April 5, 2022

To: State of Hawai‘i, Department of Land and Natural Resources
Subject: Ka‘iwa Ridge Trail Improvements and Management Plan–Draft EA (AFNSI)

Although the Draft EA of the Ka‘iwa Ridge Trail Improvements and Management Plan (dEA) briefly acknowledges Ka‘ōhao as a place of cultural significance to Native Hawaiians, and although the accompanying CIS provides a glimmer of supporting detail to the dEA’s generalities, neither document leaves us with more than the vague impression that Ka‘ōhao was a once-storied place whose sketchily chronicled, pre-20th-century past holds little cachet over its more verifiable history, first as home to a scattering of Japanese watermelon farmers, then as the Crescent of Content upon which Frazier’s subdivision was built, and now as both the wildly popular site of the Podmore “pillboxes” and the fondly remembered residence of an aging first- and second-generation of Lanikai settlers.

What is sadly – but typically – missing from both documents is a careful review of the actual record of native Hawaiian presence in Ka‘ōhao that is contained in the Hawaiian language newspapers of the 19th and early 20th centuries. It is not enough to cite passages in Sterling and Summers’ Sites of O‘ahu, point to Fornander’s re-telling of the naming of Ka‘ōhao, quote a paragraph from an English translation of Kamakau, or extol the contents of the Kailua Historical Society’s Kailua. To do so is to fall victim to what M. Puakea Nogelmeier calls a “discourse of sufficiency”: the mistaken assumption that enough of what we need to know about Kānaka-ō-old can be found in a short stack of mostly English language translations, summaries, and ethnographies – an assumption that renders inconsequential any further and considerably more difficult investigation into Native Hawaiian writings, in our own language, about ourselves. As explained by Nogelmeier:

…a discourse of sufficiency exists in relation to knowledge about Hawai‘i, meaning that modern scholarship has long accepted a fraction of the available sources as being sufficient to represent the whole. Over a century of documentation by Hawaiian writers has been dismissed through the existence of this discourse and the few primary sources that have been incorporated into modern scholarship are problematic. Such a setting limits and obstructs all related fields of study.1
There are more than a dozen references to Kaʻōhao in articles and notices published in the Hawaiian language newspapers of 1865 through 1923. These include: Samuel Kamakau’s identification of Kaʻōhao as a “pahu kapu” (sanctuary, place of refuge); reports of kahuna who ministered to the Mahuia and Boyd families of Kaʻōhao; descriptions of the home of Eiluene Harbottle Boyd on the beach at Kaʻōhao; repeated warnings posted by Boyd, and later his widow Maria, addressing those who would release livestock on their lands or “steal the things that grow there”; biographies of prominent Hawaiians J. K. Kaaia and G. K. Barenaba that identify them, respectively, as a Kaʻōhao resident and as Kaʻōhao born; and descriptions by Samuel Keko’owai of a visit to Kaʻōhao, an “aina la‘a” and “kahi pana…o ke au kahiko” – a consecrated land and a storied place of ancient times.

These bits and pieces of Kaʻōhao’s past contribute to an understanding of Kaʻōhao as anything but a backwater; in fact, it was a place of ongoing relevance in late 19th and early 20th century Hawai‘i. There is, in addition, a body of literature – of moʻolelo and mele – in the same Hawaiian language newspapers that paints a considerably more comprehensive picture of Kaʻōhao’s cultural significance as it then existed in the minds of our people. Moʻolelo is history-story-legend. Mele is poetry-song. Moʻolelo and mele for Kaʻōhao are addressed in the two sections that follow.

**Kaʻōhao in Moʻolelo**

An accurate assessment of the cultural significance of Kaʻōhao must include a review of four moʻolelo in which our ‘ili ‘āina figures prominently: in J. W. K Kauaililinoe’s “Ka Moolelo no Kamaakamahiai” published serially in the Hawaiian language newspaper Kuokoa in 1870-71; in two different versions of “He Moolelo no Lonoikamakahiki” published serially by B. L. Koko in 1865 issues of the Hawaiian language newspaper Ke Ao Okoa and by Willi Sepa Kawa, Jr. in 1887-88 issues of the Kuokoa; and in Samuel Keko’owai’s “Makalei ka Laau Pii Ona a ka I-a” published serially in 1922-24 issues of the same Kuokoa.

It is not our intent here to provide detailed exegeses of the pertinent sections of each of these moʻolelo. That would more appropriately be the work of the project’s consultants, PBR Hawai‘i and Associates, Inc. We offer, instead, the following Kaʻōhao-related highlights of the four accounts in hopes that they will encourage a re-consideration of the dEA’s 7.1(1) conclusion that the Kaʻiwa Ridge Trail Improvement project “will not contribute to the loss or destruction of any cultural resource.”

Kauaililinoe’s “Kamaakamahiai” describes Kaʻōhao in considerable length and depth as the home of the royal court of Olopana, ruling chief of the Koʻolau districts. There are training fields here where Olopana’s men engage in wrestling, maika pahe’e, and spear throwing. A fleet of war canoes departs from its offshore waters; the beach is lined with makaʻānana who chant and call out in encouragement. A visiting aliʻi wahine is greeted by throngs of residents whose imu inland of their kauhale are aglow with food for their guest. Directions are given for a lovers’ assignation that indicate the existence of a Kaʻiwa Ridge trail linking Kaʻelepulu and Kaʻōhao in a Kaʻelepulu-to-Mōkapu sequence. And Kaʻōhao is the land on which Olopana assembles
his warriors and rallies them to defend this homeland in a battle from which he does not expect to return:

Auhea oukou e kuu poe koa, ka poe hoi a‘u i hilinai nui loa ai maluna o oukou ko kakou lanakilia, a maluna no hoi o oukou ko kakou pomaikai, nolaila ke haawi pu nei kakou ia kakou a pau i loko o ka make i keia la, a me he mea la o ka la hope loa paha keia o ko kakou ike ana i keia ao maikai a hanohano hoi, a o ka la hope no hoi keia e pau ai ka moe pumehana ana o ke kane a me ka wahine, a e pau ana hoi ko kakou lohe ana i na leo aloha o na keiki, no laila, e noonoo pu mai kakou a pau loa i ke kumu e mau ai ka noho pumehana pu ana me ka ohana, a me ke kumu hoi e ai ia ai kalo mo-a o Koolau nei, a me ka i-a ku o Kawainui, o ke kumu nui a‘u i mana ao o ia no ke kuupau ana i ko kakou mau wahi ikaika uuku i loaa ia kakou. A pau no hoi na olelo a ke ali, ea! Nana aku no hoi i na koa a me na poe e noho mai ana aohe waimaka paa i ke aloha i na olelo a ke ali, ka haku kanu o ua Koolau la.

“O listen my warriors, those on whom I rely for victory and on whom all my good fortune rests. I offer you my thoughts today in the face of death, as this might be the last time we see the fine and glorious light of day. It might be the day on which ends our warm sleeping of man with woman, and after which we will no longer hear the beloved voices of children. Therefore, I ask that we consider together the reason for our having lived so long in the comfort of our families, the reason we have enjoyed the cooked taro of our Ko‘olau home and the stunned fish of Kawainui. And the reason that I come to is this: we are a people who try with all our might, with every last bit of energy we have.” And when the ali‘i’s speech was done, ‘eā! One could see on the faces of the warriors and those who would stay behind that no tears had been left unshed, all for love of the words of the hereditary chief of this Ko‘olau land.12

B. L. Koko’s 1865 publication of “Lonoikamakahiki” describes the arrival of the Hawai‘i Island chief Hauna in the not-yet-named Ka‘ōhao. He passes through Waimānalo and ventures on foot into “ke one loa o Wailea” (the long, sandy-expanses of Wailea – presumably an older name, not only for the Wailea Point but for the ‘īli ‘āina it helps define) where he comes upon the residence of a woman of the same name. She is Wailea, the “kaikamahine kapu” (sacred daughter) of Kakuhihewa, ruling chief of O‘ahu. A crowd of people is gathered there to watch a kōnane match between Wailea and two men; Hauna convinces her that he can take their obviously losing place and still beat and literally win her. When he does, he ties her around the neck with strips of hau from Poaku (an otherwise forgotten Ka‘ōhao location) and leads her across Ka‘elepulu stream to Kakuhihewa’s court on the ‘Ālele plain. She complains that she has seen dogs tied in a similar manner, but never a person. ‘Ōhao is the word she uses for this tying, and we are to assume (although Koko does not directly say so) that this is the origin of the place-name Ka‘ōhao. After several episodes of wagering during which Hauna helps his own ali‘i nui La‘amaikahiki to best Kakuhihewa and win all of O‘ahu for La‘a, the disposition of rule is determined as follows: La‘amaikahiki above all, Wailea beneath him, and Kakuhihewa beneath her. Wailea is thus compensated for her humiliation and unwitting part in the plans of the Hawai‘i chiefs,13
Willi Sepa Kawa Jr.’s 1887-88 “Lonoikamakahiki” describes Hauna’s arrival at Kaʻōhao (Kawa identifies it as such) by way of Waimānalo where he comes upon a hālau nui at which a large crowd of “makaikai” (visitors, spectators) has gathered to watch the kōnane victories of a famed and extremely skilled young woman who has filled the hālau with the spoils of her wagering. Hauna manages, through boasts and insults, to challenge her to a match that pits his canoe and iwi (his own bones) against all of her accumulated wealth. As with the earlier, Koko version of the moʻolelo, Hauna outmaneuvers and defeats the Oʻahu champion, but Kawa adds an additional twist: the woman asks for a rematch, and Hauna suggests that, having lost everything else, she wager her own “bones.” We assume that Hauna wins again, but the details and consequences of his victory are lost to us because of a missing issue of the once-weekly nūpepa Kuokoa. Its December 24 edition ends with the suggested second wager, the December 31 edition is not in the Papakilo newspaper database, and the January 7 edition takes up Kawa’s story with a later episode of word-play wagering at the nearby court of Kakuhihewa.

Taken together, the Koko and Kawa publications of “Lonoikamakahiki” identify Wailea/Kaʻōhao as a hotspot of activity, the gathering place of kōnane crowds, and the residence of a woman of considerable standing, either as aliʻi, kōnane expert, or both. For its part, Samuel Kekoʻowai’s “Makalei ka Laau Pii Ona a ka I-a” adds to our understanding of Kaʻōhao’s traditional significance and geography. It is in Kaʻōhao that the boy Kahinihiniʻula learns the skills and creates the relationships necessary for his journey to the hidden land of Kāne, a journey that will eventually lead to his becoming the next ruling chief, after Olomana, of the Koʻolaupoko districts of Oʻahu. His teachers are the goddess Haumea’s own ʻōhua (retainers), and the strand of Kahakahakea (possibly another “lost” Kaʻōhao place-name) is his classroom. Kaʻōhao is also the land through which Ahiki (the konohiki of Kailua) passes in search of Olomana, his aliʻi nui. When he reaches “ka haalu o Keana” (the low spot of Keana, yet another “lost” Kaʻōhao place-name), he decides to travel inland rather than follow the longer coastal route around Wailea point. When he reaches the top of this inland trail (presumably Kaʻiwa), he takes in the view of Aniani (the ridge that separates Kailua from Waimānalo) and descends to a kauhale whose residents offer him respite and hospitality. There being no sign here or elsewhere of Olomana’s presence, Ahiki decides to return to the royal compound in Kailua-proper by way of the “kiekiena” (high point, Kaʻiwa ridge) from which he has descended. When he comes to a “huina alanui” (a junction in the trail) with Maunawili or Kawainui options, he chooses the path that leads to “Kailua ka pahuhipu.” There can be little doubt, from Kekoʻowai’s account, that there were ancient trails along the shoreline, inland, along the ridge, down to Waimānalo, and back along the ridge to a crossroads that allowed for additional choices. We can only surmise, both from “Makalei” and the previously mentioned “Kamaakamahiai,” that the Kaʻiwa ridge trail was part of an extensive network of trails that existed long before the military developed one leg of it to construct the “Lanikai Pillboxes.”

**Kaʻōhao in Mele**

There are at least 15 Kaʻōhao-connected mele published in the Hawaiian language newspapers of 1862 through 1923. These mele can be further categorized by their particular focus: Alāla, Wailea, Nā Mokulua, and Kaʻōhao itself.

*Alāla (or Alaala):*
These mele are, without exception, profound expressions of aloha ʻāina, of deep affection and attachment to the lands that sustain its authors and their loved ones in times of celebration, mourning, and – ultimately – resilience. Although all are worthy of further exegesis, we attend, here, to the second paukū (verse) of “He Kanikau no Keliikuewa,” a lament composed by my great-great grandmother Kamaʻilohi for her first child Kaiminaʻa Keliikuewa and published in the August 15, 1863, issue of *Kuokoa*. The second paukū, excerpted below with my own translation, identifies the Kailua, Oʻahu context of the child’s death: “Wailea” requires no additional explanation; Pomaikai (another “lost” place-name) is possibly her Kaʻōhao home; “Ka pali o ka waiau o Kawainui” refers to the pali of Puʻuoehu, the cliff and ridge above Kawainui Stream and fishpond, and to the stream’s diverted waters at Waiʻauia, the old name of the kapu section of the stream that connects the Kawainui and Kaʻelepulu fishponds. Kamaʻilohi uses the pen-names Maiwela (fever sickness), Maianu (chill sickness) and Mailuhi (sickness that comes from the weight of caring for a child) in her kanikau. All are puns on her own given name and on the symptoms and consequences of her child’s illness. Her love, grief and resilience are bound inextricably with the land itself.

He Kanikau no Keliikuewa   A Mourning Chant for Keliikuewa

Aia i Wailea ka uhane – la   Your spirit is there at Wailea
I ka lai o Pomaikai – la   In the serenity of Pōmaikaʻi
Akahi ka haha i ka moe – la   I have just reached out in sleep
I ka ike i ke kino wailua – la   Upon seeing your spirit body
Elua hana i na makua – la   Twice troubled are we the parents
O ka u kanikau i ke aloha – la   Who sigh in grief, in love
He aloha na hoa o ka pali – la  Beloved are the companions of the cliff
O ka waiau o Kawainui – la  Of the swirling, diverted waters of Kawainui
Ake ae ka manao e hui – la  My mind yearns to meet with
E ike i ke aka o ke kino – la  To see your shadow body
Ua puni ko kino i ka wela – la  Your body was consumed by fever
O ka mai laha o Hawaii – la  In the epidemic of Hawai‘i

na Mailuhi  composed by Maʻiluhi

**de Silva Family Compositions for Kaʻōhao**

My wife Māpuana has lived in Kaʻōhao for seventy-one years and was raised here in a three-generation household that included her three siblings, her parents, her mother’s sister and son, and her maternal grandmother. We continue to live at the same 1110 ‘A’alapapa Drive address with our daughters, a son-in-law, and a granddaughter who is now a fifth generation “noho papa” – a permanent, ‘āina-rooted, native resident of this one place. My wife is also a descendant, through her Kailewa family, of Kūaliʻi, the Kailua-born and Alā-la-consecrated ruling chief of 17th century Oʻahu, so her ties to this place are, in fact, several hundred years deep. As indicated in the kanikau above, I have mid-19th century ties to Kaʻōhao and Kailua, and I can also attest to direct descent, through my Kalanikupaulakea-Metcalf family, from the aforementioned Kūaliʻi.

This makes it especially important, in a 21st century Kaʻōhao whose native residents are few and whose noho papa are nearly extinct, that we nurture our traditions and do everything in our power to advance them in the battle against displacement and erasure, of remember vs. forget. As founders and directors the hula school Hālau Mōhala ʻIlima, this has been our now 46-year mission. We tell and retell the moʻolelo of Kamaakamahi ʻai, Lonoikamakahiki, and Mākalei to our students, families, communities, and audiences. And we do the same, through chant and dance, with many of the mele contained therein. In addition, we compose mele and create hula of our own, works built on this same, not-to-be-overlooked Kaʻōhao legacy. These mele hula include: “Hanohano Wailea,“18 “Mokulua,”19 “Hiehie Olomana,”20 “ʻAuhea Wale ʻOe e Kahinihini ula,”21 “Hoʻopuka e ka Lā i Kai o Māleʻi,”22 and “Ka Lae ʻo Alāla.”23 All have been danced in major hula competitions (Merrie Monarch and King Kamehameha) and most have been “award winners,” but their primary purpose has always been to educate and to reclaim identity. “Hanohano Wailea,” and “Mokulua” were written by this father for his two daughters and their hula sisters in order to:

…name the old names of Kaʻōhao. Put them back in our mouths and ears where they belong. Kaʻōhao itself was a lost name, long out of everyday use. It had been swallowed up since 1925 by “Lanikai,” a name that – like Smith’s Point, Pillbox Trail, Mid-Pac CC, and Twin Islands – was no name at all. “I’ll never leave / Can’t say goodbye / I love you so / My Lanikai” is what the neighborhood kids, my oldest daughter included, had been singing for years at Lanikai Elementary…’I’d finally had my fill of this kai pāpā‘u, this shallow-sea ignorance; it was time to respond with “Hanohano Wailea.”24
“Mokulua,” like “Hanohano Wailea” before it, was meant to give new life to the old Kaʻōhao place names and place-name associations. To put these names back, where they belong, in the ears and mouths of our children before the old ties of aloha ‘āina unravel, irreversibly, into ainokea. So Mokulua is not just the name of the one-way street that leads out of “Lanikai”; it is the name of our offshore islands. And ‘A’alapapa is not just the name of the one-way street that leads into our home; it is the name and the description of the limu-fragrant reef that protects our mansion-studded coastline. Pūnāwai is not just the name of a plaque above our front door (“Home Pūnāwai,” the neighborhood bed-and-breakfasters often ask, “is this a retirement home?”); Pūnāwai, in fact, is the name of a fresh-water spring and stream that used to bubble and flow a quarter-mile from our house, in what is now the Lanipō St. drainage ditch.

The consequences of these mele are evident in the lives of the keiki they were written for. Lilinoe Sterling, for example, grew up to become a kumu hula and a teacher at Lanikai Elementary School; armed with “Hanohano Wailea,” she was the driving force behind that school’s decision to rename itself Kaʻōhao School. Maya Saffery, for example, grew up to become a kumu hula with a Phd. in Education; a Curriculum Specialist for Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language at UH Mānoa, she is president of Kauluakalana, a Kailua-based 501(c)3 “committed to ‘āina education and restoration for the purposes of cultural revitalization, community regeneration, identity reclamation, and the renewal of kuleana.” As for my daughters, both are kumu hula of Hālau Mōhala ‘Ilīma, one an Assistant Professor of Hawaiian language at UH Mānoa, the other a Hawaiian Resource Specialist at Kamehameha Schools. Both, as well, are composers of their own mele for Kaʻōhao and Kailua – the four mele that follow “Hanohano Wailea” and “Mokulua” in the list above. Their mele are written in response, twenty and more years later, to those written for them; the six are father-and-daughter conversations across two and three decades about the land we will not allow to be forgotten.

What we will all tell you is this: there is no better way to instill the lessons of ‘āina – no better way to converse with ‘āina, honor ‘āina, and remember ‘āina anew – than to be on that ‘āina itself. More specifically: there is no better place to do this for Kaʻōhao than from the vantage point of Kaʻiwa ridge and the platform provided by the first of the trail’s two “pillboxes.”

“The project will not contribute to the loss of any cultural resource”

For 20 years, between 1990 and 2010, our hālau curriculum included walks along the Kaʻōhao bike lane loop (where our four- and five-year-olds would stop, sing, and dance at/for each of the places mentioned in “Hanohano Wailea”) and morning hikes to Kaʻiwa Ridge (where our teens would review Kaʻōhao moʻolelo and mele, and experience first hand the panoramic clarity of “kuʻu ‘āina nani e waiho nei” – of my beautiful land spread out below). These now-grown kids still remember how, as “babies,” they would hula for Pūnāwai at Pūnāwai and how, as 7th-graders, “we would hike up Kaʻiwa ridge to the pillboxes with [our] hula sisters and no one was there… [We] had the space to hula, to chant, to be moved in a powerful way…[and we] felt a deep connection to this place because [we] knew and honored it.” They remember, too, how this carried into their adult lives when they and their hula sisters would still meet on Sundays at Alāla or “access the Kaʻiwa ridge—before it was overrun with people and tourists—to practice
their traditional and customary practice of hula, to oli (chant), and to more generally experience the mana of this ‘āina in their own space and time.”

Today, because of the on-going nūpepa research and writing that we discuss in the opening sections of this letter, we are much better equipped to teach a Kaʻōhao cultural legacy than we were even a decade ago. The terrible irony of this, however, is that we’ve had to give up the practice that we most believe in. We can no longer be on the ‘āina in the way that best transforms us into people who aloha ‘āina. Today there is no way to safely walk a class of 15 keiki around the loop in the parking and traffic mess that is engendered, at least in part, by Kaʻiwa hikers. Nor is there any way to safely walk a class of 15 teenagers along a trail shared with as many as 1500 people a day or to practice our culture on the deck of the pillbox when surrounded by an uninvited audience of selfie-takers and IG posters. We haven’t taken a class walk or hike in twelve years, and the prospect of doing so becomes even less likely with every passing year.

We are not opposed to the Kaʻiwa trail improvement project. The obvious, core benefits – erosion and run-off mitigation, in particular – are unassailable. And the prospect of taking our students along a much safer, visually enhanced, native out-planted trail is highly appealing. We’d probably volunteer to help maintain it.

The problem, as we see it, is with access and enforcement. If there are no clearly established rules and consequences for who, how many, when, and why, the trail will continue to be used at rates that make it impossible for appropriate Hawaiian cultural education and practice. The dEA contends that a “cultural interpretive plan [including] signage to educate visitors as to the cultural and historical importance of the ridge and the entirety of the ahupuaʻa” will address our concerns, but a vaguely defined plan whose main feature is signage, is no solution at all. Signs identify things of cultural significance, but they do not to create actual spaces for doing culture. What will create that space is a clearly defined system of permitting and scheduling that closes the trail on certain days, allowing access only to duly vetted Hawaiian culture practitioners whose purposes there are specific and appropriate.

The dEA does advance, – briefly and almost in passing – a proposal for “restricted access on certain days for native Hawaiians,” but there is neither meat nor teeth to this proposal, and we are further troubled when the dEA goes on to argue that restrictive access of this kind is supportive of “the educational enrichment of the community, local residents, and visitors to the area.” This is true enough, but still off the mark. Restricted access should be justified, first and foremost, as supportive of the native Hawaiian culture and our need to transmit cultural knowledge to our own families “i mea e kulelewi ‘ole ai ka nohona.” So that our lives will not be further diminished, will not be lives of “wind-scattered bones.”

The dEA does not address this need-to-teach in terms of native rights, but Article 12, Section 7 of the Hawaii State Constitution tells us that:

The State reaffirms and shall protect all rights, customarily and traditionally exercised for subsistence, cultural and religious purposes and possessed by ahupuaʻa tenants who are
descendants of native Hawaiians who inhabited the Hawaiian Islands prior to 1778, subject to the right of the State to regulate such rights.

My family and I (as well as many of our students) are “ahupua’a tenants” of Kailua and “descendants of native Hawaiians who inhabited the Hawaiian Islands before 1778.” We suggest that our need for restricted access to Kaʻiwa may well qualify as a constitutionally affirmed right to the firmly-rooted, traditional, customary, and native Hawaiian practice of teaching (and learning) our culture through moʻolelo, mele, oli, and hula.

The dEA does not provide: 1) clearly established rules and consequences for who, how many, when, and why; 2) specific “meat and teeth” provisions for native Hawaiian cultural access to Kaʻiwa ridge; and 3) consideration of HSC Article 12, Section 7. It thus prevents us, by default, from the actual, meaningful practice of our culture at a location that is preeminently suited for such activity. If there are no concrete provisions for access of this kind, then the draft EA cannot conclude – as it mistakenly has – that “the project will not contribute to the loss or destruction of any cultural resource.” The project in its current iteration will, in truth, contribute significantly to the ongoing loss of meaningful native Hawaiian access to the cultural resource of Kaʻiwa itself.

Panina (in closing)

We offer, in closing, the following recommendations for a revised, culturally pono Final EA. That document should:

• Provide a more thorough assessment of the native Hawaiian significance of Kaʻōhao and Kaʻiwa ridge as evident in our own language, moʻolelo, and mele.

• Reflect a commitment to ongoing discussions with the Kailua families who continue to hold traditional knowledge and kuleana in our ahuapua’a, including but not limited to the ʻohana: de Silva, Kalama, Kaʻanāʻanā, Māhoe, Saffery-Wong, and Sterling.

• Include a clearly defined system of permitting, scheduling, and enforcement that closes the trail on certain days, allowing access only to duly vetted Hawaiian culture practitioners whose purposes there are specific and appropriate.

Me ka ʻoiaʻiʻo,

Kīhei de Silva and ʻohana
Notes:

1 M. Puakea Nogelmeier, Mai Pa‘a i ka Leo, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, Phd. dissertation, 2003:1.

2 “Na Mea Kaulana o ka Wa Kahiko,” Kuokoa, 7 October, 1865.


4 “Hale Nui,” Ka Lahui Hawaii, 1 April, 1875.

5 “E Ike Auanei na Mea A Pau,” Kuokoa, 12, 19, and 23 July, 1875; 2 August, 1875. “Olelo Hoolaha,” Ka Lahui Hawaii, 22 and 29, March 1877; 5 and 12 April, 1877, as well as in concurrent issues of Kuokoa.


7 “Kailua Alo Lahilahi,” Kuokoa, 7 June, 1923. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

8 Kuokoa, 30 July, 1870.

9 Kuokoa, 13 August, 1870.

10 Kuokoa, 20 August, 1870.

11 Kuokoa, 24 December, 1870. “Makai ke ala ma Kealeleupulu / Ma ka lae kahakai o Kaohao / He loa ke kula o Alele ke hele / He koke-koke wale no ke one o Oneawa / Kaha iki mai i Kaluapuhi / Loaa na hale i Kalauawa / Eia au la o Keaka” – (Follow) the path seaward from Ka‘eleleupulu / To the ocean-cape of Ka‘ōhao / Long is the plain of ‘Alele when traversed / (But then) it is a short distance to the sands of Oneawa / Turn a little at Kaluapuhi / (Until) you reach the house at Kalauawa / I, Keaka, will be here.

12 Kuokoa, August 6, 1870.

13 Ke Au Okoa, 2 October, 1865.

14 Kuokoa, 17 December, 1887.

15 Kuokoa, 24 December, 1887.

16 Kuokoa, 10 March, 1922; 7 April, 1922; 22 June, 1922; 7 Dec. 1922; 10 Jan, 1924.

17 Kuokoa, 7 June, 1923.


Kahikina de Silva, composer; “‘Auhea Wale ‘Oe e Kahinihini’ula,” King Kamehameha Hula Competition fact sheet and program, 2015.


de Silva, n.18 above.

Kīhei de Silva, excerpted from Hālau Mōhala ʻIlīma’s fact sheet for the 2022 Merrie Monarch Hula Festival; the hālau is dancing “Mokulua” and “Ka Lae o Alāla” in this year’s women’s division of the ʻauana competition.


