commission provides for the retaining for all times of the title of the land by the government. Should any homesteader prove himself unworthy of the opportunity given him the commission steps in and makes arrangements for transfer of the lots.

The history of the inception of this homesteading project dates death rate among the Hawaiian back to 1910, when a group of Honolulu people, appalled by the high people, organized the Hawaiian Protective Association, for the purpose of taking definite steps to do something for the Hawaiian race. Investigation brought this group face to face with the conditions of utter poverty and the congested life of many of the Hawaiians. The investigations inspired them to immediate action with the result that the group went into the following lines of activity: (1) to get these from the congested parts of the city into places where they could provide for themselves; (2) to induce the charitable organizations to help provide food and clothing; (3) to encourage thrift among the Hawaiians; and (4) to improve the home and social conditions through education and definite instructions in the home.

#### **Legislative Support**

Needed legislative action to create the Hawaiian Homes Commission was finally secured in 1921 and the initial meeting of the group followed on September 20, 1921.

First lots were opened up in the Keaukaha district on December 16, 1924, with four subsequent divisions of lots thus opening up a large area of governmental land in Keaukaha. Today there are 220 lots occupied by Hawaiian families of which 387 are adults and 700 children, making a total of 1087.

That the Keaukaha project has been a success may be judged by the following extract from a communication of Dr. Elwood Mead of the Bureau of Reclamation in Washington, following a visit to Hilo:

“At Keaukaha, Waiakea, near the town of Hilo, on the island of Hawaii there is a home settlement that is an unqualified success. There the purpose was to give an acre of land to Hawaiians who work for wages in the city of Hilo or in adjacent industries. The manner in which these lots are being improved, the neatness of the homes, and the enjoyment which the dwellers in these homes have in their mode of life, show that it is accomplishing every purpose to which the act was designed. Inquiries [sic] showed that men who were subject to temptation, becoming dissipated in town, were

leading orderly, sober lives, and giving their spare time to developing homes when they move out of the city.”

#### Benefits Cited

Today, the land about the homes are cultivated, the lauhala mat weaving industry flourishes, gardens are growing, small shacks are being replaced with more substantial homes, and the community enjoys a rural route mail service, and a church of its own, provided by the people.

There are problems yet to be faced however, the most difficult of which are the matter of sanitation, and definite instruction in dietetics, and pre-natal care.

“At the present time we still face the sad condition of the alarming death rate among Hawaiian children under one year of age,” Rev. Akana said today.

That the results of the project have far exceeded expectations however, is the opinion of both Duncan and Rev. Akana. (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1930:1, 2)

### From Trails To Roads, Streets, and Avenues

As mentioned in the previous section titled “Nā Ala Hele Kahiko (Ancient Trails)”, trails were a primary means of travel to and from Keaukaha in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Historical records indicate that there was a trail along the Keaukaha coastline that was commonly used by travelers from Puna going into Hilo and vice versa, as well as a *mauka* to *makai* trail through Honohononui that intersected with the Pana‘ewa forest section of the historic Puna trail (see Figures 17 through 21). Within Keaukaha, trails also connected residences along the coast and to areas where resources could be gathered in the forested and coastal regions.

Before the development of Kalaniana‘ole Street (also known as “Front Street”), there was a single road into Keaukaha that was known ubiquitously as the Keaukaha Road. As depicted in the 1912-1914 edition of the USGS Hilo Quadrangle map (see Figure 20), the Keaukaha Road began at the eastern banks of the Wailoa River and ended at Loko Waka. The portion of the road fronting what would become the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community extended along the coast from Milo to the inland portions of Keonekahakaha. Simultaneously, the 1912-1914 USGS map (see Figure 20) situates a trail through the community prior to and after its establishment. This trail is also depicted in the 1932 USGS Hilo Quadrangle map (see Figure 21), suggesting its ongoing use in the community post-establishment. Although the exact date of the trail’s disuse is not known, it is possible that airport expansions made the *mauka* portion of this trail inaccessible to homesteaders. USGS maps produced after 1963, do not show this trail.

Historically, the Keaukaha Road was notorious for being a treacherous road to travel on with vehicles. The poor condition of the road, coupled with the narrow roadway and ditches extending on both sides, made vehicular travel difficult and dangerous, oftentimes leading to accidents. As described in this 1915 article from *The Hawaii Herald*:

That the Keaukaha road is altogether too narrow and dangerous for the increased auto traffic, is well known. The narrow roadway, bordered by deep trenches from which the inexperienced roadmakers dug the earth and stone necessary for the thoroughfare, is a menace to autoists. In the past there was very little traffic and mainly it consisted of horse drawn vehicles. Now there is a big automobile traffic and, as the road is so narrow, one machine has to stop to allow another to pass.

A concrete example of this state of affairs was evident last Saturday when a touring car containing five passengers was thrown into the bordering ditch. It was a miracle that nobody was killed, and only for the fact that the driver managed to head his car into the ditch at the last moment and land head on and on all four wheels, there would have been another auto tragedy to chronicle.

Time after time, there have been narrow escapes from serious accidents on the Keaukaha road, and yet nothing has been done to improve conditions. The road is being used more and more every day, and it would seem to be up to the incoming board of supervisors to get busy and have matters mended. (Hawaii Herald 1915a:1)

Another article a decade later in the *Hawaii Tribune-Herald* offers a vivid description of the long-term poor condition of the road:

Driving a Dodge car over country so rough that at times the machine was hung up in guava bushes while its wheels spun in the air, and at other times going down and up pukas in the lava, where only a tank would be supposed to negotiate the way, was the experience of J. W. Johnson, accompanied by Isaac Keliipio, last Sunday when it took them two hours to travel only two miles on what had once been a road.



The intentions of the party were to look over some of the land soon to be given over by the Hawaiian Homes Commission, in Keaukaha second series for residence purposes, and also to do a little exploring on the way. Just beyond the Standard oil plant the old road to the Seaside turns off the present road, but according to best information it has not been used for 24 years and was never before traveled by an automobile. This fact was commented on by some old Hawaiian residents in the vicinity, who regarded the feat of Johnson as unique and a novelty that an automobile at this late day should be seen there for the first time.

For a short distance after branching off on the old road, the automobile had no difficulties, but very soon the guava became so thick that both occupants of the car had to constantly ward off the swishing branches. The growth became so heavy that there wasn't room between bushes for the machine to pass, and Isaac says that the automobile actually had to climb the trees to get along. Several times he noticed a wheel or two spinning in the air as the machine went cornerwise over obstacles, and then again it would plunge into some big puka and have to climb out. At one place the auto went down a cut that had been made across the old road, taking a plunge of about 4 feet and climbing the same height on the opposite embankment. To get out of some of the holes, stones had to be piled under the wheels of the car.

The party got home at 4:30 p.m. but did not reach the Keaukaha lots. (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1925c:3)

In March of 1916, the new concrete road from Kūhiō Wharf leading into Hilo Town was completed (Figure 32). This new road was located closer to the coast than the Keaukaha Road and was built for public access to the wharf. As early as 1917, plans were drawn up to connect the Kūhiō Wharf Road and the Keaukaha Road. Five acres of land near the wharf was sold to the Standard Oil Company for the sum of \$4,075 by the Territory. Following this transaction, the Hawai'i County Board of Supervisors passed a resolution to "use this money received to build the connecting road between Kuhio wharf road and Keaukaha road, thus carrying out the improvement advocated for so long" (The Hawaiian Gazette 1917:7). Although there was interest in connecting both roads, the project was stalled a few years (The Pacific Commercial Advertiser 1919:2). In 1923, Governor Wallace R. Farrington passed Act 97, which appropriated \$10,000 from the Legislature to construct the road connecting the Kūhiō Wharf Road to the Keaukaha Road (The Honolulu Advertiser 1923:12). The connecting road was completed between 1924-1925. In 1928, the new Keaukaha road, constructed with asphalt macadam and stretching from Kūhiō Wharf to the Seaside Club in Honohononui, was finished by Contractor Charles H. Will (Hawaii Tribune-Herald 1928:2).

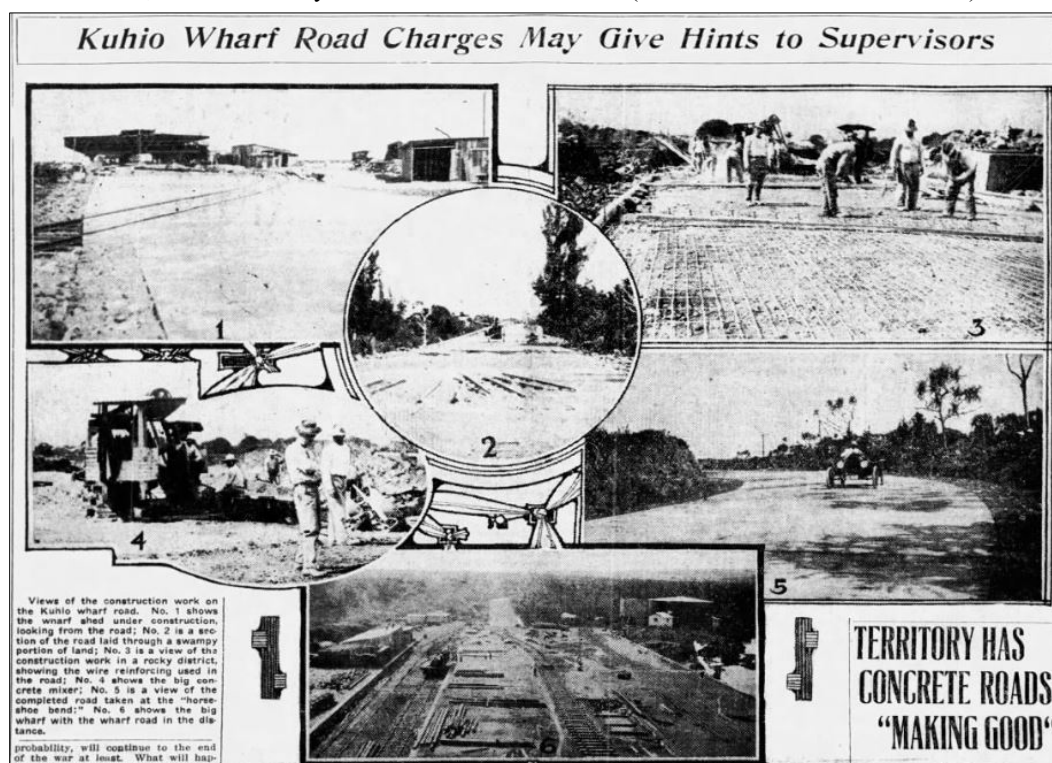


Figure 32. Construction of the Kūhiō Wharf road. Source: (Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1916:17).

The development of the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community's street system was a piecemeal process that took decades to complete. Roads were extended incrementally as more lots were awarded in the community. Trails, especially for homesteaders further inland, remained vital points of access and connection to residents and resources closer to the coast. The earliest roads built in the community were comprised of coral dredging. As stated by elders interviewed in *Ku'u Home I Keaukaha* (1989):

**Mary Kua:** "To get to town we use to walk through a trail, sometimes, the Malo family who had rowing boats they come to pick us up." (in Ako'i 1989:11)

**George Kaho'ilua:** "All we had was a trail plus the big guava trees and pili grass." (in Ako'i 1989:13)

**Lousie Kaho'ilua:** "We had places also that we could get water. One was in our lot that we called Waialaki which is now buried. This is because during our olden times when people use to have their good times, they go to this well and wash themselves and we were told when you do this the water becomes dirty and is not used for drinking anymore. We use to carry water from this well in gallons to the house, when we lived at Mr. Kahaulopua's. It would take us about half a mile to walk from our old house as there was a trail from Mrs. Higgins into where the well was."

"When my parents moved to Hawaiian Homes where I am living now, we still didn't have good roads. All those who stayed in the front area and Desha had one acre lots. We still had to come our place through the Higgins trail." (in Ako'i 1989:26)

**Edith Kanaka'ole:** "I have to say that Keaukaha at that time didn't have the kind of foliage we have today. The land was bare and it hardly had any trees. All we had were little buggy trails to get to Waiakea town. The only transportation that we had was a buggy that was owned by some Japanese family that lived down the street by Ah Kui Aina." (in Ako'i 1989:22)

**Lucy Loa:** "Before, Keaukaha was full of trees and bushes, which made it look like a forest in the back. There were trails which were used to go places because there were no roads." (in Ako'i 1989:46)

**Kaimoon Calles:** "When we moved to Keaukaha, three of us, my father, brother and I carried lumber 1x12 and 2x4 by way of trail between Mike John's and Neki Kauhi's homes. After our house was built, then Desha road was made out of coral. There were no loans so my mother borrowed about \$500.00 from Willie Beers." (in Ako'i 1989:47)

**Abbie Napeahi:** "...In order for us to get to our place, we walked through trails with guava bushes and sometimes we walked underneath of them because the trees were very tall and when we use to bring our lumber and groceries and other necessities, we had to carry them from the ending of our road to where we lived, which was about a quarter mile."

"Knowing Keaukaha in my early childhood, we use to go to the front of the beach by way of trails. There were many trails coming from what is known as Ocean View Cash and Carry, clear down to King's Landing. There were all nothing but trails and people who lived in that area King's landing and Leleiwi would have to travel by boat in order to get to Waiakea town."

"The front street did not exist at the time. We only had a trail coming through and I remember my aunt, Mrs. Solomon Carlisle, who was commonly called Aunt Akana and Elia Pookalani and Mama Fuji lived alongside the breakwater. Before the Dept. of Hawaiian Homes opened up in Keaukaha, we did live part-time out at breakwater and there were several homes by the seacoast in that area." (in Ako'i 1989:49)

**Ethel Pua Borges:** "We lived on Todd (then called third road), second road was Desha and Kalaniana'ole was front street. Connecting the three were Kauhane and Andrew. All were coral roads except front street, and they were deeply rutted because of continual rain. To expedite faster travel there were foot trails; one from Aunt Nancy Wessel to Manuia's and from Hiapo's to Kamoku's. The other was from our house to the Catholic hall, to Haelama's on Desha to Haleola's on front street..." (in Ako'i 1989:65)

On January 9<sup>th</sup>, 1925, an article published in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* indicated that a contributing factor regarding the approval of Keaukaha's street system was the decision to name the streets in the community after prominent Hawai'i Island residents. The article lists the names that were chosen—Kauhane, Pua, Spencer, Baker, Brown, Hapai, Desha, and Andrews, and briefly talk about other plans to set aside land for a recreational park to be called Hualani:

Names of well-known and prominent residents of the island of Hawaii, some of whom are not now living, applied to proposed streets through the Keaukaha houselot tract, was one of the factors which led to the Big Island supervisors to approve plans for the street system. Rudolph M. Duncan, executive secretary, announced at a meeting of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Thursday.

In the first place, Duncan said, the supervisors wanted six lots set aside for a park, and to this he consented, contingent upon the approval of the commission. He then agreed to naming the park Hualani, the name of a well-known relative of a member of the board.

The question of naming the streets then came up, with the result that, if present plans are carried out, the highways will bear the names of the following prominent Big Island residents, Kauhane, Pua, Spencer, Baker, Brown, Hapai, Desha, and Andrews. (Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1925d:28)

By September 1925 the Hawaiian Homes Commission voted to approve an appropriation of \$17,500 for the construction of Kauhane and Desha Avenues, “the first large road buildings project to be undertaken by the organization” (Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1925f:27). A year later, the Hawaiian Homes Commission began to solicit proposals for the construction of Andrews Avenue from Desha Avenue to Kalanianaʻole Highway (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1926l:7). The contract was awarded to Otto Medeiros and work began on September 27<sup>th</sup>, 1926 (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1926a). In 1927, the Commission solicited proposals for the construction of Todd Avenue and for portions of Kauhane and Andrews Avenue that would connect to Todd (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1927c:7). By the 1930s, Desha, Todd, and portions of Andrews and Kauhane avenues were completed. In the *Annual Report of the Governor of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1935*, Governor Joseph B. Poindexter noted that “The county of Hawaii has completed the macadamizing of Todd, Desha, Kauhane, and Andrews Avenues at no cost to the commission” (Poindexter 1935:14). Poindexter also stated that “Practically all of the homes are now furnished with electricity” and that “the improvement and growth of this project within financial assistance from the commission are very gratifying, demonstrating that Hawaiians are capable of building homes out of their own earnings when opportunities are afforded them to settle upon the land” (Poindexter 1935:14). A historic aerial photo taken in 1943 (Figure 33) shows the western portion of the Study Area along with several of the main roads described above.

### **The Construction of the Hilo Breakwater, Kūhiō Wharf, and the Hilo Airport**

The following section summarizes the development of three major public infrastructure projects that took place in the vicinity of Keaukaha in the first and second decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. They include the development of the Hilo Breakwater, Kūhiō Wharf, and the Hilo Airport/General Lyman Field, the locations of which are shown in the 1943 aerial photo (see Figure 33). All three projects were central to Hilo’s expansion and development and drastically altered Waiākea’s coastal landscape, destroying areas previously used for fishing, gathering vegetal resources, and burying the dead. The development of these infrastructure projects overlapped with the establishment of the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community and has and continues to impact the day-to-day life of homesteaders.

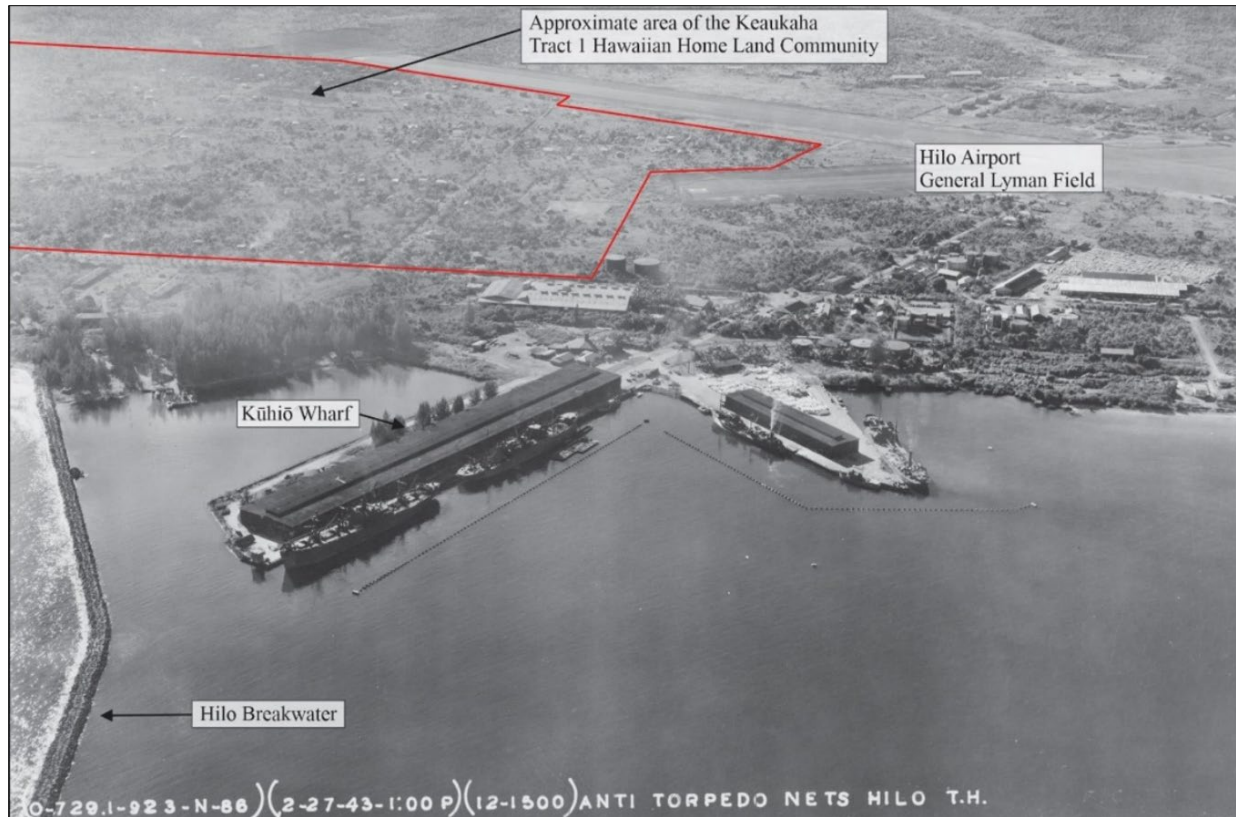


Figure 33. Aerial showing Kūhiō Wharf, General Lyman Airfield, and Hilo Breakwater ca. 1943 relative to the Study Area (outlined in red). Image source: National Archives and Records Administration.

#### ***Hilo Breakwater (1907-1929)***

Soon after Hawai‘i’s annexation to the United States through a joint resolution passed by Congress (an act that continues to be contested today), “pressure from the Islands for the federal government to build a breakwater at Hilo mounted” (Kelly et al. 1981:178). Although there were already two wharves along the eastern shores of the Makaokū Peninsula—one completed in 1899 by the local government (Figure 34) and another longer wharf completed by the Hilo Railroad Company in 1903, neither of which could accommodate large steamers with deep drafts, especially the trans-Pacific steamships that “began to call regularly at the port of Hilo” (Kelly et al. 1981:156). Furthermore, the territorial government lacked the resources needed to build a breakwater in Hilo: “finances had to come from the United States government” (Kelly et al. 1981: 156). Thus, “[w]ith the arrival of trans-Pacific steamships to Hilo, then, the concept of building a breakwater at Hilo Bay in order to accommodate the deep-draft vessels and provide still waters became a definite necessity in the interests of businessmen who had capital invested in and around Hilo” (Kelly et al. 1981:156).

In June of 1902, James H. Boyd, Superintendent of Public Works of Hawai‘i, recommended to Governor Sanford B. Dole “that the United States Government be requested to construct the breakwater” (Thurston et al. in Kelly et al. 1981:179). Sixth months later, in December, the United States Senate appointed a commission to visit Hilo to examine “local conditions” and to hold hearings. “The breakwater was, without a dissenting voice, recommended to the commission by a number of local and federal officials and commercial organizations both in Hilo and Honolulu,” resulting in the commission’s recommendation to Congress to “make an appropriation for survey, estimate and construction of the breakwater” (Thurston et al. in Kelly et al. 1981:179). In 1905, the passage of the River and Harbor Bill by Congress “authorized the preliminary examination and survey of the harbor at Hilo” (Thurston et al. in Kelly et al. 1981:179). Captain J. R. Slattery of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers led the survey and recommended the construction of a concrete and rubble breakwater for \$1,154,778, which he later increased to \$2,092,879 following recommendations made by the Board of Engineers (Thurston et al. in Kelly et al. 1981:179). Due to the high cost of a concrete breakwater, the Board of Engineers recommended the construction of an exclusive rubble breakwater, which Slattery estimated to cost \$1,700,000. In 1907, US Congress approved the construction of the breakwater with an initial appropriation of \$400,000 (Bixby in Kelly et al. 1981:181).



Figure 34. Government Wharf, Makaokū, Waiākea Ahupua'a. Year unknown. Image source: Hawai'i State Archives (PP-29-4-002).

Construction of the breakwater began in 1908 when Captain Otwell of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers solicited bids for a contractor to undertake the work. Four bids were received and the contract was eventually awarded to Delbert E. Metzger, Superintendent of the Hilo Railroad Company as well as a member of the Territory's Private Wharf Commission. On April 9<sup>th</sup>, 1908, the *Hawaii Herald* published a lengthy article regarding the bids for the breakwater (this article was a reprint of an article published on March 31<sup>st</sup>, 1908, in *The Honolulu Star*). The following is an excerpt from the article providing detailed information on Metzger's bid:

D. E. Metzger is the superintendent of the Hilo Railway Company at Hilo. He offered as sureties Mark P. Robinson, who qualified as being worth \$100,000 and B. F. Dillingham, who qualified as being worth \$250,000. As to where he proposed to get his stone and the appliances he would use in the work, Metzger went far more into detail than any other bidder. His statement in this behalf was as follows:

"I propose to obtain the stone from Puna district, Island of Hawaii, at a point about one and a quarter miles from the present Puna terminal of the Hilo Railroad, about twenty-six miles by rail from Hilo, and at a point or points along the Puna branch of the Hilo Railroad [sic], about ten miles distant from Hilo."

As to his equipment and appliances, he said: "The undersigned will use the tracks and equipment of the Hilo Railroad Company for the transportation of materials from the quarry site to the breakwater site. The railroad company's tracks will be extended to both points as early as the necessary materials can be secured. Sufficient rolling stock equipment, suitable for the purpose, to transport a minimum of 500 tons per day will be provided. The Hilo Railroad is a standard gauge road, having a rock ballasted roadbed laid with 60-pound steel rails. It owns and operates forty-eight miles of track. It has at the present time five locomotives, two of which have 18 by 24 cylinders and one 16 by 24 cylinders. At the present moment it has twenty 80,000 pound capacity flat cars and ten 30,000-pound capacity flats. To these will be added at the earliest possible moment at least thirty more 80,000 pound capacity flat cars, and an additional 76-ton locomotive if necessary, and stone will be blasted out, in most part, by chamber blasts, the pieces too large to handle being block-holes and split with powder."



“A locomotive crane of twenty tons lifting capacity will be used for loading at quarry; in addition such derricks as may be necessary to provide a capacity equal to the capacity of the construction equipment, estimated at not less than 500 tons per day.”

“In putting the materials in place in the breakwater I will use a 30-ton capacity special construction revolving locomotive crane, having an estimated capacity of 600 tons a day. If after construction work is begun, I consider it expedient and economical, I will without delay build a staging upon native hardwood piles, with vents of twelve to eighteen feet apart, and work from this, barring the smaller stones off the cars.”

“The value of machinery plant to be used, exclusive of all railroad equipment, is estimated at \$40,000. The value of railroad tracks and equipment to be used in the work is estimated at \$435,000. In addition to the foregoing I have at my service, through my relation with the Hilo Railroad Company, a well-equipped foundry, machine and car shops of the value of \$70,000, located within one and a half miles of the breakwater site.” (Hawaii Herald 1908:6)

According to Thrum (1908:164-165), “the first quarry blast for the special stone for the work was set off September 2<sup>nd</sup> and the actual construction work begun on the 12<sup>th</sup> according to the terms of the contract.” From 1908 to 1910, Metzger “placed 148,200 tons of rock at a price of \$2.485 per ton for a total of \$368,277 paid by the Federal government” (Scruton in Kelly et al. 1981:189). The length of the breakwater at the end of Metzger’s contract in December of 1910 was 2,528 feet in length with a price tag of \$400,000 (Hawaii Herald 1910d:1).

In 1910, the Federal Government appropriated \$200,000 to construct the second section of the breakwater and solicited bids once more. Although Metzger applied for the bid, the contract was instead awarded to the Lord-Young Engineering Company for a price of \$1.84 per ton (Kelly et al. 1981). “During 1911, the Lord-Young Engineering Company completed their contract for construction of the second section of the Hilo breakwater. They placed 97,577 tons of rock...and were paid a total of \$179,541 by the Federal government” (Scruton in Kelly et al. 1981:189). In 1911, the third contract to continue the construction of the breakwater was awarded to the Breakwater Company of Philadelphia. They “placed only 19,315 tons of rock at \$2.17 per ton between 1911 to 1914 for a total payment by the U.S. government of \$41,913” before their company failed and the work discontinued (Scruton in Kelly et al. 1981:189). In 1914, the American Surety Company of New York, representing the Breakwater Company, failed to work out an agreement with the Hawaiian Dredging Company to complete the contract, resulting in George E. Marshall, Hawai‘i representative of the American Surety Company, assuming “responsibility of completing the breakwater contract” (Kelly et al. 1981:190). “Between 1915 to 1917, workers under Marshall’s supervision placed 183,388 tons of rock at \$2.17 per ton on the breakwater site. The United States government paid the American Surety Company \$397,952 for the completion of the third section of the breakwater. The breakwater was 5,390 ft in length, with the substructure extending about 70 ft farther” (Kelly et al. 1981:190). Photographs taken during the construction of the Hilo Breakwater are depicted in Figures 35 and 36 and Hawai‘i Registered Map No. 2642 (Figure 37) from 1912 shows the Breakwater relative to the Study Area.



Figure 35. The rock storage peninsula created as part of the construction of the Hilo breakwater. Year unknown. Image source: Hawai'i State Archives, George Bacon Collection (PPBAC-1-13-043).



Figure 36. Undated photo showing the Hilo Breakwater. Image source: Hawaii State Archives General Photographic Collection PP-29-4-009.

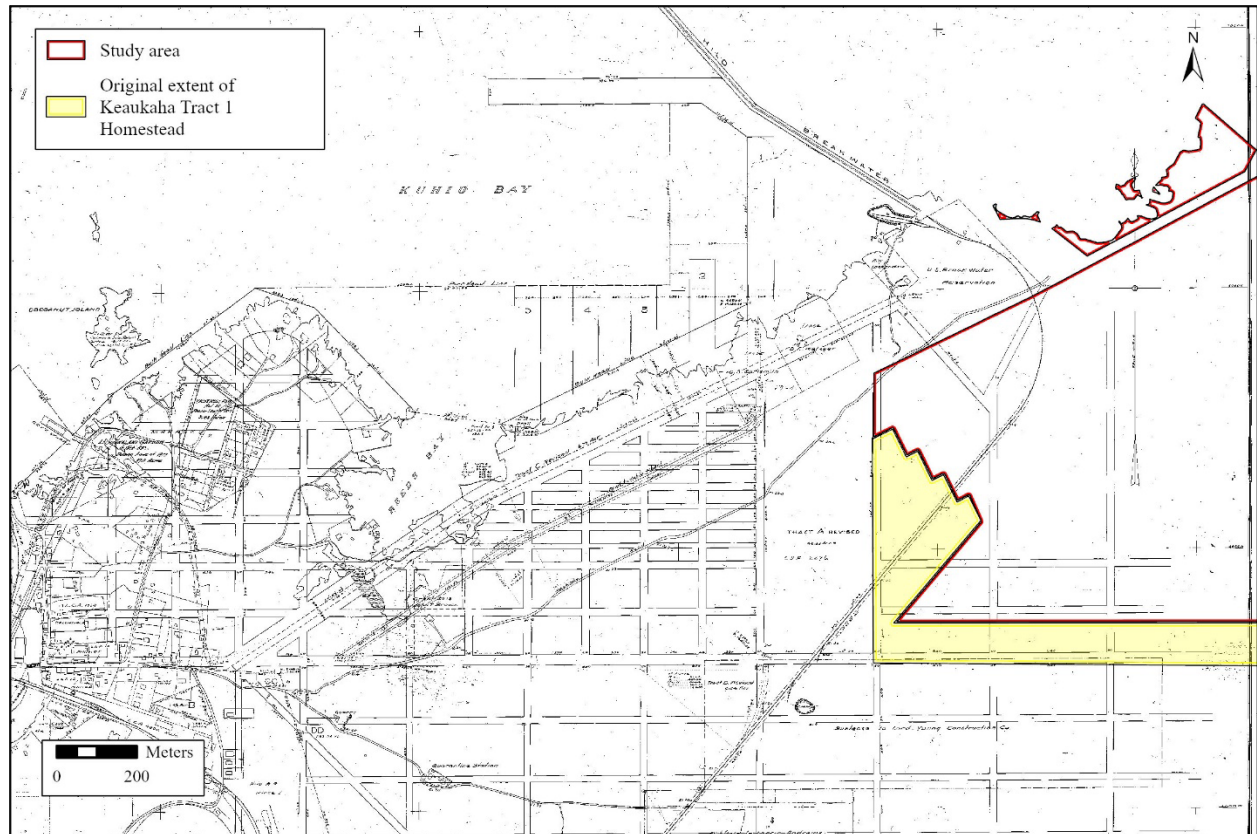


Figure 37. Detail of 1912 Hawai'i Registered Map No. 2642 by Tay and Allen showing the Hilo Breakwater in proximity to the Study Area prior to the establishment of the Hilo Airport and Tract 1 Keaukaha Homestead community.

### ***Kūhiō Wharf***

The development of new wharves in Hilo was simultaneously discussed with the construction of the Hilo breakwater, especially as it related to American business interests in the islands and Hilo's economic growth. In 1910, when the first contract to construct the first section of the breakwater was nearing its completion, Hawai'i's Legislature discussed the need for a new wharf in Hilo to replace the limited and deteriorating facilities that already existed (see Figure 34). As illustrated in Superintendent of Public Works Marston Campbell's description of the existing government wharf in Makaokū: "The government wharf at Hilo is in such a state of extreme dilapidation that it can not be used as a result of which the Territory is without wharf facilities at that port" (Campbell in Kelley et al. 1981:185). Governor Walter F. Frear, during his message to the Legislature, noted that "attention should be paid to considering whether the government should build the Hilo wharf or not" (Hawaii Herald 1910a:1). Frear was in favor of appropriating \$200,000 for the construction of a new wharf in Hilo, but the majority of the Hawai'i Island representatives focused their efforts on "getting a loan for the roads of the islands rather than towards the Hilo wharf, as the members outside of Hilo look for the roads before any single matter which will benefit that city" (Hawaii Herald 1910c:1). No funds were appropriated that year to construct a new wharf.

In response to the need for a modern and proper wharf facility for Hilo, the Hilo Railroad Company, in May of 1910, applied for a license to construct a wharf (Campbell in Kelley et al. 1981:185). Most of Hilo's commerce community supported the bid, yet their application faced scrutiny from Castle & Cooke, Matson Navigation Company, C. Brewer & Company, and the Inter-Island Steamship Navigation Company. These companies generally supported Hilo Railroad Company's application to construct a wharf but raised objections in a petition they submitted to Governor Frear. In an article titled "Would Stop Hilo Wharf" published in the August 4, 1910 edition of the *Hawaii Herald*, the petitioners cited the likelihood of the railroad company having a monopoly on all freight carried into Hilo on deep water vessels. Their objections focused largely on the use of government funds and land for a project which they believed would only economically benefit the Hilo Railroad Company. Their petition, which pointed to provisions included with the license, raised concern over the approaches to the wharf which was controlled solely by



the Hilo Railroad Company, and the company's plan to impose additional charges for storage at their facility and for cargo and livestock that the railroad company deemed as oversized. The petitioners contended that the provisions of the license would "prevent the use of such facilities by any private person or company, although the public through the government has paid the cost of such construction" (Hawaii Herald 1910e:1).

In response to the objections made in the petition, Thurston (as President of the Hilo Railroad Company) objected to all of the petitioners' points of concern and in August of 1910, Governor Frear held a meeting in his office to consider the petition of the Hilo Railroad Company for a license to construct the new wharf. A petition was also prepared and circulated in the business community in support of the Railroad Company's application, demonstrating broad public and business support in Hilo for the new wharf (The Honolulu Advertiser 1910). The petitions were successful and in 1911 through the Public Improvement Appropriation Bill, \$200,000 was allocated for wharf construction and dredging (Campbell in Kelly et al. 1981).

In June 1912, the Board of Harbor Commissioners requested bids for the construction of the wharf and dredging of Kūhiō Bay. Two companies were selected, the Lord-Young Engineering Company (who built a portion of the Hilo Breakwater), to build the wharf, and Hawaiian Dredging Company was contracted for the dredging and filling-in portion of the project (Hawaii Herald 1910b). By 1913, the wharf, which at this time was dubbed the Kūhiō Wharf, was completed (Hawaii Herald 1913). An undated photo shows the newly completely Kūhiō Wharf (Figure 38). Overall, "this construction included the wharf proper, which measured 1,400 ft long by 150 ft wide, and a wooden shed over the wharf, measuring 800 ft long by 146 ft wide" (Kelly et al. 1981:194).

The construction of Kūhiō Wharf "had little effect on the amount of freight that was shipped through the harbor," but it was heavily used and oftentimes congested (Kelly et al. 1981:194). By 1917, revenue generated by the wharf for the Territory began to steadily increase and the Board of Harbor Commissioners recommended the construction of a second wharf. "The plan would be to construct a first unit of the proposed new structure, to consist of a 300-foot length of wharf on concrete piles, and request a sufficient amount from the next Legislature to complete the structure" (Hawaii Territorial Board of Harbor Commissioners in Kelly et al. 1981:194). In 1918, during a special session of the Territorial Legislature, \$250,000 was appropriated for another wharf (Hawaii Territorial Board of Harbor Commissioners in Kelly et al. 1981:200). Hawaiian Dredging Company was awarded the contract (totaling \$479,279) to construct the new wharf and completed the work in late 1923. A photo taken around 1923 shows the Wharfs 1 and 2 (Figure 39).



Figure 38. Undated photo of Kuhio Wharf. Image source: Hawai'i State Archives, Albert P. Taylor Collection PPWD-5-1-017

A description of Wharf No. 2 was published in the March 7, 1923 edition of the *Hilo Tribune-Herald*:

The new wharf, which will be called "Wharf No. 2," is a splendid type of wharf and promises every advantage to shipping men and to shippers.

The wharf is what is called an open wharf, built on concrete piles, with the water running freely underneath it. This is different from Kuhio wharf, which is built on a reef running throughout its length, and which sometimes causes a backwash.

The new wharf is but a section of the entire new wharf which is contemplated at this point. The remainder will be built on as soon as possible. Plans for it are drawn and it will turn shoreward where it joins the present section. The stretch of water between the present section and the land near the molasses tanks will be filled in when the dredging of the point just outside the new wharf is undertaken. (Hawaii Tribune-Herald 1923:1)

Construction of a third pier was contracted to the Hawaiian Dredging Company in 1926 to further alleviate congestion at the wharf. Plans were made for the pier to be a “reinforced concrete wharf, joined to and made a part of Pier 2, [giving] a berthing space of 175 feet on the harbor end and 600 foot berth in the slip” (Hawaii Territorial Board of Harbor Commissioners in Kelly et al. 1981:203). The contract was completed by September 1927 and the pier was immediately put into use (Kelly et al. 1981:203).



Figure 39. Detail of aerial photo of the Hilo Breakwater and Kūhiō Wharf circa 1923. Image source: National Archives and Records Administration (23937309).

#### ***Hilo Airport / General Lyman Field***

In 1924, Hawai‘i County Engineer W. H. Barringer recommended that “land at Keaukaha, just beyond the Standard Oil Co.’s tanks, would be the most suitable and convenient place” to establish an airplane landing field (The Honolulu Advertiser 1924d:9). Barringer noted that the “fairly level land with room for expansion in the years to come,” as well as “the possibility of a short railway line from Kūhiō wharf to convey fuel and stores to the ground,” made the site ideal for development (The Honolulu Advertiser 1924d:9). A few months later in February 1925, Norman K. Lyman, Speaker of the House, introduced a resolution to set aside 50 acres “on the east side of Keaukaha road, Hilo, adjoining the boundary of the Standard Oil Co. Land at Waiakea for an airplane landing field” (Hawaii Tribune-Herald 1925b:1). In his resolution, Lyman noted the lack of a landing field in Hilo at a time when aviation was “...becoming a most important factor in military and commercial development in the territory” (Hawaii Tribune-Herald 1925b:1).

On April 2, Governor Farrington issued Executive Order No. 186, establishing Hilo’s first aviation landing field by setting aside 100 acres in Keaukaha for this purpose (Hawaii Aviation 2021; Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1925c). The executive order was followed by the passage of “Act 18 of the Session Laws of 1925, signed April 8, 1925, [which] appropriated \$10,000 for the expenses of transportation, housing and feeding of Territorial prisoners to be used in the development of an airport at Waiakea” (Hawaii Aviation 2021). Plans were made to have “40 to 45 prisoners brought from Oahu prison and placed on the job as soon as accommodations for the men” were built (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1925i:1). The following articles, published in the *Hawaii Tribune-Herald* between July and September 1925, describe the construction of the prison camp site to house the prison laborers, the lack of funds to provide prisoners with proper tools and equipment, and descriptions of how the work could commence.

#### ***Work For New Airport At Keaukaha Begun***

The work of clearing the site for the camp to be used by the 40 prisoners who are to be sent up from Honolulu to work on the Keaukaha airplane landing field, commenced yesterday under the supervision of D. K. Richard, who is to direct the clearing and grading of the field.



Richard has six county prisoners on the job clearing the camp site. Ten prisoners will arrive in Hilo from Honolulu next Wednesday. These prisoners will act as carpenters in the construction of the camp buildings, which it is expected will be completed within two weeks, when the remainder of the prisoners will be brought up.

Richard received a letter from Sheriff John C. Lane this morning expressing pleasure over the fact that the work on the field is about ready to start and promising to send up to 10 prison carpenters. Lane also expressed appreciation of the aid which the county is lending in the matter.

Norman K. Lyman, speaker of the house of representatives, who was influential in having the 100 acres at Keaukaha set aside for a landing field, visited the site of the future field this morning. Lyman expressed the opinion that the most accessible and even land should be cleared first, starting at the boundary of the field back of the Standard Oil plant.

Lyman said that the most logical way to proceed would be to clear a strip 300 feet wide and 1500 feet long, which when graded would be ample for the landing of planes, which is what Hilo wants most.

“After the landing strip is completed then we can go ahead with the rest of the field and such things as hangars, repair shops and fuel stations will naturally take care of themselves. The big thing is to get a landing field, so that the aviators can drop in on Hilo instead of flying way over to Waimea to land,” Lyman added.

Richard said this morning that his views are in accord with Lyman’s, and that he intends to start on a landing strip first instead of starting at the boundary and attempting to clear all of the 100 acres.

Richard is building the camp for the prisoners down near the tuna cannery, which is just outside the Keaukaha boundary of the landing field. (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1925h:1, 4)

#### ***40 Men Coming Saturday For Airport Work***

Camp buildings for prisoners who are to do the work of clearing the grounds for the airplane landing field, Keaukaha are rapidly nearing completion and it is expected will be ready to receive 40 men from the territorial penitentiary scheduled to arrive Saturday. Monday these men will commence the actual clearing work and it is hoped that further work of hauling rock and filling holes will soon follow.

Under the superintendence of David K. Richard, a small force of skilled prisoners has been at work on the camp site and a dormitory and kitchen building have been built close to the tuna canning establishment. These men are all skilled mechanics and are prison trusties. They are well behaved and enjoy their work with all the happiness of free men. They give no trouble and show no desire to shrink or to go out of bounds of the camp.

Harry Keliihoomalu, night watchman in charge, reports that the men are contented with their lot.

#### **No Danger Here**

As soon as the building work is completed, the skilled men will be sent back to Oahu and their places will be taken by a different class of prisoners. Keliihoomalu says that he is well prepared to keep the next contingent of workmen within bounds and there need be no fear of any successful attempts at escape.

In the handling of prisoners in camp, it is declared by both the guards that keeping the men busy at all times has the result of keeping them satisfied and out of mischief. It is not the intention of the officers, however, to make the men work, but they are given suggestions for pleasant occupation and these are eagerly followed up.

Among the men now engaged in construction of the camp, one has a talent for architectural drawing. He is furnished with materials and among other things has designed a handsome memorial shield for a Hawaiian fraternal order. Others of the men are skilled woodworkers and will carry out the design in carved koa.

Those of the men who have no skill in the mechanical trades, find occupations much to their liking and abilities in carving ivory, kukui nuts, and doing other ornamental work of various kinds. Necklaces, brooches, scarf slides and other ornaments are made by them and sold for reasonable

prices. The money the prisoners earn this way goes toward supplying them with small necessities or towards a saving fund against their day of release.

#### **Housed at Night**

At night the men are housed in a dormitory, which is 12 feet wide and 84 feet long, with four rows of bunks extending the full length, giving a capacity of 46 men. Each man's bunk is his home and there he keeps all his personal belongings, which are little enough, but usually include sets of tools and pieces of handiwork.

Opposite the dormitory and about 40 feet away is a kitchen having a cement floor for cooking purposes and cement floor and a dining space and store room attached. A tool house close by completed the camp buildings.

The location of the airplane field is about 200 yards beyond Puumaile Home and it extends to the cannery property. The road to the cannery runs almost exactly through the center of the 100 acres set aside for the field and another road branches off this not far from Puumaile to the rifle range grounds. Eventually these roads will have to be relocated.

The camps is at the far edge of the field and is located on a portion of an old railroad right of way which extends diagonally across the site to the Metzger rock quarry. The railroad originally carried rock from this quarry to the breakwater and it is expected that the old roadbed will be used again for transporting rock to the field. The board of supervisors has made an appropriation of \$400 for necessary tools and equipment to get rock and extend the landing field work.

#### **A Sizeable Field**

The dimensions of the landing field are 1303 feet, approximately parallel to the seashore and about 3500 feet distant from the water, by 3342 feet extending back at right angles to Kamehameha street extension. This extension exists only on the map at the present time. It is in a straight line with the highway from Waiakea bridge and in time probably will be constructed and then make a direct approach from the landing field to town. The entire width of the field fronts on this proposed road.

As far as the legislature has helped towards the enterprise, it has set aside the 100 acres of land and made an appropriation of \$10,000 for expense and upkeep of prisoners to work on it. There was no provision for materials or equipment and these will have to be provided for by the county or other outside help. With what financial help can be given towards other than the prison labor, it is hoped that some of the rough places can be leveled off and holes filled with rock. The prisoners alone are not expected to accomplish much more than clearing the land of brush and doing other rough work.

The navy has under consideration the dredging of Hilo harbor and at that time it is believed that the dredged material can be pumped to the field and an ideal top dressing given for airplanes to land and take off from. It may be two years, however, before this stage of the work is reached. (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1925a:1, 7)

#### ***Real Progress Made In Hilo Airport Work***

With work well started on the Keaukaha aviation field those directly interested declare that after all the long preliminaries of creating sentiment in favor of the project and putting through the first necessary legislation, real progress is now being made. More than half the site has been cleared of brush and a good idea can now be had of what the lay of the land is, how large the field is to be an what difficult and extensive improvement remains to be done.

Under the supervision of D. K. Richards, 46 men were put at work Tuesday, September 8, and within a week's time they had cleared off all the underbrush, felled all the tress and cleared up the usable firewood from 45 acres of the land.

#### **Supervisors Take Hand**

Under the appropriation made by the last legislature there were no funds for tools or equipment. The appropriation of \$10,000 was for support and care of the prison laborers only. The county supervisors became interested in the project and made an appropriation of \$400 for the purchase of tools and as soon as required they will place two trucks and other equipment at the disposal of Richards and his crew.

Clearing of the brush will continue for about another week and then the land will be burnt over and left clear for the surveyors to get onto the field and run the contours. Many humps of lava will be knocked to pieces with sledge hammers, air compressors will be installed and holes drilled for powder to blast away heavier and larger mounds of lava, rails will be laid to bring in rock from the Metzger quarry to fill some of the holes and the land brought into shape for its final top dressing. It is hoped that by the time the land has been leveled off the work of dredging the harbor will have been commenced by the navy department and the dredgings from this will make an ideal surface for the landing field.

While the material progress being made on the Hilo Airport, as the landing field is also called, has its interesting features, there is another and more important side to the project. It is a moral and spiritual side. The 46 men employed are territorial prisoners, two of them are doing a life stretch and many others serving sentences of seven or eight years or more.

#### **Cockett Heads Gang**

Willie Cockett, who has been referred to as one of the most desperate characters in the territory and is also known as one of the foremost jail breakers, is at the head of the working gang. Richards declares that Cockett is a model workman and leader and he places implicit confidence on him. Under the guiding influence of Richards and Cockett the entire personnel is inspired with work and the men all take delight in whatever task they are set to do.

It is remarked that when quitting time comes at the end of the day, every man stays to finish the particular piece of work he may be at, perhaps keeping on for half an hour to complete the felling of a tree or clearing up his section of brush.

Yellow jackets are a fearful pest in the thick brush and the fighting with them seems to afford an outlet for whatever of viciousness there is in any of the men. On one occasion a prisoner was so badly stung he could not work for the rest of the day.

#### **No Need for Driving**

The healthful exercise and out door benefits the men enjoy make their lot a happy one and the guards find no need to drive them at their work. While the treatment all receive makes them more satisfied with their lot than to hazard attempts at escape.

Richards takes a fatherly interest in all of the men and has completely won their allegiance. He goes further than this an every evening holds intimate converse with them, giving moral guidance for which the prisoners give every evidence of deepest appreciation. The men realize that they are gaining bodily health and perceive hope for their moral outlook on life.

It is apparent that the Hilo Airport project is making progress for a material community benefit and also for the upbuilding of better men. (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1925g:1, 4)

By the end of 1925, the prisoners (Figure 40) cleared and graded the majority of the 100 acres set aside for the airfield. Work on the airfield continued over the next few years as prisoners continued clearing the land as more acreage was added, leveled the field, and used coral dredgings from Kūhiō Wharf as a top dressing for the airfield (Hawaii Aviation 2021). In 1928, the airfield was dedicated by Major Clarence M. Young, Secretary of Aeronautics in the U.S. Department of Commerce. The dedication was attended by over 1000 persons (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1925j). A photo showing the airfield around 1932 is included in Figure 41.

Over the next few years, additional acreage was added to the landing field and new facilities were built, including 1930 a terminal for Interisland Airways and a U.S. Weather Bureau weather reporting station as well as facilities for the Civil Aeronautics Administration, including radio range beacons and a weather stations in 1941 (Hawaii Aviation 2021). A cross-wind runway was completed in 1931 for \$18,142.60 by Ames-Will Ltd., measuring 1,100 long and 200 feet wide (Hawaii Territorial Aeronautics Commission in Kelly et al. 1981:232)

During World War II, the Hilo Airport continued to expand. It was under military occupation that the Hilo Airport was renamed the General Lyman Field in 1943 in honor of Brigadier General Albert Kualii Brickwood Lyman, the first Hawaiian to be appointed a brigadier general of the United States Army. According to Hawaii Aviation (2021):

At the outbreak of World War II, Hilo Airport was taken over by the Army Engineers, and an Air Corps fighter squadron was stationed there. U.S. Army Engineers constructed military installations and continued the expansion of runways, taxiways, and parking aprons. In 1943, the Navy moved onto the field under an agreement with the Army and began construction of a Naval Air Station.

The construction of the Naval Air Station started shortly thereafter on all the necessary facilities to base and train two full air groups. While the Navy had more extensive installations and greater use of the field, the Army Air Corps continued to operate the control tower, and, from their own reservation, serviced a sizeable transport operation conducted by the 19th Troop Transport Squadron. The Naval Air Station also serviced a similar Navy activity. Civilian passenger service continued under the authority of the Army.



Figure 40. Inmates from the prison camp leveling the Hilo airfield. Circa 1927. Image source: Hawai'i State Archives, Governor Farrington files (PP-2-1-017).



Figure 41. Aerial showing the Hilo airfield ca. 1932 and homes in the Study Area can be seen in the distance. Image source: Pan-Pacific Press Bureau, Hawai'i State Archives (PP-2-1-021).

Expansions and renovations during World War II had significant impacts on the Keaukaha homestead community. As stated by Julian R. Yates, Executive Officer of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, in their 1943 report to the legislature:

This area was never considered as ideal for homesteading, nevertheless it was fast developing before the war and showed the greatest promise of expansion.

The war has played havoc with the entire [Keaukaha] project because of the requirements of the military authorities: twenty-two (22) brand new homes were demolished and eight (8) others were moved to make way for military installations. The prospects for the future are anything but bright. (Yates in Hawaiian Homes Commission 1943:10)

Albert Nahale-a, a Recreation Director on the Commission and a resident of Keaukaha, offered the following remarks regarding the challenges that Keaukaha homesteaders faced during this period:

Since the start of the war, recreational work in the Keaukaha area has been very much curtailed. Transportation problems also hindered this work. Your Recreation Director has been compelled under the circumstances to assist lessees in distress in ironing out their difficulties, placing of evacuees in homes of others, seeking employment for lessees and their families, and the active collection of monies due on loans from lessees who are now enjoying good wages. (Nahale-a in Hawaiian Homes Commission 1943:58)

The General Lyman field remained under the control of the U.S. Army until 1952 when civilian control was restored by the Federal government's surrender of leases, easements, licenses, and permits to the territorial government (Hawaii Aviation 2021). HTS Plat Map 919-B (Figure 42), illustrates changes to the land that took place through U.S. military occupation, including the carving out of the western section of the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community to make way for a runway.

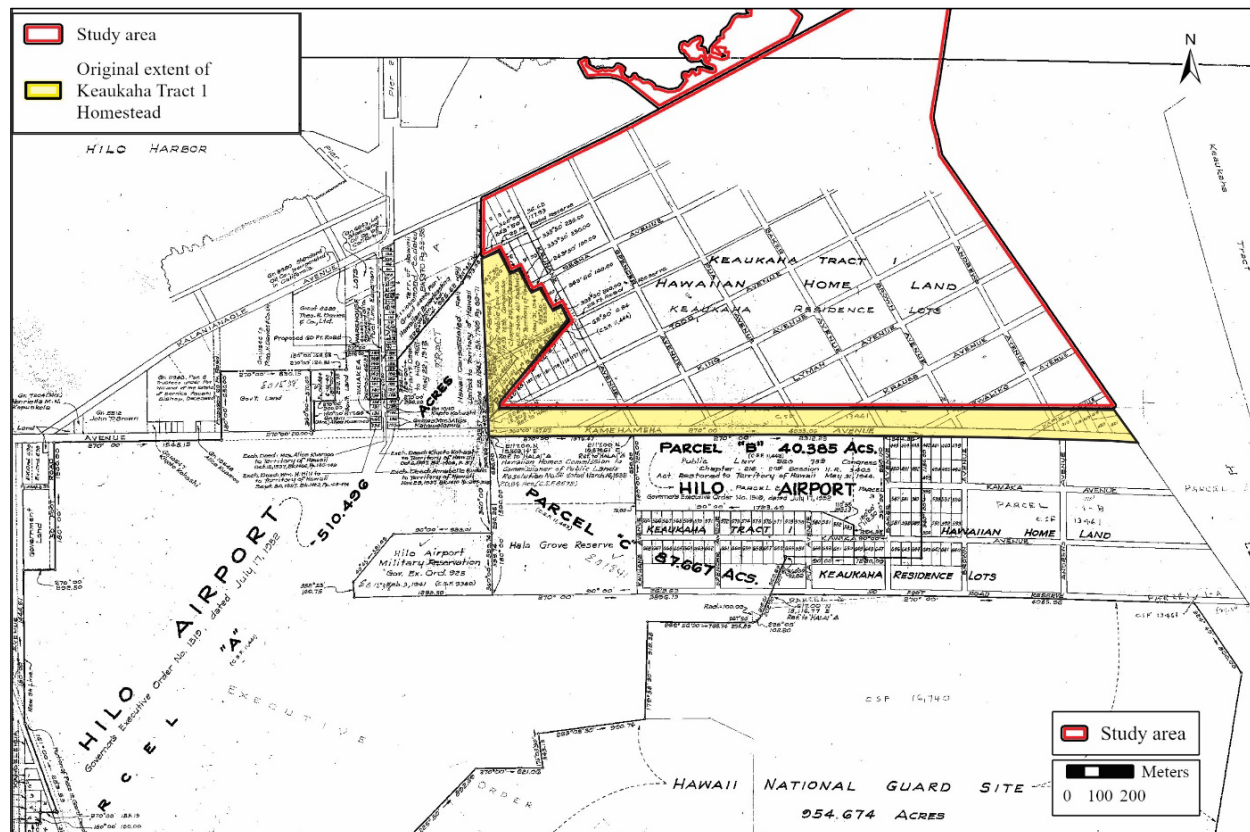


Figure 42. Detail of 1953 HTS Plat 919-B map by Awana showing additions to the Hilo Airport made during WWII.



More improvements and facilities were built at the General Lyman field in the years leading up to and following statehood in 1959. Examples include the construction and dedication of a new administration and terminal building (1953), the construction of paved areas at the passenger terminal (1955), and the completion of a separate passenger terminal for military traffic in 1957 (Hawaii Aviation 2021). It was also in the late 1950s that the Hawaii Aeronautics Commission “designated General Lyman Field as the most desirable location to establish a second or alternate airport in the Territory capable of accommodating large jet aircraft” (Hawaii Aviation 2021).

In February of 1965, the new 9,800-foot jet runway was completed and dedicated (Hawaii Aviation 2021). Construction of the new jet runway resulted in the displacement of forty Keaukaha homestead families who were relocated to Pana‘ewa (Knox 1939). To show how the expansion of the airport throughout the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century impacted and ultimately reshaped the Study Area through the loss of many homestead lots, the following figures provide a visual comparison. An aerial photo taken in 1954 (Figure 43) shows the extent of the airport as well as those homestead lots (that would eventually be demolished) still occupied; a USGS map from 1963 (Figure 44), an aerial photo from 1977 (Figure 45), and a 1981 USGS map (Figure 46) that shows the expanded jet runway and the loss of lots. The loss of homes and relocation of Keaukaha homesteaders and their families would fuel protests at the airport more than a decade later.

In 1978, two protests were organized by activists and Hawaiian Homes beneficiaries that took place at the Hilo airport. As stated by Keahialaka Waika‘alulu Ioane, the “Hilo Airport protest,” as it was commonly referred to, was “the founding moment to the public protest by Hawaiian Home Lands beneficiaries against their trustee, the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands” (Ioane 2022:33). The first protest took place on July 4<sup>th</sup> and consisted of approximately 75 vehicles driving slowly through the “drive-through drop-off and pick up location” at the airport with signage that read “We are the landlords” and “Pay your rent!” (Ioane 2022:34). These messages referenced the relocation of some of Keaukaha homesteaders to Pana‘ewa in renovations that occurred to Runway 8-26, as well as the lack of financial compensation to the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands by the Hawai‘i Department of Transportation for use of these lands (Ioane 2022:33).



Figure 43. 1954 aerial highlighting the areas of loss to the Keaukaha community as a result of airport expansions during WWII and in 1965.



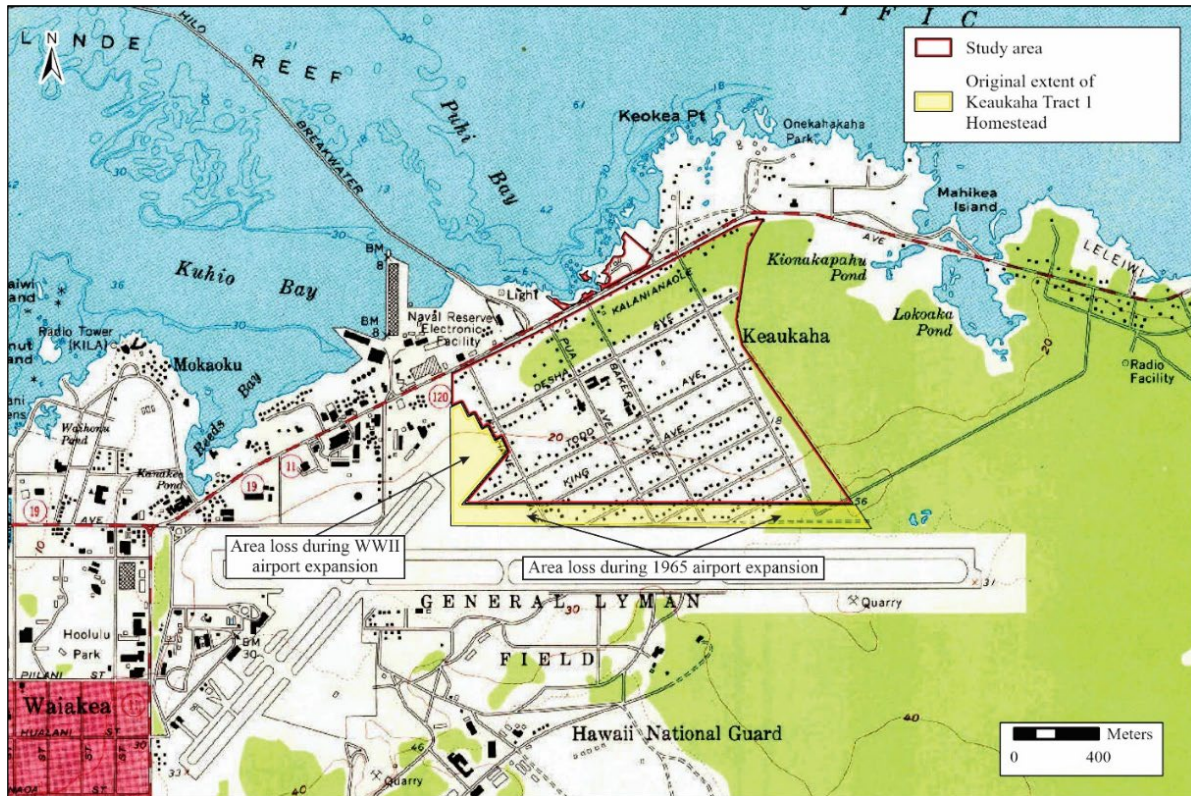


Figure 44. 1963 USGS Hilo Quadrangle map annotated to show the areas of loss through airport expansions during WWII and in 1965.

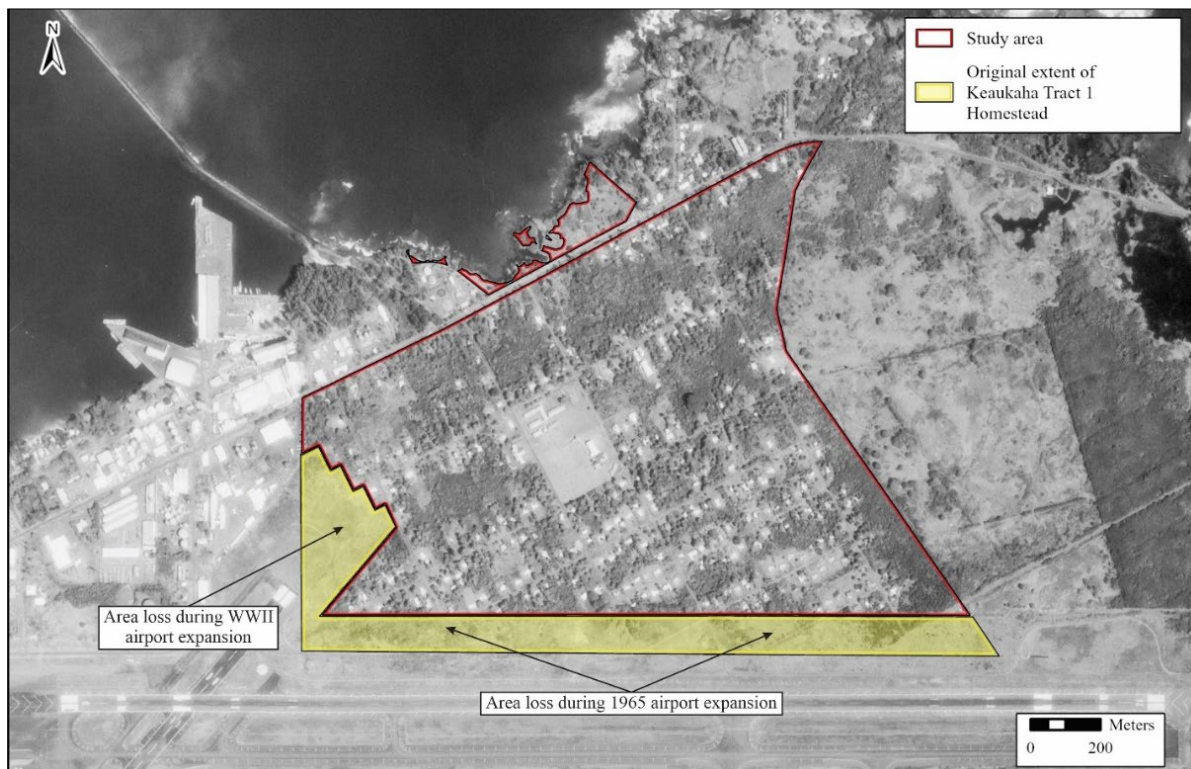


Figure 45. 1977 aerial image highlighting the areas of loss to the Keaukaha community as a result of airport expansions during WWII and in 1965..





Figure 46. 1981 USGS Hilo Quadrangle map annotated to show the areas of loss through airport expansions during WWII and in 1965.

The second protest took place on September 5<sup>th</sup> and included a brief occupation of the Hilo Airport runway. A photograph taken by *The Honolulu Star-Advertiser* reporter Hugh Clark shows protesters engaged with the National Guard (Figure 47). The following excerpts from Ioane (2022:35-36) narrate the protests:

Based on the attention given the protest, [Brenda] Lee publicly announced another protest, scheduled for Labor Day, 5 September 1978. The plan was to storm the airstrip and shut down production for 24 h, to make demands to the State pertaining to many issues affecting Kanaka...

Hawaii Tribune-Herald reported that on the morning of 5 September 1978, “some 250 people from Big Island, Oahu, Kauai and Molokai” gathered at Kawānanakoa Hall in the middle of Keaukaha Homestead” (Reynolds 1978, p. 1). They began preparing each other for the walk to the airstrip. Kanaka were giving talks and explaining to others the details of the situation, dancing hula, teaching oli (traditional chant) and doing pule (traditional prayer) (Kaleiwahea 2021b; Ross 2021) Marcia Reynolds of, Hawai‘i-Tribune-Herald reported that the group left the Hall around 11:00 walking down towards Baker St. in Keaukaha homestead (Reynolds 1978, p. 1). When the crowd approached the fence, they found that barbed wire barriers had been put in place to prevent access. About 200 marched to the gate, but only about 40 proceeded onto the airstrip. The media reports that 51 people were arrested, including nine media reporters (Clark 1978a, 5 September 1978, p. 1).

The Hilo Airport protest is emblematic of historical and ongoing tensions between the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community and the Hilo airport.

# 51 Hilo protesters arrested; demonstration shuts airport



## Media reps charged in trespass

By HUGH CLARK

Advertiser Big Island Bureau

HILO — Fifty-one Hawaiian protesters were arrested yesterday and charged with "entering a restricted area" during a demonstration in which they pushed their way onto the Hilo Airport runway after a series of confrontations with National Guard troops and Big Island police.

Nine members of the news media also were arrested and charged with trespassing.

There were no injuries and no reported violence.

The airport was closed for about 40 minutes. According to a spokesman for the Federal Aviation Administration, the Hilo Airport manager closed the field at 11:34 a.m. and reopened it at 12:46 p.m.

The arrests ended a four-hour battle of wits between the protesters and the authorities, who were intent on suppressing the long-threatened attempt to shut down the airport.

Only about half of those who marched to the runway fence at the end of Baker Avenue in Keaukaha crossed onto the airport property.

Police spent the rest of the day helping state officials book the 51 Hawaiians and nine members of the media, who were arrested while following the demonstrators into the restricted area.

Several young children were arrested but none was charged. Two teen-age protesters were booked.

All of those arrested were released on their own recognizance. They will be arraigned in South Hilo District Court at 1:30 p.m. Friday.

If convicted, those arrested face a possible year in jail and a \$1,000 fine, according to Mayor Herbert.

Protesters and National Guard engage in pushing contest on edge of runway just before arrests were made.

See Hilo on Page A-3

Figure 47. The Hilo Airport protest. Image source: Clark (1978) *Honolulu Advertiser*, September 5, 1978.

## 4. ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESOURCES: SUMMARY OF PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES

Archaeological studies focusing on the Study Area are very limited, however, there have been several studies conducted on lands adjacent to the study area, the locations of which are plotted in Figure 48 and the findings are summarized in Table 2. The earliest archaeological investigation was carried out in 1932 when Alfred Hudson conducted an inventory survey of archaeological sites in East Hawai‘i. In the Study Area, Hudson documented four sites at Puhi Bay (Site 39-42), all of which are presumed to be heavily disturbed or destroyed.

The following are Hudson’s site descriptions:

Site 39. Burial vault, Puhi Bay, Keaukaha. The site is located on the end of a point on the eastern side of Puhi Bay, about a hundred yards seaward of the small house now used as a Japanese Boys Club. It consists of a stone platform containing a cyst or burial chamber. The platform is 12 feet long and 10 feet wide on the top, the greater dimension extending inland. The seaward face is built up 7 feet above the level of the beach at an angle slightly less than perpendicular. On the island side the upper level of the platform merges gradually with the ground level, which at this point rises quite sharply from the beach. The foundations and retaining walls are built of boulders from the beach and the top paved with small pebbles. The burial chamber, 5.5 feet long, 18 inches wide and equally deep, is sunk into the surface of the platform flush with pavement level. It is lined on the bottom and sides with flat lava slabs and roofed over with similar slabs, on top of which pebbles have been scattered. At the time of my visit the chamber contained the skeletal remains of one individual which were not disturbed for examination.

Site 40. An eighth of a mile east of site 39 in a pandanus grove beside a brackish pool are a number of platforms, walls and inclosures [*sic*]. They are considerably disturbed and it is difficult to reconstruct their former appearance and relation to one another. The platforms are not over 8 inches high, built of sand and earth and bordered with stones. They are probably house sites.

Site 41. Remains of stone platform, probably koa, on point of lava at east end of Puhi Bay.

Except for the northeast corner, which has been destroyed, the foundations of the structure are clear and distinct although the spot is much frequented by bathers and fishermen. The platform is 22 feet by 16 and from 3 to 4 feet high. The stones used in construction are sea-worn boulders. Fragments of small stone and pebble paving remain in the southeast corner and bits of coral and shell are to be found in the foundations. In the northwest corner, that nearest the sea, has been built a rough stone tower, or high platform, 4 feet high and 4 feet square, which is now considerably demolished. This feature presumably served as an altar on which to lay offerings of fish.

Among the stones of the foundations was found part of a wooden bowl much rotted by damp.

Site 42. Remains of small stone platform, 100 feet inland from site 41.

Only the heavy boulders of the foundation remain. The platform is 8 feet square and now about 1 foot high. The paving has been disrupted by a pandanus tree growing in the middle. These are probably the foundations for a small hut or fishing shelter. (Hudson 1932:250-254)





Figure 48. Location of previous archaeological studies.

**Table 2. List of prior archaeological studies and findings.**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Findings</i>	<i>Eligibility</i>	<i>Criterion</i>
1932	Hudson	Site 39- Burial vault Site 40- Platform, walls, enclosures Site 41- Stone platform Site 42- Stone platform	Not eligible	n/a
1988	Rosendahl	No archaeological resources identified	n/a	n/a
1990*	Cleghorn et al.	Loko Waka- Site 50-10-35-10263	n/a	n/a
2007*	Rechtman	SIHP Site RC-0452-1	Not eligible	d
2013*	Reeve et al.	Twenty-six archaeological sites	n/a	n/a
2016a*	Barna	SIHP Site 50-10-35-30514, 30515, and 30516	Not eligible	n/a
2016b*	Barna	SIHP Site 50-10-35-30513	Not eligible	C
2019*	Clark	No archaeological resources identified	n/a	n/a
2019*	Barna	No archaeological resources identified	n/a	n/a

(\* = study conducted outside of Study Area)

In 1988, Paul H. Rosendahl, Inc. (PHRI) conducted two studies (Rosendahl 1988; Rosendahl and Talea 1988) in Keaukaha one of which (Rosendahl 1988) extended through the study area along a section of Pua Avenue, across Desha Avenue, and up Baker Avenue (see Figure 48). Neither study identified any archaeological resources.

Cleghorn et al.'s (1990) *Hawaiian Fishpond Study* contains a comprehensive examination of fishponds on four islands, including twenty in the coastal Waiākea area. These fishponds included Loko Waka (Site 50-10-35-10263), located east of the Study Area. Loko Waka fishpond has been rebuilt with modern internal walls and is currently used by the landowner, Kamehameha Schools for aquaculture and educational programs.

In 2007, Rechtman (2007) conducted an Archaeological Inventory Survey (AIS) and limited cultural assessment for the proposed Koko Palms project in Keaukaha (TMK: (3) 2-1-14:004 and 005; see Figure 48). During the survey, a single archaeological site dating to the 20<sup>th</sup> century was recorded (SIHP Site RC-0452-1) and containing four features, including the remains of two single-family residential structures, a stone and concrete platform, and a fishpond with “a roughly one meter tall retaining wall (above and below water level) of dry-stacked angular basalt cobbles and boulders” (Rechtman 2007:14). This site was assessed as significant under criterion D with a recommended treatment of no further work.

Reeve et al. (2013) conducted a non-regulatory archaeological reconnaissance of Kamehameha Schools lands in Honohononui (see Figure 48). That study identified a total of twenty-six archaeological sites dating from both the Precontact and Historic Periods; however, only four sites were located south of Kalanianaʻole Avenue. Reeve et al. describe the relative lack of archaeological sites:

As previously noted, most of the lands of Honohononui located between Kalanianaʻole Avenue and the Hilo International Airport runway were found to have been heavily impacted by recent human activity. The only site found within the bulldozed area was a scatter of historic artifacts and the broken remnants of a cement house pad situated in the southeastern corner of the survey area (Site T-001). This scatter appears to represent the remnants of a late historic house site that was destroyed by bulldozing. Due to the extent of the bulldozing in this more *mauka* parcel it is impossible to determine what the traditional settlement pattern in this area may have been. Given the relative lack of soil (prior to recent dumping of sugar cane bagasse) and the characterization of this area on early maps as being covered in *pū hala* forest, it seems likely that in the pre-Contact period the area was neither well settled or heavily cultivated. Ethnohistoric sources suggest that lava tubes located where the Hilo Airport is now were traditionally used as burial caves (Akoi 1989:48). It appears probable that most of these tubes were sealed up or destroyed during the construction of Lyman field. In the present project area it is known from lease information that a “natural water hole” existed on a section of the land later condemned for use as a tsunami escape route. This water hole was filled and covered during the bulldozing undertaken in the 1970s. A partially intact lava tube was noted during the present survey near the southwestern corner of the project area. This tube was investigated but found to contain no human remains or other cultural material other than modern rubbish. Residents of the adjacent Hawaiian Homelands subdivision mentioned the existence of an intact lava tube located just outside the eastern boundary of the present project area, but because it rested beyond the limits of the survey area the tube was not investigated. (Reeve et al. 2013:70)

In 2016, ASM conducted two AIS studies in Keaukaha, one for the proposed site of the Ka ‘Umeke Kā‘eo Charter School in Honohononui (Barna 2016a) and another at the former Hilo Tropical Gardens parcel (TMKs: (3) 2-1-015:017 and 055) (Barna 2016b). The survey area for the proposed school site included an 11-acre portion of TMK: (3) 2-1-013:146 which is adjacent to the Study Area’s southeastern boundary (see Figure 48). Three archaeological sites (State Inventory of Historic Places (SIHP) Site 50-10-35-30514, 30515, and 30516), “dating no earlier than the mid-twentieth century” were recorded including a cement livestock watering trough (Site 30514), and two lava tube caves (Site 30515 and 30516) displaying evidence of either single use or temporary use (Barna 2016a:i). All three sites were assessed as not historically significant, and no further work was the recommended treatment. At the former Hilo Tropical Gardens property (see Figure 48), Barna (2016b) recorded a single site SIHP Site 50-10-35-30513 comprised of four features all of which were associated with the former Kong’s Floraleigh Botanical Gardens. Feature A, the landscaped botanical garden, included all of the paths, stonework, planting beds, and other decorative elements that were originally constructed by En Loy Kong. Feature B, the former Kong residence, a 1,374 square foot, single-story building constructed in 1955. Feature C, the former botanical garden’s workshop and display room, now a greatly modified 1,644 square foot building. Feature D, the botanical garden’s former open-sided greenhouse, now an 880 square foot fully enclosed building most recently used as a convenience store. This site was assessed as significant under criterion c and no further work was the recommended treatment.

Two additional studies were undertaken by ASM in 2019 (see Figure 48). The first was a field inspection (Clark 2019) for another proposed site for Ka ‘Umeke Kā‘eo Charter School in Honohononui in which no archaeological sites were identified. Along the coast on the *makai* side of ‘Apapane Road, Barna (2019), similarly, did not identify any archaeological sites within the parcel but noted that within the setback of the parcel’s southwest boundary was a concrete and rock wall believed to have been constructed sometime between 1972 and 1984.



## 5. ARCHITECTURAL RESOURCES: RECONNAISSANCE-LEVEL SURVEY

The architectural resources within the Study Area is comprised of both residential and non-residential buildings (i.e. churches, gymnasium, school, etc.). This section of the report presents the findings from the architectural reconnaissance-level survey of residential buildings followed by the non-residential buildings.

### RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS FINDINGS

The residential portion of the Keaukaha community is currently bounded by Kalanianaʻole Street to the north and the Hilo International Airport to the south. Kauhane Avenue is roughly the western boundary with Andrews Avenue to the east. Pua and Baker Avenues also run north to south. Roads running parallel to Kalanianaʻole Street are (north to south): Nahale-A, Desha, Pakele, Lauaʻe Yung, Todd, King, Lyman, Krauss, and Ewaliko avenues. There are 488 residential lots developed as early as 1922 (one house that predates the formal award of any lots within the community) and as recently as 2023 (plus an additional 24 either currently vacant or with non-residential buildings). Some of the parcels have been split and others remain undivided and span a full block.

ASM architectural historian Laura Taylor Kung, M.A. (with the assistance of ASM Cultural Historian Lokelani Brandt, M.A.) conducted a reconnaissance-level windshield survey between April 18-21, 2023. Every structure visible from the street was photographed, and general details of construction, style, and alterations were recorded. Construction dates as documented by the Hawaiʻi County Property Tax Assessor's Office were used to create a map color-coded by decade to reveal potential patterns of development (Figure 49). While no obvious patterns emerged, the map illustrates the fact that most parcels contain structures built less than 50 years ago. Of the 488 residential lots, 22 had no date on file while 60 were built in 1973 or earlier (Table 3). There were 176 residences built between 1974-1983 (Table 4), 32 residences built between 1984-1989, 72 residences built in the 1990s, 81 residences built in the 2000s, and 38 residences built since 2010. Within the survey area, more than 87% of the residences with known dates of construction are currently less than 50 years old.

The residential properties of the Keaukaha community vary in size, massing, and architectural style. Most are set back from the street, and several were obscured by vegetation. Numerous properties, particularly those built in the 1970s and later, have rectangular plans capped by a side gable or hipped roof (Figures 50 and 51). There are several examples of “kit” homes designed and manufactured by one of several local vendors (i.e., HPM, Honsador, Hicks). Most of the residences are one story but there some examples with two stories of various styles (Figure 52). It was also observed that houses built closer to the coast sometimes have the first story raised above an open lower level (Figure 53), likely in compliance with more recent County code restrictions related to construction within a *tsunami* inundation zone, within which the entire Keaukaha community exists.

While not all of the houses exhibit character-defining features of a particular architectural style, the residences within the Keaukaha community that are 50 years or older fall into several broad categories. The definitions of styles provided in Phase 1 of the *Hawaii Statewide Reconnaissance Level Architectural Survey* (SASH) were used to identify the styles represented in the community. These include: Bungalow/Craftsman (1905-1930), Craftsman Plantation (1900-1945), Modern Plantation (1940-1970), and Contemporary Plantation (1935-1980). Additionally, the Hawaii Ranch House or “Contractor” Modern style as defined in the *Hawaii Modernism Context Study* (Fung Associates 2011) was identified as a common style, with 13 houses built before 1974 placed in this category (see Table 3), and many of the houses that could be defined by a style built between 1974-1983 also fall within this style category as well as the Contemporary Plantation category. As shown in Table 3, of the houses that are currently 50 years or older, 3 houses are classified as Bungalow/Craftsman, 4 as Craftsman Plantation, 11 as Modern Plantation, 13 as Contemporary Plantation, and as previously stated 13 as Hawaii Ranch House or “Contractor” Modern style.

Of the observable houses (n=44) that are currently 50 years or older, many appear to have had some level of alteration including room additions, window and door replacements, solar panel installations, siding changes, carport additions, and porch alterations (Figures 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, and 59). These alterations have significantly diminished the buildings' integrity of design, materials, and feeling.

None of these houses appear to have been the product of a master architect or to be exemplarary of the style to which we have assigned them, thus none warrant individual evaluation under Criterion C. Likewise, of the houses in the community that will reach 50 years of age during the 10-year life of the PA, none appear to be exceptionally significant architecturally to warrant individual evaluation under Criterion C in the near future. Additionally, while none of these houses are currently known to be individually associated with historically significant persons (Criterion B), if such associations come to light in the future, additional evaluation may be necessary.

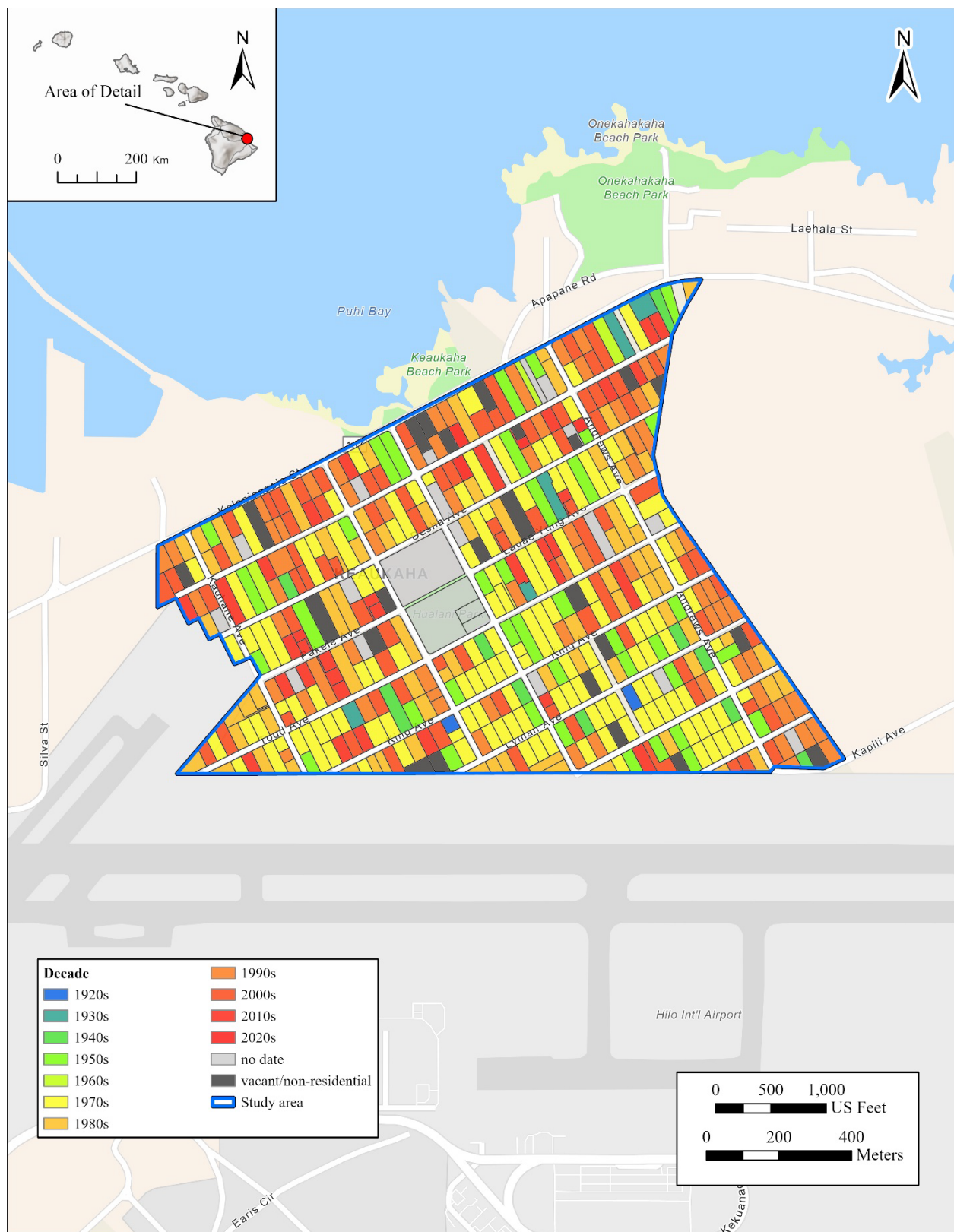


Figure 49. Keaukaha Tract 1 residential parcels indicating decade of construction.



**Table 3. Residential structures built in 1973 or earlier.**

<i>Address</i>	<i>TMK #</i>	<i>Built Date</i>	<i>Effective Date</i>	<i>Style</i>
230 Lyman	21023037	1922		Bungalow/Craftsman
242 Pua	21022093	1928		Craftsman Plantation
1346 Kalanianaʻole	21021061	1931		Not visible
1384 Kalanianaʻole	21021064	1934		Bungalow/Craftsman
296 Todd	21023115	1940		Modern Plantation
1392 Kalanianaʻole	21021065	1941		Contemporary Plantation
236 King	21023078	1941		Craftsman Plantation
121 Kapili	21024015	1941		Salvaged
291 Lyman	21023054	1942		Modern Plantation
340 Andrews	21024069	1942		Craftsman Plantation
206 Todd	21022033	1943		Modern Plantation
186 Lyman	21023033	1943		Contemporary Plantation
290 Andrews	21023044	1947		Quonset Hut
127 Desha	21020034	1949		Ranch
386 King	21023092	1950		Contemporary Plantation
106 Krauss	21024060	1950		Not visible
291 Baker	21023031	1950		Not visible
365 Andrews	21024039	1950		Ranch
134 Desha	21020008	1951		Not visible
272 King	21023081	1951		Not visible
237 Lyman	21023059	1951		Contemporary Plantation
269 Lyman	21023056	1951		Not visible
272 Lyman	21023041	1951		Modern Plantation
223 Kauhane	21022078	1951		Ranch
147 Baker	21023144	1951		Contemporary Plantation
264 Baker	21023067	1951		Ranch
299 Andrews	21023045	1951		Modern Plantation
328 Todd	21023112	1952		Not visible
326 King	21023086	1952		Not visible
150 Krauss	21024064	1952		Ranch
51 Ewaliko	21024045	1952		Modern Plantation
54 Pua	21020072	1952		Not visible
82 Andrews	21021072	1952		Craftsman Plantation
1246 Kalanianaʻole	21021051	1953		Ranch
466 Desha	21021001	1953		Modern Plantation
172 Todd	21022082	1935	1955	Modern Plantation
1408 Kalanianaʻole	21021066	1955		Not visible
95 Desha	21020037	1955		Not visible
30 Baker	21020067	1955		Modern Plantation
1126 Kalanianaʻole	21020066	1957		Contemporary Plantation
320 Todd	21023113	1957		Not visible
151 King	21022089	1957		Not visible
130 Krauss	21024062	1957		Not visible
127 Kauhane	21020074	1957		Bungalow/Craftsman
374 Todd	21023150	1958		Ranch
970 Kalanianaʻole	21020051	1959		Ranch
1272 Kalanianaʻole	21021054	1959		Contemporary Plantation

*Table 3 continues on next page.*

**Table 3. Continued.**

<i>Address</i>	<i>TMK #</i>	<i>Built Date</i>	<i>Effective Date</i>	<i>Style</i>
302 Lauae Yung	21023151	1959		Ranch
1238 Kalanianaʻole	21021050	1960		Ranch
111 Desha	21020036	1960		Ranch
360 Desha	21021011	1930	1962	Modern Plantation
1262 Kalanianaʻole	21021068	1963		Ranch
467 Nahale-A	21021060	1966		Contemporary Plantation
349 Todd	21023124	1933	1967	Modern Plantation
390 Desha	21021008	1957	1967	Contemporary Plantation
187 King	21023141	1951	1968	Contemporary Plantation
339 Desha	21021035	1972		Contemporary Plantation
160 Andrews	21023134	1972		Contemporary Plantation
64 Lyman	21022008	1951	1973	Ranch
117 Lyman	21023070	1973		Contemporary Plantation

*End of Table 3.***Table 4. Residential structures built between 1974 and 1983.**

<i>Address</i>	<i>TMK #</i>	<i>Built Date</i>	<i>Effective Date</i>
353 Desha	21021034	1951	1975
91 Desha	21020038	1975	
55 Todd	21022070	1975	
162 Desha	21020005	1976	
1216 Kalanianaʻole	21021048	1977	
66 Desha	21020014	1977	
187 Desha	21020029	1977	
190 Desha	21020003	1977	
200 Desha	21020002	1977	
229 Desha	21020025	1977	
243 Desha	21020024	1977	
294 Desha	21021017	1977	
304 Desha	21021016	1977	
317 Desha	21021037	1977	
352 Desha	21020075	1977	
369 Desha	21021032	1977	
376 Desha	21021009	1977	
379 Desha	21021031	1977	
398 Desha	21021007	1977	
290 Lauae Yung	21023155	1977	
66 Todd	21022046	1977	
85 Todd	21022067	1977	
95 Todd	21022066	1977	
126 Todd	21022041	1977	
134 Todd	21022040	1977	
140 Todd	21022039	1977	
195 Todd	21022057	1977	
225 Todd	21022054	1977	
306 Todd	21023114	1977	
344 Todd	21023111	1977	

*Table 4 continued on next page.*

**Table 4. Continued.**

<i>Address</i>	<i>TMK #</i>	<i>Built Date</i>	<i>Effective Date</i>
359 Todd	21023125	1977	
367 Todd	21023126	1977	
394 Todd	21023140	1977	
395 Todd	21023128	1977	
487 Todd	21023146	1977	
67 King	21022086	1977	
111 King	21022063	1977	
124 King	21022020	1977	
129 King	21022034	1977	
196 King	21023074	1977	
195 King	21023118	1977	
211 King	21023138	1977	
215 King	21023142	1977	
227 King	21023139	1977	
286 King	21023082	1977	
302 King	21023084	1977	
329 King	21023106	1977	
346 King	21023088	1977	
356 King	21023089	1977	
369 King	21023102	1977	
370 King	21023090	1977	
105 Lyman	21023071	1977	
125 Lyman	21023069	1977	
126 Lyman	21023028	1977	
135 Lyman	21023068	1977	
175 Lyman	21023065	1977	
189 Lyman	21023063	1977	
202 Lyman	21023035	1977	
210 Lyman	21023036	1977	
213 Lyman	21023061	1977	
236 Lyman	21023038	1977	
251 Lyman	21023058	1977	
281 Lyman	21023055	1977	
99 Krauss	21023015	1977	
100 Krauss	21024059	1977	
113 Krauss	21023013	1977	
129 Krauss	21023012	1977	
137 Krauss	21023011	1977	
147 Krauss	21023010	1977	
157 Krauss	21023009	1977	
158 Krauss	21024065	1977	
169 Krauss	21023008	1977	
174 Krauss	21024066	1977	
178 Krauss	21024067	1977	
188 Krauss	21024068	1977	
57 Ewaliko	21024044	1977	

*Table 4 continues on next page.*

**Table 4. Continued.**

<i>Address</i>	<i>TMK #</i>	<i>Built Date</i>	<i>Effective Date</i>
79 Ewaliko	21024042	1977	
86 Ewaliko	21024028	1977	
89 Ewaliko	21024041	1977	
30 Kauhane	21020049	1977	
177 Kauhane	21020064	1977	
255 Pua	21023073	1977	
171 Baker	21023121	1977	
211 Baker	21023147	1977	
221 Baker	21023148	1977	
286 Baker	21023030	1977	
35 Andrews	21021075	1977	
56 Andrews	21021028	1977	
99 Andrews	21021073	1977	
155 Andrews	21023136	1977	
251 Andrews	21023093	1977	
360 Andrews	21024040	1977	
1362 Kalanianaʻole	21021062	1977	
177 Kauhane	21022064	1977	
221 Andrews	21023098	1977	
148 Todd	21022038	1977	
111 King	21022082	1977	
40 Pua	21020070	1978	
133 Baker	21021070	1978	
994 Kalanianaʻole	21020054	1979	
88 Desha	21020012	1979	
151 Desha	21020032	1979	
293 Desha	21021039	1979	
342 Desha	21021013	1979	
372 Desha	21021010	1979	
98 Todd	21022043	1979	
149 Todd	21022061	1979	
160 Todd	21022037	1979	
203 Todd	21022056	1979	
286 Todd	21023116	1979	
331 Todd	21023122	1979	
356 Todd	21023110	1979	
362 Todd	21023109	1979	
88 King	21022023	1979	
140 Lyman	21023029	1979	
250 Lyman	21023039	1979	
259 Lyman	21023057	1979	
75 Krauss	21023017	1979	
103 Kauhane	21020013	1979	
277 Pua	21022007	1979	
55 Baker	21021074	1979	
62 Baker	21020071	1979	

*Table 4 continues on next page.*

**Table 4. Continued.**

<i>Address</i>	<i>TMK #</i>	<i>Built Date</i>	<i>Effective Date</i>
128 Andrews	21021069	1979	
199 Andrews	21023099	1979	
293 Andrews	21023145	1979	
313 Andrews	21023004	1979	
314 Andrews	21023005	1979	
341 Andrews	21024070	1979	
216 Baker	21023143	1977	1980
259 Desha	21020022	1980	
60 Todd	21022047	1980	
88 Todd	21022044	1980	
445 Todd	21023133	1980	
231 Lyman	21023060	1980	
179 Lyman	21023064	1977	1981
39 Todd	21022073	1981	
185 Todd	21022058	1981	
232 Todd	21022081	1981	
264 Todd	21023156	1981	
418 Todd	21023164	1981	
454 Todd	21023162	1981	
100 King	21022022	1981	
108 King	21022094	1981	
92 Lyman	21022002	1981	
86 Krauss	21024058	1981	
7 Kauhane	21020077	1981	
8 Kauhane	21020069	1981	
144 Kauhane	21020095	1981	
178 Kauhane	21020065	1981	
216 Kauhane	21022088	1981	
308 Baker	21023020	1981	
320 Baker	21023019	1981	
123 Andrews	21021005	1981	
170 Andrews	21023161	1981	
178 Kauhane	21022065	1981	
144 Kauhane	21012009	1981	
162 A Kauhane	21022067	1981	
196 Kauhane	21022042	1977	1982
1426 Kalanianaʻole	21021067	1982	
442 Todd	21023101	1982	
480 Todd	21023159	1982	
80 King	21022024	1982	
345 King	21023104	1982	
377 King	21023163	1982	
96 Lyman	21023025	1982	
74 Ewaliko	21024027	1982	
37 Kauhane	21020005	1982	
222 Andrews	21023100	1982	
37 Kauhane	21020077	1982	

*Table 4 continues on next page.*



**Table 4. Continued.**

<i>Address</i>	<i>TMK #</i>	<i>Built Date</i>	<i>Effective Date</i>
162 Kauhane	21012030	1982	
219 Desha	21020026	1983	
318 Desha	21021015	1983	
410 Desha	21021006	1983	
435 Desha	21021026	1983	
159 King	21022031	1983	
260 King	21023080	1983	
140 Krauss	21024063	1983	
8 Andrews	21021071	1983	

*End of Table 4.*

Figure 50. Hawaii Ranch House located along Kalanianaʻole Street.



Figure 51. Hawaii Ranch House located along Andrews Avenue.



Figure 52. A two-story house on Lyman Avenue.





Figure 53. House on Kalaniana'ole Street with open lower level.



Figure 54. Example of solar panel alterations at a house on Andrews Avenue.





Figure 55. Another example of typical alterations (solar panels, metal screen doors, enclosed breezeway, etc.) at a house on Nahale-A Avenue.



Figure 56. Example of room additions at house on Baker Avenue.





Figure 57. Example of multiple additions (carport, rooms, porch) at a house on Nahale-A Avenue.



Figure 58. Example of numerous alterations (solar panels, door and window replacements, room addition) at a house on Todd Avenue.





Figure 59. Example of room additions and a carport addition at a house on Krauss Avenue.

### **Bungalow/Craftsman (1905-1930)**

Houses in this style have a simple square or rectangular plan with hipped or front-facing gabled roofs and wide, overhanging eaves. Details such as decorative braces and beams are often added. The porches can be full or partial width and have square or tapered support beams. The examples of this style in Keaukaha have fewer architectural details (Figure 60) and the “bungalow” form continued to be built well after 1930 (Figure 61).



Figure 60. Bungalow/Craftsman style house located at 230 Lyman Avenue (built 1922).





Figure 61. Bungalow/Craftsman built 1934 (with later additions) located at 1384 Kalanianaʻole Street.

### **Craftsman Plantation (1900-1945)**

According to the SASH, the original Plantation style ends in 1910, so the examples of this style in the Keaukaha community would be one of the later iterations, either Craftsman, Modern or Contemporary Plantation. Craftsman Plantation-style houses have the overall form of a traditional plantation house but with details of the Craftsman style such as exposed rafter tails or decorative bracing. Roof forms are typically hipped or gable-on-hip (Figure 62). The porches can be Craftsman-style or Classically-inspired. The examples of this style within the Keaukaha community are more modest with fewer architectural details (Figure 63).



Figure 62. Craftsman Plantation style house located at 236 King Avenue.



Figure 63. Craftsman Plantation style house located at 86 Andrews Avenue.

### **Modern Plantation (1940-1970)**

Modern Plantation houses have a simple plan and are capped with a hipped roof with hidden rafter tails and broader eaves. Similar to the Minimal-Traditional style, Modern Plantation style houses have windows placed near the corners and minimal architectural detail. There are several examples of this style in the Keaukaha community with some two-story variations (Figures 64, 65, 66, and 67).





Figure 64. Modern Plantation style house located at 1246 Kalaniana'ole Street.



Figure 65. Modern Plantation style house located at 374 Todd Avenue.





Figure 66. Modern Plantation style house located at 299 Andrews Avenue.



Figure 67. Two-story Modern Plantation style house located at 349 Todd Avenue.



**Contemporary Plantation (1935-1980)**

Like the original Plantation or Modern Plantation styles, these houses have a simple, typically square plan, capped by a hipped roof. Instead of materials like wood, stone and metal, more current products such as vinyl, asphalt and concrete are used. This style is common in Keaukaha as so many houses were constructed during these years using available materials (Figures 68 and 69).



Figure 68. Contemporary Plantation style house at 1392 Kalaniana'ole Street.



Figure 69. Contemporary Plantation style house located at 1126 Kalaniana'ole Street.

### **Hawaii Ranch House (1940-1979)**

Generally constructed in the 1960s, the “Contractor” Modern or Hawaii Ranch House style developed in tract neighborhoods typically without an identified architect. The one-story houses “have Mid-Century modern features, sometimes Asian influenced details, but are inexpensively constructed” (Fung Associates 2011:A-14). Features include a low-pitched roof, single wall construction, the use of redwood, large picture windows, jalousie windows and a carport. In Keaukaha, there are some examples with Asian-influenced details (Figure 70), and there are also several examples of this style which date after 1974 (Figures 71 and 72).



Figure 70. Hawaii Ranch style house with Asian-influenced roof on Kauhane Avenue.





Figure 71. Hawaii Ranch style house with jalousie windows on Todd Avenue.



Figure 72. Hawaii Ranch style house with rear porch addition on Baker Avenue.

## NON-RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS AND SITES: NOTED HISTORICAL SITES & BUILDINGS, CENTERS OF COMMUNITY LIFE

Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century and with the development of the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands Community, numerous institutions were established and their buildings served as gathering places for religious, political, and cultural purposes. This section identifies and provides a brief description of various centers within the Study Area which have been mapped in Figure 73 and listed in Table 5. Since many of these gathering places lack published materials tracing their establishment and construction, further time and effort are needed to provide comprehensive historical descriptions. However, the summaries provided here offer windows into places that were and continue to be utilized by the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community.

**Table 5. List of non-residential buildings in Study Area.**

<i>Resource Name</i>	<i>SIHP Site No.</i>	<i>TMK Parcel</i>
Wailana: Site of Emma Nāwahī's home	n/a	(3) 2-1-011:005
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day-Saints & Keaukaha Cemetery	n/a	(3) 2-1-020:104
Kūhiō Memorial Chapel	SIHP Site 50-10-35-7438	(3) 2-1-020:007
Kamehameha Hall	SIHP Site 50-10-35-7506	(3) 2-1-021:043
Kawānanakoa Hall & Gymnasium	n/a	(3) 2-1-023:120
Malia Puka O Kalani Catholic Church		(3) 2-1-021:014
Ka 'Uhane Hemolele O Ka Malamalama Church	n/a	(3) 2-1-023:085
Ka Hoku Ao Malamalama Church	SIHP Site 50-10-35-7435	(3) 2-1-023:062
Hawaiian Village	n/a	(3) 2-1-011:005
Keaukaha Elementary School	n/a	(3) 2-1-020:001
Kahaulopua House	SIHP Site 50-10-35-7431	(3) 2-1-023:105





Figure 73. Non-residential buildings and community gathering spaces in the Study Area.



### Wailana, The Beach Residence of Emma ‘A‘ima Nāwahī

In the early years of the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community, Wailana, the coastal home of Emma ‘A‘ima Nāwahī (1868-1935), served as a community gathering place before the establishment and development of churches, halls, and other institutions in the homestead proper (see Figure 73). Nāwahī leased land in Puhi from the government. After her passing, Wailana was used as an early headquarters for the Hawaiian Homes Commission, and eventually, the land became a part of Hawaiian Home lands (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1937:1). Nāwahī is well-known for her role as the editor and owner of the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ke Aloha ‘Āina* following the passing of her husband, Joseph Nāwahī in 1896. Wailana was located at Puhi bay on a small hill near the famed home of the shark deity Ka-hole-a-Kāne (Figure 74). Today, the site where Wailana once stood is a lawn used for a variety of recreational purposes.



Figure 74. Approximate location of Wailana, Emma Nāwahī’s home, view to the northwest.

### Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day-Saints & Keaukaha Cemetery

Although the year that Mormonism arrived in Keaukaha is unknown, oral histories indicate that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS) operated a church and cemetery at Keonekahakaha in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (see Figure 73). The cemetery was officially recognized by the supervisors of Hawai‘i County in 1921 through a formal resolution and remained in use for decades (Hilo Daily Tribune 1921e:3). The first church building was made of thatched materials on land that was gifted to the Church by Abraham Nakapuahi Kahoilua (Kaho‘ilua in Akoi 1989:92). In 1906, a red church approximately 24 x 118 feet replaced the thatched building. Lousie Kaho‘ilua offered the following information regarding life in the church:

Because our building was small, we held our Sunday School classes outside under the mango trees or any place we could find. When it rained, classes were held in each corner and under the building where we sat on stones. Our teachers were Uuila Kapumau, George Pokini Sr., and Harry Aina St.

We used the Mele O Ziona hymn books and everything was in Hawaiian. Our Relie Society president was Sister Pahuanui Kualii. Eleanore Ahuna’s grandmother Mano, and Kalei Kawehi were her counselors and the secretary was Uwila Kapumau (Kaho‘ilua in Akoi 1989:92)

Two decades later, the red church was demolished and replaced with another building in 1926—a large gray chapel that included classrooms and a social hall downstairs (Akoi 1989:93). By 1940, the gray chapel was no longer usable and members of the Keaukaha ward used the Keaukaha School building and Kawānanakoa Hall for church activities (Akoi 1989:93). In 1953, a new LDS chapel was constructed in the Keaukaha Tract 1 Hawaiian Home Lands community (Figure 75). The chapel was constructed opposite Kawānanakoa Hall on the corner (see Figure 73) of Pua Avenue and Pakele Lane on land that was leased to Solomon Kanaele and John Manuia Sr (Akoi 1989:93).

The new chapel remained in use until 2001 when church leaders determined that the building “no longer met their standards” due to termite damage, asbestos roofing, and lead paint (Armstrong 2001:1). Today, the site of the 1953 chapel has been replaced with a private residence and no LDS chapel exists in the Keaukaha community. At Keonekahakaha, the cemetery (Figure 76) is all that remains of the original LDS church site.

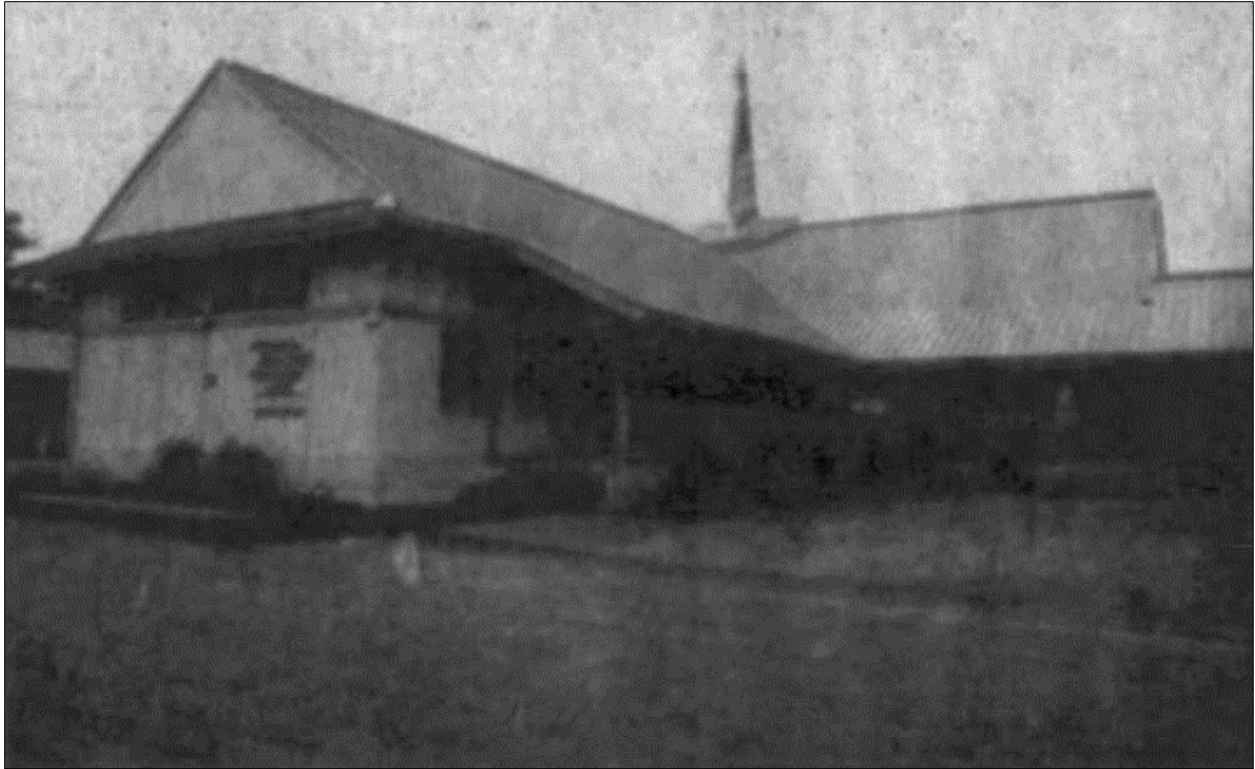


Figure 75. Second LDS church (demolished in 2001) formerly located on the corner of Pua Avenue and Pakele Lane (photo by William Ing in Armstrong 2001).



Figure 76. Keaukaha cemetery located at Keonekahakaha, outside of the Study Area.



## **Kūhiō Memorial Chapel**

Kūhiō Chapel (see Figure 15) was the first religious institution established within the Study Area on Desha Avenue (see Figure 73), as discussed in a previous section (see section titled “Early Development of the Tract 1 Keaukaha Hawaiian Homestead Community”). In 1926, the Mothers Club of Haili Congregational Church, many of whom were early residents of the homestead, successfully campaigned and raised funds to build a chapel in Keaukaha. They also decided that the chapel would be named in memory of Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaʻole, the primary architect of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act. When the chapel was completed, it consisted of two floors. The upper floor consisted of the chapel proper, while the bottom floor was used for offices and community events. On August 29, 1926, the chapel was dedicated and immediately put into use. The following article from the *Hawaii-Tribune Herald* describes the dedication ceremony:

The dedication ceremony for the Kuhio Memorial church at Keaukaha was held yesterday forenoon, the Rev. S. L. Desha presiding but the dedication being performed by Mrs. Kahouoluna [sic], of Maui. The chapel was crowded and the overflow of attendants filled the hall beneath the church, as well as the tent alongside the church which had been erected to provide for luau in conjunction with the hall beneath the church. The Haili choir was in attendance and sang hymns throughout the ceremony, Chairman Sam Spencer of the board of supervisors, Hilo, Oscar Cox, U. S. Marshal from Honolulu; and Commander V. S. Houston, candidate for delegate to Congress, were among those present.

### **Speech is Given**

In a speech, which was highly appreciated by those in the church, Mrs. Kahokuoluna dedicated the church to the holy work for which it was constructed. It was built from funds donated by people anxious to provide a place of worship for the Keaukaha folk and is now free from debt. In her remarks Mrs. Kahokuoluna warmly commended the work of Prince Kalanianaʻole, and made special reference to the character of the land on which the church was built. All around was rock, lava rock, which gave the church a solid rock foundation, all in keeping with the instructions contained in the Bible: “You build your church [sic] on a rock foundation.”

### **Built on Rock**

All was now well, said Mrs. Kahokuoluna; the church was erected on a rock foundation, and even at this early date it was too small for the requirements of the community it was built to serve. It was a House of God; all were invited to attend their House of God.

The Rev. S. L. Desha in his introductory remarks also spoke very warmly of the work of Prince Kuhio, and both Marshal Cox and Commander Houston followed along similar lines, but politics was absolutely barred.

A luau was given, in which a host of children who will be members of the Sunday school in connection with the church, joined, as well as all the adults present (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1926b).

Myrtle Kaaa offered the following description of life in Kūhiō Chapel in *Kuʻu Home I Keaukaha*. In it, she describes the chapel’s leadership, its role in early community life, and its function during World War II:

Joseph Koomoa, head deacon of the Haili Church and a resident of Keaukaha led the worship services [sic] at Kuhio Chapel with other members assisting. Every Sunday the church was filled with members and non-members alike. The families of Dan Namahoe, Akana Leong, Harry Kela, Joaquin Jeremiah, Dewey Clarke, Maukaa Bell, and Hoa-a came to say prayers faithfully.

As the church congregation grew, Sunday School, choirs, Christian endeavor groups and a Mother’s Club were organized and flourished with many members spending their entire day at the chapel. Hoike or Sunday School rallies were held here every year with many sister churches traveling from as far away as Kau, to share the message of salvation with one another and to lift up their harmonious voices in hymns of praise to our Lord Jesus Christ.

Kuhio Chapel was used by the military during World War II for their worship meetings. Their own chaplains led these services and a group of young girls from Haili Church supplied the music.

When the war ended, the pre-war services and groups were again restored. Religious education classes were held at the chapel for an hour each week. These classes were to help meet the spiritual needs of the Kuhio children who attended Keaukaha Elementary School. Other children who wanted to learn about the gospel through lessons, songs, and fellowship were also invited. During the early years, sixty to a hundred children attended these classes each week for many years.



Members of Kuhio traveled to worship at Haili Church in the late 1950's for ten years. Kuhio's doors remained closed until 1967 when the members requested that worship services be held at the chapel again. This was granted, Sunday School was resumed, and a minister from Haili Church lead the worshipers. (Kaaa in Ako'i 1989:97)

Although the chapel is no longer the host of numerous meetings or community activities, it is still used today for religious purposes.

### **Kamehameha Hall**

Kamehameha Hall (see Figure 73) was built in 1938 by the Mamalahoa Chapter No. 2 Order of Kamehameha, established in 1907 by Prince Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole and Stephen Desha. It is the only Hall still standing that was built by the Order of Kamehameha. The following article by William H. Silva, published in 1938 in the *Hawaii Tribune-Herald* in anticipation of the new building, describes the history of the fraternal order and their plans (Figure 77) for the new hall in Keaukaha:

Joseph Kaleikua'iwa Like, linotype operator of The Hilo Tribune Herald, was asked the other day regarding plans of the Kamehameha Lodge for building their new clubhouse and meeting hall at Keaukaha. Joe is grey at the temples and when asked this question, lightly passed one hand over his thin hair as if to recall memories of days gone by. After smoking a cigaret [sic] and a few moments of deep thought, Joe consented to answer the question in his own way.

"The Mamalahoa Chapter No. 2, Order of Kamehameha, was organized July 3, 1907, (a year after the Hoku o Hawaii, which is now observing its 32nd anniversary, was launched) and I am one of the few charter members who is still trying to do my part in carrying on the high purposes and ideals which this organization is based. Among some of the prominent members who have passed on to their reward are Stephen L. Desha, Sr., pastor of Haili church for a quarter of a century and a veteran legislator and Noa W. Aluli, lawyer and prominent in championing the cause of the native Hawaiians," Like said.

#### **Recalls Initiation**

"Initiation services were held at the Knights of Pythias hall (now used by the Hawaii County bands headquarters and for rehearsals) with Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole, found of the Order of Kamehameha in charge, and assisted by John Carey Lane, (former high sherigg of the territory) and others whose names I cannot now recall. The services started at 9 o'clock in the morning and lasted late into the night. There was a large number of candidates present and the solemn rites made a deep impression on us. Two things seem to stand out in my memory regarding this meeting plae: the high-backed jkoa chairs used by the officers and the large picture of King Kamehameha the First, which hung over the president's chair. Both the chairs and picture were later taken to Honolulu and are now being used by the Kamehameha Lodge there, he reported.

"The meeting place of the local branch was later moved to the Maile Alii hall (now the City Hotel, on Keawe St., and here the meetings were held for many years. Then one night, with the members in solemn procession, all the equipment and regalias were moved to the Forester's hall and the chapter has continued to hold its meeting there to the present time," he reminisced.

#### **Plan for New Home**

"Plans for a home were discussed about two years ago, with Noa W. Aluli as the prime mover. It was decided to acquire a lot in the Hawaiian Rehabilitation tract in order to be near the center of activities of the Hawaiian Homes commission and to be of greater assistance in carrying on any program which the commission with Princess David Kawanakoa, special commission in charge of affairs of the Keaukaha homesteaders, has in mind. Provisions have been made in the plans for a meeting hall and other rooms adaptable for club purposes. The organization plans to use part of the building for a reading room which the residents of the community can feel free to use. Provisions have also been made for country members when they visit Hilo," Like concluded.

In conclusion Alii Poi (ranking-installing officer) Joseph Kaleikua'iwa Like, expressed hope that the good people of Hilo and the island of Hawaii, will assist the local lodge in securing sufficient funds to completely equip their new meeting place (Silva 1938:9).



Figure 77. 1938 sketch of Kamehameha Hall (Silva 1938:9).

As soon as the hall was built, the building served as a meeting house for numerous Hawaiian organizations, including the Ka'ahumanu Society, Hale O Na Alii, Council No. 5 of Native Sons, Council No. 6 of Native Daughters, and the founding association of the Keaukaha community, the Kūhiō Improvement Club. Between 1992-1993, Kamehameha Hall was successfully nominated and added to the National Register of Historic Place (Figure 78) and has been assigned State Inventory of Historic Places (SIHP) Site 50-10-35-07506. In the nomination form, the building was nominated under criteria A and C for its association with the Royal Order of Kamehameha, as well as an example of Hawaiian vernacular design (Neves 1992:5). The following description of the building was provided in the nomination form:

Kamehameha Hall is a venacular one story wooden building with a corrugated metal double pitched hipped root. The square building is of single wall construction with interior girts. The hall is on Kalaniana'ole Avenue, facing Puhi Bay at Keaukaha new Hilo on the Island of Hawaii. Its placement on a high rock mound in the center of the parcel gives the building prominent.

The building is approached by a stone lined concrete walkway and stairs. The front elevation is three bays wide, with an outset center bay. On the right side of this bay are three steps leading to the entry door. Located in the outset bay is the entry foyer. The two side bays each have a pair of double hung six over six light windows; all windows in the hall are of this type.

One enters the main hall through a set of double doors from the entry foyer. At the back of the hall, closest to the entry, is a space used as a lounge and reading room. This space extends across the entire front of the building. To the immediate left of the entrance is a platform with a koa chair. The back of the hall may be separated from the meeting hal itself with a sliding partition door. Located at the head of the hall is a second platform with a koa chair and a royal crest. On the right hand side of the main hall are six doors. All doors are of five panels. The four central doors are for closest holding spears, paddles, pulo'ulo'u (kapu sticke) and chapter memorabilia. Along the right hand side of the building is the high chief's office, entered through the door closest to the platform, a central bathroom, and a cloak room. The cloak room may be entered from either the hall or the lounge area. The hall contains its original glass lighting fixtures, five in the meeting hall and three in the lounge. On the walls of the hall hand portraits of Prince Kuhio Kalaniana'ole and other prominent members of the Order of Kamehameha. Located under the back half of the building is a basement with kitchen and additional bathroom facilities. (Neves 1992:3)

Today, the Hall has deteriorated to the point of disuse (Figure 79). Wooden reinforcements are positioned around the exterior of the building to stabilize the structure. A great deal of preservation work would need to be done fairly soon to preserve the building for posterity.



Figure 78. Kamehameha Hall, circa 1991, by Daina Penkilinas. Image source: Neves (1992:10).



Figure 79. Kamehameha Hall, 2022.

### **Kawānanakoa Hall & Gymnasium**

In 1937, the territorial legislature appropriated \$80,000 for the construction of Kawānanakoa Hall and a nursery school for Keaukaha's children (Kelly et al. 1981:233). By July 1938, the hall which was built on the *makai* side of



Kalanianaʻole Street was completed and opened up to homesteaders (Figure 80). In their 1939 report to the legislature, the Hawaiian Homes Commission described the new hall and its function, with particular emphasis on the nursery school:

This Hall was designed and is now used for recreational and general welfare purposes, but especially as a Nursery School for the children of the homestead area. Here between 60 and 70 homesteaders' children ranging in age from 3 to 6 years are being taught cleanliness, sanitation, unselfishness, courtesy and other rudiments of education usually included in kindergarten work. A Clinic for maternal and infant hygiene is held there monthly. (Hawaiian Homes Commission 1939:12)

The original structure built on the *makai* side of Kalanianaʻole Street (see Figure 80), would later be occupied by the sewage treatment plan (Akoi 1989; Francisco and Terry 2001). A synopsis of the uses of the original facility as well as its relocation to Baker Avenue (see Figure 73) was provided by Francisco and Terry 2001:1):

The building was said to be named after Princess Kawanānakoā, who in 1938 was the Special Commissioner in charge of Keaukaha...It supported various uses through the years, including schools, a nursery school, a medical clinic, and a gym. During World War II it housed soldiers. The 1946 tsunami, which devastated much of coastal Waiākea and downtown Hilo, tore the hall off its foundation and moved it onto Kalanianaʻole Street, several blocks inland. The Baker Street site (Figure 81) was overgrown and was machine-graded prior to relocating and reassembling the structure.



Figure 80. The first Kawānānakoā Hall built on Front Street (Akoi 1989:85).





Figure 81. Kawānanakoa Hall on Baker Avenue. Image source: (Francisco and Terry 2001:229)

By the 1970s, homestead residents led by *kupuna* began to lobby their elected officials to secure funding to replace the aging facility with one that would adequately support the numerous activities held in Keaukaha (Francisco and Terry 2001). In describing some of the issues associated with the hall, Francisco and Terry (2001:1) noted:

The heavily used facility was deficient in a number of ways that severely restricted its use. First, it was dilapidated, with surface and structural damage from termites and other sources. The cost of replacing these materials would have been very high, as the exterior of the structure was covered with many layers of lead paint that would have necessitated expensive abatement measures. Second, the gym was inadequately shaped and sized to accommodate regulation volleyball or basketball games. The wall was one foot away from the foul line, leaving no areas for maneuvering outside the court. The gym had no sideline space for coaches, players on the bench, or spectators. Volleyballs regularly hit the low, open rafters, as the roof was really much too low for volleyball. Finally, restrooms for the facility were outmoded and overutilized. During busy periods at the gym and the adjacent ballfield, it was common for nearby churches and even residents to make their restrooms available for public use.

After three decades of advocating, design plans were coming to fruition. By 2013, the Keaukaha community bid farewell to the historic wooden Kawānanakoa Hall and held the opening dedication of the new Kawānanakoa Gym. The hall was replaced by a modern gymnasium that also bears the name Kawānanakoa (Figure 82). Before demolition, oral histories were collected from current and past Keaukaha homesteaders regarding the history of the hall and compiled in the report titled *Kawananakoa Hall Oral History Project* (Francisco and Terry 2001).



Figure 82. Kawānanakoa Gym, 2022 view to the southeast.

### **Malia Puka O Kalani Catholic Church**

Malia Puka O Kalani Catholic Church (see Figure 73) was founded in 1934 and continues to serve the needs of Keaukaha's catholic community (see Figure 12). In the early years of the homestead, it was one of the few places "where recreational activities for the youth of Keaukaha were held" (Akoi 1989:95). The first chapel was built using lumber from the dismantled chapel in Kaiwiki (Akoi 1989:95). Akoi (1989:95) provides a succinct summary of the dedication of the new church:

In 1934 a request for a Catholic church site in Keaukaha was sent to the Department of Hawaiian Homes Lands. When this was granted, a chapel which was being built at Kaiwiki was dismantled and the lumber used for a gym/chapel building on Desha Ave.

This edifice was dedicated on April 22, 1934 with Bishop Stephen Alencastre celebrating the High Mass. The Rev. Father Sebastian was assistant priest and Fathers Gustave and Evarist were the deacons. Assisting at the altar were 23 service boys.

A choir of 32 mixed voices from St. Joseph's church directed by Gabriel Wela sang Joseph Gruber's "PRIMEZ MASS" and a junior boys choir rendered the proprium of the mass.

Mrs. Florence Souza played the organ which was an old relic donated by Napoleon III of France to the Catholic Mission of Hawaii about the year 1834. At the end of the mass, the girls of St. Joseph's convent sang 'TE DEUM', a hymn centuries old.

A grand luau followed the services under the direction of Joseph G. Andrews Sr., head of the Mikioi League. In the afternoon the Hawaii County Band under Frank Wrigley, gave a concert on the grounds and a sale of food, refreshments and Portuguese sweet bread was held.

The makai section of the building served as the altar area. This was sectioned off when the structure was used for recreational purposes.

By 1940, a new church building was constructed in front of the existing hall (Akoi 1989:96). A new rectory was rebuilt in the late 1960s following a fire that destroyed the old rectory (Akoi 1989:96). Malia Puka O Kalani remains an active place of worship today. Malia Puka O Kalani church is registered with the State of Hawai'i as a historic site and has been assigned SIHP Site 50-10-35-07437.

### **Ka 'Uthane Hemolele O Ka Malamalama Church & Ka Hoku Ao Malamalama Church**

Ka 'Uthane Hemolele O Ka Malamalama (see Figure 13) and Ka Hoku Ao Malamalama (see Figure 14) were churches built in 1949 and 1952 respectively (see Figure 73). They are presented here in a single section because of their shared history—Ka Hoku Ao Malamalama was founded when the church leadership of Ka 'Uthane Hemolele O Ka Malamalama split. The following narrative, written by Mary Higgins Shimooka, former head pastor of Ka 'Uthane, narrates the founding of Ka 'Uthane Hemolele Oka Malamalama and Ka Hoku Ao Malamalama:

In 1948, Rev. Maikui applied for a piece of land in Keaukaha. The following year our little church was built on 316 King Avenue, by Rev. Maikui, Papa Mahi and sons, Papa Johansen and two homesteaders of Molokai, Ben Kakalia and Elizabeth Waioli, and one homesteader of Maui, Mr. Kalikoa. Papa Mahi was working for Hawaiian Homes at that time. He gathered surplus materials. Rev. Maikui was working at the Railroad Company and he gathered the lumbers and nails. With the \$1.00.00 [sic] and the love of God, our members built our little church themselves. It was completed in 1949.

Rev. Maikui continued our spiritual services with the help of Mrs. Johansen and others. Then Mrs. Mary Unea was the secretary and Phyllis "Uwaine" Mahi was the treasurer. At this time, there were many frictions and confusion among some members. Also among two Kahus of Honolulu (Rev. Ella Wise Harrison and Rev. Edward Ayau). Each claimed to be the rightful leader. Things were settled in court and Rev. Harrison proved to be the rightful leader. So Mama Johansen and family stepped out and followed Rev. Ayau's teaching. They started their own church on Lyman Avenue. (Shimooka in Akoi 1989:100-101)

In 1988, Ka 'Uthane Hemolele O Ka Malamalama demolished their old chapel and finished constructing a new one (Shimooka in Akoi 1989:101). Further research is needed to determine whether the building for Ka Hoku Ao Malamalama is the original building constructed in 1952 (see Figure 14). The Ka Hoku Ao Malamalama church is registered as SIHP Site 50-10-35-7435.

## Hawaiian Village

Hawaiian Village (see Figure 73) was established in 1954 as a cultural center for tourists and a gathering place for the Keaukaha community (Figure 83). Included on the village grounds were *hale pili* (thatched houses) to demonstrate how Hawaiians lived in the past and a large *hale 'aina* (feast hall; Figure 84) that could host *lū'au* (celebrations) and other large gatherings. In the 1953 *Report of the Hawaiian Homes Commission to the Legislature of Hawaii*, the following description of the proposed Hawaiian Village is offered, along with other plans to beautify the homestead community:

**Hawaiian Village.** At present preliminary plans are being had for the establishment of a Hawaiian Village at Kaukahila Paka (formerly Kulapae Park where our present pavilion is located) for the benefit of the homesteaders and for the greater benefit of the community of Hilo as a tourist attraction and educational project for thnigs [sic] Hawaiian. To attain this objective plans are being prepared to grade, landscape, and plant the area with Hawaiian trees, foliage, food-bearing plants, and other plants of useful, ornamental, and educational value. A village will be planned to demonstrate the various phases of Hawaiian life, including a hut for feeding and entertaining guests, parking area, a fish pond, and several other Hawaiian structures including a heiau for educational purposes. Along wtih [sic] this idea is one to encourage the homesteaders in Keaukaha to plant flowers and foliage of commercial value and raise animals such as pigs, chickens, and food crops such as taro, cocoanut, banana, papaia, and others which could be used by the village and the further organization of groups to manufacture lauhala goods, shell and other seed products, lauhala and wood products such as lamps and ash trays, quilts, leis (feather), and many more products that may be of commercial value along with things educational and historical. While these things pertain to the village itself a further plan is being developed of beautifying the homestead area with appropriate street names and mailboxes bearing Hawaiian names capped with an emblem of the area and the building of grass hut shaped rain shelters at intersections, rows of tropical trees along the avenues, and a master plan for the beautification of Hualani Park, also its complete development. While part of this project needs some financing it is hoped to enlist the aid of the County on week-ends for the use of equipment to be manned by homesteaders with materials for fills to be gotten from Hawaiian Home lands at Panaewa and Hilo Sugar Co., through some reciprocal argreement. (Hawaiian Homes Commission 1953:35)

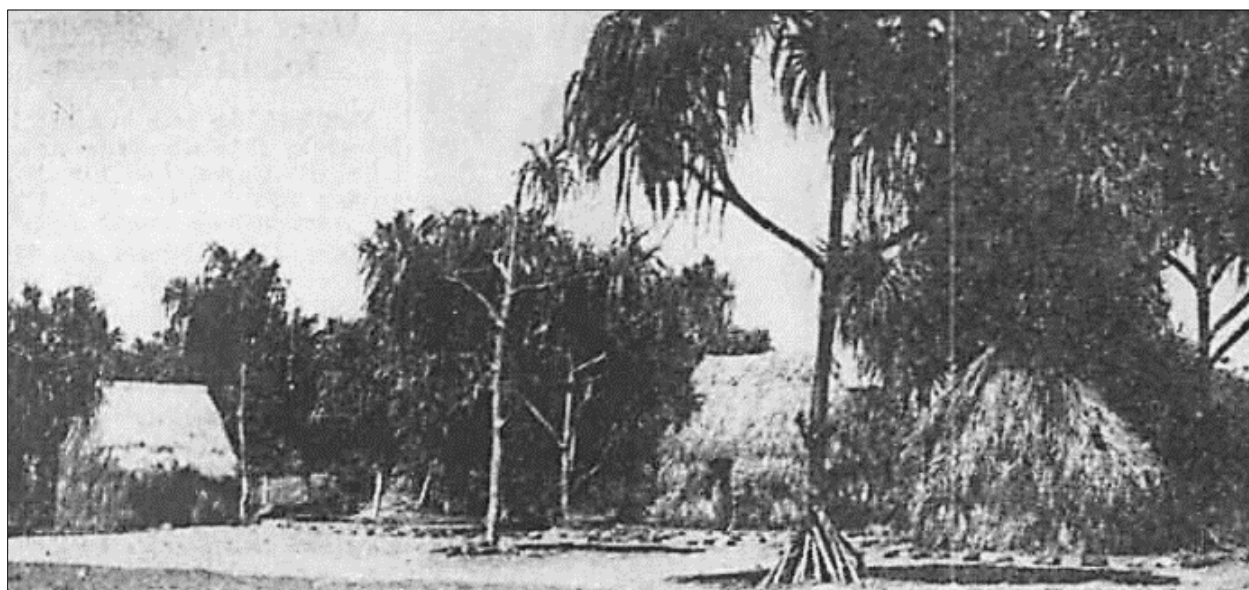


Figure 83. *Hale pili* at Hawaiian Village, Keaukaha. Image source: *The Honolulu Advertiser*, April 19, 1954.



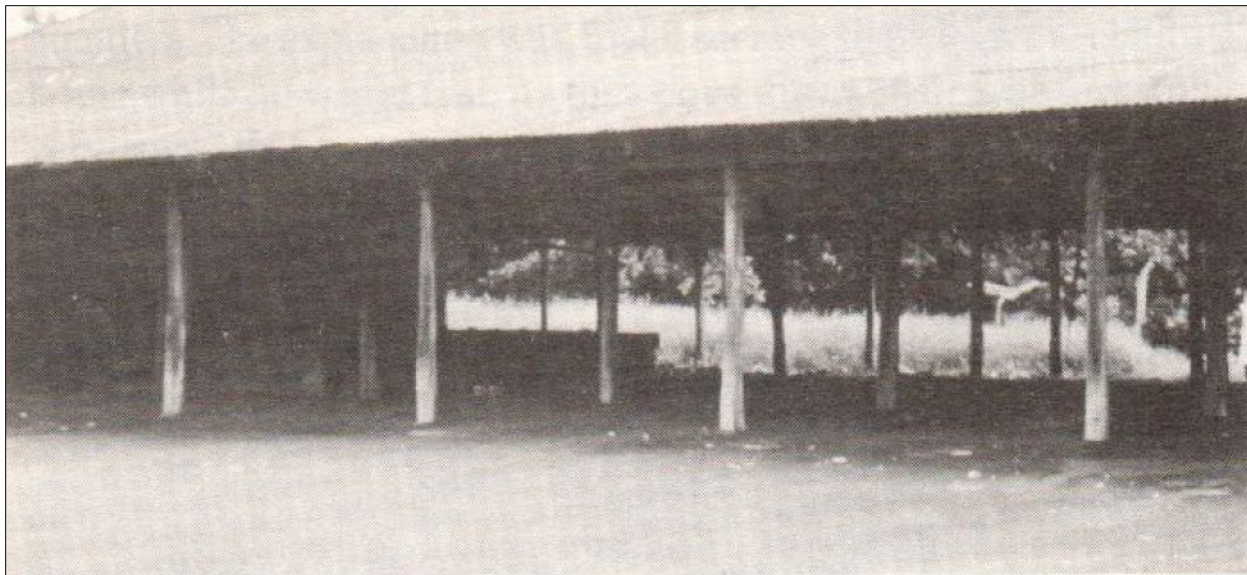


Figure 84. Hawaiian Village pavilion (*hale 'aina*) (Akoi 1989:81).

Akoi (1989:80-81) provides the following description of Hawaiian Village, noting those from the community who were involved in its construction:

In the mid-fifties, Hilo with its lush foliage, picturesque waterfalls and only a short distance from an active volcano, was experiencing a tourist boom. There was a need for a centralized entertainment area – a place where visitors could see Hawaiian crafts and entertainment in an authentic setting. Where else could this place be but Keaukaha.

Talks involving the hotel management, Hawaii Visitors Bureau and the Keaukaha Community Association were held. Henry Auwae and Nani Whitney recall Doc Hill donating \$600 for the cement flooring. Oda Construction did the building. The Canec Co. Provided the covering for the ceiling and when the county put in the kitchen and bathrooms, canec was also used.

Community members cut ohia logs from Panaewa, pili grass from Waikii, Lauhala and ti leaves. Several grass huts were made from these materials. Stalls were made for women to make and sell Hawaiian crafts. These women were Nani Whitney, Hannah Kahee, Martha Lum Ho, Elizabeth Maiwela, Lucille Veincent, Mona Hao, Rose Hanoa, Mabel Umuiwi and Adline Ahuna.

Henry arranged buses for visitors who raved about the Hawaiian hospitality shown them, the authentic setting and atmosphere and the beautiful programs provided for them. The entertainment each night several times a week were given by various hula groups. They were Kalei's Hula Nani's (Mary Keahiliau), George Naopes group, the Haili Girls and others.

Mr. Bill Weber painted a Hawaiian Coast of Arms as a stage background and that received compliments also.

The village was also used as a meeting place and for many luaus given by community members. It was in existence until tourism decreased in the early 1970's.

The article below, published in the *Hawaii Tribune-Herald*, describes the dedication ceremony for Hawaiian Village in 1954 and names individuals who made significant contributions to its construction:

The attractive and authentic Hawaiian Village in Keaukaha, a project of the Keaukaha Community Association, moved another step from planning toward realization last night with opening of the big hale aina, or feast hall.

Members of the Hawaiian Village committee of the association were hosts at a luau attended by about 150 Keaukaha people who have given many hours of labor to the project, and other invited townspeople who have supported and aided the project in various ways.

Five people, in honor of their long time aid to and support of the Keaukaha community, were presented with honorary certificates of life membership in the association by President Abraham Makaio.



They are Judge Harry Irwin for his help years ago to Prince Jonah Kuhio in drafting the Homes Commission Act; Senator and Mrs. W. H. Hill for financial aid to the village project and sponsoring the annual Keaukaha children's Christmas party; Herbert Kai for originating and supporting the idea of the Hawaiian Village, and Chairman James Kealoha for material aid to the project.

Judge Irwin could not be present, writing that he "can no longer compete with the young folk in these affairs" but he sent his congratulations and encouragement. He was represented by Peter Pakele, Jr., manager of the Keaukaha Homes Commission area.

Each of the recipients, expressed their appreciation of the honorary membership and congratulated the Hawaiian people on the fine project they have so successfully undertaken.

Albert Nahale-a, manager of the village, was master of ceremonies. He expressed the thanks of the association to the individuals and firms who have aided with the village, and to both the project and luau committees for their accomplishments.

The Rose Kuamoo troupe provided music and entertainment, with Rose herself directing the fun and calling for impromptu performances from the audience.

The hale aina is not yet completed. Its iron roof will be thatched with grass, and it will have a ceiling of woven coconut fronds to blend the building with the landscape. (Hilo Tribune-Herald 1954:1)

Today, the *hale pili* and *hale 'aina* of Hawaiian Village no longer exist (Figure 85), but the name "Hawaiian Village" continues to be used to refer to the area. The area also continues to be used by the community for various events and family gatherings; large tents are oftentimes set up on the paved area where the *hale 'aina* once stood. The Keaukaha Community Association has made plans for building a new pavilion at Hawaiian Village and they continue to raise funds for this project.



Figure 85. View of Hawaiian Village on the *makai* side of Kalaniana'ole Avenue, view to the southwest.

### Keaukaha Elementary School

In 1929, homestead lessees petitioned the government for a primary school to be built in Keaukaha (Walker and Todd in Akoi 1989:82). In the years prior, children residing with their families in Keaukaha walked approximately five miles along the Keaukaha road to reach the next closest school, Waiākea Kai School. In September 1930, Keaukaha School (see Figure 73) opened its doors to 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> graders in a two-classroom wooden structure that was relocated

from Waiākea Kai School (Walker and Todd in Akoi 1989:82). The first educators at Keaukaha School were Mrs. Keahiloa Braun and Mrs. Josephine Todd (Walker and Todd in Akoi 1989:82). A brief sketch of the schools founding years is provided above (see section titled ‘Early Development of the Tract 1 Keaukaha Hawaiian Homestead Community [1925-1930]). Over the decades the campus of Keaukaha Elementary School grew to accommodate the growing number of pupils attending classes. In the 1950s, Building B, which included five classrooms, and a cafeteria was built (Walker and Todd in Akoi 1989:82). Building C was added in the 1960s, at a time when the school hosted a visit by First Lady Pat Nixon (Walker and Todd in Akoi 1989:82). Although it is not known at this time when Building D was added, Building F was completed in the 1980s (Walker and Todd in Akoi 1989:82). The most recent addition to the Keaukaha Elementary School campus is a new cafeteria that was constructed in the 2010s.

### **Kahauolopua House**

The Kahauolopua House (SIHP Site 50-10-35-7431), located on Todd Avenue (TMK: (3) 2-1-023:105; see Figure 73) is another previously-recorded historic site within the study area. The Kahauolopua family lived in this area prior to the establishment of the the homestead community and were one of the first families to construct a house in the newly-formed Tract 1 Keaukaha Hawaiian Homestead Community. According to County of Hawai‘i records, a new home was constructed on the property in 2006 and a review of records on file with the State Historic Preservation Division did not yield any additional information about this site.

## 6. CONSULTATION

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## 7. NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES (NRHP) EVALUATIONS

Authorized by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, the National Park Service's NRHP is part of a nationwide program to coordinate and support public and private efforts to identify, evaluate, and protect America's significant historic and archaeological resources. The NRHP is the official list of the nation's historic places worthy of preservation. The criteria for NRHP evaluation are contained in 36 CFR 60.4 and their application is discussed in NRHP Bulletin No. 15, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (NPS 1997). For a resource to be considered significant, and thus a historic property, it must possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association and must be characterized by one or more of the following criteria:

- A It must be associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history;
- B It must be associated with the lives of persons significant in our past;
- C It must embody distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represent the work of a master; or possess high artistic value or represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- D It must have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Ordinarily cemeteries, birthplaces, or graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, properties primarily commemorative in nature, and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years are not considered eligible for the NRHP. However, such properties will qualify if they are integral parts of districts that do meet the criteria or if they fall within the following considerations:

- a a religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or
- b a building or structure removed from its original location, but which is significant primarily for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event; or
- c a birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no appropriate site or building directly associated with his productive life; or
- d a cemetery which derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events; or
- e a reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived; or
- f a property primarily commemorative in intent, if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own exceptional significance; or
- g a property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.

Preliminary evaluations are presented below for the five previously identified State Inventory of Historic Places (SIHP) properties as well as for a potential historic district. The architectural reconnaissance survey did not identify any individual houses that warrant evaluation under Criterion C. Integrity is discussed for those properties that are preliminarily assessed as eligible for listing in the NRHP. Any evaluation of integrity must be grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how those features relate to the concept of integrity. Determining which of these aspects are most important to a property requires knowing why, where, and when a property was significant. To retain historical integrity, a property must possess several, and usually most, aspects of integrity:

1. *Location* is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.
2. *Design* is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.



3. *Setting* is the physical environment of a historic property and refers to the character of the site and the relationship to surrounding features and open space. Setting often refers to the basic physical conditions under which a property was built and the functions it was intended to serve. These features can be either natural or manmade, including vegetation, paths, fences, and relationships between other features or open space.
4. *Materials* are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period or time, and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.
5. *Workmanship* is the physical evidence of crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period of history or prehistory and can be applied to the property, or to individual components.
6. *Feeling* is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period. It results from the presence of physical features that, when taken together, convey the property's historic character.
7. *Association* is the direct link between the important historic event or person and a historic property.

## PREVIOUSLY IDENTIFIED SIHP RESOURCES

Within the study area, one property has been listed in the NRHP and four resources have been previously identified and given SIHP site numbers (Table 6). For the purposes of this study, ASM conducted preliminary evaluations of the previously identified resources to the extent necessary to support the development of the PA.

**Table 6. Preliminary NRHP eligibility evaluations for five previously identified resources.**

<i>SIHP #*</i>	<i>Resource Name</i>	<i>Property Type</i>	<i>Year Built</i>	<i>Eligibility</i>	<i>Criteria</i>
7506	Kamehameha Hall	Building	1938	Listed	A, C
7434	Kahaulopua House	Building	demolished	Not eligible	n/a
7435	Ka Hoku Ao Malamalama	Building	1952	Eligible	A, C
7437	Malia Puka O Kalani	Building	1940	Eligible	A, C
7438	Kūhiō Chapel	Building	1926	Eligible	A, B, C

\* Site numbers are preceded by 50-10-35- indicating the state, county, and USGS quadrangle location of the site.

### Kamehameha Hall (SIHP Site 50-10-35-7506)

Kamehameha Hall, SIHP Site 50-10-35-7506, was listed in the NRHP (#093000426) in 1993 under Criteria A and C for its association with the Royal Order of Kamehameha and as a representative example of Hawaiian vernacular design. Although in more recent years, the condition of the building has deteriorated, the site still maintains its historic integrity. The location, materials, workmanship, design, setting, feeling, and historic association all remain unchanged. However, the lack of continued use and regular maintenance, the vegetation around the property has become overgrown and the structure of the building is becoming compromised.

### Kahaulopua House (SIHP Site 50-10-35-7434)

The previously identified resource known as Kahaulopua House, SIHP Site 50-10-35-7434, was demolished in 2006 and a new building was constructed on the site. The new building was not evaluated as it is too new to warrant evaluation.

### Ka Hoku Ao Malamalama Church (SIHP Site 50-10-35-7435)

As a religious property constructed by a religious institution, Criteria Consideration A must be applied to an evaluation of the Ka Hoku Ao Malamalama church building (SIHP Site 50-10-35-7435). Although it is associated with a religious institution, the building played a significant role in the social development of the Keaukaha community and may be eligible under Criterion A under the theme of Social History. Further research would be required to determine if the building is associated with any significant historical figure under Criterion B. Built in 1952, the church is one of few community buildings built during the middle of the century and appears to possess high artistic values under Criterion C. Because it is unlikely to yield archaeological information associated with history or prehistory it is unlikely to be eligible under Criterion D. The church does not appear to have been significantly altered and retains sufficient integrity to its year of construction.

### **Malia Puka O Kalani (SIHP Site 50-10-35-7437)**

As a religious property constructed by the Catholic church, Criteria Consideration A must also be applied to the evaluation of Malia Puka O Kalani (SIHP Site 50-10-35-7437). Constructed in 1940, Malia Puka O Kalani is the only Catholic institution in Keaukaha and therefore may be eligible under Criterion A under the theme of Social History. Further research into the history of the site and the people associated with its development would be required to determine if it is eligible under Criterion B. The building displays a unique combination of traditional ecclesiastical elements with regional influences which may make it eligible under Criterion C. Because it is unlikely to yield archaeological information associated with history or prehistory it is unlikely to be eligible under Criterion D. The church has had very few alterations and retains sufficient integrity to its year of construction.

### **Kūhiō Chapel (SIHP Site 50-10-35-7438)**

Because it is a religious property Criteria Consideration A must be applied to the evaluation of the Kūhiō Chapel (SIHP Site 50-10-35-7438) which was constructed in 1926. Kūhiō Chapel was the first Christian institution to be established in Keaukaha (as a branch of the Haili Congregational Church, the first Christian institution established in Hilo in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century). As it was the first religious building in the community and played a significant role in the social development of the Keaukaha, it may be eligible under Criterion A for its association with the theme of Social History. Kūhiō Chapel is also associated with Stephen Desha, a noted Reverend, *kahu*, prolific author, editor, and Senator who was instrumental in establishing this church building on this site. Therefore it may be eligible under Criterion B. As one of the earliest community buildings, the chapel reflects distinctive elements of 1920s architecture and may be eligible under Criterion C. Because it is unlikely to yield archaeological information associated with history or prehistory it is unlikely to be eligible under Criterion D. Kūhiō Chapel has had very few alterations and retains sufficient integrity to its year of construction.

### **Keaukaha Elementary School**

Keaukaha Elementary School may be eligible under Criterion A under the themes of Educational and Social History of Keaukaha and the State of Hawai‘i. Situated at the center of the community, it was integral to the lives of all community members. Further research into the history of the school and its alumni would be required to determine if it is eligible under Criterion B. The school’s buildings display architectural styles distinctive of the time periods in which they were constructed and represent the developmental history of the school, which may make the complex as a whole considered eligible under Criterion C. Because it is unlikely to yield archaeological information associated with history or prehistory it is unlikely to be eligible under Criterion D.

In summary, five of the six above-identified non-residential resources are likely eligible for listing on the NRHP, however, the actions covered under the PA do not apply to these resources.

## **HISTORIC DISTRICT EVALUATION**

To support the development of the PA, the Keaukaha Tract 1 Residential Neighborhood, as defined in Chapter 3 of the current study, is evaluated as a potential historic district.

### **Keaukaha Tract 1 Residential Neighborhood**

As the Keaukaha Tract 1 Residential Neighborhood is a concentration of buildings united in their historical and physical development, ASM considered whether there is a potential historic district. A potential period of significance was established based on the history of the community, its associational significance with the history of the community under NRHP Criterion A, and its current boundaries; thus, the period would begin in 1924 when construction began on the first lots that were awarded pursuant to the Hawaiian Home Lands Commission Act (signed into law in 1921) and end in 1965, when the last expansion of the Hilo Airport changed the southern boundary of the community. Of the 512 current Tax Map parcels, 488 have constructed residences (with an additional 24 that are currently vacant lots or have non-residential buildings) and only 60 of which are older than 50 years. Of those, only 52 (10.7%) were built during the period of significance. These houses have varying levels of integrity and represent a range of styles (Table 7). Given these calculations, the Keaukaha Tract 1 Residential Neighborhood does not have a sufficient number of contributing resources (a majority) to constitute an NRHP-eligible historic district (NPS 1997:5).

**Table 7. Residential structures built during the potential period of significance (1924-1965).**

<i>Address</i>	<i>TMK #</i>	<i>Built Date</i>	<i>Effective Date</i>	<i>Style</i>
230 Lyman	21023037	1922*		Bungalow/Craftsman
242 Pua	21022093	1928		Craftsman Plantation
1346 Kalanianaʻole	21021061	1931		Not visible
1384 Kalanianaʻole	21021064	1934		Bungalow/Craftsman
296 Todd	21023115	1940		Modern Plantation
1392 Kalanianaʻole	21021065	1941		Contemporary Plantation
236 King	21023078	1941		Craftsman Plantation
121 Kapili	21024015	1941		Salvaged
291 Lyman	21023054	1942		Modern Plantation
340 Andrews	21024069	1942		Craftsman Plantation
206 Todd	21022033	1943		Modern Plantation
186 Lyman	21023033	1943		Contemporary Plantation
290 Andrews	21023044	1947		Quonset Hut
127 Desha	21020034	1949		Ranch
386 King	21023092	1950		Contemporary Plantation
106 Krauss	21024060	1950		Not visible
291 Baker	21023031	1950		Not visible
365 Andrews	21024039	1950		Ranch
134 Desha	21020008	1951		Not visible
272 King	21023081	1951		Not visible
237 Lyman	21023059	1951		Contemporary Plantation
269 Lyman	21023056	1951		Not visible
272 Lyman	21023041	1951		Modern Plantation
223 Kauhane	21022078	1951		Ranch
147 Baker	21023144	1951		Contemporary Plantation
264 Baker	21023067	1951		Ranch
299 Andrews	21023045	1951		Modern Plantation
328 Todd	21023112	1952		Not visible
326 King	21023086	1952		Not visible
150 Krauss	21024064	1952		Ranch
51 Ewaliko	21024045	1952		Modern Plantation
54 Pua	21020072	1952		Not visible
82 Andrews	21021072	1952		Craftsman Plantation
1246 Kalanianaʻole	21021051	1953		Ranch
466 Desha	21021001	1953		Modern Plantation
172 Todd	21022082	1935	1955	Modern Plantation
1408 Kalanianaʻole	21021066	1955		Not visible
95 Desha	21020037	1955		Not visible
30 Baker	21020067	1955		Modern Plantation
1126 Kalanianaʻole	21020066	1957		Contemporary Plantation
320 Todd	21023113	1957		Not visible
151 King	21022089	1957		Not visible
130 Krauss	21024062	1957		Not visible
127 Kauhane	21020074	1957		Bungalow/Craftsman
374 Todd	21023150	1958		Ranch

\*Included here, but built 2 years before the lot was formally awarded.

*Table 7 continued on next page*

**Table 7. Continued**

<i>Address</i>	<i>TMK #</i>	<i>Built Date</i>	<i>Effective Date</i>	<i>Style</i>
970 Kalanianaʻole	21020051	1959		Ranch
1272 Kalanianaʻole	21021054	1959		Contemporary Plantation
302 Lauae Yung	21023151	1959		Ranch
1238 Kalanianaʻole	21021050	1960		Ranch
111 Desha	21020036	1960		Ranch
360 Desha	21021011	1930	1962	Modern Plantation
1262 Kalanianaʻole	21021068	1963		Ranch

*End of Table 7.***SUMMARY OF IDENTIFIED PROPERTIES**

As described above, several historic properties and potential historic properties were identified within the Keaukaha Tract I Hawaiian Home Lands Community. Table 8 is a listing of these properties. Undertakings with the potential to affect listed and eligible properties would not be subject to the PA identified in the Introduction section of this study, but rather would need to comply the NHPA Section 106 process as outlined in 36CFR §800.

**Table 8. NRHP eligible and potentially eligible properties identified within the study area.**

<i>SIHP #*</i>	<i>Resource Name</i>	<i>Property Type</i>	<i>Eligibility</i>	<i>Criteria</i>
7506	Kamehameha Hall	Building	Listed	A, C
7434	Kahauolopua House	Building	Demolished	n/a
7435	Ka Hoku Ao Malamalama	Building	Eligible	A, C
7437	Malia Puka O Kalani	Building	Eligible	A, C
7438	Kūhiō Chapel	Building	Eligible	A, B, C
n/a	Hudson (1932) Sites 39-42	Site	Likely destroyed	n/a
n/a	Wailana	Site	Demolished	n/a
n/a	Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day-Saints	Building	Demolished	n/a
n/a	Kawānanakoa Hall & Gymnasium	Building	Demolished	n/a
n/a	Hawaiian Village	Site	Demolished	n/a
n/a	Keaukaha Elementary School	Building	Eligible	A, C
n/a	Ka ‘Uhane Hemolele O Ka Malamalama	Building	Demolished	n/a
n/a	Keaukaha Tract I Residential Neighborhood	District	Not eligible	n/a

\* Site numbers are preceded by 50-10-35- indicating the state, county, and USGS quadrangle location of the site.



## 8. IDENTIFICATION OF ACTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

The following is a listing of potential actions and activities that may be carried out under the NAHASDA program:

### **Home rehabilitation activities:**

- Lead based paint hazards elimination or reduction (24CFR Subtitle B, Chapter IX, Part 1006).
- Improvements to provide physical accessibility for disabled persons (24CFR Subtitle B, Chapter IX, Part 1006).
- Energy related improvements (24CFR Subtitle B, Chapter IX, Part 1006).
- Security improvements such as fences, monitors, locks, and additional lighting (24CFR Subtitle B, Chapter IX, Part 1006).
- Construction of privacy and or retaining walls.
- Replacement of exterior roofing, siding, windows, and doors.
- Interior renovations including replacement of interior walls, doors, flooring, ceilings, and cabinetry.
- Renovation or installation of single-family dwelling electrical, mechanical, and plumbing systems and fixtures.
- Installation of appliances such as refrigerators, cooktops, ranges, water heaters, washers, and dryers.

### **Utility repair or replacement activities:**

- Replacement of cesspools with individual waste water systems.
- Replacement of cesspools with connection to public sewer lines.
- Repairs to existing water laterals.
- Repairs to existing overhead or underground electrical or communications lines serving individual properties (does not include electrical transmission lines).
- Repairs or low impact development improvements (such as rain gardens and bioswales) for stormwater management, and to improve on-site drainage and reduce nonpoint source pollution.
- Driveway resurfacing and site landscaping.
- Home demolition and replacement with a home of similar size and footprint.
- Home demolition and replacement with a home having a substantially larger footprint, or greater floor area.

All of these potential actions and activities will be conducted relative to the single-family residential buildings; thus, none of these undertakings have the potential to affect any of the above-identified NRHP-listed or potentially eligible historic properties. Undertakings involving these actions and activities should be exempt from further Section 106 consultation. However, a few of the activities and actions outlined above have the potential to affect unidentified potential historic properties.

For undertakings that are otherwise exempt from further Section 106 consultation as described above, but involve actions or activities that have the potential to affect as of yet unidentified archaeological historic properties, the following identification measures are recommended:

Archaeological Monitoring should be conducted for:

- a. Replacement of cesspools with individual wastewater systems.
- b. Replacement of cesspools with connection to public sewer lines.
- c. Home demolition and replacement with a home with a larger footprint, or greater floor area.

Archaeological Inventory should be conducted for:

- a. New residential construction on a previously undeveloped parcel.

The actions and activities identified above should be carried out if and only if the specified identification measures are implemented. If potential historic properties are identified the SHPO should be immediately contacted to develop a course of action in compliance with both state and federal rules and regulations. Actions and activities that result in negative findings with respect to the identification of historic properties should simply be documented in the DHHL annual report to the SHPO.

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