

**VOLUME I:
KA HANA LAWAI‘A
A ME NĀ KO‘A O NA KAI ‘EWALU**

**A HISTORY OF FISHING PRACTICES AND MARINE
FISHERIES OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS**

**COMPILED FROM:
NATIVE HAWAIIAN
TRADITIONS,
HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS,
GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATIONS,
KAMA‘ĀINA TESTIMONY
AND ETHNOGRAPHY**



*Lūhe'e (octopus fishing lure)
Sketch from Jordan and Evermann (1903:740)*



Kumu Pono Associates

*Historical & Archival Documentary Research · Oral History Interview Studies · Researching and Preparing Studies
from Hawaiian Language Documents · Māhele 'Āina, Boundary Commission,
& Land History Records · Integrated Cultural Resources Management Planning ·
Preservation & Interpretive Program Development*

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Ka Hana Lawai'a—A Cultural Context

In a traditional Hawaiian context, nature and culture are one and the same, there is no division between the two. The wealth and limitations of the land and ocean resources gave birth to, and shaped the Hawaiian world view. The *'āina* (land), *wai* (water), *kai* (ocean), and *lewā* (sky) were the foundation of life and the source of the spiritual relationship between people and their environs. Every aspect of life, whether in the sky, on land, or of the waters was believed to have been the physical body-forms assumed by the creative forces of nature, and the greater and lesser gods and goddesses of the Hawaiian people. Respect and care for nature, in turn meant that nature would care for the people. Thus, Hawaiian culture, for the most part, evolved in a healthy relationship with the nature around it, and until the arrival of foreigners on Hawaiian shores, the health and well-being of the people was reflected in the health of nature around them.

Today, whether looking to the sea and fisheries, or to the flat lands and mountains, or to the condition of the people, it is all too easy to find signs of stress and diminishing health of Hawaiian nature and the native culture. As will be seen in this study, this is clearly evident in the condition of Hawaiian fisheries, which traditionally extended from the *kuahiwi-kualono* (mountains), to the *kai pōpolohua a Kāne* (the deep purple-blue seas of the god Kāne).

One example of a native Hawaiian's sentiments, describing the healthy relationship of nature, spirit, and the fisher-people was shared in the native language newspaper, *Ka Hae Hawaii*, in 1861. Portions of a letter submitted to the paper by W.E. Kealaka'i (1861), are excerpted and translated below:

He Moolelo no ka Lawaia ana.

Ua akamai kekahi poe kanaka Hawaii i ka lawaia, no ia mea, ua kapa ia lakou, he poe lawaia. O ka makau kekahi mea e lawaia ai. O ka upena kekahi, a o ka hinai kekahi.

Penei ka lawaia ana me ka makau. E hilo mua ke kanaka lawaia i ke aho. Ke ano o ke aho e hilo ai, he aho kaa-kolu, ekolu maawe o ia aho, he olona. Ekolu kaa anana o kekahi aho, eha kaa anana ka loa o kekahi aho. Alaila, hana i ka makau, a lako ke kanaka i keia mau mea...

Pule aku la ua kanaka nei i ka pule lawaia. Penei ka pule ana i ka pule ia:

*E ala e ka Ulua,
E ala e ke Kahala,
E ala e ka Ulaula,
E ala e ka hana nui
E ala, eia mai ka Hee,
He maunu palupalu,
He ono!
A i ai ia oe e ke Kahala,
Ai no moni,
Moni no a ka opu.
E Ku e—*

A Story of Fishing

Some of the people of Hawaii were very knowledgeable about fishing, and they were called fisher-people. The hook was one thing used in fishing. The net was another, and the basket trap, another.

This is how fishing was done with a hook. The cordage was first twined by the fisherman. The kind of cordage was a three-ply twine, a cord of three strands of *olona*. The line might be 720 feet long, or perhaps 960 feet long. Then the hooks were made and the fisherman was supplied with these things...

The man then offered a fisherman's prayer. This is the prayer that is prayed:

*Arise o Ulua,
Arise o Kahala,
Arise o Ulaula,
Arise to the great task,
Arise, here is the Hee,
A soft bait,
Delicious!
That you may eat o Kahala,
Eat and swallow it,
Swallow it to your stomach.
O Ku—*



*Kuu akua i ka moana nei la — e,
A i ai ka ia i ka maunu a kaula,
Paa ae a paa i ka hoau,
ke aho a kaula,
Ea, e Ku kuu akua i ka moana nei la — e.
Amama oe e Ku a ka haliu.
Ko nuku i ka ia halapa i ka i-kuwai la—

E Ku— e, paa ia i paa ka ia a kaula!*

W.E. Kealakai. Honolulu, Oahu
Ka Hae Hawaii, Mei 15, 1861
[Maly, translator]

My god here in the sea—,
Let the fish take the bait of ours,
Hold fast and secure in the currents,
the line of ours.
Say Ku, my god here in the sea—.
The prayer is spoken to you o Ku who hears.
Your *nuku* line of hooks are the gathering
place of the fish—
Say Ku—hold fast, that the fish of ours
will be secured!

It is staggering today, to contemplate that in ancient times, nearly every member of the Hawaiian population regularly participated in some form of fishing—and population figures in the islands, range from some 400,000 to 1,000,000 people in 1778. Native lore and early historical accounts tell us that through those traditional generations, the fisheries were resilient and healthy. This being a reflection on the relationship between people and nature, and the management system that evolved through ancient times. Today, only a very small percentage of the population of the Hawaiian Islands fishes, yet, as the methods of fishing and management systems have evolved away from the traditional system, the fisheries themselves have diminished at alarming rates.

Undertaking the Present Study

At the request of Scott R. Atkinson, Director of Marine and Coastal Conservation, of The Nature Conservancy, and in partnership with the Department of Land and Natural Resources-Division of Aquatic Resources, the University of Hawai'i-Hawai'i Natural Heritage Program, and various community organizations, *Kumu Pono Associates* (Maly and Maly) conducted detailed archival-historical documentary research, and oral history interviews to identify and document, traditional knowledge of Hawaiian fisheries—including those extending from mountain streams to the beaches, estuaries and near shore, and extending out to the deep sea—and changes in the nature of fishery resources of the Hawaiian Islands as recorded in both written and oral historical descriptions. The historical documentary research cited in this study was compiled from documentary research conducted by Kepā Maly over the last 30 years, and from additional research with specific emphasis on fisheries, conducted between August 2002 to May 2003.

The archival-historical research and oral history interviews conducted for this study were performed in a manner consistent with Federal and State laws and guidelines for historical documentary and cultural assessment studies. A primary objective of the present study was to research and report on documentation that would help readers better understand native Hawaiian customs and practices, and historic events associated with native land and fishery resource stewardship and use, and the relationship of the wide range of fishery resources in Hawaiian culture—in both traditional and historical contexts. The study also sought to identify the wide range of fishery resources— where species occur (occurred), what was caught where, and in what quantities.

In preparing the archival-historical documentary component of this study, the authors reviewed both published and manuscript references recorded in Hawaiian and English languages. In an effort to further our understanding of the traditional and customary practices and cultural-historical values associated with Hawaiian fisheries, research was conducted in several areas which have not received much exposure in past studies. Thus, this study provides readers with access to many old accounts that have not been easily available to most people, and in some cases, narratives not previously seen in English translations.



Historical Documentary Research

References cited in the study include, but are not limited to — land use records, including Hawaiian Land Commission Award (L.C.A.) records from the *Māhele ʻĀina* (Land Division) of 1848, and *kamaʻāina* testimonies given before the Boundary Commission (ca. 1865-1910); and historical texts authored or compiled by a wide range of native and foreign writers. Importantly, the study also includes excerpts from a number of native accounts published in Hawaiian language newspapers (compiled and translated from Hawaiian to English, by Maly), which provide first hand descriptions of fisheries and practices associated with procurement of fishery resources. This information is generally cited within categories by chronological order of occurrence, and the date of publication.

The archival-historical and cartographic resources were located in the collections of the Hawaiʻi State Archives, Land Division, Survey Division, and Bureau of Conveyances; the Bishop Museum Archives; Hawaiian Historical Society; University of Hawaiʻi-Hilo Moʻokini Library; private family collections; and in the collection of *Kumu Pono Associates*.

Oral History Interviews

The oral history interviews cited in this study (see *Volume II*), fall under two classes: (1) those conducted between October 2002 to April 2003, and are directly related to aspects of the present study; and (2) those conducted prior to undertaking this study, or as a part of other research (some in later 2003), that share important *kamaʻāina* knowledge of Hawaiian traditions, values, and use of fisheries. All of the interviews cited, were conducted by Kepā Maly, most with elder *kamaʻāina* ranging in age from their late 60s to late 90s. The interviews document personal knowledge of fisheries of all the major Hawaiian Islands (Hawaiʻi to Niʻihau), and also touch on the fisheries of Nihoa and the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands of the archipelago.

The interview format followed a standard approach that: (1) identified the interviewee and how he or she came to know about the lands and fisheries of the area(s) described by the interviewee; (2) identified the time and/or place of specific events being described; (3) the recorded interviews were transcribed and returned to interviewees for review, correction, and release; and (4) copies of the full final study (*Volumes I & II*) will be provided to each interviewee or their families.

Detailed narratives from more than 125 individuals, participating in more than 132 interviews between 1975 to 2003, are quoted in *Volume II* of this study. Their recollections date from ca. 1905 to the present, and in their words, we find deep cultural attachment, and rich knowledge of the *kai lawaiʻa* (fisheries) and *ʻāina i pūlama ʻia* (cherished lands) of Hawaiʻi Nei. Readers of *Volumes I & II* will also find remarkable continuity and time depth of knowledge as recorded in the historical-archival literature (*Volume I*) and as passed down in the daily lives and practices of our elders (*Volume II*).

Study Organization and Documentary Resources

In order to help readers access important documentation—representing various periods in history—and specific classes of documentation, *Volume I* of the study is divided into several primary categories. In many cases, lengthy, verbatim excerpts of important original documentation has been made—with great appreciation and acknowledgement to those who cared enough to compile important narratives and observations that would have otherwise been lost. Those materials, brought into one resource document, are meant to serve as tools for educators, resource managers, *kamaʻāina* practitioners and others, by bringing the wide range of narratives—many of which are very difficult to access—into one collection.

It will be noted that the broad range of narratives documented in this volume describe the diversity, depth, distance, and range of fisheries, known to the native Hawaiians. Hawaiian traditions and practices as described in native accounts and early historical narratives, also document a strong ethic of stewardship and responsibility for the aquatic resources. We still find today, that many of the early practices and beliefs are still highly valued by the *kūpuna* and *kamaʻāina* who shared their histories in interviews cited in *Volume II*.



Mo'olelo (Native Traditions and Historical Accounts)

The first part of the study provides readers with detailed *mo'olelo*, documenting ancient Hawaiian knowledge, beliefs, customs, use, and management of fisheries and aquatic resources. While a wide collection of *mo'olelo*, spanning the length of the Hawaiian Archipelago are cited, not every tradition describing fishing, marine resources, and the native customs associated with them has been included. The selected traditions include detailed descriptions of religious beliefs and cultural practices associated with aquatic resources, and the development of Hawaiian fishing techniques. The narratives also provide specific documentation pertaining to the lands and waters in which such practices occurred and where resources were found. The accounts cited, focus on several of the best known native writers (bringing their instruction into one collection), and also on many other important narratives which have had little review since their dates of original publication in Hawaiian.

Many of the *mo'olelo* include specific references to cultural sites, such as *ko'a* (on shore and in ocean fishing shrines and station markers), resources procurement sites (both on land and in the water), and the traditional and customary laws governing care for, and use of the wide range of resources from the uplands to the ocean depths. A number of the accounts have been excerpted from larger traditions which are also associated with regional localities, and events of “national” significance in Hawaiian history. Of importance to the body of work documenting Hawaiian customs and practices associated with *ka hana lawai'a* (the work of the fisher-people), is that the narratives include references from all of the major Hawaiian Islands — Hawai'i, Maui, Kaho'olawe, Lāna'i, Moloka'i, O'ahu, Kaua'i, Ni'ihau, and the smaller islands and *nā moku manamana* (pinnacled and atoll islands) to the northwest.

The *mo'olelo* tell readers about the people who worked the land, water, and marine resources, and who, through a system of religious-based fisheries management protocols, were sustained by the wealth—and who lived within the limitations—of the natural landscape from sea to mountains. Such traditions document the cultural-historical importance of fisheries and land in the lives of the native Hawaiians, and are the foundation of the on-going cultural attachment expressed by many Hawaiians and *kama'āina* fisher-people in the present day (see *Volume II*).

Traditional and Historical Rights to Ocean Resources and Private Property Rights

In pre-western contact Hawai'i, all *'āina* (land), *kai lawai'a* (fisheries) and natural resources extending from the mountain tops to the depths of the ocean were held in “trust” by the high chiefs (*mō'i, ali'i 'ai moku, or ali'i 'ai ahupua'a*). The right to use of lands, fisheries, and the resources therein was given to the *hoa'āina* (native tenants) at the prerogative of the *ali'i* and their representatives or land agents (often referred to as *kono'hiki* or *haku 'āina*). Following a strict code of conduct, which was based on ceremonial and ritual observances, the people of the land were generally able to collect all of the natural resources, including fish—and other marine and aquatic resources—for their own sustenance, and with which to pay tribute to the class of chiefs and priests, who oversaw them.

Shortly after the arrival of foreigners in the islands, the western concept of property rights began to infiltrate the Hawaiian system. While Kamehameha I, who secured rule over all of the islands, granted perpetual interest in select lands and fisheries to some foreign residents, Kamehameha, and his chiefs under him generally remained in control of all resources. Following the death of Kamehameha I in 1819, and the arrival of the Calvinist missionaries in 1820, the concepts of property rights began to evolve under Kamehameha II and his younger brother, Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III), who ruled Hawai'i through the years in which private property rights, including those of fisheries, were developed and codified.

Interestingly, it was in the area of fisheries—including the rights of the common people to catch fish, and the rights of the *ali'i* and *kono'hiki* classes to select a choice fish for their private use—that what might be termed “fee-simple property rights” made its early headway in the native system. Kamehameha III formally defined the ancient fishing rights and practices of the Hawaiian people in



the Constitution and Laws of June 7, 1839, and reconfirmed them on November 9, 1840 (Hawaiian Laws, 1842; Hawaiian Laws compiled from between the years of 1833 to 1842).

By the Law respecting fisheries, Kamehameha III distributed the fishing grounds and resources between himself, the chiefs and the people of the land. The law granted fisheries from near shore, to those of the deep ocean beyond the sight of land to the common people in general. He also specifically, noted that fisheries on coral reefs fronting various lands were for the landlords (*konohiki*) and the people who lived on their given lands (*ahupua'a*) under the *konohiki*.

The most important source of documentation that describes native Hawaiian residency and land use practices—identifying specific residents, types of land use, fishery and fishing rights, crops cultivated, and features on the landscape—is found in the records of the *Māhele 'Āina*. The *Māhele 'Āina* of 1848 gave the *hoa'āina* (native tenants) an opportunity to acquire fee-simple property interest (*kuleana*) on land which they lived and actively cultivated, but the process required them to provide personal testimonies regarding their residency and land use practices. The lands awarded to the *hoa'āina* became known as “*Kuleana* Lands.” All of the claims and awards (the Land Commission Awards or L.C.A.) were numbered, and the L.C.A. numbers remain in use today to identify the original owners of lands in Hawai'i.

A careful review of thousands of the original Hawaiian claims recorded during the *Māhele 'Āina* for all islands revealed that at least 1,233 claims for fishery resources were recorded in the Register and Testimony Volumes of the Land Commission. The types of uses and knowledge of resources found in the claims describes a wide range of aquatic and marine resources, including—

'Āina pa'akai, 'āliālia pa'akai, hāhā pa'akai, kāheka pa'akai, lo'i pa'akai, loko pa'akai (salt making beds - ponds); *kahawai* (fresh water stream fisheries); *muliwai* (estuarine pond systems); *pu'uone* (sand dune-banked ponds); *loko ia kuapā* (walled fish ponds); *loko kalo* (ponds in which both fish and taro were raised); *ki'o pua* (small holding ponds for fingerlings); *kāheka* (anchialine ponds); *ko'a* and *lua* (fishing spots and holes relatively near shore); *imu, umu* and *unu* (stone mounds – fish traps); *kahe, paepae* and *hā* (wooden or lattice traps – generally in fresh water streams); and *kai* (ocean fisheries).

In addition to descriptions of methods and locations where resources were found, rights to fish and other aquatic resources were claimed. The named fish included—

āhole, āholehole, akule, 'anae, awa, he'e, honu, kāhala, kala, kumu, limu, limu kala, manō, 'ōhua, 'ō'io, 'o'opu, 'ōpae, 'ōpelu, 'ōpihi, pa'akai, pua, uhu, ula, ulua, and weke.

It is perhaps most interesting that *'o'opu* from fresh water sources, were the most frequently named fish taken on the islands of Hawai'i, Kaua'i, Maui, and O'ahu.

Another important facet of the fisheries record, was the documentation provided by the *Ali'i* and *Konohiki* awardees of *ahupua'a* and other land units with ocean fisheries. They were required to issue public notice identifying the *i'a ho'omalū* (protected or taboo'd fish) of their choice—generally one each per land.

While occurring more than 150 years ago, the memory of “*Konohiki*” fish remains fresh in the minds of *kūpuna* and elder *kama'āina* who have participated in oral history interviews with the author over the last fifteen years. There are numerous accounts of choice fish such as *'ama'ama, 'anae, he'e, akule,* and *'ōpelu* being carefully guarded up through the 1940s, and in a few instances even later. It has been reported that sometimes, shots were fired overhead of those who tried to take fish out of given fisheries without permission.

As might be expected, the transition in Hawaiian history from a time when fisheries were managed by chiefs and their subordinates—and also often associated with ritual observances—to one where fee-



simple interest and broader public rights existed, was filled with difficulties for the native tenants. In the years following the *Māhele*, hundreds of communications between *hoa'āina* (native tenants), *ali'i* and *konohiki* land owners, and the government document the wide range of issues which arose.

In 1862, a law was enacted by which a Commission of Boundaries (the Boundary Commission) was established in the Kingdom. The goal Commission being to legally set the boundaries of all the *ahupua'a* that had been awarded as private properties in the *Māhele 'Āina*. R.A. Lyman, Commissioner for the Island of Hawai'i between the 1860s to early 1900s, noted that a commissioner was to “determine certain geographical lines, that is, he is to ascertain what, in fact, were the ancient boundaries of lands, which have been awarded by name only” (Lyman, 1900 Volume D No. 5:357). Furthermore, the Commissioners were, whenever possible, to determine and “assign whatever was included in such land according to the boundaries as known and used from ancient times” (Lyman 1897 – Volume D No. 5:101; cf. Supreme Court, 4th Hawaiian Reports). Under this premise, the commissioners were to address not only land matters, but also those of private fisheries, and a wide range of resources and practices as known from ancient times.

In order to accomplish their mandate, the commissioners were to identify knowledgeable native residents and *kama'āina* from whom detailed testimonies and descriptions of the lands and rights could be recorded. From this process evolved a rich collection (thousands of pages) of first hand accounts describing many facets of—land use; residency; beliefs and customs; changes in the landscape in the period from ca. 1790 to 1890; and descriptions of fisheries of the Hawaiian Islands. In 1874 the Commissioners of Boundaries were authorized to certify the boundaries for lands brought before them (W.D. Alexander in Thrum 1891:117-118).

The primary informants for the boundary descriptions were old native residents of the *ahupua'a* for which boundaries were to be certified, or of neighboring lands. Nearly all of the informants stated that they were either born on one of the lands being described, or that they had lived there since their youth. All of the witnesses had learned of the boundaries either from their own elders, or from others who had lived upon the land in the preceding generations. And nearly all native witnesses described the landscape by the nature of the terrain, presence of resources, land use, and features which were of significance to the people of the land (*kama'āina*).

Most of the testimonies were taken between 1873 to 1893, though some were recorded in the early 1860s. The oldest informants were born around 1785, by association with events described at the time of their birth, and the youngest around 1830.

Unfortunately, no testimonies were taken for the islands of Kaho'olawe and Ni'ihau. This is because by the time of the Commission proceedings, Ni'ihau had been sold almost in its entirety to one owner and its boundaries were the ocean around it; and Kaho'olawe was a part of the Government land inventory, thus not of the class of lands eligible for or requiring hearings before the Commission.

A thorough review of the thousands of pages from the Commission proceedings, was conducted as a part of the present study. Excerpts from nearly every testimony, notes of survey, or decision on boundaries, which addresses some form of marine and aquatic resources, or practices associated with the management of, or procurement of such resources is cited. Every effort was made to identify— (1) types of fish; (2) locations of fisheries (from deep sea to near-shore and mountain streams); (3) references to fishponds; and (4) practices associated with the fisheries of the various lands cited. In some cases the narratives were translated by Maly from Hawaiian, and are given in English here, for the first time.

It will be noted that for far too many locations around the main Hawaiian Islands, commissioners did not regularly record detailed native testimonies as a part of the proceedings. In even more instances, the important goal of documenting how the lands were “*known and used from ancient times*” was not recorded. Thus, no fishery information was recorded in the formal proceedings for Kaho'olawe, Lāna'i and Ni'ihau; this is also the case in some districts on the remaining islands.



In the case of Lāhainā and other districts on the Island of Maui, and in some locations on other islands, the proceedings were undertaken following 1900. As a result, the “rights” and descriptions of fisheries were not addressed. This trend became pronounced shortly after the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy in 1893. With the subsequent “Annexation” of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States in 1898, and their designation as a “Territory” of the same in 1900, *the private and piscary rights to fisheries—and ultimately the responsibility for them—was determined no longer to be a private matter, but one of public right and interest.* Descriptions of the decline of Hawaiian fisheries from the early 1900s to the present, as given by *kūpuna* and elder *kama’āina*—see oral history interviews in this study—seem to reveal a flaw in such an approach

The following notes summarize some of the key documentation cited in the testimonies recorded before the Boundary Commission:

- In the period of Hawaiian governance, fishery boundaries were defined; places named describing the kinds of fishery resources an area was noted for; limitations on the kinds of fish, and who could take them were prescribed; rituals were observed; and choice fish held under *kapu* (restrictions).
- Among those fish selected by the people were — ‘*Ahi*, ‘*Akule*, ‘*Ama’ama*, ‘*He’e*, ‘*Malolo*, ‘*Manō*, ‘*O’opu* (from the mountains), ‘*Ōpelu*, ‘*Uhu*, and ‘*Ulua*.
- Fish were caught by several methods — *Ō* (spearing); *Upena* and *Ku’una* (setting nets); *makau* and *pā* (hooks and lures); *hāhā* (trapping in one’s hand); and in *loko* (ponds), both natural and manmade.
- Some 160 *loko*, *loko i’a*, *kuapā* and *pu’u one* (walled and dune-banked fish ponds); and ponds in which fish and taro (*loko i’a kalo*) were grown together, are named or identified on the islands of Hawai’i, Maui, Moloka’i (Molokai), O’ahu and Kaua’i. The presence and use of *mākāhā* (sluice gates) is also noted.
- The witnesses also reference practices of canoe making; preparation of *olona* (used for netting and fishing line); collection of human bone for hooks; making *pa’akai* (salt); and the exchange of fish for other goods.

Transitions in Hawaiian Governance and Management of Fisheries

Among the most significant collections of documentation pertaining to the diverse nature of Hawaiian fisheries—including study of traditional and early historical practices associated with them; and changes in the quality of marine resources, and the methods by which they were collected—are those that were undertaken in the period of Hawaiian history marked by its greatest turmoil and changes. The preceding sections of the study have covered Hawaiian traditions, practices, knowledge and management of fishery resources from antiquity to the late 1800s. This system was radically altered in 1893, when the Hawaiian Monarchy was overthrown by foreign residents and American forces. Subsequently, the leaders of the parties responsible for the overthrow, made a steady move towards annexation of the Hawaiian Islands by the United States, which occurred in 1898. Then in 1900, the Hawaiian Islands became a “Territory” of the United States, and the resulting “Organic Act” set in place the legal parameters for freeing up the fisheries of Hawai’i.

As a part of that process, detailed studies of the Hawaiian fisheries were undertaken between 1898 to 1905. The reports provide readers with detailed descriptions of the types, quantity and locality of catch; who was fishing; how the catch was distributed; changes in the fisheries; and recommendations regarding long-term management of the fisheries. In regards to the management context of the reports, readers here will observe that the recommendations are generally based on the *commercial economic values* of the fishery. It is perhaps this point that has led to the continual decline of the quality and health of the Hawaiian fisheries. *In the traditional and early historical Hawaiian system, collection of fishes and other aquatic resources was undertaken on an as-needed basis, supported by a broad range of conservation-stewardship practices, and further governed by strict kapu and kānāwai.*



While an economist may argue that fish and other aquatic resources were of “economic” value in traditional Hawaiian culture, they were assets of both tangible and intangible value. The resources were collected and consumed within extended family systems, and given in exchange (*kuapo*) for other goods of the land. What evolved in Hawai‘i under western influence through the 1800s, and matured following the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy in 1893, was the development of a “commercial” fishing industry, involving significant trading centers and a market economy. The industry and growing number of urban consumers had little interest in the myriad traditional values—such as spiritual, cultural, familial, and ecological—of fish and aquatic resources. This trend has continued through the present-day, and fostered the decline in health and well-being of the broad range and diversity of Hawaiian fisheries.

In the transition from a cultural subsistence-based system to the commercial economy, fish and other harvestable marine organisms went from being perceived and valued in a complex way that was embedded in nature and culture—one fostered through long-term stewardship—to fish as primarily being a commodity or simply food items. In the present-day, the broad range of aquatic resources are no longer perceived as organisms irrevocably connected to the complex web of life, spanning water, land, air and culture.

It has been the observation of nearly every *kūpuna* and elder *kama‘āina* interviewed by Maly over the past 30 years, that when Hawaiian fisheries (from mountain streams to deep sea) were managed under the old system—including the *kapu*, periods in which fisheries were rested, private ownership of fisheries, and at times severe penalties for infractions on the *kapu* and *kānāwai*—that the fisheries were capable of sustaining hundreds of thousands of residents and fisher-people. The foundational component of the native relationship with fisheries and harvesting of resources, was that the *kānaka* and their environment shared a familial and religious relationship. Each person bore responsibility for his or her actions. This concept is personalized and expressed in Hawaiian life as “*Mālama i ka ‘āina, a mālama ka ‘āina iā ‘oe!*” (Care for the land, and the land will care for you!). The saying is also expressed as “*Mālama i ke kai, a mālama ke kai iā ‘oe!*” (Care for the ocean, and the ocean will care for you!) (see interviews in *Volume II*).

Kama‘āina Observations (ca. 1905 to 2003): Contributors to the Oral Historical Record (Volume II)

Perhaps the most fragile and precious source of information available to us, and the one most often overlooked (particularly in academic settings) are our elders — *kūpuna*, those who stand at the source of knowledge (life’s experiences), and *kama‘āina* who are knowledgeable about the tangible and intangible facets of the *‘āina, kai, wai, lewa*, and the resources and history therein. For the most part, the paper trail—the archival-documentary records—can always be located and reviewed, but the voices of our elders, those who have lived through the histories that so many of us seek to understand, are silenced with their passing.

Over the last thirty years, Maly has interviewed hundreds of *kūpuna* and elder *kama‘āina* across the Hawaiian Islands—all of whom have shared recollections and descriptions of Hawaiian fisheries, and the customs and practices associated with them. These *kūpuna* and elder *kama‘āina* tell very much the same story as that described in the wide range of traditional and historical narratives cited in the preceding sections of this volume. Among those interviewed, as a part of the present study, or as a part of other research and historical documentation programs are the following individuals:

On the Island of Hawai‘i (35):

Howard Ackerman, William A. and Lani Akau, Valentine K. Ako, Samuel Waha Pohaku Grace, Hannah Waha Pōhaku Grace Kawa‘auhau-Acia (and family), Lily Nāmakaokai‘a Ha‘ani‘o-Kong, John Hale, the late, Louis Hao Sr., Edward Nāmakani Ka‘anā‘nā, Geo. Kinoulu Kahananui (and family), the late Marjorie Kaholo-Ka‘ilianu, Moana Kapule-Kahele, Katie Kalā-Andrade, Eugene “Gino Kaupiko, Gabriel Kealoha, the late David K. Keākealani, Caroline Kiniha‘a Keākealani Pereira, Fred Kaimalino Leslie, Weston Leslie,



Aka M. Mahi, the late Joseph Pu'ipu'i Maka'ai, Kahu John Kumukāhi Makuakāne (and family), Maile Keohohou-Mitchell, William Kalikolehua and Nāmahana Pānui, William "Billy" K. J. Paris, Peter Keikuaana Park, Walter Keli'iokekai Paulo, Rose Pilipi-Maeda, Mary Kawena Pukui, Robert Ka'iwa Punihaole (and family), Mary Tom-Ahuna (and family), C. Kapua Wall-Heuer, and Amoi Sam Choy-Yee (and family).

On the Island of Kaua'i (14):

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On the Island of Lāna'i (4):

Henry Kau Aki, Samuel and Solomon Kaopuiki, and the late, Apelehama Kauila.

On the Island of Maui (and neighboring islands) (17):

Helen (Helena) Akiona-Nākānelua, Stephen Cabral, Samuel Ponopake Chang, Stanley Chock, Isaac and Tammy (Neizman) Harp, the late, James Keolaokalani Hueu, Moon Keahi, Pohaku Miki and Leimamo Wahihākō-Lee, Robert Lu'uwai, Mina Marciel-Atai, F. Harrison and Teresa (Smith) Neizman, Gilbert Neizman, Joseph C. Rosa, Jr. (and family), and James Tanaka.

On the Island of Moloka'i (8):

Scott Ka'uhanehonokawailani Adams (and family), John Dudoit, Jr., the late, Lawrence Joao, Sr., William H. Kalipi, Sr., Daniel A. Kekahuna, Wayde Lee, and Mac (Kelson) Poepoe.

The Island of Ni'ihau and the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands (7):

Louis "Buzzy" Agard, Valentine K. Ako, Issac Harp, Eddie Nāmakani Ka'anā'anā, Kāwika Kapahulehua, Leo A. Ohai, and Walter Keli'iokekai Paulo.

On the Island of O'ahu (35):

Joseph "Tarzan" and Gladys (Pualoa) Ahuna, William J. 'Ailā, Jr., the late, Edith Kenoi'āina Auld, Toni Auld-Yardley, Charles Keonaona Bailey, Aaron Chaney, the late Margaret Chiyoko Date, George and Mary (Furtado) Davis, Joseph "Kepa" Haia, Joseph and Niki (Ahuna) Hines, the late, Ruby Kekauoha-Enos, the late, Isabella Kalehuamakanoē Kekauoha-Lin Kee, Roland Ma'iola "Ahi" Logan, Martha Maleka Mahi'ai-Pukahi, Lucy Ka'i'o-Marasco, the late, Agnes McCabe-Hipa, William Kanahale, Agnes Kanahale-Lua, Annie Kanahale-Tau'a, William Kulia Lemn, Sr., the late, Anita Kahanupā'oa Lono-Gouveia, Leo A. Ohai, the late, Viola Kēhau Kekuku 'Āpuakēhau Peterson-Kawahigashi, Walter Kaiapa Pomroy, Charles K. Reiny, the late, Arthur Hyde Rice Jr., Albert Hollis Silva, Lucia White-Whitmarsh, Jack Nāpuaokalauokalani Williams (and family), Henry H. Wong, Walter Kong Wong Sr., and the late, Masato Yamada.

Interestingly, nearly all of the interviewees, particularly those participating in interviews after 1990, commented on changes they had observed in the quality of the fisheries, and the declining abundance of fish—noting that there were significant declines in almost all areas of the fisheries, from streams, to near-shore, and the deep sea. The interviewees attribute the changes to many factors, among the most notable are:

- Loss of the old Hawaiian system of *konoiki* fisheries; adherence to seasons of *kapu* fisheries (managed by *ahupua'a* and island regions); and lack of respect for *ahupua'a* management systems and tenant rights.



- Too many people do not respect the ocean and land—they over harvest fish and other aquatic resources, with no thought of tomorrow or future generations. It was observed that taking more than one needs, only to freeze it for later, removes viable breeding stock from the fisheries, and as a result, leads to depletion of the resources.
- Sites traditionally visited by families, having been developed and/or traditional accesses blocked.
- Changes in the environment—near shore fisheries destroyed by declining water flow and increasing pollution.
- To many people fish in one area, and to few people take the time to *hānai* and *mālama* the *ko'a*; they don't let the *ko'a* rest, and only think of taking, and not giving back.
- “Hawai'i cannot feed the world.” The focus on economic fishing, only to export Hawaiian fish to foreign markets is damaging to the resources, and makes it economically inaccessible to many participants in the local market.
- Use of modern technology—including depth gauges, GPS, and fish aggregation devices to maximize harvests—makes it too easy for fishermen to locate fish. Fishermen no longer need to have in-depth knowledge of the ocean and habits of fish, as was necessary in earlier times.
- Failure of the state system to enforce existing laws, rules and/or regulations.
- The present centralized state system of management is out of touch with the needs of the neighbor islands, and does not take into account regional variations and seasons associated with fisheries and aquatic resources on the various islands.

Interviewee recommendations included, but are not limited to:

- Return to a system patterned after the old Hawaiian *ahupua'a*, *kapu* and *konohiki* management practices.
- Enforce existing laws and *kapu*; ensure that penalties for infractions are paid.
- Programs established to manage fisheries similar to the Waikīkī system—one year harvest, one year rest—should be used throughout the islands; though limits on take need to be established and enforced.
- Decentralize the fisheries management system, giving island and regional councils (made up of native Hawaiians and other *kama'āina*), authority to determine appropriate *kapu* seasons and harvests in a timely, and as needed basis.
- Establish a fee/license system to help support fisheries management programs.
- Take only what is needed, leaving the rest for tomorrow and the future.
- Ensure that the land and ocean resources necessary to maintain the health of the wide range of Hawaiian fisheries for present and future generations are protected and managed in a way that is beneficial to all the people of Hawai'i. This may mean controlling development and use of fresh water resources, and controlling what, when, who, and how, marine and aquatic resources are used.
- Protect the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands from commercial fishing interests. This is important to both the protection of native species (the large breeding stock), and the well-being of the larger Hawaiian Archipelago fisheries.

“A'ohē pau ka 'ike i ka hālau ho'okāhi!”
(Not all knowledge is found in one school!)



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INTRODUCTION

Background

At the request of Scott R. Atkinson, Director of Marine and Coastal Conservation, of The Nature Conservancy, and in partnership with the Department of Land and Natural Resources-Division of Aquatic Resources, the University of Hawai'i-Hawai'i Natural Heritage Program, and various community organizations, *Kumu Pono Associates* conducted detailed archival-historical documentary research, and oral history interviews to identify and document, traditional knowledge of Hawaiian fisheries—including those extending from mountain streams to the beaches, estuaries and near shore, and extending out to the deep sea—and changes in the nature of fishery resources of the Hawaiian Islands (*Figure 1*) as recorded in both written and oral historical descriptions. The historical documentary research cited herein was compiled from materials collected by Maly over the last 30 years, and from additional research with specific emphasis on fisheries, conducted between August 2002 to March 2003.

Approach to Conducting the Study

The archival-historical research and oral history interviews conducted for this study were performed in a manner consistent with Federal and State laws and guidelines for cultural assessment studies. Among the pertinent laws and guidelines are the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, as amended in 1992 (36 CFR Part 800); the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's "Guidelines for Consideration of Traditional Cultural Values in Historic Preservation Review" (ACHP 1985); National Register Bulletin 38, "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties" (Parker and King 1990); the Hawai'i State Historic Preservation Statue (Chapter 6E), which affords protection to historic sites, including traditional cultural properties of on-going cultural significance; the criteria, standards, and guidelines currently utilized by the Department of Land and Natural Resources-State Historic Preservation Division (DLNR-SHPD) for the evaluation and documentation of cultural sites (cf. Title 13, Sub-Title 13:275-8; 276:5 – Draft Dec. 21, 2001); and the November 1997 guidelines adopted by the Office of Environmental Quality Control (which also facilitate the standardized approach to compliance with Act 50 amending HRS Chapter 343; April 26, 2000).

A primary objective of the present study was to research and report on documentation that would help readers better understand native Hawaiian customs and practices, and historic events associated with native land and fishery resource stewardship and use, and the relationship of the wide range of fishery resources in Hawaiian culture—in both traditional and historical contexts. The study also sought to identify the wide range of fishery resources— where species occur (occurred), what was caught where, and in what quantities.

In preparing the archival-historical documentary component of this study, the authors reviewed both published and manuscript references recorded in Hawaiian and English languages. In an effort to further our understanding of the traditional and customary practices and cultural-historical values associated with Hawaiian fisheries, the authors conducted research in several areas which have not received much exposure in past studies. Thus, this study provides readers with access to many old accounts that have not been easily available to most people, and in some cases, narratives not previously seen in English translations.

Historical Documentary Research

References cited in this study include, but are not limited to — land use records, including Hawaiian Land Commission Award (L.C.A.) records from the *Māhele ʻĀina* (Land Division) of 1848; and historical texts authored or compiled by — D. Malo (1951); J.P. I'i (1959); S. M. Kamakau (1961, 1964, 1976, and 1991); Wm. Ellis (1963); A. Fornander (1916-1919 and 1996); A.D. Kahaulelio (1902); Jordan and Evermann (1902-1905); and Handy and Handy with Pukui (1972). Importantly,



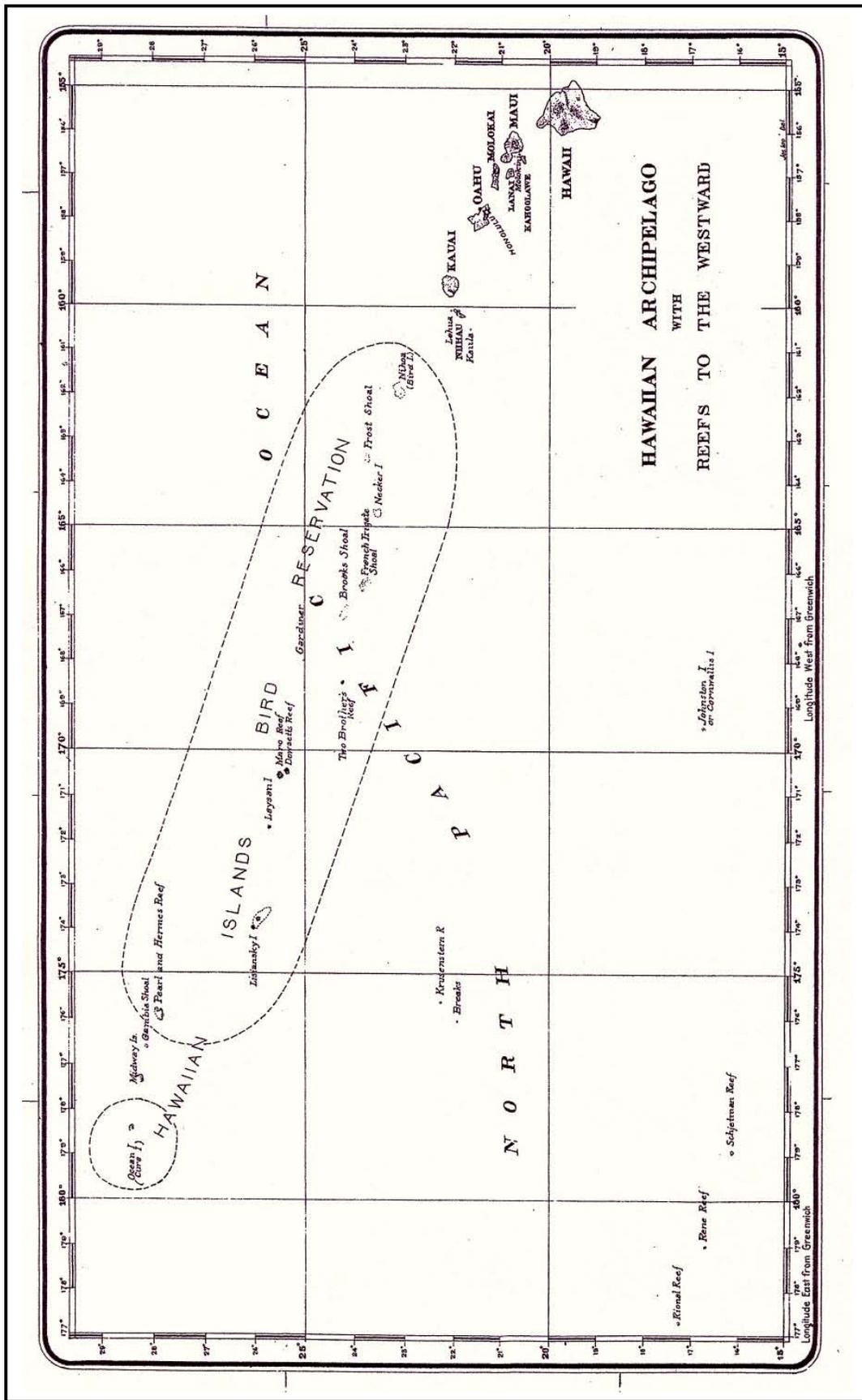


Figure 1. The Hawaiian Archipelago with Reefs to the Westward (1919)



the study also includes excerpts from a number of native accounts from Hawaiian language newspapers (compiled and translated from Hawaiian to English, by Maly), which provide first hand descriptions of fisheries and practices associated with procurement of fishery resources. This information is generally cited within categories by chronological order of occurrence, and the date of publication.

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

Oral History Interviews

The oral history interviews cited in this study (see *Volume II*), fall under two classes: (1) those conducted between October 2002 to April 2003, and are directly related to aspects of the present study; and (2) those conducted prior to undertaking this study, or as a part of other research, but which share important *kama'āina* knowledge of Hawaiian traditions and use of fisheries. All of the interviews cited, were conducted by Kepā Maly, most with elder *kama'āina* ranging in age from their late 60s to late 90s. The interviews document personal knowledge of fisheries of all the major Hawaiian Islands (Hawai'i to Ni'ihau), and also touch on the fisheries of Nihoa and the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands of the archipelago.

The interview format followed a standard approach that: (1) identified the interviewee and how he or she came to know about the lands and fisheries of the area(s) described by the interviewee; (2) identified the time and/or place of specific events being described; (3) the recorded interviews were transcribed and returned to interviewees for review, correction, and release; and (4) copies of the full final study (Volumes I & II herein), were provided to each interviewee or their families.

During the process of review and release, some additional information was recorded, thus the released transcripts differ in some aspects (for example, some dates or names referenced were corrected; and some sensitive, personal information was removed from the transcripts). Thus, the final released transcripts supercede the original recorded documentation.

Each of the interviewees were given a packet of historic maps (dating from ca. 1875 to 1920), and during the interviews selected maps or aerial photographs were also referenced. When appropriate, locational information documenting fishery resources and other features was recorded on one or more historic maps and photos. Some of that information has in-turn been used to annotate maps cited as figures in *Volume II*. Also, when conducting field interviews, photographs were taken and selected pictures are cited in the interviews.

Detailed narratives from a total of 96 individuals, participating in more than 100 interviews between 1975 to 2003, are quoted in *Volume II* of this study. Their recollections date from 1905 to the present, and in their words, we find deep cultural attachment, and rich knowledge of the *kai lawai'a* (fisheries) and *'āina i pūlama 'ia* (cherished lands) of Hawai'i Nei. Readers of *Volumes I & II* will find remarkable continuity and time depth of knowledge as recorded in the historical-archival literature (*Volume I*) as passed down in the daily lives and practices of our elders. As we have been instructed by our *kūpuna*, "*He lohe ke ola; he kuli ka make!*" — To hear, or heed the words is life, to turn a deaf ear is death! (pers comm., M.K. Pukui, 1976). As echoed by the voices of many of the elder *kama'āina* in their interviews, this expression may be directly applied to the state of the fisheries. Their words, and those of past generations, give us clues as to how to care for, and ensure the long-term sustainability of Hawai'i Nei.



KA ‘ĀINA A ME KE KAI—LAND AND OCEAN: AN OVERVIEW OF THE CULTURAL HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE

This section of the study provides readers with a general overview of the cultural-natural landscape of the Hawaiian Islands, including brief discussions on Hawaiian settlement, population expansion, and land management practices that are the basis of the sustainable relationship shared between the Hawaiian people and the land.

Natural and Cultural Resources

In Hawaiian culture, natural and cultural resources are one and the same. Native traditions describe the formation (literally the birth) of the Hawaiian Islands and the presence of life on and around them, in the context of genealogical accounts. All forms of the natural environment, from the sky and mountain peaks, to the watered valleys and lava plains, and to the shore line and ocean depths were believed to be embodiments of Hawaiian gods and deities—the creative forces of nature.

One Hawaiian genealogical account, records that Wākea (the expanse of the sky—father) and Papa-hānau-moku (Papa—the strata that gave birth to the islands)—also called Haumea-nui-hānau-wā-wā (Great Haumea born time and time again)—and various gods and creative forces of nature, gave birth to the islands. Hawai‘i, the largest of the islands, was the first-born of these island children. As this Hawaiian genealogical account continues, we find that these same god-beings, or creative forces of nature who gave birth to the islands, were also the parents of the first man (Hāloa), and from this ancestor, all Hawaiian people are descended (cf. David Malo 1951:3; Beckwith 1970; Pukui and Korn 1973). These same beings also assumed the *kinolau* (myriad body-forms) of nature, and are manifest in such forms as *pūnohu* (the slate urchin of the sea) and *pūnohu* (the patch-rainbow in the horizon sky). It was in this context of kinship, that the ancient Hawaiians addressed their environment and it is the basis of the Hawaiian system of land use.

An Overview of Hawaiian Settlement

Archaeologists and historians describe the inhabiting of these islands in the context of settlement which resulted from voyages taken across the open ocean. For many years, archaeologists have proposed that early Polynesian settlement voyages between Kahiki (the ancestral homelands of the Hawaiian gods and people) and Hawai‘i were underway by AD 300, with long distance voyages (of more than 2,000 miles) occurring fairly regularly through at least the thirteenth century. It has been generally reported that the sources of the early Hawaiian population—the Hawaiian Kahiki—were the Marquesas and Society Islands (Emory in Tatar, 1982:16-18).

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

Over the period of several centuries, areas with the richest natural resources became populated and perhaps crowded, and the residents began expanding out into the *kona* (leeward) and more remote regions of the island (by ca. 750 to 1000 AD). Along sheltered bays of the Kona districts on the islands, the people were able to procure potable water from *pūnāwai* (springs), *kahawai* (perennial and seasonal streams), and *ana wai* (water caves). They also found rich fisheries, extending from the shore to deep sea, and arable lands—often on the forested slopes above the coast line—on which crops could be propagated (Handy, Handy and Pukui, 1972 and Kirch 1979).



Hawaiian Land Use and Resource Management Practices

Over the generations, the ancient Hawaiians developed a sophisticated system of land- and resource-management. By ca. 1525, the islands (*moku-puni*) were subdivided into *moku-o-loko* (districts), each of which extended from the shore to the upper mountain ranges. These large *moku-o-loko* were further divided into *ʻokana* or *kalana* (regions of land smaller than the *moku-o-loko*, yet comprising a number of smaller units of land).

The large *moku-o-loko*, *ʻokana* and *kalana* were further divided into manageable units of land, and were tended to by the *makaʻāinana* and *hoaʻāina*, the people of the land (Malo 1951:63-67). Of all the land divisions, perhaps the most significant management unit was the *ahupuaʻa*. *Ahupuaʻa* are subdivisions of land that were usually marked by an altar (*ahu*) with an image or representation of a pig (*puaʻa*) placed upon it, thus the name *ahu-puaʻa* or pig-altar. *Ahupuaʻa* may be generally compared to pie-shaped wedges of land that extended from the ocean fisheries fronting the land unit, to the mountains or some other feature of geological significance such as a valley, hill or crater. The boundaries of the *ahupuaʻa* were generally defined by the topography and cycles and patterns of natural resources occurring within the lands (cf. Lyons, 1875; in “The Islander”).

The *ahupuaʻa* were also divided into smaller manageable parcels of land (such as the *ʻili*, *kōʻele*, *māla*, and *kīhāpai*, etc.) in which cultivated resources could be grown and natural resources harvested. As long as sufficient tribute was offered and *kapu* (restrictions) were observed, the *hoaʻāina* who lived in a given *ahupuaʻa* had access to most of the resources from the mountain slopes to the ocean. These access rights were almost uniformly tied to residency on a particular land, and earned as a result of taking responsibility for stewardship of the natural environment, and supplying the needs of ones’ *aliʻi* (cf. Malo 1951:63-67; Kamakau 1961:372-377; and Boundary Commission Testimonies – ca. 1865-1900).

Entire *ahupuaʻa*, or portions of the land were generally under the jurisdiction of appointed *konoiki* or lesser chief-landlords, who answered to an *aliʻi-ʻai-ahupuaʻa* (chief who controlled the *ahupuaʻa* resources). The *aliʻi-ʻai-ahupuaʻa* in turn answered to an *aliʻi ʻai moku* (chief who claimed the abundance of the entire district). Thus, *ahupuaʻa* resources supported not only the *makaʻāinana* who lived on the land, but also contributed to the support of the royal community of regional and/or island kingdoms.

This form of district subdividing was integral to Hawaiian life and was the product of strictly adhered to resource management planning. Such a system monitored and controlled the take of resources from ocean and land, and the level of conservation of such resources. In this system, the land provided fruits and vegetables and some meat in the diet, and the ocean provided a wealth of protein resources. Also, in communities with long-term royal residents, divisions of labor (with specialists in various occupations on land and in procurement of marine resources) came to be strictly adhered to. It is in this general cultural setting that we describe below, the diverse practices associated with Hawaiian land and fisheries management.



KEKĀHI MO'OLELO MAOLI O KA HANA LAWAI'A: A COLLECTION OF NATIVE TRADITIONS AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS ON FISHING IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

Overview

This part of the study presents readers with a collection of *mo'olelo* — native traditions and historical accounts (some translated from the original Hawaiian texts by Maly) — which document Hawaiian knowledge, beliefs, customs, use, and management of fisheries and aquatic resources. While a wide collection of *mo'olelo*, spanning the length of the Hawaiian Archipelago are cited in this section of the study, not every tradition describing fishing, marine resources, and the native customs associated with them has been included. The selected traditions include detailed descriptions of religious beliefs and cultural practices associated with aquatic resources, and the development of Hawaiian fishing techniques. The narratives also provide specific documentation pertaining to the lands and waters in which such practices occurred or resources were found. The accounts cited, focus on several of the best known native writers (bringing their instruction into one collection), and also on many other important narratives which have had little review since their dates of original publication in Hawaiian.

Many of the narratives include specific references to cultural sites, such as *ko'a* (on shore and in ocean fishing shrines and station markers), resources procurement sites (both on land and in the water), and the traditional and customary laws governing care for, and use of the wide range of resources from the uplands to the ocean depths. A number of the accounts cited in this section of the study, have been excerpted from larger traditions which are also associated with regional localities, and events of “national” significance in Hawaiian history. Of importance to the body of work documenting Hawaiian customs and practices associated with *ka hana lawai'a*, is that the narratives below, include references from all of the major Hawaiian Islands — Hawai'i, Maui, Kaho'olawe, Lāna'i, Moloka'i, O'ahu, Kaua'i, Ni'ihau, and the smaller islands and *nā moku manamana* (pinnacled and atoll islands) to the northwest.

The *mo'olelo* tell readers about the people who worked the land, water, and marine resources, and who, through a system of religious-based fisheries management protocols, were sustained by the wealth—and who lived within the limitations—of the natural landscape from sea to mountains. Such traditions document the cultural-historical importance of fisheries and land in the lives of the native Hawaiians, and are the foundation of the on-going cultural attachment¹ expressed by many Hawaiians and *kama'āina* fisher-people in the present day (see *Volume II: Oral History Interviews* in this study, documenting continuity and time depth in practices and beliefs associated with *ka hana lawai'a*).

Hawaiian Knowledge of Fisheries, and Customs and Beliefs Governing Procurement of Aquatic Resources

Several prominent native historians have been widely published, and provide readers with important details of the traditions and histories of Hawaiian fisheries and fishing customs. Among the Hawaiian authors are David Malo (born at Keauhou, Kona in ca. 1793), who was associated with chiefs of the Kamehameha household, and a resident land owner on Maui; John Papa I'i (born in 1800 at Waipi'o,

¹ “Cultural Attachment” embodies the tangible and intangible values of a culture—how a people identify with, and personify the environment around them. It is the intimate relationship (developed over generations of experiences) that people of a particular culture feel for the sites, features, phenomena, and natural resources etc., that surround them—their sense of place. This attachment is deeply rooted in the beliefs, practices, cultural evolution, and identity of a people. The significance of cultural attachment in a given culture is often overlooked by others whose beliefs and values evolved under a different set of circumstances (cf. James Kent, “Cultural Attachment: Assessment of Impacts to Living Culture.” September 1995).



O'ahu), descended from families of Kona, and raised as a member of the Kamehameha household; Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau (born in 1815 at Waialua, O'ahu), who was educated at Lahainaluna, and who rose to prominence as an educator; politician; and most importantly, a chronicler of Hawaiian history; and Kepelino Keauokalani (born at Kailua, Hawai'i ca. 1830), a grandson of Kamehameha I, descendent of the ancient priest, Pā'ao, and a Hawaiian historian.

Selected traditions and historical accounts documenting knowledge of the aquatic resources and features that make up the cultural-natural landscape of Hawai'i, recorded by Malo (1951), I'i (1959), Kamakau (1961), and Kepelino (1971), as well as the writings of lesser known native historians, and foreign residents and visitors who also contributed to the recordation of fisheries knowledge are cited in sub-categories below. Rather than rewrite the accounts, most of the *mo'olelo* are excerpted and cited as verbatim quotes in the words of the original authors and translators. The narratives are presented in several categories (such as author and publication), generally by the date of original publication.

The category headings and introductory texts will also provide readers with guidance to accessing specific types of information. We have used underlining as well in the quoted material to draw the reader's attention to specific traditions and customary practices, types of fish and resources, and locational information.

I. Mo'olelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian Antiquities)

David Malo, eldest of the best known Hawaiian historians, compiled a significant collection of lore pertaining to ancient Hawaiian customs, beliefs and practices, touching on all resources from the ocean depths to the heavens. He was also perhaps the earliest native author to write about the importance of fishing in Hawaiian life, religion, and government function. The following narratives are among those penned by Malo prior to 1850, translated and published in 1898 by N.B. Emerson (1951). The selected narratives below (with selected endnotes added by N.B. Emerson), provide readers with foundational information regarding fishing, and the relationship of people with their natural resources:

Regarding the Arrival of the Schools of *Aku* and 'Ōpelu in the Hawaiian Islands (see also further descriptions below, regarding the kapu associated with fishing for these fish):

12. Tradition has it that on his voyage to this country Pili was accompanied by two schools of fish, one of *opelu* and another of *aku*, and when the wind kicked up the sea, the *aku* would frisk and the *opelu* would assemble together, as a result of which the ocean would entirely calm [Malo 1951:6] down. In this way Pili and his company were enabled to voyage till they reached Hawaii. On this account the *opelu* and the *aku* were subject to a *tabu* in ancient times. After his arrival at Hawaii, Pili was established as king over the land, and his name was one of the ancestors in Hawaii's line of kings. [Malo 1951:7]

Regarding the use of Stone for Sinkers and Bamboo for Fishing Poles:

4. The stones used in making *lu-hee* for squid-fishing are peculiar and were of many distinct varieties. Their names are *hiena*, *ma-heu*, *hau*, *pa-pa*, *lae-koloa*, *lei-ole*, *ha-pou*, *kawau-puu*, *ma-ili*, *au*, *nani-nui*, *ma-ki-ki*, *pa-pohaku*, *kaua-ula*, *wai-anuu-kole*, *hono-ke-a-a*, *kupa-oa*, *poli-poli*, *ho-one*, *no-hu*, *lu-au*, *wai-mano*, *hule-ia*, *maka-wela*. [Malo 1951:19]
11. The *ohe*, or bamboo, which has a jointed stem (*pona-pona*), was used as fishing poles to take the *aku*—or any other fish—and formerly its splinters served instead of knives. [Malo 1951:21]



Divisions of the Ocean (Chapter 10)

1. The ancients applied the name *kai* to the ocean and all its parts. That strip of the beach over which the waves ran after they had broken was called *ae-kai*.
2. A little further out where the waves break was called *poina-kai*. The name *pue-one* was likewise applied to this place. But the same expressions were not used of places where shoal water extended to a great distance, and which were called *kai-kohala* (such as largely prevail for instance at Waikiki).
3. Outside of the *poina-kai* lay a belt called the *kai-hele-ku*, or *kai-papau*, that is, water in which one could stand, shoal water; another name given it was *kai-ohua*. [Malo 1951:25]
4. Beyond this lies a belt called *kua-au* where the shoal water ended; and outside of the *kua-au* was a belt called *kai-au*, *ho-au*, *kai-o-kilo-hee*, that is, swimming deep or sea for spearing squid, or *kai-hee-nalu*, that is, a surf-swimming region. Another name still for this belt was *kai-kohala*.
5. Outside of this was a belt called *kai-uli*, blue sea, squid-fishing sea *kai-lu-hee*, or sea-of-the-flying-fish, *kai-malolo*, or sea-of-the-*opelu*, *kai-opelu*.
6. Beyond this lies a belt called *kai-hi-aku*, sea for trolling the *aku*, and outside of this lay a belt called *kai-kohala*, where swim the whales, monsters of the sea; beyond this lay the deep ocean, *moana*, which was variously termed *waho-lilo* (far out to sea), or *lepo* (underground), or *lewa* (floating), or *lipo* (blue-black), which reach Kahiki-moe, the utmost bounds of the ocean.
7. When the sea is tossed into billows they are termed *ale*. The breakers which roll in are termed *nalu*. The currents that move through the ocean are called *au* or *wili-au*.
8. Portions of the sea that enter into recesses of the land are *kai-hee-nalu*, that is a surf-swimming region. Another name still *kai-o-kilo-hee*, that is swimming deep, or sea for spearing squid, or called *kai-kuono*; that belt of shoal where the breakers curl is called *pu-ao*; another name for it is *ko-aka*.
9. A blow-hole where the ocean spouts up through a hole in the rocks is called a *puhi* (to blow). A place where the ocean is sucked with force down through a cavity in the rocks is called a *mimili*, whirlpool; it is also called a *mimiki* or an *aaka*.
10. The rising of the ocean tide is called by such names as *kai-pii* (rising sea), *kai-nui* (big sea), *kai-piha* (full sea), and *kai-apo* (surrounding sea).
11. When the tide remains stationary, neither rising nor falling, it is called *kai-ku*, standing sea; when it ebbs it is called *kai-moku* (the parted sea), or *kai-emi* (ebbing sea), or *kai-hoi* (retiring sea), or *kai-make* (defeated sea).
12. A violent, raging surf is called *kai-koo*. When the surf beats violently against a sharp point of land, that is a cape (*lae*), it is termed *kai-ma-ka-ka-lae*.
13. A calm in the ocean is termed a *lai* or a *malino* or a *pa-e-a-e-a* or a *pohu*. [Malo 1951:26]

Regarding Kapu Associated with Eating Certain Foods, Including Fish:

3. Among the articles of food that were set apart for the exclusive use of man, of which it was forbidden the woman to eat, were pork, bananas, cocoanuts, also certain fishes, the *ulua*, *kumu* (a red fish used in sacrifice), the *niuhi* shark, the sea turtle, the *e-a* (the sea turtle that furnished the tortoise shell), the *pahu*, the *na-ia* (porpoise), the whale, the *nuao*, *hahalua hihimanu* (the ray) and the *hailepo*.



If a woman was clearly detected in the act of eating any of these things, as well as a number of other articles that were tabu, which I have not enumerated, she was put to death. [Malo 1951:29]

Regarding the Months of the Year, and Times at Which Certain Practices Occurred or were Forbidden:

5. The months in *Kau* were *Iki-iki*, answering to May, at which time the constellation of the Pleiades, *huhui hoku*, set at sunrise. *Kaa-ona*, answering to June,—in ancient times this was the month in which fishermen got their *a-ei* nets in readiness for catching the *opelu*, procuring in advance the sticks to use in keeping its mouth open; *Hina-ia-eleele*, answering to July, the month in which the *ohia* fruit began to ripen; *Mahoe-mua*, answering to August,—this was the season when the *ohia* fruit ripened abundantly; *Mahoe-hope*, answering to September, the time when the plume of the sugar-cane began to unsheathe itself; *Ikuwa*, corresponding to October, which was the sixth and last month of the season of *Kau*.
6. The months in *Hoo-ilo* were *Weleehu*, answering to November, which was the season when people, for sport, darted arrows made of the [Malo 1951:30] flower stalk of the sugar-cane; *Makalii*, corresponding to December, at which time trailing plants died down and the south wind, the *Kona*, prevailed; *Kaelo*, corresponding to January, the time when appeared the *enuhe*,¹ when also the vines began to put forth fresh leaves; *Kaulua*, answering to February, the time when the mullet, *anae*, spawned; *Nana*, corresponding to March, the season when the flying fish, the *malolo*, swarmed in the ocean; *Welo*, answering to April, which was the last of the six months belonging to *Hoo-ilo*. [Malo 1951:31]

The Fishes (Chapter 15)

1. There are many distinct species of fish in Hawaii. All products of the ocean, whether they move or do not move, are called fish (*ia*).¹ There are also fish in the inland waters.
2. The mosses in fresh and salt water are classed with the fish (as regards food). There are many varieties of moss, which are named from their peculiarities, from color, red or black, or from their flavor. The *o-o-pu* (a small eel-like fish) and the shrimp (*opae*) are the fish of fresh water.
3. The fish from shoal and from deep water differ from each other. Some fish are provided with feet, some are beset with sharp bones and spines. Some fish crawl slowly along, clinging to the rocks, while others swim freely about, of which there are many different kinds, some small, some peaked (*o-e-o-e*; this is also the name of a fish), some flattened, some very flat, some long, some white, some red, many different species in the ocean.
[number 4. dropped from publication sequence]
5. The following fish have feet with prongs: the *hihiwai*, *elepi* (a four-footed sea animal), *ele-mihi*,² the *kukuma* (a whitish crab), the *kumimi* (a poisonous crab), the *papa* or the *pa-pai* (a wholesome crab), *papai-lanai*, the lobster or *ula*, the *alo*, the *popoki*, the *ounauna*, and the shrimp or *opae*. These are all good food save the *kumimi*. That is poisonous and is not eaten.
6. I will now mention some fish that are beset with spines: the *ina*, *hawae*, and *wana*,³ the *ha-uke-uke*, and the *hakue*. These fish are all fit to be eaten; their flesh is within their shell. The *kokala*, *oapu-hue* and *keke* are also fish that are



covered with spines; they move swiftly through the water and are eaten as food. Death is sometimes caused by eating the oapu-hue.⁴

7. The following fish are covered with heavy shells: the pipipi (one of the *Nerita*, which is excellent eating.—TRANSLATOR), the alea-alea, the aoa, the kuanaka, the pupu (a generic name for all shells at the present time), the kuoho, the pu-hookani or conch, the pupu-awa, the olepe (a bivalve), the ole, the oaoaka, the nahana-wele, the uli, the pipi, the maha-moe, the opihī, the cowry or leho, the pana-pana-puhi, the pupu-loloa. This is of course not the whole list of what are called fish. [Malo 1951:45]
8. The following are fish that move slowly: the naka, the ku-alakai, the ku-nou-nou, the kona-lelewa, the loli or beche de mer, the mai-hole, the kua-naka, the mini-ole, the lepe-lepe-ohina. These are not fish of fine quality, though they are eaten.
9. The following small-fry are seen along shore—they are swift of motion: the young (pua or flowers) of the mullet or anae (when of medium size it is called ama-ama), of the awa, aholehole, hinana, nehu, iao, piha, opuu-puu, ohua-palemo, paoa, oluhe-luhe, ohune, moi-lii, and the akeke. All of these fish are used as food. Doubtless I have omitted the mention of some.
10. The following fish have bodies with eminences or sharp protuberances (*kino oeo*): the paeaea, paniho-loa, olali, hinalea, aki-lolo, ami, mananalo, awela, maha-wela, hou, hilu, omalemale, o-niho-niho opule, lau-ia, ulae, aoao-wela, upa-palu, uhu-eleele, lao, palao, oama, and the aawa. No doubt I have omitted some of them. These fish are excellent eating.
11. The following fish have flattened bodies: the aloi-loi, kupipi, ao-ao-nui, mai-i-i, kole, manini, mamamo, mao-mao, lau-hau,⁵ laui-pala, mai-ko, maao, humu-humu, kihi-kihi, kika-kapu, ka-pu-hili, oili-lapa, pa-kiii, paa-paa, uwi-wi, umauma-lei, walu; and probably these are not all of them. These fish are good eating.
12. The following are fish with bodies greatly flattened: the kala, palani, nanue, piha-weu-weu, pa-kukui, and the api.
13. The following fish have bodies of a silvery color: the ahole (same as the ahole-ahole), anae (full grown mullet), awa, uoa, o-io, opelu, mo-i, u-lua, ulua-mohai, aku, ahi, omaka, kawa-kawa, moku-le-ia, la-i, and the hoana, all of which are good eating.
14. The following are fish with long bodies: the ku-pou-pou, aha, nunu, au-au, wela, wolu, ono, aulepe, ha-uli-uli; these fish are used as food.
15. The following fish have bodies of a red color: the a-ala-ihī, u-u, moano weke (of a pink, salmon and fawn color, a fine fish), a-we-o-we-o,⁶ ku-mu, pa-ko-le-ko-le, uhu-ula, pa-ou-ou, o-pa-ka-pa-ka, ula-ula, ko-a-e, piha-weu-weu, o-ka-le-ka-le, muku-muku-waha-nui. These fish are all wholesome food; though probably my list is not complete.
16. The following fish are furnished with rays or arms (*awe-awe*): the octopus (he-e) and the mu-he-e [cuttlefish], which are eaten; also the he-e-ma-ko-ko, which is bitter. [Malo 1951:46]
17. The following sea animals have a great resemblance to each other: the sea turtle or honu, from whose shell is made an instrument useful in scraping olona bark, also in making haircombs in modern times; the e-a, a species of sea turtle, whose shell was used in making fish-hooks. The honu is excellent eating, but the flesh of the e-a is poisonous.



18. The mano or shark has one peculiarity, he is a man-eater. His skin is used in making drums for the worship of idols, also for the *hula* and the *ka-eke-eke* drum. The *ka-ha-la* and the *mahi-mahi* are quite unlike other fishes. Their flesh is excellent eating.
19. The following are fish that breathe on the surface of the ocean: the porpoise or na-ia, nuao, pa-hu, and the whale (ko-ho-la). The *kohola* or whale was formerly called the *pa-lao-a*.⁷ These fish, cast ashore by the sea, were held to be the property of the king. Both the *honu* and the *e-a* come to the surface to breathe.
20. The following fish are provided with (long fins like) wings: the lolo-au ma-lolo (the flying fish), the puhi-kii (*puhi-ki* is a mistaken orthography), lupe, hihi-manu, haha-lua, and the hai-lepo. These fishes are all used as food, but they are not of the finest flavor. No doubt many fish have failed of mention.

Notes on Chapter 15

- ¹ Sect. 1. From *ia*, the *k*, which still remains in its related form *i-ka* of the Maori language, has been dropped out; its grave is still marked, however, in the Hawaiian by a peculiar break, the result of a sudden glottic closure (*i'a*). It means primarily fish; also any kind of meat or animal food, and in the absence of these, any savory vegetable. which as a relish temporarily takes the place of animal food, is for the time spoken of as the *i-a* for that meal. Thus it is common to say, *luau* was our *ia* on such an occasion. Even salt, *paa-kai*, is sometimes spoken of as the *ia* for a particular meal or in time of want. In the Malay language the word for fish is *ikau*.
- ² Sect. 5. *Alamihi* is a small crab, also called the *ala-mihi*, spoken of as the corpse-eating *alamihi*, *ka alamihi ai kupapau*. In spite of its scavenging propensities this crab is eaten, and it was undoubtedly one of the means of spreading cholera in Honolulu in 1895.
- ³ Sect. 6. All of these are *echini*. The spines of the *wana* are very long, fine and sharp as a needle.
- ⁴ Sect. 6. In the *oapu-hue* the poisonous part is the gall. By carefully dissecting out the gall-bladder without allowing the escape of any of its contents, the fish may be eaten with impunity. Its flavor is delicious.
- ⁵ Sect. 11. *Lau-hau* is named for its patches of gold and dark brown, resembling the ripe leaf of the *hau*.
- ⁶ Sect. 15. The appearance of the *aweoweo*, also called *ala-lau-a*, in large numbers about the harbor of Honolulu was formerly regarded as an omen of death to some *alii*.
- ⁷ Sect. 19. The *palaoa* is the sperm whale. [Malo 1951:47]

Regarding Honorable Professions of Ancient Times, and Valuable Possessions – the Tools of the Lawai'a:

28. Net-makers (*poē ka-upena*) and those who made fishing-lines (*kilo-aho*) were esteemed as pursuing a useful occupation. The mechanics who hewed and fashioned the *tapa* log, on which was beaten out *tapa* for sheets, girdles and loin-cloths for men and women were a class highly esteemed. There were a great many other actions that were esteemed as virtuous whether done by men and women or by the chiefs; all of them have not been mentioned... [Malo 1951:76]



9. ...Cordage and rope of all sorts (*na kaula*), were articles of great value, serviceable in all sorts of work. Of *kaula* there were many kinds. The bark of the *hau* tree was used for making lines or cables with which to haul canoes down from the mountains as well as for other purposes.³ Cord (*aha*) made from coconut fiber was used in sewing and binding together the parts of a canoe and in rigging it as well as for other purposes. *Olonā* fibre was braided into (a four- or six-strand cord called) *lino*, besides being made into many other things. There were many other kinds of rope (*kaula*).
10. Fishing nets (*upena*) and fishing lines (*aho*) were valued possessions. One kind was the *papa-waha*, which had a broad mouth; another was the *aei* (net with small meshes to take the *opelu*); the *kawaa* net (twenty to thirty fathoms long and four to eight deep, for deep sea fishing); the *kuu* net (a long net, operated by two canoes); and many other varieties.
11. Fish-lines, *aho*, were used in fishing for all sorts of fish, but especially for such fine large fish as the *ahi* and the *kahala*. The *aho* was also used in stitching together the sails (of matting) and for other similar purposes... [Malo 1951:78]
18. Anyone who was active as a farmer or fisherman was deemed a man of great wealth. If one but engaged in any industry he was looked upon as well off.
19. The man who was skilled in the art of making fish-hooks (*ka-makau*) was regarded as fore-handed. The fish-hooks of the Hawaiians were made of human bones, tortoise shell and the bones of pigs and dogs.
20. The names of the different kinds of hooks used in the ancient times would make a long list. The *hoonoho*⁴ was an arrangement of hooks made by lashing two bone hooks to one shank (they were sometimes placed facing each other and then again back to back).
21. The *kikii* (in which the bend of the hook followed a spiral); the *lua-loa* (sometimes used for catching the *aku*); the *nuku* (also called the *kakaka*, consisted of a series of hooks attached to one line), the *keaa-wai-leia* (for *ulua*; the bait was strewn in the water and the naked hook was moved about on the surface); the *au-kuu* (a trolling hook, having two barbs, used to take the *ulua*); the *maka-puhi* (about the same as the *au-kuu*, but with only one barb); the *kai-anoa* (used in the deep sea—composed of two small hooks, without barbs); the *omau* (about the same as the *keaa-wai-leia* but more open, with no barb, for the deep sea); the *mana* (a hook for the eel); the *kohe-lua* (also called *kohe-lua-a-paa*, a hook with two barbs); the *hulu*, (having a barb on the outside); the *kue* (a very much incurved hook, used to take the *oio*, etc.); the *hui-kala* (a large hook with two barbs, one without and one within); the *hio-hio* (a minute hook of mother-o'-pearl, for the *opelu*); the *lawa* which was used for sharks.
22. Such were the names of the fish-hooks of the ancients, whether made of bone or of tortoise shell (*ea*). In helping to shape them the hard wood of the *pua* and the rough *pahoehoe* lava rock were used as rasps. [Malo 1951:79]

Kū'ula and Hina Worshipped by Lawai'a:

11. Fishermen worshipped *Ku-ula*,⁸ also quite a number of other fishing-gods. *Hina-hele* was a female deity worshipped both by women and fishermen. [Malo 1951:82]

Pa'akai – Salt Making:

25. Salt was one of the necessaries and was a condiment used with fish and meat, also as a relish with fresh food. Salt was manufactured only in certain places.



The women brought sea water in calabashes or conducted it in ditches to natural holes, hollows, and shallow ponds (*kaheka*) on the sea coast, where it soon became strong brine from evaporation. Thence it was transferred to another hollow, or shallow vat, where crystallization into salt was completed. [Malo 1951:123]

Concerning The Makahiki (Chapter 36)

1. The *Makahiki*¹ was a time when men, women and chiefs rested and abstained from all work, either on the farm or elsewhere. It was a time of entire freedom from labor.
2. The people did not engage in the usual religious observances during this time, nor did the chiefs; their worship consisted in making offerings of food. The king himself abstained from work on the *Makahiki* days.
There were four days during which every man, having provided himself with the means of support during his idleness, reposed himself at his own home.
3. After these four days of rest were over, every man went to his farm, or to his fishing, but nowhere else (not to mere pleasure-seeking), because the *Makahiki tabu* was not yet ended, but merely relaxed for those four days. It will be many days before the *Makahiki* will be *noa*, there being four moons in that festival, one moon in *Kau*, and three moons in *Hooilo*.
4. The *Makahiki* period began in *Ikuwa*, the last month of the period called *Kau*, and the month corresponding to October, and continued through the first three months of the period *Hooilo*, to wit: *Welehu*, *Makalii* and *Kaelo*, which corresponded with November, December, and January.
During these four months, then, the people observed *Makahiki*, refraining from work and the ordinary religious observances... [Malo 1951:141]
28. ...The *Makahiki tabu* began on sunrise of that same day, *Kaloa-kukahi* (the twenty-fourth). Everybody rested from work, scrupulously abstaining even from bathing in the ocean or in a freshwater stream. One was not permitted to go inland to work on his farm, nor to put to sea, for the purpose of fishing in the ocean. They did no work whatever during those days. Their sole occupations were to eat and amuse themselves. This they continued to do for four days.⁹
[Malo 1951:145]

Regarding Kapu Foods and Restrictions on Fishing for 'Ōpelu and Aku:

13. Again, that certain kinds of fish should be declared *tabu* to the women as food, also pork, bananas and cocoanuts; that if any large fish (a whale) or a log strapped with iron should be cast ashore, it was to be offered to the gods (*i.e.*, it was to be given to the priests for the use of the king)....
15. For six months of the year, the *opelu* might be eaten and the *aku* was *tabu*, and not to be eaten by chiefs or commoners. Then again, for another six months, the *aku* might be eaten and the *opelu* in turn be *tabu*. Thus it was every year. [Malo 1951:189]

Concerning Fishing (Chapter 40)

1. Fishermen, or those skilled in the art of catching fish, were called *poe lawaia*. Fishing was associated with religious ceremonies, or idolatrous worship. The *heiau* or altars at which fishermen performed their religious ceremonies were of a class different from all others.



2. There were many different methods of fishing: with nets; with hook and line; with the *pa*, or troll hook; with the *leho*, or cowry; with the *hinai*, or basket; with the method called *koi*;¹ and with the hand thrust into holes in the rocks.
3. The *heiau* at which fishermen worshipped their patron deity for good luck was of the kind called *kuula*;² but as to the gods worshipped by fishermen, they were various and numerous, each one worshipping the god of his choice. The articles made *tabu* by one god were different from those made *tabu* by another god.
4. The god of one fisherman might *tabu* everything that was black, and that fisherman accordingly would not allow anything colored black to appear in what he wore; his wife would not put on a *tapa* or a *pa-u* that had black in it, nor have anything black about her house. A line would be stretched about the house to prevent anyone who was robed in black from entering the enclosure about their establishment. Nor would he allow any black to appear upon his fishing tackle.
5. Turmeric was an article that was made *tabu* by some fishing gods, a red earth called *alaea*³ by others. Accordingly fishermen who looked to these gods as their patrons would not suffer the prohibited articles to appear in the apparel of man or woman in their family, and they stretched a line about their establishments to keep from entering therein anyone who had these things about them; nor would they suffer these things to be about their tackle.
6. The gods of this craft then were of many kinds and their *tabus* various; but they were all alike in the fact that they always worshipped before going forth to fish, in a manner appropriate to the kind of fishes.
7. The religious ceremonies centered specially about the *opelu* and [Malo 1951:208] *aku* and were repeated at every fishing season. There were religious rites relating to other fishes also, but they were not so strict and rigorous as those that related to the *opelu* and the *aku*, and this will appear from the fact that their rite formed part of the observances of the *Makahiki*. (See chapter 36.) The fish eaten during the summer months of *Kau* were different as to kind from those eaten during the winter, *Hooilo*. During *Kau*, the *opelu* was taken and used for food; during *Hooilo*, the *aku* (bonito or albacore).
8. In the month of *Hinaialeele* (corresponding to July) they took the *opelu* by means of the *kaili*⁴ net and used it for food. The *aku* was then made *tabu*, and no man, be he commoner or *alii*, might eat of the *aku*; and if any chief or commoner was detected in so doing he was put to death. The *opelu* was free and might be used as food until the month of *Kaelo*, or January.
9. *Kaelo* was the month in which was performed the ceremony of plucking out and eating the eye of the *aku* (chapter 36). After that was done, the *aku* might be eaten; and the *opelu*, in its turn, became *tabu* and might not be eaten, save under pain of death.
10. Before starting out to fish for the *opelu*, the fishermen would assemble at the *kuula heiau* in the evening, bringing with them their nets of the sort called *aei* and pigs, bananas, coconuts, *poi*, and their sleeping apparel, that they might spend the night and worship the god of fishing.
11. While engaged in this ceremony, all the people sat in a circle; and the *kahuna*, bringing a dish of water that had in it a coarse sea moss (*limu kala*) and turmeric, stood in their midst and uttered a prayer for purification (*pule huikala*). The *kahuna* called out:



<i>Hemu</i> ⁵ <i>oia</i> .	Defend us from them.
The people responded:	
<i>Hemu</i> .	Defend us.
The priest said:	
<i>Hemu na moe inoino, na moemoea, na punohunohu,</i> ⁶ <i>na haumia.</i>	Save us from nightmare, from bad-luck dreams, from omens of ill.
<i>Hemu oia.</i>	From such deliver us.
The people responded:	
<i>Hemu!</i>	Defend us!
The priest said:	
<i>Elieli!</i>	Speedily and entirely!
The people responded:	
<i>Noa!</i>	It is free!
The priest said:	
<i>Ia e!</i>	Oh, Ia!
The people responded:	
<i>Noa honua.</i>	Freedom complete, absolute.
[Malo 1951:209]	

With this the ceremony of purification was ended.

12. All the people slept that night about the sanctuary (*imua*). It was strictly forbidden for anyone to sneak away secretly to his own house to lie with his wife. They had to spend that night at the sanctuary in the observance of *tabu*.
13. When this service was performed the canoes could put to sea, and the pigs were then laid into the ovens for baking. On the return of the men with their fish, the *kahuna* having offered prayer, the pork, bananas, coconuts, and vegetables were laid upon the *lele*; and the function of the *kahuna* was ended.
14. After that, the people feasted themselves on the food, and religious services were discontinued by express command (*papa*), because the prayers had been repeated and the whole business was *noa*; fishing was now free to all.
15. Thus it was that fishermen, whether those who took the *aku* with the troll hook (the *pa*) or those who used nets, performed their ceremonies of worship. But the godless, *i.e.*, the irreligious or skeptical ones, went to their fishing without any religious ceremony whatever.
16. There was a great variety of implements, apparatus, and methods employed by fishermen; large nets and small nets, large baskets and small baskets; some used nets and some used hooks. Those who used nets sometimes dived under water with them while fishing, but those who used hooks did not dive, unless to clear the hook when it had caught in the reef, and then only if the water was shallow.
17. The following kinds of fishnets [and accessories]⁷ were used: the *papa-hului*, to surround a school of fish, in conjunction with a net called *au-mai-ewa*; the *aulau*; the *pakuikui*; the *papa-olewalewa*, the *laau melo-melo*, and possibly the *kahekahe*.
18. Of other nets there were the *kupo*, the *ka-waa*, the *kuu*, the *aei*, the *pouono*, the *akiikii*, the *luelue*, the *kaihi*, the *hano-malolo*, the *hano-iao*, the *kaeohua*, the *kaeepao*, the *kaili*, the *pahu*, and the *upena ululu*.⁸ Then, there was the *haoa-puhi*⁹ and *lawai upalupalu* (ordinary angling).¹⁰



19. Of arrangements of fishhooks, there was the *kaka*, used in taking the *ahi*; the *kahala*; the method called *kukaula*; the *luhee*; the *hi-aku*; the *ka-mokoi*; the *ku-mano*; the *lawaiia-palu*; the *haoa-puhi*; and the *lawaiia-upapalu*.¹¹
20. Of methods of basket fishing, there were the *kala* basket, the eel basket, the *hinai-houluulu*, the basket for taking *hinalea*,¹² the *kawaa* [Malo 1951:210] basket, the *paiohua* basket, and the *pai-oopu*.¹³ Probably some of the baskets have failed of mention.
21. Some fish were taken by diving for them. Of such were the turtle, the lobster, the *manini*, the *kala*, and others for which the fishermen dived when they saw them entering holes in the rocks.
22. There were some who engaged in fishing on a large scale and were called *lawaiia-nui*, while those who worked on a small scale were called *lawaiia-liilii*.
23. The professional fisherman, who worked on a large scale and was in comfortable circumstances, carried such tackle as hooks, lines, etc. in a calabash (*ipu*, the full name of which is *ipu-holoholona*). The petty fisherman, who worked on a small scale, carried his tucked away in the bight or knot (*hipuu*) of his *malo*, and such fishermen were called *lawaiia-pola-malo*.
24. The name *koa* or *koa-lawaiia* was applied to certain places in the deep sea where fish haunted. Thus the place where the *ahi* were wont to be found was called a *koa-ahi*; and that's where the *aku* or the *kahala* or *opelu* were to be found, was called a *koa-aku*, a *koa-kahala* or a *koa-opelu*, and so on.
25. These *koa-lawaiia* were so deep under water that the eye failed to perceive them, nor could the fish be seen when swimming over them, nor when they seized the hook. In order to find them, it was necessary to take one's bearings from the land. Two bearings were required; and where these were found to intersect, there was the *koa*, and there the fisherman let down his hook or his net.
26. When the fish took the hook, a quiver ran along the line and was communicated to the hand of the fisherman, whereupon he at once pulled in the line. Such was deep-sea fishing.
27. When the fish were in shoal water their presence could be detected, if it were a sandy bottom. Among the fishes that haunted waters with a sandy bottom were the *weke*, *oio*, *welea*, *akule*, and many other kinds of fish.
28. If it was on a bank that the fish were seen, then they were probably of the kind known as *maomao* or *palapala*.¹⁴
29. Some fish played about on the surface of the water, as did the flying fish (*malolo*), the *puhikii*, *uau*, *iheihe*, *kekee*, *aha*, and many others.
30. Some kinds of fish haunted caverns and holes, as did the shark, eel, lobster, squid and many others. There were fishermen who took every kind of fish except the whale; that was not taken by Hawaiian fishermen. [Malo 1951:211]

Notes on Chapter 40

¹ Sect. 2. In the *koi* method of fishing, a long, stiff pole was used, with a strong line and hook attached. The hook was baited, by preference, with a tough fish such as the *paoo*. The baited hook was then drawn back and forth over the surface of the water to attract the prey. From this word comes no doubt the familiar word *mokoi*, to angle with pole, hook, and line.

² Sect. 3. The *kuula* was generally a mere rude pile of stones, often placed on a promontory or elevation overlooking the sea. Coral or some sort of limestone was preferred to any other variety of stone. The altar itself was commonly called



a *koa*, *Kuula* being the name of the chief patron deity of fishermen. The number of gods and godlings worshipped by fishermen is too numerous for mention.

Altars of stone were erected and visible until a recent date at *Maliko*, *Honuaula*, *Oloalu*, and *Kaupo* on *Mauī*; on the island of *Kahoolawe* at *Kaena*; *Kaohai*, on *Lanai*; at *Waimea*, *Kalaeokaoio*, *Kualoa*, and *Waimanalo* on *Oahu*; at *Hanalei*, *Mana*, and *Molooa* on *Kauai*; and at very many other places. A notable place was at the promontory south-east of *Waimea*, *Oahu*.

3 Sect. 5. The Hawaiian word *alaea* shows the loss of consonants. The Tahitian word is *araca* [*araea*], the Maori, *karamea*.

4 Sect. 8. *Kaili* was the name of the fine-mouthed [meshed?] net used for taking the *opelu*. It was also called *aei*. The mouth of the net was kept open by means of two sticks of the elastic *ulei* wood. After the net had been let down under water, its mouth was made round by means of two lines that were attached to the ends of the sticks. On pulling these lines, the sticks were bent and the mouth of the net was drawn into a circular form.

5 Sect. 11. This prayer is very similar to that given in Chapter 27, section 13, and it seems to me that *he mu* should be written here as two separate words, as it is in that passage. Its meaning is discussed in the notes following chapter 5. (See also Chapter 37, section 30.)

6 Sect. 11. *Punohunohu* refers to clouds, especially the bright piled up clouds seen in early morning which were looked upon as ominous of something.

7 Sect. 17. The *au-mai-ewa* had a large mouth and was placed at the wings of the *papa-hului* to receive the fish that were gathered by the former. The *aulau* consisted of leaves thickly strung to a long line, used to pen up the fish and drive them to the net. The *pakuikui* net is laid in a hollow or ravine in the coral through which the fish must pass in their retreat seaward, the water being beaten at the same time to drive them towards the net. The *papa-olewalewa* was used in much the same way as the *pakuikui*, but in deep water and in conjunction with the *laau melomelo*, a clublike stick which, after being charred, was anointed with oils whose odor was attractive to the fish. It was thrust into the water to draw the fish by its fragrance. In the *kahekahe* method, a large net was placed in deep water in a place where the current or some opportunity for feeding caused the fish to assemble. Another method called by this same name was that in which the fish were attracted to the net by bait artfully strewn in the water.

8 Sect. 18. A long net stretched across the track of fish—one end being anchored in deep, the other in shoal, water—was called a *kupo*. The *ka-waa* was used in the deep sea, the fish being driven in by thrashing the water or pelting it with stones. *Kuu* was a generic name for almost any kind of net that was let down into the water. The *aei*, said to be the same as the *kaili*, is described in note 2. *Pouono* was a long net that was stretched across an ocean ravine or gully while men beat the water with sticks. The *akiikii* was of moderate size and used in ambuscading fish. The rocks in front of the net were upturned to give the fish a new feeding ground. After waiting awhile, the water was beaten to drive the fish toward the net. The [Malo 1951:212] *luelue* was also of moderate size. Bait was placed in it before it was let down into deep water, out of sight of the fisherman. At the point of juncture of the two lines which crossed the mouth of the net, where was attached the line to the fisherman's hand, was also attached a short line with bait at its free end. When the fisherman felt the line quiver from the entrance of the fish or from its pulling at the bait, he hauled up the net. The *kaihi*, said to be a fine-meshed net that took all kinds of fish, was similar to the *kaili*.



The *hano-malolo* was a long net held by two canoes while two others drove the fish into its open mouth. The *hano-iao* was a fine-meshed net for taking small fish to be used as bait. The *kaeeohua* was a small net that was held open by means of two sticks held in the hands of the fisherman. It was used in shoal water. The *kaeepaoo* was the same as the *kaeeohua*, except that it had but one stick for a handle. Some say it had fine meshes and was used only in shoal water and over a sandy bottom to take all kinds of fish, a grab-all. The *pahu* net, two or three fathoms long, was used by two men in shoal water who, at the same time, thrashed with long sticks at the wings of the net to drive in the fish. The *uluulu* is described as a small net having two sticks to open its mouth, one of which was held in each hand. With this the fisherman dived deep down under water.

9 Sect. 18. The *haoa-puhi* was a short piece of hard wood, tapering to a sharp point at each end, with a line attached to its middle; it was baited and lashed to the end of a stick that served as a handle, by means of which it was thrust into the hiding places of the eel. On being swallowed by the fish, the line was drawn taut, and the *haoa* was turned crosswise in the gullet of the fish.

10 Sect. 18. *Upalupalu* was ordinary angling. When the baited hook was thrown, as in fly fishing, to a particular spot on the surface of the water, it was called *pa aeo*.

11 Sect. 19. In the *kaka* arrangement a number of hooks were attached to a single line; much used in deep-sea fishing. In the *kahala* method, a net of very strong cord was used to take the shark; called also the *hihi-mano*. In the *kukaula* method, the canoe was anchored in water said not to exceed ten fathoms in depth, that being about the length of line at which the pull of a fish taking the hook could be detected at once by the hand of the fisherman. They did, however, fish at greater depths than this. *Luhee* was a method of squidding in which a large cowry, coupled with a stone sinker, was attached to the hook, the color and lustre of the shell offering an irresistible fascination to the octopus. The instrument itself was called *leho-hee*. *Hi-aku* was the use of the *pa* in trolling for *aku*, *pa-hi-aku* being the full name for the instrument. It consists of a hook of human bone fixed to a plate of mother-of-pearl. Various modifications of this trolling hook are found in the different islands of the Pacific. *Ka-mokoi* was ordinary fishing with hook, line, and rod. *Ku-mano* was taking the shark with bait and a noose. *Lawaia-palu* was attracting fish by means of bait scattered on the water. In the *lawaia-upapalu* method, as in fly fishing, the hook was thrown to a desired spot.

12 Sect. 20. The *hinai-houluulu* was a basket with which a fisherman dove under water to take certain fish. The *hinalea* is a small fish much esteemed for its flavor.

13 Sect. 20. The *pai-oopu* was a hat-shaped basket used to take the *oopu*, a sweet and delicate fish found in mountain streams and fresh water ponds. It is called *kokopu* in New Zealand.

14 Sect. 28. *Maomao* or *palapala*: The fish of this or allied species of fishes were marked with stripes or patches of bright color, like ripe autumn leaves, one being the *lauhau*. [Malo 1951:213]



II. *Na Hana a ka Po'e Kahiko (The Works of The People of Old)*

Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, one of the early preeminent native Historians wrote detailed descriptions of traditional and customary practices associated with fishing in the 1860s-1870s. A wide range of narratives compiled by Kamakau (1961, 1968 and 1976, translated by Kawena Pukui), are cited below, and describe the foundational basis of Hawaiian management, use, and reverence of aquatic resources:

The Waters

Water flowing from the mountainside is called a *kahena wai* or a *kahawai*, a watercourse or stream. The spot from which water begins to flow is the *po'owai*; it is the source of the water... Where the water of a slow moving stream, a *muliwai*, meets the sea is called a *nuku muliwai*... [1976:10] the mouth of a shallow rushing stream, a *kahawai*, is called a *nuku kahawai*... The area near the sea, *makai* of a village or a group of houses, is called *kalawa kahaone*, curve of beach, or *kahaone manawanawa*, beach with *manawanawa* plants, or *kahaone pohuehue*, beach with *pohuehue* plants, or *kahaone mahikihiki*, beach with *mahikihiki* grass. The part of the beach where *'ohiki* crabs live is the *one wai*, wet sand. These terms apply only to low stretches of sandy beaches; the terms for rocky shorelines are different.

The Seas

Ka po'e kahiko distinguished by name the waters along the coast, out to sea, and to the deep ocean. The place on land where waves break and spread is the *lihi kai* or *'ae kai*, edge of the sea. Where they wash over the land is called *pahola*, *hohola*, or *palaha* ("spread"), and the place where they break and spread toward land is called *pu'eone* or *po'ina nalu* or *po'ina a kai*.

The overall term for a place where shallow seas come in without rising [into breakers] is *kai kohola* or just *kohola* (the shallow sea within the reef). The water on the *mauka*, or land, side of the *kohola* is called the *kai 'elemihi* [for the *'elemihi* crabs that are to be found there]; the *makai*, or seaward, side of the *kohola* is called the *kai haha papa'i* (the sea in which to feel for *papa'i* crabs). The *mauka* part is also called *kai kahekaheka* [because of the many small salt-collecting sea pools], or *kai ki'oki'o* [because water remains in the rocky basins after the tide goes down], or *hapuna* [for the puddles of standing water]. Seaward of this area are the *kai hele ku*, the sea for wading; the *papa he'e*, the octopus grounds; the *kai 'ohua*, feeding grounds of young fishes; and the *kai 'au kohana*, the sea for bathing naked.

Then comes the *kai he'e nalu*, surf-riding sea, or *kua'au*, and the *po'ina nalu*, or *po'ina*, where the waves break. Just beyond this surf line is the area called *kua nalu*, back of the wave, or *kulana*, pitch and toss, and then the *kai kea*, white sea; or *kai lu'u*, sea for diving; or *kai paeaea*, sea for pole fishing. Outside of there are the areas of the *kai 'o leho* and *kai 'okilo he'e*, sea for octopus fishing; the *kai kaka uhu*, sea for netting *uhu*; the *kai ka'ili*, sea for fishing with hook and line; and the *kai lawai'a*, sea for [deep sea] fishing.

Just before the sea becomes very dark is the *kai lu he'e*, the sea in which to catch octopuses with lures, and where the sea is very dark blue is the *kai malolo* and *kai hi aku*, the sea in which to fish for *malolo* and *aku*. Outside of there are the *ko'a hi kahala* and *ko'a hi 'ahi*, the fishing grounds, *ko'a*, for *kahala* and *'ahi*. Beyond is the ocean, *moana*, called *lepo* or *lewa* or *lipo*—the dark blue-purple sea of Kane, *kai Popolohua mea a Kane*—that extends to the clouds on the horizon.

Where the sea is a very dark blue it is called the *kai popolohua mea a Kane*...; [1976:11] where it is white [with foam] it is called *kai ke'oke'o*; where it becomes reddish colored, like *'alaea*, it is called *kai 'ula'ula*; where it becomes yellowish colored, like *'olena*, it is called *kai lenalena*. A sea that is mottled or streaked is a *kai ma'oki'oki*. Where the sea is



calm and tranquil it is called *kai malino* or *kai pohu* or *kai paeaea*; where it floats in puddles it is called *kai kaheka* or *kai ki'o* or *kai hapuna*.

A sea where waves each break up into individual waves (*po'i pakahi*), is called a *kai kulana* and, if they break into innumerable waves (*po'i kuakini*), a *kai ko'o* rough sea, or *nalu ku ka halelo* (jagged waves). Where waves dash against points of land the sea is called *kai maka lae*; where they dash against cliff bases it is called *kai kuehu*. Where waves break in a cave or crevice and blowout forcibly is called *kai puhi*, or just *puhi*, "blowhole," and where the sea goes up and down within a crevice is called *mimilo* or *mimiki* or *'a'aka*.

A sea that extends inland and is almost surrounded by land is a *kai haloko* or *kai puhi lala*; one that extends inland but is wide open on one side is a *kai ku'ono*. One that is entirely surrounded by land is a *loko kai*, lagoon, or *haloko kai*, sea pond, or *loko pa'akai* or *loko li'u*, salt pond. The sea that flows into a *loko* is a *kai hi*, and the sea that evaporates in the sun is a *kai ho'olu'u* or *kai pa'akai* (a sea that stores or makes salt).

Sea water in a dish, *pa*, is called *kai penu* or *kai miki*, "sopping gravy ." Sea water in a basin is called *kai ku*, *kaikuehu*, or *kaikea*; these names apply to sea water used for enemas.⁶

The Waves

Here is something further. That which swells and rolls in "furrows" (*'aii kawahawaha*) just *makai* of the surf line (*kua'au*) is a *nalu*, a wave. A wave that breaks along its entire length is a *kai palala*, *nalu palala*, or *lau loa*; if it breaks on one side, that is a *nalu muku*. A wave that is sunken inward when breaking (*po'opo'o iloko ke po'i ana*) is a *nalu halehale* (cavernous wave) [called "tube" by modern surfers]; one that draws up high is a *nalu puki*; one that does not furrow or break is an *'aio*, a swell; one that sinks down just as it was about to break is a *nalu opu'u*. A wave that swirls and "eats away" [the sand] (*po'ai 'onaha*) is a *nalu 'a'ai* or *'ae'i*; one that rolls in diagonally (*waiho 'ao'ao mai*) is a *nalu kahela*.

Where waves meet at one place because of some rise on the sea bottom—or a mass of coral heads perhaps—is called a *pu'ao* and where they break constantly at coral heads they are called *nalu ko'aka*.

The "furrows" (*kawahawaha*) of the ocean that are stirred up by the wind become waves called *'ale*, billows or *ni'au*; a swell that blows off above (*pu'o iluna*) and breaks below (*po'i iho*) is an *'ale ni'au*. A long swell, *aio*, that breaks and spreads in (*po'i pahola mai*) is an *'ale lau loa*; long swells that break in lines [in sets] are *'ale kualono*. A swell that twists about and breaks here and breaks there in an agitated manner (*kupikipiki'o ka po'i ana*) is an... [1976:12] *'ale wiliau*, and when many swells break agitatedly against points or capes of land they are called *'ale wiliau maka lae*.

The [little] swell that "grows" (*kupu*) [occurs] close to the *ama*, or float, of a canoe and keeps curling is called an *'ale kuloko*, a "local" swell, or *'ale hu'e*, a "flowing" swell. The one that curls under the forward outrigger boom, *kua 'iako mua*, is called the *'ale hu'e i mua*, the flowing swell in front; and the one that curls at the rear *'iako* is called the *'ale hu'e i hope*, the flowing swell in back. The swell that curls in front of the canoe is the *'ale po'i i ka ihu*, the swell curling at the "nose"; the double curl (*po'i palua*) at the middle of the canoe is called the *'ale kawa* or *ale kapo* or *'ale pani*, and the swell that curls "outside" (*mawaho*) [behind] the canoe is called the *'ale uha*.



The Tides

Here again is something further. As the sea rises it is called *kai holo*, or *kai pi'i*, running or rising sea [tide]. When very full (*nui*) [high tide], it is called *kai nui* or *kai piha* or *kai hohonu*—big or full or deep sea. When it stops rising [mid tide] it is called *kai ku*, standing sea, or *kai apo*, surrounding sea, or *kai holuholu*, rippling sea. As the sea recedes it is called *kai moku*, “cut” sea, or *kai emi*, ebbing sea, and when the shallow sea floor is exposed (*waiho ka papa hohola*) it is called *kai malo'o* “dry” sea, or *kai make*, “dead” sea; or *kai 'a'aka*, “parched” sea [low tide]. If the sea rises high and then recedes it is a *kai ho'e'e*, “mounting” sea, and *kai mimiki*, receding [or sucking] sea, and if the land is covered over by the sea (*a i uhi 'ia ka honua e ke kai*) it is a *kai a ka hulumanu*, or *kai a kahinali'i*.⁷ [1976:13]

The Months

...This calendar was set down in ancient times by the people of Oahu and Kauai who were skilled in arranging the year. The calendars of Hawaii and Maui were different...

...*Ka'elo*, the third month, was named for the drenching—'elo'elo—by chilly seas and sudden showers, *kuaua*. During this month “*ai*” (*poi*) was eaten with the first *malolo* fish of the season; food calabashes were full, and *malolo* were so plentiful that fishermen's containers were full to the brim...

...*Nana*, the fifth month, was the month when the fledglings left their nests and flew off. It was the month called *Koa'e-au* (“floating *koa'e*”), and fine-meshed fishnets, 'upena lu'elu'e, and 'auhuhu fish poison [were brought out]. *Nana* was a “proud” [productive] month (*malama ha'aheo*).

Welo, the sixth month, was so named because then the land was parched by the sun, little rain having fallen between *Welehu* and *Nana*, and water was low—*welowelo iki*—in the streams. This is the month to catch octopuses with lures. And how delicious they are when hung out to dry in the sun until the tips of the “streamers” [tentacles]—welowelo—are thin and... [1976:15] hard! That is why the month was called *Welo*; and *Welo* was the last month of the *Makali'i* season.

Ikiiki was the first month of the springing up of new growth (*'oilo*). It was called *Ikiiki* for the stifling heat—*ikiiki*—of the sun because of there having been so much sun from the last months of the *Makali'i* season to the beginning of the *Ho'oilo*. So it was called *Ikiiki* for the *ikiiki* of the sun, and also for the acute discomfort, *ikiiki*, caused by eating so much of the plentiful “food” and “fish”,¹⁴ and because of the humidity, *ikiiki*, at times.

Ka'aona, the second month of *Ho'oilo*, was named for the darts made of sugar cane tassel stems, the *pua ke'a*. In this month, the tasseled stems, *pua*, of the sugar cane appeared, and the old men went and pulled the new *pua* from their sheaths and left them in a smokehouse, *hale uahi*, until they were black. When the blackness [soot] was washed off, they were yellowed, and they were then called *pua ka'aona* (*pua* darkened by smoking). Fish were plentiful in the *Makali'i* season and they were packed up and put in *hokeo* and *hulilau* gourds. In *Ka'aona*, when the sugar cane tasseled, the first of the bad winds blew, beginning with the Kona wind; then the containers of fish were brought out and the bundles of dried fish opened up. The fish had become as yellow as the *pua ka'aona*. And so the month was named *Ka'aona*...

...*Hilinehu*, the fifth month of *Ho'oilo*, was also called *Hilina-a-ka-i'a-iki* (*Hilina* of small fish), because storms filled the ocean with mud and fishermen could not catch any fish in the ocean. They could only get a few *'ohiki* and *'a'ama* crabs and *alealea* shells and had to depend on the fish in the ponds such as those found on Oahu and Molokai and Kauai.



As for sea fishing, the ocean was so stormy that *puna* coral was washed up on the beach, filling the holes of the *'ohiki* so that no bait could be found. *Limu* that washed ashore and a little salt was all there was, and because of this "lean eating" (*'ai pa'akai*) the month was called *Hilinehu* [drooping, *hili*, of the people *nehunehu*].

'ikuwa, the sixth month of *Ho'oilō*, was named for the crash—*'ikuwa*—of heavy thunder, with much rain and lightning. This was the month when the land was furrowed (*mokupawa*) [by freshets] and water flowed from the mountainside in streams. This last month was called... [1976:16] *Lawe-wai* (Water-carrier), because of so much water; *Pilika'aiea* (close to exhaustion), because of the thunder and the gasping for breath (*pili o ka hanu*); and *Hinamahuie* because of the thunder and lightning. *Lonomakua* was another name for this month. Sometimes the thunder and lightning were so strong as to break down huge forest trees and knock down houses and kill people. At such times it was customary among some Oahu people to appeal to the thunder to go and "eat" (*'ai*) of the forest groves at Wahiawa and of the fishes in Uko'a pond at Waialua... [1976:17]

The Cultivation of Olona

Olona was highly prized by one and all. It was very valuable for trading, and planters raised it extensively. It was the main item in obtaining fish, for out of it were made nets, long fishing lines, ropes, every kind of binding cord of which man had use, and other things besides. There are, however, few places where *olona* will grow, and hence not all people cultivated *olona*. It grows in rainy areas, in marshy places, and in those parts of the mountains that are always mossy from water and rain. It does not grow on dry mountainsides, but in those areas where bananas grow, and where water flows constantly, and there is plenty of moisture. It thrives on the windward sides of the islands and in a few other places besides...

...When the planter saw that the *olona* was mature, he built sheds (*halau kahi olona*) in which to scrape it. The proper place was near water; a place without water was not suitable for the work. When the sheds were finished, the people who were to scrape the *olona*—men, women and children—went up there. *Olona* was an article of barter for "food" and "fish," valuables, and necessities. Upon hearing that the sheds were built, the *olona* had been broken and the scraping begun, farmers would feed a pig, or fatten a dog, or fish for *kahala*, and go up there. The grunting of pigs, the barking of dogs, the crowing of cocks, the creaking of the burdens of fish, were [1976:44] sounds of wealth to the *olona* scrapers. If the property belonged to a land holder (*haku*), the *konoiki*, his land agent, received the pigs, the "food" and the "fish." Thus it was done in the olden times... [1976:45]

The Cultivation of Fish

Fishponds, *loko i'a*, were things that beautified the land, and a land with many fishponds was called a "fat" land (*'aina momona*). They date from very ancient times. Some freshwater ponds, *loko wai*, were made when the earth was made, but most of the *loko i'a* and the shore ponds, *loko kuapa*, were made by *ka po'e kahiko*.²⁵ The making of the walls (*kuapa*) of the shore ponds was heavy work, and required the labor of more than ten thousand men. Some of these fishponds covered an area of sixty or seventy acres, more or less. Walls had to be made on the seaward side sometimes in deep water and sometimes in shallow, and many stones were needed.

Many *loko kuapa* were made on Oahu, Molokai, and Kauai, and a few on Hawaii and Maui. This shows how numerous the population must have been in the old days, and how they must have kept the peace, for how could they have worked together in unity and made these walls if they had been frequently at war and in opposition one against another? If they did not eat the fruit of their efforts how could they have let the *awa* fish



grow to a fathom in length; the 'anae to an iwilei (yard); the ulua to a meter or a muku (four and one half feet); the aholehole until its head was hard as coral (ko'a ka lae); and the 'o'opu until their scales were like the uhu? Peace in the kingdom was the reason that the walls could be built, the fish could grow big, and there were enough people to do this heavy work.

While Kamehameha I ruled, he worked on the ponds of Kalepolepo and Haneo'o. All the men and women of East Maui worked at Haneo'o and all the men and women of West Maui at Kalepolepo. It was not Kamehameha, however, who made these ponds; they were made long before, by *ka po'e kahiko*. He only repaired them. When he saw that the stone wall on the south side of Kalepolepo pond had broken down, he mended that wall. It took several months of work. So also at Haneo'o and at Kiholo on Hawaii; it took some ten thousand men to rebuild them. Yet Kamehameha's work on these ponds was not more than a quarter of the work done by *ka po'e kahiko* who built them—and these were not large ponds like those of Oahu and Molokai.

The making of fishponds and their walls is very ancient. It is known which chiefs built some of them, but the majority of their builders is not. [1976:47]

When the stone walls of the *kuapa* shore ponds were completed, then the task remained to find the proper wood for the sluice gate, the *makaha*. This was selected by the *kahuna* of the '*aumakua* who increased the fish in the ponds (*kahuna 'aumakua ho'oulu i'a loko kuapa*). The wood was '*ohi'a 'ai* or *lama* or some other suitable wood. When the wood for the *makaha* was ready, and the proper day had arrived for its construction, the *kahuna* was fetched to set up the first piece of timber. For this important duty he offered a pig or a dog suitable to this work of inspiring the increase of fish, and prayers appropriate to this work. Then he reached for a timber and set it up for the *makaha* and offered the *pule ho'onoa* [the prayer that released the *kapu* and allowed the work to proceed]. Then the men built the *makaha*, binding it together with '*ie* cords.* After that they arranged (*ho'onohono*) foundation stones with the *makaha* and poured in pebbles. It was in this way that all *makaha* were made.

It was tabu for menstruating women to walk on the *kuapa* walls lest the walls be defiled. After five or six months fish would begin to be seen in the *loko kuapa*. During the high tides of 'Ole ('*Ole kai nui*) the people who took care of the pond would rejoice to see the fish moving toward the *kuapa* walls, like waves of a rough sea, until the sluice, *makaha*, was filled with fish. If the depth of the water at the sluice were a yard or more, the width of the *makaha* an *anana*, and the thickness of the *kuapa* walls an *anana*, this area would be filled with fish, piled one over the other until the fish at the top were dry; if a stone were placed on them it would not sink.

The usual fishes (*kama'aina*) in the ponds were the *awa*, '*anae*, *awa'aua*, *haku*, *aholehole*, '*o'opu*, '*opae*, *puhi*, and other fishes accustomed to living in ponds. But as a result of the prayers of the *kahuna*, some fishes that were not accustomed to living in ponds came in; such fishes as *ulua*, *kahala*, '*o'io*, *palani*, *kumu*, *uhu*, *manini*, *puwalu*, and some other kinds. The *loko kuapa* would be filled with all kinds of fish. They would cause ripples against the walls, like waves, and this made glad the "hearts" (*na'au*) of the keepers of the pond and of the chiefs whose pond it was (*na li'i nona ka loko*). "The land has life," *Ola ka 'aina*, the keepers would say to them, and they would be as pleased as though they were victorious warriors. The caretakers of the pond could eat of the *aholehole*, *awa'aua*, *kaku*, '*o'opu-hue*, '*o'opu*, and the '*opae* openly—but the fishes reserved for the chiefs they would eat secretly.

On the nights of high tides every keeper slept by the *makaha* of which he had charge. It was the custom to build small watch houses from which to guard the fish from being



stolen at high tide, or from being killed by pigs and dogs; when the tides receded the fish would return to the middle of the pond, out of reach of thieves. On these nights, the keeper would dip his foot into the water at the *makaha* and if the sea pressed in like a stream and [1976:48] felt warm, then he knew that the sluice would be full of fish. The fish would scent the fresh sea and long for it. I have seen them become like wild things. Where the fish had been raised like pet pigs, they would crowd to the *makaha*, where the keepers felt of them with their hands and took whatever of them they wanted—*awa*, *'anae*, *'o'io*, or whatever. During certain months, when the sun was warm and the Kona wind—or the wind customary then at the pond—blew, the *makaha* would be filled with fish, for they persistently went into fresh winds. That was when the fish were taken to be eaten, for if they were left they would die, and a stench arise. That was the time the chiefs' fish were taken to them, and the time when fish were traded.

Pu'uone ponds and taro patch ponds, *loko i'a kalo*, belonged to commoners, land holders, and land agents, the *maka'ainana*, *haku*, and *konohiki*. The ponds cultivated for a chief, *pu'uone haku ko'ele*, belonged to the holder of the land, *haku 'aina*, as did the taro patch ponds [on *ko'ele* lands].

The *pu'uone* ponds near the sea (*loko kai pu'uone*) were much desired by farmers, and these ponds they stocked (*ho'oholo*) with fish. *Pu'uone* ponds were close to shore ponds, *loko kuapa*, or to the seashore, and next to the mouths (*nuku*) of streams. The farmer cleared away the *mokae* sedges, *'aka'akai* bulrushes, and the weeds, and deepened the pond, piling up the muck on the sides, until he had a clean pond. Then he stocked it with *awa* and fish fry, *pua i'a*—two or three gourds full—until the pond was full of fish. After two or three years the fish from the first gourd would have grown to a *ha'ilima* (18 inches) in length. The offering of sweet potatoes [made when the pond was first stocked] was a service to the *'aumakua* (*he hana 'aumakua*). If there were no such service, the grubs of freshwater creatures, *mo'o*, and dragonflies would take over, and there would be either no fish at all or else maimed and sickly fish that would soon die. He who assumes he is superior to the *mana* of his gods shall be smitten with thistles—as was Auwae, who assumed he had such *mana* himself.

When the farmer saw that there were many fish in the pond, and that the water had become yellow, he went upland to fetch *lama* wood and *uluhe* ferns for a *makaha* grating. He made several bundles, tied them with *'ie* vines, and returned to the seacoast. Then he wove (*haku*) the sticks and ferns together, tying them with *'ie* vines, until he had a *makaha* a yard (*iwilei*) or more in width. If he had two or three *pu'uone*, he made as many *makaha*. When the high-tide days came he kindled a fire, and when that was done, he went to break down the dam in the outlet to the sea (*e wahi i ke kumano o ka 'auwai kai*). First he set up the *makaha* securely, packing mud around it to hold it in place. When the sea washed in over the *'akulikuli*, *ilioha*, and the *hinahina* plants on the shore, and the *makaha* was found to be set firmly in place, he broke down the dam on the sea-washed side, and the sea water entered the *pu'uone*. As it entered, the fish scented the fresh sea, and the *awa* and the other fishes went toward it, crowding one over the other until the backs of some of them were exposed to the sun. The farmer's heart [1976:49] rejoiced; he would take the fish in his hands and fondle them. Those with short tail sections, and backs humped and blunt with fat were most liked for eating, and he took what he wished of them.

This is how the farmers of old took care of the *pu'uone* fishponds. Some *pu'uone* had fish that reached to a yard and more in length. If sea water was made to enter the fresh water at times, the fish would grow more rapidly, and they would be delicious and full of fat.



On Oahu and on Kauai, and to some extent on other islands, it was customary to use taro patches as fishponds for such fishes as the *awa*, *'anae*, *'o'opu*, *aholehole*, and *'opae 'oeha'a*. Some were put in (*ho'oholo*), and some came up through the *makaha*. The taro in such ponds was planted in mounds, each separated from the other, leaving spaces and channels where the fish could swim about. They fed upon the ripened stalks of the taro, and quickly acquired size. Fish of the taro patch ponds gave life to the husband, the wife, the children, and to the whole family, *'ohana*. When anyone was hungry, the wife could get a few *'o'opu*, or *'opae*, or *aholehole*, and some taro leaves to relieve the hunger. If a *malihini* or the *haku 'aina* arrived in the dark of night, the dwellers were prepared; they could quickly get some of the fish (*mo'o mahi*) that had grown fully developed scales and hard heads and the storage container of poi. Then the poi, the *awa*, and the *'anae* were placed in front of the *malihini* or the *haku 'aina*—or friends, perhaps.

Thus they lived in the old days, and that is why the “native sons” (*keiki papa*) of places that had taro patches and *pu'uone* fishponds loved the lands where they dwelt. There would be salted fish, too, in containers of large taro leaves. When one awoke in the morning and was ready to eat, the fish was brought forth and the wrappings opened up; the taro leaves would have wilted and the fish would be shaped like pig tusks. They were laid in a food bowl and one ate until he was full. So too did the native sons love the lands where the freshwater ponds, *loko wai*, were, for they furnished them with fresh *'opae*, crisp *limu-kala-wai*, reddish *'o'opu* roe, and *lu'au*. The people of the old days who lived on such lands lacked nothing.* [1976:50]

Methods of Fishing

THE HAWAIIAN PEOPLE were a race of expert fishermen. The art had been handed down from their ancestors. Agriculture and fishing were the two main professions always passed on by the grandparents to the boys—and at the same time they taught them that thievery and idleness are disgraceful.

The fishing profession was an important one, and one that could not be undertaken without supplies of canoes, nets, and fishing lines. If a fisherman were a landholder or a chief, or a descendant of a fisherman, or a son in a family which had *'aumakua* of fishing, then he could be a true fisherman with no lack of long canoes, short canoes, light, swift canoes, large and small nets, and long and short fishing lines. He would have everything he needed, and there would be nothing to stop him.

Some kinds of fishing required a fleet of canoes, many nets, and many men; other kinds needed only two, three, or four men, and some, only one man. Some ways of fishing were much work, and some were very easy. Fish was obtained in greatest quantity with nets. Other main ways of fishing were, with basket traps; with hook and line; by prodding about with a stick; by feeling about and grasping by hand or ensnaring between the fingers; by striking loose with stones [the *'opihī*]; and by drugging fish. A man could also fish with his hands, or with crab or shrimp nets, or with a pole from a ledge or the seashore, or catch fish in tide pools with a scoop net, or go along the seashore with a net, or set a fish line; or search for fish with a small basket trap; or draw a net over sandy spots in the sea or up onto the shore; or drive fish into nets by splashing; or with a pole. But these were not expert ways of fishing; they were just for the taking of fish to make living more pleasurable—to have something for the family and guests to [1976:59] eat with their poi. Superior to these ways were fishing with long lines and by diving.

The fishing that is done quickly (*lawai'a kupalale*) [by groups of people] included *lau lele* and *lau 'apo* fishing [with *lau* rope and net assemblies]; *kolo* fishing [sweeping an immense bag net across a sandy bottom]; *'aumaiewa* fishing [a type of *lau* fishing]; fishing for *malolo* with *'upena malolo* [a form of bag net]; *ka 'anae* and *kai paki* fishing



[driving fish, such as mullet, 'anae, into nets by slapping the water]; mass poisoning of fish ('auhau hola moku); fishing with a wide-mouthed bag net (papa wahanui); and fishing with the 'upena ku'u akule [gill nets such as that for akule].¹

The kinds of nets suitable for fishing from one, two, or more canoes were, the 'a'ei nets [or 'upena nae kuku; fine-meshed bag nets with side sticks] for 'opelu, maomao and kumu fishes; the 'a'ei mououo [or 'upena pououo; two-finger mesh dip nets, for young uhu and kahala fishes]; the 'upena kaka uhu and 'upena kaka 'opule [dip nets for uhu and 'opule fishes]; and the [one-finger mesh dip net called] 'upena lu'elu'e. There were many kinds of nets; some that were alike could be used for different kinds of fishes, and others were for only certain fishes. As fishing was done by ka po'e kahiko so it is done now—it is impossible to improve upon their methods.

The following methods of fishing were all [basically] the same: paku'iku'i, ho'auau, kawa'a, hahau, 'alihilele, kahekahe, kapuni, and ho'omoemoe. Long nets were let down and the ends drawn in to form an arc, a semicircle, or a complete circle. The nets had one-finger, makahi; two-finger, malua; three-finger, makolu; four-finger plus, mahae; hand-size, malewa; and larger than hand-size, hihi, mesh.² Some were from ten to twenty fathoms long, and others from thirty to a hundred fathoms long and from one to three anana³ or more in width, according to the type of fishing and the size of the fish to be caught.

Some people can fish with nets and others cannot. Some who can use mullet nets or kolo nets, or akule nets, and some who are accustomed to fishing in the shallow and calm waters inside the reef—or just outside the reef—cannot fish in the deep blue sea called kaiuli, or kai o'o. As has been said before, there are many kinds of net fishing, and fishermen do not use the same methods in shallow seas, kai papa'u, as in the kaiuli. Fishing in shallow seas or in dazzling seas, kai oleha, is called ihu pohue (“gourd nose”) or kukui 'oa (“cracked kukui nut”) fishing—it requires no more than just floating about on the surface of the sea.

Bag Nets

Some of the bag nets, papa, were the papa lau lele, papa lau 'apo, papa 'aumaiewa, papa wahanui, papa ho'olewalewa, papa lu'u maomao, papa lu'u uhu, papa 'ohua nukunui, and the 'upena melomelo. Some were very long, some short, and some very small.

The lau lele, lau 'apo, wahanui, ho'olewalewa, and melomelo nets were similar [1976:60] to the papa nets. This is how they were made.⁴ These “floored nets” (upena hali'i olalo) were made of thick cord—like the cord used for the carrying nets of large gourds—made of olona and of ua,⁵ with meshes of one and a half, makahi hoene, to two fingers, malua,

¹ For other descriptions of nets and methods of fishing see Beckley (1883), Buck (1957, pp. 285-363), Fornander (1919, Vol. 6, pp. 176-191), Kahaulelio (1902), Titcomb (1952), Stokes (1906), Cobb (1902, pp. 396-407). Definitions and explanations bracketed in the text have been derived from these sources. Descriptions in Beckley and Kahaulelio are comparable to Kamakau's, and supply minor details not footnoted in the text. Buck describes the techniques of the manufacture of nets, hooks, and traps.

² Mesh sizes from Pukui and Elbert (1957).

³ See Note 3, Part Two.

⁴ Stokes (1906, pp. 160-161) and Kahaulelio (1902, February 28) give descriptions of this type of net. Kahaulelio says the puhi iki was the middle net of the three nets that joined together to form the large bag net ('upena papa) used in lau fishing. The first net, which he calls puhi nui, he says was the main funnel. Stokes says that “stretching the honua [hali'i] wide are sticks called puhi. “Because of conflicting definitions and the fact that Kamakau did not define the terms he used, Hawaiian terminology has been retained in the following passage.

⁵ “Ua as a Hawaiian plant is not listed; it is, however, the Samoan name for the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), and may have been used by Kamakau instead of its Hawaiian name, wauke. Kahaulelio (1902, February 28) also says that wauke was used.



in size. The meshes were many like the openings in the coral in the ocean. From the mouth, the *waha*, to the *puhi nui*, the floor or *hali'i*, widened; from the *puhi nui* to the *puhi iki* it decreased again until the width at the *puhi iki* was the same as that at the mouth of the net. Then the floor extended from the *huli* [neck of the end pocket] to the *pupu* [rim of the end pocket, mole]. The *hali'i olalo* or "floored net" was like a triangle. If the mouth were three *anana* wide, the *puhi nui* would be almost four *anana*, and the *puhi iki* three. From the mouth to the pocket at the far end, the *mole*, the net would be fifteen or twenty *anana* long and some less.

Thick ropes of *hau* bark, called *kio*, were laid on either side of the floor from the mouth to the end pocket, mole, and then nets were joined onto the sides. These nets for the sides were of one- to two-finger mesh depending on the strength of the cord. Forward of the *huli*, there was a small net with slightly larger mesh to let in light so that the fish would mistake the light [spaces] for a network of coral and would come into the large front part of the net, the *papa*. The [height of the] nets at the sides was from two fathoms and a yard to three *anana*, and the width of the net that arched over them was the same as that of the floor. The sections were fitted together, spread smoothly, and laced together (*kauli a pau*) all around. The coarse nets with meshes three-finger in size, or twice that, just above the sides and below the mouth of the *papa*, the front portion, made it possible to draw up the mouth quickly. Floats, *pikoi*, placed from the *waha* to the *huli*, raised the net above the *hali'i* and, with the ocean inside, the net looked like a *hale halau* in the sea.

When the net was finished, *kukui* bark for dyeing was prepared, and the net immersed until it was brownish-red and then hung up to dry. This ended the work of making the net.

On the day before going fishing a feast for the new net was prepared, consisting of pig, dog, fowl, bananas, sugar cane, *mokopi'i* taro, sweet potatoes, and 'awa. The pig and the other things suitable for baking were cooked in an *imu*, the 'awa was chewed, and the feast laid. Then a prayer was uttered to the gods, in which were named those 'aumakua of fishing who were related to this fisherman descendant of theirs. The main 'aumakua of fishermen were Ku'ula, a great fisherman of ancient times; Hinahale, to whom the 'ohua fish in the sea were said to belong; Kanemakua, one of the forms (*kino*) of Kane in the sphere of fishing who "possessed" (*noho maluna*) a man by the name of Kanemakua in ancient times; "the coconut shell of Kapukapu," *ka puniu o Kapukapu*⁶; and, for some fishermen, Kinilau, and for others, Kaneko'a. There were a great many fishing 'aumakua, each related to his descendants, and each raised above [all others] by his own descendants.

When the feast was over the fisherman lay down to sleep under *tabu* [1976:61] (*moe kapu*) and while dozing he would be shown the fortune he was to have the next day. He would rouse up with eager anticipation, and the men would hear the indistinct voice of the fisherman undoing evil influences (*kala ana*) and bringing blessings for the next day. The net would need to surround the fish but once—whether it be a *lau lele*, *'aumaiewa*, *lau 'apo* or a *papa lau wahanui* net—and the canoes would be filled with fish. One or two canoes—or even ten or twenty—would not be enough for the haul. There would be so many fish that they would set up a stench, and would have to be fed to the pigs and dogs; there would be too many to cut open, salt, and dry. Some would even be used as "firewood" (*wahie*) to cook others. Such was the fishing of *ka po'e kahiko*; they were experts. There are no fishermen like that today—now their net fishing is just indiscriminate fishing (*kahi 'upena laukua*).

⁶ "The coconut shell of Kapukapu" is a poetic epithet for the goddess Hina who, as Hina-ke-ka, took the form of a canoe bailer made of coconut shell, *puniu*. Compare Beckwith (1951, pp. 123, 127).



Bag Net Fishing With Melomelo Stick

The *ho'olewalewa*, or *melomelo*, bag net was a diving net, *'upena lu'u*, used in waters of ten fathoms, more or less, in depth. The fishes that were dived for were the *maomao*, *weke*, *kumu*, *uhu*, *kolekolea*, *pala*, *ma'i'i*, *pualu*, *ka'aha*, *manini*, *'opule*, and many other kinds. The places at which to use the net were the *ko'a*, the fishing grounds, where it was known that fish lived. There were a great many *ko'a* known to *ka po'e kahiko*—so well known that names were given to them. These became *ko'a 'aina*, fishing grounds to provide food. When a fisherman went out to search for places frequented by fish he first looked for a good bottom where he could lay his net; when he found one, this became his *ko'a 'aina*.

In the evening of a day that was calm, he would propose to his fellow fishermen that they go fishing the next day. "What kind of fishing?" they would ask. "Diving." They would know this called for experienced fishing (*he lawai'a ihu o'o keia*; literally, "matured nose" fishing). The next morning they would come with ropes to his canoe landing and tie stones onto the lower, *'alihi*, rope of the bag net as far as the *paku* nets [the "lead" nets] on the sides of the *papa* net. The *paku* nets were two other nets, one for each side, twenty fathoms long, more or less, and two fathoms or more high, fastened with ropes to each side of the bag. The whole net was piled on one canoe, and when they got to the place where the net was to be laid, this canoe approached from the left. The head fisherman was in a light, swift canoe, a *kialoa*, with one or two men; the canoe with the net was manned by three men. There were two other canoes with five or six men in each of them who were to help lower the net, and many other canoes carrying stones and fishermen. The *kialoa* canoe went first to the site of the fishing ground. The fisherman crouched at the front outrigger boom, *kua 'iako mua*, with his buttocks exposed toward the float, the *ama*, and his head peering over the end of the outrigger boom as he "sculled" (*hapuna*) his paddle. In his mouth was a ball of chewed *kukui* nut meat which he spewed [1976:62] upon the water that had been stirred up by the paddle, and the water stilled. He could see the bottom of the sea, even if it were twenty fathoms below. He then reached for his *melomelo* stick and let it down over the site of the fishing station.

The *melomelo* stick was a piece of hard wood from the *koai'e*, *o'a*, *'a'ali'i* or *pua* tree, obtained from some noted place—a *heiau* or a *ko'a* shrine, or some other famous spot. It was two or more feet long, shaped large at one end like a *hohoa* tapa beater and tapered at the other end, where it was constricted so that a cord would hold fast. It had been rubbed with coconut meat, *kukui* nuts, and all sorts of strong-scented things, and toasted over a fire until it was black. The fish, in an area as large as a *hau* thicket, nibbled at it in great numbers. When the fisherman saw the fish gather, he called for the canoe containing the net, which was about twenty fathoms away. He fell off to the *makai* side of the fishes and called out, "Get ready to let down the *mole*!" (the end pocket or tail piece). A canoe drew up, and someone tightened up the rope of the *mole* [closing the open end] and tied a large stone to the rope. Then the fisherman called for the net to be lowered. When the *papa* net lay in the sea according to the directing of the fisherman, then the *paku*, the side nets, were lowered. The fisherman said to the divers, "When you see the fish, each of you watch the other; keep abreast; don't lag behind, and don't crowd ahead. Don't try to catch (*hei*) any fish on the bottom; just go forward together toward the mouth of the net."

The diving began about ten fathoms from the mouth of the net. The divers went down about ten fathoms, the depth from the surface to the floor of the sea, and went along in line while the fisherman, watching carefully from the canoe above, swung the *melomelo* stick closer to the mouth of the net. There was a pull rope to the sinker edge, *'alihi pohaku*, of the *papa* net attached to a buoy, *mouo*, on the surface of the sea. The fisherman pulled in the buoy and the pull rope to the mouth of the net, drew them aboard,



and took up the slack on the rope. He watched the divers as they moved along in line below shouting, “You, So-and-So, you're losing the fish!” But the fisherman was only shouting to himself—his voice could not be heard in the depths below. When he saw that most of the fish had entered the net, he stood up and pulled hard on the rope which led to the mouth of the net. All together, the divers grasped the sinker edge, *'alihi pohaku*, and lashed it over the float edge, *'alihi pikoi*. Each *kumuoka* [loose net in front of the drive nets?] was pressed down by fish, and the *paku*, drive nets, entangled the fish (*'o kela kumuoka a me keia kumuoka, luma'i 'ia aku la e ka i'a, a 'o na paku, ua wili ka'eka aku la i ka i'a*). Then the divers went after the fishes that were trapped (*ho'owili*). The fish of the *paku* nets were not for the fisherman—they belonged to the divers, even if a fish were an *ulua* or an *uhu*. The fish of the *oka* [or *kumuoka*] which had been trapped by the divers were divided among them together with the fish from the *pale ku ihu* and the *pale ku hope* [variations of the *paku* nets]. The fish of the *puhi nui* and the *puhi iki* portions of the net belonged with the fish of the *pale* nets. The fish... [1976:63] below the *puhi iki* belonged with the fish of the *huli*, the *honua* [or *hali'i*, “floor”], and the *mole hului* portion of the net; they were for eating and for giving in payment for services and supplies (*'auhau 'oko'a*). If the net were filled with fish from the *puhi iki* to the *mole*, it would take from ten to twenty canoes to hold them all.

The fisherman selected choice and delicious fish—*uhu*, *'opelu lauli*, *kole*, and *palapala*—and filled a container with them. This was sent ashore to the fisherman's wife and children. His wife was his *'aumakua wahine* [his staunch supporter and helper]; over her chafed thighs the cords for the nets had been twisted. The rest of the fish were dumped into the canoes—enough to fill ten or more. Then the fish of the *huli*, that is, of the *hope hului* [the end pocket; the *mole hului*], were put into a separate canoe.

When the canoe fleet reached shore, fish would be given to the divers and the helpers; to those who had gotten the nets ready on land; to those who had set the net for the fish to enter the *papa*, and to those on the canoe which had carried the nets. When the fish was distributed, the largest portion went to the fisherman. His wife also got a large share for herself and her relatives. She got several canoe loads, for she had a major right (*kuleana nui*) in the nets. However, if the fishing had been done by a master fisherman (*lawai'a haku*) for a chief, the chief provided all the supplies and was the head, *po'o* [to whom most of the fish went]. But if the fisherman had no master, he himself was the *po'o*. Most of his fish went for fishing equipment—*olona*, fishing lines, nets, and canoes. To be equipped for the fishing profession many nets had to be made or traded for; cordage for them had to be twisted and nets made. So it was with canoes; they had to be hewn or traded for. And so it was with fishing lines—they had to be made or traded for. The fisherman actually ate only a small part of his catch, but by lesser methods of fishing—*ka'ili*, *lu'elu'e*, *paeaea*, *kaukau*, *ho'omoemoe*, *ka'aka'a*, *palu*, *paku'iku'i*, *ho'auau*, *kahekahe*, *aki'iki'i*, *koki*, and others—he could always get enough for a meal and go out for more.

When the fisherman came ashore he took two fish in his right hand for the male *'aumakua* and two in the left hand for the female *'aumakua*, and went to the *ko'a* fishing shrine, which was enclosed by a *paehumu* wall or fence enclosing the tabu area. Inside the *ko'a* were a *kuahu* altar and a *lele* altar, where bananas were placed. The fisherman spoke to the male *'aumakua* and cast down the fish with his right hand, then spoke to the female *'aumakua* and cast down the fish belonging to their side. After that fish could be given away. If the *kapu ku'ula* rites were ending that evening then only a little food and prayer were offered by the fisherman upon returning from the sea.

If the net had “gone dead” (*ina ua make ka 'upena*), few fish would enter it. If the fish came to the mouth of the net and then went out, something had gone wrong with the net



[it had been defiled in some way]. If a net were “sweet” (*manalo*) [had no taint or defilement], the fish would enter it and “go to sleep” (*hiamoe*)—not scattering about and being restless—until [1976:64] the net was full and the *mole* floated on the surface without the fish going out of it. This was a death to them from the ‘*aumakua* of fishing. If a net used in dive-fishing were entered by *kahala* or *uku* or by other fishes not generally caught with such a net, they had been made to enter it by the ‘*aumakua*; it was they who filled the net with these “stranger” fish (*i’a malihini*). This was an ‘*upena manalo*, a “sweet” net. If a fisherman were using the *pahoe* method of fishing for *malolo*, and the ‘*upena malolo* were entered by *aku*, *kawakawa*, *ahi*, *mano*, ‘*opelu*, or other stranger fishes to the *hano malolo* [net], these fishes had come from the ‘*aumakua*. The fisherman whose fishes these were was being shown that his net was a “sweet” one [free from defilement, and pleasing to the ‘*aumakua*].

Kaka Uhu Fishing

Kaka uhu fishing was a well-known and distinguished way of fishing in the old days. It could not be done by those who only cast for fish, *ka’ili*, but by those who were trained, and who knew the rules for fishing with a decoy, a *pakali*. If the scales of the *uhu* used as the decoy came off, or if mucus flowed from its eyes, or if the gill through which it was attached tore, it was wrong: if one tipped the net in attempting to catch the “visitor” (*uhu malihini*) it was wrong. There were many rules for this kind of fishing.

The fisherman was most likely a mature man, with bleached eyebrows, and eyes obscured by deposits of salt. His head was underwater as he watched closely for fish; his ears were “racks” (*haka*) for *kukui* nut meat and his mouth would spew forth chewed *kukui* meat which becalmed the sea so that he could see the bottom. One hand of the fisherman directed the movements of the decoy *uhu*, and his left hand sculled (*koali*) the paddle inside the *ama* to keep the nose of the canoe headed into the wind. The eyes of the fisherman glanced ahead, behind, to that side, to this side, watching the *uhu* that were being decoyed.

When the fisherman saw a visitor *uhu* “kiss” (*honi*) the decoy *uhu* two or three times with the desire to “marry” it (*a ho’ao laua*)—when he saw that it had been decoyed—he pulled the decoy *uhu* up, tilted the net into the sea, tied the decoy securely inside the net and lowered it down. He took great care in the placement of the net to entice and entrap the visitor fish lest it be frightened off. The decoy might entice an *uhu* into touching it, or “kissing” it; or it might provoke it. The visitor might be an *uhu* that would just hover about and watch, or one that would avoid the decoy, or one that would show off, or act bashful. When the net was placed properly with the decoy *uhu*, and the fisherman saw the visitor *uhu* come into the net and “sleep with” (*moe pu*) the decoy, he would pull the line of the net to entrap the *uhu* in it. If it were a fortunate day for him, and the visitor became used to the decoy, it would remain unaware of the trap and make the mistake of biting at the cord of the decoy and be easily caught. On a lucky day, *la* [1976:65] *kulia*, the fisherman would catch anywhere from twenty to forty *uhu*. However, if it were a bold *uhu* ‘*a’a* that was being decoyed, the fisherman would be on the alert, for this would be a wild one. He would pull up the decoy when they were three or four *anana* away from each other, lest it catch up to the decoy and shred its scales. When the fisherman tilted the net and set it down in place to decoy the *uhu* ‘*a’a*, as soon as the latter’s head came over the edge of the net he would pull on the line and entrap the fish in the net. If he waited until it came into the net before pulling the line, the *uhu* ‘*a’a* would escape over the other side, so swiftly did it move.*

The time for fishing for *uhu* was from seven o’clock in the morning until late afternoon. All the while the *uhu* were being decoyed and netted was a time of much joy and pleasure as the dark shiny *uhu pano*, the red *uhu ’ula*, the flame-colored *uhu* ‘*a’a*, and the yellow-



tinted uhu halahala glistened from the front to the back of the canoe. By the time the fisherman turned homeward and beached the canoe at the landing, his 'ie baskets would be full of fish jostling each other. His wife, children, and family all rejoiced. Fish were given to the family members and kinfolk who carried the canoe ashore, then the fisherman went home. He bathed, girded on his *malo*, put on his *kapa* covering and then removed the restrictions of the god on the fish and made his offering. Then the fish for the *mua*, the men's house, was cut up for the men, and the fish for the *hale 'aina*, the women's eating house, was cut up for the women and the little boys who had not yet been consecrated to the gods. The bigger boys, who had been consecrated, lived in the *mua* with the men; they no longer ate free from *tabu*, 'ainoa, with their mothers in the women's house.

Then came the fisherman's feast of sour poi, together with "closing mouthfuls" (mana pani) of sweet potato taken after the 'awa and slices of uhu mashed with the fat liver of uhu and mixed with the salty juices of the lipa'akai seaweed; steamed uhu, its gravy glistening with the fat of its liver; uhu baked in the imu with bits of liver inserted in it; and cups of 'awa besides. All ate heartily of the large pieces of steamed and baked uhu—ate until they were satiated.

Upena Kaka Uhu

The net used for *kaka uhu* fishing was a small one of fifteen *pu'u*⁷ one of twenty *pu'u* would be a very large one. It was made of thick, tightly twisted cord which was kept slack and tied loosely so as to make the net sag. The mesh size was a *maha'e* or a *malewa* [four finger plus to hand size], and the length of the net an *anana* or more. When the foundation of the net was finished, a marginal cord, *alihi*, was threaded all around. The four sticks to hold the net open, *kuku*, each a yard or more in length, were made of *walahe'e* wood. Pairs of these sticks were bound together at their thicker... [1976:66] ends to form arches and small stones were tied to the four tip ends. When the sticks were crossed and fastened at each tip end to the marginal cord, the sticks arched up like rainbows. This was called the *la* of the net; the *he* of the net were the outside cords that attached the tips of the *walahe'e* sticks to the net corners.

Some *'upena uhu* were square and spread out flat. Tied to the *pu* (junction) of the bases of the *walahe'e* sticks was the rope of the *hanai* (cord that held together the crossed sticks at their junction) to close the net by bringing together the crossed sticks.⁸

Fishing With Lures

Ka po'e kahiko had many other ways of fishing besides net fishing. Using a cowry-shell lure to catch octopuses (*lulu he'e; lu he'e*), and a mother-of-pearl shell lure to catch *aku* fish (*pa hi aku*) were two "aristocratic" (*ha'aheo*) ways of fishing that were widely engaged in. It was not necessary for the fisherman to go into the sea or the ocean; these "fishes" were obtained from the surface.

One skilled in fishing with a cowry, *leho*, could predict beforehand, "This *leho* will get twenty *he'e*; that one will get forty; this one, twice forty." and so forth. Very choice cowries were the *leho ahi* and the *leho kupa*, and they were desired and searched for, as a beautiful woman is sought. The *ahi* is red like the red of a firebrand. Its well-formed "double canoes" (*kona mau wa'a kaulua*) [its lips] are covered over by a mantle (literally, feet; *na wawae*) which envelops the shell to the top, *pu* [where the edges of the mantle

⁷ Stokes (1906, pp. 158-159).

⁸ Buck (1957, p. 305) gives a technical description of *'upena uhu* in Bishop Museum which clarifies this passage: "The two compound sticks are crossed in the middle line; but instead of being lashed firmly together, thick cord from the under stick is carried upward for 2.5 inches before it is lashed to the middle of the upper stick. This form of tie gives considerable play to the two arches; and from the crossed position, they can be brought close together in the same line."



meet]. The kupa is alike in beauty to a shade-ripened mountain apple; it is a deep dark color through which shows red. A leho has a body and mantle alike from top to lips.

A fisherman would boast, “I will go after *he’e* today—these are the days of rising tides.” Just as a woman with lustful eyes (*maka leho*) entices many men, so a beautiful *leho* arouses the desire of the *he’e*, and two or three of them at once might be pierced by the *kakala* hook, or because they clung fast to the *‘amana*, the wooden stem of the lure. The proper cowry to use in the morning was the *ahi*; when the day grew warmer, the *leho ‘olupalaha* or the *pauhu*; and at midday the *kupa ohi’a pe’emalu*. The *ahi* had been smoked over a fire.⁹

A stone had to be used with the cowry—a handsome one, to enhance the loveliness of the “female,” the cowry. The handsome stone was the “husband” to the cowry, and the cowry was “married” to the stone. When the two matched in beauty, and they swayed in dance in the ocean, the *he’e* came to watch the joyful dance. Those of them who wished to “kiss” (*honi*) the cowry, leaped to embrace and kiss her because they were aroused by the dance. When the fisherman saw one hug the cowry, he braced himself and kept shaking the lure. When the octopus took hold of the cowry, the [1976:67] fisherman pulled up the cord swiftly with his right hand, grabbed it with his left hand, and pulled it hard against the side of the canoe, which forced the *kakala* hook into the octopus. It came up so fast through the water that its head stood up straight and its tentacles trailed like the branches of a willow, *wilou*, tree. With the fisherman shaking the lure, it was like an *‘ala’apapa hula*, and many *he’e* came to embrace the dancer, unaware of the hook underneath. The octopus did not want the cowry or the stone to eat; *papa’i* and *‘ohiki* crabs and other small Crustacea (*mea ‘ano papa’i*) were its food; but the fisherman enticed it with a sort of *hula*, and the octopus was “taken in” (*ua puni*). There were many kinds of stones obtainable, but the fisherman of old especially looked for certain ones—the *komana*, *pu’uku’ua*, *maili*, *polipoli*, *pupukea*, *kalapaiki*, *‘iole*, *kaua’ula*, and the *‘o ‘io*. There were many, many stones that were put to suitable uses by *ka po’e kahiko*, but today most of them have been forgotten.

The *‘amana* of the hook was a small wooden stem or shank about six inches in length. The back portion of the *‘amana* was shaped flat for three inches and at the very top it was notched to take a small cord. From the middle the *‘amana* was Y-shaped like the space between the fingers, and the tip end stretched out like a finger for three inches or a little more. The tip [distal] end was flattened on the upper surface and was notched underneath, and that is where the *kakala* “spur,” was fastened. The spur was the hook, and was made of dog or human bone filed sharp. Its point, *maka*, faced inward toward the *‘amana*, and it was lashed on with fine cord. The stalk of a ti leaf—or perhaps the scale of a large *uhu*—was attached under the tip end of the *‘amana*, and the whole bound up tightly. That describes the *kakala* hook and the *‘amana* stem.

The stone was shaped like a large cowry; its front was flat, and its back humped, with a narrow groove from end to end. The stem was attached to its flat side. First the stick was lashed to the stone, then the cowry fitted to the stone at the place where it was attached to the stick—the stick being between the stone and the cowry. The snood, *ha’a*, that fastened the cowry on was shoved into the “tail” (*puapua*) of the cowry, and came out through a hole on the back of the cowry. A piece of human bone or of *‘ekaha ku moana*

⁹ Beckley (1883, p. 3) says octopuses “are caught with cowries of the *Mauritiana* and sometimes of Tiger species. ...Only the finest kind of *Mauritiana* or Tiger cowries are employed for this purpose as the octopus will not rise to a large-spotted or ugly one. The spots on the back must be very small and red, breaking through a reddish brown ground; such a shell would have the strongest attractions for an octopus, and is called *ipo* (lover). Cowries with suitable spots, but objectionable otherwise, are slightly steamed over afire of sugar cane husks. This has the effect of giving them the desired hue.”



[black coral] or of *kukui* nut shell was placed at the “tail,” and bound on by the snood, which then stretched to the “mouth” (*waha*) [front indentation] of the cowry. It was shoved through a hole there, and looped and secured. At the “tail” and at the front loop-fastening a small cord held the cowry together with the stone and the stem.¹⁰ All that remained was to go fishing.

When the days of good tides come, they rise up—that is, in the beginning and when they have finished rising they go down gradually, like the lowering tides of the Ku and ‘Ole days. That was when the *he’e* would pay attention and watch the *hula*. Then the fisherman lowered two cowry lures. He shook one about with his foot and the other with his right hand while his left hand sculled the paddle to keep the nose of the canoe into the wind. When an octopus took hold of the lure held by the foot, he transferred the [1976:68] line in his hand to his foot, and pulled up the line the octopus was on until it was close to the canoe, holding it off so that it would not cling to the canoe. He thrust the body with a spear and the octopus would go limp. The fisherman would throw the octopus into the front of the canoe and let down that cowry again. By then another octopus had taken hold of the cowry held by the foot and the fisherman wound this line about his foot and pulled up that line. So it went, with the fisherman pulling up one octopus after another. When you looked at an octopus you would see that it was red like the red of the cowry, and you could see the changing colors of the octopus move here and there. These were the days of many *he’e*. They did not cease to yearn for the cowries, and would fill the canoe. The only thing that made the fisherman stop was concern over his cowries—too much immersion in the salt water would dim their luster.

A choice cowry was given the name of a grandparent, a father, a mother, a wife, or of a chief. Mulali was a famous cowry of *ka po’e kahiko*, and so was Hualalahu. Long stories are told of these famous cowries and of how, when they were merely shown alongside a canoe, the *he’e* would just rise up and fill the canoe.

‘Okilo He’e

Another way to fish for octopus was by the ‘*okilo he’e* method. In this, the eyes were used for fishing, rather than a red cowry lure. The ‘*okilo he’e* method could be used only in shallow seas from six to ten fathoms in depth, and where the water was clear; it was impossible where the sea was dark. The fisherman who would use this method had to learn all the ways of the octopus before he could become skillful. He was not after the octopus that just “lay by the fireplace” (*waiho ka’e kapuahi*), curled up in a ball—this an unskilled novice could see. The ways of the octopus are countless. It might conceal itself amongst the pebbles, or close up its hole and thrust one long tentacle out; or it might look like the mouth or head of an eel or of a sea urchin, or it might show only its beak; it might look as though it were marching along in a procession, or as though it were a blob of excrement. There are many other ways of the octopus that were known to the ‘*okilo he’e* fisherman.

Kukui nut [oil] was his magnifying glass. He would scull amongst hundreds of fishes, the flat blade of his paddle stirring the springs that welled up in the sea, until he reached a clear place where he could see bottom. There the fisherman chewed and spewed out the *kukui* nut meat. When he saw an octopus, he picked up his stone [lure]. This was a small crude stone—perhaps from an *imu*—attached to a wooden stem, *la’au ‘amana*, with a *kakala* hook and bound together with cord, with a few blossoms tied to the ‘*amana*,

¹⁰ Buck (1957, pp. 360-361) gives the technique of binding together the cowry-shell lure. He calls the snood, or *ka’a*, the lifting cord, and says, “It is evident that a fisherman carried a number of shells with the lifting cord attached so that he could change them on the lure to suit the different periods of the day.”



stem.¹¹ This he lowered to perhaps a yard away from the octopus' burrow. When the *he'e* saw the stone, its tentacles crept toward it, its body [1976:69] came out of the burrow and drew toward the stone until it was directly upon it. The fisherman pulled on the line, and the octopus was impaled on the *kakala* hook. The 'okilo fisherman kept moving along in his canoe and searching out *he'e*. When the wind blew strongly this would put a stop to his searching, and he would return to shore. On a day when an 'okilo fisherman went out, he would fill his canoe with *he'e*.

'Ō He'e – Octopus Spearing

In the old days *he'e* were a famous seafood of lands with reef flats and coral beds. There were so many that a stench would arise from these lands. They were also a *tabu* "fish," although they were not made *tabu* exactly the same in all places. In some places the *hau* branch was set up [signifying that a fishing *tabu* was on] in the month of Kaelo [May-June], and in other places in Kaulua [June-July]; in some places the *tabu* might last four, five, or six months, and in others, fewer. When the rainy, winter months (*ho'oilo*) began, the *he'e* were speared. Some speared them from canoes, some while diving, and some while wading.

During the months that the *hau* branch was posted, it was *tabu* for canoes to go out fishing; *tabu* for women to go to the beaches; *tabu* to fish with nets. Only the overseers, the *konohiki* and the *luna*, went to look at the *he'e*, which had come up to the sandy shores. When the tide was high the *he'e* moved along the edge of the sea in files like schools of mullet, "marching" along as though in a procession (*e ka'i a huaka'i*), each one's tentacles forming a single arch, the opening in its head section extended like gills, and its blow-tube pumping seawater like the machines of a steamer. Its sucking in and blowing out of the water is what made it go like a real fish. When the tide was low and the overseer went to look, the reef floor would be furrowed as if rooted by pigs, with burrows scattered in every direction, and the *he'e* spread out like lumps of dark earth, with heads swaying. If they saw a man they would squirt water at him—he had to run to escape; if a canoe came close, they would cling to it. (See the story of [the islet of] Kapapa at Kahalu'u; from Kualoa to Kahuku, from the cape Kukuilau'ania to Kahaha'e).

In the morning there would be octopus spearing, it was announced to the men and women. There would be many, many of them, some on canoes, and some afoot carrying spears an *anana* or two long made of *walahe'e*, 'ulei, 'a'ali'i, *uhiuhi*, or other hard wood sharpened to a point. Those who were fast ran about swiftly gathering the *he'e* that were lying there spread out, and stringing them on cords. As soon as a cord was full it was laid on the dry, exposed reef floor; each person would have four or five strings of them. When an octopus was speared in its hole, it twined its tentacles around the spear and came out. The fisherman killed it by biting it on the back of the neck, or by shoving the spear through at its beak. The spearing went on until the tide came in, then the fishermen went ashore, [1976:70] some in canoes—from ten to forty of them—but most on foot. When all were gathered in one place, the *he'e* were portioned out, fifty to a hundred to each. In this way they were divided among the *konohiki*; the land holders, *haku*; the chiefs, and those who had done the spearing. If a man were bad he hid part of his catch in the sea, and after the dividing was over he went out and got it. Innumerable *he'e* were gathered—enough to fill forty or fifty canoes—and they raised a stench.

The *he'e* were salted and dried on racks; ten racks would fill a house. The number of *he'e* caught today are only fifty percent (*hapa haneri*) of those caught in the old days.

¹¹ Kahaulelio (1902, April 14) says the flowers of the *nohu* (*Tribulus cistoides*) were used. Pukui and Elbert (1957, p. 329) gives *pupua* as "tuft of dried ti leaves on end of an octopus lure. Buck (1957, pp. 358-359) explains the technique of lashing the stone onto the stem of the lure.



When the *he'e* were to be dried they were slapped about (*kanono kio'o*) and the tentacles braided. The craftsman-like way to handle a large *he'e* with a big bone in its head and tentacles so long that they trailed when it was held up by a man—such as the *he'e* of Ka'ena—was to leave it overnight and the next day massage it with much slamming about (*lomi me ka 'upa'upa ana*) until it shrank, and then salt it and leave it to turn pinkish. After that the salt was washed off, the head and neck cut open, and the *he'e* dried. An octopus so treated would be tender; it would not whiten from the salt, and it could be kept for a long time without spoiling. If it were to be eaten soon, wood ashes with a little water were mixed with it and the *he'e* slammed about until the tentacles curled up. Then the tentacles were drawn between the fingers and again slammed vigorously until they contracted and curled into balls. The loose skin drew taut about the head and neck and all over the body like “gooseflesh” (*ha'uokeke*) the tentacles broke off easily, and the skin, if pinched between the fingernails, tore readily. Then the *he'e* was turned beak upward and a quantity of salt was shoved into the beak; turned down, and the head grasped and pummeled until the salt worked into the head and body, and then placed—slime and all—with salt in a gourd container. This would make it turn pinkish. However, if it were to be eaten right away, the slime and salt were drawn off by hand and the *he'e*, thick and tender, would be cut up in pieces in a sauce dish, and some liver worked with the juice of the *lipa'akai* seaweed to make the dish fragrant. This is what those who “sought a lord” (*ka po'e 'imi haku*) did in the old days to win the favor of a chief.

Aku Fishing – Lawai'a Hi Aku

Fishing for *aku*—*lawai'a hi aku*—was greatly enjoyed by chiefs and commoners in the old days and during the reign of Kamehameha I, but the *aku* diminished during the reign of Kamehameha II and the early years of Kamehameha III and has now disappeared from the places once well known to *ka po'e kahiko* and from the localities that were famous for the abundance of *aku*. They filled double canoes and boats in such numbers that most of them rotted. The *aku* and the *'ahi* fishes disappeared during the time of Kamehameha III from Kaunolu, Haleohi'u and Kekaha on Hawaii—from Kawaihae to the cape of Makaula. [1976:71] *Lawai'a hi aku* was an aristocratic way of fishing and one that called for proud display. Leis of *hala* keys, *'ilima*, and *lehua* adorned heads and necks, and fine malo of *moelua*, *hamo'ula*, *waili'ili'i*, *kapeke puakai*, and *pa'ipa'i kukui* kapas were girded up in back. The slapping of the fish against the men's sides and the arching of the bamboo poles as the *aku* bent them were like a double rainbow or the crescent shape of the moon of Hoaka.

In this kind of fishing, a *malau*, made like a canoe, two or three *anana* long, more or less, with a closure in front and in back was used [to hold live bait]¹². It was a flat canoe (*he papa wa'a*), drilled with many holes on the sides, with a “backbone” (*kuamo'o ka'ele*) underneath. The bases of the front and back closures were lashed securely underneath the hull (*ka'ele*). There were sticks running on each side of the top edges of the closures to hold them rigid. Then matting (*'ahu*) was stitched to that and this side of the hull and wound over those sticks and stitched securely. This became a *malau*.

The value of this “canoe” was that the *'iomo* [or *'iamo*], that is, *'iao* fish, and mullet spawn could be liberated in there and they would live—because of the fresh seawater in it (*maloko o ka 'ahu*). The *'iomo* could be caught on one day and kept alive in the *malau* until the day of fishing even if they had been taken at a distant place. In the single canoes

¹² Kahaulelio (1902, March 7) describes a *malau* thus: “The *malau* was two fathoms long, 18”, or half a yard, high. It was wood below, with fine meshed mats on the sides and head boards in front and in back tied on securely . He stated that his father had given up fishing with a *malau* about 1848, “because it involved too much work in taking the *malau* filled with *iao* fish bait from five to seven miles out, rowing a double canoe all the while” (1902, February 28). A comparable bait tank used in the Society Islands in the 1930's is described and figured by Handy (1931, pp. 105-107 and Plate 25A).



called *panipani*, the *'iao* were kept in the canoes. A *panipani* canoe was manned by three or four—or perhaps five—men, and carried only one or two fishing poles, as did the *kapili* canoe.

The *malau* was the [bait] tank for the six or seven poles of the double canoe, the *kaulua*.

When the double canoe went out to fish for *aku*, the *malau* was put between the two canoes under the *pola* platform and tied securely to the *kua 'iako* (places where the outrigger booms would be attached on a single canoe). The place where the *aku* would be was where the *noio* birds gathered above the *piha*, the *nehu pala*, and the other small fishes that leaped above the surface to escape the snapping of the *aku*.* Then the *noio* would swoop down screeching over the fish. These birds were companions (*hoa aloha*) of the *aku* and the *kawakawa*—where these fishes went, the birds sought them out.

When the head fisherman saw where the birds were gathered he called out, “There are the fish! Paddle hard!” When they had come to about ten fathoms from the fish, he called out to the paddlers in front, “Stop the canoe! *Kakona!*” The front paddlers stopped the canoe, then steered to turn the stern of the double canoe to the fish. Even if there were forty canoes, all stopped at the same time, and the fleet formed into a square or a circle or a rectangle—or lay scattered—according to the way the fish were grouped. Then the fisherman called, “Throw out the *'iao!*” Two men jumped down [onto the *malau*], one to throw out *'iao* and one to give *'iamo* to the fishermen. They stood on the *la'au holo* of the *pa'imalau [malau]* (*ku* [1976:72] *iho laua ma na la'au holo k ke pa'imalau*), and the one in charge of throwing out the *'iao* tossed them out one by one. There would be a splash, and as the number of *'iao* increased there would be more and more splashing. The rushing of the *aku* was like billows being agitated, or surging waves breaking and the currents of water were set in motion as the paddlers wielded their paddles to hold the canoes in position. The *'iao* jumped about behind the canoes; the *aku* and the *kawakawa* followed to snap at them, and got in back of the canoes. Then the lines of the bamboo fishing poles were cast.

The two fishermen at the very back of the canoe held out short poles; those standing behind them held out longer ones, and those at the *kua 'iako* laid their poles across the *pola*. When he saw them lined up the head fisherman called out, “Throw out the *'iao*.” The chummer scooped up a container full and poured out the contents. Then the head fisherman called, “The *'iamo!*” and the man in charge of the bait got it ready; he bit the noses of the fish and crammed them into his mouth or into a container. The fisherman reached out for one, thrust the point of his hook into the opening of the *'iao [iamo]* and out through the back of its head, leaving the tail to “skip along” (*kokololio*) the surface of the sea. The fisherman placed the pole between his thighs, held it with his left hand, and with his right hand shook (*kopi*) the *'iamo* in the sea. When a fish took the bait and broke water, the fisherman stood up straight and grasped the pole with both hands. The fish came completely out of the water and slapped against the right side of the fisherman's chest, sounding like the dashing of one wave against another as its head smacked against the fisherman's armpit. He ran his right hand along its head and with a quick push with his open palm he freed the hook and shoved the *aku* forward into the canoe. From the *'iao* in his mouth he rebaited his hook and cast again. If he used forty *'iao*, he would catch forty *aku*. Some fishermen caught fewer than others and some more—especially those at the very rear of the canoe. It took only a few minutes for the chumming and the crowding around of the *aku*—then all was quiet again as the fish disappeared. Again the fishermen watched for a spot where the birds flew and dipped their wings into the water, for that was where the fish were, and they followed them. This went on until the *'iao* were gone; then the bait holder, *pa'imalau*, was lifted up onto the *pola* and turned over. This gave rise to the often-quoted saying, “*Huli ka malau*”—The *malau* is turned over [the operation is over].



In the old days four hundred (*he lau*) *aku* might be caught with the bait from one *malau*. When the double canoes, *kaulua*, or coupled canoes, '*auwa'a ho'apipi*, or large outrigger canoes, *kaukahi nui*, came in, there would be trading, peddling, and paying for poi, for pounded taro, sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar cane, breadfruit, and other kinds of foods; for '*awa*, *tapa*, *pa'u*, *malo*, and mats—for all the things the fishermen needed.

When the *aku* fishing canoes and *malau* canoes came ashore, the women would separate the tabu fish for the men's eating houses from those for the free eating, '*ainoa*, of the household. First the head fisherman went ashore [1976:73] with fish in his right and left hands and went into the Ku'ula *heiau* to pay homage to the gods. He cast down the fish for the male '*aumakua* and for the female '*aumakua*, and then returned to give fish to the canoe men, to those who had done the chumming, and to those who had done the actual fishing. A portion went to the owner of the canoe and of the fine-meshed nets, *nae puni*, that had been used to catch the bait and to those who had driven the bait fish into the nets. The rest was for the head fisherman or for the land holder, if it had been the land holder's fishing expedition. All these fish were carried to the houses; the tabu fish filled the men's houses, and the "free" fish (*i'a noa*) filled the common houses (*na hale noa*).

The fisherman bathed himself, donned a dry *malo* and put on his shoulder covering. Others would light the oven to heat the stones for steaming the fish, bring the fish that had been cleaned by the fisherman's wife, steam the fish, and mash '*awa*. When the food in the men's house was ready, the fisherman enjoyed its eating. The prayer over, he drank the '*awa* and filled up on fish and "closing mouthfuls" (*mana pani*) [the foods taken after the '*awa*], and the relaxing effects of the '*awa* relieved his weariness from the sea spray. Meanwhile all the household set to work to cut open and salt the fish, which they would rinse off and put out to dry in the morning.

The fisherman began to prepare for the next fishing trip, discussing it with his fellow fishermen and saying, "Where shall we get '*iao* to fill the *malau*?" "Before the Morning Star (*Hoku-iaa*) arises So-and-So will go to where the '*iao* are, and So-and-So to the ponds where the young fish (*pua i'a*) are." Such was the discussion of the fishermen who fished with *malau*. The only trouble with getting the bait fish was that one's thighs and crotch became sore from kicking and splashing with the feet to drive the '*iao* into the nets. It was wearying work, but when the *malau* was full all the weariness was forgotten. Those who were strong *hi aku* fishermen became famous. They braced their poles against their navels, their thighs, anywhere; when they stood upright or leaned over the edge of the canoe, they put the poles to their chests. *Ka po'e kahiko* were very skillful.

The Aku Lure – Pa Hi Aku

In the very old days, '*iao* and small fishes were not the bait used to attract *aku*, *kawakawa*, and '*ahi* fishes. Fishermen searched for a hard bait, that is an *uhi*, or thick mother-of-pearl bivalve (*papaua manoanoa*) found in the ocean. One name for this shell is *uhi*; another name is *paua*. The outside of the shell is like that of a large oyster (*pipi nui*); the inside has a slight hollow (*ua naua i'a*); the flat surface of each side is a hand's breadth or more in size, and there is meat on the right and left sides [valves]. A choice *uhi* is iridescent (*e pi'o ana ke anuenue*) and, like a red cowry, *leho ula*, its choiceness can be seen. The cowry shows it on the outside of its shell; that of the *uhi*—that is, its beautiful iridescence—is covered by its enveloping shell. [1976:74] ¹³

¹³ Beckley (1883, pp. 9-10) and Kahaulelio (1902, March 7) classify the *pa* lures by color variations, which determined the time of day they would be used (see Beckley and Kahaulelio in this study)...



When one skilled in examining *uhi* saw a choice one he took the two valves (*pa*)—the right and the left—and cut each straight up from the base to the tip. Then he cut each one to the width of a finger, tapering it down and to about the length of a finger. After that he ground off the outside “scales” (*ka unahi o waho*) down to the inside surface (*ka maika’i iloko*). The *pa*—like the *leho ‘ula*—was a choice “chiefess” (*ali’i wahine maika’i*), and the lure, the *pa hi aku*, was desired by the *aku* fish as a beautiful chiefess is desired by men. At the base of the *pa* there is a ridge, and through this a hole was drilled as a foundation for the cord of the snood, *ka’a*. The cord ran from the hole to the edge of the hook that was fastened to the tip of the shank lure, *pa*. The hook was made of human or dog bone, filed smooth and curved nicely. Pig bristles crossed at the base of the hook where it joined onto the tip of the shank so that the hook would not fall over. The bristles ruffled the water behind the lure as those on the canoe paddled in unison, and the *aku* mistook the lure for an *’iao* or other small fish and crowded around to seize the *pa hi aku*.

Fishing for *aku* was greatly enjoyed by the chiefs and rulers in the old days, and they would all go together to fish for *aku* and *’ahi*. Kamehameha I was accustomed to fishing for these fishes, and they were famous in ancient times. But fishing with a *malau* bait holder and with a *pa* lure were quite different. With the *malau*, all stayed in one place; in fishing with the *pa* lure, each canoe was paddled strongly in a different direction. Since this would interfere with the *malau* fishing, it was not wise for the two kinds to go on at the same time, as those trolling with the lure would drive away the fish of the *malau* fishermen.

Deep – Sea Fishing (Depths of 200 to 400 Fathoms)

The length of the long-line fishing line, *lawai’a aho loa*, limited the seeking of *ka po’e kahiko*. Shark fishing with chum (*lawai’a kupalupalu mano*) and *malolo* fishing (*lawai’a papa pahoehoe malolo*) were done in the deep sea almost out of sight of land. These were not fishes to be found in the *ko’a* fishing grounds—they moved about and *ka po’e kahiko* caught them far, far out at sea (*i ka lewa a i ka lipo*). The actual limits of the fishes sought by *ka po’e kahiko* were in the deep-sea fishing grounds, *ko’a hohonu*: the *kukaula* grounds, of eighty fathoms more or less in depth; the *ka’aka’a* grounds of the *kahala* and *’ahi* fishes; and the *pohakialoa*, the deepest of all the fishing grounds—two or three hundred fathoms deep and even up to four hundred (*lau anana* deep).¹⁴ The kinds of fishes caught in the deep-sea fishing grounds were the *kahala*, *mokule’ia*, *paka*, *koa’e*, *’ula’ula*, *oholehole*, *hapu’u ‘ele’ele*, *hapu’u ‘ula’ula*, *’ahi*, *lupe*, *hahalua*, *uku*, *hahalua leleiona*, *moelua*, *lehe*, and *momi*. These were the fishes of the deep blue sea, *kai uliuli*. They had to be cut up with adzes before salting.

Those who wished to fish in the deep ocean sought out these fishing [1976:75] grounds and kept them secret. *Ka po’e kahiko* regarded their secret fishing grounds, *ko’a huna*, as “calabashes and meat dishes” (*he ‘umeke a he ipu kai*) and as “grandparents” (*kupunakane a he kupunawahine*) [sources of provisions], and could be robbed and beaten before they would reveal their locations. They pointed out their secret fishing grounds only to their own children. The locations of most of the deep-sea *ko’a* have been lost; only a few remain known, as the knowledge of their whereabouts has lessened, and the youth of today have not been taught their locations. The fishing ground of Palapala, on the eastern side of Mokuho’oniki, an islet off the east coast of Molokai, was once a *ko’a huna*. After the time of Kahekili its location became known, and today even the unskilled fishermen know where it is.

¹⁴ In his account of deep-sea fishing Kahaulelio (1902, March 14) says that the *kukaula* grounds were fifty to seventy fathoms in depth, and that the *kialoa* [pohakialoa], or *kaka* fishing grounds, were about two hundred fathoms deep (see Kahaulelio in this study).



A man learning to fish in the ocean first bartered for a canoe one to six or more fathoms long, to carry from one to five persons. Then he bartered for fishing lines, for a fisherman did not twist, *hilo*, his own lines, but got them from those whose work it was to make them. Those people would twist the cords into two or three strands according to the desire of the fisherman. The work of twisting was laborious. The palm of the hand was used to rub (*hamo*) fibers over the thigh, and to make a firm, tight cord of two or three strands, even throughout. They would make six or eight times forty (*ka'au*), or up to four hundred (*lau*) lines, according to the wish of the fisherman. A landholder or a chief would have four hundred at the most, or perhaps a few *ka'au* over. The fishing lines of the chiefs or fishermen were kept in gourd containers, *hokeo 'olulo*, a meter, more or less, in length.

When taken by an *'ahi*, a *kahala*, an *ulua*, or a *hahalua leleiona*, the line would rise and fall (*'ole'ole'o*) in the gourd curving like the *ama* or the *'iako* of a canoe or the arch of a rainbow. If there were a heavy weight pulling the line obliquely, it was a shark that had taken the line; but if the line rushed out and whirred on the surface of the sea, it was a sailfish. If the fish fought and caused the line to rise and fall, there was a robber [bait-stealer] below, but if the line remained straight while the fish nibbled like a litter of piglets nuzzling and resting at their mother's breast, then the fisherman rejoiced. It meant that the fish were in a row, fluttering like pennants from the mainmast to the mizzenmast and on down the back of the aft sail of a man-of-war. If there were ten hooks on the line, then ten fish would be caught; if twenty hooks, then twenty fish, and so on up to forty or fifty or more. This was fishing in the *pohakialoa* fishing grounds with *kaka* hooks. With one haul the fish would fill the canoe. The fish would die below in the *ko'a*. The great depth would kill them down there with "tremors" (*naue*) while they were being pulled up on the line, because of the deepness of the *ko'a*. If they came loose from the hooks, they would float to the surface with their stomachs protruding from their mouths like fishes that had died from *'auhuhu* or other fish poisoning.

What kinds of hooks did *ka po'e kahiko* have? They had large and small hooks made from sections of the shell of the *'ea* turtle, filed on the outside [1976:76] and the inside of the point of the hook to a well-shaped curve (*ua hole 'ia a ku maika'i ka lou maloko a mawaho o ka lihi*); *aku* lures made from *uhi*, or *paua*, bivalves and filed, like the turtle shell; hooks made from dog bones ground down with *puna* coral and files made of lava, *apuapu pele*. Hooks of human bones were made from bones of the *'olohe*, "hairless men," not the bones of all men. Most of the human bones are "cuttlebone" (*iwi puna*); they break easily. Those skilled in examining bones chose hard bones to file into fishhooks. The bones of the buttocks are rounded and they made excellent [one-piece] hooks; nothing was joined onto them as in the case of the [composite] *kakala* hook for octopus, *kakala he'e*, or the lure for *aku*, *pa hi aku*. Bones of the thigh, the lower leg, the upper arm and the forearm were filed down to a "point" (*lihi*) and a "shank" (*kano*) with a "tail" (*puapua*) [a knob, *'apua*], where the snood was tied on. Small bones were shaped into *ho'omo*, these "hooks" were gorges, like the *ho'olaoa* gorges used in eel fishing. Such gorges were used in line fishing in the *ko'a pohakialoa* of the deep ocean. When a fish swallowed a gorge it stuck fast, and the fish died down there in the *ko'a*. Another fishhook of *ka po'e kahiko* was the large, wood hook, *kihoho*, made of *uhiuhi*, *walahe'e*, *koai'e*, *'aweoweo*, or other hard wood. Some *kihoho* were joined [were two-piece hooks], and some were naturally curved like [one-piece] fishhooks. *Kihoho* were used for catching *mano*, *niuhi*, *luhia*, *a'ulepe*, and other large fishes of the ocean. Snaring with ropes (*pahale kaula*) and grasping with the hands (*hopu o na lima*) were also "hooks" of *ka po'e kahiko*.

The deep-sea fisherman was equipped with a canoe and large and small fishing lines, *makau* hooks, *ho'olaoa* and *ho'omo* gorges, *kihoho* hooks, ropes, large and small *paka* sinkers, large and small *pohakialoa* plummet sinkers and long stones with holes in them



(*pohaku kialoa puka*) to be used for catching “robbers” (*powa*) of the ocean. The cords for the snoods which had been prepared beforehand were bound (*mali a pa’a*) onto the hooks, and when everything was ready it was the work of the man who had fishing ‘aumakua to lash (*kauli; li*) the snoods onto the fishing line, *aho*. Then he waited for calm weather in the Ho’oilo season for, as the saying of *ka po’e kahiko* goes, “*‘O ke aho pulu o ka Ho’oilo*”—Fish lines are wetted in *Ho’oilo*. During the bad weather of *Ho’oilo* waves roll high, rains fall, and there is thunder and lightning; mud is washed into the *kai kea* and the *kai lu he’e* where reef fishes and octopuses are caught, and the holes of the ‘*ohiki* crabs are covered over. Casting, *ka’ili*, and fishing along the shore are impossible with the sea floor muddied up and obscured by the silt stirred up by the waves, and the fisherman turned his thoughts to the fishes of the deep sea. Even if the waves rolled in continuously and there were heavy thunder and lightning and pouring rain, as long as there was no wind the fisherman had nothing to fear; only a storm that brought wind was dreaded.

As the fisherman slept at night, he was aroused by a creaking sound from the *hokeo* and *holoholona* gourds that held his fishing gear, a sound like the creak of the cords of the carrying nets (*koko’aha*) of the peddlers or of [1976:77] the cords of the knotted-net carriers (*koko pu’upu’u’aha*) being borne by the steward of a chief—or like the scratchy noise of a rat that had fallen into a water gourd. It was thus that the gourds of the fisherman called to him to go fishing. The deep-sea fisherman got up before dawn, blew out his *kukui* nut light, and ate his fill. His fishing companions—his father and brothers—carried his canoe to the water’s edge. If the fisherman had ready bait (*maunu ho’omoe*)—*kule* or ‘*opelu* or *muhe’e* [he baited the hooks]—if not, he took along a squid net for floating squids (*kaulana muhe’e*) or perhaps one for lobster. If none of these baits had been obtainable because of the waves and the mud along the shore, then he had to get his bait out at sea.¹⁵

When he was out on the ocean the fisherman took out one of his precious cowries, *leho*, to fashion a lure. He bound a stone—a *maheu* perhaps, or an ‘*iole niho*, or a *kawa’upu’u*, or a *kalapa-iki*—to the stem, *amana*, of the *kakala* hook, and covered it on the other side with the cowry—on the side where the *kakala* hook stood up. The cowry was fastened on at the “tail” (*puapua*) and snood, *ka’a*, ends and was tied onto the line. While it was still dark the fisherman used a *leho ahi*; when the sun’s rays struck obliquely he used a *kupa’ula* or a *leho’ula*. Now all he had to do was to let down the cowry. Holding the line up and jerking it all the while, he let the cowry down two or three *ka’au*¹⁶ until it reached the bottom. Then he raised it up a couple of overhand pulls and shook the *leho* about. He did not have to do this long before an octopus, *he’e*, took hold of the *leho* and was drawn up into the canoe. If two cowries were let down, two *he’e* were caught. Two or three *he’e* gave enough bait. The skin was stripped from the head and tentacles and the *he’e* cut into bits and chewed until soft. Then the hooks were baited, twenty or more of them.

In the *kuapu’e* fishing grounds, *ko’a kuapu’e* [“thrust-up back” *ko’a*—those located by landmarks] there would be about forty hooks, put on like this: There was a *pohakialoa* sinker at the bottom—a stone made somewhat like a *poi* pounder but long and swelling at the lower end, and with a knob at the top to which the line was tied. About two fathoms from the knob a fishhook was attached (*kaka a’e ka makau*) then another hook a yard from that one, and so on up the line like a row of pennants. The line was let down with the *pohakialoa* sinker and its cluster of hooks until it touched the bottom. It was then worked into position in the *ko’a* by sighting two marks on land until they lay in a direct line with a third point, which was the site of the *ko’a*. If there were a mistake made in the sighting, the line would fall into a barren spot and the fish would not take it. The more skilled fishermen knew many landmarks for determining the locations of certain *ko’a*; they

¹⁵ For other accounts of deep-sea fishing see Beckley (1883, p. 9) and Kahalelio (1902, March 14).

¹⁶ Kahalelio (1902, March 14) says “The line was five *ka’au* which is the equivalent of two hundred fathoms.”



knew the latitude and longitude (*ka latitu a me ka lonitu*) of that and this *ko'a* in the ocean. The *ko'a* found by landmarks and those not generally known to others (*ko'a huna*) were as good as “meat dishes” (*ipu kai*)—one haul and the canoe would be filled. When the fisherman went ashore the fish for the gods were separated and the rest of the fish went to the people.

For fishing in secret fishing grounds, *ko'a huna* the hooks were prepared [1976:78] and baited on shore; the short lines that were the snoods of the hooks were put in one gourd, and the fish lines in another. Early in the morning, before there was light enough for him to be recognized, the fisherman went out to his *ko'a*. At daylight he let down the *pohakialoa* sinker, and as many fish took the line as there were hooks on it. When he knew that the hooks had all been taken by the fish, he pulled the line part way up, enough so that the stone was clear of the bottom, and tied the line to the starboard end (*muku*) of the *'iako* and sailed out of sight of the *ko'a* before hauling the fish into the canoe. Then he returned to shore. In this way those who had secret fishing grounds kept their locations from becoming common knowledge. That is why most of the fishing grounds of *ka po'e kahiko* are unknown to their descendants and their locations have been lost.*

Baits and Traps

Fishermen had many customs and devices. The *lihi* was one kind of hook; another was a baited hook; octopus *palu* or chum was the device used by some fishermen; released (*ho'oholo*) live fishes was the bait of others. A hook baited with flesh (*pa 'i'o*) was another bait. There were many kinds of devices. One kind of *palu* was handfuls of whole fish—*'opelu* or *akule*, or *puhi ki'i* perhaps—pounded until soft, and wrapped in coconut cloth, *a'a niu*, with a stone inside. This was let down to the bottom of the *ko'a*, and then shaken until the stone rolled out and the *palu* scattered. The *palu* was liked by fish, and they ate the bait until the *kahala* fish was hooked, and choked on the squid-baited hook. Those who understood the “properties” (*mana*) of baits would come to shore with a good catch. But those who were “born lucky” (*po'e kulia*) and had a “bone of power” (*iwi paowa*) for fishing were as attractive as lovers to the fish—they swarmed to such a one just as men swarm around a desirable woman of fragrant skin.

Basket traps, *hina'i*, of various kinds may have been the earliest “nets” used by *ka po'e kahiko* of Hawaii *nei*. Some *hina'i* were large, some small. The *hina'i* used to catch *kala* and *palani* fishes were big enough for two or three men to crouch inside; the eel traps, *hina'i puhi*, were tightly woven and squat-shaped and about as big around as two men could reach. *Hina'i* for *hinalea* were of various sizes, and the *hina'i* for *'o'opu* very small. The *hina'i hinalea* was a very old type of fish trap spoken of in a tradition of Hawaii. It may have been the pattern for the *hina'i hala* made by Kahuku, Uweleki, Uweleka, Pauhakaki and Pauhakaka for the *hala* fish of Ka'ena, Oahu, and afterward for the *hina'i kala* of Ku'ula and Hinahale at Hamoa on Maui.

Hina'i Hinalea

This is the ancient tradition of the *hina'i hinalea*. The *'e'epa*, or *mo'o*, [1976:79] “lizard” woman, Kalamainu'u, lived at Makaleha, Mokule'ia, in Waialua, Oahu. In the valley west of Makaleha is a ravine, Waile'a; it is the valley where grew Pakapakakuaua, the large *kauila* tree famous in olden times. On the short ridge between Makaleha and Waile'a was the main trail Wauila that went on down into Makaha. There on the side of the ridge west of the valley of Waile'a was the cave in which Kalamainu'u lived. It was a large cave that faced toward the east, with a small opening on the *mauka* side through which the extremity (*welau*) of this woman stretched outside. Her tongue, which stretched along the wall deep in the cave, was the surfboard which she gave to Puna'aikoa'e. There at Pu'uhale, facing upland, was the *heiau* of Hinalea, or Hinalepalaloa, and 'Akilolo.



Puna'aikoa'e was the son of Punanuikaialokele, the son of Punanuikaianaina. He had many "grandparents" (*kupuna*), chiefs of Kauai, who lived at Kapa'a, in the Puna district, and it was from there that Puna'aikoa'e was taken by Kalamainu'u. Puna'aikoa'e was a skilled surfer, well accustomed to the surfs of Makaiwa and Kaohala and Kalehuawehe, the surf of Wailua near to Kapa'a. Kalamainu'u was in search of a husband, and she found Puna'aikoa'e surfing on the surf of Kalehuawehe. As the chiefs surfing party was going ashore, he saw this beautiful woman on a long surfboard. He abandoned his own board and leaped upon hers to make love to her, and the *mana* of this astonishing woman drew him out to the ocean. They landed at Ka'ena, went up by way of Kuaokala to Kamae, Kaipukalo, and Pu'ukapele, then descended to the ravine of Waile'a. She took him by way of the mountains lest Hinala *ma* report that Puna'aikoa'e had been stolen by Kalamainu'u.

The land of Makaleha produced much food—kihi, lapa, and momona sweet potatoes, poi, 'awa, and bananas; and the woman broiled the fishes of that land caught by torch fishing—the kumu, uhu, ula, and others. "Kalamainu'u and Puna'aikoa'e were together constantly, day and night. They lived in loving association as husband and wife, he not knowing that she was an 'e'epa. After a few months the handsome man grew pale and wan from this constant companionship.

One day he went up to a ridge facing the sea, and when he saw the surf of Pekue breaking and rolling in toward Waialua, and saw the surfs of Kapapale and Kauanui, and the break and spread of the surf of Pua'ena, he yearned for the surfs of that land. When he went back to their home he saw his wife sitting there doing up into a knot her lime-bleached hair that had turned the beautiful golden yellow of chiefesses' hair. He said to her " 'Auhea 'oe. Yours is a land with surfs, and that being so, I am asking you to consent to my going surfing, for I yearn for the surfs of the land."

Kalamainu'u replied, "I consent; go down and surf. But do not speak to anyone on the way. If you meet two men cultivating by the roadside and they call you, do not stop to speak to them. This is my command. Go and enjoy yourself, and when you are through with your pleasure, come back."

The 'e'epa woman pointed to the surfboard lying in the depths of the [1976:80] cave. Puna'aikoa'e drew it out, and went down. He passed Pu'e'a, passed Hinala's *heiau*, passed Makapu'uhale, and went down to Kanoa, where in Hinala and 'Akilolo were doing their cultivating. They called out to him, but he paid no attention; they called two or three times, but he did not glance their way. He went on down, and the two ran after him saying, "We speak to you of life; if you refuse to listen you will die."

Puna'aikoa'e turned and looked at them and said, "My wife laid down her decree saying that I must speak to no one; but perhaps she does not know that I am talking to you two."

The men said, "Your wife is an *akua*; we cannot hide our talking together. She is Kalamainu'u, a *mo'o* of 'forty thousand' (*kini*) *mo'o*, a *mo'o* of 'four hundred thousand' (*lehu*) *mo'o*. Those are bodies of your wife. Because we pity you, we are telling you this. The surfboard you are carrying is your wife's tongue."

"How can I be saved?" asked Puna'aikoa'e.

"There is no place here—your wife has many bodies, and can move swiftly. There is only one place you can escape to; if you can reach Hawaii where Pele is, then you can escape."

"How can I get to Hawaii?" asked Puna'aikoa'e.



They explained to him, and when they were through, they said, “Go and bathe in fresh water, and then go back and see for yourself the [mo’o] body of your wife. On your return, when you get to the short ridge go along the easterly side of the ravine and at the depression, climb up to the large flat rock there. From there you will see the [mo’o] body of your wife. Then go back along the trail that you ascended and take the trail that leads to your home. Whistle as you climb up, or you will die; she will not be expecting you so soon. She will change herself into a real woman, and when you meet she will tell you that we have been talking together and that you have seen her [mo’o] form. When she shows you her *akua* forms, be courageous or you will die. Instead, she will come to kill the two of us.”

Their talking ended and Puna’aikoa’e went and bathed in fresh water and soaked his *malo* in the water, then he went upland to see for himself. When he got to the place mentioned, he looked and saw that it was true; courage would be his only salvation. Then he went back and ascended the trail to their place, making a whistling sound. The ‘e’epa heard him and changed herself into human form.

As she saw her husband come up, the ‘e’epa received a premonition of the conversation he had had, and when he arrived she said, “Just see how evil men are! You went down to go surfing—just to go surfing—however it was a trip that resulted in a vile attack on another! But that is not your fault. It is the fault of those insignificant *kauwa—kauwa iki huahua makawele a kauhaha!* I shall kill them!” At these words of the ‘e’epa woman Puna’aikoa’e was filled with dread and thought within himself, I am terrified by the *akua* and grieved and agonized. But while she spoke he made no answer, being speechless with fright. The ‘e’epa showed him her supernatural selves, *kino* [1976:81] *akua*, dreadful and terrifying, and creeping around his body, his mouth, his nostrils, his ears. He withstood it courageously while she showed all her *akua* forms. Then the ‘e’epa returned to the form of a woman. Because of her *aloha* for her husband, her anger subsided.

The ‘e’epa went down to kill Hinale and his companion, but as she came down, the two ran into the sea. She pursued them there; they went into a cave—she pursued them there; then into a billow—she pursued them there; then into the pitted coral—she pursued them there. They went into the sea floor full of small holes—and there she could not go. Wearied by her efforts, she went ashore and fell asleep in the sun. Kuaō and Ahilea saw her and said, “That is our mistress asleep in the sun; what is she doing there? Let us go and ask her .” They went to where she was sleeping, woke her up and inquired as to why she was tired and slept in the sun. She told her story from beginning to end and the two blamed Hinale and his companion.

“They were certainly in the wrong; they were supposed to be good brothers. You should kill them. They like the ‘*ohiki* crabs of this beach to eat with the sweet potatoes which they cultivate in Kanoa, Keone’ae, and the uplands of Makaleha, but they are unskilled in torch fishing. You can cause their deaths through their fondness of ‘*ohiki*. Go gather some ‘*inalua* vines, observing a *kapu*, and on your return weave them into a trap. Begin at the entrance and when the part that goes in [the funnel] is finished, then bend [the warps] back to form the container. Spread apart (*pu’umana a’e*) the ‘*inalua kukulu* [the warps], and bend them to shape the round part of the basket. When you see that the container has filled out and is big enough, then decrease its size by pushing together (*hu’e*) the ‘*inalua kukulu* until the *hina’i* is completed.¹⁷ When the weaving of the *hina’i* is completed, the *kapu* will be over. Then go and dig ‘*ohiki* crabs, take the *hina’i* into the sea, put in lots of pebbles from the tide pools, and set it in a good place, where there is a crevice so that the sea runs in and out. The name of such a ‘good place’ is *au* [haunt]. Remove pebbles until the *hina’i* is properly balanced. Then go to a coral head, chew the

¹⁷ Buck (1957, pp. 313-314) gives the complete technique for making such a basket trap.



'ohiki, dive into the sea and place them in the *hina'i* and then go off to some distance. After awhile dive again—Hinale and 'Akilolo will have come to eat their favorite food and you will find your enemies there in the *hina'i*.” Kalamainu'u heeded these words and carried them out. All went as they had said it would, and she killed her enemies and tore them into little pieces, which became *hinalea* fish. From that time down to the overthrow of the ancient tabus, those who wove *hina'i hinalea* observed those tabu rules. In those days there were always plenty of *hinalea* caught by setting traps from the water (*wai*) of Kumalaekawa to the cape of Ka'ena—so many that a stench arose from the racks where they were drying. Kalamainu'u became an 'aumakua for trap fishing, 'aumakua ho'olu'ulu'u, at these places. [1976:82]

Hina'i Puhi

The *hina'i puhi*, trap for catching eels, was somewhat different. It was a squatty container (*paka no'u*), tightly woven, with large 'ie for the warps (*kukulu*) and 'ie for the wefts (*ka*). It was woven (*ulana*) [twined] with an 'ie container below, where some strong-smelling thing and bait were put. This compartment was made so that the first eel to enter the *hina'i* would not eat up all the bait. Above that was the compartment where the eels were to stay. A hole was made in the bulge on the side of the *hina'i* to pour out the eels, because the bottom opening and the funnel, *nuku*, were almost closed up. In the bulge of the basket was where the eels squirmed about.

Nighttime was the proper time for eel fishing. In the daytime the bait was prepared for the *hina'i*, a flat rock attached underneath and the bait put in its own compartment. A lifting rope and a float were made ready, and in the evening the *hina'i* was taken to a place near the billows—to a coral head or a coral cavern—and the *hina'i* set in the *au* (haunt) of the eels there and left until morning. When the eel fisherman went to get his *hina'i* in the morning, he would find it full of eels. He took it ashore, poured out the eels and beat them with a wooden club, *la'au hohoa*. One blow on the tail, another on the head, and an eel was dead. Then he lighted an *imu*, wrapped eels in leaves and baked them thoroughly. Men, women, and children ate the delicacy with great appetite. Eels caught in *hina'i* were eaten with relish by those who were fond of eel.

Hina'i Palani

The *hina'i palani* was a large basket trap. Sticks were used for the warps inside [the framework], and outside of them 'ie was twined. *Uhu, kumu, kahala, he'e, and other fishes would enter the *hina'i palani*, so the 'ie was twined closely, although not as closely as for a *hina'i puhi*—but not as widely spaced as for a *hina'i kala*. Sweet potatoes were used as bait for the *palani* fish. They were broiled until partly cooked, then strung on a cord with a stone tied to it, and this cord tied to a rope long enough to reach the depths of the ocean of the haunt of the *palani*; several fathoms above, a buoy floated on the surface of the sea.*

The fisherman then fed (*hanai*) the *palani*. He took a string of sweet potatoes to the *ko'a* where he had seen there were many *palani*, and dropped it down. The next day he did the same thing. After four or five days of this the fisherman looked at the sweet potatoes for signs of their being eaten. The teeth of the *palani* are fine, those of the *uhu* are wide, and those of the *kahala* and the *ulua* are spaced, and according to the teeth of the fish, so would the potatoes be marked. When he saw that the strings of sweet potatoes were being eaten every day, he knew that there were many fish in the *ko'a*. Then he cast the 'api feeding basket. This basket was as large as a bathtub (*kapu 'au'au*), woven of sticks, and wide open at the top. Some large [1976:83] stones and several strings of sweet potatoes were put in it, and it was then cast at the *ko'a palani*. Each day the fisherman returned to the *ko'a* in a canoe with more sweet potatoes and pulled up the 'api to examine the marks made on the old potatoes by the nibbling of the fish. After several days the fish became accustomed to staying in the 'api. He then skipped a day, not



taking out any potatoes. On the day following, he set the *hina'i* trap with sweet potatoes that had been cooked that morning, putting the string inside the *hina'i* and tying it to the stones on the bottom. If he had two, three, or more *hina'i*, he would take one to each *palani* haunt.

Then he went ashore to wait until the sun grew warm before going to pull up the *hina'i*. As he pulled it up and peered into it, he would see the fish, as golden yellow as the flowers of the *ko'olau*. The *hina'i* would be full. As the fisherman stood erect and pulled the *hina'i* up to the surface, there would be a splashing of sea spray and a turbulence like a waterfall as the fish were gathered in. If he emptied his *hina'i* into the canoe and rebaited it with potato, he could make two or three hauls in a day—and if the *hina'i* were attractive to the fish, he could make four hauls before nightfall. This was repeated each day until no more fish entered the *hina'i*, then the trap was taken ashore.

The basket traps for *palani* and for eels were strongly made and could be kept for years.

Hina'i Kala

The *hina'i kala* was a large trap, it could hold forty, fifty, or sixty *kala* fish at a haul. One haul, and the canoe rocked; two, and it could hardly hold them. The *limu kala* seaweed was used to feed (*hana'i*) the *kala* fish.¹⁸ It was gathered and placed in a sea pool, *kaheka*, until there was a large quantity, then tied into bundles (*pu'a*) and secured in the sea. The bundles were taken to the haunts of the *kala* (*au kala*), tied to stones, and cast down into the *au*. Thus the fish were fed constantly—morning, noon and evening. When the fisherman saw that the fish were plentiful, because of all this feeding from the canoes, then the *limu kala* was brought back and put into the 'api feeding basket. When it was time for the feeding baskets to be cast, then men went to get sticks for the *hina'i* trap—*lama* for the warps, 'auka and *ninika* for the encircling wefts, and 'ie for the twine to tie the sticks. These things were heaped up at the shore, and that evening *limu kala* was dropped in the *ko'a* in the 'api baskets.

In the morning the sticks for the *hina'i* were set up, and then the traps were woven under *tabu*. It was *tabu* for those who did the weaving to have been in contact with a menstruating woman or a corpse, and *tabu* for them to leave the site where the weaving was being done. All the materials used in making traps were *tabu*—no shadow of man, pig, dog, or fowl must fall on them. All were consecrated to the making of the *hina'i*. When the traps were completed and the prayers had been said to release the restrictions of [1976:84] the gods, then the *tabu* was freed. For the two or three days it took to make the *hina'i*, the men could not rejoin their wives nor others of their households.

The day on which the *hina'i kala* were dropped in the sea was a well-publicized day, and visitors, peddlers, and traders as well as kinsmen, friends, and relatives came. The first *kala*, those taken on the land holder's lay (*la haku*), went to the chief of the land, but the fisherman got a share from the fish set apart for the *akua*, perhaps five *kala* from each basket—or perhaps three or four. A chief who looked to the welfare of the land, however, gave twenty to forty fish from each trap to the *akua*, and from these the fisherman got a share. The chiefs day was the first day the *hina'i* were lowered. First a "warming" offering (*ho'omahanahana*) was made to the fishing 'aumakua from one 'api basket that was taken ashore and from a *hina'i* trap that had been set in the small hours of the morning (*po iki*). At daylight the canoes took the *hina'i* traps out to sea, and when they had all been lowered with *limu kala* in them, the 'api baskets were taken ashore.

¹⁸ Beckley (1883, pp. 6-7) says: "The ie kala basket is the largest kind of basket used in fishing by the Hawaiians..." (see Beckley in this study)



The second day the take was for the *kama'aina* of the land and for the fisherman, and that day his kinsmen and relatives gathered. The first *hina'i* full of *kala* fish was for the fishing 'aumakua, to release their restrictions. If there were forty *kala* in the trap, all were offered. When these fish were on shore, the *imu* to cook the *kala* was lighted. Some were steamed, *puhōlo*, some baked, *kalua*, some simmered, *hakui*, and some cooked in leaves, *lāulau*. Everything had been prepared beforehand—firewood, banana leaves, ti leaves, and containers for cooking the fish. When the baked *kala* were taken out of the *imu* and the steamed and simmered *kala* were ready, the fish were offered to the gods by the head fisherman and the other fishermen, and all the heads of the land (*ka honua 'aina*). The head fisherman acted as the *kahuna* who prayed to the 'aumakua and offered the food, and when the tabu of the prayers was over, the fishermen ate. When they were through, fish was taken to the *hale noa* for the female 'aumakua. When all had eaten then the fishermen went to pull up the remaining *hina'i*. If there were two canoes and forty fishermen to haul up the *hina'i*, the canoes would be full of *kala*. When the fish were brought ashore there would be a pile as big as a house; a *lau* upon *lau* (“four hundred times four hundred”); a *mano* (“four thousand”); a *kini* (“forty thousand”)—most of them still alive. Ka'ena was a land abounding in *kala* fish, but perhaps by now their heads are as hard as coral, *ko'a ka lae* [past full maturity, not having been caught].

Unusual Ways of Fishing

It is impossible to explain all the ways of fishing of *ka po'e kahiko*, but some of the more unusual ways will be described. Spearing fish—'o i'a—was one of them. The spear fisherman searched for a piece of hard wood, *kauila* [1976:85] perhaps, or *o'a*, *koai'e*, *uhiuhi*, or other hard wood an *anana* and an *iwilei* [six to seven feet] long. Some spears were longer, and some shorter and were three, four, five, or six inches in circumference, made very straight, and tapered to a sharp point.* They had iron points or bone points made from dog or human bone, lashed on with coconut fiber.

The spear fishermen went out to sea ten fathoms or more to where there were many fish. Most of the men swam, but some went on canoes. Some of them stayed in one spot, some waded about, and some really chased the fish in the sea. Some swam out to where it was deep and when they saw many fish, took a deep breath and dived headlong. They crouched sideways with one foot thrust out for support, with the spear (*la'au 'o i'a*) held upward in the right hand—like a man shooting plover—and lunged with the spear and pierced whatever fish they chose, whether *uhu*, *ulua*, *kahala*, or some small fish. Sharks were the “fighting companions” (*hoa hakaka*) of the spear fisherman; they remained quiet and did not trouble them. Those who fished with spears did not kill sharks, nor did they spear and kill whales. Spear fishermen were as strong as those who dived in fishing with the 'upena waha nui and the 'upena maomao; they could go down twenty or thirty fathoms, and could reach depths of two hundred feet and more.¹⁹ They could swim like fish in the sea, as Kawelo proved.

A really unusual way of fishing was the snaring of eels by hand—*lawai'a pahēhehele puhi*. The Hawaiians well knew that eels are “ugly-faced” (*maka kalalea*) wild creatures with sharp teeth; that they can bend sideways and tear a man's hand to shreds. Those who were expert in this kind of eel fishing used their fingers as “hooks” (*makau*) and their arms as “lines” (*aho*). The palm of the hand was the “chum bait” (*ka palu o ka maunu*), and the outstretched fingers the *makau* that hooked the eels.

The eel fisherman got his bait in the daytime—*he'e pali*, *'a'ama*, or *'opihi*—and on a dark night when the sky was thickly studded with stars the eel fisherman—or one who caught fish by hand (*lawai'a hahamau*), or one who gathered shellfish (*lawai'a hihiwai*)—would

¹⁹ Kamakau's statement that divers could dive to depths of twenty and thirty fathoms is confirmed by Meares (1790, pp. 339-340, 341-342), who witnessed two feats of diving to these depths.



say, “There are fish tonight—the stars are twinkling.” He would grab a long bag, *‘eke*, and tie it on in back, take a water gourd for the beach, *ipuwai kahakai*, in his hand, and go down to the smooth rocks and pebbles at the shore.

The eel fisherman looked for a jumbled mass of rocks with pebbles among them and arranged a place for himself near a large rock with many pebbles. He chewed the back of an *‘a‘ama* crab and spewed it out. The smell attracted the eels. The sea dashed over the fisherman as he lay face down close to a crevice in the rock that stretched below in the foam. If he could use both hands equally well, he could fill two bags and the water gourd with eels.

In snaring the eels the fingers were stretched wide apart while the thumb pressed down and held crabmeat in the palm of the hand. The back of the hand rested on pebbles, with the fingertips up against the face of the [1976:86] rock or of the crevice. The head of an eel would appear between the fingers as it came to eat from the palm of his hand. The fisherman would clamp his fingers together, and the head of the eel would be caught fast. If all the spaces between the fingers were filled, then six eels might be caught at one time. As their tails thrashed about, the fisherman would bite the eels in the middle of the back, and their wide open mouths would bite him on the cheek, on the neck, or on the ear lobes. The eel snarer went on with this odd way of fishing until his bag was full.²⁰

The *hahamau* fisherman really probed with his hands inside crevices. He did his fishing at night, and caught *hou*, *‘olali*, *pakauele*, *lelo*, *pao‘o* and other fishes in the palm of his hand.

Shark fishing with chum, *kupalupalu mano*, was a way of fishing in the ancient days using a dead man [as chum] But only the chiefs used dead men—they would have men killed secretly and then take them out to sea to be eaten by sharks. Ordinary fishermen would use pig for their bait. They would kill a pig, cut it into chunks, and leave the flesh in a container until it was decomposed, then take it to sea and use it for chum. Some let it hang overnight in the sea.

The fishermen sailed far out on the ocean, until the land looked level with the sea; that was the place for shark fishing. When all was ready, the prow of the canoe was turned into the current so that the upswell of the current would be behind the canoe. The net, *koko*, containing the decomposed pig mixed with pebbles and broken *kukui* nut shells, was tied to the starboard side of the canoe at the forward boom, *kua ‘iako mua*. Then the net was splashed in the sea and poked with a stick until the grease (*hinu*) ran through the pebbles and *kukui* shells. A shark would scent the grease; its dorsal fin, *kuala*, would break through the surface of the sea, and it would snap its teeth close to the canoe.

The large sharks were the *niuhi*; other sharks were the *luhia*, *lalakea*, *lelewa‘a*, and *pahaha*. There were large ones and small ones. They could be tamed like pet pigs and be tickled and patted on the head. That is why *ka po‘e kahiko* could say, “I am fond of a tame fish—a shark” (*Ua puni au i ka i‘a laka—he mano*).

The fisherman would pat the shark on the head until it became used to being touched; then he rested his chin upon the head of the shark and slipped a noose over its head with his hands, turning his palms away from the shark lest it see their whiteness and turn and bite them. When the snare reached the gills, the fisherman eased it downward to the

²⁰ Kamakau’s account of snaring eels by hand is substantiated by Kahaulelio (1902, June 20) and by Kawena Pukui. Kahaulelio calls it *‘ini‘iniki* fishing, and says that the eels caught were the small *puhi laumilo* (*Gymnothorax undulata*). Pukui has watched this method of eel snaring for *puhi ‘ini‘iniki*, or *puhi oilo*, infant eels. *He‘e pali* was the bait used, and “sometimes two or three eels were caught at once.” (Pukui)



center of the body, then he pressed a foot on the shark's head, bending it forward as he tightened the noose. If it were a big shark—two, three, or four *anana* long—there would be a furious tugging and battling. If it were a small one, it would not be long before it was bent over the *kua 'iako*.²¹ If the fishermen were afraid, a snare made of crossed sticks of *wauke* noosed the shark. That was the method used in some areas. In some, the sharks were seized with the hands. Oahu was a land famous for just seizing [1976:87] sharks; porpoises—*nu'ao, nai'a*; rays—*hahalua, hailepo*; *'ahi, kahala*; and other fishes.

At Pu'uloa on Oahu were two unusual ponds [fish traps]—Kapakule and Kepo'okala. Kapakule was the better one. The rocks of its walls, *kuapa*, could be seen protruding at high tide, but the interlocking stone walls (*pae niho pohaku*) of the other pond were still under water at high tide. Kapakule was a pond famous from ancient days; many fish came into it, and very uncommon ones—only the whale did not enter it. It was said to have been built by the *'e'epa* people at the command of Kane *ma*. It enclosed about four acres, more or less. The wall (*pae pohaku*) on its *makai* side was a little higher, and at high tide could be seen jutting eastward as far as the edge of the channel, *kali awa*. Then it stretched in a curve along the edge of the channel and made an arc toward the upland (*i uka*). From it a short stone wall made another curve toward the upland and the edge of the channel, and a row of tree trunks continued on from it *i uka* of the *kali awa*. On the *mauka* side of the pond was the opening where the fish went in and out.²²

This is how the fish entered the pond. At high tide many fish would go past the *mauka* side of the pond, and when they returned they would reach the row of tree trunks seaward [of them]. They would become frightened by the projecting shadows of the trunks, and would go into the opening. The fish that went along the edge of the sand reached the seaward wall, then turned back toward the middle and entered the *anapuni* (the arced portion of the trap). A man ran out and placed a “cut-off” seine net (*'omuku lau*) in the opening, and the fish shoved and crowded into it. The fish that were caught in the net were dumped out, and those not caught in the net were attacked with sharp sticks and tossed out, or were seized by those who were strong.

The shark was one of the fishes seized by hand, and this used to cause contention between those of the land and strangers, *malihini*. The *malihini* would boast of their own strength and taunt the *kama'aina* and the young people with weakness. But when a *malihini* seized a shark, it would give one flip and the *malihini* would fall over on his back. To the *keiki kama'aina* of that land, the shark was a horse to be bridled, its fin serving as a pommel of an Italian saddle. I have seen a man skilled in steering sharks ride a shark like a horse, turning it this way and that as it carried him to land—where he killed it.

The land became famous for its saying, “The hands are the stone [sinkers] on the lifting rope, and the fingernails the cords that attach the net to the *hau* floats for the man who floats about snaring fish” (*'O ka pohaku na lima o ka 'alihi luna, ka mai'u'u 'o ka pikoni hau ke kanaka nana e ho'olanalana loa'a ma heihei wale no ka i'a*).

Ka po'e kahiko had many ways of catching fish; perhaps there are no other people in the world like the Hawaiians in doing this. [1976:88]

The Making of Fishnets

The making of fishnets was an important craft of *ka po'e kakiko*. Mai'ai was the originator (*kanaka kahiko*) of net making, and from him came the *kapu* lineage of the net maker; it was a *kapu* lineage inherited from the ancestors. The *kapu* protected the net maker from

²¹ [see Beckley's account of shark fishing (1883, pp. 10-12), in this study]

²² See Stokes (1909, pp. 200-204) for another description and a figure of Kapakule fish trap... [1976:91]



being pierced by his own shuttle. His eyes were upon the meshes he was netting, and no one might come near to his side [lest he be distracted].

The first thing for a net maker to do was to barter for *olona* fiber until he had a great deal of it. He would take pigs of an *anana* in length to an *olona* scraping shed and receive “four thousand strands” of fiber (*mano olona*). With dogs, loads of fish and food from his taro patches and fields, he would get enough *olona*. If it were *olona haku*, that is *olona* that was [1976:117] prepared for the chiefs, then the people of the land sections—*ahupua‘a*, *kalana*, *moku*—would prepare the *olona* and braid it. But sufficient *olona* cordage was obtained by a mere man only by patience. When finally he had enough to make the kind of net he wanted, his wife was the one who braided the cord for the net. She was repaid for her work with pigs, fish, *poi*, *pa‘u*, or whatever else she wanted.

For the *naepuni*, or fine-meshed net, also called *nae*, *puni*, or ‘*a‘a*, the cord was very fine; it took a year or more to make, *ka*, a net of it. The mesh, *maka*, of the *naepuni* was very small, made with a little piece of flat wood as a mesh gauge and a tiny shuttle. Skillful *nae* net makers could work rapidly, and so, in the old days, these *po‘e ka nae* became the *nae* net makers for the chiefs.

The very small *nukunukua‘ula* mesh and the one-finger *makahi* mesh were slightly larger than that of the *nae*, and so was the cord for them. The cord for the two-finger mesh, *malua*, was again thicker, and that for the three-finger, *makolu*, even stronger; and so the cord increased in size for the four-finger plus, *maha*, and five-finger meshes, *malewa*, up to the large mesh *hihi* nets, which were made with cord the size of that used for carrying nets and for long fishing lines.

For making nets of four-, *maha*, or five-finger mesh, the experts used the cord directly from the ball, but the less skillful first wound it on a shuttle, *hi‘a*. A piece of flat wood according to the kind of net wanted was used as a ruler (*rula*) to make the meshes even. The cord from the shuttle was knotted (*ho‘ohei*, literally ensnared) around it to make each mesh. The mesh gauge was called a *haha*; the branched stick that the cord wound around was the *hi‘a*. Net makers were quick and skillful workers.

Canoe Making

In ancient times canoes were hewn out of many kinds of wood. The woods were shaped into pieces—many pieces—then fitted together; this became a canoe, a *wa‘a*. It was a laborious task. Much cordage and rope had to be plaited out of coconut sennit and much wood was needed. Half the task was in making the coconut cordage. This kind of canoe making was troublesome and wearisome work, as is found in the *mo‘olelo* of *ka po‘e kahiko*. Here is a sample:

Kua ‘ia ka ‘ulu ka ‘alamea;

Ka ulula‘au ku nahele,

Ku ka ha, ku ka ‘ohi‘a,

Ku ka lehua, ka lamakea,

Ku ka ‘oloheo, ka ‘olapa;

Kua ‘ia ke ololani.

Hewn down is the breadfruit tree
with an ‘*alamea* adz;

The grove of trees stands in the
forest,

The *ha* stands, the ‘*ohi‘a* stands,

The *lehua* stands, the *lamakea* [stands];

The ‘*oloheo* stands, the ‘*olapa* [stands];

Hewn down is the *ololani* [poetically, the
coconut tree]. [1976:118]

From these trees were made the worked woods, *papa*, that *ka po‘e kahiko* fitted together for canoes in the time of Wakea and before and after his time. Wakea’s double canoe, named Kumu‘eli, was of pieces of wood fitted together and so was Kaloloamaile [Kaloliamaiela], the double canoe of Kuha‘ilima. In the time of Laka *ma* canoes were



hewn out of *koa*—one large *koa* tree made one canoe. This made the work less burdensome and wearisome, and shortened the labor. This was also true in the time of Hakalanileo, Niheu, and Kana. But the canoes of the voyagers who sailed from Kahiki to Hawaii were made of fitted pieces and so were those of Leimakani *ma*, who came from the west, and those of Moikeha *ma*, La'amaikahiki *ma*, Pa'ao *ma*, and Pilika'aiea and his prophet Makua-kaumana, who were from islands in the south.²⁵

In the old days canoe making was an important profession for which one had to first be trained and become an expert before he could engage in the work or go to the mountains to hew a canoe. When a *kahuna* went to the mountains to hew down a tree for the canoe he took along a pig, red fish, and a bunch of *kohekohe* sedge. When he reached the base of the *koa* tree that was to be cut for the canoe, the *kahuna kalai wa'a* examined it to see that it was satisfactory; then he appealed to the 'aumakua of canoe making—Kupulupulu, Kumokuhali'i, Kuolonowao, Kuho'oholopali, Kupa'aikē'e, Kuka'ohi'alaka, also Laka the canoe-making expert and Lea Wahine—and to all the 'aumakua of the mountains. When he was through, the red fish and a *tapa* garment were buried at the base of the tree with the bunch of *kohekohe* sedge, and the pig was put to bake in an *imu*. Then the tree was cut. If there were many *kahunas* [cutting away at the tree] it would fall before the pig was cooked.

When the pig was cooked, a prayer was offered to the gods and a blessing was beseeched of the 'aumakua *kalai wa'a*—who were the ancestors who had worked in the canoe-making profession in ancient times. After the ceremonial eating was finished, the treetop and the branches were cut off. Then the canoe was chipped (*hahae ka mamala*) from front to back, the front and back ends curved, and all chips removed (*palepaleha a pau*). Then the outside was smoothed with an adz from prow, *ihu*, to the stern point, *momoa* [*moamoa*]. The edges for the gunwales were made straight from front to back, and the inside dubbed. The *ihu*, or “nose,” rose above the open part. The canoe itself was not finished. This was just the shaping of the “banana stalk” (*kalai pumai'a*); a rough hewing and dubbing. When the chips of the bottom from front to back (*na mamala o ka uhao o mua a hope*) had been removed, the refuse (*'aina*) taken out of the central part, *kainaliu*; the comb cleats, *pepeiao*, fashioned; and the interior, *ka'ele*, shaped; the hull was ready to be dragged to the lowlands, and the *kahuna* returned to shore... [1976:119]

...The *kahuna kalai wa'a* was an expert in his profession. When he had trimmed down (*kupa*) the canoe outside and inside, and it was shaped, *kalai*; finished off, *ho'oki*; rubbed, *kahi*; polished, *'anai*; and nicely blackened, *pa'ele*; he fitted on the end pieces, *kupe*, for the bow and stern and the gunwale strakes, *mo'o*; and chiseled, *pao*, holes in the pieces of wood. Then he made holes, *houhou*, in the canoe for the sennit cords, and lashed the canoe from the curve of the bow to the back curve of the back end piece, *la'au hope* [*kupe*]. The best wood to use for the gunwale strakes and the end pieces was *'ahakea*. *Kawa'u* was also used, but it was perhaps not as good as *'ahakea*. The *kahuna* lashed the “halves” (*puniu*) of the ornamental knobs, *manu*, with sennit cord neatly braided in the *'o'io* pattern. To attach the spreaders, *wae*, he made (*hou*) large holes in the gunwale strakes near the comb cleats at the front and back where the outrigger booms crossed the hull, *kua'iako*. He covered the bow of the canoe with a *kuapo'i*²⁷ median bow cover, and this completed the fitting together of the canoe. The *ama*, float, and the *'iako* outrigger booms remained to be attached.

The *ama* was of *wiliwili* wood, shaped in an arch so that the front end, *lupe*, and the back end, *kanaka*, were high. The body of the *ama* was straight, with the rise in front and in back. It was large or small, according to the size of the canoe—if the canoe was small, the *ama* would be small too.



When the canoe was ready with its *ama* and *'iako*, a ceremony called *lolo ka wa'a* was held in the evening. A pig and a dog were symbolic foods for the *lolo* feast. The pig symbolized the "rooting" (*'eku*) of the canoe into the open sea, and the dog the "tearing apart" (*hae aku*) the billows of the ocean. [1976:121]

Sweet potatoes and taro were the vegetable foods. Afterward the *kahuna kalai wa'a*, who had shaped and fitted together the canoe according to all the rules of canoe making, gave his prophecy. If he knew that the *lolo* ceremony had gone well he would say to the owner, "This is a canoe to sail in; it will not meet with misfortune in the foamy sea, nor in the deep blue sea. No 'robber' (*powa*) of the ocean will harm it, no sea will harm it, no wind will harm it. It will sail from Hawaii to Kauai without harm." However, if the *kahuna* had seen something go wrong in the ceremony he would say to the owner, "Sell the canoe to someone else!"

The next morning the new canoe was set afloat and it went to sea to meet the fishing fleet to get a fresh fish. Then it returned to shore, and that fish was offered with prayers (*kahukahu*) for the new canoe, and *kala* seaweed was gathered and offered at the *kuahu* altar, then cast on the *ko'a*. This ended the making of the canoe...

The Skills of Yesterday Gone Today

Ka po'e kahiko were rich in possessions; they found their riches and provisions in the natural resources of the land. Their skill and knowledge are proven by their works. The people of today are destitute; their clothing... [1976:122] and provisions come from foreign lands, and they do not work as their ancestors did. Some women sell their bodies for coverings and fine clothing and to buy "food" and "fish" to relieve hunger and poverty. The men too have deserted the works of their ancestors—farming, fishing, painting *kua'ula* tapas, building canoes, scraping *olona*, carving wooden bowls, making nets, twisting two-, three-, or four-ply cords, making feather capes and round leis, and preparing gum for snaring birds.

One cannot again find skilled persons who had a deep knowledge of the land; those who are called learned today are mere vagabonds who follow after one of skill and knowledge, and fawn and flatter, and smack their lips and lap with their tongues at the fortunes of others... What about a peddler now? He is a man of low birth who has risen high and has become a companion of chiefs. Peddling is a low practice that has been entered into by persons of rank, fulfilling the words of the prophets, "Those of the heavens shall descend, and those of the earth shall rise up" (*E iho mai ana ka lani e pi'i mai ana ko lalo*). "Those of the heavens" were the chiefs, who kept their exalted positions high. They have come down, and live and talk and eat with peddlers and make friends of them, those low outcasts! * [1976:123]

Places of Worship and Rituals — Heiaus

HEIAUS WERE not alike; they were of different kinds according to the purpose for which they were made... [1976:129] ...*Heiau ko'a*, fishing shrines, were sometimes large, but most of them were small. Some consisted of a house enclosed by a wooden fence, and banana offerings were made in them; but most were exposed to view and were just rounded heaps of stones with a *kuahu* altar where pigs were baked. When the offering had been made and the pig eaten, the *ko'a* was left exposed but the *imu* and its stones were covered over with dirt and packed down. *Heiau ko'a* were close to the beach or in seacoast caves, on lands with cliffs. The purpose of the *heiau ko'a* was important. The *ko'a* brought life to the land through an abundance of fish; there was no other purpose for the *ko'a* but this. There were many kinds of gods of the people who worshiped fishing gods. The people whose god was Ku'ula built Ku'ula *ko'a*; those whose god was Kanemakua built Kanemakua *ko'a*, and those of Kinilau, Kamohoali'i, and Kaneko'a did likewise, and so there were many, many *ko'a*.



Ko'a were also built to increase the 'o'opu fishes in streams, rivers, and fishponds. On islets inhabited by birds, the bird catchers who caught birds by imitating their cries and then snaring them (kono manu), or who smoked them out of their nesting holes (puhi manu), or who drew them out from their holes (pu manu) also set up ko'a to give life to the land by an abundance of birds... [1976:133]

III. Ka Po'e Kahiko (The People of Old)

In the series of articles written by S.M. Kamakau in 1870, this native historian again provided readers with detailed descriptions of traditional and customary practices and beliefs associated with the work of *lawai'a*, and the significance of aquatic resources in Hawaiian tradition. In these articles, Kamakau (1968) further elaborates on the natural and spiritual attributes of life forms—particularly those of the *manō* (sharks) and other beings of supernatural qualities—within the ocean and fresh water environments, and also describes the use of ocean water for medicinal purposes:

The Makahiki Festival

The Makahiki festival was a time to rest, and a time to make great feasts of commemoration (*'aha'aina ho'omana'o*) for life and health of the body, and for the help received from the god... [They gave thanks] to the god for his care, and for his help; from him came life, blessings, peace, and victory.

They made *kapu* the last three months of the year. The Makahiki began (*e kauwelu ai*) in the month of Hilina, and at this time pork, coconut, and fish were placed under *kapu*; the eating of flesh foods (*'i'o*) was *kapu* during these months...¹¹ [Kamakau 1968:19]

Pohaku o Kane (Shrines to Increase the Abundance of Fish)

...The Stone of Kane was called a *pu'uhonua*, and "a gate to heaven," *puka no ka lani*. It was the *kuahu* altar where men talked to the [family] gods; where men were freed from defilement and wrongdoing; a place at which to ask the gods for blessings... There were very many Stones of Kane in every *ahupua'a* from Hawaii to Kauai. The Pohaku o Kane were different from heiaus; different from the ko'a shrines set up for the increase of deep sea fishes (ko'a ku'ula ho'oulu i'a) and the ko'a to the god Kaneko'a set up along the banks of rivers, streams, and shore and inland ponds (kuapa me na loko) for the increase of 'o'opu fishes (ko'a ho'oulu 'o'opu); they were different from the heiaus to Kanepua'a and to Lono to increase food crops, the unuunu ho'oulu 'ai, and the ipu-o-Lono heiaus; and different from the heiaus for Kukeolo'ewa [the Maui chiefs' "state" god, whose services were held in luakini heiaus]...* [Kamakau 1968:33]

Hosts of Heaven and Earth (Fish and Animals of the Sea Deified)

It is clear from the ancient accounts of the remote forebears of this group of islands that the ancestors believed in the true god. This true god they worshiped was Kanenuiakea. He was the source who made heaven and earth... In his time men made sacrifices and offerings to the god of the first things they obtained—the first-born of their animals, the first fruits of the earth, and the first fishes caught. Men gave these things as sacrifices and offerings to the god...

So it went on for a long time through the generations, until the time of Kahiko Luamea... Kahiko Luamea had two sons; Lihau'ula was the elder, and Wakea was the younger. Lihau'ula entered the priesthood (*'oihana kahuna*) and performed the sacred offices for the god. In his time the *kapus* and the things consecrated to the god multiplied until they became burdensome. Wakea was set apart to be the progenitor of chiefs (*kuamo'o kupuna ali'i*), and Lihau'ula to be the progenitor of the *kahuna* line of Milipomea. Thus through Kahiko Luamea came the high priests of the god. When Lihau'ula carried on his priestly work, certain foods were made *kapu* to women—pig, shark, ulua, [Kamakau



1968:63] fish, red fishes, most bananas, yellow coconuts, and certain dark and pink pois. It was made *kapu* for men and women to eat together... [Kamakau 1968:64]

...When the spirits are angry, they appease their anger and chagrin (*lili*) by ruining the land and causing death to man. The only way to make them stop is for the ruler himself to take a pig and offer it as a “burnt sacrifice” (*mohai kuni*) to the gods with his own hand. [Kamakau 1968:66] The fishpond of Kiholo in North Kona, Hawaii, was constantly being threatened by lava flows while Kamehameha was ruler of the kingdom of Hawaii. A flow came down close to the pond of Kiholo; Kamehameha brought a pig and cast it in; the “fires” stopped. The flow had gone down as far as Ka’upulehu and Mahai’ula and had almost plunged into the sea. Kamehameha’s bringing of a pig and offering it made the flow stop. There were eyes in the lava to see Kamehameha, and ears to hear his appeals and his words of prayer, and the great blazing lava flow died down...³

Describing the Manifestations of Gods and Their Associations with Aquatic Resources

...It is said, Kane, Kanaloa, and Haumea came from Kahiki and from the firmament (*mai ka lewa mai*). They were first seen by a couple of fishermen outside of Ke’ei, in South Kona. Kuheleimoana and Kuheleipo were the two fishermen who first saw these spirits (*po’e akua*) coming over the surface of the sea. When the two men saw these wonderful beings they knelt in profound respect, and they gave them white fish and pointed out the *’awa* plants *mauka* of, *’Alanapo* in Ke’ei. Those of us who study and understand clearly the prophetic chants (*mele wanana*) know that the name of Haumea was given to the woman [Kamakau 1968:67] who came with Kane and his companion because she was a woman of mysterious and recurrent births (*no ka mea o Haumea ka wahine hanau kupanaha a hanau wawa*). Here is a *mele* of the *po’e kahiko* that makes this clear:

*Holo mai Kane mai Kahiki,
Holo a i’a iloko o ke kai,
Ke kekele ‘au i ka moana;
O Haumea ke kaikuahine
O Kanaloa ia me Kane.
E ki’i e ka i’a kea i kai,
La’a i ku’emake o Kane,
La’ahia i ke kanawai,
He mau lawai’a i ka moana,
O Kuheleimoana O Kuheleipo,
E kaka ana i ka malie,
I ka la’i ku pohu malino,
I na kai malino a ‘Ehu.
Hukia i ka ‘upena luelue.
E ho’i kakou i ka uka,
E ‘alana i ka pu ‘awa hiwa;
Ha’awi i ke kaikuahine.
Elua ‘olua ko Haumea i ke keiki.*

*I hanau i kana hiapo,
O Ka’ulawena Konohiki Wawanakalana.
[Kamakau 1968:68]*

Here comes Kane from Kahiki,
Coming like a fish in the sea,
Gliding through the currents of the ocean;
Haumea the sister
And Kanaloa are with Kane.
We get the white fish from the sea,
That is sacred to the eyebrows of Kane,
Consecrated to him by his edict,
We two fishermen on the ocean,
Kuheleimoana and Kuheleipo,
Who are deep-sea fishing in the calm,
In the windless calm,
In the calm seas of ‘Ehu.
The bag net is drawn up,
We return to shore,
And offer the choice ‘awa;
It is given to the sister.
There are two of you, and Haumea
conceives a child,
She gives birth to her first-born,
Ka’ulawena *Konohiki Wawanakalana*...

Shark Forms

...The shark is a ravaging lion of the ocean whom none can tame. It is able to swallow a man down whole. If a man arouses its anger, it will show its rows of shining teeth with the sea washing between—and nothing can equal the terror which seizes a man when a



shark chops to pieces the *ama* of his canoe and tosses him up and down in the sea. Holding the man securely between its upper and shorter lower jaw, it jerks him about on the surface of the sea.⁷

There are people still living who have seen such things, and there are some who have been bitten by those two wild “lions,” Pehu and Moanaliha, two man-eating sharks of Maui and Hawaii. Pehu and Moanaliha had been transfigured and were worshiped; they were not ancestral sharks, not *kumupa’a* or *’aumakua*, but “itchy-mouthed *’uhinipili*” (deified spirits), and “made gods,” *akua ho’ola’a*. These two devoured men regardless of the presence of chiefs or their households—even in the presence of Kamehameha. At one time the shark-worshiping altars (*ko’a ho’omana o na mano*) for these two at Kailua, Kona, Hawaii, were set on fire. While their *kahu* were living on Maui, at Honokohau, Lahaina, and Wailuku, innumerable people all about Maui were devoured by these two. But they were afraid of Oahu, where there was a *kanawai* that no *malihini* shark who thought to bite people would escape with his life.

Oahu was made a *kapu* land by this *kanawai* placed by [the shark gods] Kanehunamoku and Kamohoali’i. But their sister Ka’ahupahau broke the law and devoured the chiefess Papio. She was taken and “tried” (*ho’okolokolo*) at Uluka’a [the realm of these gods], but she escaped the punishment of death. It was her woman *kahu* who paid the penalty of the law because it was her fault—she reviled Papio. The trouble arose over a *papahi lei* of *’ilima* flowers which belonged to Ka’ahupahau that her *kahu* was wearing. [The *kahu* refused to give it to Papio, and] Papio said, “I am going bathing, but when I come back you shall be burned with fire.” But Ka’ahupahau devoured Papio before she could carry out her threat, and she was punished for this. That is how Pu’uloa became a [safe] thoroughfare (*alahula*). After her confinement ended several years later, Ka’ahupahau was very weak. She went on a sightseeing trip, got into trouble, and was almost killed. But she received great help from Kupiapia and Laukahi’u, sons of Kuhaimoana, and when their enemies were all slain, the *kanawai* was firmly established. This law—that no shark must bite or attempt to eat a person in Oahu waters—is well known from Pu’uloa to the Ewas. Anyone who doubts my words must be a *malihini* there. Only in recent times have sharks been known to bite people in Oahu waters or to have devoured them; it was not so in old times.

There was, however, a shark who did bite in the old days—a shark with one tooth, who nipped like a crab. He was known to all the *po’e kahiko*. He frequented the waters of Kahaloa at Waikiki, and Mokoli’i, at Hakipu’u and Kualoa, in Ko’olaupoko. *Malihini* may be skeptical that he had only one tooth, but this was [Kamakau 1968:73] known to everybody.* We all know that sharks have rows and rows of teeth, but this shark, called *’Unihokahi* (One-toothed), had but one tooth. He was known to Peleioholani, Kahekili, and Kamehameha I. When the chiefs went surfing at Kapua in Waikiki, if a man was bitten by this particular shark that left a single tooth mark, it was a warning that an enemy of the sea was approaching. Chiefs and people went hurriedly to shore; it would not do to hesitate, for soon the dorsal fin and side fins of an approaching shark would be visible.

In 1834, during the time of Kaomi, a *malihini* shark came to Waikiki in search of food. When he reached Ka’alawai and Kaluaahole, he was refused by the guardian sharks of that place (*ka po’e kama’aina kia’i o ia wahi*) and then he came to Kapua, where the guardians of Waikiki were, and argued with them. They decided to kill him and to leave visible proof of it, so they forced his head into a cleft in the rocks at Kuka’iunahi, *makai* of Kupalaha. It could not get free, and there it was with its tail—two or more *anana* in length—flapping in the air, and a little companion shark swimming around it. If this had been done by men it would have been impossible to hold it fast without tying it with ropes, but as it was done by those whom men had made into supernatural beings, the shark was made fast without ropes. When this wondrous sight was seen, men ran with



ropes and tied them to the tail and dragged the shark ashore, still alive, with its eyes blinking and its body turning from side to side. It died from being dragged here and there, and by the time they reached Honolulu it was all flabby.

Most of the sharks who had become supernatural beings (*ho'olilo 'ia i akua*) were people who had been changed into forms of their shark ancestors (*kaku'ai 'ia iloko o na mano kumupa'a*). These ancestral sharks, *mano kumupa'a*, were not beings deified by man (*ho'omana 'ia e kanaka*); they got their shark forms from the god. Nor did their angel forms remain permanently in sharks—but when they showed themselves, it was in the form of sharks. They did not show themselves in all sharks, but only in those which had been given distinguishing marks (*ho'ailona pa'a*) known to their *kahu* and offspring, and known to their descendants in the world of light. If a *kahu* were in trouble and in danger of death on the ocean he would call upon his own shark, and that shark would come and get him, and so he would escape death. Hawaiians are familiar with sharks coming to the rescue of their *kahu* or their descendants. Not only one person, but many—ten to forty—have been saved at one time by such a shark.

I will tell now about our ancestors who sailed the ocean, Kaneakaho'owaha *ma*, Kaiahua *ma*, Kuakapua'a *ma*, and Luia *ma*, and of the hundreds they led across the ocean, unafraid of storms, the south wind, the north wind, and all the winds of the ocean. They did not come to harm, nor did they fear death, for they were guided over the desolate wastes like beloved children by a single great guide: the shark named Kalahiki. When it was stormy and the ocean was rough, he swam in front of the canoe fleet, and when land was out of sight, he led them back to land. If they lay becalmed at sea with land out of sight, he lay with his head in the direction of land. A fire would be lighted on the lead canoe and 'awa and *aumiki*, the after-drink, [Kamakau 1968:74] would be prepared. The shark that was guiding the canoes would come up close and open its mouth and the 'awa would be poured into it. After it had partaken of the drink-offerings it had been fed, it would turn its head and in whatever direction the head turned, the canoe fleet would go. If there were forty canoes, they must all turn alike. If they had been becalmed, a good wind would instantly spring up; one that would bear them along until they sighted land.

The man who chewed the 'awa and offered the drink-offering to this shark died in 1849. He had sailed with Luia *ma* from Kauai to Hawaii without any of them getting even the least glimpse of land because of the fog and mist that covered the ocean. These people were famous for sailing the ocean, but the basis of their skill and knowledge was the shark. From Luia has come down to us today the knowledge of the arts of fishing for flying fish and of steering canoes in the deep ocean. Many can testify to the deeds of Luia *ma*, and to their being guided by the shark.

Kanehunamoku, Kamohoali'i, Kuhaimoana, Ka'uhuhu, Kaneikokala, Kanakaokai, and some others were *mano kumupa'a*. Most of them came from Kahiki. They were not beings deified by man; they came as angels of many forms (*kino lau*). Each had a shark and bird or some other form, and also a human form. In their human forms these divine beings met and conversed with men and talked to those who served the gods. Thus some people were inspired to become prophets, *kaula*, others to become god keepers, *kahu akua*, and others to become kahunas for these gods. They showed themselves in trances and visions in the forms they assumed as sharks, owls, *hilu* fish, *mo'o*, and so forth. There were many forms that these ancestral gods, the '*aumakua kumupa'a*, such as Kamohoali'i and Kanehunamoku *ma* and other ancestral beings from the *po* (spirit world), assumed...

...In the country districts of Maui I have often seen persons who had been maimed by a shark—a foot cut off, a hand cut short, one side, or both, of the buttocks gone, the back badly scarred, the face marred, the eye and cheek torn away, and so forth. I saw one



woman whom I pitied especially. She lived at Ma'onakala in Kanahena, Honua'ula, when Mahoe was the schoolteacher, in this era of writing (*ke au palapala*). She was nearly engulfed by a shark, and I saw the horrible scars made by the teeth of the shark on the back and front of her body. The woman had dived to set a fish trap, and after making it fast in the current, [Kamakau 1968:75] she returned to the coral head where her companion was chewing bait, took the bait, and dived again to put it into the trap. When she turned to go back to the coral head she saw a small shark pass in front of her; then she felt the sea warm about her feet and herself being gulped down. Her whole body was inside the mouth of a shark, and its top jaw was just closing over the lower jaw when the small shark crossed and held up the top jaw and pressed the lower jaw down on a rock. Her companion saw her and called out, "So-and-so is being eaten by a shark! *Pau o Mea i ka mano!*" Here was the woman inside the shark, and the little shark circling above the large one. She saw an opening between the rows of sharp teeth and struggled out, with the help of that little shark who splashed and drove the other away. She was badly torn, and lay on the rock and fainted dead away; but she was still living. I first saw this woman at Lahaina in 1845 at the home of Mahoe and his wife Kealoha. Ho'oikaika was her daughter, and they belonged to the household of the Reverend Mr. Baldwin. I actually saw the marks of the shark's teeth on her body; it was cut and ridged back and front from her head to her feet.

I have heard of other persons who had been swallowed by sharks and escaped with their lives. In the story of Puniaiki it tells how he went into a shark and escaped with his life.⁸ It is told that in the time of the rule of Kaka'alaneo on Maui, when 'Ele'io was the chief of Hana and all east Maui, probably at the time when Kahoukapu was the ruling chief of Hawaii, a chief of Hawaii named Kukuipahu was swallowed by a shark and lived a great many days inside the shark. The shark came ashore at Hana on Maui, with the chief inside; and the Hana chief gave his daughter Ahukiokalani to the chief from Hawaii. The story is well known about his being swallowed by the shark and staying inside it. His hair all fell out, but he came out alive after living inside the shark.

Because sharks save men in times of peril, protect them when other sharks try to devour them, and are useful in other ways in saving lives at sea and on the deep ocean, some people were made into shark *'aumakua*, or guardian gods; they became forms of Kamohoali'i, Kanehunamoku, Ka'uhuhu, Kaneikokala, Kanakaokai, Ka'ahupahau, Kuhaimoana, or other ancestral shark gods. Thus many sharks appeared who had been deified by man. Some were evil, some were man-eaters, some were as fierce and untameable as lions, who even devoured their own *kahu* who had transfigured and deified them. Such were Kapehu (Pehu), Moanalihia, Mikololou, and other evil sharks. Others who were worshiped (*ho'omana 'ia*) became beloved friends if their *kanawai* were properly obeyed; they became defenders and guides in times of trouble and danger on the ocean, quieting the stormy ocean and bringing their people back to land. If their canoes came to grief and were smashed to pieces, their shark would carry them safely to shore. But those who had no such friend were like castaways without a guide; when land was out of sight, they would drift about until they died. If the canoe broke to pieces, their dead bodies would be cast up on Lanai or at Hanauma. They were people who had no claim upon anyone in the sea (*po'e kuleana 'ole iloko o ke kai*).

Such people would take a loved one who had died—a father, mother, child, or some other beloved relative—to the keeper of a shark, a *kahu mano*, or to one [Kamakau 1968:76] who had shark *'aumakua*, to be transfigured into whichever shark *'aumakua* they wanted, and it was done according to their wishes. The gifts and offerings to the *kahu mano* were a sow, a bundle of tapa, and a clump of *'awa*. If the *kahu* was satisfied with the gifts, he would command the persons who owned the body to prepare the ritual offerings for the god, as well as the gift offerings, for the body to become a shark. All was



made ready on the sacred day of Kane, the most important day of the *kapu* periods (*na la kapu Sabati*). At dawn of this day, a fire was lighted at the *kuahu* altar of the *ko'a* shrine or *heiau* of the ancestral shark, Kamohoali'i, Kanehunamoku, Ka'uhuhu, Kaneikokala, or whichever one it was. Then the owners of the body and the *kahu* of the shark god brought the sacrifices and offerings, the pig and the 'awa being the most important, and also the whole body of the dead person, or a bundle of his bones or some other part of the body, wrapped in a distinctive tapa. The shark would take on the character of the wrapping. If the tapa was a *pa'i'ula*, a red-and-white tapa, the shark would be reddish; if it was a *puakai* tapa, it would be all red; if it was a *moelua* tapa, it would be striped. The persons who owned the body would thus be able to recognize their own after it became a shark.*

The fire was lighted at the *ko'a* shrine and the food and the offerings were made ready; the "wave" offering of pig (*pua'a ho'ali*), and the sacrifice offering of pig (*mohai kaumaha*), and the "wave" and sacrifice offerings of 'awa. The "wave" offerings of pig and 'awa were not offerings to be eaten (*mohai 'ai*), but were given to the god, and bowls were filled with them as gift offerings to the god for changing the body into a shark. Then the persons to whom the body belonged and the *kahu mano* went with the bundled corpse and all the offerings to be given to the shark, while the *kahu mano* murmured prayers. Then the shark appeared, of a size immeasurable. Beside the cliff was a place two or three *anana* deep with a sandy floor, where the shark lay. When the 'awa and pig were taken there, the shark rose to the surface of the sea and opened its mouth and the 'awa and pig were poured into it. If the shark was very large it drank down the 'awa and the pig and bananas and other offerings besides. Then the body was given to it, being placed close to the "belly fin," the *halo*, of the shark. The *kahu mano* and the owners of the body returned to the *ko'a* and made ready their *mohai* offerings and their 'awa and took the pig out of the *imu*. They offered [the essence] to the god (*kaumaha i ke akua*), and when they had finished eating of these *mohai 'ai* offerings they threw the remainder into the sea. This ended, they went home.

The *kahu mano*, however, took 'awa at dawn and at dusk for two or three days, until he saw clearly that the body had definitely assumed the form of a shark and had changed into a little shark, with recognizable marks on the cheeks or sides like a tattoo or an earring mark. After two or three days more, when the *kahu mano* saw the strengthening of this new shark that had been transfigured, he sent for the relatives who had brought the body to go with him when he took the 'awa. If he had gone constantly, morning and evening, it strengthened quickly, and when the relatives came they would see with their own eyes that it had really [Kamakau 1968:77] become a shark, with all the signs by which they could not fail to recognize their loved one in the deep ocean. If the relatives should go bathing or fishing in the sea, it would come around and they would all recognize the markings of their own shark. It became their defender (*pu'u pale*) in the sea.

This is the main reason why the people of Maui worshiped sharks—in order to be saved from being eaten by a shark when they went fishing. At Kaupo, Kipahulu, Hana, Ko'olau, Hamakuapoko, Ka'anapali, Lahaina, and Honua'ula a fisherman was in danger of being devoured by a shark when he was out fishing with a dip net ('upena 'aki'iki'i), or fishing for octopus with a lure (lawai'a lu'uhe'e), or setting traps for hinalea fish (ho'olu'ulu'u hinalea), or diving with a scoop net (lawai'a uluulu), or setting out fishnets (lawai'a 'upena ho'auau), or whichever kind of fishing a man would be doing alone. It would be better to stay ashore, but the fisherman craves fish to eat, and so might be devoured by a shark. Hence the people of that island worshiped sharks. Most of the people of that land do not eat shark even to this day; those who do are malihini—the kama'aina are afraid to eat shark.



Few people have been eaten by sharks in late years, but a number of people were devoured at the time when the Reverend Mr. Conde was pastor in Hana. A man named Kehopu, who was an assistant tax collector for Hana and a deacon of the church, was fortunate enough to escape from a shark. One day in 1848 he went to the home of Kihuluhulu at Kalua, adjoining Pa'ako in Honua'ula. On the morning of the day following, Kihuluhulu and his companions set out to sea to catch 'opelu. As the sun grew warm Kehopu paddled out to look for Kihuluhulu at the 'opelu fishing ground (*ko'a 'opelu*). He was in a canoe by himself. There were a number of canoes floating about with 'a'ei nets for surrounding 'opelu. Kehopu drew close, and when he was perhaps four or five chains away he heard a smacking sound behind him. When he turned, he was terrified to see behind him a mouth opened as if to swallow both man and canoe. The shark's body, as it lay lengthwise of the canoe, was twice as long as the canoe. Then a little shark blocked the way of the big one to divert its rage, but the big shark swam right across the front of the canoe, turned back with its head toward the back of the canoe, flipped the canoe upside down and made short work of the *ama* and the *'iako*. Kehopu climbed up on the keel and began to beg forgiveness for his "sins" and for the wrongs he had committed by eating without observing the kapus. The little shark got in the way of the big one's mouth, and that is how Kehopu escaped a terrible death. The men who were fishing for 'opelu were too frightened to paddle one stroke. Kehopu kept on appealing and praying to the god to forgive his misdeeds. The little shark interfered and obstructed the way of the big shark, and the shark's wide-open mouth was downward as he brushed his rough skin against the length of the overturned canoe. Because of how Kehopu escaped with his life, and because so many had witnessed it, they said to him: "That little shark was your 'aumakua—it was he who saved your life." Not only Kehopu was saved by a "guardian angel," *anela kia'i*, but many others whose "guardian angels" have come to their rescue.

Close to the door of my house where I lived at Kaupipa in Kipahulu, perhaps a chain and a half away, a man named Kalima was eaten by a shark. He was fishing [Kamakau 1968:78] for octopus (*luhe'e*) when a great number of people were heard shouting: "Kalima is being eaten by a shark!" Everyone saw two sharks—one a large shark called Kapehu (Pehu) who was pursuing him to eat him, and a little shark that had gotten in the way and was warding off the enemy. The little shark was fighting the big shark, somersaulting this way and that, and its tail was flipping upward and dashing up the spray. The people thought that the man was carried away by the little shark to a place close to the *pali* where there is a narrow cleft and the sea is deep. Here the sea is dark below and the *pali* too smooth and steep, perhaps, for the little shark to have put him ashore. The crowd on the *pali* above could not see him and they believed that he had been eaten by the big shark, but they were puzzled by the absence of blood. One man, Ka'ai'ohi'a, insisted that the big shark was lying quietly at the sandy area down at Mokupapa, and that the little shark had disappeared and perhaps had the man. The man might have been saved if he could have been brought ashore. Down at Mokupapa the big shark rose to the surface and swam toward the cleft, where people pelted it with stones. As the sea receded, the shark went out and sank, then reappeared when a wave rose and, dodging the stones with which it was being pelted, entered the cleft and edged along in the shelter of a rock. The people were on the two headlands on either side of the cleft, which were not more than three *anana* apart. The shark entered and went along close to the edge of the *pali* where the man was with the little shark, as they knew when the sea turned red with blood and the shark reappeared with the man in its mouth. The big shark took the man far outside and jerked him up and down and set him head up, then thighs up, then doubled up with head and body erect, and then it bore him away to the sea of Mokuahole and disappeared into its hole. That is the way men were handled by sharks—they were jerked about on the surface of the sea. Sometimes the body was bitten in two, and the head and trunk alone mauled about. It was because of such terrifying occurrences that people transfigured their beloved into sharks... [Kamakau 1968:79]



...In 1827, at the time when Kamehameha III Was staying at Wao'ala, and Ka'ahumanu and some other chiefs were at Maeaea in Waialua, Oahu, the ko'a altars and burial places on the curve of the beach there were being closely watched. Something kept sparkling (*lapalapa*) on the beach, and some of the chiefs thought it must be diamonds, since torches and lights were forbidden at night. But this was a usual thing on this beach; it was phosphorescent light (*ahi makaihuwa'a*)—the innumerable fires of the 'aumakua o ka po, the divine ancestors of the night... [Kamakau 1968:80]

Mo'o Forms (Guardians of Water and Fishponds)

Kalamainu'u, Laniwahine, Hauwahine, Kanekua'ana, and Kihawahine, and the myriads (*kini a me ka lehu*) of interchangeable body forms (*kino lau*) of the *mo'o* (water spirits) used to be worshiped constantly. Persons would be transfigured to become such strange beings (*kino 'e'epa*), but it was not done by merely being buried along a stream or river or beside a spring or by having their bones thrown into the water. If they were not related to the *mo'o*, or a bird form, or a shark, they had no rightful place, *kuleana*, in the *kino lau* of the *mo'o*, or the shark, or the other forms. It is a mistake to suppose that by dying in the ocean or in fresh water that one is changed into a shark or a *mo'o*, or any other creature living in the sea or in fresh water. Those who had no *kuleana* had not the least right to any of these forms, said the *po'e kahiko*. Their souls just drifted about in the currents. But those who had a true *kuleana* were brought to shore alive; or, if one had come to the end of his years, his body was taken and his bones were never found...

...The reasons why people "kept" sharks (*malama i ka mano*) were personal ones—for health and blessings to themselves, and for fish. When the men went fishing at their *ko'a* fishing grounds, to fish with *'upena lu'u*, or *wahanui*, or *lau apo*, or *laulele*, or *aumaiea* nets, or other kinds of fishing, the *akua mano* would lead fishes right to them—the *kule*, *kala*, *kawakawa*, *kawele'a*, *'o'io*, *'aweoweo*, *'ahi*, *uhu*, *opule*, *a'ua'u*, and all kinds of fishes. The fisherman would be urged to go fishing in a dream in the night by the words of the *akua*: *He malihini o ke kai* ["There are fish in the sea"]. That is why *ka po'e kahiko* cared for them.

Akua mo'o were kept for the same reasons—for the health and welfare of the people, and to bring them fish. Some people put all their trust in the *akua mo'o*. On Oahu, and similar lands, where there are walled ponds (*loko kuapa*) and large fresh-water ponds (*loko wai nui*) like Uko'a, Ka'elepulu, Kawainui, and Maunalua, [Kamakau 1968:82] some people depended entirely upon the *akua mo'o*. They were the guardians, the *kia'i*, of the ponds all around Oahu.

The *mo'o* that were chosen to be worshiped were not the house or rock lizards (*mo'o kaula*, *mo'o ka'ala*) or any of those little creatures with which we are familiar. No indeed! One can imagine their shape from these little creatures, but these were not their bodies. The *mo'o* had extremely long and terrifying bodies, and they were often seen in the ancient days at such places as Maunalua, Kawainui, and Ihukoko at Uko'a. They were not seen just at any time, but when the fires were lighted on the *ko'a* altars beside their homes. There was no doubting them when they were seen. They lay in the water, from two to five *anana* in length, and as black in color as the blackest Negro. When given a drink of 'awa, they would turn from side to side like the hull of a canoe in the water.

The *mo'o* Mokuhinia has been seen on Maui at Kapunakea, in Lahaina, and at Paukukalo and Kanaha in Wailuku; and she showed herself at Kalepolepo at the time that Kamehameha Kapuaiwa died. She has appeared before hundreds and thousands of people. At the close of the year 1838 she almost capsized Kekauluohi, who was going by canoe across the pond of Mokuhinia from Moku'ula on her way to church at Waine'e. Many people from Hawaii to Kauai have seen the terrible form of the *mo'o*. They have places where they lay aside these wondrous 'e'epa bodies, but their nests where they lay



them aside are not known. Has the *mo'o* none but that terrible body? That body is only one of the spirits in this form—they had many “angel” forms (*kino anela*). Laniwahine of Uko'a has often appeared in human form, even in this time of writing and knowledge. Such an appearance foretells that some terrible event is to happen at that place. It is the usual form these wondrous beings show themselves in to reveal hidden things.

Kanekua'ana was the *kia'i* of 'Ewa, and the *kama'aina* from Halawa to Honouliuli relied upon her. Not all of the people of 'Ewa were her descendants, but the blessings that came to her descendants were shared by all. When *pilikia* came to the *i'a* at 'Ewa, and their children were in distress because of the scarcity of *i'a*, the descendants of Kanekua'ana erected *waihau* heiaus for Kanekua'ana, and lighted the fires [for the cooking of offerings] to bring blessings upon the whole people. What blessings did they obtain? *I'a*. What kinds of *i'a*? The *pipi* (pearl oyster)—strung along from Namakaohalawa to the cliffs of Honouliuli, from the *kuapa* fishponds of inland 'Ewa clear out to Kapakule. That was the oyster that came in from deep water to the mussel beds near shore, from the channel entrance of Pu'uloa to the rocks along the edges of the fishponds. They grew right on the *nahawe*le mussels, and thus was this *i'a* obtained. Not six months after the *hau* branches [that placed a *kapu* on these waters until the *pipi* should come in] were set up, the *pipi* were found in abundance—enough for all 'Ewa—and fat with flesh. Within the oyster was a jewel (*daimana*) called a pearl (*mom*i), beautiful as the eyeball of a fish, white and shining; white as the cuttlefish, and shining with the colors of the rainbow—reds and yellows and blues, and some pinkish white, ranging in size from small to large. They were of great bargaining value (*he waiwai kumuku'ai nui*) in the ancient days, but were just “rubbish” (*opala*) in 'Ewa. [Kamakau 1968:83] What other *i'a*? The transparent shrimp, *opae huna*, and the spiked shrimp, *opae kakala*, such as came from the sea into the *kuapa* and *pu'uone* fishponds. *Nehu pala* and *nehu maoli* fishes filled the lochs (*nuku awalau*) from the entrance of Pu'uloa to the inland 'Ewas. Hence the saying of the *kama'aina* of this land: *He kai puhi nehu, puhi lala ke kai o 'Ewa e, e noho i ka la'i o 'Ewa nui a La'akona* (“A sea that blows up *nehu*, blows them up in rows, is 'Ewa, until they rest in the calm of great 'Ewa-a-La'akona”).

Other famous *i'a* of 'Ewa, celebrated land of the ancestors, were the *mahamoe* and *'okupe* bivalves and many others that have now disappeared. When all these things supplied them by their *kia'i* Kanekua'ana appeared, then her descendants believed that the old woman had returned from the “pillars of Kahiki,” *kukulu o Kahiki*, out of *aloha* for her descendants, perhaps. These are the people who told me about the “pillars of Kahiki” and other unknown lands.

Laniwahine was the *kia'i* of Uko'a, in Waialua, and Uko'a was the “long house” (*hale halau*) in which she lived. She was the *kama'aina* woman of Uko'a, and all her deeds centered about that fishpond. The “native sons,” *keiki kama'aina*, never failed to recognize her deeds, but few of her descendants are left now—perhaps none. Uko'a was a very strange fishpond—extraordinary fishes lived there. A fish might be a *kumu* fish on one side and an *'anae* mullet, on the other; or one side might be a *weke pueo*, and the other an *'anae*; or a fish might be silver white like a white cock and when scaled the flesh might be striped and variegated inside. It was understood by all Laniwahine's descendants that these strange fish belonged to her, and that it was not right to eat them. The mullet of Uko'a were usually full of fat, but sometimes they were not—and sometimes the fish did not come at all. Sometimes they were thin, with woody heads, and sometimes they disappeared altogether. That was a customary thing in all fishponds, and then the thing to do was to do honor to (*ho'omana'o*) the *kama'aina* guardians of the ponds. Then the ponds would fill with fish, and the fish would be fat. Thus it was with Hauwahine, at her ponds of Kawainui and Ka'elepulu, and with Laukupu at her pond of Maunaloa. They were the guardians who brought the blessing of abundance of fish, and of health to the body, and who warded off illness and preserved the welfare of the family



and their friends. This honoring was a fixed rule (*kanawai pa'a*) on these lands and brought the young fish to the sea and to the ponds.

Sometimes, when the land was blessed with an abundance of young fish in the sea, the overlord (*haku*) of that land, or the land agent (*konohiki*), would become haughty and indifferent to the welfare of the poor and the fatherless; and when they saw the boys and girls with their gourds for storing “fish,” *ipu wai kahakai*, they would become overbearing, seize the gourds and break them without pity for the fatherless, and smash the gourds of the women without giving them a chance to speak. An *ipu wai kahakai* could do no harm—it could not take away all the oysters and shrimps, but for no cause at all (“*mai ka lani mai ka honua*”) the overbearing “shark” would come and break the gourd in pieces. Then the guardian *mo'o*, who loved the poor and the fatherless, would take away all the “fish” she had given for high and low alike, for the rich and the poor. When she saw the rights of the [Kamakau 1968:84] many abused, she took away the blessing altogether, leaving nothing but the rocks which endure and the earth which crumbles. Her chagrin (*lili*) could not be appeased by supplication (*kalokalo*) but by penitence and restitution; that was the only way to bring prosperity back to the land.

Walinu'u, Walimanoanoa, Kalamainu'u, and Kihawahine were ancestral *mo'o* and *mo'o* rulers (*he po'e kuamo'o, a he po'e mo'o ali'i ai aupuni*), and the kingdom that “kept” them prospered. They were represented by post images (*po'e kia ho'omana'o*) in the heiaus, where they were in the line of goddesses (*lalani akua wahine*). The rule of the chief who had faith in these *mo'o* to watch over his kingdom would not be shaken... [Kamakau 1968:85]

Regarding Use of Ocean Water in Treatment of Ailments, and for Rights of Purification – “The Universal Remedy”

For *ka po'e kahiko* the sea was the remedy upon which all relied, from Hawaii to Kauai. When people took sick with stomach upsets (*ino'ino ma ka 'opu*), griping stomach aches (*nahu*), fever (*wela*), grayish pallor (*hailepo*), squeamishness (*nanue na 'opu*), nausea (*polouea*), or dizziness (*niua*), the usual ailments caused by a change of regular diet from sweet potatoes to taro—or from taro to sweet potatoes—a drink of sea water was the universal remedy employed. Those who live on lands that grow sweet potatoes have foul stools (*ua 'eka ko lakou lepo*) when they change to taro lands, and are subject to worms (*ua ulu ka ilo maloko*). It is the same with those from lands where taro is grown when they go to lands where sweet potatoes are grown. Their custom therefore was to drink sea water.

In the early morning they lighted an *imu* for sweet potatoes and put them in to bake with a chicken and a dried fish. Then they fetched a large container full of sea water, a container of fresh water to wash away the salty taste, and a bunch of sugar cane. They would drink two to four cupfuls of sea water, then a cupful of fresh water, and then chew the sugar cane. The sea water loosened the bowels, and it kept on working until the yellowish and greenish discharges came forth (*puka pu no ka lena a me ke pakaiea*). Then the *imu* was opened, and the sweet potatoes and other foods eaten [without resulting discomfort]. The stomach felt fine, and the body of the elderly or the aged was made comfortable. [Kamakau 1968:113]

Another good use for sea water was to secure forgiveness (*huikala*). When someone in the family broke an oath sworn against another (*ho'ohiki ino*)—a man against his wife, a mother against her children, relatives against relatives, “cousins” against “cousins” (*hoahanau*), and so on—then the *pikai*, or sprinkling with salt water, was the remedy to remove [the repercussions from the breaking of the oath]. This is how it was done. A basin or bowl of real sea water, or of water to which salt had been added, in which were



placed 'awa rootlets (*huluhulu 'awa*) and *olena*, was the water to absolve and cleanse (*kalahala e huikala*) the family for the defilement (*haumia*) caused by the one who had broken his oath.

Any defilement pertaining to the house, to fishing, tapa printing, tapa beating, farming, or *wauke* cultivation, from which trouble had resulted, could be cleansed with *pikai*; it purified and caused an end to defilement. Implements of labor could also be cleansed of their defilement by *pikai*.

Another way to purify the family was this. In the evening, after dark, a "canoe procession" was formed (*wa'a huaka'i*, in which the participants lined up in single file, as in a canoe). The person at the head of the procession had a pig, another had tapa garments and *ninikea* tapas, and another held in his hands bunches of *kohekohe* grass. The last person in the line offered the prayers for forgiveness and carried the basin for the ritual procession to cleanse the defilement (*ka po'i ka'i huikala*). The ritual procession (*ka'i*) had to be perfect, with the voices responding in unison in the prayers for forgiveness and purification, and their steps exactly alike as they went in the procession and entered the *mua*, the "family chapel." They lighted the *imu* for the pig and continued their praying until the pig was cooked and eaten. The rewards (*uku*) they received were health, blessings, material prosperity, and other benefits of this kind to them all...* [Kamakau 1968:114]

IV. "He Moolelo no Kamapuaa" (A Tradition of Kamapuaa)

Noted Hawaiian historian, G.W. Kahiolo, contributed "*He Moolelo no Kamapuaa*" to the native newspaper, *Ka Hae Hawaii*, in 1861. It is the account of the god Kamapua'a, a form of the god Lono, among whose attributes are the rains and propagation of crops, and the Makahiki season, heralded by the rise of Makali'i (Pleiades) in the heavens:

Excerpts from the Tradition Describing the Importance of Water-named Lands in the Traditions of Lono and Kamapua'a; and the Reason that Fish of Pu'uuloa have a Strong Smell:

...When the chief Olopana was killed, the island of Oahu became Kamapuaa's. He then fetched his people (who he had hidden) from above Kaliuwaa and brought them down, and they then returned to their lands. The priest (Lonoawohi) asked Kamapuaa if he could be given some lands for his own as well. He asked, "Perhaps the water lands might be mine." Kamapuaa agreed. This was something like a riddle that the lands which have the word "water" (*wai*) in their names would be his, like: Waialua, Waianae, Waimanalo, Waikele, Waipio, Waiawa, Waimano, Waimalu, Waikiki, Waialae, Wailupe, Waimanalo 2, Waihee, Waiahole and etc.

The parents of Kamapuaa, Hina and Kahikiula, thought that this amount of land was too great, and they criticized Kamapuaa for agreeing to it. But his elder siblings and grandmother did not criticize him, agreeing to the priest's request. The remainder of the lands went to Kamapuaa's family... [G.W. Kahiolo, in *Ka Hae Hawaii*, July 10, 1861; Maly, translator]

Following a journey to Hawaii, where Kamapuaa fought with Pele, he returned to Oahu. Upon arriving at Oahu, Kamapuaa learned that the island was under the rule of another chief, and that his parents had been chased to Kauai, and that his favorite brother Kekeleiaiku had been killed. The following excerpts include accounts describing sites and activities in Ewa.

...Kamapuaa walked to Keanapuaa, on the shore at Halawa, and he slept there. When he woke up from his sleep, he urinated in the sea, and that is why the fish of Puuloa have a strong smell to them, so say the uninformed... [G.W. Kahiolo, in *Ka Hae Hawaii*, August 7, 1861; Maly, translator]



V. Fishery Resources of Kaluako'i, Moloka'i

Also among Kamakau's writings (January 5, 1867) are the following references to several fish and fishing location on the island of Moloka'i. Kamakau (1991) makes a brief reference to Haleolono as a canoe landing visited by the navigator-chief Wahanui, of O'ahu, as he prepared for his journey to Kahiki (Kamakau 1991:104). In another account, from around the same period, Kamakau tells readers of the navigator-chief, Mo'ikeha, adding a little more detail to the setting of the lands of western Moloka'i. Kamakau tells readers that while sailing along the Hawaiian Islands, various members of Mo'ikeha's crew stayed on the islands they passed:

La'a-maomao remained on Moloka'i at Haleolono in Kaluako'i—in Kaluako'i of the tiny fish of Haleki'i, the black sea cucumbers of Pālā'au, the Ikioe wind of Ho'olehua; the sweet waters of Waiakāne, and the stratified limestone ('unu'unu pa'akea) of Haleolono. There lived La'a-maomao (Kamakau 1991:106).

VI. Na Hunahuna no ka Moololo Hawaii (Fragments of Hawaiian History)

Native historian, John Papa I'i, was one of the preeminent Hawaiian authors of the 1860s. His writings were based on personal experiences, as a member of the Kamehameha household, and key figure in the evolving Hawaiian Kingdom of the period. I'i's writings from the native language newspaper *Ku Okoa*, were translated in 1959 by Mary Kawena Pukui. Selected excerpts from I'i's narratives, describing fishing customs and locations are cited below:

Offerings at Hanaloa Fish Pond, 'Ewa District:

...Because of his [I'i's] religious nature, the boy was sent frequently with the priests in the early dawn of Kane to relieve any trouble at the pond of Hanaloa, to make the offerings, and to present the gifts they had brought to the appropriate offering place. Such a place was called an *aoa*, a place where offerings were made to the gods for whatever concerned the ponds.

Ku'ula shrines were for inshore and deep-sea fishing, for the fishing grounds of the *aku* or *'ahi* fish perhaps.

The offerings on the *aoa* shrine were a black pig once or twice a year, a bunch of raw taro, a bunch of bananas, several times four mullet, enough for those who were aiding in the work, and some *kohekohe*, a grass found in taro patches. In the early dawn of Kane, all things were made ready and the *imu* prepared with the three or four stones and the kindling of dried *pili* grass left there beforehand. To light the fire, the kindling was placed under the stick that was rubbed (*'aunaki*) before it was worked with the stick held in the hand (*'aulima*). The latter was about four or five inches long and as thick as the finger that one uses to dip up *poi*, the index finger. The two ends were sharpened to a point to help in rubbing it into the *'aunaki*, which was held down by a foot or a hand while a companion did the rubbing. The stick was pressed with the palm of one hand overlapping the other when rubbing. Then the *kahuna* uttered a prayer he had memorized to the *'aumakua o ka po*, the gods of dim antiquity, and the *'aumakua o ke ao*, the gods of traditional times... [1959:26]

Kamehameha's Distain for Waste of Fish:

Once Kinopu gave a tribute of fish to Kamehameha's son, Kinau, at Moehonua's fish pond in Kalia. While Kinau and his wife Kahakuhaakoi (Wahinepio) were going to Waikiki from Honolulu, the sea came into the pond and fishes of every kind entered the sluice gate. Kinopu ordered the keepers of the pond to lower fish nets, and the result was a catch so large that a great heap of fish lay spoiling upon the bank of the pond.

The news of the huge catch reached Kamehameha, who was then with Kalanimoku, war leader and officer of the king's guard. The king said nothing at the time, but sat with



bowed head and downcast eyes, apparently disapproving of such reckless waste. Had they caught enough for a meal, perhaps forty or twenty, nothing would have been said. However, Kalanimoku, apparently knowing why the king kept his head bowed, commanded Kinopu to release most of the fish. Kinopu's act became common knowledge, and the report caught up with the two travelers, Kinau and Kahakuhaakoi... [1959:48]

Kamehameha was often seen fishing with his fishermen in the deep ocean, where the sea was shallow, and where fish-poison plants were used. He took care of the canoe paddlers who went out for *aku* fish, bringing in supplies from the other islands for them, and sent ships to-and-fro fetching nets, lines, *olona* fibers, and other things. Part of his goodly supply of such necessities he divided among his chiefs and among those he had conquered. Because of his generosity, all of the chiefs worked too and gave him a portion of the products of their lands... [page 69]

The Fishery of Kahanahāiki and Keawa'ula, Wai'anae:

...Makua which also has a fine sand beach and a landing for fishing canoes, was a usual resting place for travelers and a place to spend the night. The morning was cool for the journey on to Kaena. Kahaiki [Kahanahāiki] and Keawaula, the land that has the fishing grounds for *aku* and for *'ahi* fish, were close to Makua... [1959:98]

Describing the Aku catch in Kona at the time Kamehameha I, his family, and retainers returned to live on Hawai'i, ca. 1811; and the Kule fish of Kailua, Kona:

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

When the sun was rather high, the boy exclaimed, "How beautiful that flowing water is!" Those who recognized it, however, said, "That is not water, but *pahoehoe*. When the sun strikes it, it glistens, and you mistake it for water. This is not like your land, which has water from one end to the other."

Soon the fishing canoes from Kawaihae, the Kaha lands, and Ooma, drew close to the ship to trade for the *pa'i'ai* (hard *poi*) carried on board, and shortly a great quantity of *aku* lay silvery-hued on the deck. The fishes were cut into pieces and mashed; and all those aboard fell to and ate, the women by themselves... [1959:109-110]

...Perhaps the king's great desire for Kamakahonu was because it was a place celebrated for the constant appearance of fishes. Sometimes *kule*, fish that burrow in the sand, appeared from there to Honuaula, for there is sand from Kaiakekua to outside of Honuaula, where small ships anchor... [1959:119]

VII. Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii (Fisheries Excerpts)

Kepelino Keauokalani, was the youngest of the four best known native historians. Born in Kona in 1830, he also lived on Maui and O'ahu, and wrote extensively in the native newspaper *Hae Katolika*, published by the Catholic Diocese. "Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii" originally penned in 1869, were edited by M.W. Beckwith (1932 & 1971). Within the writings are found numerous references to fishing practices, customs, and beliefs. Selected excerpts from Kepelino's accounts, focusing on phases of the moon, the nature of the sea, and certain fishing practices undertaken, are cited below:

Regarding the Finding of Hawai'i by the Fisherman, Hawai'i Nui:

In the old days there was only a great ocean where the islands now lie, called Sea-where-the-fish-run, *O kai holo a ke ia*. But in one version the land of Hawaii was an ancient land. The story runs as follows:



The man who knew these seas well was named Hawaii-nui, a man belonging to the lands adjoining Kahiki-Honua-Kele. He was the first man of high standing to come to these islands and he became the ancestor of the chiefs and people of Hawaii. [1971:74]

...Hawaii-nui (Hawai'i-nui) was a native of Kahiki-Honua-Kele. He was a fisherman. He sailed from Kahiki-Honua-Kele and found this group of islands. First he saw the island of Kauai, but he kept on sailing and found Oahu and then the islands of the Maui group, then, seeing the mountains of Hawaii, he kept on until he reached that island. There he lived and named the island after himself. The other islands from Maui to Kauai were named for his children and for some who sailed with him. Here are the names of his children: Maui was the eldest, Oahu younger, and Kauai the youngest. These names he gave to the three large islands, but the smaller islands were perhaps named for those who accompanied him.

It was said that his children were born in Hawaii, and that this was his last voyage when he came to Hawaii. But in another version he came on his last voyage with his wife, his children and all the family, and lived at Kona, in Hawaii. Kona, in the time of Hawaii-nui, excelled all the islands in beauty...[1971:76]

...Everyone wore a good tapa garment and went to dive in the water or perhaps in the sea. This went on until day dawned, when everyone went to a feast and had much sport. The effect of holding this *Hi'uwai* at night was that the crowd were excited as if with rum by the beauty of the ornaments, the splendor of the whale-tooth pendants, bracelets of sea-shells, feather wreaths and the fragrance of different tapa garments; one person was attracted to another and the result was by no means good...

...Hawaii prayed to its god to give all good things during the new year—vegetable food, fish, and a peaceful life...[1971:96]

The Days of the Month (Associated with Fishing Practices):

The old Hawaiians as they counted the days of each month understood the nature of each. Some days were good for planting and some not.⁴⁸ Some were good for fishing, some not. Some were windy and others calm. All these characters depended on the phases of the moon. This was not superstition but belonged to the old branches of knowledge of Hawaii. It was not the Protestant teaching of America that brought it, that is, Bingham and others, but the ancient Hawaiians brought it from *Kalana Kahiki Honua-Kele*, over a thousand years before the Protestants came here.

...Men worked at farming, fishing, building houses and at any other work by which they gained a living. The women's work was beating tapa, making designs, weaving mats, and other things by which they made a living.

The Moon of *Hilo*: ...Hilo was the first night of each month. [1971:98] On the evening of *Hilo* there is low tide until morning. On this night the women fished by hand (in the pools left by the sea) and men went torch fishing. It was a calm night, no tide until morning. It was a warm night without puffs of wind; on the river-banks people caught goby fish by hand and shrimps in hand-nets in the warm water. Thus passed the famous night of *Hilo*.

During the day the sea rose, washing up on the sand, and returned to its old bed and the water was rough.

The Moon of *Hoaka*: *Hoaka* is the second of the month and the name means "clear." On the evening when *Hoaka* rises there is low tide until morning, just like the night of *Hilo*... It is one of the days of very low tide.



The Moon of *Kukahi*: On *Ku-kahi*, the third night of the moon, the moon is to be seen in the western sky... ..In old days, if no offender could be found as offering to the images, they took on born a slave (that is one of a despised class who could not associate with others) and sacrificed him to the images, for the death or the life of a slave was in the power of the chief. And if they had no man to sacrifice, then, to appease the temple (god) as false kuhunas [kahunas] said, pig, coconut, red fish [1971:100] were substituted to the number of four hundred pigs, four hundred coconuts, and an equal number of red fish and the same of skirts and loin-cloths, and so on, and so on... This is one of the days of very low tide.

The Moon of *Kulua*: *Ku-lua* rises on the fourth night of the month. On that evening the wind blows, the sea is choppy, there is low tide but the sea is rough. The next morning the wind blows gently and steadily... It was a day of low tide, the sea receded and many came down to fish.

The Moon of *Kukolu*: *Ku-kolu* is the first night of the rising of the moon... A day of low tide, but the wind blows until the *ole* night of the moon. Many fishermen go out during these days after different sorts of fish. The sea is filled with fleets of canoes and the beach with people fishing with poles and with women diving for sea-urchins, the large and the small varieties, gathering limu, spreading poison, crab fishing, squid spearing, and other activities.⁴⁹

During the wet season these are stormy days rather than clear; it is only during the dry season when these low tides prevail, that fish are abundant, the sea urchins fat, and so forth. This is a day when the sand is exposed,⁵⁰ the day clear, the sea calm,—a good fishing day.

The Moon of *Kupau*: *Ku-pau* is the sixth night of the moon. It is a day of low tide like the others until the afternoon, then the sea rises, then ebbs, until the afternoon of the next day. The wind blows gently but it is scarcely perceptible. The sand is exposed... [1971:102]

The Moon of *Olekukahi*: *Ole-ku-kahi* is the seventh night of the moon. It is a day of rough sea which washes up the sand and lays bare the stones at the bottom. Seaweed of the flat green variety is torn up and cast on the shore in great quantity. The farmer does not plant on this day... On this night it is light after the moon sets.

The Moon of *Olekulua*: *Ole-ku-lua* is the eighth night of the moon, it is the second of rough seas... It is a good night for torch-fishing for the sea ebbs a little during the night. This is the second of this group of nights.

The Moon of *Olekukolu*: *Ole-ku-kolu* is the ninth night of the moon. The sea is rough as on the first two days of this group. The farmers think little of the day. The tide is low and there is torch-fishing at night when the sea is calm. Some nights it is likely to be rough... [1971:104]

The Moon of *Olepau*: *Ole-pau* is the tenth night of the moon... It is the fourth of this group of nights and the last day of rough sea.

The Moon of *Huna*: *Huna* is the eleventh night of the moon... This is the fifth of this group of nights. The tide is low and there is good fishing.

The Moon of *Mohalu*: *Mohalu* is the twelfth night of the moon... There is low tide and the night is the sixth of the group...



The Moon of *Hua*: *Hua* is the thirteenth night of the moon... The tide is low on that day and it is the seventh of the group...[1971:106]

The Moon of *Akua*: *Akua* is the fourteenth night of the moon. ...This is the eighth of this group of nights. It is a day of low or of high tide, hence the saying: It may be rough, it may be calm...

The Moon of *Hoku*; *Hoku* is the fifteenth night of the moon... It is the tenth night of the group.

The Moon of *Mahealani*: *Mahealani* is the sixteenth night of the moon.... It is a day of low tide... It is the tenth night of the group.

The Moon of *Kulu*: *Kulu* is the seventeenth night of the moon... This is the eleventh of the nights of this group and on this night the sea gathers up and replaces the sand.

The Moon of *Laaukukahi*: *Laau-ku-kahi* is the eighteenth night of the moon... There is sea, indeed, but it is only moderately high. This is the twelfth night of this group. [1971:108]

The Moon of *Laaukulua*: *Laau-ku-lua* is the nineteenth night of the moon... The sea is rough... This is the thirteenth night of the group.

The Moon of *Laupau*: *Laau-pau* is the twentieth night of the moon... A day of boisterous seas. This is the fourteenth night of the group.

The Famous Moon of *Olekukahi*: *Ole-ku-kahi* is the twenty-first night of the moon... A day of rough seas, so that it is said, "nothing (*ole*) is to be had from the sea." This is the fifteenth day of the group...

The Moon of *Olekulua*: *Ole-ku-lua* is the twenty-second night of the moon... A day of rough seas... this is the sixteenth of the group.

The Moon of *Olepau*: *Ole-pau* is the twenty-third night of the moon. Its characteristics are like those of *olekulua*. It is the seventeenth day and last of the group...

The Moon of *Kaloakukahi*: *Kaloa-ku-kahi* is the twenty-fourth night of the moon... The weather is bad with a high sea... This is the last rough day; the sea now becomes calm.

The Moon of *Kaloakulua*: *Kaloa-ku-lua* is the twenty-fifth night of the moon...

The Moon of *Kane*: *Kane* is the twenty-seventh night of the moon... It is a day of very low tide, but joyous for men who fish with lines and for girls who dive for sea-urchins. [1971:110]

The Moon of *Lono*: *Lono* is the twenty-eighth night of the moon... The tide is low, the sea calm, the sand is gathered up and returned to its place; in these days the sea begins to wash back the sand that the rough sea has scooped up.⁵⁰ ...

The Moon of *Mauli*: *Mauli* is the last night that the moon is visible and the name means the "last breath."... ...a day of low tide. "A sea that gathers up and returns the sand to its place" is the meaning of this single word. The moon rises just a little before sunrise and it is the twenty-ninth night of the moon.



The Moon of *Muku*: *Muku* is the night on which the moon does not rise. The name means “finished” and it refers also to the “dying” of the moon... a day of low tide, when the sea gathers up and returns the sand to its place, a day of diving for sea-urchins, small and large, for gathering seaweed, for line-fishing by children, squid-catching, uluulu fishing, pulu fishing, and so forth. Such is the activity of the day... [1971:112]

VIII. Lānaʻi (Various Fisheries and Resources Described)

Walter Murray Gibson, resident and eventually owner of large section of Lānaʻi from the 1860s, compiled native traditions of Lānaʻi, including descriptions of fisheries around the island. The following narratives from the Hawaiian paper, *Nu Hou*, published in 1873, provide readers with references to types of fish and locations where fish were caught on the island of Lānaʻi:

...We are not anglers, not inclined to fish, unless it would be for men. But we took pleasure on this occasion to note what vast treasures are in the sea, and so worthy of our attention. On this rocky coast of Lanai, which is lined with caves, and ponds, and gulfs, and little straits of sea, where the tide is ever surging and breaking and pouring over crests in cascades, and buffeting in and out of the hollow chambers of the coral shore, you can see anywhere in the fretted yet lucid brine swarms of the selerodermes or hard skinned and party colored fish of tropic seas.

The beauty in our sea caves is more wonderful than that of our mountain groves. Just glance at the *aniholoa* with its transverse bars of red and white on the tail, and then a body of the loveliest azure, a perfect tricolor, the banner of France, and won from the sea by her standard bearer in these isles. But the *a-awa* with its pale gold and pink sides and delicate emerald back, now claims our attention for the palm of beauty; but we are dazzled by the emerald and purple tints of the *ananalu*, with the rosy and golden scale of the *ohu*, with the jet and gold of the *humuhumu*, and then besides with the sparkle and glitter of other beautiful balistae that are not to be tempted out of the sea with our bait of crab, or limpet, or eel.

And now a few words about the eels, or puhis of our shores. We have some four or five species, and one is a terrible fellow, a grayish, mottled, wide jawed, short, thick, voracious, lamprey, and exactly like the muraena which were the delight of the epicures of old Imperial Rome. Our lamprey, like that of the Mediterranean, is found in rocky shoals, and in the coral ponds isolated by the low tide. He is a short, thick, sea snake, and like his European congener, very often baffles all the efforts of the fisherman; he will swallow the hook and bite the line in two; he will force himself out of a net; and if you have got him with a stout hook and line, you must tear him to pieces before you can drag him out of the hole in the rocks in which he has set and braced himself. But occasionally he is found away from his rocky fastness and then our Hawaiian neptune has a chance at him with his trident, and he seldom misses his stroke.

This dangerous eel, the *puhipaka*, inspires some terror among Hawaiians. He will take off a toe or snap a piece out of an exposed naked foot, if he gets a chance. We once saw him reach forth his hideous head from underneath a rock and bite at a lady's naked foot as she was stepping over the rock, but fortunately his motions are very slow, and in this instance, a shout and a blow of a cane disappointed him of his mouthful. Where he is found, no crabs or little fish are to be seen in the pool near by. He devours everything, and like his ancient kinsman the *muraena*, will devour man if he gets a chance. Ah, what hideous reflections this awakens, as we recall the stories of old Rome; the thousands of eel ponds or cisterns of Caesar, Lininius Crassus and Pollion, where the *muraena* were fed with condemned criminals, or slaves that had committed no crime. We can look into these square stone walled wells, and we see some foul remnant of a corpse afloat, and the horrid *muraena* squirming among entrails and devouring the heart or tearing the last



vestige or face away; but there is something more fearful still, a stout man pinioned and dragged to the brink of the awful pit, and he is moaning and begging, but only for the mercy of being killed before being cast into this slough of horrors; but the gorgeous epicure who had ordered his fate believes that the appetite of his eels is heightened by the struggles of a victim, and therefore his fellow man is cast down alive, and his struggles attract to him the voracious muraena who leave the still corpse in order to tear with their fangs their living bait. And so we look with heart sickening upon a fish that would tear us and feed on us alive, even like the carrion bird that plucks out the eyes of the dying man on the battle field.

From one of the most dangerous creatures in our seas, we turn our attention to the most harmless, to the living marine vegetables, the zoophytes, that fill the pools and caves along the rock bound shores of the isle, and present along our coast an infinite variety of aquaria for the delight of the naturalist. How beautiful, and how varied are our sea anemones, that with fanlike inflorescence expand their delicate membranous many tinted tissue, and then at a touch, contract their expanded corolla, and form a compact minute ball. But see what is still more curious, the many headed hydra of our shores, resembling in form the hydra vidridis of the fresh water of Europe, but so much larger, and being white instead of green. In the still ponds and caves at low water, we examined them very closely. Observe in a fissure of that beautiful mass of variegated coral, what will seem at first like a number of white cotton strings, each about two feet long, spread out on the bottom of the still pool, and all radiating from a centre, which is a short stem growing out of the rocky bottom. These apparent strings, about ten in number, are the tentacular arms of our hydra. Now watch how each white cord is instinct with life; it advances, it contracts, it curves, and undulates with exploring movement, and seizes with apprehensive grasp minute prey that comes within the scope of its radiation. Now touch one of these white exploring arms; and quickly the whole group of tentacular limbs will contract, and concentrate into a ball of defense around the central stem. A severed limb is soon replaced by a new one, and the hydra is propagated like a vegetable by the budding and growth of shoots out of the tentacular arms. Tremblay's experiments on the fresh water hydra are very remarkable. He would turn the arms and stem inside out, just as you would an animal's entrail to fill with sausage meat, and yet this reversed creature would digest its food, and continue its existence just as well as before, and made us think of some of our politicians, who can stomach any change, and be turned any way and adopt themselves to new conditions and do well, so that they can get their maws filled.

The *biche de mer*, or "sea cucumbers," the *loli* of the natives abounds in the still recesses of this rocky shore. You see the inert slugs,—red, brown, black, white and speckled, lying around plentifully and could we find as ready a market for them in Honolulu, as in Singapore, we could obtain quite a revenue from the *biche de mer*, tripang, or holothuria of Lanai.

About five miles along the coast westward of Manele we come to the *Heiau* of Halulu, to the site of a residence of Kamehameha the Great, and of a once populous fishing village, in a ravine that lies between the lands of Kaunolu and Kealia Kapu. This latter land was a place of refuge, and an interesting Hawaiian legend, the "Spouting Cave of Kaala" is connected with this *Heiau* and Land of refuge...

IX. Hawaiian Fisheries and Methods of Fishing, with an Account of The Fishing Implements used by the Natives of the Hawaiian Islands (Emma Metcalf Beckley, 1883)

In 1883, Emma Metcalf Beckley, curator of the Hawaiian National Museum, prepared a paper on "Hawaiian Fisheries and Methods of Fishing" for an international fisheries exhibition in London. Her paper, published on June 25, 1883, by Order of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, addresses many



important native Hawaiian practices, customs, and beliefs associated with the Hawaiian fisheries. She covered a wide range of resources extending from fresh water to deep sea fisheries, and has been widely referenced by later writers:

Preface

The information contained in the following pages has been exclusively obtained from Native sources by the Authoress, who is herself a native Hawaiian lady. The treatise contains a full account, believed to be complete, of the methods of fishing in use among the Hawaiian Islanders, from the earliest times of which there is any tradition, down to the present day. The Authoress desires to acknowledge the assistance rendered to her by the Rev. Dr. C. M. Hyde, Principal of North Pacific Theological Institute, who furnished some of the information concerning Torch-light fishing obtained by him from his native pupils.

The publication of this little work has been ordered by His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the belief that it will form an interesting and useful adjunct to the Collection of Fish and Fishing Implements forwarded by the Hawaiian Government to the Great International Fisheries Exhibition of London.

Foreign Office, Honolulu, June 25th, 1883.

Hawaiian Fishing Implements and Methods of Fishing

The Hawaiians have five methods of fishing: by spearing, hand catching, baskets, hook and line, and with nets.

The Ia O

The Ia O, is the spearing of fish and is of two kinds, below and above water. That below water is the most important, and is generally employed for the different kind of rock fish. The spear by the diver is a slender stick of from 6 to 7 feet in length made of very hard wood and sharply pointed at one end, but more tapering at the other. Since the possession of iron spears are always tipped with it, but perfectly smooth, without hook or barb. Diving to a well-known station by a large coral rock or against the steep face of the reefs, the diver places himself in a half crouching position on his left foot, with his right foot free and extended behind, his left hand holding on to the rock to steady himself, watches and waits for the fish. Fish in only two positions are noticed by him, those passing before and parallel to him, and those coming straight towards his face. He always aims a little in advance, as, by the time this fish is struck, its motion has carried it so far forward that it will be hit on the gills or middle of the body and thus secured, but if the spear were aimed at the body it would be very apt to hit the tail, or pass behind. When the fish is hit, the force of the blow generally carries the spear right through to the hand, thus bringing the fish up to the lower part or handle of the spear, where it remains whilst the fisherman strikes rapidly at other fish in succession should they come in a *huakai* (train) as they usually do.

Except in the case of *Oopuhue* spearing, above-water spearing is very rarely used, and then generally in connection with the deep sea line and hook fishing. *Oopuhue* is the well-known poison fish of the Pacific, but of a delicious flavor. It is generally speared in enclosed salt water ponds from the stone embankments. The poison of this fish is contained in three little sacs which must be extracted whole and uninjured. The fish is skinned, as the rough skin is also poisonous in a slight degree. Should the teeth of the fish be yellow then it is so highly charged with the poison that no part of its flesh is safe even with the most careful preparation. *Oopuhue* caught in the open sea are always more poisonous than those from fish ponds.



Some fisherman dive to well-known habitats of certain fish and lobsters and, thrusting their arms up to their armpits under rocks or in holes, bring out the fish one by one and put them into a bag attached for the purpose to the malo or loin cloth. Women frequently do the same in shallow waters and catch fish by hand from under coral projections. It is also a favorite method employed by woman in the capture of the larger varieties of shrimps and oopus in the fresh water streams and kalo ponds. Gold fish are also caught in that way, and at the present time form no inconsiderable portion of the daily food of the poorer classes living near kalo patches or fresh water ponds. Their power of reproduction is very great. The different kinds of edible sea slugs are caught in the same way, although the larger kinds are sometimes dived for and speared under water. [page 1]

Octopus Fishing

There are two ways of octopus fishing: In shallow water the spear is used. Women generally attend to this. Their practiced eye can tell if an octopus is in a hole whose entrance is no larger than a silver dollar, and plunging their spears in they invariably draw one out. These mollusks have the peculiar property of drawing themselves out and compressing their bodies so as to pass through very narrow apertures many times smaller than the natural size or thickness of their bodies. These caught in shallow waters vary from one to four feet in length, but the larger kinds live in deep water always and are known as hee-o-kai-uli (blue water octopus). They are caught with cowries of the Mauritiana and sometimes of the Tiger species. One or more of these shells is attached to a string with an oblong pebble on the face of the shell, a hole is pierced in one end of the back of one of the shells through which the line is passed, and having been fastened is allowed to project a few inches below, and a hook whose point stands almost perpendicular to the shaft or shank as then fastened to the end of the line. Only the finest kind of Mauritiana or Tiger cowries are employed for this purpose as the octopus will not rise to a large-spotted or ugly one. The spots on the back must be very small and red, breaking through a reddish brown ground; such a shell would have the strongest attractions for an octopus, and is called ipo (lover). Cowries with suitable spots, but objectionable otherwise, are slightly steamed over a fire of sugar cane husks. This has the effect of giving them the desired hue.

The fisherman having arrived at his fishing grounds first chews and spits on the water a mouthful of candle nut meat which renders the water glassy and clear; he then drops the shell with hook and line into the water and swings it over a place likely to be inhabited by an octopus. This being a voracious animal is always, according to Hawaiian fishermen, when in its hole, keeping a look-out for anything eatable that may come within reach of its eight arms. The moment a cowry is perceived an arm is shot out and the shell clasped, if of the attractive kind, one arm after the other comes out, and finally the whole body is withdrawn from the hole and attaches itself to the cowry or cowries which it closely hugs, curling itself all around it, and seeming oblivious of anything but the pleasure of hugging its "lover." It remains very quiet whilst being rapidly drawn up through the water till, just as its head is exposed above water it raises it, when the fisherman pulls the string so as to bring its head against the edge of the canoe and it is killed by a blow from a club which is stuck between the eyes. This must be rapidly done before the animal has time to become alarmed and lets go the cowry, when, should the arms be a fathom in length, it becomes a dangerous antagonist, as there would be risk of the fisherman being squeezed to death. Having eight arms, as octopus of such a size could very well manage two or three persons, as the cutting off of one or more of its arms does not affect the rest in the least.

Torch Light Fishing

Torch light fishing is practiced on calm dark nights. The fish are either caught with small scoop nets, or are speared. Torch light fishing is always in shallow water where one can wade. The fisherman must be spry and light of step, passing through the water without a splash to disturb the fish which remain quiet as if dazzled by the light unless alarmed by



the splashing or concussions in the water. The torches are made of split bamboos secured at regular intervals with ki leaves, *Dracena terminalis* or twigs of the *naio* (spurious sandal wood) bound together in the same manner. Should the light burn with a pale flame, then the fisherman will not meet with good luck, but if the torches burn with a bright red flames, he will be apt to be very successful. [page 2]

Basket Fishing – Hinai

The Hawaiian have four kinds of basket fishing—*Hinai*. The *Hinai opae*, sometimes called *apua opae*, is a basket looking something like the coal scuttle bonnets of a hundred years ago, and is woven from the air roots of the *Freycinetia Arborea* (*leie*). This is used for mountain shrimping, and women always attend to it. They move in a crouching position through the water, moving small stones and thrusting sticks under the large ones to drive the shrimp to a suitable place which is always some place where the grass, ferns, or branches of trees droop over on the water; the shrimps take refuge in or under these and the fisherwoman places her basket under the leaves and lifts them out of the water, when the shrimps drop into the basket, she then unties the small end and drops them into a small mouthed gourd attached to a string, which she keeps floating after her for that purpose, and putting some fern leaves inside the gourd to keep the shrimps from creeping out, as these are lively little fellows who live a long time out of water and scamper about on terra firma like cockroaches.

The *Hinai Hooluuluu* is used in *Hinalea* fishing, (a small species of Julis), and is a small basket made from the vines of the *awikiwiki*, a *convolvulus*, and it is renewed from day to day as wanted. A light frame work of twigs is first tied together and then the vines, leaves and all, are wound in and out round and round till of the requisite size, three or four feet in circumference and about one and a half in depth. Shrimp pounded and enclosed in coconut fiber is occasionally placed at the bottom of the basket for bait, but usually the scent of the bruised and withering leaves seems to be sufficient. Women always attend to this kind of fishing. They wade out to suitable places, generally small sandy openings in coral ground or reef, and let the baskets down suitably weighted to keep them in position, the weights attached in such a way as to be easily detached. Each woman then moves away from her basket to some distance, but from where she can watch the fish enter the basket. When all the fish that are in sight have entered, they take the basket up and transferring the fish to a large small-mouthed gourd, move the basket to a fresh place. Fishing in this way can only be carried on, on a calm sunny day, and at low tide.

Since the introduction of the weeping willow, baskets for this fishing are sometimes made of willow twigs. Such can be used over and over again. Men sometimes take such baskets and using *wana* (see eggs), for bait, with the top of the shell broken to expose the meat, place them in comparatively deep water, piling stones around them to keep them in place. They leave them for a day or two, and if the place is good fishing ground the basket will be full by the time they come for it.

The *Uiui* basket is shallow, of about the same size as the above but wider mouthed, used in deep water for catching a small flat fish called *uiui* that makes its appearance at intervals of from ten, fifteen to twenty years. Whenever it appears it is taken by fishermen and people generally as a sure precursor of the death of a very high chief. At the last appearance the *uiui*, the imported marketing baskets were generally used by those who could not obtain the old-fashioned kind, as any old castaway basket would do, with a little patching occupying perhaps, five minutes, and two sticks bent over the mouth or opening from side to side, and at right angles to each other for a handle to which to tie the draw string. It should be twisted round and round above the jointure with a little of the sea convolvulus, (*pohuehue*), with the leaves on, so as to throw a little shade in the basket to keep the fish from being drawn up to the surface of the water. In these baskets cooked pumpkins, half roasted sweet potatoes, or raw ripe papayas were placed for bait. The



canoes thus provided would sail right into the midst of a school of these fish; the basket being lowered a few feet into the sea, the fish being attracted by the scent of the bait, would rush into the baskets and feed greedily. As soon as the baskets were full of fish they would be drawn up and emptied into the canoe and then lowered again, with more bait if necessary, and this would go on till the canoe was loaded or the fisherman was tired. [page 3]

These fish are very good eating when they first arrive, as they are fat, with liver very much enlarged; after a month they become thinner, not perhaps procuring their proper food here, and then taste strong and rank.

The *le kala* basket is the largest kind of basket used in fishing by the Hawaiians. These are round, rather flat, baskets four to five feet in diameter by two and a half to three in depth, and about one and a half across the mouth. A small cylinder or cone of wicker is attached by the large end to the mouth and turned inwards towards the bottom of the basket. This cone or cylinder is quite small at the free end, just large enough for the *kala* to get in. Immediately below the end of this cone, on the bottom of this basket is placed the bait, properly secured, which in the case of the *kala* is *limu kala* (a coarse brownish yellow alga on which this fish feeds and from which it takes its name), ripe bread fruit, cooked pumpkins, and half roasted sweet potatoes, and papayas. This basket is called the *le lawe* (taking basket). The fishermen generally feed the fish at a given place for a week or more before taking any, using for this purpose a large basket of the same kind without the inverted cylinder, and wider in the mouth, to allow the fish free ingress and egress. After a week or two of feeding they become very fat and fine flavored, and also very tame, and baskets full of fish can be drawn up in the taking basket without in the least disturbing these which are still greedily feeding in the feeding baskets. These baskets are occasionally used for other kinds of fish, substituting the bait known to attract that particular kind, but never with the same degree of success as with *kala*.

The Gilbert Islanders have of late years introduced fishing with a basket in a manner different from any formerly practiced by Hawaiians. This is an oblong basket called by these people a punger, larger at one end than another, with a flat and oval top, convex like a carriage top, and gradually sloping to the small end. A cone with the end cut off is inserted at the large end, the body of the cone being inside of and opening into the basket. A trap door is fixed on the end of the cone in such a manner that it will open by a touch from the outside, but cannot be pushed open from the inside. The basket is taken to a good sandy place in two to four fathoms water, where there is plenty of coral or stones handy. The fisherman then dives and places the basket in the exact position he wishes; he then takes pieces of coral rock and begins to build up and around the basket, enclosing it completely with stones so as to form an artificial dark retreat for the fish. The entrance to the cylinder or cone is left exposed, and the fish seeing an inviting entrance to a dark place go on an exploring expedition till they find themselves inside. Once inside they cannot return. This basket is left from two days to a week in a position at the bottom of the sea, when the stones are displaced, the basket and its contents are hauled up to the canoe or boat, a door left at the smaller end of the basket is opened, the fish shaken out, and the basket is ready to be replaced in the sea.

Catching Oopus

The natives had a very ingenious method of catching oopus, small fresh water fish found mostly in our mountain streams and having the flavor of trout. This was a platform of large logs placed side by side across our larger streams on the mountain slopes. This is put in place towards the end of the dry season when the water is low, and is placed at about or just above high water mark. When the first heavy rains of the season fall, and the streams get full, the water becomes so muddy with the wash from the sloping ground adjoining the banks that the oopus of the whole previous dry season are driven away



from their usual haunts in water holes, under large rocks, logs, etc., and are carried down by the hurrying waters. The oopus always try to keep in the surface water as being comparatively clear, and are thus swept in immense quantities on to the platform, and from there into a ditch leading out to a plain where they are gathered up in immense quantities. These oopus are highly praised as they have a very delicate flavor from, it is supposed, having fed on the fallen flowers of the Eugenias, [page 4] which always line the banks of mountain streams and are known as oopu-ai-lehua (lehua fed oopu). The oopus breed or are hatched in salt water and the young fry ascend the streams to live and grow. The young are known as hinana, scarcely any larger than maggots, and seem to have a special aptitude for getting up almost perpendicular embankments or water falls.

Fishing With Rod – Paeaea

Paeaea is fishing with rod, hook and line. There are only seven kinds of fish sought for in the paeaea fishing. The bait most liked is shrimp. Earth worms are sometimes used and any obtainable fry or fish. The fisherman takes a handful of shrimps, baits his hooks, and then, bruising the remainder and wrapping it up in cocoanut fibre, ties it with a pebble on the line and close to the hooks; the bruised matter spreads through the water when the line is dropped, and serves to attract fishes to the vicinity of the hooks. This bruised matter is called palu.

Hook and Line Fishing

For hook and line fishing which is generally practiced in deep water, kawakawa and aku (bonito) and ula (lobster) are the usual bait; for lack of these any kind of fish is used with varying results. The bonito were formerly caught with muhee for bait, a kind of squid found floating on the surface of the sea in great quantities. A mother-of-pearl hook is also used in place of bait. Small mullets and iiao (a small fish that comes in immense schools) are now the favorite bait, and must always be used in connection with the mother-of-pearl hooks. These fishes are taken out alive in large gourds or tubs to the fishing grounds, which are any places where bonitos are seen, usually three to ten miles out on the open sea, and are thrown over board, a handful at a time, they will immediately make for the shadow cast by the canoe as affording comparative shelter, the bonitos then give chase to them and are thus attracted in great numbers around the canoes, which, for this kind of fishing are generally double ones. The mother-of-pearl hooks are then thrown in the water without being baited and are mistaken for fish by the bonito, being on account of their shimmer and glisten like the iiao.

The mother-of-pearl hooks are called pa, and are of two kinds, the pa-hau (snowy pa) and the pa-anuenu (rainbow pa). The pa-hau is used in the morning till the sun is high, as the sun's rays striking it obliquely makes it glisten with a white pearly light which looks like the shimmer from the scales of the smaller kinds of fish on which the bonito lives, but at midday when the sun's rays fall perpendicularly on it, it appears transparent and is not taken by the fish. The pa-anuenu is then used. This has the rainbow refractions, and the perpendicular rays of the sun make it shimmer and glisten like a living thing. Sometimes shells are found uniting the two characters, and such are always highly prized, as they can be used all day. The shell is barbed on the inner side with bones and two tufts of hog's bristles are attached at the barbed end at right angles to it. The bristles are to keep the inner side up so the shell will lie flat on the surface of the sea.

For deep sea fishing the hook and line are used without rods, and our fishermen sometimes use lines over a hundred fathoms in length. Every rocky protuberance from the bottom of the sea for miles out, in the waters surrounding the islands, was well known to the ancient fishermen, and so were the different kinds of rock fish likely to be met with on each separate rock. The ordinary habitat of every known species of Hawaiian fishes was also well known to them. They often went fishing so far out from land as to be



entirely out of sight of the low lands and mountain slopes and took their bearing for the purpose of ascertaining the rock which was the habitat of the particular fish they were after, from the positions of the different mountain peaks. [page 5]

Shark Fishing – Mano

The natives distinguish the sharks seen in Hawaiian waters into five species: The *mano-kihikihi* (hammer-headed shark) and the *lalakea* (white fin) are considered edible, as the natives insist that these never eat human beings. Then comes the *mano kanaka* (man shark), the shark god of the ancient Hawaiians; supposed to be entered and possessed by the spirits or souls of the descendants of the first shark god, who could take human form at will and left a numerous human progeny. This was the kind of shark that was formerly fed on *awa* (*piper methysticum*) and bananas, and who only bit or ate people when they were in the wrong. Then comes the *mano*, a large white shark, the largest of all known to Hawaiians, but not a particularly ravenous one. It is very rarely seen. The *niuhi* completes the list; a very large shark, and the fiercest of all. Fortunately, it very rarely makes its appearance in Hawaiian waters. In the night the *niuhi* can be seen a long way off by the bright greenish light of its eyeballs. These sharks will attack the largest of double canoes, and the fisherman's only safety is in precipitate flight at the first appearance of his greenish light.

The *mano-kihikihi* and smaller *lalakea* are caught in old nets, but the larger *lalakea* with hooks, as are also all the man eating kinds. Especial preparations were made for the capture of the *niuhi*, but there has been no regular fishing for it for the last eighty years. The common kind of shark was caught in vast quantities, and the liver with a little of the flesh was wrapped in *ki* leaves and baked underground, then from fifty to a hundred of the largest single and double canoes were loaded with baked meat and large quantities of the pounded roots of *awa*, mixed with a little water, and contained in large gourds. The fleet would sail many miles out to sea in the direction in which the *niuhi* is known frequently to appear. Arrived at a comparatively shallow place, the canoe containing the head fisherman and the priest and sorcerer, who was supposed to be indispensable, would cast anchor, meat and the baked liver would be thrown overboard, a few bundles at a time to attract sharks. After a few days the grease and scent of cooked meats would spread through the water many miles in radius. The *niuhi* would almost make its appearance after the third or fourth day, when bundles of the baked meats were thrown as fast as it could swallow them. After a while it would get comparatively tame and would come up to one or other of the canoes to be fed. Bundles of the liver with the pounded *awa* would then be given to it, when it would become not only satiated, but also stupefied with *awa*, and a noose was then slipped over its head, and the fleet raised anchor and set sail for home, the shark following a willing prisoner, the people of the nearest canoes taking care to feed it on the same mixture from time to time. It was led right into shallow water till it was stranded and then killed. Every part of its bones and skin was supposed to confer unflinching bravery on the possessor. The actual captor, that is, the one who slipped the noose over the *niuhi's* head, would also, ever after, be always victorious.

This shark's natural home is, perhaps, in the warmer waters of the equator, as the Gilbert Islanders now here, make the assertion that it is very frequently seen and captured at their group. The tradition here is, that it is only seen just after or during a heavy storm, when the disturbed waters, perhaps drive it away from its natural haunts.

General Divisions of the Kinds of Nets – Upena

There are two general divisions of kinds of nets in use here, the *upena-palaoa*, long nets and the bag or purse nets, with endless variations of those two main features. The finest of the *upena-palaoa* or long nets is a mesh one half inch wide called *nukunukuaua*. It is generally a fathom and a half in depth, and from forty to sixty fathoms in length. It is used to surround and catch the small mullets and awas in shallow waters for the purpose of



stocking fish ponds. Small pebbles frequently ringed or pierced are used for sinkers and pieces of the *hau* (*Hibiscus Tiliaceus*), [page 6] and *kukui* (candle nut tree) for the floaters. *Upena-palao* of one to two inch mesh are used for the larger mullets, *awa*, *weke*, and *pau-u-lua*. A two to two and half inch gill net is called *upena hoolewalewa*, or *upena apoapo*, according to the use to which it is put. The *upena hoolewalewa* (hanging net) is stretched from a given point to another at high tide, and always across what they call fish-runs in shallow waters, which a long sandy opening in coral places. Two or sometimes one person, work this net, passing backward and forward, to seaward of the net, taking out fish as fast as caught in the meshes. This way of fishing is only practiced at night. For *upena apoapo*, a place where fish are seen or are likely to be, is surrounded and the water inside the circle beaten, when the frightened fishes dart in every direction with great violence and are meshed. The *upena oio* is a long net of three to four inch mesh, used for catching *oio*, *kala*, *nenu* and large *awa-kalamoho*. It is of eighty, one hundred, one hundred and forty to one hundred and fifty fathoms in length by two to three fathoms in depth, it is used in the deeper waters, just inside, or in shallow waters just outside, the reef or breakers. For *oio* fishing the fishermen go in canoes, one man called the *kilo* (lookout) is always standing upright on the cross bars of the canoe, keeping a sharp lookout for a school of *oio*. When he sees one, the canoes follow it at a distance from place to place, or wait patiently if the fishes remain in an unfavorable place till they move into the accustomed fishing grounds, called (*kuuna*, “where nets are dropped”). Two or three canoes are almost always engaged in this kind of fishing. When the fish are in a suitable place one canoe approaches very cautiously and stations itself where the net is to be dropped, whilst another carrying a net of the same kind, makes a wide circuit till immediately opposite with the fish between, when the ends of the nets are dropped simultaneously from the two canoes, and both paddle in a semi-circle whilst paying out net and striving to meet the dropped ends of the opposite nets as soon as possible, so as to completely enclose the school before they become alarmed. The first canoe having met the end of the opposite net, if on sandy bottom, keeps on one side of the net already down and drawing its own net after it, thus gradually reducing the circle, as well as making two or three rings of netting around the fish, so if they make a rush to any given point and by their weight bear down the floaters, those escaping from the first circle will still be enclosed by the outer ones, and eventually be caught by becoming entangled and meshed. When the nets have been drawn, to the mind of the head fisherman, they all jump overboard with their canoe poles and beating the water frighten the fish who dash here and there with great violence, entangling themselves in the nets, and are easily captured. For *upena-kaka*, the *oio* or mullet nets are used either in daylight or at night, though the best results are almost always obtained at night. The nets are dropped in a semi-circle and some of the fishermen making a wide sweep to the opposite side, spread out fan-shape and move rapidly towards the net, beating the waters as they go with their arms, and thus driving the fish from quite a distance into the comparatively small area partly enclosed by the nets, whilst the two men holding the *kuku* (stick supporting the end of the net and standing perpendicularly in the water) run on the approach of the beaters towards each other. Should the water be dirty and the net rather long the ends are then gathered together till the circle is all reduced and the fish all taken. If at night, numbers of rock fish are also taken with those that spread in schools, called by Hawaiians *ia-hele*, whilst rock fish are *ia-koa*.

The *Nae* is the finest of all kinds of nets, the mesh being only one-fourth inch. The *upena pua* is for young mullet fry for stocking ponds or for eating. This net is generally a piece, a fathom square, attached on two sides to sticks about three feet in length and filled in, the bottom rope shorter than the upper one and forming an irregular square opening to a shallow bag, which is supplemented by a long narrow bag about three or four inches wide and two feet deep. The sea *convulvulus* generally found growing on the beach is twisted, leaves, branchlets and all, into two thick bushy ropes some fifteen or twenty feet in length, and these are attached on each side of the net to the *kuku* (side sticks); these



lines are then drawn forward in a semi-circle sweeping the shoals of fry before them till enough are partly enclosed, when the two free ends [page 7] are brought rapidly together in a circle which is gradually reduced, the same as in long net fishing, till the fry are all driven into the bag. The same mesh, but made into a larger bag is used in fishing for ohua, a small kind of fish very highly prized by natives, which lives in and on the limu kala, a coarse alga that grows on coral in shallow water. Long ropes, one, two, or even three hundred fathoms in length having dry ki leaves braided on them by the stems, the blade ends of the leaves hanging loose and free, are started from a given place in opposite directions to sweep around and finally enclose a circle which is afterwards reduced in the same manner as in long, or pua fishing. Great numbers of men, women and children assist at this kind of fishing to hold the ropes down to the bottom, and by the splashing and disturbance of the limu drive the fish away from the ropes and into the net. Persons are generally stationed every yard or so on the ropes for this purpose and also for disentangle the ropes if caught on a rock or other obstruction. When the circle is narrowed to from ten to fifteen feet in diameter, one end of the ropes is united and the ends attached to the ends of the kuku of the bag net, forming a guard on each side, and the circle further reduced till the fish are all driven into the net.

Upena uluulu (diver's net) is a small bag of two-inch mesh, about two and a half feet across the opening or mouth of the bag, and the same in depth. Two sticks are attached on each side of the opening leaving a space of half a foot in width between them. This net is managed by one person only who dives to the small caves and holes in the bottom of the sea, which are always well known to the local fishermen, and placing his net across the opening of the caves or hole, mouth inwards, he then inserts a slender rod, with a tuft of grass at the end, called a pula, into the hole, and gently drives the fish which may be in there into the open mouth of his net, which, by joining the two sticks together he closes. Then placing his driving stick over the closed mouth as a further preventive, he rises to the surface, and emptying his bag into the canoes, goes to another cave or fish hole where he repeats the operation till tired or satisfied with the quantity caught.

The upena uhu is for catching uhu, a very highly prized kind of rock fish of two species, the red and the green. The red varieties, called uhu ula, are the more choice ones for eating raw. The green, called uhu eleele, are not so fine flavored, but attain a larger size. The net for these fishes is a square of two or three inch mesh, which has been slightly gathered on the ropes and attached at the four corners to slender strong sticks tied together at the middle in such a way that they will cross each other at the middle and can be closed together when wanted. When crossed they spread the net open in the form of a shallow bag, a string is tied to the crossing of the two sticks and the net is then ready for operations. A decoy fish, which must have been previously caught with the uluulu or hook and line is then dropped with a string attached, in a place where fish of that kind are noticed or known to frequent, and gently moved back and forth, this is called hoohaehae, "teasing the fish." Every fish of that kind that can see the decoy fish is immediately attracted to see the strange actions of this one, and when all have been attracted that are likely to be in the vicinity, the net is gently dropped at a little distance from the decoy, which is then gently drawn into the net. All the fish rush after it into the net, which is then quickly pulled up, the sticks bending over, which elongates the bag, also reducing the opening or mouth. By a peculiar twitch and pull on the string the sticks can be made to swing around and lie parallel, thus effectually closing the bag. No diving is necessary for this net beyond that necessary to get the decoy. It is also used for several other kinds of rock fish whose habits are known to be the same as the uhu's, always first getting a decoy of the kind wanted. Fishermen almost always carry for this kind of fishing candle nut or cocoanut meat, which they chew and spit over from time to time to smooth the sea so that they can observe the bottom.



Upena opule is a bag net a fathom in length having a small oval mouth two or three feet wide. It is used with a decoy opule, previously caught, which is drawn back and forth at the mouth of the net. [page 8]

Upena aai-opelu. A large one-inch mesh net, eight fathoms in depth, used in deep waters. The opelu is the Hawaiian mackerel, a small narrow fish caught only at certain seasons. Cooked pumpkins are placed at the bottom of the net for bait and lowered some fathoms beneath the surface, and the scent of the pumpkin diffusing through the water attracts the opelu and they enter the bag to feed on it. When a sufficient quantity of all the opelu in sight have entered it, it is rapidly drawn up and emptied of fish, more pumpkin is put in and the fishermen sail to a fresh place to drop the bag.

Upena iiao and nehu are used for two kinds of very small fish that come at certain seasons in immense schools and are much used for bait. Pickled and dried they are very good eating. The net is a fine mesh bag exactly like a pua net, but larger. It is to be used with a lau, that is, with ropes with ki leaves attached, the same as for upena ohua, only this sort of fishing net requires no diving as it is used in deep waters.

Laa melomelo is another kind of decoy fishing, only in this instance the decoy used is albiet of hard wood something like a club, rounded at the ends and one end smaller than the other, with a little ringed knob on the smaller end to tie a string to. This club when prepared with the proper attention to the usual luck or unlucky superstitions common to fishermen, is then slightly charred over a regulation fire. Kukui nut meat and cocoanut in equal quantities are first baked, pounded and tied up in a wrapping of cocoanut fibre (the sheath around the stem of a cocoanut leaf) and the fishermen then start on a canoe for the fishing grounds. This should be in water not deeper than four or five fathoms. Arrived there the laau melomelo is then greased with the oily juice of the pounded nuts and dropped over board and allowed to hang suspended a few feet from the bottom. The scent of the baked nut meat diffusing through the water seems to have a powerful attraction for some kinds of fish which surround the stick seeming to smell or nibble at it. After a while the bag net is dropped over with its mouth open towards the stick, when the latter is moved gently into it, the fish still surrounding and following it into the net. The persons then dive and approaching the net gently, quickly close its mouth and give the signal to those in the canoe to haul it up. Some laau melomelo were more attractive to fish than others, or were more lucky, and this the fishermen ascribed to the more perfect performance of the incantation made at the cutting of the stick from the trees and its subsequent preparation.

The hano is a large bag net of very fine mesh with a flaring mouth, used to capture flying fish. There are two varieties of flying fish here, the large malolo and the small puhikii, entirely distinct from each other. The same net and method of capture is also employed for the iheihe, a long thin fish, usually a foot and a half in length with a very sharp-pointed snout that generally arrives here at about the same time as the malolo. The hano is also occasionally employed for the akule, another fish that arrives in school.

For malolo fishing the hano is piled on a double canoe or large single one, and a start is made early in the morning with an attending fleet of from 20 to 40 canoes, women very often go in this kind of fishing to help paddle the canoes as no particular skill is called for on the part of the general hands, the success of the fishing depending all together on the good judgment and sight of the kilo or spy. This person is generally on a light canoe manned by only two or three hands, and he is standing up always on the cross ties of the canoe looking for the malolo; whenever he discerns a strong ripple he points it out to the rest of the canoes who then surround the spot indicated whilst he confers with the head fisherman about the best place to drop the hano, which depends upon which way the currents set, when the net is all ready the canoes paddle very quickly in towards it,



splashing the water and driving the fishes from them into the open net. It seems that these fishes will not dive to any depth and are always found swimming very near the surface, so, when completely surrounded by canoes, they can be driven wherever wanted. The fleet very often go several miles out to sea after *malolo*, and this fishing is called one of the *lawaiia-o-kaiuli*, "blue sea fishing."

Upena kolo is the largest of all nets, and can only be used in a very few places, like the harbor of Honolulu, Puuloa, etc. It is an immense bag from sixteen to twenty-four fathoms in depth. Small meshed and narrow at the extreme end, but widening out into an immense flaring mouth, with long nets 16 to 20 fathoms deep attached on each side and called its *pepeiao* (ears). [page 9]

This is swept from one side to the other of the harbor, scooping up every kind of fish. A great many sharks a fathom in length are sometimes caught in it, but the net is generally used when the mullet is in roe and is designed for the capture of large quantities of that fish. It requires a great many hands to manage it.

Lau kapalili is the use of a large bag net smaller than the *kolo*, but larger than the *ohua* or *iiao* net, but of the same general shape and called a *papa*. Two ropes *lau* of 3 or 400 fathoms in length, with *ki* leaves attached, the same as in *lau ohua*, and generally the *lau* of two or more *ohua* nets joined, are piled on to a large double canoe, which is taken out two or three miles from shore, attended by a fleet of from 60 to 100 single canoes. The head fisherman always goes on the canoe containing the net and *lau*. Arrived at the proper distance, which must be just opposite the final drawing place, the end of one rope is joined to that of the other, and two canoes manned by eight or ten strong men take the other end of the rope or *lau*, one each, and start in opposite directions and exactly parallel with the shore, whilst the double canoe remains stationary till all the *lau* is paid out. In the meantime the rest of the canoes have divided into two companies and follow the two leading canoes, stationing themselves at certain distances on the *lau* and helping to pull it. When the *lau* is all paid out, the two leading canoes then curve in to form a semi-circle, at the same time always moving towards the shore. When a perfect semi-circle has been made by the *lau* the double canoes and all the others move gradually forwards with it, while the leading canoes are pulling with all their might straight into the shore. When either end is landed the men immediately leap out and taking hold of the line pull on it, at the same time going towards each other, which has the effect of narrowing the semi-circle, whilst most of the canoes keep backing on to the double canoes, which always keeps the center. Arrived at a suitable place, always a clean sandy one a few rods from shore, the *laus* are untied and attached to each end of the *papa* net; men, women and children now gather closely on the *lau*, especially where it joins the net, and make a great disturbance with their feet, which drives all the fish into the net. *Lau* and net are finally drawn ashore.

Lau Kapalili (trembling leaves) fishing can only be carried on on a clear, bright, sunny day, so that the shadows cast by the leaves can be seen and served to drive the fish inland. It is called the "Fishing of Kings," as they only, could command a sufficient number of canoes, men and *lau*. For the same reason the *Niuhi* was called the "Game of Kings." The late Kamehameha V., whose favorite residence was at Waikiki, frequently ordered the *Lau Kapalili*. [page 10]

Fish Ponds

We have two kinds of fish ponds or enclosures; fresh water ones, from half an acre to two or three acres in extent; and salt water ponds, generally very large and enclosing an area of many acres. The salt water ponds are of two kinds; those entirely closed, and in which fish are fed and fattened, and those surrounded by a low wall that is submerged at high tide and has openings, walled on each side like lanes leading in or out of the pond.



The lanes or fish-runs are from fifteen to twenty feet in length and radiate from the wall inside and out. They are of about two feet in width at the opening in the wall and widen out gradually till they are from eight to ten feet wide at the ends. At night when the tide is coming in, a man, or more frequently a woman takes a small scoop net just wide enough to fill the entrance of the opening and of three or four feet in depth, wades out to the entrance of one of these runs and sitting on a raised stone platform on its side, always made for that purpose, holds the net in the water at the entrance of an opening towards the sea, and sits very quiet until a jerk in the net is felt, when it is immediately pulled up before the fish have time to return, and the fish dropped into a gourd or basket. When the net is immediately returned to the water and waiting and watching are resumed. Two persons generally go to this kind of fishing and sit on opposite sides of the entrance, so that as one net is raised another one is still there, as under certain conditions of the water and weather, two persons will be kept busy scooping up fish as fast as the nets can be lowered. No fish must be allowed to get free as that [page 10] would put a stop to the fishing at that entrance during that turn of the tide.

These entrances are favorite stations for the ground sharks of the neighborhood to prey on the fish as they go in or out, and so when the tide is about medium height, the fishing people return to the shore, as their platforms would be entirely submerged at high tide. At the turn of the tide and when the platforms are exposed, other parties take their turn at the lanes, using those with entrances inwards. These fish ponds, known as *Umeiki*, are sometimes owned by the proprietors of two adjoining lands, the people of one owning the right to fish during the rise of the tide, known as the *Kai-ku*, and the other during the ebb, *Kai-emi*. Long nets are also used in these ponds, but only during the conditions of the tide belonging to each.

The large salt or brackish water ponds, entirely enclosed, have one, two or four gates called *Makaha*. These are of straight sticks tied on to two or three cross beams the sticks in the upright standing as closely as possible, so that no fish half an inch in thickness can pass them, while the water and young fry can pass freely in and out. Scoop nets the width of the gates are used at these places at the flow of the tide to scoop up such fish as may be desired by the owner or the pond keeper for family use. When any large quantity is wanted, the long net, generally known as *Upena-kuu*, is used, the same as in shallow sea fishing.

Fresh water ponds are very seldom over half an acre in extent and are for *Oopu* and *Opae* preserves, and sometimes for *Awa* a kind of tropical salmon that breeds in brackish water and will live and grow fat in perfectly fresh water. The young fry of this fish is procured in shallow waters on the beach where a stream or spring of fresh water mingles with the sea, and is carried sometimes many miles inland in large gourds with water.

The Catfish has been introduced within four years and is doing well. Carp have also been introduced very recently, but it is yet too early to pronounce on the success or otherwise of the experiment. [Hawaii State Archives Series M445 / 23]

X. “Ka Moolelo o Kihapiilani” (The Tradition of Kihapi’ilani)

In 1884, native historian, Moses Manu, a contributor to accounts published by Abraham Fornander (1918 & 1996), published “Ka Moolelo o Kihapiilani” (in *Ku Okoa*; January 12th to August 23^d 1884). A part of the account includes reference to the rise of Kihapi’ilani to rule over Maui, and construction of the great fishpond complex of Kanahā in Kahului. The following narratives (translated by Maly), are a synopsis of the Manu’s narratives:



Construction of the Fishponds of Kanahā and Mauoni

...Upon securing his rule over Maui, Kihapī'ilani determined that he was going to build a *heiau*, a house for the gods... Kihapī'ilani then called upon the chiefs and commoners alike, having them gather the *'alā makahinu* (dense basalt stones) to build an *alanui* (trail).

The trail began at the stream of Kawaipapa and Pihehe, and entered the *hala* forest of Kahalaowaka. From that place, it went to the forest of 'Akiala'a at Honomā'ele... The trail was also set out at Kaupō, from the stream (gulch) of Manawainui to Kumunui. That was the extent of the work of the king and the people. He then began the paving in the forest of 'O'opuloa [i.e., 'O'opuola], at Ko'olau, extending from Kawahinepe'e to Kaloa, then on to Pāpa'a'ea, and on to Ka'ohekanu at Hāmākua Loa...

Now when the King (Kihapī'ilani) completed his work in this area, he moved and lived at Kahului, where he began the collection of stones for the *kuapā* (fishpond walls) of Mauoni and Kanahā. He is the one who caused the water in those two ponds to be separated, and given two names. The *kuapā* is still there to this day, but a large portion of it has been lost, covered under the sands flying in the winds. When this work was completed, Kihapī'ilani then departed for Waiehu and 'Ā'āpueo... [Manu in *Nupepa Ku Okoa*, August 23, 1884:4; Maly, translator]

XI. "The Aku and Opelu Tabu" (1891)

Historian and chief of the Government Survey office, W.D. Alexander (1891), further described the sacred nature and annual restrictions on the *aku* and *'opelu* fish, and use of *ulua* in *heiau* ceremonies:

The Aku and Opelu Tabu.—Two kinds of fish, the *aku* or bonito and the *opelu*, had a sacred character, and were tabu by turns, for six months at a time. At the *kapu hua*, i.e., the 13th day of *Kaelo*, in January, a human sacrifice was offered, together with the fish *aku*, at which it is said that the *Kahoalii*, a man personifying the god, plucked out and ate an eye of each. By this ceremony the tabu was taken off from the *aku*, and the *opelu* became tabu for the next six months, not to be eaten on pain of death.

In the month of Hinaiaaleele, or July, the tabu was taken off the *opelu* and reimposed on the *aku*. The first night, Hilo, of this month was *kapu loa*. No fire could be kindled, and no sound of man or beast or fowl must be heard.

Toward morning the high-priest, accompanied by another priest, went to the *opelu* house of Ku-ula, the god [Alexander 1891:52] of fishermen, where he sacrificed a pig, and recited the great *aha* as during a dedication. Afterward the congregation was arranged in four rows, and long prayers recited, the people rising up and sitting down at the recurrence of certain words in the service, while a man was sent to the woods for *pala fern*.

Next morning the head fisherman, wearing a white malo, took the *pala* and a new net in his canoe, and put to sea.

Meanwhile a strict tabu was observed on shore; no fire could be lighted, and no canoe launched, on pain of death, nor could any canoe from abroad land on that day.

The fisherman, after praying to his *aumakuas* and to Ku, proceeded to cast his net. If he and his crew made a haul of *opelu*, they paddled at once for the shore with loud shouts of joy. The head fisherman then took seven of the fish to the priest, who sent some of them to the king, and placed the rest on the *lele* in the temple.



The chief also proceeded to the heiau, where he offered his opelu to the gods, plucking out and eating' the right eye of the fish. Next day the sea was free, and the opelu was noa, or free to all, but the aku in its turn was tabu for the next six months. [Alexander 1891:53]

Under the heading of “Ceremonial Dedication of a Temple,” reference is made to the importance of red fish and ulua in the dedication ceremonies. Alexander observed:

Offering of the Ulua.—The idols were now invested with white *kapa* and received their several names, the principal one being called *Moi*; and a great sacrifice was made of hogs, bananas, cocoanuts, red fish and white *kapa*, besides several more human victims, which were placed on the *lele*. If the fisherman failed to catch any *ulua* that night they killed a man in the village, and dragged his body to the *heiau* with a hook in his mouth, as a substitute for the fish.

As the *ulua* priest approached, chanting an incantation and carrying his hook and line, everybody fled, and even the priests retired to the drum-house. When he had finished chanting his *aha* behind the *lananuu*, he reported to the king the omens which he had observed, and the fish was offered up to the god. If he had broken his rod or line, or if the bait had all been eaten, it was a bad omen. [Alexander 1891:58]

XII. “He Mau Anoai Kahiko o Hawaii Nei” (Some Ancient News of Hawaii) – Fisheries of ‘Ewa, O‘ahu (translation by Maly)

In 1892, an unnamed author penned an account in the native newspaper, *Ku Okoa*, in which are described various fisheries and practices associated with them, in the Pu‘uloa (Pearl Harbor) region of the ‘Ewa District. The account also describes the circumstances around construction of the fishpond Kapakule, and associates a priestly line, with that of a fisherman of the region:

There was living at Waimalu a man named Maihea and his wife Punahinano. This man’s profession was that of farming the land and fishing, and the woman’s profession was that of making *kapa* (bark cloth).

Everyday, while cultivating the land, this man called upon his gods, but he did not know where his god lived, whether in the heavens or on earth. But he did know their names, they were Kane and Kanaloa. This man was continuously calling their names when he cultivated the fields. And when the time came for the foods to be cooked and eaten, he also called upon them by name. He did not forget them and this was always what he did. In ancient times, the practice was known as a supplication for continued prosperity.

Now these gods were at Kahiki, but because this man continuously called upon the gods by name, they traveled to Hawaii. They first landed at Kualoa, and from there, they climbed over the mountain and arrived at Ewa. They then went to the top of the hill called Haupu (where the Ewa church now stands) and looked down up on the lowlands of Waiawa. Kane chanted out (describing the various resources of the lands they looked upon):

*The eel is perhaps there at Hanaloha,
The seaweed is at Kuhia-waho,
The mullet are at Kuhia-loko,
The lone coconut tree stands at Hape,
The taro leaves are at Mokaalika,
The water is at Kaaimalu,*



*The salt is at Ninauele,
The ka-i taro is at Kamili-waho,
The sweet potatoes are at Hanapouli,
The awa moi is gathered at Kalahikiola.
The gods from Kahiki will drink the awa.*

When the chant was finished, they then went to Waimalu, to meet in person, with Maihea (the one who had been calling upon them), and to eat food with him.

Meeting with Maihea, they told him that they were from Kahiki and that “We came because we have often heard you calling our names. Thus, we have come to Hawaii.” When they finished this explanation, they then told Maihea, “Your wife is carrying a child, a boy. When he is born, name him Naulaamaihea^[2].” These words of the gods were fulfilled, his wife was indeed pregnant. The gods then told Maihea, “The boy will live with you until he has grown, then you must let him come to Kahiki where he will be taught the practices of the priests. Then we will let him return to you.”

The gods then left Waimalu and traveled to Puuloa where there was a man, who like Maihea, also honored the gods and always called upon their names. They ate with this man and to repay his faithfulness, they made for him the *Pa akule* (fish trap) which remained there at Puuloa to this day. That is how this man sustained himself. The gods then departed and traveled to Maui and Hawaii. After they had completed their visit around the islands, they left Hawaii and returned to Kahiki.

When Naulaamaihea was born, he lived with his parents until he was fifteen years old, and then Naulaamaihea was taken to Kahiki. It was a whale that fetched him and took him to Kahiki. The whale came near the shore of Waimalu, just outside of the walled fishpond called Paakea. For three weeks the whale lay outside, but Naulaamaihea did not go to the shore because Maihea forbade him from going. This was because of Maihea's great love for his son. But in the fourth week, Naulaamaihea went down to the shore and got on the back of the whale. Thus, he was taken to Kahiki where he learned the practices of the priests. He is still remembered in the genealogies of the priests to this day.

“*Pipi a holo kaa*” (So sprinkled and told is the tale). [Author, unknown, in *Ku Okoa*, October 8, 1892; Maly, translator]

XIII. “He Moololo Hawaii, No ka Unihipili”

(Hawaiian History, About the Spirits of the Dead) – Fisheries of ‘Ewa, O’ahu (translation by Maly)

In 1895, the editors of the native newspaper, *Ku Okoa*, provided readers with a series of articles describing ancient Hawaiian customs, practices, and beliefs (compiled from the earlier writings of D. Malo, S.M. Kamakau, and A. Fornander, et al.). In this series, was found an account of the water-goddess of the Pu’uloa (Pearl Harbor) region of ‘Ewa District. The paper names the goddess Kānekua’ana, and provides readers with details pertaining to her *kapu*, and stewardship over the *pipi* (oysters) of Pu’uloa; and names various sites and species found in the district:

Kānekuaana is the *moo* (water spirit) guardian of Ewa; many of the natives of Ewa, from Halawa to Honouliuli followed (believed) in her. If there was trouble with the fishing, the people dedicated her temple (*Waihau*) with the lighting of a fire to bring about blessings upon the land. The *pipi* (pearl oyster) is the famous fish of Ewa. Before six month would

² Naulaamaihea written as Naulu-a-Maihea (McAllister 1933), is given as the name of a heiau in Waimalu (McAllister 1933:104-105 Site Number 112)



pass the *hau* branches would take hold, and the land would be filled with the *pipi*, from Na-maka-o-Halawa to Honouliuli, from the inland pond walls to the Pa-akule. From the depths to the *nahawe* reefs and flats. From the channel inlet to the stone-lined ponds, and so forth.

There is within the flesh of the *pipi* a beautiful pearl, its size is similar to the eyeball of a fish. Some are like the shiny white of an eye, and are called *muhee kea*. Others are shiny red, like a rainbow, and are called *muhee makoko*. Some are small and others are larger, and they are highly valued.

The *opae huna* and *opae kala* [types of shrimps] are other fish that are in the sea, the walled ponds, and dune banked ponds. The *nehu pala* is another fish which fills the waters from the entrance of Puuloa to the coastal flats of Ewa. It is the same with all of the lochs (*awalau*). This is why the saying is told:

*Nehu appear to be blown upon the sea,
causing the water to shine.
It is the sea of Ewa,
Dwelling in the calm of great Ewa, of Laakona.*

The *mahamoe* is another famous fish, and the *okupe*, another, and there are others. And if all these fish are seen there, here are the words of the natives of the land, “The old woman (Kanekeaana) has returned from the foundations of Kahiki;” she dwells here perhaps for the love of her descendants... [Ku Okoa, May 20, 1895; Maly, translator]

**XIV. “He Moolelo Kaa Hawaii no Laukaieie...”
(A Hawaiian Tradition of Laukaieie...), Author – Mose Manu
Fishery Resources on Hawai‘i, Maui, and O‘ahu (translation by Maly)**

Hawaiian historian, Moses (Mose) Manu, penned several lengthy traditions for the native newspaper, “*Nupepa Ka Oiaio*,” in which he included detailed accounts of a wide range of practices, including those associated with fisheries and deified guardians of the ocean and fresh water fisheries. This account, “*He Moolelo Kaa Hawaii no Laukaieie...*,” was published between January 5th, 1894 to September 13th, 1895, and the story is a rich and complex account with island-wide references to—places; descriptions of place name origins; descriptions of fisheries and aquatic resources; history and *mele*; interspersed with accounts from other traditions and references to nineteenth century events.

The following excerpts of the tradition, translated by Maly, include an overview of the *mo‘olelo* and those narratives which recount the travels of Mekanikeoe, one of the main figures in the account. During his travels, Mekanikeoe sought out caves, and tunnels that served as underground trails, and through the description of his travels, we learn about some of the important places and resources of the lands through which he traveled. The selected translations also focus on several of the descriptions of fishing—including locations where various species can be found, and the religious-spiritual significance of marine resources:

Kaholokuaīwa [w] and Koa‘ekea [k] 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 *lipoa* seaweed and set in the stream. Without her parents knowledge, Lauka‘ie‘ie was retrieved by 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 Pōkāhi, and her husband was Kaukini. Though they had been married for a long time, they were childless, and because of their prayers and offerings, the forest goddess, Hināulu'ōhi'a, approached Pōkāhi while she was gathering seaweed, and told her that she would have a girl child to raise as her own. The condition was, that no one, not even her brother and sister-in-law were to know about this child. Because Pōkāhi and Kaukini 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 Lehua³, where she saw a handsome young chief, named Kawelonaakalāilehua. It was this chief that was destined to become her husband... [Mose Manu — in *Nupepa Ka Oiaio*, January 5-19, 1894]

...Makanikeoe and his companions landed at Keawaiki (Lāhainā), and after surfing, they desired to adorn themselves with garlands of *lehua*, which they wore upon their heads and necks. The red of *lehua* blossoms was so bright that the ocean's surface reflected their color and looked like a *kapa pa'i'ula* (a highly prized, red-dyed *kapa*), or like the *lehua* blossoms that glow in the 'ulalena rains of Pi'iholo... [February 23, 1894]

Portions of the *mo'olelo* also refer to shark gods (*akua manō*) of the various Hawaiian islands. In this account, readers learn that Puakawiliwili is one of the *akua* of Maui. Puakawiliwili, had been called to a gathering by Kamohoali'i, king of the sharks. In preparation for the gathering, Puakawiliwili traveled to the Ko'olau region where he collected some choice items to present to Kamohoali'i:

...Puakawiliwili is of Maui. He gathered two fish each of the *awa* and *'anae* from Wailuaiki, Ko'olau, Maui. These fish were gotten from atop a flat area on the *pali* in a fish pond that was made by Kāne. The pond was reached by dropping a rope along the *pali*, and is situated at the land where Kapo dwelled. The path is a difficult one, there on the cliff, and it is one of the places that visitors travel to see to this day... [March 2, 1894]

Makanikeoe and his companions departed from Maui and traveled to O'ahu, where reference was made to the *pipi* (pearl oysters) of Pu'u'loa:

Leiomanu (a youth of Kaala, Oahu) gave Kaana of Molokai, and Kawelonaakalailehua, the prized *lei momi* of Ewa as gifts. The characteristics of these pearls (*momi*) included those with a fine yellowish tint, others had bumps like diamonds, and some were bluish-yellow. There were many types of pearls, and they were once regularly seen in the sheltered bays of Ewa at Oahu. They came from the *Pipi* (oysters), and the pearls were found near the edges of the *Pipi* shell. They were a thing greatly cherished by the chiefs of old and worn in *lei* (necklaces). This is why it is said:

*My fish which quiets the voices,
You mustn't speak or the wind will blow.*

³ The lengthy narratives include site descriptions and traditional accounts for various locations on each of the named islands.



This is the famous thing of Ewa, where the fish quiet the voices, to these new times⁴. This is the type of lei which had been given to the alii of Lehua, the island which snatches the sun... [March 9, 1894]

Later in the account, Makanikeoe returned to East Maui, where he visited some of the famed fisheries of the land, and learned of the supernatural qualities of various fish-formed beings:

...From the mountain heights, Makanikeoe looked to Ko'olau and saw the famous pond of Wai'ale. This is a place which many visitors travel to see to this day... [November 23, 1894]

...Makanikeoe then reached the heights overlooking Kekuapa'awela and went on to the pali of 'Ohea where he turned to look upon the hula'ana of Ka'ilipālala. There, he saw the *noio* birds circling above the cliff. Going to look more closely he saw that there was a cavern in the cliff where the birds landed. He also saw a long round stone which was wrapped in white *kapa*, a *pā'ū Puakai*, thus he understood that this stone was a *kū'ula i'a* (fisherman's deity or shrine).

Makanikeoe then turned and looked to sea and saw a large red colored form moving just below the surface of the water, outside of the point of Mokumana at Pauwalu. There were many birds flying above the ocean surface, and when he looked more closely he saw that the large red form was a large kala fish. He then understood that the stone that was set there at the point [of Ohea] on the cliff was for this famous fish of the Ko'olau *pali*. Today, there are no people left who go out to surround the *kama'aina* fish of that land.

Makanikeoe then turned and followed the path along the famous cliffs of Ko'olau and arrived at Kaliae, renowned for the winds that rise up on the Ko'olau cliffs. He then traveled to the valley of Wailuaiki, where Kapo lived, and for whom the lines of the *mele* were composed... [December 21, 1894]

*O 'oe ia e Wailuaiki
E ka lau'i pali a Uli*

It is you, Wailuaiki
The ti plants which grow upon
the cliff of Uli

*Ua hele 'ia e Li'awahine
E ka wahine kuhea pali
Kui pua lei o Ho'akalei e
E lei – ho'i au a.*

Li'awahine has departed
O woman who calls from the high cliffs
Stringing the garland of Ho'akalei
Might I too be adorned with a garland.

This is the place where Kamapua'a committed his transgression upon Kapo and left a scar atop the *pali* of Puhiai. Also, from this *pali* the traveler can see the women going to the shore below Kapilikaunoa. From there, Makanikeoe went down to the shore and saw the great he'e (octopus), of which there was no equal. This *he'e kūpua* (supernatural octopus) is the one that was in a great battle with other *kūpua* (supernatural beings). The name of this *he'e* was Hā'aluea, and his stone body may be seen in the ocean, off the landing of Wailuanui. His stone body has eight branches or divisions that look like the tentacles of a *he'e*.

After seeing this *he'e kūpua*, Makanikeoe passed along the shore to the point fronting Mokumana. He then arrived at the muliwai (estuary) of Wai'ōlohe at Ke'anae. It is at this place that the *wai kau o Kauwahikaua* (the flume of Kauwahikaua) was made, thus turning Ke'anae into a land of *lo'i* to this day.

⁴ Tradition has it that the pipi (mother of pearl oysters) were very sensitive to any sounds, and those who were noisy would scare the shellfish into hiding. Thus, when going to catch pipi and other similar oysters, no one spoke. (see Pukui 1983, No.'s 493, 1357 & 1377)



Makanikeoe then found a large cave on the side of the cliff by the *muliwai*, that opened in the water. It was not a deep cave, but it came out in the *muliwai* at Wai'ōlohe and in the channel of Kukuipuka, from where Makanikeoe found a cave (tunnel) that ran to the uplands of Kūō. It was at this place that Puanui was thrown by Kamapua'a from Wailuaiki, with the thrust of his snout. It is almost eight miles in distance. And this place in the uplands of Ke'anae is called Kūō (to cry out) because of the wailing of Puanui.

From this place, Makanikeoe turned and went to a pond *mauka* of Puhipinao where Hi'u, the profit shark (*manō kāula*) of Ko'olau was born. From the cave that Makanikeoe first saw at Wai'ōlohe, there is a *pali* that rises above the *muliwai*, that is Pu'ukanohua the place where Kahekili and his steward would leap. This place was made famous in the lines of this *mele* — “*I mahu'i aku au e ike lihi. I ka wai kau mai o Ke'anae.*” (I have caught a glimpse of the water perched above Ke'anae.)

Passing this land Makanikeoe then went to the front of the cliffs of Nu'a'ailua and Honomanu. These are the youthful cliffs (*pali keikikāne*) of Ko'olau. He then went on to Kaloa [in vicinity of Pu'ukālai'ipu], where the *alanui aupuni* passes the place called Kawahinepe'e. There, he saw a small dark hole, covered by forest growth. Makanikeoe wanted to enter into, and travel through this cave, so he took a body form as small as the *māhiki* (crab) or the *ōpae* (shrimp), and he entered the cave, and found the water that flows to the stream named Waikamō'i. The water also flows to the stream of 'O'opuola, which is the boundary between Ko'olau and Hāmākualoa.

It was in this cave that Makanikeoe saw a great *kūpua* (supernatural being) with the body form of an 'o'opu, sleeping. This is an astounding place to see, but in the old days the travelers through here were set upon by robbers, so they traveled in fear. It was in this forest that the chief Kihapi'ilani caused the commoners to pave a path with stones so that people could travel safely around Maui. It was at this place that Makanikeoe saw the 'o'opu *kūpua* of these streams, Ka'o'opili, who is in the forest of 'O'opuola. It was for this place that the lines for the *mele* were composed:

*'Akāhi au a ike i ka nani o Ko'olau
Ke loku maila kua ia o 'O'opuola
Ola no Maka'iwa i ke 'ehu a ke kai.*

I have finally seen the beauty of Ko'olau
The rains that pour down at 'O'opuola
Maka'iwa has its life in the mist of the sea.

Makanikeoe, then went down to the shore of Maka'iwa. Today, this is one of the good places for boats to wait out the storms, it is a sheltered place. Looking about, Makanikeoe saw a cave opening in the *pali*, on the Ko'olau side of Maka'iwa. When he looked in, he saw that there was a stone there which was carefully set in place with two stalks of *tī* plants growing next to it. This is *keiki kālai o Makaiwa*.

After seeing this place along the edge of the *pali*, Makanikeoe then turned to follow the path along the sea, fronting the famous points of Hāmākualoa for which the lines of the song were composed:

*Ua pau ka heluna no Hāwini
Helu 'ekāhi o ka pukauwahi...*

Hāwini has been counted
Number one of the chimneys...

Makanikeoe then reached the point of Hāwini and turned his gaze upon the seaward cliffs. He traveled on to the cove where the boats now land at Hōlawa, and from there he looked upon the splashing of the waves on the shore. Passing that place he arrived at Halehaku, where there is a deep cave from the land to the sea:



*Aia ka palena a i Halehaku
Ilaila ku nei o Mākālei
Lā'au kaulana a Makanikeoe.*

It is there at the boundary of Halehaku
That Mākālei stands
The famous tree of Makanikeoe

From there Makanikeoe turned and looked at a stone islet standing in the sea that is struck by the waves on all sides. This stone islet was covered with birds, the *kōlea*, *ūlili*, and *'akekeke*. He also saw two *kama'aina* men who were trying to catch the birds with nets like fishermen. Because this was the custom of catching birds in his native land of Waipi'o, Hawai'i, he called out to the men offering to teach them how to fish for birds in this manner. The two *kama'aina* were astonished at the skills of this visitor who caught the birds with nets. Makanikeoe then looked about this little stone islet and dove into the ocean where he found and entered a cave. He followed the cave upland, for it was dry and there was no water. He came out at the *pali* by Hālauooloo along the stream of Kākipi. Another branch of the cave came out above Ho'ikaōpūai'uwala, at Makawao.

From this place he then traveled to the cool pond of Kālena and then he went to the top of the hill, Pi'iholo, from where he could look out upon the beauty of the land. While he was atop Pi'iholo the *'ūkiuku* mist rains and the *'ulalena* surrounded him, and the *līhau* dropped from the leaves of the *koa* of Kokomo and the famous *kukui* grove of Liliko'i. There, while upon the hill he saw two young women whose features were like that of Hinaulu'ōhi'a [a goddess of the forests and water at Waipi'o, Hawai'i] sitting along the side of the stream of 'Alelele. In his mysterious manner, Makanikeoe appeared before these two young women. Startled, they dove into the stream of 'Alelele and entered a cave, and in a short time these mysterious women arose below Wai'alalā. There, the women took their mysterious body forms and Makanikeoe called out to them. He learned that their names were Lauhuki and Kili'oe, and that they were the *mo'o* guardians of the cool waters of Kālena and all of the ponds at Makawao. For them the lines of the *mele* were composed:

*Ka helena a wahine i ka pali
I ka luna o Pi'iholo i 'Alelele
O Lauhuki ma lāua o Kilioe.*

The women travel along the cliffs
At the heights of Pi'iholo and 'Alelele
They are Lauhuki and Kili'oe

After exchanging their greetings, Makanikeoe passed through the cave by which the women traveled to Wai'alalā. He then continued underground till he reached the sea fronting Māliko. He arose at the eastern point of Māliko, which is the boundary between Hāmākualoa and Hāmākuapoko. From here, the path of our traveler passed before Kū'au and Pā'ia and he then arrived at Kapuka'ulua, the boundary between Hāmākuapoko and Wailuku. There, Makanikeoe saw a deep pit in the sea which he entered and followed to the ponds of Kanahā and Mauoni, those famous ponds that are near Kahului. The ponds were made by the commoners in the time of the chief Kihapi'ilani... [December 28, 1894]

***Regarding the Guardian Shark, Kahi'ukā, of Pu'uloa, O'ahu;
and Fisheries of the Larger 'Ewa District:***

Looking seaward, Makanikeoe saw the fin of a shark passing by, in front of a stone in the estuary of Waiawa, on the west side of Kanukuokamanu, next to Piliaumoa. Seeing the shark, Makanikeoe drew nearer and he saw that it was Kahiuka, a native of this estuary. His cave was comfortably situated on the side of the stone. Kahiuka was a good shark, and in his story, he is the guardian of Manana and Waiawa.

The author has met a man at Manana who was known by the name, Kahiuka. He learned the traditions of this shark in his youth, and was taken by this shark for a period of time, and returned again to the land in good health. The man has since died, but his daughter is still alive, and his story is an amazing one.



After seeing the house of this hero of the sea (Kahiuka), Makanikeoe turned and walked along the place where the waters flow from the land at Piliaumoa, Mokaalina, Panaio, Kapuailalulu, Kapapau, and Manuea. The trail then turned and went to the top of Haupu, where the foundation of the Luakini (Church) of Ewa was later situated. Near there, was a large pond in which awa (milkfish), anae (mullet), and aholohole (Kuhlia sanvicensis) fish were found.

Oh readers, let the author explain something here. At the time Luau came from Maui to dwell on Oahu, he arrived at Waiawa, Ewa. He saw some men thatching dried ti leaves on the Luakini (church) that was being built there. Luau asked some people, "Who is the one that is having this important house built?" They answered, "Kanepaiki." Luau then stated, "The house shall not be finished to its ridge pole before the one who is having it built dies." The people asked, "Why?" Luau answered, "The house is there atop the Heiau (temple) and the Fishpond is below, it is because the waters [life and wealth] are flowing out from this place. (So too shall the life flow out.)" These words of Luau were true, the Luakini of Waiawa was not completed before Kanepaiki died. His body was buried in the uplands of Waimalu.

These were the words of Luau. The one who discerned the nature of the land (*kuhikuhi puuone*), in the time of the King Kauikeaouli K. III. And his descendants are still living at Kanaio, Honuaula, Maui...

From this place, Makanikeoe then turned and looked to the calm waters of Kuhia Loko and Kuhia Waho. He went to the ponds and saw water bubbling out, and in the pond were many fish of the sea. It was of this pond, that Kane and Kanaloa spoke, while in Kahiki, as heard by the prophet Makuakaumana, who crossed the sea and traveled to Hawaii:

*The mullet are at Kuhia-loko,
The seaweed is at Kuhia-waho,
The salt is at Ninauele,
The nehu pala are at Muliwai
The lone coconut tree stands at Hape,
The taro leaves are at Mokaalika,
The water is at Kaaimalu,
The awa is gathered at Kalahikiola.
Behold the land.*

All of these places named by the gods can be seen, extending from the sea of Waiawa, to Halalena at Waiawa uka.

From this place, Makanikeoe then went to a large deep spring which flows from waters beneath Waipio and Waiawa. At a place where the priests discard their offerings. He then came upon another spring at the entrance of the estuary of Waiawa. The trail then turned towards Palea and Pipiloa, where there grew groves of *kou* and *hau* in ancient times, and it was the residence of the rulers of Oahu. This is the place where the king of Oahu, Kualii-a-Kauakahiakahoowaha, found his first wife, Kawelaokauhuki, who was of the uplands of Waimano. It is this Kualii who built the long house called Makanaole, on the inland plains of Manana 2nd. It is near the place now called Kulanakauhale Momi (Pearl City).

Makanikeoe then traveled to the fishponds of Hanaloa and Eo, the great ponds of Ewa. It is for these ponds that the lines of the song say:



*The water of Eo is not fetched,
It is the sea of Hanaloa that ripples forth.*

At this pond, Makanikeoe saw a deep crevasse, and inside, there was a giant eel sleeping. The name Hanaloa was given because of the great amount of work that was done by the chief and the people in carrying the stones with which to surround the crevasse and build the pond wall. Thus the pond was built. And it is a famous pond for it is rich with fish, and for the eels which Keinohoomanawanui desired to eat.

From the pond, Makanikeoe then walked to a place where there were several small points of land, near where Papiro was bitten and where the sea enters Honouliuli. He noticed how very calm the surface of the water was here, but he also saw that it was agitated in it's depths. Looking more closely, he saw in the depths some very large fish, as if guarding the entrance to the harbor. One of these two large fish was like a marlin with a long bill and rows of teeth. The other one was a barracuda whose teeth protruded out of both sides of it's mouth. These two fish of the bays of Ewa, had ears with which to hear. They leapt in the ocean like flying fish, and are spoken of in some of the traditions of Hawaii.

The marlin is the one, who with his sharp bill, divided the waters that enter into Ewa. Thus, Makanikeoe understood the nature of these fish, and what their work was. They were the guardians of the place. It is true also, that in a short while Makanikeoe saw a procession of many sharks arrive. There was in this group, the famous chiefess, Kaahupahau of Puuloa, and the messengers of the king shark [Kamohoalii] of Kahoolawe. She was taking them on a tour and to drink the waters of Waipahu and Waiahualele, and to drink the *awa* from Kahauone, in Waipio uka...

Makanikeoe then turned again to the place where Papiro had been bitten as a result of her asking for the *ilima* [*Sida fallax*] garlands of the old woman, Koihala. This is what the old woman told Papiro:

*The beautiful girl asks,
That the garlands of the old woman be given to her.
Heed my words dirt of the dog, dirt of the pig,
String your own garland and let it wilt.*

Makanikeoe then departed from this place, turning to the plain of Puuloa... and turned back towards Honouliuli and saw the pit of the native eel, Kapapahu, the elder of Laumeki, whose stone-form body is there at the base of Kauiki, Hana, Maui. He was an eel of Oahu who traveled to Hana where he stayed and was turned into stone.

There is also at this place, Kaihuopalaai, where the *anae* (mullet) begin their journey from Honouliuli to Kaihukuuna at Laiemaloo, Koolauloa.

Seeing this pit, Makanikeoe swiftly ran back to Waipahu, where he looked at the source of the water, where it came out of the earth, and flowed to the estuary of Waikele. Makanikeoe dove into the water to determine its hidden source. He swam underground, and first arrived at Kahuaiki, at Waipio, for which the song is sung:

*Return to the coolness of Waipio,
The cold water of Kahuaiki...*

He then dove under and came out on the plain of Puunahawe, that barren and peopless plain. There he saw the source of the water of Kahuaiki. It is near a hidden stone (shaped like a hook pendant) and close to Kekuaolelo, along the trail which ascends straight



up to Waipio uka. Makanikeoe then turned and followed the water path, and with great strength, he arrived at Kawaipuolo, at Waialua. There, he saw the pool of Laniwahine in the famous pond of Ukoa. He then quickly went from Waialua to Kawela, and from there, to Punahoolapa, a deep spring on the plain of Kahuku. There he found the water source that the *kapa* anvil fell into and was carried to Waipahu, at Ewa. Makanikeoe then crawled along another path and arrived at Punamano, also at Kahuku...

...Makanikeoe continued his journey through the various springs of Oahu, until he rejoined his sister and companions at Waianaē. The group then continued on their journey to Kauai... [May 10, 1895]

XV. “He Moolelo Kaa no ka Puhi o Laumeki”
Deified Eels, and how the ‘Anae-holo came to Travel around O’ahu
Author – Mose Manu (translation by Maly)

“*He Moolelo Kaa Hawaii no ka Puhi o Laumeki, ka Mea i Like me ka Ilio Puaapualenalena*” (The Hawaiian tradition of Pūhi Laumeki...) was published in the native language newspaper, *Nupepa Ka Oiaio*, between November 8th 1895 to February 14th 1896. Like the *mo’olelo* of Lauka’ie’ie above, this story was submitted to the paper by Moses Manu (translated by Maly). The *mo’olelo* primarily focuses on sites and features associated with the lands of ‘Ewa, O’ahu—recounting events associated with the birth and deification of an eel (*pūhi*) guardian of fisheries, and his siblings, among whom was Mokumeha. The narratives include important descriptions of the fisheries around the island of O’ahu, and particularly describe the *‘anae-holo* (traveling mullet), which annually traveled between the Kona and Ko’olau Districts of the island:

It is perhaps not unusual for the Hawaiian people to see this type of long fish, an eel, about all the shores and points, and in the rough seas, and shallow reefs and coral beds of the sea. There is not only one type of eel that is written about, but numerous ones that were named, describing their character and the type of skin which they had. In the ancient times of our ancestors, some of the people of old, worshipped eels as Gods, and restrictions were placed upon certain types of eels. There are many traditions pertaining to eels. It is for this fish that the famous saying “An eel of the sea caverns, whose chin sags.” [Describing one who is prosperous; see Pukui 1983, No. 1545.]

Indeed, this is the fish that was desired by Keinohoomanawanui, the eels of the fishpond of Hanaloa, when he was living with his friend, Kalelealuaka, above Kahalepoai at Waipio uka, when Kakuhihewa was the king of Oahu. It was necessary for us to speak of the stories above, as we now begin our tradition.

It is said in this account of Laumeki, that his true form was that of an eel. His island was Oahu, the district was Ewa, Honouliuli was the land. Within this land division, in its sheltered bay, there is a place called Kaihuopalaai. It is the place of the *anae* (mullet), which are known about Honolulu, and asked for by the people, with great desire.

Kaihuopalaai was human by birth, but he was also a *kupua* [dual-formed being], who was born at Honouliuli. His youngest sister was known by the name of Kaihukuuna. In the days that her body matured and filled out, she and some of her elders left Ewa and went to dwell in the uplands of Laiemaloo, at Koolauloa, where she met her husband. The place known by the name Kaihukuuna, at Laiemaloo, is the boundary of the lands to which the *anae* of Honouliuli travel.



At the time that Kaihukuuna was separated from her elder brother and her parents, Kaihuopalaai had matured and was well known for his fine features, and his red-hued cheeks. He was known as the favorite of his parents and all the family. There was a young woman, who like Kaihuopalaai, was also favored by her family. Her name was Kaohai, and she lived at the place where the coconut grove which stands at the estuary of Waikele and Waipio. Thus, these two fine children of the land of the fish that quiet voices (*Ka ia hamau leo*), that is Ewa, were married in the traditional manner.

In their youth, the two lived as husband and wife in peace. And after a time, Kaohai showed signs of carrying a child. This brought great joy to the parents and elders of these two youth. When the time came for Kaohai to give birth, her child was born, a beautiful daughter, who also had the same red-hued nature as her father. While Kaohai was cleaning the child and caring for the afterbirth, she looked carefully at her daughter and saw a deep red-spotted mark that looked like an eel, encircling the infant. Everyone was looking at the mark, contemplating its meaning, and Kaohai was once again taken with birth pains. It was then understood that perhaps there would be a twin born as well. But when the birth occurred, an eel was seen moving about in the blood, on the side of Kaohai's thigh. This greatly frightened the family and attendants, they fled, taking the child who had been born in a human-form, with them. Kaihuopalaai also separated himself from his wife. Kaohai remained with the blood stains upon her, and no one was left to help her.

It was the eel which had been born to her, that helped to clean Kaohai. He worked like a human, and Kaohai looked at the fish child which had been born to her, and she could find no reason to criticize or revile him. Kaohai then called to her husband, Kaihuopalaai, telling him not to be afraid, and he returned. They both realized the wondrous nature of this child and cared for him at a good place, in the calm bay of Honouliuli. They named this eel child, Laumeki, and his elder sister, born in human-form, was named Kapapapuhi. This eel became a cherished child, and was cared for as a God. Laumeki, the one who had been consecrated, asked that the first-born, his sister, also be cared for in the same manner, and a great affection was shared between the children born from the loins of one mother. [November 8, 1895]

Thus, it is told in this tradition, that this is the eel Laumeki. It is he who caused the *anae* to remain at Honouliuli, and why they are known as “*Ka anae o Kaihuopalaai*” (The mullet of Kaihuopalaai). With the passing of time, the forms of this eel changed. At one time, he was red with spots, like the eel called *puhi paka*, at other times he was like the *laumilo* eel.

A while after the birth of Laumeki, another child was born to Kaohai, a son. He was named Mokumeha, and he was given to Wanue, and elder relative of Kaihuopalaai's, to be raised. There are at Honouliuli, Ewa, places named for all of these people. The natives of that land are familiar with these places. For this Wanue, it is recalled in a song:

*The thoughts are set upon the sea at Wanue,
I am cold in the task done here...*

The eel-child Laumeki, followed the fish around in the expanse of the sea, and on the waves of this place. This was a work of love and care, done for his parents and family, that they would have no difficulties. In those days, this eel lived in the sea at a place where a stone islet is seen in the bay of Honouliuli, and he would not eat the fish which passed before him. He did these things for his parents and sister Kapapapuhi.



Laumeki was very watchful of his family, protecting them from sharks, barracudas, and the long billed marlin of the sea which entered into the sheltered bay of Honouliuli, the land of his birth. Because of his nature, Laumeki did many wondrous things. It was Laumeki who trapped the *Puhi lala* that had lived out in the sea, in the pond of Hanaloa. This *Puhi lala* was the one who bragged about his deeds, and when he was trapped his eyes glowed red like the flames of an earthen oven.

It is perhaps worthy here, my readers, that we leave Laumeki and speak of Mokumeha and his journey around Oahu. At the time when the sun rested atop the head [describing Mokumeha's maturity], and his fine features developed, he was very distinguished looking. At that time, he determined to travel around the island of Oahu. He asked his parents and guardian permission, and it was agreed that he could make the journey.

Mokumeha departed from Honouliuli and traveled to Waianae, and then went on to Laiemaloo, at Koolauloa, the place where the youngest sister of his father dwelt. Upon arriving there, Kaihukuuna was pounding *kapa* with her beater and thinking about her elder brother. She rose and went to the door of her house and saw a youth walking along the trail. Seeing the youth, her thoughts returned once again to her brother Kaihuopalaai and his wife Kaohai. The features of this youth in every way, looked like those of his father, and upon seeing him, tears welled up in Kaihukuuna's eyes. She called to the youth inquiring about his journey, and he responded, answering each of the questions. The moment the youth said the name of his parents, and the land from which he came, Kaihukuuna wept and greeted her nephew in the custom of the people of old.

This greatly startled her husband who was out in the gardens tending to his crops. He thought that perhaps one of his own family members had arrived at the house. When he reached their house, he saw the strange youth and he quickly went to prepare food for their guest. In no time, everything was prepared, and he then went to his wife asking her to stop her crying, and invite the visitor to eat of the food that had been prepared. He told his wife, "Then, the talking and crying can resume." She agreed and they sat down together and ate, and had a pleasant time talking.

Kaihukuuna then asked Mokumeha about the nature of his trip, and he explained that he was traveling around Oahu on a sight-seeing trip. Kaihukuuna told him, "It is wonderful that we have met you and can host you here." She then asked him to consider staying with her and her husband at Laiemaloo, where all of his needs would be met. "We have plenty of food and if you desire a wife, we can arrange that as well." Mokumeha declined the invitation, explaining his desire to continue the journey and then return to Honouliuli. [November 15, 1895]

Now it is true that at this place, Laiemaloo, there was grown great quantities of plant foods, but the one thing that it was lacking was fish. Mokumeha, his aunt, and her husband, Pueo, spoke about this, and it was determined that Pueo should go to Ewa. Mokumeha instructed him to seek out Kaihuopalaai, Kaohai, Kapapapuhi, and Laumeki, and to ask for fish. He told them that "Laumeki will be able to lead the fish to you here at Laiemaloo."

Pueo departed for Honouliuli [various sites and features are described along the way]... and he met with Kaihuopalaai. Kaihuopalaai's love for his sister welled up within him, and it was agreed that fish would be given to her and her family. But rather than sending fish home with Pueo in a calabash—fish which would be quickly consumed, causing Pueo to continually need to make the journey between Laiemaloo and Honouliuli—Kaihuopalaai said that he would "give the fish year round." [November 22, 1895]



When Kaihuopalaai finished speaking, Pueo exclaimed, "This is just what your son said you would do!" Kaihuopalaai and Pueo then went to the house of Kapapapuhi, who, when she learned that Pueo was her uncle, leapt up and greeted him. They discussed the request for fish, and ate while speaking further. Kaihuopalaai then asked, "Where do you come from?" Pueo answered, "Laiemaloo," and he described the land to her.

The next day, Kapapapuhi and Pueo went on a canoe out to the stone islet where Laumeki lived. They took with them food, and as they drew near the stone, the water turned choppy like the water of the stormy winter season. The head of Laumeki rose out of his pit and remained on the surface of the water. Kapapapuhi offered him the *awa* and food she had brought with her. This eel was cared for just as a chief was cared for. When he had eaten his food and was satisfied, he rested on the surface. Kapapapuhi explained to Pueo that he too would need to care for and feed Laumeki, in order to obtain the fish he needed. Kapapapuhi then called out to Laumeki, "Here is an elder of ours, tomorrow you will go with him and take the fish of our parents with you. [November 27, 1895]

The next day, Pueo rose while it was still dark, and the stars, Aea, Kapawa and Kauopae were still in the heavens. He prepared the foods needed for Laumeki, and prepared the canoes. He and his wife's family and attendants then went towards Laumeki's house, where he was resting. When Laumeki saw the canoes coming toward him from Lae o Kahuka, he rose up before them. Together, they passed Kapakule, the place where the sharks were placed in ancient times as play things of the natives of Puuloa. When the canoes and people aboard reached the place where the waves of Keaalii break, Laumeki cared for them, to ensure that no harm would befall them. This place is right at the entrance of Puuloa.

As the rays of the sun scattered out upon the water's surface, the people on the canoes saw the red-hues upon the water and upon those who paddled the double-hulled canoes. Pueo then saw something reflecting red, beyond the paddlers, and below the water's surface. Pueo realized that it was Laumeki with the *anae* fish. The *anae* traveled with Laumeki outside of Kumumauu, and past Ahua. They continued on past the Harbor of Kalihi at Kahakaaulana, with the fish being urged on, by the people back at Kalaekao, Puuloa, and Laumeki was at the front, leading the fish at Mamala... They continued on around Kawaihoa, Makapuu, and traveled passed Koolaupoko, and on past Laniloa at Laiemaloo, Koolauloa... [December 6, 1895]

...This is how the mullet came to regularly travel between the place called Kaihukuuna at Laiemaloo and Honouliuli at Ewa... [December 27, 1895] ...Mokumeha and Laumeki returned to Honouliuli, and Mokumeha offered a prayer chant to his elder brother:

*O eel,
O Laumeki,
Who passed before the point,
Dwelling in the pit,
Eel of the cavern,
You of the kauila (body) form,
That is the form of the Laumilo,
Your wooden body,
It is Laumeki.
Amen, it is freed...*



...While Laumeki was resting at Honouliuli, Mokumeha set off once again to visit various locations around the island of Oahu. He bid *aloha* to his family and walked across the broad plain of Ewa. He arrived at Kapukaki, which is the boundary of the land of the streaked seas, that land in the calm, reddened by the dirt carried upon the wind. This is where Ewa ends and Kona begins... [January 10 and 17, 1896]

XVI. Hawaiian Fish Stories And Superstitions (1901)

In 1901 and 1902, the Hawaiian Annual and Almanac published a detailed series of accounts, portions written by L.D. Keli'ipio, Moses (Moke) Manu, and other sections compiled by M.K. Nakuina and S.N. Emerson. These important narratives included descriptions of fishing customs, the diversity of species in the Hawaiian fisheries, and a wide range of ceremonial observances associated with the gods and practices of the *lawai'a*. The narratives also include references to resources across the main Hawaiian Islands:

Hawaiian Fish Stories And Superstitions.

***Furnished the Annual by L. D. Keliipio, ex-Fish Inspector,
Board of Health, translated by M. K. Nakuina.***

The following narration of the different fish here given is told and largely believed in by native fishermen. All may not agree as to particulars of this version, but the main features are well known and vary but little. Some of these stories are termed mythical, in others the truth is never questioned and together they have a deep hold on the Hawaiian [HAA 1901:110] mind. Further and confirming information may be obtained from fishermen and others, and by visiting the market the varieties here mentioned may be seen almost daily.

In the olden time certain varieties of fish were tabued and could not be caught at all times, being subject to the *kapu* of Kuula, the fish-god, who propagated the finny tribes of Hawaiian waters. While deep sea fishing was more general, that in the shallow sea, or along-shore, was subject to the restrictions of the *konohiki* of the land, and *alii*'s, both as to certain kinds as well as periods. The sign of the shallow sea *kapu* prevailing was by branches of the *hau* tree placed all along the shore. The people seeing this token of the *kapu* respected it, and any violation thereof in ancient time was said to be punishable by death. While this *kapu* prevailed the people resorted to the deep sea stations for their food supply. With the removal of the *hau* branches, indicating the *kapu* was lifted, the people fished as they desired, subject only to the *makahiki* tabu days of the priest, or *alii*, when no canoes were allowed to go out upon the water.

The first fish caught by fishermen, or any one else, was marked and dedicated to Kuula. After this offering was made, Kuula's right therein being thus recognized, they were free from further oblations so far as that particular variety of fish offered was concerned. All fishermen, from Hawaii to Niihau, observed this custom religiously. When the fishermen caught a large supply, whether by the net, hook or shell, but one of a kind, as just stated, was reserved as an offering to Kuula; the remainder was then free to the people.

Deified Fish Superstition.

Some of the varieties of fish we now eat were deified and prayed to by the people of the olden time, and even some Hawaiians of today labor under like superstition with regard to sharks, eels, oopus, and some others. They are afraid to eat or touch these lest they suffer in consequence, and this belief has been perpetuated; handed down from parents to children, even to the present day. The writer was one of those brought up to this belief and only lately has eaten the *kapu* fish of his ancestors without fearing a penalty therefor. [HAA 1901:111]

Story of the Anae-Holo.

The *anae-holo* is a species of mullet unlike those of the shallow water, or pond variety, and this story of its habit is well known to any *kupa* (native born) of Oahu.



The home of the *anae-holo* is at Honouliuli, Pearl Harbor, at a place called Ihuopalaai. They make periodical journeys around to the opposite side of the island, starting from Puuloa and going to windward, passing successively Kumumanu, Kalihi, Kou, Kalia, Waikiki, Kaalawai and so on, around to the Koolau side, ending at Laie, and then return by the same course to their starting point. This fish is not caught at Waianae, Kaena, Waialua, Waimea or Kahuku because they do not run that way, though these places are well supplied with other kinds. The reason given for this is as follows:

Ihuopalaai had a *Kuula*, and this fish-god supplied anaes. Ihuopalaai's sister took a husband and went and lived with him at Laie, Koolauloa. In course of time a day came when there were no fish to be had. In her distress and desire for some she bethought herself of her brother, so she sent her husband to Honouliuli to ask Ihuopalaai for a supply, saying: "Go to Ihuopalaai, my brother, and ask him for fish. If he offers you dried fish refuse it by all means, do not take it, because it is such a long distance that you would not be able to carry enough to last us for any length of time."

When her husband arrived at Honouliuli he went to Ihuopalaai and asked him for fish. His brother-in-law gave him several large bundles of dried fish, one of which he could not very well lift, let alone carry a distance. This offer was refused and reply given according to instruction. Ihuopalaai sat thinking for some time and then told him to return home, saying: "You take the road on the Kona side of the island; do not sit, stay, nor sleep on the way till you reach your own house."

The man started as directed and Ihuopalaai asked *Kuula* to send fish for his sister, and while journeying homeward as directed a school of fish was following in the sea, within the breakers. He did not obey fully the words of Ihuopalaai for he became so tired that he sat down on the way, but noticed whenever he did [HAA 1901:112] so that the fish rested too. The people seeing the school of fish went and caught them. Of course not knowing that this was his supply he did not realize that the people were taking his fish.

Reaching home he met his wife and told her he had brought no fish but had seen many all the way, and pointed out to her the school of *anae-holo* which was then resting abreast of their house. She told him it was their supply, sent by Ihuopalaai, his brother-in-law. They fished and got all they desired, whereupon the remainder returned by the same way till they reached Honouliuli where Ihuopalaai was living, and ever afterwards this variety of fish has come and gone the same way every year to this day, commencing sometime in October and ending in March or April.

Expectant mothers are not allowed to eat of the *anae-holo*, nor the *aholehole*, fearing dire consequences to the child, hence they never touch them till after the eventful day. Nor are these fish ever given to children till they are able to pick and eat them of their own accord.

Myth of the Hilu.

The *hilu* is said to have once possessed a human form, but by some strange event its body was changed to that of a fish. No knowledge of ancestry or place of origin is given, but the story is as follows:

Hilu-ula and Hilu-uli were born twins, one a male and the other a female. They had human form, but with power to assume that of the fish now known as *hilu*. The two children grew up together and in due time when Hilu-uli the sister, was grown up she left her brother and parents without saying a word and went into the sea, and assuming her fish form, set out on a journey, eventually reaching Heeia, Koolaupoko. During the time of her journey she increased the numbers of the *hilu* so that by the time they came close to



Heeia there was so large a school that the sea was red with them. When the people of Heeia and Kaneohe saw this they paddled out in their canoes to discover it a fish they had never seen, nor heard of, before. Returning to the shore for nets they surrounded the school and drew in so many that they were not able to care for them in their canoes. They multiplied so rapidly that when the first school was surrounded and dragged [HAA 1901:113] ashore another one appeared, and so on, till the people were surfeited. Yet the fish stayed in the locality, circling around. The people eat of the fish in all styles known to Hawaiians; raw, lawalued, salted, and broiled over a fire of coals.

While the Koolau people were thus fishing and feasting, Hiluula, the brother, arrived among them in his human form, and when he saw the *hilu-uli* broiling over the coal fire he recognized the fish form of his sister. This so angered him that he assumed the form of a whirlwind and entered every house where they had *hilu* and blew the fish all back into the sea. Since then the *hilu-uli* has dark scales, and from that time it is well known all over the islands.

Hou: Snoring Fish.

The *hou* lives in shallow water. When fishing with torches on a quiet, still night, if one gets close to where it is sleeping it will be heard to snore as if it were a human being. This is a small, beautifully colored fish. Certain sharks also, sleeping in shallow water can be heard at times indulging in the same habit.

There are many kinds of fish known to these islands and other stories connected with them which, if gathered together, would make an interesting collection of yarns as “fishy” as any country can produce. [Hawaiian Annual and Almanac 1901:114]

Ku-ula, The Fish God of Hawaii

The story of Ku-ula, considered by ancient Hawaiians as the deity presiding over and controlling the fish of the sea—and still believed in by many of them today—has been translated and somewhat condensed by M.K. Nakuina from an account prepared for the ANNUAL by Moke Manu, a recognized legendary bard of these islands.

The name of Ku-ula is known on each of the islands comprising the Hawaiian group, from the ancient time, and the writer [HAA 1901:114] gives the Maui version as transmitted through the old people of that island.

Ku-ula had a human body, and was possessed with wonderful or miraculous power (*mana kupua*) in directing, controlling or influencing all fish of the sea, at will.

Leho-ula, in the land of Aleamai; Hana, Maui, is where Kuula and Hina-pu-ku-ia, lived. Nothing is known of their parents, but tradition deals with Kuula, his wife, their son Ai-ai, and Ku-ula-uka, a younger brother of Ku-ula. These lived together for a time at Lehoula and then the brothers divided their work between them, *Kuula-uka* choosing farm work, or pertaining to the land, from the sea-shore to the mountain top, while Kuula—known also as *Kuula-kai*—chose to be a fisherman, with such other work as pertained to the sea, from the pebbly shore to ocean depths. After this division *Kuula-uka* went up in the mountains to live and met a woman known as *La-ea*—called also *Hina-ulu-ohia*—a sister of *Hina-pu-ku-ia*, *Kuula*’s wife. These sisters had three brothers, named *Moku-ha-lii*, *Kupa-ai-kee* and *Ku-pulu-pulu-i-ka-na-hele*. This trio were called by the old people the gods of the canoe-making priests—“*Na akua aumakua o ka poe kahuna kalai waa.*” While *Kuula* and his wife were living at Lehoula he devoted all his time to his chosen vocation, fishing. His first work was to construct a fish-pond handy to his house but near to the shore where the surf breaks. This pond he stocked with all kinds of fish. Upon a rocky platform he also built a house to be sacred for the fishing *kapu* which he called by



his own name, Kuula. It is asserted that when Kuula made all these preparations he believed in the existence of a God who had supreme power over all things. That is why he prepared this place wherein to make his offerings of the first fish caught by him to the fish-god. From this observance of Kuula all the fish were tractable (*laka loa*) unto him; all he had to do was to say the word and the fish would appear. This was reported all over Hana and when Kamohaolii, the king, (who was then living at Wananalua, the land on which Kauiki hill stands,) heard of it, he appointed Kuula to be his head fisherman. Through this pond, which was well stocked with all kinds of fish, the king's table was regularly supplied with all rare varieties, whether in or out of season. Kuula was its main [HAA 1901:115] stay for fish-food and was consequently held in high esteem Kamohaolii, and they lived without disagreement of any kind between them for many years.

During this period the wife of Kuula gave birth to a son, which they called Ai-ai-a-Kuula, (Aiai of Kuula). The child was properly brought up according to the usage of those days, and when he was old enough to care for himself an unusual event occurred.

A large *puhi*, (eel) called "Koonā" lived at Wailau, on the Koolau side of the Island of Molokai, which was deified and prayed to by the people of that place, and they never tired telling of the mighty things their god did, one of which was that a big shark came to Wailau and gave it battle, and during the fight the *puhi* caused a part of the rocky cliff to fall upon the shark which killed it. A cave was thus formed, with a depth of about five fathoms and that large opening is there to this day, situate a little above the sea and close to the rocky fort where lived the well known Kapepeekauila. This *puhi* then left its own place and came and lived in a cave in the sea near Aleamai, called Kapukaulua, some distance out from the Alau rocks. It came to break and rob the pond that Kuula built and stocked with fish of various kinds and colors, as known today.

Kuula was much surprised on discovering his pond stock disappearing, so he watched day and night and at last, about daybreak, he saw a large eel come in through the *makai* (seaward) wall of the pond. When he saw this he knew then that it was the cause of the loss of his fish and was devising a way to catch and kill it, but on consulting with his wife they decided to leave the matter to their son Aiai, for him to use his own judgment as to the means by which the thief might be captured and killed. When Aiai was told of it he sent word to all the people of Aleamai and Haneoo to make *ili hau* ropes several *lau* (400) fathoms in length, and when all was ready a number of the people went out with it in two canoes, one each from the two places, with Aiai-a- Kuula in one of them. He put two large stones in his canoe and held in his hands a fisherman's gourd (*hokeo*) in which was a large fishhook called "Manaiakalani."

When the canoes had proceeded far out he located his position by land marks and looking down into the sea, and finding the [HAA 1901:116] right place he told the paddlers to cease paddling. Standing up in the canoe and taking one of the stones in his hands he dove into the sea. Its weight took him down rapidly to the bottom, where he saw a big cave opening right before him, with a number of fish scurrying about the entrance, such as uluas and other deep sea varieties. Feeling assured thereby that the *puhi* was within he rose to the surface and got into his canoe. Resting for a moment he then opened the gourd and took out the hook "*manaiakalani*" and tied the *hau* rope to it. He also picked up a long stick and placed at the end of it the hook, baited with a preparation of coconut and other fish attractive substances. Before taking his second dive he told those on the canoe that if he succeeded in hooking the *puhi* he would give the rope several quick jerks as the sign to them of his success. Saying this he picked up the other stone and dove down again into the sea and proceeding to the cave he placed the hook into it, at the same time murmuring a few incantations in the name of his parents. Then he knew that the *puhi* was hooked so signaled as he planned, telling those on the canoe of his success.



In a short while he came to the surface, and entering the canoe they all returned to shore, trailing the rope behind. He told those in the canoe from Haneoo to paddle thither and to Hamoa, and to tell all the people to pull the *puhi*; like instructions were given those on the Aleamai canoe for their people. The two canoes set forth on their courses to the landings, keeping in mind Aiai's instructions, which were duly carried out by the people of the two places; and there were many for the work.

Then Aiai ascended Kaiwiopete hill and motioned to the people of both places to pull the ropes attached to the hook on the mouth of the *puhi*. It was said that the Aleamai people won the victory over the much greater number from the other places, by landing the *puhi* on the *pahoehoe* stones at Lehoula. The people endeavored to kill the prize but without success till Aiai came and threw three *ala* stones at it and killed it. The head was cut off and cooked in the *imu* (oven). The bones of its jaw with the mouth wide open is seen to this day at a place near the shore, washed by the waves; the rock formation at a short distance having such a resemblance.

Kamaainas of the place state that all *ala* stones near where the [HAA 1901:117] *imu* was made in which the *puhi* was baked do not crack when heated, as they do elsewhere, because of the *imu* heating of that time. It is so even to this day. The back bone, (*iwi kuamoo*) of this *puhi* is still lying on the *pahoehoe* where Aiai killed it with the three *ala* stones; the rocky formation, about thirty feet in length, exactly resembling the backbone of an eel. The killing of this *puhi* by Aiai made him famous and much talked of by the people of Hana. Its capture was the young lad's first attempt to follow his father's vocation, and his knowledge was a surprise to the people.

After this event a man came over from Wailau, Molokai, who was the *kahu* (keeper) of the *puhi*. He dreamt one night that he saw its spirit which told him that his aumakua (god) had been killed at Hana, so he came to see with his own eyes where this had occurred. Arriving at Wananalua he was befriended by one of the retainers of Kamohoalii, the king of Hana, and lived there a long time serving under him, during which time he learned the story of how the *puhi* had been caught and killed by Aiai, the son of Kuula and Hinapukuia, whereupon he sought to accomplish their death.

Considering a plan of action he went one day to Kuula, without orders, and told him that the king had sent him for fish for the king. Kuula gave him but one fish, an *ulua*, with a warning direction, saying, "Go back to the king and tell him to cut off the head of the fish and cook it in the *imu*, and the flesh of its body cut up and salt and dry in the sun, for 'this is Hana the *aupehu* land; Hana of the scarce fish; the fish of Kama; the fish of Lanakila.' (*Eia o Hana la he aina aupehu; o Hana keia i ka ia iki; ka ia o Kama; ka ia o Lanakila.*)"

When the man returned to the king and gave him the fish, the king asked: "Who gave it to you?" and the man answered, "Kuula." Then it came into his head that this was his chance for revenge, so he told the king what Kuula had said but not in the same way, saying: "Your head fisherman told me to come back and tell you that your head should be cut from your body and cooked in the *imu*, and the flesh of your body should be cut up and salted and dried in the sun."

The king on hearing this message was so angered with Kuula, [HAA 1901:118] his head fisherman, that he told the man to go and tell all his konohikis, (head men of lands with others under them) and people, to go up in the mountains and gather, immediately, plenty of firewood and place it around Ku'ula's house, for he and his wife and child should be burned up."

This order of the king was carried out by the konohiki's and people of all his lands except those of Aleamai. These latter did not obey this order of the king for Kuula had always



lived peaceably among them. There were days when they had no fish and he had supplied them freely.

When Kuula and his wife saw the people of Hana bringing firewood and placing it around the house they knew it foreboded trouble, so he went to a place where taro, potatoes, bananas cane and some gourds were growing. Seeing three dry gourds on the vine he asked the owner of the garden for them and was told to take them. These he took to his house and discussed with his wife the evil day to come, and told Aiai that their house would be burned and their bodies too, but not to fear death nor trouble himself about it when the people came to shut them in.

After some thinking Kuula remembered about his giving the *uluu* to the king's retainer and felt that he was the party to blame for this action of the king's people. He had suspicioned it before but now felt sure, therefore he turned to his son and said: "Our child, Aiai-a-Kuula, if our house is burned, and our bodies too, you must look sharp for the smoke when it goes straight up to the hill of Kaiwiopete. That will be your way out of this trouble, and you must follow it till you find a cave where you will live. You must take this hook called '*manaiaakalani*' with you; also this fish-pearl (*pa hi aku*), called '*kahuoi*'; this shell called '*lehoula*', and this small sand-stone from which I got the name they call me, 'Kuula-au-a-Kuulakai.' It is the progenitor of all the fish in the sea. You will be the one to make all the kuulas from this time forth, and also have charge of making all the fishing stations, (*koa lawaia*) in the sea throughout the islands. Your name shall be perpetuated, and that of your parents also, through all generations to come, and I hereby confer upon you all my power and knowledge. Whenever you desire anything all you will have to do is to call, or ask, in our names and we will grant it. We will [HAA 1901:119] stand up and go forth from here into the sea and abide there forever and you, our child, shall live on the land here without worrying about anything that may happen to you. You will have power to punish with death all those that help to burn us and our house, whether he be king, or people, they must die; therefore let us await the calamity that is to befall us."

All these instructions from Kuula, his father, Aiai consented to carry out from first to last, as a dutiful son.

This second division of the story of Kuula is devoted to the carrying out by Aiai-a-Kuula the instructions given him by his father, in establishing the religious ceremonies and beliefs pertaining to fish and fishing throughout Hawaii-nei, and avenging his death in so doing.

After Kuula's instructions to his son Aiai, consequent upon the manifestations of coming trouble, the king's people came one day and caught them and tied their hands behind their backs, the evildoer from Molokai being there to aid in executing the cruel orders of Kamohoalii, resulting from his deceitful story.

On being taken into their house Kuula was tied to the end post of the ridge pole (*pou hana*), the wife was tied to the middle post (*kai waena*) of the house, and the boy, Aiai, was tied to one of the corner posts (*pou o manu*). Upon fastening them in this manner the people went out of the house and barricaded the doorway with fire-wood which they then set on fire. Before the fire was lit, the ropes with which the victims were tied dropped off from their hands.

Men, women and children looked on at the burning house with deep pity for those within and tears were streaming down their cheeks as they remembered the kindness of Kuula during all the time they had lived together and knew not why this family and their house should be burned up in this manner.



When the fire was raging all around the house and the flames were consuming everything, Kuula and his wife gave their last message to their son and left him. They went right out of the house as quietly as the last breath leaves the body, and none of the people standing there gazing on saw where, or how, Kuula and his wife came forth out of the house. Aiai was the only one [HAA 1901:120] that retained material form; their bodies were changed by some miraculous power (*mana kupua*) and entered the sea, taking with them all the fish swimming in and around Hana. They also took all sea-mosses, crabs, crawfish and the various kinds of shellfish along the sea-shore, even to the *opihi-koele* at the rocky beach; every edible thing in the sea was taken away. This was the first stroke of Kuula's revenge on the king and people of Hana that obeyed his mandate; they suffered greatly from the scarcity of fish.

When Kuula and his wife got out of the house the three gourds exploded from the heat, one by one, and all those who were gazing at the burning house believed the detonations indicated the bursting of the bodies of Kuula, his wife and child. The flames shot up through the top of the house and the black smoke hovered above it, then turned toward the front of Kaiwiopole hill. The people saw Aiai ascend through the flames and walk upon the smoke towards the hill till he came to a small cave that was opening to receive and rescue him.

As Aiai left the house it burned fiercely and carrying out the instructions of his father he called upon him to destroy by fire all those that had caught and tied them in their burning house. As he finished his appeal he saw the rippling of the wind on the sea and a misty rain coming with it, increasing as it came till it reached Lehoula, which so increased the blazing of the fire that the flames reached out into the crowd of people for those that obeyed the king. The man from Molokai who was the cause of the trouble was reached also and consumed by the fire, and the charred bodies were left to show to the people the second stroke of Kuula's vengeance; but, strange to say, all those that had nothing to do with this cruel act, though closer to the burning house were uninjured; the tongues of fire reached out only for the guilty ones. In a little while but a few smouldering logs and ashes was all that remained of the house of Kuula. Owing to this strange action of the fire some of the people doubted the death of Kuula and his wife and much disputation arose among them on the subject.

When Aiai walked out through the flames and smoke and reached the cave, he stayed there through that night till the next [HAA 1901:121] morning, then, leaving his hook, pearl shell, and stone there he went forth till he came to the road at Puiilo, where he met several children amusing themselves shooting arrows, one of whom made friends with him and asked him to his house. Aiai accepted the invitation, and the boy and his parents treating him well in every way he remained with them for some days. While there they heard of the king's order for all the people of Hana to go fishing for *hinalea*. The people obeyed the royal order but when they went down to the shore with their fishing baskets they looked around for the usual bait (*ueue*), which was to be pounded up and put into the baskets, but they could not find any, nor any other material so used, neither could they see any fish swimming around in the sea, "Why?" was the question. Because Kuula and his wife had taken with them all the fish and everything pertaining to fishing. Finding no bait they pounded up limestone and placed it in the baskets and swam out and set them in the sea. They watched and waited all day. but in vain, for not a single *hinalea* was seen nor did any enter the baskets. When night came they went back empty handed and came down again the next day only to meet the same luck.

The parents of the boy that had befriended Aiai was in this fishing party, in obedience to the king's orders, but they got nothing for their trouble. Aiai seeing them go down daily to Haneoo he asked concerning it and was told everything, so he bade his friend come with



him to the cave where he stayed after the house was burned. Arriving there he showed the stone fish-god. Pohakukumuone, and said: "We can get fish up here from this stone without much work or trouble."

Then Aiai picked up the stone and they went down to Lehoula and setting it down at a point facing the pond which his father made he repeated these words: "O Kuula, my father; o Hina, my mother, I place this stone here in your name, Kuula, which action will make your name famous and mine too, your son; the keeping of this *kuula* stone I give to my friend and he and his offspring hereafter will do and act in all things pertaining to it in our names."

After saying these words he told his friend his duties and all things to be observed relative to the stone and the benefits to be [HAA 1901:122] derived there from as an influencing or directing power over such variety of fish as he desired. This was the first establishment of the *ko'a kuula* on land; a place where the fisherman was obliged to make his offering of the first of his catch by taking two fish and placing them on the *kuula* stone as an offering to Kuula. Thus Aiai first put in practice the fishing oblations established by his father at the place of his birth, in his youth, but it was accomplished only through the *mana kupua* of his parents.

After living for a time at Hana he left that place and went around the different islands of the group establishing fishing *ko'as* (*ko'a aina aumakua*). Aiai was the first to measure the depth of the sea to locate these fishing *ko'as* for the deep sea fishermen that go out in their canoes, and the names of many of these *ko'as* located around the different islands are well known.

When Aiai finished calling on his parents and instructing his friend they saw several persons walk along the Haneoo beach with their fishing baskets and set them in the sea, but they caught nothing. At Aiai's suggestion they went over to witness the fishing effort. When they reached the fishers Aiai asked them, "What are those things placed there for?" and they answered, "Those are baskets for catching *hinaleas*, a fish that our king, Kamohoalii, longs for but we cannot get bait to catch the fish with."

"Why is it so?" asked Aiai. And they answered, "Because Kuula and his family are dead, and all the fish along the beach of Hana are taken away."

Then Aiai asked them for two baskets. Giving them to him he bade his friend pick them up and follow him. They went to a little pool near the beach and setting the baskets therein he called on his parents for *hinaleas*. As soon as he had finished, the fish were seen coming up in such numbers as to fill the pool, and yet they came. Aiai now told his friend to go and fetch his parents and relatives to get fish, and to bring baskets with which to take home a supply; they should have the first pick and the owners of the baskets should have the next chance. The messenger went with haste and brought his relatives as directed. Aiai then took two fish and gave to his friend to take and place them on the *ko'a* they had established at Lehoula for the Kuula. He also told him that before the setting of the sun of that day they would hear [HAA 1901:123] that King Kamohoalii of Hana was dead; choked and strangled to death by the fish, and these prophetic words of Aiai came true.

After Aiai made his offering, his friend's parents came to where the fish were gathering and were told to take all they desired, which they did, returning home happy for the liberal supply obtained without trouble. The owners of the baskets were then called and told to take all the fish they wished for themselves and for the king. When these people saw the great supply they were glad and much surprised at the success of these two boys. The



news of the reappearing of the fish spread through the district and the people flocked in great numbers and gathered hinaleas to their satisfaction and returned to their homes with rejoicing.

Some of those that gave Aiai the baskets returned with their bundles of fish, to the king. When he saw so many of those he had longed for he became so excited that he reached out and picked one up and put it in his mouth, intending to eat it, but instead the fish slipped right into his throat and stuck there.

Many tried to reach and take it out but were unable, and before the sun set that day Kamohoalii, the king of Hana, died, being choked and strangled to death by the fish; thus the words of Aiai, the son of Kuula, proved true.

By the death of the King of Hana the revenge was complete. The evil-doer from Molokai and those that obeyed the king's orders on the day their house was fired, met retribution, and Aiai thus won a victory over all his father's enemies. [HAA 1901:124]

AIAI, SON OF KU-ULA (1902).

Being part II of Ku-ula, the fish god of Hawaii.

(Continued from the last Annual; translation completed by S.N. Emerson and the whole carefully revised and compared with the original.)

Ko'a (Fishing Stations) on the island of Maui

After the death of the King of Hana Aiai left the people of Haneoo catching *hinalea* and went to Kumaka, a place where fresh water springs out from the sand and rocks near the surf of Puhele, at Hamoa, where lay a large, long stone in the sea. This stone he raised upright and also placed others about the water spring and said to his friend: "Today I name this stone Ku-a-lanakila, for I have triumphed over my enemies, and I hereby declare that all fishes, crabs and sea moss shall return again in plenty throughout the seas of Hana, as in the days when my parents were living in the flesh at Lehoula."

From the time Aiai raised this stone up to the present generation, the story of Ku-ula and Aiai is well preserved, and people have flocked to the place where the stone stands to see it and verify the tradition. Some kahunas advise their suffering patients to pay a visit to the stone, Ku-lanakila, with some offerings for relief from their sickness and also to bathe in the spring of Kumaka and the surf of Puhele.

This was a favorite spot of the kings and chiefs of the olden times for bathing and surf riding, and is often referred to in the stories and legends of Hawaii-nei.

This was the first stone raised by Aiai and established as a [HAA 1902:114] Kuula at Hamoa, and the old people of Hana attributed the return of the fish to their waters to its influence.

After Aiai's practice of his father's instructions and the return of the fishes, his fame spread throughout the district and the people made much of him during his stay with them.

A great service wrought by Aiai during his boyhood was the teaching of his friends and his friends' parents how to make the various nets for all kinds of fishing. He also taught them to make the different kinds of fishing lines. When they were skilled in all these branches of knowledge pertaining to fishing he called the people together, and in their presence declared his friend to be the head fisherman of Hana, with full control of all the stations (*ko'a i'a*) he had established. This wonder working power second to none,



possessed by Aiai, he now conferred on his friend whereby his (Aiai's) name would be perpetuated and his fame established all over the land.

The first *ko'a i'a* (fishing ground, or station) where Aiai measured the depth of the sea is near Aleamai, his birth-place, and is called Kapukaulua, where he hooked and killed the eel Koono. It is a few miles from the shore to the southeast of the rocky islet called Alau. The second station that he established was at a spot about a mile from Haneoo and Hamoa which was for the *kala, palani, nanue, puhi* and *ula*. These varieties of fish are not caught by nets, or with the hook, but in baskets which are filled with bait and let down in the deep sea.

The third station, which he named Koauli, was located out in the deep sea for the deep-sea fishes, the depth ranging about 200 fathoms. This is the *ko'a* (station) that fishermen have to locate by certain shore bearings least a mistake is made as to the exact spot and the bottom be found rocky and the hooks entangle in the coral. In all the stations Aiai located there are no coral ledges where the fishermen's hook would catch, or the line be entangled, and old Hawaiians commended the skill of such locations, believing that the success of Aiai's work was due to his father's influence as an ocean deity.

Some days later Aiai went over to the bay of Wananalua, the present port of Hana, with its noted hill of Kauiki and the sandy [HAA 1902:115] beach of Pueokahi. Here he made and placed a *kuula*, and also placed a fish stone in the cliff of Kauiki whereon is the *ko'a* known as Makakiloia. And the people of Hana give credit to this stone for the frequent appearance of the *akule, oio, moi*, and other fishes in their waters.

Aiai's good work did not stop at this point, but proceeding to Honomaele he picked up three pebbles at the shore and going into the sea, out beyond the breaking surf, he placed them there. In due time these three pebbles gathered others together and made a regular ridge, and when this was accomplished the *aweoweo* gathered from the far ocean to this ridge of pebbles for rest, whereupon all the people came with nets, hook, and line and caught them as they desired. The writer witnessed this in 1845 with his own eyes. This *ko'a* for *aweoweo* is still there but difficult to locate from the fact that all the old residents are gone; either dead or moved away.

He next went over to Waiohue, Koolau, where he placed a stone on a sharp rocky islet, called Paka, whereon a few *puhala* grow. It is claimed that during the season of the *kala*, they come in from the ocean attracted to this locality by the power of this stone. They continue on to Mokumana, a cape between Keanae and Wailuanui. They come in gradually for two days and on the third day of their reaching the coast, at the *pali* of Ohea, is the time and place of surrounding them with nets. In olden times while the fishermen were hauling in their nets full of *kala* into the canoes, the *akule* and *oio* also came in numbers at the same time, making it impossible to catch all in one day, and as there were so many gathered in the net it took them a day and a night before they could care for their draught, which yielded so many more than could be made use of they were fed to the pigs and dogs.

The *kala* of Ohea is noted for its fatness and fine flavor. Few people are now living there, and the people who knew all about this are dead, but the stone that Aiai placed on that little island, at Waiohue is there still.

Aiai stayed there a few days and then returned to Hana and lived at his birth-place quite a length of time till he was a man grown. During this period he was teaching his art of fishing in [HAA 1902:116] all its forms, and when he was satisfied the people were proficient he prepared to visit other places for like service, but before leaving Aiai told his



friend to go and kill the big *hee kupua* (wonderful octopus) in the deep sea, right out of Wailuanui, Koolau, and he consented.

When the canoes were made ready and drawn to the beach and the people came prepared to go to Koolau, Aiai brought the *hokeo* (fishing gourd) where the *leho* (kauri shell) that Kuula his father gave him was kept and gave it to his friend. This shell is called *lehoula* and the locality at Hana of that name was called after it.

Then the canoes and people sailed away till they got out along the palis near Kopiliula where they rested. Aiai was not with the party, but overlooked their operations from the *pali* of Puhiai.

While they rested, preparation for the lowering of the *leho* was being made and when ready, Aiai's friend called on Kuula and Hina for the assistance of their wonderful powers, *mana kupua*. When he was through he took off the covering of the gourd and took out the *leho*, which had rich beautiful colors like the rainbow, and attaching it to the line he lowered it into the sea where it sent out rays of a fiery light. The *hee*, Haalaea, was so attracted by its radiance that it came out of its hole and with its great arms, which was as long and large as a full grown cocconut tree, came up to the surface of the water and stood there like a cocconut grove. The men were frightened for it approached and went right into the canoes with the intention of destroying them and the men and capturing the *leho*; but it failed, because at the proper time Aiai's friend, with his skill and power, had provided himself with a *stone* which he shoved into the head of the *squid* and the weight of the *stone* drew it down to the bottom of the sea and kept it there, being powerless to remove it so that it died. The men seized and cut off one of the arms which was so big that it loaded the canoes down so that they returned to Hana. When the *squid* died it turned to stone and is pointed out today just outside of Wailuanui, where a stone formation resembles the arms and body of a *squid* minus one arm.

When Aiai saw from the *pali* that his friend was successful in [HAA 1902:117] killing the *hee*, he returned to Hana unseen, and in a short while the canoes arrived with its arm which was divided among the people according to the directions of Aiai.

Other Stations Established.

When Aiai saw that his friend and others of Hana were skilled in all the art of *fishing* he decided to leave his birthplace and journey elsewhere, so he called a council of his friends and told them of his intended departure, to establish other *fishing stations* and instruct the people with all the knowledge thereof in conformity with the injunction of Kuula his father. They approved of the course contemplated and expressed their indebtedness to him for all the benefits he had shown them.

On leaving Aleamai he took with him the *fish-hook*, Manaiakalani, and the *fish pearl*, Kahuoi, for *aku* from the little cave where he had lodged on the hill of Kaiwiopole, and in departing he disappeared in the mysterious manner of his parents. He established kuulas, *ko'a aina*, by placing three fish stones at Puuiki, Muolea, Hanakaiole and at other points also as far as Kipahulu. At the streams of Kikoo and Maulili there stands a stone today, which was thrown by Aiai and dropped at a bend in the waters, unmoved by the many freshets that have swept the valleys since that time.

Out in the sea of Maulili is a famous station known as Koanui it is about a mile from the shore and marks the boundary of the sea of Maulili, and the fishes that appear periodically and are caught within its limits have been subject to a division between the fishermen and land owner ever since. This is a station where the fisherman's hook shall not return without a fish except the hook be lost, or the line cut.



The first time that Aiai tested this station and caught a fish with his noted hook he saw a fisherman in his canoe drifting idly, without success. When he saw Aiai this fisherman, called Kanemakua, paddled till he came close to where Aiai was floating on an improvised canoe, being a *wiliwili* log, without an outrigger, which much surprised him. Before coming together Aiai felt a tug at his line and knew that he had caught a fish and began [HAA 1902:118] pulling it in. When Kanemakua came within speaking distance Aiai greeted him and gave him the fish; putting it into his canoe. Kanemakua was made happy and thanked Aiai for his generosity. While putting it in the canoe Aiai said:

“This is the first time I have fished in these waters to locate, (or found) this station, and as you are the first man I meet I give you the first fish caught. I also give you charge of this *ko’a*, but take my advice. When you come here to fish and see a man meeting you in a canoe and float alongside of you, if at that time you have caught a fish, then give it to him as I have done to you, without regret, and thus get a good name and be known as a generous man. If you observe this, great benefits will come to you and those related to you.”

As Aiai finished speaking he suddenly disappeared, and Kanemakua could hardly realize but what he had been dreaming but for the assurance he had of meeting the young man by the big fish lying in his canoe.

Kanemakua returned to the shore with his prize, which was so large and heavy that it required the help of two others to carry it to the house, where it was cut up and the *imu* (oven) made hot for its baking. When it was cooked he took the eyes of the fish and offered it up as a thanksgiving sacrifice. Then the family, friends and neighbors around came to the feast and ate freely. During all this time Kanemakua was thinking of the words spoken by the young man, which he duly observed. The first *kuula* established in Maulili, Maui, was named after him and from that time its fish have been given out freely without restriction or division.

After establishing the different *kuulas* and stations along the coast from Hana to Kipahulu, Aiai went to Kaupo and other places. A noted station and *kuula* is at Kahikinui. All the stations of this place are in the deep sea where they use nets of three kinds, also fishing with poles and *uluu* fishing, because this part of the island faces the wind; but the *kuulas* are located on the sea shore, as is also the one at Honuaula, where it is covered over by the lava flow.

Thus was the good work of Aiai in establishing *kuulas*, sta- [HAA 1902:119] tions and fish stones continued all around the island of Maui. It is also said that he visited Kahoolawe and established a *kuula* at Hakioawa, though It differs from the others, being built on a high bluff overlooking the sea, somewhat like a *heiau* (temple), by placing stones in the form of a square in the middle of which was left a space wherein the fishermen of that island laid their first fish caught as a thank offering. *Awa* and *kapa* were also placed there as an offering to the fish deities.

Ko’a (Fishing Stations) on the island of Kaho’olawe:

An idea prevails with some people that the *ko’a* of Kamohoalii, the king shark of Kahoolawe is on this island, but if all the stories told of it be examined there will be found no reference to a *ko’a* of his on this island.

Ko’a (Fishing Stations) on the island of Lāna’i:

From Kahoolawe Aiai next went to Lanai where he started fishing for *aku* (bonito) at Cape Kaunolu, using his pearl Kahuoi. This is the first case known of fishing for *aku* with pearl from the land, as it is a well known fact that this fish is only caught at deep sea, far



from shore. In the story of Kaneapua it is shown that he was the only one that had fished for aku at the Cape of Kaunolu, where it was started by Aiai.

From Kaunolu Aiai went to Kaena cape where, at a place close to Paomai, was a little sandy beach now known as Polihua. Here he took a stone and carved a figure on it, then carried and placed it on the sandy beach and called on his parents. While making his incantations the stone moved towards the sea and disappeared under the water. His incantations finished, the stone reappeared and moved toward him till it reached the place where it had been laid, whereupon it was transformed into a turtle and gave the name of Polihua to that beach. This work of Aiai on the island of Lanai was the first introduction of the turtle in the seas of Hawaii, and also originated the habit of the turtle of going up the beach to lay their eggs, then returning to the sea.

Ko'a (Fishing Stations) on the island of Moloka'i:

After making the circuit of Lanai he went over to Molokai, landing at Punakou and traveled along the shore till he reached Kaunakakai. At this place he saw spawns of mullet, called Puai-i, right near the shore, so he kicked them with his foot and landed them on the sand. This practice of kicking fish with the feet is carried on up to this time, but only at that locality. Aiai con- [HAA 1902:120] tinued on along the Kona side of Molokai, examining its fishing grounds and establishing kuulas till he got to Halawa. At the Koolau side of the island he stopped at Wailau and saw the cave of the eel Koona that went to Hana and stole the fish from his father's pond, and the cause of all the trouble that befell his parents and himself.

When Aiai landed at Wailau he saw that both sides of the valley were covered with men, women and children engaged in closing up the stream and diverting its water to another course whereby they would be enabled to catch oopu and opae. The water being low the gourds of some of the people were full from their catch.

Aiai noticed the wanton method of fishing, whereby all oopus and opaes were caught without thought of any reservation for their propagation; therefore he called on his parents to take them all away, and the prayer was granted, for suddenly they all disappeared; those in the water went up the stream to a place called Koki, while those in the gourds were turned to lizards which scampered out and ran all over the rocks. The people were much surprised at this change and sorely disappointed at the loss of their food supply.

On account of his regard for a certain lad of that place, named Kahiwa, he showed him the place of the opaes to be up the precipitous cliff known at Koki. The youth was attentive to the direction of Aiai and going there he found the oopus and opaes as stated, as they are to this day. That is what established the noted saying of the old people of that land; "Koki of Wailau is the ladder of the opae." It is also known as the "Pali of Kahiwa."

When Aiai left Wailau he showed this lad the kuula and the fish station in the sea he had located there, at the same distance as that rocky island known as Mokapu.

He went also to Pelekunu, Waikolu and Kalawao, even to Kalaupapa, the present home of the lepers. At the latter place he left a certain fish stone. That is the reason fish constantly gather there even to this day. He also went to Hoolehua and so on as far as "Ka lae o ka ilio" (the dog's forehead) and Ka lae o ka [HAA 1902:121] laau. Between these two capes in the sea is a station established by Aiai where a tree grew out from under a rock, Ekaha by name. It is a hard wood tree, but the trunk, as also the branches are without leaves. This place is a great haunt for fishermen with their hooks.



Ko‘a (Fishing Stations) on the island of O‘ahu:

Aiai then came to Oahu, first landing at Makapuu, in Koolau, where he founded a *pohaku-ia* (fish stone) for red fish and for speckled fish and called it Malei. This was a female rock, and the fish of that place is the *uhu*. It is referred to in the *mele* of Hiiaka, thus:

*I will not go to the stormy capes of Koolau,
The sea-cliffs of Moeaau.
The woman watching *uhu* of Makapuu
Dwells on the ledge of Kamakani
At Koolau. The living
Offers grass twined sacrifices, Oh Malei!*

From the time Aiai founded that spawning place until the present, its fish have been the *uhu*, extending to Hanauma. There were also several gathering places for fish established outside of Kawaihoa. Aiai next moved to Maunalua, then Waialae and Kahalaia. At Kaalawai he placed a white and brown rock. There in that place is a hole filled with *aholehole*, therefore the name of the land is Kaluahole. Right outside of Kahuahui there is a station of Aiai’s where he placed a large round sand-stone that is surrounded by spawning places for fish; Ponaakeone is its name.

In ancient times the chiefs selected a very secret place wherein to hide the dead bodies of their greatly beloved, lest some one should steal their bones to make fish hooks, or arrows to shoot mice with. For that reason the ancients referred to Ponaakeone as “*He Lualoa no Na’lii*”—a deep pit for the chiefs.

Aiai came to Kalia and so on to Kakaako. Here he was made a friend by a man named Apua, with whom he remained several days, observing and listening to the murmurs of the chief, named Kou. This chief was a skillful *hiaku* fisherman, his grounds being outside of Mamala until you came to Moanalua. There [HAA 1902:122] was none so skilled as he, and generous withall, giving *akus* to the people through the district.

As Aiai was dwelling with his friend Apua at Kakaako, he meandered off one day along the shore of Kulolia, and so on to Pakaka and Kapapoko. But he did not return to the house of his friend, for he met with a young woman gathering *limu* (sea-moss) and fishing for crabs. This young woman, whose name was Puiwa, lived at Hanakaialama and was a virgin, never having had a husband. She herself, as the people would say, was forward to ask Aiai to be her husband, but he listened to her voice and they went up together to her home and saw the parents and relatives and forthwith were married. After living with this young woman some time a son was born to them whom Aiai named Puniaiki. During those days was the distribution of *aku* which were sent up from Honolulu to the different dwellings, but while others were given a whole fish they got but a portion from some neighbor. For this reason the woman was angry, and told Aiai to go to the brook and get some *oopus* fit to eat, as well as *opae*. Aiai listened to the voice of his wife. He dug a ditch; constructed a dam so as to lead the water of the brook into some pits, and thus be able to catch the *oopu* and *opae*. He labored some days at this work of theirs, and the fish and shrimps were hung up to dry.

On a certain day following, Aiai and his wife went with their child to the brook. She left their son upon the bank of the stream while she engaged herself in catching *opae* and *oopu* from the pits. But it was not long before the child began to cry, and as he cried Aiai told his wife to leave her fishing, but she talked saucily to him. So Aiai called upon the names of his ancestors. Immediately a dark and lowering cloud drew near and poured out a flood of water upon the stream, and in a short time the dam was broken by the freshet and all the *oopu* and *opae* together with the child were swept toward the sea.



But the woman was not taken by the flood. Aiai then rose up and departed, without thought of his wife.

He went down from the valley to Kaumakapili and as he was standing there he saw some women fishing for ooppu on the [HAA 1902:123] banks of the stream, the daughter of the chief Kikihale being with them. At that time, behold, there was caught by the female guardian of the daughter of Kikihale a very large ooppu. This ooppu she showed to her protégé who told her to put it into a large calabash with water and feed it with limu, so that it might become a pet fish. This was done and the ooppu was tended very carefully night and day.

Aiai stood by and saw the fish lifted out of the brook and recognized it at the same time as his own child, changed from a human being into an ooppu.

At this point the story of Aiai gives place to that of his child.

When the ooppu was placed in a large calabash with water, it was carefully tended and fed with sea-moss for some time, but one day in seeing to this duty the guardian of the chiefess, on reaching the calabash, was startled to behold therein a human child, looking with its eyes. And the water in the calabash had disappeared. She was greatly surprised and seized with a dark foreboding, and a trembling fear possessed her as she looked upon this miraculous child.

This woman went and told the chiefess of this child they knew to have the form of an ooppu, and as Kikihale heard the story of her guardian she went quickly, with grave doubts, however, of this her report, but there, on reaching the calabash, as she looked she saw indeed a child therein. She immediately put forth her hands toward the child and lifted it to her, carefully examining, its form noted its agreeable features. As she thought quickly possessed this girl she said: "Now my guardian, you and your husband take and rear this child till he is grown, then I will be his woman."

The guardian answered her: "When this child becomes grown you will be an old woman; that is, your days will be in the evening of life, while his place will be in the early morn. Will you not thereby have lasting cause for dissatisfaction and contention between you in the future?"

Kikihale answering her guardian said: "You are not to blame, [HAA 1902:124] these things are mine to consider for the reason that the desire is mine, not yours, my guardian."

Just after this talking it was quickly known of this child among the chiefs and attendants, and he was nourished and brought up to adult age when Kikihale took him for her husband as she said she would, and for a time they dwelt together as man and wife without disagreement between them.

But during these days Kikihale saw plainly that her husband was not disposed to do anything for their support, therefore she mourned over it continually and angrily reproved him, finally, with these words, saying:

"Oh my husband, can you not go forth also, as others, to assist our father and the attendants in the duties of fishing, instead of eating till you are satisfied then rolling over with face upward to the ridge-pole of the house and count the ahos? It may do while my father is alive, but if he should die whence would come our support?" Thus she spoke reproachingly from day to day and the words stung Punaiaki's heart with much pain.



And this is what he said to his wife one day: “It is unpleasant to hear you constantly talking thus. Not as wild animals is the catching of fish in the sea; they are obedient if called, and you may eat wastefully of my fish when procured. I have authority over fish, men, pigs and dogs. If you are a favorite of your father then go to him for double canoes, with their fishing appurtenances, and men to paddle them.”

When Kikihale heard these words of her husband she hastened to Kou, her father, and told him all that Puniaki had said, and the request was promptly executed. Kikihale returned to her husband and told him all she had done.

On Puniaki’s going down to the canoe place he found the men were making ready the canoes with the nets, rods, lines and the pearl fish-hooks. Here he lit a fire and burned up the pearl fish- hooks, at which his wife was much angered and cried loudly for the *hiaku* pearl hooks of her father. She went and told Kou of this mischievous action of her husband, but he answered her not a word at this act of his son-in-law, though he had supplied five gourds filled with them, a thousand in number, and the strangest [HAA 1902:125] thing is, that all were burned up save two only which Kou had reserved.

That night Puniaki slept apart from his wife and he told the canoe paddlers to sleep in the canoe sheds; not to go to their homes that night, and they obeyed his voice.

It was Kou’s habit to rouse his men before break of day to sail in the malaus¹ for aku fishing at the mouth of the harbor, for that was their feeding time, not after the sun had risen. Thus would the canoes enter the schools of aku and this chief became famous thereby as a most successful fisherman, but on this day was seen the sorcerer’s work of this child of Aiai.

As Kou with his men set out always before dawn, here was this Puniaki above at his place at sunrise. At this time on his awaking from sleep he turned his face mountainward and looking at Kaumakapili he saw a rainbow and its reddish mist spread out at that place, wherein was standing a human form. He felt conscious that it was Aiai his father, therefore he went there and Aiai showed him the place of the pa (fish-hook) called Kahuai, and he said to his son: “Here will I stay till you return; be quick.”

Upon Puniaki reaching the landing the canoes were quickly made ready to depart, and as they reached Kapapoko and Pakaka, at the sea of Kuloloia, they went on to Ulukua, now the lighthouse location of Honolulu harbor. At this place Puniaki asked the paddlers: “What is the name of that surf cresting beneath the prow of our canoes?” “Puuiki,” replied the men.

He then said to them: “Point straight the prow of the canoes and paddle with strength.” At these words of Puniaki their minds were in doubt, because there were probably no akus at that place in the surf, but that was none of their business.

As they neared the breakers of Puuiki, below the mouth of Mamala,² Puniaki said to his men: “Turn the canoes around and go shorewards,” and in returning he said quickly, “Paddle strong, for here we are on the top of a school of akus, but strange to say, as the men looked in the water they saw no fish swimming about, [HAA 1902:126] but on reaching Ulakua Puniaki opened up the fish-hook, Kahuoi, from its wrapping in the gourd and held it in his hand.

¹ Light double canoe for quiet water fishing.

² Entrance to Honolulu harbor.



At this the akus, unprecedented in number, fairly leaped into the canoes. They became so filled with the fish, without labor, that they sank in the water as they reached Kapuukolo and the men jumped overboard to float them to the beach. The canoe men wondered greatly at this work of the son-in-law of Kou the chief, and the shore people shouted as the akus which filled the harbor, swam towards the fish-pond of Kuwili and on to the mouth of Leleo stream.

When the canoes touched shore Puniaiki seized two fish in his hands and went to join his father where he was staying, and Aiai directed him to take them up to where his mother lived. These akus were not gifts for her, but an offering to Kuula at a ko'a (station) established just above Kahuailanawai. Puniaiki obeyed the instructions of his father and on returning to him he was sent back to his mother, Puiwa, with a supply of akus. She was greatly surprised that this handsome young man, with his gift of akus for her to eat, was her own son and these were the first fruits of his labor.

The people marveled at the quantity of fish throughout the harbor so that even the stream at Kikihale was also full of akus, and Puniaiki commanded the people to take of them day and night; and the news of this visit of akus went all around Oahu. This unequalled haul of akus was a great humiliation to Kou, affecting his fame as a fisherman, but he was neither jealous of his son-in-law nor angry, he just sat silent. He thought much on the subject but with kindly feelings, resulting in turning over this employment to him who could prosecute it without worry.

Shortly afterwards Aiai arranged with Puniaiki for the establishing of kuulas, koas (stations) and fish-stones around the island of Oahu, which were as follows:

The Kou stone was for Honolulu and Kaumakapili; a kuula at Kupahu; a fish-stone at Hanapouli, Ewa. Ahuena was the kuula for Waipio; two were assigned for Honouliuli. Hani-o was the name of the ko'a outside of Kalaeloa; Kua and Maunalahi- [HAA 1902:127] lahi for Waianae; Kamalino for Waimea; and Kaihukuuna for Laiemaloo, Koolau.

Ko'a (Fishing Stations) on the islands of Kaua'i, Ni'ihau and Hawai'i:

Aiai and his son also visited Kauai and Niihau on this work, then they turned and went together to Hawaii. The principal or most noted fishing grounds there, are: Poo-a, Kahaka and Olelomoana at Kona; Kalae at Kau; Kupakea at Puna, and I at Hilo.

In former times at most of these fishing grounds were seen multitudes and varieties of fish, all around the islands, and occasionally deep sea kinds came close in shore, but in this new Era there are not so many. Some people say it is on account of the change of the times.

These are the matters known to me. The end. [HAA 1902:128]

***XVII. Ka Oihana Lawaia – Customs of the Fisher-people; by A.D. Kahaulelio, 1902
Fishing Traditions and Customs of Maui, Lāna'i, Moloka'i and Kaho'olawe***

Perhaps the most detailed narratives pertaining to fishing customs, sources of fish and methods of procurement, "*Ka Oihana Lawaia*," was authored for the native newspaper, *Ku Okoa* in 1902. A.D. Kahā'ulelio, a native fisherman of the Lāhainā region, provides readers with a vast knowledge of locations, practices, methods and beliefs of native fisher-people of the Maui region waters. The following translation was prepared by Mary Kawena Pukui, and is from the archival manuscript collection of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (a copy obtained by Maly from Dorothy Barrere — historian and partner with Kawena Pukui in the translation of several important Hawaiian publications). The narratives below, are cited with the kind permission of the Bishop Museum:



Nupepa Kuokoa
February 28, 1902.

Ka Oihana Lawaia (Fishing Lore)

With Explanations Pertaining to it from A. D. Kahaulelio—This is of great value.

Your writer was asked by the editor in the name of this Newspaper, with the idea of showing the young people of this age now progressing and not for those who are expert fishermen. I have given my consent and I think it will be of value to the subscribers of this paper and if there is anything not clearly explained about this useful, ancient and universal profession then the fault lies with me. May you explain them later in this paper.

This was an honorable profession since the founding of our race on this island, from Kumuhonua and from Papa and Wakea. Fishing and farming were the two things depended on by the people for their livelihood and those who did not know how to fish or were too lazy to farm, were often wakeful at nights with anxiety and eager to marry off their sons and daughters to those of the working people. Then they felt relieved, knowing that life would be given to the bones of the grandparents, parents and other relatives.

I have fished for sixteen years with my father and grand folks until all passed out of this life and for twenty-five years I have fished by myself. Now I have retired from the deep sea and inshore fishing taught me by my father.

1. Big Lau Fishing—I will begin my narration with the big *lau* fishing. This kind was also called *laulima* (many hundred) fishing because men, women and children helped.

The first thing that the head fisherman did was to send men and women to the uplands for *wauke*. Upon returning, the bark was stripped off, dried and when well dried, the fibers were made into a [page 1] net and this net was called *puhiiki*. Again they went up to gather *olona*, scrape the fibers clean and make a net with meshes the width of a finger. This was called a *pupu* and belonged to the back part of the whole. Another net with meshes of about two finger width or a little over was called the *puhi-nui*. These three when combined was called an *upena papa*. The *puhinui* at the mouth or opening of the net, the *puhiiki* in the center, and the *pupu* also called the *mole* in the back of the net. When it was completed then the head fisherman sent a large company of men, women and children to the mountains to gather yellowed and dried ti leaves. If thirty or forty people had gone for ti leaves, then that was thirty or forty *kumulau*, for that was what they called the ti leaf gatherers. Each *kumulau* gathered enough leaves for thirty or forty fathoms; all gathering enough for a thousand fathoms. When that was done, the people went to the mountains for dried *wiliwili* wood to be used for floaters or for dried gourds and then for dried banana leaf stalks to be used in tying the floaters to the *lau* net or a rope made of *wauke* bark. These helpers were the owners of the *lau* and had a share in the work. All that was left to do was to take the *lau* to sea and that was left to the will of the head fisherman. There were several types of *lau* fishing, such as (1.) *Lau lele*, (2) *Lau kapalili*, (3) *Lau apoapo*, and these were done beyond the reef or where there were no reefs. The lesser types of *lau* fishing was done in smooth seas (*kohola*) and were called (1) *Lauahi*, (2) *Lau ohua*, (3) *Lau ohualiko* (tiny *manini* fish), (4) *Lau ko Upena pahu* and (5) *Lau ko pua lili*.

The Way in Which to Fish With a Lau-nui.

The *lau* nets were taken out by two big canoes and three small canoes were for the divers of the *lau*. The *lau* was stretched out on either side when they were lowered into



the sea. The head [page 2] fisherman had a small canoe all to himself. When the canoes bearing the *lau* reached that of the head fisherman then one end of the two laus were fastened together. This was called *ohao*. At the end of each *lau* was a hole through which a *hau* stick a fathom in length was inserted. It was the *hau* stick at the end of the *lau* that the term *ohao* was applied to. The *lau* was lowered at the depth of fifteen fathoms and then the canoes went in opposite directions until they reached water about one or two fathoms in depth. There they lowered the stone anchors, called *kaouha* or *heleuma*. At the place, fifteen fathoms in depth, which I had mentioned before, the *lau* was lowered about half the depth and then it was gradually moved for about four or less than five fathoms until it barely touches bottom. It should not be too close to bottom lest it snag on the corals or catch in hollows. When the men who manned the *lau* canoes had lowered the stone anchors, then they pulled on the rope of the *lau*. There were about six or seven men to each canoe. When the sun shone down, the shadows of the leaves drove the fish shoreward wherever the *lau* was drawn.

When the head fisherman saw that the *lau* was straight and not curved, that is, rounded, then the stone anchors were drawn up and then the two *lau* canoes drew together until they were two chains or twenty-two fathoms apart. The *lau* had been drawn in to the depth of four fathoms. Then the head fisherman looked for a good place to lay the *papa* net. Before the net was laid the divers stuffed the holes with leaves and rubbish of every sort to prevent the fish from getting into them. And when the head fisherman saw that the holes were closed up then the net was laid. The net was six, seven or more fathoms in length from the rim surrounding the opening to the tip at the back. The *puhinui* tapered down from three to two fathoms in diameter, then the *puhiiki* which was about [page 3] a fathom in diameter and so on down to the end of the net. There were sticks in the *puhinui* and *puhiiki* to prevent the sides of the net from sticking together when the fish came in. Then the head fisherman commanded that the opening of the net be drawn up to the surface and brought close to the canoe. If the current was not strong then the net could be seen lying like a canoe shed.

Here, we could say that the *papa* net was lying as it should in the sea. The head fisherman ordered to strike the sides of the canoe and to draw the *lau* closer at all times. When some of the divers were out of breath, others dived in. The *lau* were drawn up to the place where they met the *paku*. The *paku* were nets stretched out on either side of the *papa* net and were ten or more fathoms in length.

The head fisherman on my canoe, paddled noiselessly, making hardly a sound in the sea to the place where the *lau* met the *paku* and on the opening of the *papa* net. I watch the behavior of the fish and the position of the *papa* net and when I see the fish moving in a column like the smoke of a steamer over the surface of the sea, I, the head fisherman of the day, rejoiced much but if I saw the fish going downward and agitated, stirring up the mud that rise up to the surface, that was the time to think hard as to what to do. The divers were asked to be silent and to dive feet first to the place where the *lau* and *paku* met. If the fish went down quickly then the fishermen called on all the divers that were able to hold the breath longest to dive and be prepared to *papoo* the *lau* nets. The meaning of the word *papoo* is to dive to the opening of the *papa* net without disturbing the *paku* and to raise it up. In the meantime, the excited fish, moved hither and thither forward and back. Some of the fish have gone into the net but the fish that caused all the disturbance were the *kakaki*, a specie of *kala* fish. [page 4]

Like a garden laden with flowers, so were the colors of the fish at this time as they surge excitedly to and fro, eager to find a way out. If the head fisherman held the rope that was attached to the bottom of the opening in the net, then he called to the divers to *papoo*. When he saw them close to the opening of the net, he drew up the rope and up came all



the divers. The canoe to hold the fish drew near and the fish were put into it. The man who was selected by the head fisherman to man the canoe was a hard-hearted, cross and stingy man that would not allow anybody to plow into the fish and leave the rest of the people without any. Many varieties of fish were caught in this way such as the *opule*, *moilii*, *palapala*, *kumu*, *weke*, *kala*, *manini*, *moano*, *uhu*, *oio*, *hilu*, *aawa* and others. The *pupu* was sometimes filled with fish to up as far as the *puihiki* and sometimes the *pupu* was only half full. A canoe, four fathoms in length and four spans in depth could be filled from the place where the longitudinal stick of the outrigger was lashed to the rear up to the one in front. This isn't just a "fish-story" or a tall tale, but the truth, for your writer has seen it with his own eyes.

Here let me tell you the number and the width of the places where the *lau* was stretched in the sea. Mr. Editor, you know where Laiolele is, or (what was known as) Huai-ka-ulu-o-Lele-i-ka-malie. You remember the surf of Uo and of Keawaiki, and also remember where your writer lived, by the fence of the Honorable F. W. Beckley. There is a canoe landing directly outside of that place called Uhailio, that was where one *lau* ended and at Uo and Keawaiki the other ended. That was the stretch from one *lau* canoe to the other and was about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from the pier of Keawaiki to the house of the honorable gentleman (just mentioned). That was the distance in which the writer, who, directed by his beloved father, stretched the *lau* and filled a whole canoe. This fishing place was called [page 5] *Ka-pua-liliii* for the fish caught were all small except the *kakaki* which was usually larger.

Lau Kapalili is another type of *lau* fishing and was employed where the beach is sandy and the sea smooth. The *lau* was dragged shoreward and people dragged it in from the shore up to the beach. In the laying of the *papa* net, the bag were drawn ashore and the fish surged and flapped about on the sand. That is why this type of fishing is called *lau-kapalili* or trembling *lau*. This *lau* fishing belonged to shallower waters. When the canoes bearing the *lau* and the nets went to about two or three fathoms in length, a small *papa* net, about three or four fathoms in length was lowered. The *lau* was lowered at the same time close to where the waves were and there the laus were joined. The (joining) was called the *umi* of the *lau*. Then the men and the women who were skilled in fishing drew in the *lau* hand over hand just as they would with the *lau* for *ohua* fish. Thus they moved until the *lau* drew up to the *papa* net like in the *lau nui* fishing.

Lau Apoapo—The fish caught in the *lau apoapo* fishing were the *opule*, *omalemale*, *panuhunuhu*, *maiii*, *kole pala* and others. The *apoapo* fishing could be repeated three times by casting the net in the sea and when one looked at the canoe holding the fish he was delighted with their bright colors; the brightness of the eyes of the *kole*, the dark and light streaks of the *opule*. Many a time your writer fished in the *lau apoapo* from Kaanapali to Kealia, all around the island of Lanai and on the leeward side of Kahoolawe, from the canoe landing of Kanapou that is facing Makena and on to the point at Ke-ala-i-Kahiki where it dips into the sea. I have also done other kinds of fishing.

Lau Ahi—This is the first division of the lesser *lau* fishing done inside of the breakers. A dark night, one in which the waves [page 6] hardly rise is good, so that the *lauahi* net would appear black. The *lau* net was drawn in from the breakers (*po'ina nalu*) outside of a *kohola*. In half a night of *lauahi* fishing, three gunny sacks could be filled, four if one was lucky enough to get away from the devils of the night. *Kumu*, *pauu*, *nanue*, *weke* and other kinds were caught and the size of the *lauahi* net was the same as that of the *lauohua*.

Lau Ohua—This is division two of the lesser *lau* fishing. The women of our land did this kind of fishing and only two men were needed to draw the *lau* net. The men did not care



for it, because the back ached in stooping as the *lau* was drawn in, while the women kept moving closer together until the fish were bagged. When the women folks came home with gunny sacks filled with *ohua* fish, then the lazy men dipped their fingers into the *poi* and picked up the *ohua paawela* and *akilolo* fish. I forgot to mention that the *lauahi* net was made with *olona* fibers with two bracing sticks to hold it open and it was used just as the *lau nui* net was used .

Lau Ohualiko—It is the same as the *Lau-opae* and is about a fathom in length. It was used for fishing around the *ahu* or *imu* as the people of Hana call it. We use the term *ahu*. In it are found the *opae* or shrimps and other small fish that could be quickly caught and eaten for breakfast. On a morning when the tide is low then the net that is fine meshed is used or mosquito netting can be used instead. The net is put around (the *ahu*) as far as the *kuku* or bracing sticks of the net, then the stones of the *ahu* are removed until there is none left. You will see the bag in the net well filled. With three stone *ahus*, one could fill a pail such as are bought in stores. Even small lobsters, that are very good eating are caught in this way.

Lau-ko-pua—Children as well as adults fish in this type of fishing. In the month of January and February, the wettest [page 7] time of the rainy months when the streams are swollen and the ponds near the beach break open, then you shall see the tiny fish swimming about in schools. Yellowed banana leaves are used by children in place of nets which they drag about in the sea and frighten the fish so that they rush up to the sandy shore. There they are picked up until the gourd calabashes are filled. Children that are well supplied with mosquito netting are the merriest of all. Because there is a law against catching small fish, this isn't done any more.

Lau-ko-pahu-anae—This is one of the easiest kinds of fishing. The net used is three fathoms wide across the opening, and from four to five or more from the top of the opening to the end of the bag, and the shields on either side are from four to five fathoms in length. The *lau* nets should first be attached to the shaft (*au*) of the net. Four men are needed, two for the bag net and two for the *lau* net. Directly in front of the Hon. F. W. Beckley's yard at Puunau is the best place for *anae* fishing for the nets are not snagged by the corals. So it is at a place in front of the writer's home. When it is time to draw in the nets, the fishermen watch the opening of the bag net and glance at those who draw the *lau* to see that they are not uneven nor out of place. The drawing must be even and the men who do the pulling keep an eye on the other fishermen that are pulling on the bag net. When the sea is agitated by the opening in the net, then all knew that the *anae* had gone in. The bag net is lifted up and those who are pulling on the *lau* pause and stoop for the other fishermen are occupied in biting the heads of the *anae* that have gone into the net. When that is done, the net is drawn again. In four or five times of fishing thus, one is able to get eighty *anae* fish or more sometimes. [page 8]

Hi-aku-fishing—This is called a *hi* [fishing] with the *pa* hook or a *hi* with a *malau* filled with *iao* fish for bait and in these types double canoes were employed or single canoes customarily called *hoomo* by the *aku* fishers. The writer believes that this was a *laulima* (many handed) fishing for it required the help of many people. Men, women, children, babes in arms and even the dogs that swam about in the sea were given their share of fish.

In the olden days, before the coming of the missionaries to Hawaii nei, the people fished often for *aku*, both with the *pa* hook and with the *malau*. It was done even down to the days of the writer's boyhood, and when I was eleven years old [in 1848; see page 39] my father deserted *aku* fishing with the *malau*, because it involved too much work in taking the *malau* filled with *iao* fish bait from **five to seven miles out**, rowing a double canoe all



the while. It was a wearisome task, this your writer knows well, therefore single canoes were used, so said the aku fishers of Lanai, Ukumehame, Olowalu and the whole of Lahaina.

Work Required for Aku Fishing.—I will first speak of some of the tools. You all know what the mother-of-pearl is like, such as are used in making the buttons sold in the stores, for your cuffs and collars. The *pa* for *Aku* fishing is like that except that it is made longer. There were rules to be observed in making a *pa* hook. It was made thus, five inches in length and one in width between the place where the line is fastened on and the point, which are from 1/8 to 1/4 of an inch wide. Holes were bored at one end through which the line was fastened to hold the hook suspended from a bamboo pole. The line went in through one hole from the back of the *pa* hook and then through the other hole from the front, then a finer cord was tied on with this one to fasten it to a piece of human bone that slanted slightly on the *pa* hook. Hogs bristles were [page 9] also fastened on to keep the hook firmly in place when trolled over the surface of the sea. [page 10]

Nupepa Kuokoa

March 7, 1902

Ka Oihana Lawaia (Fishing Lore)

With Explanations Pertaining to it from A. D. Kahalelio—This is of great value.

Human bone was always used with the *pa* or mother-of-pearl fish hook in the olden days. In those latter times, silver, brass or iron was used and there was no trouble in seeking the bones of the dead to use. Strange were the ways of our ancestors.

There were two kinds of *pa* fish hook, the *lehua* and the *uhi* which were again subdivided into the *onohilehua*, *uhipaa* and *ku'ala* types. The *lehua pa* [hook] was used from the hours before the sun rose to about eight in the morning, then the *pauhi* was used when the sun was high overhead. If the hood was of the *onohilehua*⁵ or of the *uhipaa* type the *aku* fish would take to it at any time. Let the reader look up at a rainbow. If a fisherman had a *pa* hook with colors like it, he would love it as he would his sweetheart. Wherever he laid his head, there his hook would be laid lest it be stolen from him. The *onohilehua* and the *uhipaa* were called the rainbow *pa* hooks, and the *kuala* type was the plain white ones and was very hard to find. Fishing with a *pa* hook was very easy where it was windy because the sails of the canoe helped to carry it over the billows but in calm places one had to row until he was out of breath. The man who did the trolling found that it was all like a game and only his mouth worked as he called, "Row, row, row." That was all he did until the rowers lost their tempers. All this could not be helped for that was the way it was done.

Please excuse me for digressing here. Every fisherman was supplied with gourd containers (*hokoo*), both large and small, for their fishing paraphernalia. My father had a small gourd filled with all sorts of *pa* fish hooks and he told me that they were but trash.

I asked him, "Why so?" He said, "My good hooks were broken off by some *ahi* fish and I still regret the loss." "Where did you get them from?" "From Hoapili-kane because I was his fisherman and it is hard for me to replace them." (It was true, for he never did until he passed away.) When Makuu the elder, a chief of Nuuhiwa came here in 1853, he gave me most of these as a gift."

Malau Fishing—The *malau* was two fathoms in length, a length of a hand (*hailima*) in height and one half of an *iwilei* (1/2 of a yard) in width, with a wooden floor is below, fine

⁵ *Onohilehua*, text reads "...aka, ina he onohilehua a uhipaa ke ano o ka pa e ai ana ke aku i na wa apau..." (However, if the *pa* were an 'onohilehua and uhipa'a [combined] type, the *aku* would take to it at anytime.) (D. Barrere note – 11/5/64) [page 11].



meshed mats on both sides and boards in front and behind that had been firmly tied on. In this the live *iao* fish bait was kept.

One whole afternoon was spent in catching *iao* fish with nets, and stopped only when the *malau* was filled. The fishermen set out to sea at three o'clock in the morning with a double canoe. The *malau* was attached between the two canoes. When they reached the fishing ground for *aku* fish, the sun had shed its light and the *aku* fish was fed from the *malau*. The single canoes did not come close. If they did, their fishing paraphernalia would be taken away from them for that was the law of *malau* fishing in ancient times. In these times it would be disregarded and the sea behind would be white with canoes as the waves of Hai with foam. The *iao* fish bait was dipped up in a dipper and tossed out. Then the fishermen on both canoes began to fish, some on the right and the others on the left. The fish were like plovers caught in a snare for in one fishing, hundreds were caught.

Aku Fishing with Single Canoes (Hoomo). Early in the morning while it was yet dark, men, women and children gathered on the shore. If three canoes were going out, more than a hundred people went to frighten the *iao* fish ashore to be used for bait. Less people were [page 12] needed if the *iao* fish were numerous and the clothing did not get wet until the canoes were sufficiently supplied. Those who went with their dogs and those with newborn babes in their arms were all given their share of the *aku*. In after years fewer people went to chase *iao* fish, because the working men were growing less. The fishermen who tossed out the *iao* fish bait, the men who manned the prow of the canoe were important for if the man at the prow was unskilled much fish would not be caught but if he was able to keep it against the wind the *aku* would take the bait. So it was with those who tossed out the bait. If they were unskilled, fish would not be caught and the bait should be thrown where the hook was being tossed, baited with a fish. It was only in that way that the canoe could be loaded with fish and so those who were skilled were selected and given these duties by the head fisherman.

When the writer took part in these fishing activities, my father told me that no *aku* fisher should be called a skilled person until he knew all that belonged to the left side and all that belonged to the right in the art of *aku* fishing, like the words of a *mele* composed by a well known chiefess.

*Gather up from the right,
Gather up from the left;
Gather up for the hungry ashore,
Wishing for some fire to cook fish,
Mine are the fish sheltered by Kaukini,
Indeed, isn't it so?
I shall place some in a big dish,
And we both shall bite into them.*

Luck in this Type of Fishing.—The fish called *mikiawa* is of the size of an *opelu* and is called *omaka* by those of Hilo, It is mentioned in a *mele* thus. [page 13]

He was a little *omaka* fish,
When salted, he became quite stiff.

Your writer had often encountered these fish while out at sea. When the school was first sighted, the fish formed a circle as big around as a large wooden bowl in the calm. We followed them and in less than half an hour they would surge up to the surface and the *aku* would rush among them. This lasted for a few minutes then the sharks that looked



white in the water, the *ahi*, the voracious *mahimahi* and many others appeared. We, *aku* fishermen never failed to keep ourselves supplied with small scoop nets to dip up the remaining *iao* fish that cling close to the canoe, after the fishing. With the scoop net the *makiawa* was scooped to be used for bait. The fishing had to be quickly and expertly done in order to catch a hundred *aku* fish in less than an hour's time. The *makiawa* [also the *mikiawa* or *omaka*] fish was soon devoured by the sharks and other big fish. Like the roaring of the sea in a storm, so it sounded with the fish. The canoe remained amidst the school of *makiawa* fish with the sharks all about with open jaws and the *aku* fish had to be drawn in with skill. The *aku* fishermen enjoyed this kind of fishing. If there were from five to ten canoes, they were filled with *aku* fish. Other things required by the fishermen were bamboo poles, fish hooks, lines and other tools. I have already mentioned the kinds of fish hooks used by fishermen such as the *pa* (mother-of-pearl), human bone, brass, iron, and the hook used in the *malau* fishing was like that used by the *aku* fishers that fish in single canoes.

Silver and brass hooks were very much better for *aku* fishing with the *malau* or with single canoes than iron ones. In making a silver or brass one, the body was flattened. When used, the bait throwers threw out the *iao* fish with the hands and as soon as they [page 14] noticed that the *aku* had appeared behind the canoe, then with the canoe bail more *iao* fish were thrown out, about three or four bails full. The *aku* fish soon came up to the stern of the canoe. The fisherman began to fish and to bring out his silver hooks, unbaited. Just as the *aku* fish snapped at the *iao* bait so did they snap at the silver hook. There was no trouble in trolling, all one thought of was the constant biting from below. The hardest task in this kind of fishing for those that were only partly trained was how to hold up the bamboo pole. Some held it up against the seat but the right way was to hold it against the *mons pubis*. The pole was four fathoms in length and was of the indigenous variety. Perhaps all you get today is the introduced variety about two or three fathoms long and reaches too near the stern. In reaching into the water with the hand the body should not move even if uncomfortable lest the *aku* fish refuse to bite. The hook and bait should not go down too far into the sea, but should be gently trolled on the surface. The *aku* would seize it then. One should splash water constantly to keep the line and hook hidden. The fisherman also kept an eye on the hook so that the fish could be jerked upward as soon as it seized it. That is the way that one should do it. The *aku* fish, caught in one spot, soon filled a canoe with about a hundred of them more. if the fish are hungry. Another important thing was to know how to tie on the hook. The knot should not be bulky but as smooth as the course for *holua* sledding. It should be well fastened so that the hook would not move from side to side, then the *aku* fish would seize it.

There were two ways of caring for the *iao* fish bait that swim about freely in the canoe in order to keep them healthy and alive all day long. Water should be dipped in constantly into the canoe, that is, fresh sea water to keep the temperature cool and the [page 15] *iao* fish healthy. Allow rest period of about ten minutes and then repeat. If the pauses are too long then the *iao* fish would weaken throb about and die. The best fish lines used by the *aku* fishers were made of our indigenous *olona* fibers, a fine, three-ply line or larger for larger *aku* fish. The lines bought in stores are not very good, for when taken by a large sized *aku*, the line is stretched for about three or more inches. The line made of *olona* fibres, does not stretch beyond 1/8 of an inch after it is twisted and one can raise up a *mahimahi* fish a fathom in length. As soon as it takes the hook pull it in as hard as you can till it lands with a thud in the canoe. If you are not alert when it seizes the hook, the pole will be jerked away into the sea. So it is with an *aku* or a *kawakawa*, if it is a yard in length, it is strong enough to send a fisherman sprawling. The lesser sized *aku* fish are but mere play things for us, the *aku* fishers.



Where the Aku Fish Live.—They are found in all the fishing grounds in the ocean and when the canoes went out it was to a smooth fishing ground. Sometimes one could see the *noio*, *uwau* and *koae* birds circling over it and when the head fisherman noticed this he commanded the rowers to row toward the spot. When the place was reached, there the *aku* were in the fishing ground. The *iao* bait was thrown out and the *aku* caught. They were seldom, caught anywhere else in the ocean, but if there were schools of *piha* or *nehu* fish swimming about then the *aku* would follow and snap at them. None would follow the *iao* fish. If there were also sharks that wore after the *piha* fish, then luck was there. The canoe was brought close to the spot where the sharks were, and the fishing was done just as one did when there were schools of *makiawa* fish about. One could not miss taking in the *aku* fish .

This was one of the best kinds of fishing and your writer has [page 16] been out with the Honorable J. W. Kalua, L. Aholo, Rev. M. Kuea and some white teachers of the Kamehameha Schools that were vacationing with my nephew, D. Kalei. The white men were very much afraid of the sharks that followed after the canoe but I told them not to be afraid.

It is for this, the *aku* fishing that La'i uttered her proud boast, "O my husband, from this division and from that of my island, where the dew falls in the upland and the *maaa* breeze blows over the low, I turn to gaze at the prows of the canoes in the calm."

Fishing in the Ocean. (Moana)—The definition of this word ocean is the blue sea, the deep sea ten or more fathoms in depth. There were two kinds of deep sea fishing, called *kaka* line fishing and the *ku-kaula* line fishing. These were done only where the fishing grounds are found. The land marks are the tops of the mountains of Molokai, Lanai, West Maui, Haleakala on East Maui and the island of Kahoolawe and these were observed by the fishermen of Lahaina. There were also land marks on the lowlands because the writer thinks that when the mountain-tops were hidden away by the mist and clouds, there would be no way to locate the fishing grounds. Therefore they also had land marks in the lowlands so that they would have no difficulty in locating a fishing ground and not have any lack of fish. From the cape of Hawea at Kaanapali running directly to the cape of Hema on Lanai, close to Maunalei; then to the cape of Kamaiki on Lanai; thence directly to the cape of Paki (The same as the cape of Kealaikahiki) on Kahoolawe; thence to the cape of Kukui on Kahoolawe, then straight on to the cape of Papawai, are the places that are well known and have been fished in by your writer, in sunshine, in rain and in the winds that rage and blow into a terrific gale. [page 17]

Nupepa Kuokoa

March 14, 1902

Ka Oihana Lawaia (Fishing Lore)

With Explanations Pertaining to it from A. D. Kahaulelio—This is of great value.

Kaka Fishing— In this kind of fishing, no stone weight was needed to anchor the canoe and it drifted to and fro moving with the current. The line was five *kaau* in length, which was the equivalent of two hundred fathoms and that was about the depth of the fishing grounds desired to reach. Two or three men were enough for this type of fishing and each man had from forty to fifty hooks on his line.

This is the way in which it was done. The thread that fastened the hook to the line was a yard or so in length to tie on both hook and a coconut stem to keep them firmly in place. The hooks were fastened at intervals the length of each stern, lest the hooks be mixed up and entangled. This was done until all 40 or 50 hooks were fastened on. Bait was secured in the evening and the hooks of all three fishermen were baited before time. When all was ready then just before daylight they set out for the fishing grounds. Each



man let down his line with a stone weight at the bottom of the line to make it sink. While the second man was lowering his line, the first felt a jerking on his and as soon as he knew that all his hooks had been taken, he hauled in the line. They all did this. The sails were set up and the Maa breeze did its work.

Sometimes all the hooks were taken, sometimes they were not. At other times some of the fish hooks became unfastened and floated to the surface. A noted warrior of Kaanapali, named Palapala used to say, "All Palapala does is to pick up the fish," meaning the fish that came to the surface. If all the fishermen were lucky, the [page 18] canoe was filled. In this kind of fishing, the fishermen went home while it was day. The *ku-kaula* fishing was unlike this in that it kept them out all day long and they returned home late at night. Sometimes they remained out all night. That is how the saying, "The fishermen's lines are soaked," came about. This method of fishing has not been done for more than thirty years here at Lahaina. This kind of fishing has also been called *kialoa* fishing and the fish caught were the *kahala*, *ulaula*, *opaka*, *hapuu*, *koae*, *ulaula niho*, *opakapaka*, *hahanui*, *ukikiki*, *lehe*, *uku*, *ulua*, *kahala*, *mahukia*, *oio* and so on.

Kukaula Fishing.— This is still in use and only where the fishing ground is shallow, from 50, 60 to 70 fathoms deep and not any deeper than that. If at the depth of 80 fathoms then only small fish will be caught such as the *ukikiki* and small *ulaula*. At 60 or at 50 fathoms in depth, the fish would snatch at the hook, if the current is right.

The line is eighty or one hundred and twenty fathoms in length and to it we tie coconut husks for signals when the hook is taken. It is made in this way: the first husk is tied on at forty fathoms and that is called the *kanuku* (beaker of a bottle); at five fathoms another is fastened on, this is the *alo* (face), at the next five fathoms, another is fastened on, the *kua* (back); at the next five fathoms is the *kamanamana*; at the next five, the *kaiiiki*; the next is the *kua-o-kaiiiki*; the next is the *kamoe* and that is the last of the coconut husk signals. Such lines are used for *ulaula*, *opakapaka*, *aholehole*, *hahanui*, *ukikiki*. Those who go fishing without coconut husk signals along the line, find themselves without fish. One is lucky to catch one and there are some people who think that as long as the line sinks, fish can be caught. It is true but one should know the reasons for it. [page 19]

The reason why my ancestors used coconut husk signals was that it was not laborious work to prepare and that it helped to measure the depth for the fish when they reached the fishing grounds. I watch the shore for the correct land marks and when I find myself on the right spot, I ask the men who had lowered the stone weighted line. "How deep is it?" "One *kaau* and ten," and we know that it is fifty fathoms in depth. Then I order the line slacked for about seven fathoms so that there would be no strain on the rope, when drawn by the current. If the current is too strong, the rope will be slacked for ten fathoms. This slacking is called the *ko-i*.

An expert in fishing would let down the fish line as far as the *kua* or the *kamanamana* and when the stone weight is jerked loose, in no time at all a fish is caught. The man who caught the first fish boasted proudly, "That's a bundle of thorny *hala* leaves from Wakiu." This is only to tease his fellow fishers. While he drew in his fish other fish rushed after them. Three or four fathoms away from the place where the fish were caught, they would vomit up the bait that they had taken. Then bring your own line up to the *alo*, that is five fathoms above the place where the other caught his fish. If he knew that if he was unlucky in making a catch, the fellow who caught some would ask, "What luck with your coconut husks?" "No luck." "If so, then a loafer has gone to your house to get at the meat dish." This brought bad luck and his mind would dwell on his polished, wooden bowl because of the words spoken to him. Such talks are not good while fishing. It is customary for all the fishermen of our locality to pray before letting down their fish lines



into the sea. It was not an actual prayer but one that lightened the heart and made one happy, so your writer thinks. Here is such a one; [page 20]

*O fish that watch; fish that look;
Look upon my food-bait.
May you, O fish, be sleepless in yearning for and in wanting some.
Brush it aside from the mouths of the little fish,
Force it into the mouths of the big fish.
May the fish spread in heaps on the shore.*

While the fisherman fastened on the coconut husks he uttered, "Say, this line belongs to my wife (child or grandchild), may you yearn for, long for Kahalamakuleia. Let the fish drag on my line, let them clamp, clamp, clamp their jaws on the hook. "When the fish pull and yank on your line, utter the prayer given above. The last thing to say is, "Stick close to me and may your kind multiply, O fish." Put your hand under the line and lift it up and away from the edge of the canoe, and your hand will feel the tugging of the fish. Sometimes the fish pull hard enough to cut the fingers that are holding the line. That is if the fish is a *kahala*, an *ulua* or a *lehe*. Some fishermen observed the strictest kapus in the twisting of the fibres for the line, the binding of the hook, the tying on of the coconut husk, the preparing of the canoe before sailing and the returning to shore. [page 21]

Nupepa Kuokoa

March 21, 1902

Ka Oihana Lawaia (Fishing Lore)

With Explanations Pertaining to it from A. D. Kahaulelio—This is of great value.

While you are preparing your line to cast into the sea, a one-eyed man went by, that line is unlucky. That is also true if you are tying on your hook and someone broke wind. That hook will not catch fish. When the canoe is ready to go out fishing and a man is seen with hands crossed behind his back, there will be no catch. If a man utters the word "steal," he will not be lucky. All these things are surely unlucky to those who believe in them and when I ask them why, they answer that it was so from the time of their ancestors. Some would not go fishing when they encounter anything like this. It is foolish for fishermen to believe in them and because I have talked with some often, they have given up their mistaken ideas, but some would not listen to me.

The best time of the year for this kind of fishing is from October to March. That is an excellent time for deep sea fishing during the rainy months, for the sea current is good then, zigzagging, circling and running smoothly. The customary wind, the Kaomi-hoolua blows over the ocean currents, strongly on the north or on the East and the current keeps in one direction all day and all night. Therefore no deep-sea fishing is done in the summer and for *aku* fishing the time is from April to August.

The kind of hook and bait is as follows. The hooks used by the ancients were open hooks and the bait was tied on with a thread. When taken by a fish, it was jerked upward and the line was pulled sideways to the edge of the canoe and then he raised the line away from the edge of the canoe and held it quietly to see if he had caught a fish. It is like the *kaili* fishing for [page 22] *hinalea* fish or for the *aawa* fish caught in shallow waters. Fish caught in those days were one half the size of what we catch today. We, the latter fishermen, have done this kind of fishing with much success in the last thirty years. The crescent shaped hook (*mahina*) was the best kind in the olden days and held the fish fast. Your writer has some of them. The bait was tied on with a thread. The new fashioned hooks are much better and your writer has named them the *iomo*. There are three places in which a dent is made, on the shaft, the bend and the bottom of the hook. Run the little finger along the sides to the top where a hole is that is hardly large enough



for the small finger to enter. Then will it be possible for the fisherman to boast that to him belongs the roofs of Hanalei the birth place of the editor of this newspaper, or that his is the *kopiko* tree on the top of Waialeale or the thorny *hala* leaves of Wakiu. Each man boasts of his own hook according to its use. With this sort of hook, a thread is not needed to tie the bait in place and the point of the hook is run through the bait thus keeping it in place. The point of the hook is run through the bait three times and must not be bulky. It should be smooth and tapering so that as soon as the fish seizes it, it is held fast. It is not necessary to jerk on it until the two or three hooks are taken then all there is to do is to pull them with all your might into the canoe. Throw your line in again for the bigger the catch the better. As soon as you cast in your weighted line, with this kind of hook, as far down as the coconut husk line measure, give it a shake up and down, jerk and shake to and fro and you will see the weight roll until it reached the end of the cord by which it was tied to the weight. Let it move gently to and fro and as soon as there is a quick movement the first fish is caught. When there is another movement, the second fish is caught and then draw the line in quickly. If he has not failed in catching a fish, the [page 23] fisherman thinks of his stomach, loaded down as he journeys across the sands of Hanakahi. [page 24]

Nupepa Kuokoa

March 28, 1902

Ka Oihana Lawaia (Fishing Lore)

With Explanations Pertaining to it from A. D. Kahaulelio—This is of great value.

This is the kind of hook that your writer has never known to fail and over which the fishermen boast that the mists of Alakai are as thick as a school of *nehu* fish. In fishing, the pointed hooks used by the Hawaiians differ greatly one from the other. So are those used by other races, such as the Japanese in these few years that we have seen. Their catch is small, perhaps it is because they fish anywhere in the ocean. If they knew where the fishing grounds are, their boats will be filled. In going fishing all the time, they are greater because they would remain away at sea for two days and two nights and when they return some of the fish have turned white and spoiling while other are still jumping about.

The ocean current is one of the important things noted by the deep sea fisher and all the currents of the fishing grounds are observed. There are two times in which the currents are plainly seen, when the sea is rough and when the tide is very low. This I have learned from my boyhood up to this time, when the tide is very high the current draws toward Molokai, and during the rainy months the changes come in three hours time all through the day. Sometimes the current goes in circles and that is the time when the deep-sea fishermen make good catches. In the summer the current goes one way all day and after a change it flows that way all night long. These currents bring no fish. Perhaps you'll question, how did the writer know of all these current changes. A watch is taken along to know the time in which to fish. This is another thing about deep-sea fishing, when you set sail [page 25] to the fishing ground that you have selected, throw in a stone and you will notice that the current shows that the fish will be found at Kaimoku. Where we are now is the current of Waialele. Tell your companions to raise the stone anchor and set sail for Kaimoku. When we reach it and let down the lines, there is fish in abundance. When you, the head fisherman, have told your fellow fishers to raise the stone anchor, as I have mentioned before, they become very much annoyed because of the bother. They do not know the reason and that is why some people do not make a catch. When the other fishing ground I mentioned is reached, they chuckle in glee and are delighted. Most of the fishing grounds lying between Lanai, Kahoolawe, Ukumehame and Lahaina are one or two miles apart. While I fish on one fishing ground the odor of my *palu* (food to attract fish) is borne to the others and attract the fish from there to where we are fishing. The *ku-kaula* fishing was practiced since olden times and you know now what it is like and how it



is done. It is well for your writer to mention the names of the fishing grounds and some of the noted people who have gone with me know of them.

100 Deep Sea Ko'a of Maui, Moloka'i, Lāna'i and Kaho'olawe Named.

Your writer knows a hundred deep-sea fishing grounds since his boyhood when I used to go with my father. I wonder what fraction of these, our fishermen of today know. Their names are Nalupaio, Poohina, Luluomala, Keawa, Naiakawau, Naiaakaapa, Hina, Naniuolopa, Nakolo, Kaule, Ouomakeanu, Auopaopao, Ouokahala, Ainahou, Pohakunui, Ke-a, Kahono, Hau, Humuhumunui, Kaimokuloko, Lanikaula, Makaokaulu, Alapaki (Hon. A. P. Judd), Kahapapa, Kanewahine, Pualiliii, Oionui, Punapuna, Keawalai, Oioina, Kahea, Puhiaama, Naiaahunalele, Puuohuku, Kahamana, Puupepe, Puumahanalua, Kahalanui, Kahamama, Kapaa, Kapaihi, Awehi (1), Awehi (2), Kane, Kala, Kaili (1), [page 26] Kaili (2), Kaana, Nakiona, Naiaakoena, Kawaawaa, Kumuokawaawaa, Waialele, Kaimoku 1, Kumuokainoku, Puakailima, Kahinahina, Kohenui, Koheliliii, Lanikaulanui, Kuou, Halekou, Puhinui, Kahikauwa, Kuai, Kapili, Puulaaau, Hanaiaeehu, Kalepelepe, Kalepa, Nakikala, Naopuupuu, Kamalama, Kahakino, Puukahala, Kalu-a, Kalua, Kamanawa, Kukaehili, Pele, Naaiapuka, Paheehee, Moeawa, Kupali, Puuhoomaha, Laeokukui, Ahupunui, Honokoa, Laepaki or Kealaikahiki, Keahu, Laemakani, Nakuenui, Nakueiki, Kuuwale, Manowai, Keahuanui, Kealookekaa and Luku. [page 27]

Nupepa Kuokoa

April 4, 1902

Ka Oihana Lawaia (Fishing Lore)

With Explanations Pertaining to it from A. D. Kahaulelio—This is of great value.

Your writer has fished in every one of these fishing grounds except two, Kakahino and Moeawa because of the great distance to reach them. When the bait is secured in the early morning, one would row all day until evening, then the wind blows like the spouting of a whale, so it is of no use. The Alapaki fishing ground is the one in which the Honorable A. F. Judd, the beloved judge of the supreme court, caught a fish and it was he who named it Alapaki. This is a small fishing ground a mile out from the dwelling place of your writer. When we went out fishing he was lucky and caught two paopao with his hook. We, who were used to fishing caught nothing and it was too windy to fish very long. In December 1892, that was the last term when the judge of the supreme court served in the circuit court of Hawaii. Hon. A. F. Judd was the judge serving a term in the circuit court in Lahaina and during the last days of his term he wanted us all to go fishing. There were eight of us fishermen and ten white men and a small cat-boat owned by P. P. Hose of Lahaina here. The white men were Hon. A. F. Judd, Hon. Paul Newmann, Hon. Charles Cleghorn, A. M. Brown who is now marshal, W. J. Jones a stenographer, G. P. Wilder, Kauka Wilder, J. W. Wesell the son-in-law of Kikaha, Nagaiam secretary of the Japanese Commissioner, and two others whose names I have forgotten. We left at ten o'clock in the morning and were near the fishing grounds at half past eleven. "Where are we?" asked Kauka Wilder. "Almost there." "If so point it out to me." I told him, "Watch until this point on Lanai and [page 28] Kalaau point seem to kiss each other and when the place where yonder man stands by the stream of Launiupoko seem to be by the side of Olowalu, then tell the man to let down the stone anchor." Ten minutes after I had showed Kauka Wilder the land marks, we heard him call out to let down the stone anchor. Alapaki asked in English, "How do you know the mark?" "Myself." Alapaki laughed and I spoke not a word. When the anchor reached the bottom I let down my line. The current drew toward the cape of Kealaikahiki, I said to Alapaki, "There is lot of fish below." "How do you know?" "I know this is the current that brings fish to this ground." There is Kawaawaa which is about seven miles from Lahaina. When the six lines were let down, and then food was cast by them to attract the fish. In a very short time the six people were drawing in their lines and exclaiming over them, some caught one and others, two. It must have been about 2 p.m. when there were sixty fish. Three of the white men went ashore on the



small cat-boat a little over two fathoms in length. There were two rowers and the sea came up to the uppermost rim. They thought of reaching Mokoolii. The men who went were Newmann, Brown and Dr. Wilder with their fish. At 4 p.m. we and all with us went to the wharf, with fingers cut by the fish line. The next year Alapaki came back and wanted to go fishing again. We met with a gale and went back to the Alapaki fishing ground where he caught two paopao. The following year Judge W. L. Stanley and J. A. Magoon went along. I had often gone with Hon. J.W. Kalua. Sometimes we were lucky and sometimes we were not. The kinds of fishing grounds both deep and shallow are as follows: From Point Hawea at Kaanapali to Lae-hima-lani point, the fishing grounds are very shallow, from twenty to thirty fathoms in depth. It is also true with those that at close to the writers dwelling place in front of Kamaiki point, the depth [page 29] is the same. In between these places the sea floor is flat with no cliffs and mountains that are overgrown with trees that grow in the sea. From Launiupoko to Papawai Point the sea outside of them hold most of the fishing grounds and contain some deep depressions good for kaka fishing. Allowing six feet to a fathom, they are 1,200 feet deep and that is about the height of a mountain in the ocean all grown over by *ekaha* trees. With these mountains in the sea, the lines and hook often get entangled among the trees. They have many branches and leaves and find a sale among sea captains because they think it strange that trees grow in the ocean. The fishing ground called Laepaki (Kealaikahiki) is five miles distant, from fifteen to twenty fathoms deep, that is the shallowest one. Three miles straight out, on the seaward side of Laepaki we used to fish. It is only fifteen fathoms deep. The sea floor and the fish swimming to and fro are plainly visible and that is one of the most productive of the three fishing grounds of Kahoolawe.

Fishing for Squids Ka Lawai'a Lu He'e, with a Cowry Shell.—This is one of the important methods of fishing in the olden times and now it is no longer done here in Lahaina. My grandparents were the first to practice it in Lahaina. They left Keoneoio, Honuaula, Maui, their birthplace five years after the Word of God had come to Hawaii nei [1825] and they made their home on this land of Lahaina, on the *ahupuaa* of Makila. It was because they were fishermen and they traded and peddled fish for a price; they gave fish in exchange for taro or *pa'i-ai* from the people of Lahaina. When my grandparents came to Lahaina, they were well supplied with cowry shells and stone sinkers to fasten to the shells. The shell and stone must fit well before the squid of the deep sea could be caught. It is like a beautiful woman that should match well with a man, so it is with this. The [page 30] cowry shell should not be just as it came from the sea; not so, but should be toasted over the fire and licked with the tongue to moisten it. A charcoal fire or a smoky one should be used and the shell toasted for an hour. Not one fisherman but, two, three, four or five must sit around the fireplace, all united in thought as they toasted the shell. They thought of going to sea to catch squids and of going squid fishing on the canoe. This was how the first step was done.

The kinds of stones and their names were many and they are as follows: the *o-ahi*, *ina*, *hawae*, *pala*, *ala*, *pulewa* and so on. So it was with the cowry shell. If the stone was an *o-ahi*, the shell should also be an *o-ahi*, and if the stone was an *ina* then the shell too, must also be an *ina*. So it was with every type of stone. The appearance of the squids brought ashore by the fishermen or those sold in the markets, are all alike but to those who watch and spear them, they change themselves into many ways while alive. When your writer tells you about the *okilo* fishing then the different names given by the fishermen for these changes will be mentioned. In joining the stone sinker and cowry shell together a piece of stick is inserted about the length of a lead pencil but a trifle wider. It is about six inches long and two inches are allowed to project and on this projection the hook called *kakalahee*, or *makau* is fastened. They are tied to a line, like a three-ply cord, two *kaau* or eighty fathoms long. All there is left to do then is to go fishing on a narrow canoe three fathoms long and one span in height and several *kao* (this is a



thin spear like the ramrod in a rifle). One end of the *kao* is fastened to a strong piece of wood and is used to fight squids with. When the line is let down to the bottom, it is again raised a half a foot or a whole foot from the floor, then jerk and keep jerking up and down all the [page 31] while. This keeps the stone and shell moving and as soon as the squid sees it, it hurries and grasps the top of the shell. You will feel its weight and if the tentacles are trailing on the sea floor you will feel a steady downward pull although it has landed on the shell. Pull the line straight then give it a hard, quick jerk toward the side of the canoe. Draw up the line and when the squid is close to the canoe hold it out and away to prevent its grasping the edge of the canoe and holding on tightly. If it does beat it with a stone and stab it with a knife until it is dead. If it does not cling to the canoe then stab it at the top of the head until it weakens. Put it away in a tall woven basket. Some people beat the squids with a wooden club but that is a hard work that leaves the arms very tired. This is a means of gaining a livelihood for the family so it is well to do it.

When we went out to fish for squids with my grandfather, who was toothless, I asked him, "How would you kill the squid for you are toothless and I am only a small boy of eleven?" He answered "I shall kill it with this iron spear. When we are out at sea, then you will learn how." So I did. Sometimes when the arms are tired with the constant jerking the line is wound around the big toe and the foot jerked it up and down until a squid is caught. Stab at its head and grasp it with the hand. It should be deftly done and sometimes as many as twenty, more or, less, are caught in a day.

The days that are good for going to sea to fish are the three Laau days for the fish took the bait continuously in all kinds of fishing; *Akua* too, for the fish had voracious appetites, they ate like supernatural beings: On Mohalu the fish opened the mouths wide for food; On Mahealani the fish ate one after the other and on Olepau the fish stop eating. The sea all around Kahoolawe has been fished in by your writer with his parents and grandparents.
[page 32]

On the three Ku nights the fish ate greedily. This my grandfolks taught me, it is useless to go fishing on any other time. Fish is caught but very little and not like on the days of the lunar month in which there are much fish. It is not the moon that brings the fish but on these particular days the sea currents are good, so said my grandfolks and I've proven it. If the stone sinkers and cowry shell fit well together, one could catch as much as forty squids a day. This kind of fishing is good for old people and not for the young.

(5) *Okilo Fishing for Squids*—This is not like fishing with a cowry shell, that is too much work but this is much easier. A small stone, a single hook, several *nohu* blossoms are all that's needed. Tie the *nohu* flowers to the stone and then fasten it to a stick five inches long the size of a lead pencil. Board a small canoe large enough to hold two men and go out beyond the reef where it is a fathom in depth. Anchor the canoe where it would move to and fro quietly. Chew and spew *kukui* nuts onto the sea and keep looking down. The squid are usually at the opening of their burrows. When my father spied a squid he used to ask me, "Do you see the squid?" I said that I did not. He told me that the squid was a *hawae* and said, "Watch me and I'll lower the hook." It was not until the hook touched bottom and the squid seized the *nohu* blossoms that I saw it. My father jerked on the line and it was caught fast and drawn into the canoe. We went elsewhere and kept on spewing *kukui* nut meat on the water until he saw another one and said, "See that squid, that is a *puakala*." I looked, saw something and replied, "Isn't that some *kala* seaweed?" He answered, "It is a squid, watch." As soon as he let down the hook, it seized the *nohu* flowers and was held fast. We moved on and again he saw a squid. "That is a *lau-maia-pala* (yellowed banana leaf)," he said. [page 33]

He went on telling me, "that is a *pulewa* squid and that is a *haukeuke*." I could not distinguish them when I looked. Those people were very wise. If a squid got away from



the hook, it was watched till it went into its burrow. The fisherman dived down with an iron spear and returned with it impaled thereon. If five squids were caught he went home. It took less than an hour and there is enough for the morning meal. Most of the squids caught by the *okilo* method are small ones and very seldom big ones are caught. I have gone to do this kind of fishing very often with my father and to fish with a cowry shell with my grandfather.

Squid Spearing — I have never done this kind of fishing. My foster mother, sister and other relatives have done it on canoes and by swimming too. They told me that squid spearing and *okilo* are similar except that in the spearing the burrows are not seen. Small pebbles are seen scattered about and so the women squid fisher looks around for the burrows until the opening is discovered. If the burrow is found and after poking into it she sees that it is gone, she slaps the surface of the water with her hand cupped. When the squid hears the hollow sound it goes directly to its burrow. There it is speared in its lair. Squids caught by spearing are larger than those caught by the *okilo* method. By the time a woman squid spearer goes home her sack is filled. The women of our locality are experts at it, and my sister is the best of them all. Pardon me for telling you about a way of fishing that I had never done myself, but this is a kind that I have beheld with my own eyes. They watch for the disguises assumed by the squid, such as the *hawea*, *laumaipala*, *pulewa*, *pulimukala* and so on. There is also the fishing for small squids (*hee pali*) along the beaches of Lahaina and Kahoolawe, the places where I used to fish. This isn't real fishing but as one went along by the rocky places on the [page 34] shore, one is seen and pried loose with a knife or an iron spear. It is bitten into and eaten with a bit of sweet potato and is delicious. I forgot to tell you a story of my fathers elder brother. It was at Hamakuapoko, while they (he and his wife) swam about in the water looking for squids to spear, that they battled with a shark. The squid spearing was done where the sea was deep and blue. The people of Maui know that there are no shallow places there. Many had gone into the water with them but had returned ashore. The two had caught some squids and the wife had them hanging around her body. They two only were left. Just as they turned shoreward they heard a rustling sound and when they turned to see what it was they saw a shark heading for them with glistening eyes and raging. In their hands were their spears, the man had the larger and she the smaller. The man thrust out his spear in self defense for about five times and on the sixth he pierced it between the eyes. The shark became more enraged at the two who were swimming and fighting him off. The woman was weak with fright but her husband kept up her courage by saying, "Do not be afraid, I will fight this shark until we reach shore. If he persists in pursuing us up to the beach, I'll kill him." It went as far as the place where the waves broke and there it left them. It had weakened because its eyes had been stabbed at again and again. The two reached Kuau beach close to Judge P. M. Kahokuauna's present home and there they lay as though dead. The people on shore helped them. My father said that if he was not trained in *lua* fighting they would have been gulped down by the shark. He thought that by the length of that wondrous sea creature that it was over three fathoms in length and fearful to behold, with eyes as red as fire. This incident led him to leave Hamakuapoko, his [page 35] wife's birth place and come to Lahaina to be with his younger brother. Perhaps this tale has nothing to do with fishing but this is a lesson to those who go squid spearing not to swim in deep waters but to go on canoes the way those of Molokai do. I saw Rev. H. Manase often on his canoe but if he swam around depending on his feet, he would have been changed long ago into an angel by the sharks, just as Akawa the Chinese was.

Fishing for Malolo, Iheihe and Puhikii. This is the kind of fishing in which the *ohana* (families) took part around Lanai and Kaa. Big canoe and little canoes went to the leeward side of Lanai to the places called Na-lele-a-Nanahoa and the cliffs of Kaholo for a month. The *malolo* (flying fish) are numerous there. The canoe was soon filled, the



sails set to catch the puffs of the Maaa wind and away we went cutting a path across the surface of the sea. We had a speedy canoe that was eight and three fourth of a fathom in length that was called *manua*. The boom was three fathoms long, the yard was three yards in length and the mast was three and a half fathoms high. It took only three hours of the cliffs of Kaholo to Lanai and if the Maaa wind was blowing well, your writer made it in two hours on the canoe. He had become an expert in it and it is old age that has made him retire. As soon as the *malolo* were sold back to Lahaina we went to one side of Kaena Point, that famous point of Kaena. It is mere thing to be brushed aside by Paulele, the famous woman skipper. The *malolo* were numerous at Kahoolawe which were sold at Lahaina for \$20 a canoe load. We remained away a few months and came back with more fish. On our homeward way the canoe was filled with bundles of hard *poi* (*pa'i ai*). That was how we earned the money for our livelihood. In this type of fishing, in the vicinity of Lahaina, only *iheihe* and *puhikii* were caught and no *malolo*. The *malolo* was caught where the wind blew. This sort [page 36] of fishing was done here in Lahaina forty years ago and not done any more except at Waikiki.

The Things to do for This Kind of Fishing.

The net used was called a *hano* or a *hano malolo*. The width of the opening was five or more fathoms and the length was ten or more, sometimes twelve or thirteen. Some had long nets attached to either side and none on others. The end of the net had meshes of a finger's width then a finger and a half wide and up to two fingers width. It was a job requiring many hands and the more volunteers, the better to help with from thirty, forty to fifty nets. Two canoes were for the nets, one small one for the head fisherman. When the canoes returned, they formed into a semicircle and the two end canoes directed the formation. Those on the inside canoes were ever watchful. The men on the outer canoes stood up and so did the head fisherman as he shouted the commands continuously. Thus did he shout, "Swing wide with your net, you in the center. You in that end lift it up." That was how the *malolo* were drawn in. When the semi-circle of canoes narrowed in close to the bag net, some of the canoes have moved on the left away from the rest. Then the swiftest of the canoes hurried to the edge of the net. That was the time when the *puhikii* and *iheihe* were drawn in by the side nets. When the edge of the bag net was quietly lifted to see inside, it was thick with *iheihe* and *puhikii*. This was called a *makahei*. The fisherman kept a close watch lest the fish notice them and then there would be none to catch but the lifting of the net was an exciting occasion. If there was luck, one, two or three hauls filled a canoe. The fish was divided at sea; all one did was to take his catch ashore.

With this kind of fishing, the longitudinal sticks and the horizontal sticks of the outrigger was often broken to pieces and [page 37] it was very much like a battle. Those who were soft spoken and wise in speech turned away wrath. The breaks were bound up with ropes and the trouble was ended.

If one took part in this kind of fishing, he took along some fermented *poi*, whose sweet potatoes, taro, sugar cane, bananas, water-melons, musk-melons and a package of onions with which to make the *iheihe* and *puhikii* fish tasty. This was done since the ancient days. Lahaina was like the Garden of Eden in productiveness from one end to the other. There was none to compare with it before the days of the sugar plantation; this was sure. When one received his share of the *iheihe* and *puhikii*, he scaled some and ate heartily. Into a gourd dish went some fish, then some chili pepper and *kukui* relish with water— down they went with some of Anamu's *poi*— it was delicious as it was swallowed. Those who belonged to a fishing fleet who did not make provisions were called to come and eat together. The men who kept their eyes cast down belonged to Honolulu and were called in the olden days a *Hekohilae* (Weighted-brow). In the years that I went to assess taxes, the people there were kind. This type of fishing brought



money to those of Waikiki that went out to fish annually from the first time that I had seen Honolulu in the year 1848 to the year 1901 just past. While I was in Honolulu in the month of June, I went car riding with Hon. J. K. Kekaula and Hon. J. W. Keiki and they took me to see the place where the *puhikii* fishing canoes of the surfs of Kalehuawehe were gathered. One of the sons of Maui boarded a canoe and it capsized on the seaward side of the honorable Kanakanui's place. It was the Hon. R. H. Makekau who went out to right the canoe. He was the son of Maui who knew how to keep a canoe afloat, and it may be because he had become accustomed to it while living over the sheer precipices of Hamakua. Surely! [page 38]

Opelu Fishing— In the year 1848, your writer began to work in this kind of fishing and five years later in *aku* fishing. I like *opelu* fishing best because it is close to the shore. You remember that stone heap at Kahea, Mr. Editor. In 1848 *opelu* fish were caught there and that *opelu* fishing ground was also called Kahea. Remember now, the writer was eleven years old at that time. I had a little cousin of the same age. We used to go out at three o'clock in the morning. The nets were laid on the canoe with a pail full of pumpkin, oars and everything else needed on the evening before. We moved the canoe as soon as we were up. On this day most of the canoes men did not bring out their canoes because they were not interested since there was a lack of *opelu* fish to catch. That morning, my father and the father of that cousin of mine were going out. We boys made our plans that the one who woke first should wake the other. My cousin woke first and came to wake me and we two dragged the canoe out. The sea was very close. When we passed the reef, a fleet of canoes from Puunau came by and we reached our destination while it was still dark. We waited until after dawn and then began feeding the fish with pumpkin. We were able to bend the *ulei* sticks of the net into an arch but this was the first time we have actually fished. The *opelu* could be recognized in the dark by the stirring up of the sea. The open coconut sheath containing pumpkin pulp was let down a fathom deep and then raised up in jerks. You'll know by the sea that there was *opelu* there by the agitation of the water as they rose. When they surged forward the net appeared black with them. Our trouble was our inability to lift a well filled bag net like grown men and so we drew in our net as soon as the *opelu* was caught. We released the *ulei* hoops in our net and emptied the net itself. We lowered [page 39] our net eagerly for more to catch. Thus we did and in three hauls our canoe was filled with *opelu*. We turned homeward and how hard we boys did row.

Let me mention here what our fathers did when they woke up to go. When they reached the spot where the canoe was, it was gone and thought that some one else had taken it. They hadn't looked at our sleeping places and searched everywhere. When they missed us they knew we took it and were no longer angry. They said to each other "Well, how are those small boys going to catch *opelu*." They were sitting on the pebble covered point of Makau when our canoe came in on a single surf and landed on the pebble covered shore. My companion called, "come and help us with our canoe. It is filled with *opelu*." In the meantime I rattled the oar against the edge of the canoe. This was the custom of the fishermen of my place. When a canoe returned and this was heard, the women of the house knew that the fishing had been successful and hurried to the canoe. My father saw me strike the oar against the canoe and knew that I was not lying nor playing a childish prank. He came to lift the net and saw the canoe filled from the longitudinal stick in front almost to the place where the bail was kept. My father said, "You are going to be an expert fisherman." (Literally—A *lehua* blossom in fishing.) It was surely so.

The things done for this type of fishing were many. The nets for *opelu* fish in the olden days were large. I still have some of the large ones. The *opelu* nets of today are small and not extensive. They are three fathoms long (18'), six in circumference (3 6') and divided into three sections, the *holoulei*, the *poi* and the *hope*. The *holoulei* has meshes



the width of two fingers and a half, the meshes of the *poai* are a finger and a half and the *hope* a finger width; The *ulei* sticks used are a fathom, or a yard in length and joined until they [page 40] were six fathoms in length like the circumference of the net. The *ulei* sticks jutted out about two feet where the nets joined on both sides. On either end of the *ulei* stick holes are made and tied with cords so that the tips could be inserted. The sticks are bent to form circles which are fastened in place by the eight *hanai* or tying cords, which are then fastened to the tip. If the net is three fathoms in length add one or more just as needed. Where the cords are tied, that is called a *pu* and drawing ropes are attached there. It is used with a canoe two or three fathoms in length manned. by two or three men. The sections are all fastened together on shore, just as they did with those used for all other kinds of fishing.

The fishing grounds for *opelu* are Kahea, Punapuna, Kanewahine, Keawaiki, Mala, Keawaawa and Kekaa. Some people lower the net first but others feed as lure until the *opelu* are seen, then the net is lowered. The food used as *opelu* lure are pumpkin, *papaia*, taro, shrimps and dragon fly pupa (*lohelohe*). The *lohelohe* was best liked but they are practically gone. They were found in small ponds like those at Mala.

The Way To Fish.— If the net has not been lowered throw in the pumpkin to feed them with. Sometimes it is done but once and then the *opelu* are seen. When you see a whole school of them tell the man who did the feeding to fill a piece of coconut sheath weighted with a piece of lead, a piece of cord too, and food besides. The fish has come in a rush and as soon as they are noticed the containers are opened and then the *opelu* gathered to eat greedily. Hasten and cast out one, two, three, four, five well filled containers of food and the *opelu* will rise to the surface. Move the canoe backwards a little and throw the net over them at the same time bending the *ulei* sticks. When you see that some are caught slacken the net a little. Move the net forward where the food lure is and if [page 41] you see some *opelu* still eating the remainder then cast some food outside of the net. Tell the man in the rear of the canoe to pull the net taut to straighten the net. When the food lure has fallen outside of the net and you see the *opelu* still eating greedily, then know for certain, fisherman, that the *opelu* are yours to kill. Then place food at the center of the net a little below the joining of the net. You will see all the *opelu* going into the net. Tell the man to draw in gently without moving the rope. If the fish go downward, tell him to pull hard and you'll see that rope-puller pull with all his might till his back is almost on the level with the rim of the canoe. When the *ulei* sticks reach the surface the trouble is over. The remaining difficulty is to get the net into the canoe.

The drawing in of net is a delicate piece of work that if your assistant is a stranger to it, he can not help. The fisherman use both hands and outside edges and the one close to the canoe should be watched lest they dip downward and the fish go over. When the net lies rightly there is no trouble. In 1893, I did the last of my *opelu* fishing. Perhaps it was because I bent my knees too much against the rim of the canoe that my legs are bothered so with trouble. One wheel of the cart is crooked because of the constant trips into the cold. Whatever my hands have found to do I have done it with all my might. There wasn't much money in *opelus* those years, a whole kerosene can full sold for half a dollar. Now, there is only ten *opelu* for half a dollar— a dearth of the useless fish of Pukailo. This was the lucky omen for *opelu* fishing. The father and mother of the *opelu* is the Onopupupu [barracuda] and when seen passing under the canoe, it was lucky sign. You will have the *opelu* coming along with them. Break an *opelu* into pieces and throw them into the water to keep the *onopupupu* there. There is but one thing to do and that is to haul in the *opelu*. To the *opelu* fisherman this fish was like a [page 42] sweetheart that he likes to loiter around, a friend indeed, and so it was called a god-that-destroys-its-devotee (*akua-ai-kahu*).



To make your fishing successful dye the nets in water in which *kukui* bark had been steeped, the kind of *kukui* we make the relish of which we are so fond. That should be done to all the nets to make them brown and not leave them white so as to frighten the fish. The *ulei* that grows in the uplands was used for *opelu* nets but today the wild *kolomona* is used. Before, that wood was never thought of as being useful but now it is useful in the making of *opelu* nets and women also helped in fishing. The men did the actual fishing and the women hauled on the ropes. This is but a mere task. One of the Women of Lahaina named Kawelau is now doing *opelu* fishing at Waianae.

Fishing with Melomelo.— This is called a *makalei*, a stick that attracts fish. It was my father's favorite method and he kept his stick in the trunk where his tapas were kept. He brought it out when he needed it for fishing. It was a smooth, black stick, as long as from the knuckles to the armpit. It was made black. It had a small knob at the top around which the line was tied. The sticks constantly toasted over the fire and rubbed with the oil of dried coconuts. The rubbing was done with a piece of tapa made of *mamaki* until it shone, wrapped and then laid away in the trunk. It was indeed fragrant. The canoe went out before sun rise, just outside of the breakers. There were two of us who used to go, my father and I, with a net having meshes two fingers in width, ten fathoms long, and three wide. As soon as the stick was let down these fishes gathered to the spot, the *palani*, *mahamea*, *opelu*, *mایی* (*palapala*), *humuhumu*, *hinalea* and so on. The net was lowered from the back of the canoe then with a cord of the net held fast in the hand, (my father leaped overboard and swam. I, in turn, held the *melomelo* stick. He swam around the canoe where he came to the sticks that held the nets [page 43] open. He tied them together and went on board the canoe where he watched the fish circling around the stick. He pulled on this stick on one hand and the net with the other until they met. All the fish were caught and we turned shoreward. My father called this kind of fishing, "a morning meal," a cure for hunger" and when the chiefs wanted fish it was no trouble to get them. I was afraid to dive and so I did not do it after the death of my father. It ended there. In the latter part of 1863, the *melomelo* stick was stolen. We searched everywhere and never found it. My father suspected a man in our neighborhood, and he said that God will smite the one who stole his *melomelo* stick and make him lose his mind. The person who was suspected became feeble minded and his relatives never knew where he had died, whether in the sea or in the mountains. He was always a petty thief. I do not know when the stick was made, neither did my father tell me what was fed to the body of the stick but when it was moved about in the sea, it resembled an eel. I have never seen anyone else in our locality who fished in this way. Perhaps they did in Kona or in other places.

Fishing with Palu Lure.— Hookena, in South Kona was the place in which I did *palu* fishing with the Hon. S.W. Kaai in 1874. *Palu* fishing resembled fishing with the *melomelo* stick. The fish was attracted by the fragrant odor of the *melomelo* stick and in this, the fish was drawn by the fragrance of the squid heart. It was dried, broiled over a fire until cooked, then mixed with a little brandy, gin and other fragrant things. My grandparents prepared it differently, they used coconut milk with the squid heart that had been well broiled over a charcoal fire. It was rubbed fine with an *ala* stone, then coconut milk was added. That was [page 44] the *palu* they used at Keoneoio, Honuaula, their birthplace. Their *lauhala* bags were filled to the brim with *kala* and with *kole*. Thus did we fish with the honorable person mentioned before. The *palu* were wrapped in ti leaves, he had a separate bundle and so did I. The hooks used were the kind generally used for *kole* fishing. A small rod made of lead was used with a hook on each end. Only the points of the hooks were smeared with the *palu*. They were seized as soon as lowered. It kept up till our *lauhala* bags were filled and then we went home. That was the only time we fished together and the last I saw of him he was still wearing a gourd container around his neck and from there he landed on the famous hill of Kauiki. Sure. When a man knows how to



take care of his *palu*, his hunger does not have to wait long to be satisfied. It was the same with fishing with the *melomelo* stick. They were used in the way just described but they are no longer practiced in Lahaina.

Kaili Fishing.— *Kaili* fishing is similar to *palu* fishing in the way they are handled but the difference is in the bait and in the stone sinker. In *palu* fishing a lead weight is used. The *kaili* required a lead weight that fell away. This kind of fishing is interesting and fun to do when the fish bit well. Sand crabs and shrimps are used for bait to catch *moano, aawa, hinalea, laenihi, puauu, humuhumu* and so on. Squid is also used for bait and the point of the hook is thrust through a piece of it. The time for *kaili* fishing in our locality is from morning till noon. To the sons of Molokai the afternoon is the time when the fish took the bait. My cousin, the worthy gentleman, D. Kailua who has attended the house of learning at Lahainaluna told me that the fish took the bait in the afternoon, in the *kaili* fishing. “If that is so,” I suggested, “then tomorrow morning we’ll see which of us is the smarter.” He agreed, and in the early morning I bestirred my family to catch a [page 45] batch of shrimps. It wasn’t long before a tin was filled with live shrimps and sea water. My guest had not had lunch before we set out on the canoe. I said “You sit in front on our canoe, and I’ll tend to the bailing. It was agreed and off we went to a place outside of your writer’s residence and from thence past the usual place for *kaili* fishing. He kept paddling and passed the places where the sea had a yellowish tinge, on to the deep blue sea where the sea floor was not visible and he replied, “We have arrived.” I had already fastened on my pebble and over went my line. As soon as it reached bottom, the stone jerked loose and a fish was caught. Mine had no sooner been drawn up when my companion caught one. Neither of us missed but the reason why I caught more was because he was in charge of the canoe. I did not use the bail. I saw then that my companion who had come from Molokai had told the truth. After we had fished for about an hour, I suggested, “Let us go home, lest the wife worry about our fishing (so long).” He said, “Our bait isn’t all gone yet.” “Let us go or you’ll miss your lunch.” “Very well.” There was an abundance of fish. I was wise in making him go in front for it was a task to keep a canoe in its course, therefore the child of Makila caught more fish, than the son of Kaluaaha. Then too it was rather difficult for him to manage a canoe in the surf of Wailehua, lest it capsize and we lose our fish so I remained in the back. The Japanese go during the day and during the night and return with an abundance of *laenihi, poou, and puauu.* If they keep it up tirelessly they are the better fishermen. We went to places where we used big and small hooks and when we got home we thought of an anecdote told by Rev. S. M. Heulu of Kohala when he married Mrs. Kualau Smith who lived right above the house of the writer. While they ate, the Rev. S. M. H. remarked to those who dipped up the bigger fingers of *poi*, “There’s two riders to a [page 46] horse and what a big company of horse men there is approaching.” This is a stingy remark when spoken so. It was not so with me and my companion, we kept the food coming upward. To prove what my companion had said, I am willing to support it. I have heard the tale of a Hawaii boy who liked to match wits, that he went to live at Waianae, Oahu. He entered a fishing contest in *kaili* fishing with a native boy of Waianae. This is how the story went.

The fame of the Waianae boy for *kaili* fishing went abroad and much was heard of the big fish caught at Waianae in this way. There must have been a fishing ground outside of Kalaeloa that was good for *kaili* fishing. The other boy came directly from Hawaii to Waianae and questioned the natives where the clever lad of Waianae lived until he found out. He remained at the house of friends and the next day he went as a stranger, to meet the Waianae boy. When he reached the house, the other lad was busy making a *kaili* fish hook. He called out, “Are you a stranger?” “Yes, I am.” Then they exchanged their greetings of *aloha*. “What brought you here?” I have heard from my people that you are the smartest boy in *kaili* fishing; that there are much fish to be caught here and that you always fill your canoe with fish.” “Yes, what they’ve told you is the truth.” “Will you allow



me to go with you?" "Yes, go home now and make a hook to use and tomorrow we shall go. The Hawaii boy looked well at the hook belonging to the Waianae boy. It was a good one and like his own except that he did not see that it had a wide rim and so he asked, "Is that the only kind of hook you have?" "Yes only this kind are used for big and little fish." "Then I'll go home and make me a hook." That was not true for he already had a supply of hooks both big and small. "What bait shall we use?" "Bits of squid or sand crabs. Any sort of bait will do." "Yes, that [page 47] will be alright. When shall we sail?" "Is there a time that one couldn't go?" "My companion, please wait until the sun has passed overhead, and by, then my hook will be ready. Thus we will go." "I have nothing to say against that, it is all right." It dawned on the Waianae boy that this one was trying to match wits. As they were preparing to set sail, the Waianae boy said to the Hawaii one, "Today, we shall see which of us is the better fisherman." The boy of Hawaii replied, "The number of fish caught will tell us which is the clever and able fisherman." "That is well," answered the Waianae boy. "Let us take a stone anchor so that one of us will not need to keep the canoe afloat in one place and also to keep it from drifting when the wind blows. It will make it difficult," said the Hawaii boy. "That is good and I have no word against it." That was just what the Hawaii boy wanted and we'll see later the clever trick he played. They stopped talking, lifted the canoe out and sailed with the Waianae boy in front and the Hawaii boy behind. The rope to hold the anchor was also in the back. When they reached the fishing ground for the *kaili* fishing the anchor was lowered. The Hawaii boy let down his line to test whether the current was strong or not. He saw that it moved very slowly by and down went his fish line and pebble sinker. As soon as the pebble struck water a fish was caught. Another fish was caught by him in the same spot, and again when his pebble went down with the same hook, he kept his silence and caught three or four with the small hook. He stopped fishing and began scaling the fish he caught. The Waianae boy asked, "What are you wasting time for and not leave the scaling of the fish till you go ashore?" "I want something to eat," he answered. That was not the idea for he came supplied with a big piece of coconut sheath. All the scales, he tossed overboard where [page 48] jerked then loose and scattered them in every direction. Big fish came and the hooks of the Waianae boy were torn away from the line. When the bundle of scales was let down the sea was whitened by them. The big fish came along and down went his large hook. The rustling of the fish as they were pulled upward was constantly heard. The other lad kept up an exclamation, "The fish are in schools!" but whenever he pulled in his line the hook was gone. Thus did the Waianae boy until all his hooks were gone. The Hawaii boy kept pulling them in until his companion asked to be given the big hook. He replied, "This is the only one I have," and kept on fishing until the canoe was filled. The first fish that he caught were all that the Waianae boy had but they went shoreward with a canoe load. The people came and said, "What a lot of fish you two caught." The Waianae boy answered, "Most of these belong to the boy from Hawaii all of my hooks were broken off by the fish for I did not go well supplied with big and small hooks. This is true indeed." The Hawaii boy said to all those who had come to the canoe, "Take some fish for yourselves. The rest of the fish belongs to my companion." He selected only one and went home. His host said, "Is that all the fish you've caught?" "Go and get some," he said, "there they are piled and ready for selection." When his hosts went down to where the canoe was, the place was full of the men, women and children of Waianae, all talking of this new thing.

The boys later became fast friends and went to live at Milolii, the birthplace of the Hawaii boy. The names of these fishermen were never told me by the one who related this tale, S.W. Nailiili, an unlicensed lawyer that worked with David Kamaiopili, one of our Lahaina folks, who resided a long time at Hilo and Kau. It was in Milolii South Kona, Hawaii, that I heard this story. This is a good story for those who are [page 49] fishing today for the teachings (rules) that it contains. This is also true of *ku-kaula* fishing in the deep sea. I have always urged my fellow fishers to keep on making *palu* with coconut and not wait



until five minutes is up whenever the stone sinker is shaken free. The odor of the *palu* being wafted about in the fishing ground was one reason why my flat boats were filled with fish, therefore I bought two big flat boats. My cousin bought two big cat boats like a regular boat. Three of them are broken up and one is still in use today. [page 50]

Nupepa Kuokoa

May 2, 1902

Ka Oihana Lawaia (Fishing Lore)

With Explanations Pertaining to it from A. D. Kahalelio—This is of great value.

Kumu and Ahuluhulu Fishing.— This was one of the kinds of fishing that my father was fond of and he called it, “Hunger-quickly-satisfied,” or “Hunger-with-no-need-of-waiting.” This is so. There were two kinds that was always done and the third belonged to the *lauahi*, *hoauau* and *hinai nui* (big fish trap) class. In the first division, two small *ulei* sticks were used the size of the stem of a sugar cane tassel, one a yard in length and the other two and a half yards, and a small net with meshes a finger and a half in width. The sticks were joined at one end and the net was attached along the top to these sticks. It was rather a crooked looking net like the moon that appear on the evenings of the three Ku’s. Two other sticks called a *pula* had sugar cane leaves tied to them, that is if there were two fishermen. If three, then three *pulas* of sugar cane leaves or dried ti leaves with a supply of raw *kukui* nuts was chewed and spewed out on the water when the fishing ground for kumu and ahuluhulu was reached. The fishermen should go in a canoe of the right size. The depth of the fishing ground was four or more fathoms, some only two. When they arrived at the fishing ground it was the head fisherman, who spewed the chewed *kukui* on the water and looked for the cavern where the ahuluhulu live. It was called an uluulu cavern and if you looked closely the opening it would look red with ahuluhulu fish. The head fisherman looked for the swelling wave and when he saw it, he called to his fellow workers to be ready. Before the wave had reached the canoe, he had gone overboard with the net in his left hand and his *pula* too. When he reached the floor most of his body went into the cavern leaving only his feet visible. Before he dived he [page 51] spread open his net in the shape of the moon on the nights of Ku. Sometimes when he came up his net was filled full and sometimes he caught only five or six. Then he moved along to another *uluulu* cavern. Three or four of such caverns and the canoe was filled with *ahuluhulu* fish and before the sun was clear of the horizon, the fisherman had reached their homes. The Hon. L. Aholo had seen this often, reaching Lahainaluna with fresh *ahuluhulu* before eight in the morning. The writer had not attempted to dive with his father in this kind of work because he dreaded that fearsome fish and because he could not hold his breath so long.

In division two, it was done by *kaili* method at dawn. Live shrimps of a live *puloa* squid were used for bait. Your writer had often fished this way. The hook and line used were the same as for *kaili* fishing. The men of our place who dwell along the beaches are fond of this kind of fishing. In the way the fishing was done in the days of long ago, the *ahuluhulu* fish came together with huge gourd calabashes for breakfast, but the trouble now is the fear of diving.

There is an uluulu cavern just seaward of Hon. F.W. Beckley's fence named Uhailio. It is a regular cave and sometimes occupied by lalakea sharks. We once went to that uluulu cavern, three of us, your writer was the third member of the party for the purpose of uluulu fishing. The two took a foreign rope five fathoms long and I asked him, “What is this rope for?” “To tie to a shark’s tail with.” “How are you going to catch it, won’t it bite?” “No, the lalakea sharks never do.” “Won’t it run away when you dive down?” “No it won’t because it will be asleep. It snores like a man.” “Is that so.” “Yes, it is so.” When we reached the spot over the opening, the two slid into the sea without making a sound and then [page 52] dived. I remained quietly on the canoe. I waited a minute thinking that they



have caught their shark. While they dug away the sand under the sharks tail to tie it, all the sharks awoke suddenly and hurried away without a one of them being tied. These uncles of mine came back to tell me that all the sharks have fled. They were used to playing with these kind of sharks and have often caught them. Some sleep face down and others curl up. This is how they were caught, the sand was dug away under the tail, one on each side without touching the shark's body. The rope was slipped under. It had a big slip noose and as soon as the tail slipped in it was held fast. That is the shark's strongest part and yet it could be held by two men. When we come to shark fishing, I'll tell you all the ways of catching them.

Oio Fishing.— *Oio* fishing had already been mentioned in connection with the *laukapalili* method, but there are other ways of fishing's for them and I'll tell you about them now. The first is fishing with a net. The meshes of the net are two fingers in width and this is for the *oio* fish that come in schools. The fish move alone till they stop in one place. The head fisherman remains on the sandy shore and watches while others go out on canoes to surround the fish with the *papa* bag net or the long *paloa* net, five, six, seven or more fathoms in length; at least long enough to surround the *oio* fish. Two canoes are used to carry the nets. The canoes remained quietly at sea as the fishermen watch the head fisherman on shore. When they could see him plainly enough to watch his gestures as he pointed westward, downward or upward and so on. He knows when the canoes should come together. If the net is a *papa* bag net the side nets should be drawn together slowly and so it was with the *paloa* net. Sometimes the canoes are loaded with fish and sometimes [page 53] about four hundred or several times forty. This was done at Molokai and other places all over the island group and many methods were employed. The second, fishing with a hook. *Oio* is also caught with lines let down in the deep sea (*ku-kaula*), in fishing grounds having sandy bottoms, in which the fishermen were accustomed to catching them. Big *oio* fish is always certain to be caught and when lucky about ten *oio* but most of the time about seven, more or less at times at the fishing grounds of Puupehe, Ke-a, Kahono, Puumahanalua, and Naiahunalele. Big hooks used in *ku-kaula* line fishing is employed. The other division is the division called *mamali oio* and is done just beyond the reef and places close to shore, from the steamer landing of Maalaea to the cape of Kunounou at Honokapohau, district of Lahaina. These are the places in which fishing is done by those of Olowalu, Lahaina, Kaanapali, Honolua, and Honokohau. In this type of fishing the sizes of hooks varied and are small. To make it clear to the readers what your writer's *mamali oio* hook is like I'll describe it. It is a needle such as used by women to sew clothes with, not the very fine needle but one a little bigger. It is shaped by heating in a *kukui* lamp or charcoal fire to prevent its breaking in two and wasting all that labor. Some use the fine steel wire found in women's umbrellas and that too shaped by heating with fire. The boys of Lahaina who were skilled in this kind of fishing (they are now all adults) were Kalopa and Maihui (King) before and later, Kauhane and your writer. You may recall these people, Mr. Editor in those years in which we lived in the beloved atmosphere of Lahaina nei. Our hooks for *mamali oio* fishing were all alike, from the larger to the smallest and the small ones were like the barbed hooks sold in shops. Perhaps questions will arise among other fishermen accustomed to [page 54] this kind of fishing practiced by our race of people and they would say, he is telling an idle tale, exaggerating and uttering lies. O many readers of this paper, we four whose names were mentioned before did not gather in one place to make our hooks but sometimes met in the same fishing ground to fish. While we were fishing one evening at Puhiaama, a fishing ground for *mamali* fishing, (you remember, Mr. Editor, that small fishing ground beyond the rocky cape of Launiupo, behind the bend at Kahia where you used to travel when you were teaching the English language to the children of Olowalu) each in one of four canoes, the first thing that I noticed that each of us were on canoes of different sizes. We let down our *palu* lure as fast as we could, and all of us were using prepared squid hearts (*pilipili hee*) for bait. The suckers on the tentacles of the squids were used as a lure.



Only a little bait was used to smear the point of the hook. The sun was still over Lanai and it then about evening, just before the sun set. The fish began to take the hook greedily. Because of the large number of fishermen there, the tossing in of the food to lure to the fish was slow. We who were used to this kind of fishing did ours rapidly, using the heart of squids for lure at the time. Then we began to catch the *oio* fish, and as I glanced at the other three I saw that we four were hauling them in. The other fishermen grunted in disgust while our poles rose and fell and before half an hour was up, I caught more than forty and guessed that the others did too. It was indeed so. We never missed as soon as our hooks were taken. When daylight came I asked Kauhane how many he caught and he told me that he had over forty. I asked Kalepa and King and they also had more than forty. King and I had a little more than the others. Why did we catch so many *oio*? Because of this, [page 55] because our hooks caught in the lower jaws of the *oio* and when caught so the fish turned over belly upward and remained still until it reached the canoe. If an *oio* is caught in the upper jaw or on the side of the mouth, it dashed to and fro, pulling with all its might but if it turns up, it loses its strength. Therefore with this kind of hook big and little fish alike are caught, just as I had described above. When you see an *oio* caught on the upper jaw or elsewhere in the mouth except on the lower lip, remove that hook at once and tie on another and if you see it caught on the lower jaw, keep up your fishing lest you go home without fish to face a grumbling wife, sure. Many years ago a man came from Hanalei on Kauai and lived with J. A. Nahaku on Lahaina and he boasted greatly of his skill in *oio* fishing at Hanalei. The Hon. J. A. Nahaku told him that he was also an *oio* fisher of Napili at Kaanapali and that your writer was Lahaina's fisherman. The son of Kauai was delighted. Hon. J. A. Nahaku obtained some prepared squid heart and at 4. p.m. the next day, they came for me on a canoe and we sailed out to fish for *oio*. We went to the same fishing ground at Puhiaama. Each of us had different kinds of hooks but the son of Kauai had one that I have never seen the like before as it was bent in two places, at the back and at the bottom with the point going straight upward, resembling a diamond in a pack of playing cards in shape. There was only a small space with which to catch the *oio*. Hon. J. A. Nahaku had the old fashioned kind used by his fishing ancestors in his native land, Kohala. When we arrived at the fishing ground of Puhiaama, it was about 5 .p.m. We let down the stone anchor and commenced to fish. First we released some *palu* (fish food) lure and when the sun had set I told my fellow fishers that the *oio* will soon bite. I had no sooner finished speaking when the *oio* began taking the hooks. I caught forty while [page 56] J. A. Nahaku caught three. The son of Kauai had none at all. I said, "Let us exchange hooks and he gave me his. When I looked at it, it had no resemblance to a hook, therefore I gave him mine saying, "This is the kind of bait used and smear it at the point." As soon as he fished with it, he caught eight *oio*. Hon. J. A. Nahaku caught no more except what he already had and then I told them that the time for *oio* fishing is up and let us go home. Hon. J. A. Nahaku laughed heartily at their failure in catching *oio*. When we reached the canoe landing of your writer, I divided the fish I caught with them fifty two *oio* fish. I said to my companions, "Whenever you desire to go *oio* fishing again, come and get hooks from the son of Kamohai lest you be derided by your fellow fishermen." They never went again until Hon. J. A. Nahaku moved to Honolulu to become secretary of the Genealogical Society of the Chiefs of Hawaii, while Mrs. Kapooloku Kahanawai was president. There he died in Honolulu. My affection goes out to him who was one of my companions.

Uhu Fishing.— This was one of the best known fishing on the island of Lanai and a *mele* was composed for it that was danced to by the *olapa* dancers of that island.

*Hold steadily, lae lae,
To the uhu net, lae lae,
The little one, lae lae,*



For the *uhu-ka'i*, *lae lae*,
 When you pull, *lae lae*,
 The rope slackens, *lae lae*,
 The (fish) struggles, *lae lae*,
 But is caught fast, *lae lae*,
 The delicious liver, *lae lae*,
 Of the *lau*li (variety) *lae, lae*,
 Makes a savory broth, *lae lae*, [page 57]
 There's the red *uhu*, *laelae*,
 Good when salted, *lae lae*,
 With *Kawelo* potato, *lae lae*,
 Eaten after, *lae lae*,
 Some *lehua poi*, *lae lae*,
 From *Maunalei*, *lae, lae*,
 Mine when salted, *lae, lae*,
 To eat, *lae lae*.

It was at *Kaohai*, on the island of *Lanai* that your writer first began *uhu* fishing with his *makuas* (father and uncles) because *Lahaina* was a land that had no *uhu* fish. It was one fish that the *Lanai* people fished for constantly and there one could see them going out to fish in this kind of fishing. One of the nets used was small and compact having meshes of three or two fingers width. Some were a yard or more in depth, and *ulei* sticks were attached to the edge of the net. Four cords were tied to each corner and fastened together in the center. There a drawing cord was attached for the fisherman to pull it up by. Then the next thing was to seek a living decoy to lure the others in. It is called a *pula*, a *pakahi* or an *uhu pakahi*. It was sung about as being difficult to catch when the bait was dirty. When it was secured, the fisherman sailed out to the place he had selected to fish in, from *Kaohai* to *Napali*, then the decoy was lowered. As soon as the fisherman saw that other *uhu* fish had rushed to the spot, then he lowered the net with the fish decoy tied where the four cords met on the net. When the new *uhu* came in to be close to the decoy then the fisherman pulled in the net as hard as he could. It was then caught fast. A lucky fisherman often caught two or three *uhu* at a time. All were caught. This was kept up until he saw that he had caught enough and then he went home. Some fishermen think that if a dark [page 58] (*lau*li) *uhu* was used as a decoy then only dark ones were caught. Others think that this is not so. If the decoy was a dark colored *uhu*, yellowish and red ones come close to it and your writer agrees with the latter. Sometimes from ten to thirty *uhu* fish are caught in a day, and sometimes others caught less, depending on the good dreams that one had dreamt during the night. If one dreamt of a canoe during the night, he went home empty handed.

Fishing for Uhu ka'i— The movement of the *uhu ka'i* is not like that of the *akule* fish but is somewhat like that of the *kala-ku*. If they find a place where they can remain quietly on the sea floor, they remain there without dashing to and fro. The large *lau* net is used to catch them in. You remember, Mr. Editor, that large sandy spot on the south east side of the writer's residence running toward the cape over which one looks down to *Launiupoko*. That spot is named *Waianukole*, and directly seaward of that is the place where my father (and uncles) caught *uhu kai*. They have all passed on to the other side, like stars that have fallen to the shore line and have ceased to be compasses for canoe men. The method used for the *uhu kaka* is also used for the *uhu-kai* in this place and in other places all over the island group. If there are other fishermen that differ with the writer then it is up to them to explain.

Kolo Fishing.— Your writer had never done this kind of fishing in *Hilo*, *Kahului* and in other places. But your writer had seen it done both in *Hilo* and in *Kahului*. In *Hilo*, in the



year 1874, I saw the *kolo* net used. I arrived in Hilo that year and lived for two days at the home of Mr. Kaahiki, my friend, the well known singer of the land of the rains of *Kanilehua* and as I was doing the same thing that he was, we became fast friends. This type of fishing reminded me of a humorous *mele* of ancient times, "The rushing of [page 59] the flood streams, leave no trash behind." Sandy places were best for the *kolo* net and it is impossible to draw it where the bottom is rocky. This net resembles the side curtain nets of the huge bag net, except that they are small and this is big and long. One end is drawn up at Waiolama and the other at Nukuokamanu. I have heard from the people of Hilo that it is employed for even the small *nehu* fish. True, in this kind of fishing, sharks, *kawakawa*, *omaka*, and all kinds of fish are caught and when I saw those of Hilo at their work, they chanted *hula* songs as they drew in their nets. I did not memorize them as I was in Hilo only a short time. So it was at Kahului and other sandy places where the nets would not be snagged. Thus the *laukapalili* fishing with draw nets for *oio* fish was done. The nets were like the *papa* net with small meshes up to two, three and four fingers width. Curtain nets were used that were fastened on well and were long. The opening of the net was ten fathoms wide, more or less according to the desire of the head fisherman. In those days the nets were made of large and strong cords.

Hoauau Fishing.— This was done at night and in the very early morning. The meshes of the net was exactly two fingers width. This was a peculiar method in that the kapus must be strictly observed. When getting ready to go fishing at night it was not well to say, "Let us go fishing." If one did utter such words then the other will say, "Yes, you have made a catch and that's all you will get." It is better to say, "Let us go see how our sugar canes are growing" or "Let us go to the wildwoods." Then you'll get some fish, but if you say, "Let us go fishing, you will have your nets interfered with by the devils of the night and not a fish you'll catch. In the year 1877, I went to Ulupalakua with the Hon. A. Fornander. I was a lawyer for one of the cases tried [page 60] and after it was over I went down to Makena to live at the house of one of my relatives, J. Kapohakimohewa to wait for the steamer Likelike to take me back to Lahaina. The Likelike came in at dusk and her passengers disembarked, among them was G. B. Kalaukane one of the noted lawyers of that time now passed, and we went to the house together. We had eaten all the salt (fish) before this and so Kalaukane said to Kapohakimohewa, "Have you a bit of net?" "Yes." "Well then, let us go fishing." Just then a light flew past like a shooting star in the evening. Kapohakimohewa remarked to me, "There, that is just what the words of our companion got for us." "There were about five of us, including myself, with Kalaukane and the native of the place to frighten the fish into the net. We let the net down twice. The fish seemed to come in, yet the tongue of our companion licked up salt and we laughed at ourselves when we got home. This may not be the real truth but we were accustomed to remembering it. *Kala*, *palani* and *panuhunuhu* the fish usually caught in this kind of fishing and appear in the evenings and mornings.

Hoomoemoe Fishing.— This kind of fishing is not troublesome at all. The net, having meshes exactly two fingers width, is prepared before hand. If it is a night in which the sea is not choppy and is calm, the fisherman knew that his stomach will be filled. The net is laid at seven o'clock in the evening and only two fishermen are needed, one at each end of the long net, sixty fathoms or more in length depending on the desire of the fishing. If at twelve o'clock the fishermen thought of going out to raise the net, they may do so. If *kala* fish, *ulua*, mullet, *nenue* and others were mixed together in the net, then the fishermen will return loaded to the sands of Hanakahi. When the fish is gathered we [page 61] lay the net again for the coming of daylight, then the fisherman goes back to enjoy his sleep. Your writer has often done this kind of fishing everywhere. Much fish are caught like the *lanahi* fishing done at night. The writer thinks that he'll mention other kinds of fishing. [page 62]



Nupepa Kuokoa

May 16, 1902

Ka Oihana Lawaia (Fishing Lore)

With Explanations Pertaining to it from A. D. Kahaulelio—This is of great value.

Hoomoemoe Fishing for Sharks.—It was much practiced by old timers of this *ahupuaa* of Makila, and also by the people of the upland of Kauaula since we were children. They are all gone but my grandfolks, uncles and father did not practice it after leaving Honuaula until their bones were buried in the earth at Lahaina. The kinds of sharks caught by the *hoomoemoe* method were the *lalakea* and the hammer-heads. The kind of nets used had meshes of four finger's width of twisted *wauke* fibres. It took four to five men to lower the net and sometimes it was done from a canoe. The net for sharks was cast in an arc and not like the *hoomoemoe* I had mentioned before in that the net, was thrown straight out or in an arc, too if desired by the persons working with it. Mr. Editor, the place where *hoomoemoe* fishing was done was at Pahee, in Launiupoko, Lahaina. When you arrive at the little cape of Keahu-iki and down the small incline, the first sandy stretch you come to extending over to the rocky beach and adjoining with the sand on the left side, that was the place where the nets were laid. The nets were drawn up very early in the morning arid hauled up to the sands on shore. The sharks were laid in heaps like the *kukui* branches tossed to the ground in the storm. Their smell was unpleasant, the bad odors were wafted about. When we got them to our canoe landing at Makila, each person had one or two sharks. The bodies became greasy as the smoky fires were built near-by, then they were washed clean, cut into pieces, wrung, salted up like the salting of beef in long wooden troughs, then they were set a-slant in order to allow the mal-odorous fluid to drain out. Next day, the shark meat was set [page 63] out to dry and when it was well dried it was delicious. I have heard it said that some of the shark fishers ate the meat raw but I've never seen it done. Here is Manu, the tax assessor of Hana and own father to Moses Manu the well known writer of Hawaiian legends, who may be at Honolulu or at Ewa or perhaps in Hana, his birthplace. In 1848, Manu, who was also called Polapola, came with Manu (Piapia) his son and Moses Manu to return some tax money and they stayed with the writer and his father. Moses and I were but mere boys, for I was then eleven years old and so was this friend of mine. When we caught some sharks, cut them into pieces worked the meat with salt to remove the excessive fluid and the others ate some. We noticed that they found it good eating but Moses Manu didn't eat any nor did we. We had the meat of the Kawakawa fish instead. Manu told us that in his native land, Polapola, sharks were eaten raw. It doesn't matter, all are fish of the sea.

Kuikui and Pahoe Fishing for Ulua.— The *kuikui* and the *pahoe* fishing for *uluu* fish are not alike. First, let me describe the *kuikui* method and after that is done the *pahoe*. Along the hilly and rocky coast of Kahoolawe, your writer had often fished on dark nights. My father accompanied me when I went to do *kuikui* fishing for *uluu*. We used a *paka* eel for bait and took a stout wooden pole with a thick, three ply *olona* cord. When we reached the place where we were to fish, the pole was set up and the bait tossed in. The eel was pounded up in a small sea pool large enough to contain the bait. The wooden pole creaked and when my father grasped it his strength was unequal to the task until he held the pole in the center at the same time leaning backwards. He almost fell into the sea. A small *uluu* could be pulled ashore but a big one required a [page 64] strong, thick line. I have heard that the Hon. S. W. Kaai, J. K. Iosepa and the prominent Captain of Police C. R. Lindsey were the best fishers when they were in Hana. The honorable gentlemen had their fingers cut by their lines and C. R. Lindsey was almost dragged into the sea by the *uluu* fish. They went fishing on every dark and calm night. According to what Lindsey told your writer the honorable gentlemen were greatly skilled in the *pakuikui* fishing for *uluu*. The *laukea* variety of *uluu* were constantly caught by them in Hana but not half as much of the *lauli* variety. Some fished with regular pole and line. In the *pahoe* method, the fishing was done inside or outside of the reef. The canoe was rowed with the oars



making that it move noiselessly about. The bait trailed along behind with a bundle of mashed food that made the *ulua* take the bait when they smelled it. Sometimes there was luck and sometimes none at all. This was often done here in Lahaina by Maihui King and Kalepa but Maihui was the more skillful in this kind. His favorite *pahoehoe* fishing grounds were Pakala and Waiokama. The three-ply cords bought in shops broke constantly and when he was told to try other fishing grounds to *pahoe* in, he always replied that he preferred these because the *ulua* in them were of the *laukea* variety. He was a real worker when it came to *oio* fishing, and *pahoe* fishing for *ulua*. Aye, the *ulua* were pulled in.

Fishing for Alalauwa and Aweoweo— This fish, the *alalauwa* had a reputation of bringing death to chiefs, from ancient times down to the death of Keelikolani and it stopped. We all know this, we native Hawaiians. When the *alalauwa* came in schools to any part of the land, men and women said, “Which *alii* is going to die? Who will it be now?” As soon as the *alalauwa* ceased to come, the sad news came telling of death, and there was mourning of the race from Hawaii to Kauai. This was not a hard fish to catch. On the wharves [page 65] of our capital city, Honolulu, men, women and children came with light poles day and night. So it was in country places. Pole fishing was done from canoes, each person having from two to four lines and each canoe contained five or six men. Many canoes came from everywhere dotting the sea thickly as they fished for *alalauwa*. This was done day after day and the fish hung out to dry. It stopped when the chief died or when the fish stopped coming. When the *alalauwa* grew up they became *aweoweo*. The nights of Ku, Laau, Mohalu, Hoku, Akua and Mahealani were nights in which much *aweoweo* were caught. At Halawa on Molokai, your writer saw quantities of *aweoweo* while he was there in 1889. I stayed at the hone of Mr. Kahalahale close to the beach at Halawa and on one of these nights, some of the youths of our place went to fish for *aweoweo* just a little way off. I think it was barely an hour when they returned with a *lauhala* sack filled. So it was on Kahakuloa, Maui, but here in Lahaina, there were half as much or even less caught. On the hilly coastlines, all around the island group, there were much *aweoweo* fish and the hooks used for the *alalauwa* and the *aweoweo* were the same.

Nenuē Fishing— There were two ways of catching *nenuē* fish, with a net or with a hook. Sometimes when they came in schools they were taken by the *papa* net in the same manner as for the *kala* fish. Sometimes when the *nenuē* fish came into shallow waters as in Lahaina, Molokai and in other places where the sea is shallow, they were caught in the long *paloa* net and at times they were caught in the *hoomoemoe* net at night. Much were caught when surrounded by a net and they often filled a canoe. In fishing with hooks, the fish were fed just as one fed tame hogs. The *nenuē* gathered in fishing grounds and there they were fed on sea weeds. The honorable judge, of Hana was the most skilled in this kind of hook fishing and in feeding the *nenuē*. One of the fishing grounds in which he fed the [page 66] *nenuē* fish was directly below the famous hill of Kauwiki and the other was by the small island Alau. These fishing grounds provided fish for the honorable gentleman's breakfasts.

A *mele* was composed for the latter fishing ground:

*Alaau, past Ka-iwi-o-Pele,
Is like a bell ringing constantly for Haneoo,
Whose sound is not hushed by the Waters of Kumaka,
Rolling and slipping by goes the billows of Puhele,
To see the pit opening containers of Hamoa,
He is a mischievous one, a hero from the woodland,
That dodges the deluging showers of Hanalei,*



*Let these fishing grounds be a favorite garland,
Yearned after by day and by night.
Let my skin be wet by the waters, as in a passing shower.*

Therefore in feeding the fish, you will know when they have become fat. Get your canoe, gourd container, fish hooks ready and go out to fish. The *nenue* takes the hook instantly and when you get home and cut the belly open, the fat within is like that of a hog's. If you want to know if this is really so, board the steamer Claudine and go to the place of that honorable gentleman in Hana. You will see for yourself how fat the *nenue* are, just as your writer has seen it when he stayed at the beautiful home of the honorable gentleman for two days.

Hooluuluu Hinalea Fishing.—Where your writer dwells were people that were skilled in making nets to use in *hinalea* fishing. When my sister passed away as it is with all earthly beings, no one else was left who knew how it was made and those that remain are but mere pebbles to pelt mice with. This kind of net is a small rounded basket trap the size of a small Japanese lantern with the pointed beak-like part projecting at the top an inch and a half in height. [page 67]

This basket trap was made of *inalua* vines, a creeper that grows on our beaches. When a quantity was gathered, they were taken to a very quiet spot where there was no one around, and there the trap was woven just as one wove a hat. After it was completed then small sticks, like those of *uhaloa* wood or of *hauoi* were put in the bottom of the trap and a stone to weight it and then it was ready for use. If there were four basket traps, then there would be four women to use them or four men. As soon as all was finished, the only remaining task was to seek *elekuma* crabs on the beach. Your writer has found them much better than the *ohiki* or sand crabs. Then the fisher went to the reefs or to the canoe landings on the days when the waves did not roll in and the waters calm, dived down to a spot that was good for the setting up of the basket trap, set it upright went to a place a short distance away and turned to look as he floated. In about two minutes of remaining away, then the basket was raised up. Sometimes eight or twelve were caught at a time, this was for a lucky fish trap. In one hour a bag was filled. An unlucky trap hardly caught four and was an unfortunate possession. Another thing that made it unlucky was the way in which it was woven. Just as we humans are critical of the hat we are to wear, so are the fish. Sometimes, if one was afraid to swim about, he went fishing on a canoe, then when he got to sea, he tied a line to the basket and lowered it down, with a floater of *wiliwili* wood fastened to the other end of the line. The canoe floated peacefully as he watched the *hinalea* enter the trap. Your writer had often gone to do this kind of fishing and it had been an interesting pastime and a profitable one. When not caught in this way, then in trolling and line fishing. I believe this kind of fishing is vanishing from Lahaina here and I wonder how it is with other places of our beloved land. In 1898, my sister arrived at Koloa, Kauai and tried [page 68] to do this kind of fishing there. She used *mohihi* vines instead of the *inalua* to make her basket trap. This was a novelty to the people of that place. The daughter of the Hon. J. H. Boyd and Ed. S. Boyd were her fishing companions as they dived with their traps along the beaches of Koloa and she told me that there were more *hinalea* there than in Lahaina, perhaps it was because they were not caught.

Weke Fishing.—The net used for *weke* was like that of the *hoauau* fishing at Lahaina, all around Lanai and on Kahoolawe, on the side facing Lahaina. Here your writer fished in this way and with fish hooks for over forty years. We know of but two kinds of *weke*, the *weke-ula* and the *weke-aa*. The *weke ula* lived in and out of holes in deep waters of ten fathoms more or less. Sometimes they were caught with the *papa* net especially when the sea floor was good for the setting up of the net. If the place for the *papa* net was not



good, then the long *paloa* net meshes of two fingers width was employed. Fishing with the *papa* net was easier and required less work but with the *paloa* net it was a laborious task requiring much diving in drawing the ends of the net together. When a school of *weke-ula* or red *weke* was surrounded, a canoe was filled sometimes or half a canoe sometimes enough to earn a few dimes to buy mashed taro (*pa'i kalo*) such as they had in olden times. Now-a-days we get our *poi* in small pails from the Chinese. When eaten, it is as cold as ice-cream. The *weke-aa* come up to the surface and a net with low side curtains are useless, one good thing is that this kind of *weke* like to gather at all boat landings. Sometimes when the tide rises and the sea is rough, they come very close to shore. They have been caught often by the sea wall beside the wharf at Keawa-iki on Lahaina, all the time up to the present. So it is in front of your writers place, much are caught and the sum received for them is [page 69] rather large, or they are put within. Then calm settles down.

Akule Fishing.— It is for this kind of fishing that the saying came to be used, “The *akule* fish seek the deep.” Sometimes though, they come close inshore. This fish is a globe-trotter and stop whenever they find a place that they like, they stay there. When you see them from the shore, you will see the redness of the water. Only when caught that those who were not skilled in fishing lore know that they are present. They remain several days or weeks at a place. The places in which they are caught are Unahi and Olowalu in Lahaina, Pahee at Launiupoko, Keawaiki at Lahaina, Kapua at Kaanapali and at Honolulu Ranch. When the fisherman who is well supplied with *papa* nets sees the fish, he calls for his canoes or boats and go out to surround the fish with the nets. Two canoes would go ahead and they carried the curtain nets. The head fisherman watches from the shore and when he sees that they have reached the right places, he makes signs by waving his hands. The curtain nets are lowered and every effort is made to draw them shoreward. If the fish is surrounded in this time that the net is lowered, then the bag net is set in place. This is an exciting time for the *akule* fish. At this time no one is allowed to speak nor to make a noise on the canoe until the space in the net begins to decrease. This is the time for the head fisherman to be watchful. Then you will notice the unskilled, each feeling his own smartness increase but the head fisherman who is used to his work and knows what to do makes no heed to the noise that is like tinkling cymbals. But at times even the cleverest fisherman is fooled. When the curtain nets are laid the *akule* fish flee and only a few go into the *papa* net; yet strange to say the fish does not go entirely away. Next day, they return to the same place and the fishermen go after them. They often remain a week and are fished [page 70] up. Sometimes the fishing is successful and the fish well surrounded by the net. Two or three canoes could be filled and in one haul hundreds of dollars clink their way to the fisherman. Those who come around hoping to get some fish and others who are mere onlookers that dive in and swim about all receive a few fish, but that's better than nothing and they save their dimes besides. The person who holds the fishing rights gets a third and the fishermen two thirds. If by next June the konohikis do not sue or the land owners who hold the fishing rights, then the channel of Puuloa will be clear of all obstructions and Kaahupahau (the shark goddess) will have a clear sailing. This kind of fishing draws a big crowd of people. When visitors or those who want a few fish see the *akule* pressing against the curtain nets, you will notice the women flinging off their holokus regardless of that which gave their parents much concern nor fear the angry voices of the owners, for their minds are set on getting some fish that will give life to the dwellers of the upland. So it is with the men and children, their loins are strong when the fish they expect to receive invite them in. Most of you readers know about this for this kind of fishing is done all over the islands. Fishing with hooks for *akule* fish was done at Honolulu, the capital city near the bell buoy. Many people went to fish for *akule* and for *oio*, too, for your writer had also gone with them on big canoes and on little ones with all the supplies required for fishing in 1877. Sometimes forty *akules* were caught, sometimes more or less and two *akule* sold for a quarter. It was lucky to get three for a quarter.



Paeaea Fishing.— There are seven divisions of this kind of pole fishing, six for the sea and one from the shore. This was much practiced and enjoyed in youth and in childhood by those of our [page 71] place. They thought of school in the morning and after school they went directly to the place where *paeaea* fishing was done. They went along without eating their noonday meal, not until fish were caught did they think of lunch. Some people think that *paeaea* fishing is like that of any other types of pole fishing but others disagree. Some think that long poles help to catch more fish and it seems to be the opinion of most. Of the youngsters who were fond of *paeaea* pole fishing, eight of us belonged to our community, three boys were older and we five were younger. We fished among the rocks at Pahoa, Keahuiki, Launiupoko and other places in which *paeaea* fishing was commonly practiced. For poles we used mulberry branches, *hauoi* and small bamboos. The length of each was a fathom and a half and one of our boys used a pole only a yard long. This kind of pole, though, was good for *aoonui*, (*kupipi*), *ananalo*, *aloilo*, *hinalea*, *oopukai* (*poo paa*), *lelo* and so on. When we reached the place in which to fish, each boy selected a spot to fish from. The boy whose pole was only a yard long went a distance away from the rest of us. The hooks we used were all alike and were used in the same place. *Aama* crabs *ohiki* sand crabs and shrimps were the bait that we all used and yet, strangely, the one who used the short pole caught the most fish while we caught a few. We were all puzzled as we watched him and wondered how he got so much fish. This was why he always sought a rock between him and the sea and was comfortable. He used *aama* crab bait as we did but he kept himself concealed behind the rock in order not to frighten the fish that rush to take his bait. The fish kept coming up. Another child of our number joined him to fish from the same spot and this continued until they went into the konohikis forbidden sea and there found Mrs. W. Moonlight. (2) For *paeaea* pole fishing for *moi* fish we were all clever at it, using long bamboo poles and shrimps and *aama* crabs for bait. There was [page 72] no lack for this means of livelihood. (3) *Paeaea* fishing for *uhu* was done on the beaches of Lanai and Kahoolawe where your writer practiced it with a pole used also for *aku* fishing. *Haukeuke*, *wana* and *ina* sea urchins were used at bait, crushed and tossed in. When you have selected a good spot to fish in, bait your hook with the teeth of a *haukeuke* or *wana* or an *ina* then toss in your line. It was fun as the bamboo pole bent in *uhu* fishing just as it did in *aku* fishing. (4) *Paeaea* Fishing for Lobsters.— Your writer had never done this kind of fishing, but the prominent deputy sheriff of Lahaina, E. R. Lindsey knew how it was done when he was living in Hana. The worst thing was that in two nights of *paeaea* fishing for lobsters at Kekaa all my *aku* fishing poles were broken to pieces. He caught eight on some nights and none on others and because all my poles were broken he never went to fish for lobsters. Otherwise we'd still be eating lobsters. Sure. I asked him how it was done and he told me saying, "If you meet with the honorable judge of Hana, he is a better fisherman in this sort of fishing because the way it was done varied. We drew our bait close to the base of the cliff but the honorable gentleman held his farther out but not too close to the surface. The feelers of the lobsters reached forth and up they came." I asked Mr. Lindsey, "Do you all go together to fish for lobsters at night?" "No we do not go together, for he went with his other companions, Mr. Haia and Beniamina because their homes are close together." I asked again, "Why is the honorable gentleman a better fisherman than you all are?" We held our poles up in our hands, high up but his pole was held down to the base. "So that's it. We did the same, we *aku* fishers. Some fishermen held their poles up on the canoe but it was better held against the *mons pubis* to hold the pole steady. So I see that pole fishing for lobsters is similar. [page 73]

(5) *Paeaea* pole fishing for *aama* crabs. At the sea wall of Hauola, where the fish market of Lahaina stands was the place that this was done and also along the hilly shores. To make it easy and quick, the bait used were *hinalea*, *aoonui* and so on. A small fish pole, a line as thick as thread and a piece of coconut husk fiber. Work the loop till it goes around the projecting eye of an *aama* crab. As soon as the eyes are caught in the sennit



slip noose, that is the time to jerk it upward and up comes the crab. Another thing, *nohu* and other kinds of flowers are tied to the end of the line and lowered close to an *aama*, jerking the pole all the while. The *aama* will run up to the flower and grasp it with its pinchers. Raise your pole gently until you could reach out for the crab. (6) *Paeaea fishing for ohiki sand crabs.* This is a much easier way to get sand crabs than to dig them out of their holes by hand. That is too much work. While you dig one out by hand, I could get four by *paeaea*. Tie a *nohu* blossom to the end of the line, lie flat on the sand and move your line to and fro. You'll never fail to catch *ohiki*. That is a quick way of obtaining fish bait.

(7) *Paeaea Fishing for Oopu.*— Most of those who live up in the mountains go *paeaea* fishing for *oopu* fish. The *nokea* variety of *oopu* are mostly caught. In the year 1853, on the first of July, your writer became a pupil of the Lahainaluna High School. On the first day there, I did not know what the lower part of the mountain was like, but on the second, I went to the land division of Pohaku-nui and started to work early in the morning while it was still dark, at six o'clock. In one hour of work I came back and bathed to remove the soil of labor. I had obtained some earthworms from the taro patch. I saw then those who had preceded me with the fishing poles extended over the stream. It took only a few minutes to catch an *oopu nokea*. The entrails were [page 74] removed and dropped into the stream. On arriving at home, high above the town, the Molokai bell sounded. This was the dinner bell and the *oopu* fish were placed in a dish while raw and fresh. With a bowl of *poi*, it made a meal for there was no time in which to light a fire. Therefore those of Lahainaluna ate them raw as one could not be finicky about his food. The mind was set on obtaining an education so when we dwelt in that upland, there was not an idle or dependant boy at Lahaina-luna. No boy lacked a fishing pole, for it helped to ward off trouble at times. The Molokai boys and your writer too, were always provided with dried and raw fish, too. We did not eat raw *oopu* fish. We fished for *oopu* there and lost our aversion for earth worms, so long as we fill the pit of hunger and share with others who like the *oopu nokea* raw. Sad was the life there. [page 75]

Nupepa Kuokoa

May 23, 1902

Ka Oihana Lawaia (Fishing Lore)

With Explanations Pertaining to it from A. D. Kahaulelio—This is of great value.

Kala ku Fishing.— This kind of fishing, the *kala ku* was done where the sea was deep and also in shallow seas where they were known to frequent, like Lahaina, Molokai, Waialae and other localities with shallow waters. Along the beaches of Lahaina, the *kala ku* were often seen eating the *kala* sea weed. When seen, they were surrounded with a net having meshes the width of two fingers or of three. The net was laid by swimming with it or on canoes. Sometimes they were caught again and again, and sometimes not caught at all. They were frequently caught at low tide and it was a very easy task to catch them in nets. In the shallow waters here in Lahaina, they provided a quick way to obtain breakfast and at times brought in a few dimes. Where there are no shallow waters, the *papa* net was employed.

Maomao Fishing.— This was a fish much liked by chiefs like the *opule*, *kole* and *maiii* because it is tender. Of these fishes, the *maomao* was best. This kind of fish would not live where it is shallow but where it is thirty, twenty or ten fathoms deep. The *maomao* fishing grounds of Lahaina is located directly seaward of the coconut grove of Mala. it is fifteen fathoms deep and only experts with the ability to hold the breath for a length of time in diving could do this kind of fishing. The net employed for *maomao* fishing had meshes of two fingers width and your writer had seen his grandfolks and those of his parents generation do it when he was a child. They are now all gone and this kind of fishing is entirely gone. Other *maomao* fishing grounds are at Halehaku, Hamakualoa



and Kalepolepo and these were the last places where the writer saw these fish and ate their [page 76] tasty and savory meat. Who among Kalepolepo's sons of fishermen that will bring up again this kind of fish? Is it my cousin, S. P. Halama? If he has gone *omaka* catching to the fishing grounds of Love S.... and of Pipo, then we'll see no more the savory meat of the *maomao*. If my cousin, S. P. Haia, has not left Halehaku then there would be some chance of getting *maomao* from that place. While the well known governor P. Nahaolelua was alive he always got some *maomao* fish from his younger brothers who were living at Halehaku. Therefore I ask, with a deep regret at the loss of these things, who among those now living that know how to do this kind of fishing that put it to use and eat of his catch. Please tell us through this newspaper and this pen also ask him to please, prepare and dry and bring some to the big meeting of the Evangelical Association and Sunday School Organization of the Hawaiian Islands to be held in the town of Lahaina, Maui, this coming July. You bring that delicious fish and we'll provide some of the *lehua poi* of Kaukemio from lao, from the Hon. John W. Kalua. When these are combined it would be delicious indeed. Is this request wrong? From whom and from where can we get this fish? For fifty years your writer had passed through the capital city of Honolulu but have never seen in the market of Ulakoheo or the new market any *maomao* fish lying on the counters. So it is with all other places on Hawaii visited by your writer.

Mahimahi Fishing.—This is a very ugly fish to look at, with sharp forehead and slim body but its name is often spoken by men, women and children and especially so the Honorable Senator Cecil Brown who was mentioned in a *hula* song composed for him as the "Mahimahi fish of Puaena." The ship Maunaloa was also called "The Mahimahi of the Kona districts." The name of the fish is attractive but its body is like the caudal fin of the ship Kinau. The fishing [page 77] ground for this fish is out in the open sea. While the canoe for *aku* fishing floated about, the *iao* was flung to glisten in the sea. It was then that the two kinds of *mahimahi* were seen, the *lapa* and the *oma*. The *lapa* has a sharp forehead like the prow of the steamer Claudine and the head of the *oma* is like the prow of the steamer Mauna-Loa. The latter is the female *mahimahi* and from its belly is obtained the most delicious spawns, that is very good to eat when broiled and then dried. How to catch them. When you see the *mahimahi* remove the stomach of an *aku* fish; If you are fishing in the ocean, bait your hook with a whole *opelu* or a piece of *opelu*. As soon as you toss in your bait, you'll see the *mahimahi* heading for it. Remember this, when the fish takes the bait into its mouth it rolls it about and you should not pull in for a whole second or perhaps a minute, after the pause the *mahimahi* will rush about like mad. Slack the line, allow the line to pull out for ten fathoms as the fish struggles, then draw in a little. You will see it leap and thrash about on the surface of the sea. When it goes back into the sea with one continuous pull the forty fathoms line is drawn in till the fish lies beside the canoe. Then spin the head of the *mahimahi* two or three times, grasp the tail and it will have no strength left, for you had made it dizzy when you spun it about. It becomes when after you do this. If a school of *mahimahi* is seen and we are in a deep sea canoe, you will see the lines of the fishermen humming together on the sands of Kahualoa fishing ground. One need not be as particular as the writer had previously described just as long as the fish is landed. Here is another thing, when the *aku* fishing canoes are on their homeward way with sails up and blown along by the Maaa breeze, trail the line behind baited with an *aku*'s stomach, it would not be long before it is seized by a *mahimahi*. This is continued so long as they are brought up to the waves [page 78] and in this way five or six *mahimahi* are caught. Here is another thing, if you have a single *pukahi* canoe, you can fish and paddle just as in *pahoe* fishing, at the same time trailing your bait below with a small *wiliwili* floater tapered fore and aft attached. It is fastened to the line five fathoms from the bait then keep on rowing about but avoid striking the edge of the canoe with the oar. Before many minutes you will feel a tug and you will see the fish leaping to the surface.



Here is another thing, if you are going to fish there are times when the *mahimahi* fish is tame and grasp at the *hoolou* (hook baited with *iao* fish) for the *mahimahi* are very fond of it. Take up the fine line you are fishing with and take from its container the thick three-ply line that is saved for the large sized *kawakawa* or *aku*. You should be watchful of the bait lest the *mahimahi* dash up and seize your *iao* baited hook. It is no task for the strong foreign bamboo to land the fish on the canoe with a thud. These *mahimahi* fish are from a fathom in length and less. Many a time your writer had fished in this way and so did all the other fishermen of Lahaina. Two, three or four *mahimahi* fish could be caught in a day with an *aku* fishing pole. If the school of *mahimahi* are a yard and a half or a yard and a fourth they can all be landed in a heap on a canoe. If they are more than a fathom in length do not attempt to catch them or else your bamboo pole will be broken to pieces and you'll have trouble in not having your paraphernalia to use again.

A'ua'u Fishing.— We all know the characteristics of this fish, with its long slim body. It is a delicious fish when salted or broiled. They are easy to catch. There are two ways to catch them, by pole fishing and with nets. The net used for *malolo* (flying fish) is also used for this and the method of fishing is the same. In these few years in which this kind of fishing is done, the *hano* net [page 79] for flying fish is not used any more in Lahaina and Kaanapali. (2) Fishing with pole. Where *aku* fish is caught and where the weighted line is used in deep sea fishing, there this kind of fish is found. When the *aku* fishers saw the *aku* and tossed in the *iao* bait and if the first to appear before the surface was a school of *a'ua'u* fish, it was a thing of vexation and annoyance. It brought bad luck to the *aku* fishing therefore everything was kept in readiness to kill them. Thus, if there were four or five small, barbed wire hooks bought in shops bait them with small *iao* fish and troll with short bamboo pole two fathoms in length. The hooks were trolled on the surface of the sea and were all taken. This was kept up until every fish in that school had landed on the canoe. Pardon your writer, for the *auau* was not only caught in the flying fish *hano* nets and hooks but the other way was with pieces of *olona* fibres. Bend the *olona* fibers and hold the ends together into a tuft. Chew some *iao* fish and spew into the sea. That is the time when the whole school of *a'ua'u* rush to the spot and are fished with a *paeaea* fish pole. The fish are taken one by one without fail and there is only one thing to stop their taking the hook and that is because there is not a fish left in the school.

This is another thing, when you have spewed the *iao* fish that you have chewed, spew it on the starboard of the canoe. One man did the spewing and one or two stood upright all ready with the oars. At the time the *auau* fish came all together on the canoe's starboard side, the men smote their oars at the same time at the side and killed the fish. These are how *auau* fish are caught. The Gilbert Islanders here among us in Lahaina dotted the sea outside of Keawaiki with their canoes with *paeaea* fish poles for *a'ua'u* and with *opelu* fish to chew and spew into the water when schools of the [page 80] *a'ua'u* came in. They never missed with their fish poles and barbed fish hooks bought in shops, with bits of rope similar to *olona* fibers. You will then see strings of *a'ua'u* being peddled on the roads, selling for three or four *a'ua'u* for a quarter. That was reasonable and was eaten after a cup of *awa* to remove the bitter taste, according to the people of Ulu. Perhaps so.

Turtle Fishing.— Polihua at Lanai was a very famous place for turtle catching. The natives catch them on the sand on shore if they need meat. Strangers do too, when they want to visit and see for themselves and if they wanted some to eat. It was a good thing to see this famous fish of the birthplace of my beloved mother who has preceded us yonder when your writer was but a wee child. This was the fish that Pahulu asked the gods not to allow it to have any irritation in its flippers or tail. When strangers go there to Lanai to visit. Polihua and Ke-ahi-a-Kawelo where a famous chiefess of this land of ours lived was warned. John Nakihei, Kaapuiki, S. Kealakaa and Judge Kahoohalahala gave us some *weke-aa* and other fish with the warning, "Don't eat it (*weke*) lest Pahulu will get



you.” (It was an irritation of the throat and when you are asleep you are lifted up in the air and rocked.) Pahulu was the last ghost that Kaululaau pursued into the sea. Kaululaau held on as hard as he could but it slipped through his hands into the sea. The tale was a theme for a song composed by one of my nephews, now passed to the other side, who learned music. It was for the benefit of the Girl’s School at Makawao, twenty-six years ago. Elia, Heber Upai and Junior Ihihi are the survivors today that were called professors of singing of those days by Governor John M. Kapena. Here are the lines of the song that the writer remembers :

Cho.— *Pele makes a rustling
A rumbling noise in the Pit. [page 81]
The goddess looks askance
While Pahulu ran and dived into the sea.*

Verse I.— *Bring us some money
To assist Makawao.
We have a hundred
To help her with.*

There are two more verses but this is enough about Pahulu and Kaululaau who fought the ghosts of Lanai and killed them. He was a handsome and good person who was vexed at the ghosts for chasing the fishermen of Lanai a very long time ago, so he ran away from his parents. If some singers wish to learn the tune of this song let him come to the writers home and it will be given to him free of charge. This was a song that roused a great deal of enthusiasm and if I am not mistaken the amount received for the concert that was opened for the benefit of the Maunaolu Girl’s School of that day was almost two hundred dollars.

Say, the writer has been digressing, but no matter, Hawaiian mele are enjoyed when one knew the verses. Yes, when you get to Polihua to catch turtles you need all your strength. It is done thus— Go to Polihua in the evening and sleep there and in the early morning, in the twilight, draw close to the edge of the clumps of grass adjoining the sands and there you will see large female turtles returning to the sea. Run as fast as you can to reach a turtle, step with your left foot on the left flipper of the turtle and turn the turtle over with your hands with all your might. If you succeed in turning it over, you are going to eat some turtle meat but if you fail, you’ll find yourself in the sea. It is better to let you go or your clothes will get a soaking in the sea. The other way is by diving into the sea. Your writer has been accustomed [page 82] as he went to sea frequently to seeing turtles gathered close to the reef. At the time that you see the turtles coming up to breathe, paddle softly until you are very close. The turtle will dive downward and then you’ll distinguish it clearly. Dive down and catch it, turn it over as quickly as possible and it becomes very light and easy to land on the canoe. This seem to be the method used by most of the people who relish the greenish *luau* meat in a turtle. Still the easiest way to catch a turtle is by spearing it and if one speared them at Polihua one caught several times four of them. In the year 1850, there were many natives of Borabora here in Lahaina that came from the whaling ships. Because breadfruit, coconuts and other fruits were numerous, they wanted to stay. At a place called Puehuehu-nui directly *mauka* of the home of the writer there was about thirty of them. One of them was called Piope and he was the cleverest, number one spearer of turtles. He went often to spear them and when he returned the canoe was loaded with them. He could spear turtles from five to ten fathoms away. Because we wanted to know of the skill of Piope, the Borabora native in turtle spearing, one of our boys named Iona Makaele went to see for himself and assured us of his skill, he sometimes sent his spear straight forward, or upward, or downward to pierce it in a distance of ten fathoms. Who among us is a skilled Hawaiian turtle spearer.



I have heard of the “*mahimahi*” of Kona, that the lads of the calm seas of Ehu who are skilled in turtle spearing are the prominent gentlemen J. K. Nahale, G. P. Kamauoha and S. W. Kaai. They did not use a regular spear but the real harpoons such as were used by whalers to stab at the fins and get enough to weight down the hips of Hilo’s multitude. They wouldn’t miss in their spearing for they are of the calm seas sung of in a *mele*.— [page 83]

*It is Kona of the peaceful seas;
The horizon clouds tell of the calm.
The icy dewdrops are falling,
The sun light stream over the sea.
As the children play at na-u,
To hold back the rays of the sun.
Warm indeed is the land,
Fondly loved by the host of Hooluhi.
Drooping and wilted stands Kona in the sun,
The sea of Ehu, the beloved flows on,
Smitten by the tear drops shed by the clouds.
Poured on the upland of Alana po,
The rainy mist darken the breadfruit of Welī.
This is a threat by my loved one to me,
But a daring thought tells me to remain,
Oh how I am hurt by him.*

This is a famous *mele* of the land of these heroes of Kona. How my affection goes out to them.

Fishing with a Fine Spear.— At Nuamealoa, Kaupo in the year 1876, your writer went swimming and fish spearing with a good friend, Mr. Lohiau. Lohiau did the diving and spearing while I held the cord on which the fish was strung. If you watch a person diving down to the seafloor you will notice how quick his hand is in spearing a fish. If it appears outside of its hole it is a fish that is not missed by the thrust of the spear and is done quickly. It seemed that we had not been fishing more than a half hour when we had enough on our string. There was *nenuē, kala, palani, panuhunuhu* and so on but the trouble with that kind of fishing is that it is fearful and terrifying. It is clear that you are practically [page 84] placing your body between the teeth of sharks. While we were swimming about, the sea was reddened by the blood of the stabbed fish and the string of fish was trailing behind us. Therefore I said to my fellow fisherman, “Let us go home,” but I did not express my fear of the small headed tiger shark of the ocean and that man-eating shark the *ihuwaa*.

I remember a story told me by a native of Kaupo who lived here in Lahaina a long time. He is now gone. He told how he fought a shark on the beach of Manowainui near Kahikinui Ranch. He was doing this very thing, fish spearing. He fought the shark from the deep blue waters from the outside limit to the shore and there he killed that shark, whose length was two fathoms. He told your writer that it was dreadful but he was brave and courageous in order to save himself.

He was a stout, stocky man five feet tall. His name was Kupihea. Another thing that gave him the victory is that he was trained in the art of *lua* fighting and was a pupil of that great master, Kahimakaualele, whose head no one could slap. This (Kupihea) was the second one of Maui’s men to fight a shark. A Maui man won each time. If the expert sons of Kona were only like this in swimming out to sea and fighting the tiger sharks of the deep, then they deserve their fame but no, they remain close to the rocky beaches of Keahole, stabbing away with their harpoons and enjoying the fun. Therefore for this kind of fishing,



I voice a warning to all those who are fond of fishing, this is a fishing of death and to not try to do it lest you meet with that monster of the ocean and meet with trouble. Fishing, such as practiced by the sons of Kona is good for you to sit ashore in the warmth and let the fish come up to you. Much credit is due to the boys of Kona of the [page 85] peaceful seas.

Luelue Net Fishing.— This was a famous kind of fishing of our land as there was a saying, “The net that is lowered is the *luelue*.” It is a small rounded net bordered with a *walahee* stick. The meshes are of one finger’s width, with four ropes fastened to it and the bait is lobster. When the fisherman is supplied with this kind of net, then he needed but one more thing, to go to seek a lobster. After that is obtained then a small canoe to go to sea, with one or two men just as one wished. First put in the pounded lobster used for bait and tie it to the four cords of the net then lower the net into the sea. The *lauhau* fish will be seen going into the net. All one has to do is to pull the net up. This is done repeatedly until the canoe is filled with *lauhau* and *panuhunuhu* fish so that when one goes ashore, there is some thick *lehua poi* to refresh the throat. These go very well together.— Your writer believes that this method is practiced at Koolau and all over the island group. The *lauhau* fish was not only caught in this kind of net but also in nets that surround them. In the year 1855, I sailed with my father to Oahu and went on to Kaneohe on Koolaupoko where my younger sister, named Kalaikini, lived. Next day my father asked for a canoe and nets and we went to the island of Mokuoloe on the side that is facing the upland of Kaneohe. In some places the sea was shallow and in some places it was very deep. Every one knows (the line of the *mele*), “I stood up on Nuuanu and saw the broken up reefs of Heeia.” It was on this island that I saw so many *lauhau* fish. We went around with our nets twice and caught ever so many. There your writer started a fire to broil some *lauhau*, and we ate them on the island of Mokuoloe. After eating we went to the fish ponds of Heeia-kea and Heeia-uli to visit. They were beautiful. [page 86]

Pououo Net Fishing.— This net was similar to the *luelue* net, except that that was smaller than this. This net had meshes of two finger’s width, but was alike in every other detail. *Walahee* wood was used or small *ulei* wood to border the net that was rounded in shape. It also had four cords attached and a cord for the bait just as in the *luelue* net. When you are supplied with this kind of net, then seek a whole lobster and when you find it, move your canoe out and set sail. When you get out to sea, let the net down, and you will see the *panuhunuhu* and the *halahala* entering the net. In the lands where the beaches are rough and hilly, this kind of fishing was much practiced. In Lahaina here it was done in by gone days, and after my parents were gone, nothing remains of it because the making of the net was a difficult task and because too, the *walahee* and *ulei* plants are hard to find. Therefore when love is gone, affection also departs. What a pity. Your writer believes that this kind of net is still used in the Kona districts. When I went as a stranger to Kiilae, South Kona in the year 1861, I saw some nets at my niece Susannah’s. They belonged to her father and if I had stayed longer I might have eaten some *panuhunuhu* and *halahala* there. I believe that the Prominent J. K. Nahale, the fishing lad of North Kona is supplied with them. Wait, and let us see when the big meeting is held here in Lahaina in July then one Hawae will denude Kona for there will be bundles of dried *panuhunuhu* fish from that alert one of Kona. There will be throat moistening *lehua poi* from the flaming one of Wailuku. Between the two of you every member of the Association will eat till he could eat no more. That when you two will show your smoke .

Fishing for Pond Mullet.— At the birthplace of the Honorable John W. Kalua and the Honorable Senator S. E. Kaiue, Great [page 87] Molokai, the land of Hina, there are many mullet ponds and some were noted for the fatness of their mullets, Ualapue, Niaupala, Piopio, Pukoo, Kupeke, and on these ponds the people of Lahaina depended on and looked to. When they were told that the mullet came from these ponds, they ran and leaped and hurried to get them for to delay meant empty handedness. In fishing, go



just before daylight, with nets having meshes of two finger's width in the hands of Hulu, Laumana and others. The breezes blow strongly and while still shivering with cold, plunge into the icy water. With one or two drawings of the net, the boat is filled, the sails set with Lahaina as the goal. At this time it is still dark and light comes when Kekaa is reached or Lahaina itself. When you open the belly of the mullets of these ponds; the fat within is like that of a hog and does resemble it in every way. It was at the pond of Piopio that the feet of your writer made a splash for the first time in the year 1856, in the dark hours of the early morning. It was not fitting that a guest should be idle lest his host speak sharply to him. It was better to eat the fat mullet and the savory *awa* fish of Piopio. The two men who worked the hardest were the one in charge of the net and all the others merely assisted. A few times ten years (*mau makahiki anahulu*) ago I went with the Honorable J. W. Kalua to Molokai and landed at Kamalo. We stayed at his home. His gentle and kindly father was living then and he liked to tell amusing tales. The next day, our horses were ready to bear us to Waialua where we had planned to fish in our pond, Mikimiki. When we rode as far as Kaamola, we looked and saw a lady coming on a beautiful roan horse and wondered, "who is this beauty who is horseback riding this morning?" As she passed on our leeward side, we doffed our hats. After she had passed, I recalled a *mele* composed by Kauluae, a [page 88] chiefess of our place.—

*The birds are startled at the approach of man,
 Yet he is not the least afraid nor turns aside.
 There is anxiety on the ascent to Kawakea,
 He ascends and goes on the quick descent to Kuaiwa.
 The waters of Hiilawe looks white above,
 It is true— here it is—
 Let us touch the water and turn aside.*

We gave up our plan to go fishing in our pond Mikimiki, and so we continued on to the home of Kanohola Kaiue where we spent the night. The Hon. D. W. Kaiue had passed on, as is customary with those of the earth the year before. My affection goes out to the companion who received his lawyers license on the same day I did, July 28, 1870. I thought that only Molokai's mullet ponds had the fattest mullets but there was another place on Kauai land of Mano. In the year 1879, your writer landed peacefully on Kauai, on the 15th day of September at Waimea. On 16th, I went on to Anahola and stayed at the home of W. H. William, the parents of S. W. Meheula and one of my nephews. The evening of my arrival, I noticed the pond at Anahola. At night nine o'clock that evening, the evening meal was ready and when I got to the long table I saw that it was 12 feet long, yard and a fourth wide covered with mullet, *awa* fish, *kala* sea weed, fresh *aawa* fish, *hinalea-luahine* and many other kinds. I thought that the mullets were sea mullets and when I opened one the belly was full of fat. I said, "I thought Molokai was the only place for fat mullets but I see now that Anahola has better ones." The next day the table was still loaded with all varieties of food liked by those who enjoyed rich foods. I left Anahola with the thought of eating the *kinau* eels that feed on the *hala* blossoms of Mahamoku at the home of S. W. Kanewanui, parent of [page 89] my nephew David Kanewanui. When I reached Hanalei land of the heavy rains that fall through the *hala* trees, these friends of mine were not at home, they had just left. Gone was love and with it went affection. In catching fish in Anahola's mullet ponds, only two men were required and no one else were needed to splash about and frighten the fish into the net as on Molokai. While there, I was told that the mullets of Nomilu were the best on Kauai and on the Hawaiian group. My mama and our child assured me that it is so for they have eaten the fattest mullets from that place. [page 90]



Nupepa Kuokoa

May 30, 1902

Ka Oihana Lawaia (Fishing Lore)

With Explanations Pertaining to it from A. D. Kahaulelio—This is of great value.

Uouoa Fishing.—You remember, readers, that there is hardly a difference between this fish and a mullet except that the head of this is more tapering. The mullet has a large head. This was an easy fish to catch at the writers place and needed no net, hook nor anything else. This kind of fish was caught at our place by two rocky capes in front of the writer's house. Perhaps you will ask, "How does one fish for *uouoa*?" Thus, by the sound of the voice and the noise made by the clapping of the hands. This was how this fish was caught. When the tide began to rise, and washed over these two rocky capes, one boy was sent to look around to see if there were some *uouoa* fish about. Two or three boys or girls, perhaps ten or less would do. They stood in a row and clapped with the hands cupped, at the same time making a smacking noise with the lips. This they did all together from one rocky cape until the *uouoa* fish gathered together and remained perfectly still under the rocks without going away. The two hands were thrust under rocks of all sizes. One did not fail to catch them until all were caught. If one escaped from a rock under which you had reached, it would get under another one as though badly frightened. From the children to the men and women of our place practiced this kind of fishing. This was discontinued when there were no more children and adults that were used to catching this kind of fish and all turned to the savory *opelu* of that land. The children, dizzy from their school work used to come home and find the food from this kind of fishing. They came home, broiled some over the fire and up came two horsemen. [page 91] Heulu of Kohala once exclaimed, "Two horses are coming this way," because some people who were eating at their house took big dips of *poi* on their fingers. I asked Mrs. Heulu about this saying, and she said that he commented so for he was a stingy man.

Piha Fishing.— This is one of the fishes that come in schools when their season came. Your writer had seen and is used to seeing the *piha* fish during the months of May and June. It announced to the *aku* fishermen of the peaceful land of Lele that this was the time when the *aku* was plentiful. When the *piha* was seen, they were pursued and snapped at by the *aku* thus for two or three days until they draw close to the reef and about to come in while we were catching *iao* fish for *aku* bait the young *ulua* were seen snapping at *piha*. When the school of *piha* stopped in one place the fishermen deserted *iao* fishing and set their minds on catching them. The way to catch the *piha* that gathered quietly in one place, was to use a fine *nae* net or a net of mosquito netting, whose length was five fathoms long and one fathom wide. The fishermen remained some distance away from the milling *piha* fish and opened the net to properly. Then, some men or women swam to one side of the spot where the school of *piha* was and began smiting the sea hard. The *piha* became startled and milled about. In lowering the net, it was not well to lift one side of the net upright but to let it lie flat and as soon as it was seen that the *piha* was about to enter the net, the back of the net was raised until it was equal with the surface of the sea. When the *piha* swam swiftly to escape, the one who held the end of the net on that side pulled as hard as he could. It took two men on either side of the net to leap in deftly and slap the sea with cupped hands. The *piha* moved quietly all together into the net and then if it were impossible for the men at [page 92] the ends of the net to lift it up, the fish were scooped up in pails, filling about five pails more or less. Thus they fished with all the nets. It was not like *nehu* fishing in which all the nets were used together where the *nehu* fish were gathered. The *piha* was delicious when cooked in ti leaves, or else just sprinkled with salt and eaten raw with a bit of chili pepper, enough to irritate the lips. Not only the ordinary *nae* net or mosquito netting was employed for *piha* fishing but the *nae* bag net used also in *lauahi* fishing at night was far better; as it was thrown in, just where the *piha* were milling about and dashing to and fro, with great speed and expertly. So did those who made the noise to frighten the fish in. A kerosene can



could be filled if there were two big hauls of *piha*. The schools of *piha* remained two or three days then moved on elsewhere.

Nehu Fishing.— When a school of *nehu* fish came in, it was a time of excessive eating for men, women and children. They went in processions along the roads carrying calabashes of *poi*. When the *nehu* were caught, that was the time to cook it by the *puhulo* process and eat until satisfied. They began to fish again and did not stop till the evening. The schools of *nehu* were accustomed to coming in to Launiupoko and Keonepoko in this district of Lahaina, and sometimes at Mala. In fishing for *nehu* we made careful observations to see if the *nehu* leaped about, that is, jumped up frequently, or were snapped at by the young *ulua* or remained still. The latter was the time to assemble the nets, four and five sometimes. They were *nae* nets made of the real *olona* fibers used in olden times but today's nets are of mosquito netting. If there were five nets the men swam out with them. Of the four nets, you remember my readers, that two were used on either side. Those in charge of the fifth [page 93] swam behind in the space between the other four and asking the kindness of those on the sides to make a little room for their net. The men with the nets in front answered, "Why don't you two move to one corner?" There was no answer to this as the net bearers moved on and if they were given a space of three feet they were fortunate; if six, there was a rejoicing because the nets stretched out evenly. If the sea wasn't muddy the last net was the one that caught the most *nehu* fish for the fish dashed through between the spaces. Those that splashed and made noises (*kapeku*) for the other nets noticed that the net in the back was filled because they worked quickly and joyfully, calling out to the splashers to swim up and help to raise the net. Truly your writer knows and was accustomed to fishing this manner. If the sea is muddy, then it was better to stand in line with the thought fixed in mind that when ready to swim along and lower the nets, the center net will be the luckiest. The center net moved slightly behind, and not in front nor in line, with the side nets. The splashers should be first instructed not to hurry while swimming, but to move slowly and to slap the surface of the sea with cupped hands. When the splashers of the side nets reached the corners of the center net, then the onlookers saw the splashers of that net double themselves up as they swam and know that the nets were filled with *nehu* fish. The *nehu* that were caught were taken ashore. A mat was laid out, the fish salted and by night the *nehu* were half dry. Their weight was reduced for home going. In the meantime other kinds of inshore fishing was done where the *nehu* were caught. Nearby were the carts and horses belonging to Japanese and when the fish were caught, money was also right there. [page 94]

Nupepa Kuokoa

June 20, 1902

Ka Oihana Lawaia (Fishing Lore)

With Explanations Pertaining to it from A. D. Kahalelio—This is of great value.

Eel Fishing.— This was a much esteemed "fish" according to the sayings of our ancestors and some of the chiefs became extremely fond of them. Perhaps that is why this saying came to be, "The eel is the fish that moves heavenward," that is, the eel is the fish of which the chiefs are fond. There were three ways in which eels were caught here in our place and I have heard of another way employed by those of Hawaii, making four ways.

Torch Fishing.— At our place, the nights in which the tide is low are also dark nights. As soon as it is dusk, you can see the torches, red and flaming on the beach, some differing from others. If the torch fisher came from inland of Kaulu Uulu, (between high and low land), the torch was made of dried sugar cane leaves but if they were from the places near the beach, the fibers of a dried coconut stump was used; and if from the uplands, dried *hauoi*. I am speaking now of the torches used in the olden times. Nowadays, oil from beef, mutton and goat fat and kerosene oil is used. The torch made of dried sugar



cane leaves is not very good, it produced too much ashes. It burned a long time and many were the eels caught but beef, mutton and goat fat and kerosene oil made very good torches.

Being supplied with the tools of fishery is important for torch fishing. An iron barrel hoop and a net with a deep bag are means of catching eels. While the torch is held in the left hand, a piece of an iron hoop is held in the right. As soon as you catch sight of an eel lower the torch to the surface of the sea and strike quickly at the tail of the eel. When its tail is struck all its strength is gone and it coils itself up. Pick it up with your hand and put it in a [page 95] bag slung over the shoulder. If two persons go together then there isn't anything to worry about. If there is a bag net with meshes of a fingers width, scoop the eel up head first and there it would lie curled up in the net. Run as fast as you can to a dry place on the beach and there kill it. Put it in the bag. This way is much better than using the piece of iron hoop, as it cuts, bruises and makes the eel have a fishy odor when broiled or boiled. The *uha* variety of eel is the commonest on the beach where your writer lives, and I've traversed these beaches often in by gone days when I was young. Sometimes large sized *uha* eels were caught, a fathom or less in length down to very small ones. On the hilly Koolau side of Maui the eel was much liked and held in greater esteem than a wife. Perhaps that is why a certain beautiful woman of that hilly Koolau land of ours, became the wife of a handsome man of wind blown, smoky, dew drenched Kaula. They were learning the art of *lua* fighting at the time and were pupils of Kahimakaualele, Maui's *lua* master. They uttered these boastful words, "Say! This is the maiden of the eternal springs of Keanae." "So! Where are you? Listen! Here is the lad that is like the *ulei* stick, stirring up the sweet potatoes of Kula. There one glances at the dark, greenish color of the sea of Nokuhano in the calm. Maui is winner. Maui is the greatest, like the fires of lao." To prove that the eel was much esteemed by the people of Koolau, there were two well known natives of Hana of the low skies that went with me to count the taxes in the year 1875. They were Manu Kekahunaiole and S. W. Kunewa. Before we left Hana for the Cliffs of Koolau they said to me repeatedly, "If you are a favorite guest, we shall eat some eels when we get there." "Why so?" I asked. "Because they esteem their eels more than they do their wives." "How strangely the men of Koolau behave." When we reached the house of Paakuku we ate [page 96] some dried *uha* eel. It was an eel well dried and broiled. I thought to myself, "What a generous host this is." I said before that beef fat, mutton fat, goat fat and kerosene oil were the best. This is the truth. The oil dripped into the sea as you went forward and when you turned back, the eel had smelled the drippings and up will come the bag net with the eels.

Haawa Fishing for Eels.— The young and small eels are found in great numbers among the rocks on the West side of your writers place. Take a coconut stem (*niau*) an inch in length, sharpen the ends tie a line to the center and bait it with a *okuhekuhe* (*ohune*) fish. This was a sport much enjoyed in childhood and one felt himself very lucky when he had a string of young eels (*oilo*). It was taken home, worked with salt and broiled. It was very good eating.

Fishing Eels with a Hook.— At the end of the reef beyond our shallow seas are many eel holes. The *paka*, *uha* and *leiahala* varieties are the most found in these holes. Beef and other kinds of bait are used in fishing and each fisherman can catch three or four. The *paka* eel is the fattest found in our shallow sea. Perhaps that is why our ancients said, "The eel of the billows, have hanging pouches of fat."

Ininiki Eel Fishing.— This is the best liked method of eel fishing of the steep cliff trails of Hamakua, Hawaii, of which I have heard. I recall now of what I have heard, whether it is the truth. The men and women of the cliff bound land, go down these steep precipice to the beaches. They seek a quantity of *Aama* crabs or other kinds of bait such as the small squids that cling to the rocks (*hee pali*) of that place. Put some bait between the five



fingers, then move the hand to and fro among the smooth pebbles. The small *laumilo* eels appear, very much like the *laumilo* eels of our own place, and when [page 97] their heads come up between the five fingers are held fast. If those who are catching eels are women, they placed the heads of the eels against their necks so that they will be bitten. When they got home, their husbands did not become angry because they said that they had been doing *iniiniki* fishing for eels. Perhaps so, but if they had encountered *kapa* eels, how would that be? Maybe their husbands believe that the small eels caught by *iniiniki*, scratched up their necks. Say, “one who is on the watch, never gets his property stolen by the dogs,” said the ancients. This is the tale of eel fishing at Hamakua, a Hawaiian one which your writer received from S. W. Nailiili, the old lawyer of this, my birthplace. He lived and became acquainted with the whole of Hawaii for forty years since he had practiced before there were any licenses. He lived in Hilo and was very well acquainted with the place. He went to prison for petty pilfering. [page 98]

Nupepa Kuokoa

June 27, 1902

Ka Oihana Lawaia (Fishing Lore)

With Explanations Pertaining to it from A. D. Kahaulelio—This is of great value.

Torch Fishing.— This was much practiced all over Hawaii nei where the seas are shallow. Those who practice this kind of fishing are those who do not know how to fish and are not supplied with nets to fish with. I have already spoken of torch fishing for eels and at this time how to catch all kinds of fish such as *puaula* (*ahuluhulu*), mullet, *ula alaihi* and other kinds of fish. Fishing with a bag net is best and better than a piece of iron, because all fish when in torch light remain quiet. Hold the torch right above it. The *puaula* fish lies close to the sea floor and one must press the net down over it. So it is with the *alaihi*, but the *anae* float quietly above and is scooped up from in front. This kind of fishing was greatly enjoyed by children and helped to supply the larder with fish sometimes when there weren't any. There is but one elderly man of our place that is still doing torch fishing in these seas now-a-days, but only for lobsters. His daughter, H., had a yearning (*hookauhua*) for them but the worst thing is that she left him and went off with the fishing lad of Pakala. What a lot of trouble.

Kiolaola Fishing.— This is similar to the *kuikui* fishing for *ulua* but the method of fishing is different. This was much practiced by some people of Lahaina during these years in which there is a change in the government. On the wharf of Keawaiki, Makahi and Capt. D. Taylor were the instructors for *kiolaola* fishing and Mr. C. R. Lindsey and Kimo were the pupils. It was better than letting night go to waste at Hanakapo. They caught some *ulua* and some large [page 99] seized *moi* and it became an interesting way to while away time in the evening until the Claudine came in, also on Saturday nights when the Claudine left, after she had sailed. Kailiponi and Kekino were the ones who held the fish. Captain Taylor was always lucky in catching the *ulua laukea*, because he was not lazy. The men who were not lucky gave it up while Captain Taylor persisted and never a day did he lack catching a big *moi*. Therefore it is well for fishing pupils to follow the teachings of their instructors. Makahi is gone and Captain Taylor remains. My fishing pupil is George H. Dunn. He is lazy in this kind of fishing and what he likes is the *kukaula* fishing in the deep sea, therefore he never catches an *ulua laukea* of Keawaiki. Those *kiolaola* fishermen are on a long vacation now-a-days because there are so much deep sea fish and opelus now.

Opihi Fishing.— In this kind of fishing, men, women and children did it without being taught. When they reached the place where the *opihis* sea shells were, stones or sticks were used just as long as they could get some. Those who know how to gather *opihis* did not do so. The dark *makaiauli* *opihis* were gathered by the children at the cliffs of Kaholo Lanai, a place famed for its *opihis*. True, but for the big size they were not equal to those of Kanapou, Kahoolawe. Your writer are well acquainted with these places. For bigness,



they do not compare to Kanapou's. It is at that large stream facing Honuaua. The *opih* are as large as the bowls found in shop, not large ones, but the smaller ones. Goat meat could be boiled in *opih* shells and the twenty-five cents worth of beef bought in Lahaina could be cooked entirely in the *opih* shells of that locality, not the *opih* dived for but that which clung to the sea cliffs. Your writer was there for a week without vegetable food, living only on water, fish, *opih* and goat meat. That is how I discovered that that was the place of large *opih*s. Much money is gained by selling *opih*s and Honolulu's [page 100] people know the value of this food, for they get only a few times four (*mau kauna*) *opih*s in a saucer for the price of twenty-five cents. In other places they are taken without price and if you wish to see those large *opih*s go there and see for yourselves.

Perhaps some doubt the truth of this statement, so it will be well for me to tell an old story of a certain man. He caused the largeness of the *opih*s of this place, so my grandparents told me. A certain man of Hawaii named Puuiaiki, left Kohala on his small canoe and midway between Alanuihaha channel his canoe was swamped by the billows and could not make it move. He tried to float it, and failing, decided that it was better to swim to Kahoolawe. The wind blew him along and the swimming was easy. As he swam, an *opih* *makaiauli* appeared before him. He said to himself, "What a strange *opih* this is. It does not sink into the sea. What kind of a thing is this and what does it mean?" Puuiaiki reached out and grasped it in his hand, as he asked repeatedly what it was about and what this *opih* *makaiauli* meant. O readers, in truth this was an *opih* sent hither by the prophet Moaula, and that is the little hill standing on Kahoolawe and that is the only mountain of that land. He was sorry for Puuiaiki and sent the *opih* to rescue him. Let us leave the *opih* and turn to look at Puuiaiki swimming in the sea. Soon after Puuiaiki had grasped the *opih*, a shark came by with his mouth opened wide. The upper jaw stretched up to the surface and the lower jaw reached down into the depth of the sea. Then Puuiaiki spoke, "If you bite me, I'll live. If you swallow me whole into your stomach, I'll die." Puuiaiki slipped into the mouth of the shark to its stomach with his *opih*. There he scraped the flesh of the shark for three nights and three days. The shark landed at the bay of Kanapou on Kahoolawe and died. Out came Puuiaiki, with bald, shiny head and went up from the beach to where the *akulikuli* weeds crept over the [page 101] sand. There he rested with *pohuehue* leaves shading his head. Some fishermen saw him sitting there and decided to come to take a look at him yet they were fearful, thinking that perhaps he was crazy. "Aloha," greeted the fishermen. "Aloha," he replied, "have you a little water?" "We have no water but there is a spring above here and if you wish we will lead you there." "Yes," said Puuiaiki, "I will rest until I feel better and I'll go up." As the fishermen went back one said, "Say, what we should do is to kill him. If we do not destroy him then we ourselves will be destroyed for that is a demi-god (*kupua*). His name is Puuiaiki, but how are we to kill him? When he goes down to the spring then you pelt him with stones until they are piled up high beside the spring. Let us go to fetch Puuiaiki and ask him how he got here." Puuiaiki told them the story I had mentioned above. They were certain that he was a *kupua* because the shark had not succeeded in destroying him. When they arrived at the spring, which your writer thinks is about four feet deep and nicely dugout, Puuiaiki went down to drink. As he drank he leaned down with his legs slanted upward. They began to stone him but he kept on drinking until the spring was filled with stones and heaped high above. Strangely, the next morning, when the people went there the spring was open and the stones piled on the side toward the upland, for in the meanwhile the prophet Moaula came to get him to go and live with him. The spring is open to this day. We got there as castaways in the year 1848 and drank the water of that spring of Puuiaiki's. If it were not for this spring we eight would have been corpses, six adults and two of us young boys, one thirteen and your writer who was then eleven.

This is why the *opih* of this place are so large and to make the idea of the size clear, they were as large as the *poi* bowls of Lahainaluna in the olden days and also at this time. Your writer [page 102] had visited Kanapou twice and on other places of Kahoolawe the



*opih*i were the same as everywhere else in the island group. If you wish to see the largeness of the *opih*i of that place, let J. K. Nahale buy a steam launch and come to get me. I'll take you to see the famous *opih*i of Puuiaiki. [page 103]

Nupepa Kuokoa

July 4, 1902

Ka Oihana Lawaia (Fishing Lore)

With Explanations Pertaining to it from A. D. Kahalelio—This is of great value.

Net Fishing for *Moi*.— I have told you about pole fishing (*paeaea*) for *moi* but not how to catch them with a net. At all the beaches of our place under the charge of a *konohiki*, the *moi* was a very *kapu* fish here in Makila. Other fishes as well as *moi* were free to be caught by the tenants of the land but the people from other *ahupuaas* caught the *moi* only at times. Because we have become a territory of America, some people must have taught others that the fisheries are free now and so the *moi* in the sea fisheries under all the *konohikis* are freely caught. *Paloa* nets having meshes of two fingers width were used in this kind of fishing. In the month of December last, in the year 1901, Rev. E. S. Timoteo and Rev. S. Kapu told me of their skill in catching *moi* in the sea of Launiupoko. This was a *kapu* sea and leased by my older brother. Perhaps they knew that Papa was occupied with his oars, so they went fishing. With two hauls of the net these fishermen of a long day, they carried away their *moi* fish on a hack. Rev. S. Kapu brought several large *moi* fish, about five or six without my seeing him. I heard his voice and I came out to ask my Mama, "Where is that angel that spoke to you?" "He brought us some *moi*." The son of Hawaii showed his skill in fishing and when I went to meeting I saw the *moi* drying on the fence of Wainee. If he were not so busy preparing for the great inter-island meeting to be held here in Lahaina, Kamalama, the little brother would be doing the double duty of fishing for men and for *moi*. Thank you very much, for we lazy fellows eat *moi* from the boy who works as hard as the rain falls in Kohala and from the boy of [page 104] the famous Kanilehua rain of Hilo. If they had whispered a little to the boy of the famous Paupili rain, perhaps the food of Wahinemanua would have been revealed (which of us is the better fisherman).

The lively boys of Keawe have had much fun and so keep up the good works. Do not forget to ask how Rev. O. Nawahine uses his net, the fearless one of the angry seas of the rough cape of Mokuhia and the cape of Hawini that stretches itself out into the sea. The best thing for the angels who are able fishermen like Rev. S. L. Desha to go fishing for *ahi* at Kona first, dry them and send them on for me to take care of; Rev. C. M. Kamakawiwoole too, of the narrow cliff side trails to catch some *moi*, dry them and send them here to me, Rev. O. Nawahine also, for these are the days to pursue after the *aku* of the angry sea of Waiehu. Let your prayers unite to reach Hakalau, and not leave it all to me and my fishing angels. It is well to have enough to supply the thousands that are coming. O fishing experts of South Kona S. Lazaro and Hon. S. W. Kaai catch an abundance of *hauliuli*, the famous fish of your land and do not depend entirely on the lone fisherman for it is rumored that there are about three hundred Sunday School pupils in the Konas. That is a goodly number; beautiful; much praise is due you.

Kalaau Fishing.— This is one kind of fishing much practiced by the people of Molokai on the side called Kona, for that is the side that has the shallow sea. It is also the side facing Lahaina. Those of Lanai and of Lahaina too, practice it with *paloa* nets of two or three finger's width. It is lowered by two men in charge of the ends. Men, women and children, holding sticks or fibers of coconut stumps, swim about beating the water toward the center of the net. They continue this until the men at the ends of the net come together. Many kinds of fish are caught such as mullet, *awa* [page 105] *kalamoho*, *oio* and so on. That is the reason why this kind of fishing is called *ka-laau* (stick smiting).



Holoholo Fishing.— This is one of the easiest kinds to do and is not wearisome. The work in the beginning is the hardest and when done, it takes years of eating of the results. This is how it is done, line up the stones on this side and on that till it forms a good triangle close to the shore. The two stone walls joined each other leaving an opening two feet wide. I first give it a look or else go fishing without even looking. With a rounded net of two finger's width, I swim and crawl quietly to the opening of the *holoholo* wall. The assistant fisher tosses a stone with a deft hand toward the wall. As soon as there is a thud the mullet rushes into the net, two or three at a time. If one had built three *holoholo* walls, he will have a heap of mullet. In the rocky place below your writer's home, this kind of fishing is often done. [page 106]

**XVIII. “Ka Mo’olelo o Kūhaimoana” – Story of the Shark God, Kūhaimoana:
Excerpts from an Account of the Shark Gods and Waters
of Ka’ula, Lehua, Ni’ihau and Kaua’i (translation by Maly)**

The story of Kūhaimoana, was given to J.S. Emerson, by W.M. Kinney of Waimea, Kaua’i on March 4, 1907. The account, in Hawaiian, is housed in the collection of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (HEN II:94-108). The narratives tell us of guardian sharks and fishes of the waters between Ka’ula, Ni’ihau and Kaua’i. The following translation, a synopsis of key events around the northern islands, was prepared by Maly.

...Kāne-huli-moku was the man, he lived with Kuihealani the woman, and for her, the land of Kuihealani is named. The name Kāne-huli-moku, is also the name given to all of the islands of Hawai’i, those from Nihoa to Hawai’i. From these two were born three children, Kūhaimoana, a boy, Pele, a girl, and Kamo’oali’i, also a boy. These were the three children of them. These children were born with different body forms. Kūhaimoana was born with a human form, that of a god, and that of a shark. He could travel upon the land like a man. He could travel like a god. And he could also travel in the ocean like all the different forms of fish...

...Kūhaimoana departed from the land of Kuihealani, and traveled with his people to the island of Ka’ula, and there he lived until he and his people took a sight-seeing journey around the islands from Kaua’i to Hawai’i. As he was returning to Ka’ula, Kūhaimoana met with Kaluaikaikona (a woman), she was a maimed shark, she had no tail, though she had the head and body of a shark. She lived at the island of Lehua.

Kūhaimoana, the famous hero of the supernatural sharks, lived with Kaluaikaikona, and to them were born three children. Their names are Kipapa, Kūlālākea, and Kūkai’aiki, all three of them being boys.

Let us now look at the mother of these three children. The nature of this shark was as a crippled one. She lived at the island of Lehua, and sometimes at Kaua’i, along the western face of the cliff of Kalalau. Ho’olulu is the name of those cliffs. There is a large coral head directly in front of the cliff of Ho’olulu, a little more than 20 feet away from the land. That is the place where she lives. It is near Ka-wai-kū’au-hoe, famed from ancient times. The nature of this shark, Kaluaikaikona, was not to travel afar, like the other sharks. How she appeared, and the manner in which she traveled was like the shape of an atoll. She traveled in large circles, perhaps a mile in circumference. Her entire body was red, and there arose above her, a small rainbow as she moved through the sea...

Returning to Kūhaimoana, there arose in his mind, the desire to find out if any of his three sons had inherited his powers. Kūhaimoana lengthened his body, so that his tail was at Kuihealani, and his head rested at the island of Ka’ula. He then called his eldest son,



Kūpiapia, and told him to swim along one side of his body to the tail, and then turn and swim along the other side, returning to his head. Kūpiapia tried with all his strength, but only got as far as Kūhaimoana's first *kuala* (dorsal fin). He then lost his strength, and told his father that he could go no further. Kūhaimoana then sent his second son, Kūlālākea on the journey, but he could go no farther than the second *kuala* of his father.

Kūhaimoana then sent Kūkai'aiki, the third born on the journey. Kūkai'aiki swam and reached the third *kuala*. But in that body form, his normal one, he could go no further, so he changed his body into that of an *ulua*. Kūkai'aiki then swam to the *pewa* (caudal fin) near the end of his father's tail, and he nibbled at the tail. Thus, Kūhaimoana knew that Kūkai'aiki had reached the tail. Kūkai'aiki then began to swim up the other side of his father's body, in another body form, that of a *mahimahi*. Upon reaching the third *kuala*, he again changed his body-form into that of a *kāhala* fish. Reaching the second *kuala*, he turned into a *lai* fish. And upon reaching the first *kuala*, he turned into a *mā'ula'ula* fish, that being his natural body form. This fish, the *mā'ula'ula*, is a very tiny fish. Perhaps only three or four inches in length. This type of fish is not found in waters near land, but in the very deep waters, and it is rarely seen. It's entire body is truly red, and it's tail is beautiful, like gold that glitters in the sea. This type of fish is often seen by the natives of Ni'ihau who go out to sea on their boats. There, this little fish comes near the side of the boats. And when the natives of Ni'ihau see this little fish swimming along the side of their boats, is the time when they call out the name Kūkai'aiki. When they have called out the name, the fish disappears, and it is not seen again...

Thus, Kūhaimoana completed his task with his sons, and Kūkai'aiki then asked his father if he could go on a sight-seeing journey. Kūhaimoana agreed to his request, allowing him to go for a while. Kūkai'aiki and his retainers then departed from Ka'ula, and began his journey. He arrived at Ni'ihau, and from there went to Ho'olulu, and then Kīpū. Departing from Kīpū, Kaua'i, Kūkai'aiki arrived at Pu'uloa (O'ahu), and lovingly met with Ka'ahupāhau. He stayed with Ka'ahupāhau for several days and then departed from Pu'uloa, traveling to Makapu'u. There he met with a supernatural shark—I've forgotten his name—and together, they traveled to Maui. Departing from Maui, they went to Hawai'i. When they passed the point of Kalae at Ka'ū, they met with the shark-god Kōleakāne...

Kūkai'aiki and his companions participated in several encounters with evil sharks on Hawai'i, and then he returns home to his father Kūhaimoana for a while. In the meantime, Ka'ahupāhau, the shark-goddess of Pu'uloa, learned that the evil sharks Kepanilā and Mikalolou, were on their way to Pu'uloa to fight her. Ka'ahupāhau, determined to secure help from the *manō kūpua* (shark gods) of Kaua'i and Ni'ihau, and she traveled to those islands, and on to Ka'ula gathering an army of sharks.

In this part of the account, additional references to native sharks and descriptions of the northern islands are found:

Ka'ahupāhau traveled to Hanapēpē, Kaua'i. There, they met with the *manō kūpua* of that area, and agreed to travel together, to Nu'alolo of Kaua'i, where lived the most famous supernatural shark of Kaua'i. His name was Mākua, and he was famed for his strength.

Departing from Hanapēpē, they passed Nōhili, and found the native shark of that place, who also joined them for a while. The native shark of Nōhili told Ka'ahupāhau, that she would not find what she needed on Kaua'i, that she must go to the little island of Ka'ula. "Tell Kūhaimoana of your problem, and he will tell you what to do." The native shark of Nōhili then told her — "Swim till you draw near to Ni'ihau, where you will see a crab floating on the water, do not touch it (a body form of one of the shark children). Do not eat it, for if you do, your path will be one of trouble..." Thus, Ka'ahupāhau and her



companions swam to the waters of Ni‘ihau, and they were greeted by the shark guardians of that island. They swam with Ka‘ahupāhau to the mid-way point between Ni‘ihau and Ka‘ula, for that was the boundary of the waters of the guardian sharks of Ni‘ihau.

Ka‘ahupāhau then arrived at Ka‘ula and met with Kūhaimoana, who asked the nature of her journey. She responded — “Kūhaimoana is the god who gives life, all that is above is his, all that is below is his, all that is to the east, to the west, to the north, and to the south, is his. His is of Kāne, Kanaloa, and Kāne-huli-moku. I seek the offspring, the child of Kuihealani. From whom comes death, and from whom comes life.”

Kūhaimoana then commanded the guardian sharks from Ka‘ula and Ni‘ihau to gather together, stating that they would travel to battle the enemy at Pu‘uloa. While swimming from Ka‘ula, they reached the point of Māheū, a shallow place in the sea, and Kūhaimoana could go no further, for his body rested upon the bottom. Kūhaimoana then told Ka‘ahupāhau that he could not accompany her, but that he would send his son, Kūkai‘aiki as her general and counselor.

Doubt arose in her heart at seeing Kūkai‘aiki because he was so small, but Kūhaimoana explained that she need not fear, for the strength of Kūkai‘aiki was the same as his own... Indeed, a great battle was fought, and the evil sharks vanquished, and Pu‘uloa was made safe.

IXX. “Ka‘ao Ho‘oniua Pu‘uwai no Ka-Miki” — Fishing Lore of Hawai‘i Island Recalled in “The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki” (translation by Maly)

“Ka‘ao Ho‘oniua Pu‘uwai no Ka-Miki” (The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki) is a long and complex account that was published over a period of four years (1914-1917) in the weekly Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ka Hoku o Hawai‘i*. The narratives were primarily recorded for the paper by Hawaiian historians John Wise and J.W.H.I. Kihe (translators of the work of A. Fornander) with contributions from others of their peers.

While “Ka-Miki” is not an ancient account, the authors used a mixture of local stories, tales, and family traditions in association with place names to tie together fragments of site specific history that had been handed down over the generations. Also, while the personification of all the individuals and their associated place names may not be entirely “ancient,” such place name-person accounts are common throughout Hawaiian (and Polynesian) traditions. The full narratives include documentation on nearly 1,000 named locations, and document site and community histories, local and regional practices, and ceremonial and *mele* (chant) texts; and importantly to this study, the narratives also include a rich collection of traditions regarding fishing customs, locations, practices, and beliefs.

The English translations below, prepared by Maly, are a synopsis of the Hawaiian texts, with emphasis upon the events associated with fisheries. Diacritical marks, hyphenation, and underling has been added to help readers with pronunciation and to identify locational references.

This *mo‘olelo* is set in the 1300s (by association with the chief Pili-a-Ka‘aiea), and is an account of two supernatural brothers, Ka-Miki (The quick, or adept, one) and Ma-Ka‘iole (Rat [squinting] eyes). The narratives describe the birth of the brothers, their upbringing, and their journey around the island of Hawai‘i along the ancient *ala loa* and *ala hele* (trails and paths) that encircled the island. During their journey, the brothers competed alongside the trails they traveled, and in famed *kahua* (contest fields) and royal courts, against *‘ōlohe* (experts skilled in fighting or in other competitions, such as running, fishing, debating, or solving riddles, that were practiced by the ancient Hawaiians). They also challenged priests whose dishonorable conduct offended the gods of ancient Hawai‘i. Ka-Miki and Ma-Ka‘iole were empowered by their ancestress Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka (The great entangled growth of *uluhe* fern which spreads across the uplands), who was one of the myriad of body forms of



the goddess Haumea, a creative force of nature who was also called Papa or Hina, and who is credited with the birth of the islands. Among her many nature-form attributes were manifestations that caused her to be called upon as a goddess of priests and competitors (see Kihe and Wise in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, January 8 to March 12, 1914; Maly, translator).

The brothers were instructed in many techniques of competitions and fighting. When Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uca had taught them all that she new, she prepared them for a ceremony (*'ai lolo*), to end their training, and it is here that begin the references to fisheries, and traditional knowledge of the diverse resources.

Regarding Certain Kapu Associated with Fishing, and Why Eating the Heads of the 'Anae, Uoa, Weke lā'ō, and the Palani-maha-ō'ō, can Cause Nightmares:

Ka-uluhe and Kanakaloa, another elder relative of the brothers, instructed them in the uses of their supernatural powers, and all manner of competition skills which they would need to take a journey around the island of Hawai'i... ..Having completed their training, Ka-uluhe was prepared for the *'awa* and *'ailolo* (graduation) ceremonies of Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole in the uplands of Kalama'ula. The *'awa* had been taken from the ghost-god king Luanu'u-a-nu'u-pō'ele-ka-pō, also called Pahulu. Outraged by this, Pahulu and his ghost hordes arrived at Kaukahōkū. Ka-Miki quickly ensnared the ghost god and his companions in the supernatural net called Halekumuka'aha (also called Ku'uku'u). Ka-Miki pulled the net so tightly that Luanu'u's eyes bulged out and were used by Ka-uluhe for the *pūpū 'awa* (*'awa* drink relish) in the *'ailolo*—completion of training ceremonies performed for Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole at Kaukahōkū. [March 12, 1914]

Following the ceremony, Ka-Miki took the net filled with the bodies of the defeated ghost king and his followers and released them at a place between Kapu'uali'i⁶ and Kaulu⁷ along the shore of Makalawena. The site at which this occurred is now called Ku'una-a-ke-akua (Releasing, or setting down of the ghosts). Hio, a guardian and messenger of Luanu'u-a-nu'u-pō'ele-ka-pō was one of the few ghosts to escape, thus he wanders Kekaha to this day. Because of this event, there is a *kapu* (restriction) which is observed while fishing along the points of Kekaha—

A 'oia ke kapu o kēia mau makalae i nā po'e lawai'a 'upena o ka pō, a'ole e kama'ilio e hele ana i ke 'upena ku'u. A pēlā ho'i ka lama o ka pō, a'ole e kama'ilio a koi alu e hele kākou; a ke hele 'oe e ho'i nele ana 'oe i ke kula o Malama, a'ohe mea loa'a iā 'oe, e 'ike ana 'oe i ka weli o ke kai e lalapa ana e la'a no 'oe o ka uwila.

This is the restriction to be observed along these shores; the night net fishermen, do not speak of going to set nets, nor do the torch fishermen speak of torching, or urge others to go along, because if you do go, you will return empty handed to the plain of Malama, you will get nothing but the wrath of the sea striking at you like lightning.

Those who wish to fish here should say—

E pī'i kākou i uka i kula pa'a kō-kea, i kula 'uala, i ka leo o ka manu.

Let us ascend the plain to which the *kō-kea* sugar cane is held fast, the plain upon which sweet potatoes are planted, and where the voices of the birds are heard.

⁶ Ka-pu'u-ali'i (The chief's hill or mound; Pu'u-ali'i or One-o-pu'u-ali'i). Kapu'uali'i is a sand dune along the shore of Makalawena.

⁷ Ka-ulu (The ledge or plateau) describes a sand dune formation, which is opposite of Kapu'uali'i, with Ku'unaakeakua lying between the dunes; this place name is written as "Kuula" in the *Ke Au Hou* version of the legend.



Perhaps then you will not meet with any strange occurrences when you go net fishing and such.

To this day, when someone eats the heads of the *'anae*, *uoa*, *weke lā'ō*, and the *palani-maha-ō'ō* (fish which are among the body forms of Luanu'u-a-nu'u-pō'ele-ka-pō and his companions) they see strange things. To prevent this, the bones of the fish should be tossed back and the diner should say—*Eia kāu wahi e Pahulu* (Here is your portion o Pahulu)... [March 19, 1914]

Regarding the Ancient Customs of Aku Fishing—including Deity who Controlled the Conditions of the Sea; Types of Lures Used; the Ko'a in the North Kona Region; and Offerings Made for Good Catches:

A *mele* (chant) of the *aku* fishermen in the Kohanaiki vicinity of North Kona—

*E noho ana no,
E walea ana i ka hī aku,
I ka pua a ka lehua i ke kai.
Kai kōpīpī i ka welelau lima,
Ke hi'i ala i ke Aku-mua-kau.
Kaukāhi ka lima o Hale'ohi'u ke ko'a.*

I ka lā puka mauka a napo'o makai,

*I ka nalu wili mai o Apo'ula.
'Ale mai mauka a ho'i hou no i kai.*

Dwelling there,
Enjoying the *aku* lure fishing,
The *lehua* flower of the sea.
In the ocean which salts the finger tips,
Holding the first caught *aku*.
Fish set in the hand at the fishing
station of Hale'ohi'u.
Where the sun is seen to rise from the
uplands, and set in the sea,
In the twisting waves of Apo'ula.
Waves which crest on the shore
and return to the sea. [January 22, 1914]

Desiring to go fishing, Ka-Miki asked the chief Pili if he had a *pā* (mother of pearl lure) for *aku* fishing. He told the chief that a special lure would be needed in order to catch *Kumukea-Kāhuli-Kalani*, the lead *aku* of the deep (the chief of all the schools of *aku* that accompanied Pā'ao on his journey from *Kahiki*). Pili gave Ka-Miki his lure container, but Ka-Miki told Pili that the right lure was not in the container. Pili called for all of the lure containers to be brought before them, but the hook which Ka-Miki desired was not to be found.

Ku'eho'opi'okalā called to Pili and told him that not all the lures had been seen, one remained. This lure, Kaiakeakua had been placed in Ku'eho'opi'okalā's keeping until Pili had need of it; a time when no other lure would do. The lure had been given to Ku'eho'opi'okalā by his grandparents. It had been taken from the mouth of a great *aku* by the chief Olōlo and passed down to Puamau, Maweke, Paumakua, (Iki'ia), Kinikuapu'u-o-Paumakua, and now to Pili. Pili was in the 31st generation from *Wākea*, preceded by Paumakua and Maweke.

Pili commanded that Ku'eho'opi'okalā fetch the lure Kaiakeakua and bring it before him, and Ku'eho'opi'okalā presented the lure to Pili and Ka-Miki. Kaiakeakua contained the color qualities of all manner of *pa-hī-aku* – mother of pearl bonito lures [September 27, 1917].

Pili told Ka-Miki, "My beloved son here is the *pā-kauoha* (lure inheritance) of my ancestors, which I had no knowledge of to this day." Ka-Miki looked at the lure and told Pili, "This is the lure that will catch *Kumukea-Kāhuli-Kalani*." Pili then sent Kapakapaka and Ka'aha'aha to prepare a canoe for Ka-Miki who planned to fish at the *ko'a* of Pāo'o-a-Kanukuhale (between Hale'ohi'u and Ho'onā). Unaware of Ka-Miki's fishing skills, Kapakapaka and Ka'aha'aha thought that Ka-Miki would be unable to handle the canoe and fishing. Pili's lead paddlers were Ko'o and Lou, but as a trick, Pili's court chanters



Uhalalī and Uhalalē were selected to fish with Ka-Miki. Now Uhalalī *mā* had never paddled a canoe before.

Ka-Miki arose when the star *Kau'ōpae* (Sirius) appeared, for this was the time when canoe fleets made ready to depart for the fishing grounds. Ka-Miki went to the canoe sheds of Niumalu and found that Kapakapaka and Ka'aha'aha had done nothing to prepare the *wa'a kialoa* so he returned to the *hālau ali'i* – chief's compound. Later Ka-Miki heard canoe preparations being made so he went again to the shore where he found Uhalalē and Uhalalī, Pili's favored chanters waiting. The canoe fleet had departed and Ka-Miki described the situation with the saying:

O moe loa ke kāne, o nānā wale ka wahine, o ki'e'i wale ke keiki!

When the husband sleeps long, the wife is left looking on, and the child peers about! (When a lazy man does not care for his family, they are left looking for a means of survival)

Learning that Uhalalē *mā* were chanters and unskilled in canoeing, Ka-Miki then understood the deception of Kapakapaka *mā*. Ka-Miki commanded that Uhalalē and Uhalalī board the canoe, and told them not to sit on the seat lest they fall from the canoe [10/4/1917]. With one push, Ka-Miki had the canoe beyond the shoreward waves, with two dips of the paddle, they passed Kaiwi (Keahuolu). When they were near Ahulua, Ka-Miki paused and took out the lure Kaiakeakua and commanded that Uhalalē *mā* paddle. Though these two paddled with all their might, the canoe only moved a little. Ka-Miki then chanted out to his shark *'aumakua Niho'eleki*—

Mele 'aumakua, mele lawai'a:

*I Tahiti ka pō e Niho'eleki
I hana ka pō e Niho'eleki
Lawalawa ka pō e Niho'eleki
Mākaukau ka wa'a la e Niho'eleki
O ke kā o ka wa'a 'ia e Niho'eleki
O nā hoe a Ka-Miki
O Uhalalī a me Uhalalē
O ka pā hi aku o Kaiakeakua
Akua nā hana a ke Aku i kēia lā*

He 'īlio nahumaka 'ai kepekepe

*'Ai humuhumu, 'ai kukukū
Ku'i ka pihe, he pihe aku
O ke aku mua kau
'Ō'ili kāhi, pālua, pākolu*

O ke aku ho'olili la

*O ke aku ka'awili
O ke kumu o ke aku la
o Kumukea-Kāhuli-Kalani
Ke au kāhuli nei, kāhuli aku*

A ku ka imu puhi i ke ko'a

A wala'au ka manu he i'a o lalo

Niho'eleki is from ancient Kahiki,
Niho'eleki is founded in antiquity
Niho'eleki is bound in antiquity
Niho'eleki has made the canoe ready
The canoe bailer is Niho'eleki's
The paddlers are Ka-Miki's
They are Uhalalī and Uhalalē
The *aku* lure is Kaiakeakua
It is a gods work of securing the *aku*
on this day
[Fish] Like a fattened dog to be chewed
to pieces
Consumed voraciously – noisily
The din of voices spread, carried about
It is the first caught *aku*
Which appears once, twice, three times
greater than the rest
The *aku* which ripples across the
ocean's surface
The *aku* which twists in the water
It is the lead *aku*
Kumukea-Kāhuli-Kalani
The current which turns here and
turns there
It looks as if steam from the *imu*
rises above the fishing station (*ko'a*)
And the birds announce that the fish
are below



E ala e ka ho'olili
E ala e ke Kāhuli
E ala e Kumukea-Kāhuli-Kalani
O ka 'ōnohi o ko maka 'āina la
Lele mai ho'okāhi
I pili mai ka lua
Kāmau mai ke kolu
A pau kauna i ka wā ho'okāhi
'Oia, a lele ka'u pā o Kaiakeakua

Arise one who stirs up the waters
 Arise o Kāhuli (the who brings change)
 Arise o Kumukea-Kāhuli-Kalani
 Cherished one of the land
 One leaps forth
 The second is close at hand
 The third follows
 All are in place at one time
 And so it is that my lure flies,
 it is Kaiakeakua.

When Ka-Miki finished his chant, the *aku* began to strike at the canoe, and Ka-Miki told Uhalalē *mā* to take the first caught and place it in a gourd container. After this the *aku* rose like biting dogs, tearing at the water, and Ka-Miki moved like a swift wind. In no time the canoe was filled with more than 400 *aku*. An amazing thing is that though Pili's fishermen and all the fishermen of Kekaha were fishing at Kaka'i, Kanāhāhā (Hale'ohi'u), the entire ocean from the *ko'a* of Kapapu (Keāhole vicinity) to Kahawai (at Ka'ūpūlehu); none of them caught any fish at all.

The *aku* school was at the *ko'a* of Pāo'o, also known by the names Ka-nuku-hale and Pāo'o-a-Kanukuhale; the bonito lure fishing grounds which extended from Kaulana to Ho'onā, fronting Keāhole, which is the source of the [supernatural] currents *Keaukā*, *Keaukāna'i* and *Keaumiki*. These are the currents of that land where fish are cherished like the *lei hala* (pandanus *lei*) worn close to the breast, the fish cherished by Mākālei. Ka-Miki then turned the canoe and landed at *Nā Hono 'Elua* (the two bays) also called *Nā Honokōhau* (Honokōhau). He then divided the fish between the family of the chiefess Paehala and people of those lands... [October 11, 1917].

...The next morning Ka-Miki went again to the canoe sheds at Niumalu (Kailua Bay). Finding his paddlers Uhalalē *mā* sleeping, Ka-Miki picked up the canoe and carried it to the shore. He then prepared the canoe for sailing and fishing. Ka-Miki then chanted – *mele*:

E ala e nā lawai'a o ka lā loa.
E ala e Uhalalī ka lawai'a
i ka muku o ka wa'a,
E ala e Uhalalē ka lawai'a i ke kuamakani.

E ala e liuliu e mākaukau ke kia o ka wa'a.

E ala e lawelawe,
E ho'omākaukau ke kā,
Ka hoe wa'a.
E ala ua ao.
Ua mālamalama kāhuli ka lani.
E ala ku lele ka hōkū pi'i ka 'ula wena.

Ua ao la, ua ao 'ia.
E ala e nā lawai'a
A Ka-Miki lāua o Pili-a-Ka'aiea.

Arise o fishermen of the long day.
 Arise o Uhalalī, fisherman on the starboard
 side of the canoe.
 Arise o Uhalalē, fisherman on wind blown
 side of the canoe.
 Arise make ready, prepare the mast of
 the canoe.
 Arise and attend to duty,
 Prepare the bailer,
 Prepare the paddles.
 Arise it is light.
 Light transforms the heavens.
 Arise, the stars flee and the red light
 of morning appears.
 It is light, indeed it is so.
 Arise o fishermen of
 Ka-Miki and Pili-a-Ka'aiea.

Uhalalī *mā* did not awaken from their 'awa induced sleep, so Ka-Miki prepared the canoe setting the paddles, bailers, *lauhala* sail, the 'ohe *hī aku* (bamboo poles on which *aku* lure lines were attached) into the canoe. He then carried Uhalalē and Uhalalī and placed them in the canoe as well. Ka-Miki then fetched the container in which Kaiakeakua was kept and returned to the shore. Ka-Miki found Pili's lead paddlers Ko'o and Lou waiting for him at the canoe. Ka-Miki told them to board the canoe and hold on, with one push the canoe was past the shore ward waves of Niumalu.



Ka-Miki then chanted to *Ka-uluhe* calling her to cause the ocean to rise up against the shores—

*Ho'onanana ke po'i a ka nalu,
A ka nalu kākala mai Tahiti.
Ho'onanana ke kai hūhū kai-make loa.
O ku'u kūpuna wahine i ka po'ina a
nalu la.
O Hā'uke'uke o Uhalula, o Hailimoa,
O Wana-nui-po'ohina, o Hāwa'e-nui-
noho-koke,
O 'Ina-uli mā lāua o 'Ina-kea.
Na lākou e ko'o ka nalu
A hālana mālie ke kai.*

O my ancestress in the crashing of
the waves,
The bristly-backed waves from Tahiti.
A sea that quakes in anger and brings death.
My ancestress in the crashing of the waves.
O urchins – *Ha'uke'uke* and *Uhalula*,
Hailimoa,
Great-*Wana*, Great-*Hāwa'e*, that dwells
nearby,
Dark *'ina* and light *'ina*.
These urchins who stir up the shore waves
And cause the ocean to remain calm.

Thus Ka-Miki called upon the various ocean and shore urchin body-forms of *Ka-uluhe*, to stir up shoreward waves, and calm the open sea.

The waves then rose and kept the canoe fleets shore bound, yet the open sea was calm. With a dip of the paddle Ka-Miki *mā* arrived at the *ko'a* of Kahawai, Ka'ūpūlehu when it was still dark. Ka-Miki chanted to *Uhalalē* and *Uhalalī* who awoke, startled to find themselves on the ocean [October 25, 1917].

Fishing with Kaiakeakua, the *aku* struck at the canoe and *Uhalalī* took the first caught fish and placed it in the container. Before sunrise, the canoe was filled with *aku*, and they turned and drew near the point of Keāhole. Ka-Miki leapt from the canoe and told *Uhalalī*, *Uhalalē*, *Ko'o* and *Lou* to go to Honokōhau and wait off shore for him to join them. Ka-Miki then took 40 *aku* and journeyed towards Kalama'ula. He stopped and gave *aku* to his grandfather Pohokinikini, and then continued up to the *hālau ali'i* of Kaukahōkū. Ka-Miki greeted *Ka-uluhe*, *Maka'iole*, and *Keahialaka*, and offered the first caught *aku* to *Ka-uluhe*. *Ka-uluhe* chanted to *Kapa'ihilani*, and they shared the fish with the *ali'i* of Kohana-iki... [November 1, 1917]

Regarding Ancient Practices of 'Ōpelu Fishermen, and Respect of the 'Aumākua Lawai'a (Fishermen's Gods) in the Kapalilua Region of South Kona:

Kahauwawaka was a priest of the *hulihonua* and *kuhikuhi pu'eone* (a seer and reader of the lay of the land—one who directed the construction of important features). The *heiau*, by the name Kahauwawaka, at Kalāhiki, was named for this priest, as were a plantation in which *iholena* bananas, *'awa*, *kalo*, and other crops were planted; and a fishermen's *ko'a* near the shore... ..Ka-Miki went to the shore of Kalāhiki, at Kōwa'a, where he met with the head fisherman, Kūalaka'i, and people of the area. The shore line at this part of Kalāhiki was called Kaulanawa'a, and it was here that the *'ōpelu* fishermen were landing their canoes. The fishermen's usual practice was to haul or drag their canoes on *hau* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*) and *wiliwili* (*Erythrina sandwicensis*) *lona* (rollers) up to the *hālau wa'a* of Kuaokalā. Ka-Miki saw the canoes landing, and grabbed a canoe with the nets, three men and fish still in it and carried the entire load, placing the canoe in the *hālau*.

This greatly startled the fishermen and people who lived along this shore, and they thought that Ka-Miki was a god in human form. The fishermen called to him commenting on his strength, and Ka-Miki responded that "This is the usual practice of the fishermen of my home land at Ka'elehuluhulu and Hale'ōhi'u of Kekaha."



Kūalaka'i, the lead fisherman offered Ka-Miki half of their catch. Ka-Miki, moved by Kūalaka'i's generosity, told him, "As you have given me these fish, so the 'aumāku*a lawai'a* (fishermen's deities) shall empower you (*a e mana iā 'oe...*). Kūalaka'i, you, your wife Kailohiaea, and your descendants shall have all the fish you need, and your practices will be fruitful." (It was in this way that the *Kū'ula* form fishermen's god Kūalaka'i became deified; Kailohiaea is perhaps a deity called upon by fisher-women). With these words, Ka-Miki picked up the net with his portion of 'ō*pelu*, and in the wink of an eye, he disappeared to the uplands, arriving at a place called Pīnaonao... [November 5 & 26, 1914]

Regarding the Pāpaua (Mother-of-pearl Lure) Fishing for Aku in the Kapalilua Region of South Kona:

Ka-Miki and Maka-i*ole* passed through the lands of Kukuiopa'e, Kolo, 'Ō*lelomoana*, 'Ō*pihali*, Ka'apuna, Kīpāhoehoe and 'Alikā, all of which were named for *ali'i* who controlled the *ahupua'a* of those names. The brothers descended to the shore, and arrived at the *hālau ali'i* (royal compound) of the chief Pāpaua, which was situated near the canoe landing, in the land now called Pāpā. The chief Pāpaua was famed for his *pā-hi-aku* (mother of pearl, bonito fishing lure), and the place name, Pāpā commemorates Pāpaua. Pāpaua was descended from the family of Pā-ku-huhu-a-Kalino, as told in the story of Kalino⁸], and was the brother-in-law of Hīkāpōloa, a great chief of Kohala.

The land of Pāpā was well populated and there were many fishermen and fishing canoes in Pāpā and neighboring lands. Ka-Miki met with Pūpuhi, the head fisherman of Pāpaua, at the canoe landing, and it was agreed that Ka-Miki would accompany the chief on his fishing expedition in place of Pūpuhi. Once in the canoe, Ka-Miki gave one thrust of the paddle, and the canoe was directed to the *aku* fishing grounds. So great was the strength of Ka-Miki's thrust, that Pāpaua almost fell out of the canoe. Once at the fishing ground, a great catch of *aku* was made, and it was understood that Ka-Miki was no ordinary person.

Upon returning to the shore, Pūpuhi invited Ka-Miki *mā* to stay at Pāpā, but he declined, explaining the nature of the journey with his brother. Pūpuhi then warned them about the fierce 'ō*lohe*, Omoka'a and Okoe *mā*, who dwelt along the path and waylaid travelers. It was in this way, that Ka-Miki and Maka-i*ole* learned that those 'ō*lohe* had a special compound along the trail with houses on both sides of it, and in between the two was an *imu* which was always kept glowing hot. It was the practice of Omoka'a and Okoe *mā* to compete in riddling and fighting techniques with everyone who passed by, and they had killed many people. Their victims were baked in an *imu* and their bones were used for fishhooks... [December 17, 1914]

Regarding the use of Imu (Stone Mounds) to Catch Fish, and Types of Fish Caught near the Shores of Kapalilua:

Okoe was the 'ō*lohe* wife of Omoka'a, and mother of 'Ōpu'u-ka-honua, 'Ōmu'o-ka-honua, 'Ōlau-ka-honua, 'Ōliko-ka-honua, and 'Ōmole-ka-honua, all of whom were notorious 'ō*lohe*.

Ka-Miki and Maka-i*ole* arrived at the compound of Omoka'a and Okoe *mā*, and indeed the famed *imu* in which they baked their victims glowed red hot with its fire. Omoka'a sat on the *mauka* side and Okoe on the *makai* side of the *imu*, and upon seeing Ka-Miki *mā* they both reached for their tripping clubs. The four competitors exchanged taunts and riddles. And Ka-Miki warned the couple that they would be the ones baked in their own *imu*. Seeing that Ka-Miki *mā* were versed in riddling, Omoka'a and Okoe started their efforts at defeating Ka-Miki *mā*, in hopes of baking them in the *imu*.

⁸ See the account of Ka-uma-i*ili-'ula* (S.M. Kamakau 1991:102-103).



One of Okoe's riddles asked:

"Aia la! Aia ho'i! Ku'u imu a'ohē ahi , ku'u imu uwahi 'ole, ku'u imu ho'okāhi no pōhaku, ku'u imu 'elua no pe'a kauwawe, ku'u imu e ...!"

Behold, behold indeed! My *imu* has no fire, no smoke, my *imu* has one stone, and two *tī* leaf bundle covers, yet it is my *imu*...!

Ka-Miki responded:

"He imu manini ko kai, a'ohē ahi pau no na'e ka manini i ka 'ai 'ia. He imu mai'a ko uka ua mo'a pala kāpule iloko o ka lua, a'ohē ahi pau no na'e i ka 'ai 'ia..."

The rock mound an *imu* [also called *umu*] for the *manini* in the sea, has no fire, yet it is consumed. The smokeless *imu* is in the uplands, is an over ripened banana, and it too is consumed...

Once again, Okoe and Omoka'a agreed that Ka-Miki won the contest... [January 21, 1915]

...As the contests were drawing to an end, Okoe saw her children returning from Honomalino where they had been fishing. The children were carrying nets filled with *pā'ou'ou*, *hilu*, *weke*, *moano*, *anahulu*, and *maomao uli* and other fish. Okoe explained the days events and told the children that there was no victory for them, that they must take Ka-Miki *mā* as companions to save their own lives... 'Ōlau, 'Ōliko, and 'Ōmole, the three younger children agreed with their mother that they should not attempt to fight.

'Ōpu'u and 'Ōmu'o refused to listen, and they recounted their *'ōlohe* nature and the background of their family (their grandparents lived in *Kahiki* with the chief Ke'e (written Koweia Jan. 28, 1915), ward of Olokea and Olomea, the mysterious *kūpua* of *Kahiki-kū*).

Omoka'a, Okoe and their children returned to the compound where Ka-Miki *mā* awaited. Upon seeing Ka-Miki *mā*, 'Ōpu'u and 'Ōmu'o put their heads down, realizing that they would be no competition for Ka-Miki. Omoka'a prepared the food and *'awa*, and all participated in a feast. As the new day arrived, Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole prepared to continue their journey, and Okoe told them about Manukā, and his skills... [February 3, 1915]

A Saying Regarding the use of 'Auhuhu (Tephrosia purpurea) to Stun Fish in Tidal Pools:

Ho'okāhi no hao a ka 'auhuhu hola o nā kaheka la, mōkākī ka manini, ka mā'i'i'i, ka maikoiko, ke kihikihi, ke 'ālo'ilo'i a me ke akaka a me ka lauhau ho'opau maunu!

With just one use, the *'auhuhu*, the poison spread through the shallow tidal pools, catching the *manini*, *mā'i'i'i*, *maikoiko*, *kihikihi*, and *'ālo'ilo'i*, *akaka* and *lauhau* fish, as they sought to consume the bait! [May 10, 1917]

Regarding the 'Anae and 'O'opu 'Ai Lehua of Waipi'o Valley:

As a part of a running contest, items were required to be brought from great distances to Puna as proof of having traveled to the designated locations. Among the items were a live *'anae momona o Pāka'alana* (plump mullet fish of Pāka'alana) and *'o'opu 'ai lehua o Hi'ilawe* (*'o'opu* which eat *lehua* blossoms of Hi'ilawe)... When Ka-Miki took the *'anae momona o Pāka'alana*, some of the *'ālapa* (warrior - fishermen) of the sacred Pili chiefs tried to stop him. *Ka-'ohu-kolo-mai-iluna-o-ka-lā'au* caused a thick mist to settle on



Waipi'o, and Ka-Miki bound the 'ālapa in the supernatural net *Ku'uku'u*, and left them along the cliff of Ha'inakolo. This event was the source of the place name Nā'ālapa and the saying – "*He-ha Waipi'o i ka noe!*" (Tired [overwhelmed] is Waipi'o in the mists!)... [February 3-10, 1916]

Regarding the Origins of Lawai'a Lūhe'e (Octopus Lure Fishing); and Prayers and Practices Associated with such Fishing:

The region of Lālāmilo (South Kohala) was named for the chief Lālāmilo, who was also an expert 'ōlohe and fisherman. Through his wife Puakō, Lālāmilo came to possess the supernatural *leho* (cowrie octopus lure) which had been an 'ōnohi (cherished) possession of *Ha'aluea*, an ocean goddess with an octopus form. *Ha'aluea* and her family came from *Kāne-hūnā-moku* (The hidden land of *Kāne*) and settled at Kapa'a, Kaua'i. *Ha'aluea* was the wife of the wind and ocean god *Halulu-ko'ako'a*, grandmother of *'Iwa-nui-kīlou-moku* (Great 'Iwa the island catcher). How this octopus lure came to be found by Puakō mā on the reefs fronting their land remains a mystery.

The *leho* was so powerful that if it was only shown to the *he'e*, they would climb upon the canoe and be caught. Lālāmilo carefully guarded this lure and even slept with it. When Lālāmilo did leave the lure, he stored it in the *hōkeo aho hī-ahi* (tuna lure and line storage gourd) of his grandfather Kakanaka, and this was hidden, tied to the ridge pole of his house.

Lālāmilo's grandmother Pili-a-mo'o was an 'ōlohe seer, and she discerned the nature of the lure, and instructed Lālāmilo to kill all people who inquired about the lure, or sought to see it. Because the fame of this lure spread around Hawai'i and people were curious about it, many people were killed.

Pili-a-Ka'aiea the chief of Kona greatly loved octopus fishing, and had sent several messengers to inquire of Lālāmilo how he might acquire the lure. All of the messengers were killed by Lālāmilo and Pili-a-mo'o. While at Hinakahua (Puapua'a), Ka-Miki agreed to fetch the lure for Pili as one of the conditions he needed to fulfill in order to become the foremost favorite of Pili. Now as these events at the court of Pili were unfolding, Lālāmilo decided to visit his father Pu'u-hīna'i; his sister Pu'u'iwa'iwa; and his grand aunt Waikōloa, who was Pu'u'iwa'iwa's guardian. To this day, places are named for all of these people as well.

Lālāmilo arose and told his wife Puakō, and his mother Nē'ula that he was going to the uplands to visit his father, sister, and the people who worked the upland plantations. Lālāmilo desired to eat the sugar cane and bananas, and drink the 'awa which grew on the hill of Po'opo'o. Po'opo'o was also a seer (*makāula*) and saw to the continued peaceful dwelling of the people. Lālāmilo placed the lure in Kakanaka's gourd and secured it near the ridge pole of his house. Lālāmilo then asked Puakō and Nē'ula to go and look after the gourd in which the 'ōnohi (eyeball or cherished possession) of *Ha'aluea* was kept.

Lālāmilo then departed and traveled up towards the residence and agricultural lands of Pu'uhīna'i mā, as he drew near his destination, his thoughts returned to the lure. Lālāmilo looked towards the ocean, his desire to see the lure was very great [July 5, 1917]. At the same time, Lālāmilo also had a premonition, so he returned to the shore without visiting his father and sister. During the time when Lālāmilo was gone, Ka-Miki traveled to Lālāmilo's land and met with a man of the area named Nīheu. Ka-Miki inquired, "Where is the chief Lālāmilo's house?" Nīheu said, "It is there above the canoe landing." Ka-Miki then asked, "And where is the chief?" Nīheu responded by saying, "I don't know, perhaps he is in house." Ka-Miki then went to Lālāmilo's house, peering in he saw the gourd container and he lowered it, removing the cordage, Ka-Miki took out the lure.



Departing from Lālāmilo's house, Ka-Miki called out in chant to empower himself with great leaping abilities - *mele*:

*Kī auau, kī auau,
Kō auau, kō auau,
Kī ko'oko'o, kī ko'oko'o,
Kū ka pā lele Kōkī o Wailau.*

So quick, so fast,
Pulling, it is drawn on,
Spread out, leaping,
Touch the heights of Wailau. [July 5, 1917]

Perhaps now, the readers might be interested to learn how Puakō and her family left Puna, settled in the regions of Kohala and Kona; and how she came to marry Lālāmilo and found the magical *leho* (cowrie) that became the octopus lure.

Pua-kō, was the daughter of Wa'awa'a (k) and Anahulu (w), and the sister of 'Anaeho'omalū (w); Pū'āla'a (k); and Maui-loa (k). Puakō's great desire was to eat *he'e* (octopus), and Pū'āla'a was kept continually busy acquiring *he'e* for Puakō, and getting *pa'ou'ou* fish for 'Anaeho'omalū. When he could no longer provide adequate fish for his sisters they left Puna and set out in search of suitable husbands who could provide for their needs.

Arriving at Kapalaoa in the Kekaha lands of Kona, 'Anaeho'omalū married Nāipuakalaulani. Puakō went on to Waimā where she met with natives of that area, and was introduced to the chiefess Nē'ula, mother of Lālāmilo. When Nē'ula learned that Puakō greatly coveted *he'e*, she told Puakō that her son was the foremost *lawai'a 'ōkilo he'e* (octopus fisherman) of the region. And because Puakō was so beautiful, Nē'ula introduced her to Lālāmilo. Lālāmilo saw Puakō, and compared her to the foremost "*he'e*" which he could catch.

One day after Lālāmilo and Puakō were married, Puakō went to the shore to gather coastal fish and seaweeds. It was low tide at Waimā, and she was able to go far out upon the flats where she saw a *he'e* (octopus) spread out upon the reef, which she speared and took it towards the shore. This *he'e* was so heavy she could barely carry it, and Nē'ula saw Puakō and inquired who had given it to her. Puakō told Nē'ula how she found the octopus on the coral out cropping. Nē'ula responded that she was native of this place and had never seen an octopus of that nature here.

While Puakō and Nē'ula were talking, Lālāmilo returned from octopus fishing and saw Puakō's octopus. Lālāmilo asked Puakō where she had gotten that octopus from and she related the events to him. Lālāmilo accused her of lying, and asked how an ocean octopus could be found on the reef. Lālāmilo then struck Puakō, thinking that she had gotten her octopus from some other man. He struck her so hard that her skin darkened, and Nē'ula interceded saying that they should go to the place where the octopus came from. Nē'ula told Lālāmilo that perhaps what Puakō said was true, and that they should go look upon the reef. Indeed there was an octopus upon the reef, and Lālāmilo caught it. Coming before Puakō, Lālāmilo apologized for thinking that someone else had taken the – restricted fish of the chief (i.e. Puakō).

Lālāmilo then went to investigate why the *he'e* were attracted to that site on the reef. He looked and found a small hole with something red like an *'ōhi'a* blossom inside it. He realized that it was a beautiful *leho* (cowrie lure) which had attracted the *he'e*, indeed it was the foremost lure of all Hawai'i. Lālāmilo broke the reef and took the cowrie, and from that time, no more *he'e* appeared on the reef. Lālāmilo took the *leho* to his house and cleaned the meat from it. He then fastened it with rope, making the lure, and he kept it close to him. Lālāmilo placed lure in a container and went octopus fishing. When he got to the *lūhe'e* (octopus fishing) site, Lālāmilo removed the lure from the container and



secured it to his hand. At the same time, a *he'e* came up and climbed upon the canoe, but when the lure was covered the *he'e* stopped coming into the canoe. Lālāmilo had gotten some 120 *he'e* in a short time, and he returned to show his wife and mother the results. Nē'ula suggested that Lālāmilo take the lure and an offering of *he'e* to his grandmother, the seer Pili-a-mo'o.

Lālāmilo went to Pili-a-mo'o and showed the lure to her. Pili-a-mo'o discerned the nature of the lure and told Lālāmilo that this was not an ordinary cowrie lure, but a god, the *'ōnohi* (favorite or cherished one) of *Ha'aluea* the mysterious supernatural octopus being of the ocean depths. The being who was the grandmother of 'Iwa the rascal of Kaua'i (see Kapa'a and Maka'iwa, Kaua'i). Pili-a-mo'o went on to say that it was indeed mysterious that the center of Ha'aluea's attention came to dwell along the shore of Nē'ula, the *Kū'ula* (fishing deity); the shore where salt is hardened as the wind *Kuehu lepo* wind picks up the sea mist, and where the three canoe sailing winds of *Haehae*, *Nāulu*, and *Ho'olua* blow. Pili-a-mo'o consecrated the *leho* and the *he'e* which it attracted. She also told Lālāmilo that the first *he'e* caught must always be brought to her as an offering. Pili-a-mo'o then told Lālāmilo that no one should be allowed to see the *leho*, and that anyone who sought to see it had to be killed.

As the fame of the lure spread through the land, people were curious about it, and many people were killed by Lālāmilo. It is at this point, that the narrative returns to Ka-Miki (see Niualu, Kona) and his successful acquiring of the lure. [July 19, 1917]

Now, back to the story of Lālāmilo. Because of his premonition that something was amiss with the lure, Lālāmilo returned to his home from the uplands and found that the *leho* had indeed been stolen. Lālāmilo went empty handed to Pili-a-mo'o, and she ignored him, thinking he had forgotten to bring her the offering of the first caught *he'e*. Lālāmilo called to Pili-a-mo'o in a *mele* (chant) lamenting the loss of the prized possession of Ha'aluea —

*E ala e ka Ho'olua,
E ke Kiu ho'ohae a ka Nāulu,
Ulu a ka moana ke lele 'ino nei ke ao.
Ua kaiko'o ka 'āina,
Ku ka puna kea i ka pōhuehue,*

*Ua he'e, Ua hu'e 'ia ka 'ōnohi maka o
Ha'aluea la.
Ua lilo minamina wale au e,
O wau nei o Lālāmilo,
O ke kama a Kanakanaka,
lāua o Piliamo'o.
Ku'u kupuna wahine aīwaiwa e,
E ala mai!*

*Arise o Ho'olua,
O lashing Kiu gusts of the Nāulu storms,
The sea is agitated and the clouds fly by.
The waves rise to the land,
Throwing the coral pieces upon the
pōhuehue growth,
[The lure] has fled [vanished], the prize
of Ha'aluea's, eye has been removed.
I am overcome with grief,
It is I, Lālāmilo,
The offspring of Kanakanaka and
Piliamo'o.
My mysterious ancestress who sleeps here,
Arise!*

Learning of the theft, Pili-a-mo'o commanded that Lālāmilo seek out a black pig, a white cock, 'awa from Po'opo'o, an *'āhuluhulu* (red fish), and a red *malo* before the setting of the sun. Lālāmilo acquired all of the items and returned to the house of Pili-a-mo'o. Pili-a-mo'o told Lālāmilo to release the pig and chicken, and both of them entered the canoe which Pili-a-mo'o had prepared as the path on which Lālāmilo would travel to *Kaua'i-o-Kamāwaelualani*, where he would find 'Iwa at Maka'iwa, Kapa'a.

Pili-a-mo'o called to Lālāmilo saying, "The gods have approved your offerings, and here is your path (canoe) to present the offerings to 'Iwa, the mysterious rascal of the land which snares the sun, 'Iwa the sacred ward of *Halulu-ko'ako'a*." With the offerings set in



the canoe, and the sail raised, Pili-a-mo'o then prepared, an 'awa ceremony. The pig was at the mast, the 'awa and fish were set on the platform, the rooster sat on the outrigger end, and the *malo* was placed at the stern of the canoe. After Pili-a-mo'o and Lālāmilo drank 'awa they slept and when half the night passed, the rooster crowed. Pili-a-mo'o arose and went out of the house where she saw the navigators' star high above. Pili-a-mo'o then called to Lālāmilo, "Arise great shark of the sea, o offspring of *Hulihia-ka-lani*, o flippers of the turtle *Kamilo-holu-o-Waiākea*. Awaken for the light of the star *Hiki'i-maka-o-Unulau*, the *Kualau* (shower bearing wind) blows and the traveler will touch Kaua'i." Lālāmilo arose, entered the canoe and prepared to journey to Kaua'i. [August 2, 1917]

Before departing, Pili-a-mo'o told Lālāmilo, "Go and journey to Kaua'i, to the curling waves of Makaīwa. And when you land on the shore, do not turn the nose of the canoe shoreward, leave it facing to the uplands. A young child will grasp the canoe and say, 'For whom is the canoe?'" Pili-a-mo'o told Lālāmilo that he must tell the little boy, "The canoe is Lālāmilo's." The boy will then ask where is the canoe going, and you must tell him, "The canoe is going to fetch '*Iwa-nui-kīlou-moku*.'" The boy will then ask "Why do you want 'Iwa, to which you must respond, 'I seek 'Iwa as a companion to travel with.'"

When you take the canoe to the dry shore, tell the boy that the items in the canoe are offerings to 'Iwa, and then gird the *malo* on the boy and place the offerings at the house. Taking these words in, Lālāmilo departed with the wind, flying like a *mālolo* (flying fish) leaping over the waves. In a short time Hawai'i was lost from view, and as the early sun light appeared, Lālāmilo landed the canoe upon the shore of Kaua'i. He met with the young boy as Pili-a-mo'o had instructed, and Lālāmilo presented the offerings to Halulu-ko'ako'a. All things were fulfilled as Pili-a-mo'o had described them.

After a feast and 'awa, 'Iwa fell asleep, but still listened to his grandfather. Halulu-ko'ako'a asked Lālāmilo the nature of his journey, and Lālāmilo explained about the *leho*. Halulu-ko'ako'a called to 'Iwa, arise great island catching 'Iwa of *Kahiki-kū*, favorite of Halulu-ko'ako'a and *Maluaka*. 'Iwa awoke and they drank 'awa again, 'Iwa then went out and prepared the canoe. 'Iwa then called to Halulu-ko'ako'a that everything was prepared. Halulu-ko'ako'a agreed that it was time to depart and he brought out the paddle *Lapakūkalani*. Now this was a large paddle and Lālāmilo doubted if 'Iwa could handle it. [August 9, 1917]

When Lālāmilo and 'Iwa went to the canoe, 'Iwa told Lālāmilo to take the front seat, saying that Lālāmilo had exhibited his skills in arriving at Kaua'i. 'Iwa said he would steer the canoe back to Hawai'i. With one push, the canoe passed the *ko'a hīahi* of 'Āwini at *Wailua*. 'Iwa called to Halulu-ko'ako'a, "Here is our cherished paddle *Kūlapakalani*" [sic] and thrust it into the sea which raged all around Kaua'i. It is because of this event that the sea of Kaua'i is always rough.

The canoe leapt forward and they reached the point of Nānu'alele, at Ka'uiki along the shores of Punahoa, Maui. Passing Maui, 'Iwa thrust the paddle once again into the ocean, waves arose on Maui's coast, and Kohala appeared before them. The 'Āpa'apa'a wind carried them past Hā'ena, Awalua, and Kapa'a, Kohala. 'Iwa asked Lālāmilo, "What land is this which rises above?", and Lālāmilo told him it was Kohala. The 'Āpa'apa'a then carried them past Kawaihae of the whispering sea to the sandy shore of Kauna'oa where they landed and went to Piliamo'o's house.

Pili-a-mo'o had prepared food and 'awa, and when they had eaten, the two friends fell asleep. When they awakened, Lālāmilo and 'Iwa swam in the ocean and then went to meet with Nē'ula and Puakō [August 16, 1917]. 'Iwa told Lālāmilo *mā*, "Tomorrow we will retrieve the *leho* from Kona, and on the following day I will return to Kaua'i." Though



Lālāmilo and Pili-a-mo‘o asked ‘Iwa to stay for a while and visit Hawai‘i, ‘Iwa told them that he had a vision that he must return to Kaua‘i quickly. On the following morning, ‘Iwa awakened Lālāmilo, calling to him—

*E ala ua ao e, ua mālamalama , ua ‘ohi ka pili o Makali‘i, ua li‘ili‘i ka pō, ka hauli ka
lani lele ka hōkū ke pi‘i nei ka ‘ula wena o ke ao ia!*

Arise the light shines, the *Makali‘i* has passed, the night lessens, the heavens recede and the stars fly as the red glow arises, it is light!

‘Iwa then said, “Let us go fetch the pride of our grandmother.” ‘Iwa and Lālāmilo departed and quickly arrived at the shore of Pālau‘eka (at Hōlualoa) where Pili’s fishermen Ka‘aha‘aha and Kapakapaka were preparing for the chiefs’ *he‘e* fishing expedition. Kapakapaka greatly admired the alert look of these two youth, so he inquired if they knew how to paddle. ‘Iwa said he had some experience in canoeing, righting a canoe, directing a canoe through the waves and landing one upon the shore. Kapakapaka then invited them to board the canoe. ‘Iwa inquired what fish the chief was after today, and Kapakapaka said *he‘e*.

‘Iwa described the nature of *he‘e* and stated that the largest octopus, *he‘e o kai uli*, dwelt in the deep waters. ‘Iwa went on to say that this *he‘e* was so large that only one arm could fit in the canoe. Kapakapaka did not believe ‘Iwa, but Ka‘aha‘aha said if there were such a *he‘e* that it would be worth seeing. ‘Iwa then told the fishermen that they should go out before the chief and locate this mysterious octopus. [August 23, 1917]

Lālāmilo, ‘Iwa, and Pili’s head fishermen traveled beyond the *ko‘a ‘ōpelu* grounds, the *kūkaula* (hand line) fishing grounds, and the *ko‘a kāhala* fishing grounds. ‘Iwa then said “Here is where we will try to catch the *he‘e o kai uli*.” ‘Iwa took his own cowrie lure, named *Mulali-nui-makakai*, bound with a hook and ‘ōahi stone sinker and tossed it into the sea. ‘Iwa then chanted to his grandmother Ha‘alua —

Mele pule lawai‘a he‘e

E ala e ka he‘e pali,

E ala e ka he‘e pu‘u‘ai,

E ala e ka he‘e pūloa,

E ala e ka he‘e pūko‘a,

E ala e ka he‘e pāki‘i,

E ala e ka he‘e pālaha,

E ala e ka he‘e pu-ō ka lau.

O ka nui la mōhala ka lau,

O ka na‘ena‘e mā‘ele ka,

Ka he‘e o kai uli la...

Arise o cliff octopus

Arise o round headed octopus

Arise o long headed octopus

Arise o octopus of the reef

Arise o flattened octopus

Arise o octopus spread upon the ocean floor

Arise o octopus which bends like the
coconut palm leaves

O great unfurling leaf

O fragrant one which sets numbing fear

The octopus of the deep sea...

When ‘Iwa finished his prayer, a *he‘e* like none other pulled at the lure and rose to the canoe. ‘Iwa killed the *he‘e*, Kapakapaka and Ka‘aha‘aha were astounded, and ‘Iwa then told them this is not the biggest octopus yet.

‘Iwa cast his lure again, and this time the lure was held firmly in the ocean as though stuck in the coral. Pili’s double hulled canoe drew near, and ‘Iwa suggested that Kapakapaka *mā* ask Pili to use his lure at this site, so he could secure the largest octopus. Pili’s lure was set into the water and ‘Iwa called to Ha‘alua —

E Ha‘alua e,

Eia mai ka leho a kāua,

O Ha‘alua

Here is our lure



*Pa'a 'ia a pa'a,
A o ko 'awe
Kāpae la o kolo 'ia i uka...*

Hold it tightly
And let your tentacle
Reach to cling upon that which
is above... [August 30, 1917]

A large *he'e* rose and embraced Pili's canoe, this *he'e* was killed and Pili set the lure into the ocean again. This time the goddess *Ha'aluea* rose in her octopus form and held tight to the canoe and lure. 'Iwa dove into the ocean and swam along *Ha'aluea's* tentacles, he found the lure and secured it in the folds of his *malo*. 'Iwa then tied the chiefs' line to a coral outcropping and returned to the surface where he joined *Lālāmilo*. *Ha'aluea* let go of Pili's canoe, and 'Iwa told *Lālāmilo* to paddle the canoe towards Maui. In a short time, they arrived along the shore of Waimea at Kauna'oa, where they were greeted by Pili-a-mo'o. [September 6, 1917]

Lālāmilo and 'Iwa ate and drank 'awa, and 'Iwa then returned to Kaua'i. Thus *Lālāmilo* reclaimed his lure. Puakō's brother *Pū'āla'a* arrived from Puna and *Lālāmilo* divided the *leho* with him. Because the divided shells looked like portions of baked taro, the lure came to be called *Kalo-kunu* (broiled taro). And so told is the story of *Lālāmilo* and *Kalokunu* of the wind *Kuehulepo* of Puakō... [September 13, 1917]

Regarding the Gods of the Fishponds of Kaloko, North Kona:

...Ka-Miki went to the shore of Kauahia at Kaloko, to gather 'anae (mullet) from the fishponds there. In those days, the fishponds were controlled by the chief Ahauhale and his young brother Owela-a-Lu'ukia. When Ka-Miki set his net into the pond, it was filled with multitudes of 'anae. Taking the net, filled with fish, Ka-Miki went to share fish with Pohokinikini mā (the foster parents who had cared for Ma-Ka'iole). Ka-Miki then returned to Kalama'ula, where he further divided the catch, setting some aside for his mother, Kapa'ihilani, and his aunt, Pipipi'apo'o, and their households. Ka-Miki then prepared the fish by broiling them wrapped in ti leaves (*lāwalu*). When the fish were cooked, he called to awaken Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka and Ma-Ka'iole—

Awaken, here is the fish of the chief who controls the resources of the district, the fish of the chiefs and overseers, who control all things from the mountain to the sea... When Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka woke up, she saw the fire burning and the fish from the pond spread all over, as well as the clump of 'awa. She asked Ka-Miki where they had come from —

The 'anae came from the fishpond of the chief 'Ahauhale, his wife Pūkakī, and his young brother 'Owela-a-Lu'ukia. And the 'awa came from the dry land gardens below here... Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka then asked, "How is it that the guards at the fishpond did not see you?" Ka-Miki explained that there were no people there, and that he had only seen "A stout bulging-eyed man sleeping along the edge of the pond." She then told him —

That man is Kūmakapu'u. He is the guardian of the pond, the one secures the abundance of the fish. He enforces the restrictions of the ponds and is the one that causes the numbers of fish to increase. It is he who ensures that the fingerlings (*pua*) are plentiful, and that the small holding ponds (*ki'o*) and sluice gates (*hā*) are secure. He is not a man, but is a spirit. It is he who takes the offerings that are made, to the chiefess-deities of the fishpond — they are 'O'opu-po'owai-nui-a-niho, Ka-lama-i-nu'u-nui-a-noho, and Kiha-wahine-iki-a-nanea. They are the *ali'i kapu Lono i'a* (royal ones who keep the fish of Lono class restrictions) in that pond. And the small island in the middle of the fishpond, the fish-gourd (*ipu-kai'a*), is their royal compound (*hālau ali'i*), called "Pākōlea."

At the times when people desire to journey and see the sites of the land, it is these goddesses who hide the fish in the ponds, so that it appears there are no fish. Now if the



goddesses are gone, the water of the pond is green, but if they are present, the water is red, like the color of blood. In that way, it is known whether or not the goddesses are at their royal compound. When the water is no longer red, they have gone, and that is time that fish are caught in the *mākāhā* of the fishpond.

These things which Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka told Ka-Miki about the signs of the fishpond are true, and will be attested to by the natives of the area to this day... [March 26, 1914]

XX. Selections from Fornander's Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore (1916-1919)

In between the 1860s to 1880s, Abraham Fornander served in the Hawaiian Kingdom, as Minister of Education and a Judge, and took a great interest in collection of Hawaiian folk-lore. He traveled the islands collecting native traditions, and also gained much information from several native historians cited above, and the family of his wife, a native of chiefly descent from Moloka'i. Many of the accounts were originally published in native language newspapers, and the complete collection was translated and published between 1916 to 1919). The following *mo'olelo* focus on those accounts he collected, that describe traditional beliefs, customs and practices associated with fishing and aquatic resources.

Legend of Nihooleki (An Account of Fishing Grounds of the Hawaiian Islands)

Keaouhou in Kona, Hawaii, was the birthplace of Nihooleki and it was from this place that he moved to Kuukuuu, in Puuokapolei at Waianae, where he took unto himself a wife. The name Nihooleki was given to his spirit body; his name during his life time was Keahaikiaholeha, a chief, and was the greatest fisherman over all the whole country of Waianae. It was he that owned the mother-of-pearl fish-hook called Pahuhu that could catch so much *aku*.¹ He was at one time king of Waianae and had fished from all the head lands round about that country. He knew all the fish and fishing grounds in the ocean around that region. After a time he left his parents and young sister in Waianae and set sail for Waimea, Kauai, where he settled; for this was where his wife had come from, being her birthplace. [IV:488]

When Keahaikiaholeha arrived at Waimea he became the king of the whole of Kauai as his wife was its high chiefess. It was his custom to go out fishing every day. This mother-of-pearl fish-hook, Pahuhu, was a great hook; every time it was let down into the sea and pulled up the *aku* would follow it into the canoe until the canoe was filled with them. The canoe in which he used to go fishing was a double canoe ten fathoms in length, and was manned by twenty paddlers who were its complement to steady the canoe while he fished for *aku*.

At the death of Keahaikiaholeha, his body was brought back to Kuukuuu, Waianae, where it was placed in a tomb. The parents then proceeded to worship the spirit, as was the custom in those days of Hawaii, until it became so strong that it could go about in the form of a live person. After the spirit of Keahaikiaholeha had waxed strong, it returned to Waimea, Kauai, and again took his former wife and lived with her as her husband. The wife was not aware that this was her husband's spirit, fully believing that it was her husband in real flesh. It was while in this spirit form, that he was named Nihooleki. All he did during the day time was to sleep, not even taking food; the wife being the only one that took food. When the wife got hungry she would go to her brothers for food and meat. On one of her calls for food and meat the brothers asked her: "Where is your husband?" The sister replied: "He is at home asleep." "You have a queer husband. All he does is to sleep at home. How is he to satisfy his wife's hunger? Except we help you, you will not be able to live." While this conversation was going on between them, the husband heard

¹ *Aku, bonito (Gymnosarda pelamis).*



all that was being said and when the wife arrived home Nihooleki asked his wife: "Have your brothers any mother-of-pearl fish-hooks?" "They have some." "Go and bring one." When the sister arrived at her brothers' they asked her: "What have you come for?" "I have come for a mother-of-pearl fish-hook for your brother-in-law." "That is right, that will get you something to live on. Here is a hook for the use of which we will charge ten *aku*. Here is another one for twenty *aku*," etc. The wife took one of the hooks and returned. When she entered the house and approached where her husband was sleeping she called out:

*Wake up Nihooleki,
Wake up Nihooleki,
The night comes and goes,
The day comes and goes;
The fishermen have sleepless eyes.
Wake up, here is our mother-of-pearl fish-hook.*

The husband asked: "What kind of a mother-of-pearl fish-hook is it?" "It is one resembling the glitter of a white shark," answered his wife. "It is the one the fish will not bite at."

*It will catch but two aku.
One for the male spirit,
One for the female spirit.
The arms of the paddlers would become uselessly lame.
Where is the small pahuhu,
The one partly eaten by Kane? [IV:490]*

Hanging there at the gable end
Being watched by a *noio*.¹
The current is flowing towards Makaena
Where swarm the *aku* ,
Where the giving would be a pleasure,
When the worthless could have a share,
When the hungry up at Waiahulu could also have a share.

At this the wife again returned to the brothers. "What is it you want?" [they asked]. "My husband says the fish-hook is no good; it will catch but two *aku* and one cannot at that rate give any away willingly," replied the sister. The brothers again asked: "Where is the fish-hook that would induce the fish to bite more freely?" "My husband said that it is the one hanging up at the gable end of the house being watched by the *noio*." When they made a search sure enough they found a mother-of-pearl fish-hook that was being watched by the small black bird; it was Pahuhu. The *noio* was the supernatural bird sister of Nihooleki.

Upon the arrival of the wife at their house, the husband was still asleep. She then called: "Here is the mother-of-pearl fish-hook." "It is a Pahuhu," Nihooleki answered.

*That is the mother-of-pearl fish-hook that the fish want,
You can then point with the hand ,
You can give with pleasure.
The worthless can share,
The hungry can also have a share up at Waiahulu.*

¹ *Noio*, a small black bird (*Microanous hawaiiensis*).



The wife then threw the fish-hook in the hand of her husband. He then rose, kissed it and wept over it. The reason why he wept was, because of his death he was thus kept away from his one great pleasure, fishing.

After the fish-hook was secured, Nihooleki said to his wife: "Go and get a canoe from your brothers. Not the one of five fathoms in length, nor the single canoe, but get me the double one that is ten fathoms in length. After you have secured the canoe, ask for twenty paddlers." When the wife arrived in the presence of her brothers, they asked her: "Here you are again, what do you want?" She replied: "I want a canoe." "Yes, you shall have one, take the one that is five fathoms in length." "That is not the one he wants. He wants a double canoe that is ten fathoms in length." "That cannot be. There is no double canoe of that size, nor would he be able to make use of it." The sister replied: "He said there is such a canoe. It is in the canoe shed." When a search was made they found one.

When the canoe was secured the twenty paddlers jumped aboard and took it to Nihooleki. When Nihooleki saw the canoe he knew at once it was the same one that was owned by him when he was alive. He then asked his wife: "Are you a favorite with your brothers?" "Yes." "Go and tell them that I want twenty men to steady the canoe with." [IV:492]

When the paddlers and canoe were ready the canoe was taken and left on the beach near the landing thinking that at the fourth crow of the cock they would make their start, as was the custom with the fishermen of those days; but it was not to be in this case. At the first crow of the cock the men got to the canoe; at the last crowing of the cock they pushed the canoe out. By this time all the other fishermen were out at sea. The men, however, still waited until daylight. When it became light enough to distinguish the features of the men they went back to the house feeling indifferent.

In the meantime Nihooleki was still in bed with his senses, however, all alert. The wife aroused him: "Wake up and make a start; this is the coolest time for the fishermen, when one is not made lazy by the heat of the sun." He answered: "Wait until it is light; at sunrise." Nihooleki then arose, got the bailing cup, reached for the calabash in which were kept all the fishing utensils, affixed his *malo*, then went out to the canoe and with one hand pushed it out into the sea. The paddlers then came down and jumped aboard. As soon as they got under way Nihooleki took out the fish-hook and began fishing. The *aku* came in such large numbers that in no time the canoe was loaded. They took this catch and threw it ashore. They went out and got a second canoe load and again it was thrown ashore. This was kept up until six canoe loads had been landed. By this time a large mound of fish had been piled up. The wife proceeded to give away, feed the pigs, give some to the loafers, sell some, and salt some, but a large number were still left over, there being so many. The people from the uplands came down with food, sugar-cane, bananas and everything else good to eat and all went home with fish, even those that came down without anything went home with their share. Those who were still in the uplands when they heard of the fish came down and returned with their share.

Nihooleki and his men then went out to mid-ocean along where his brothers-in-law were fishing, sailing right along by them. When his brothers-in-law saw his well-formed body they called out, "Pui-puiakalawaia,"¹ making this his third name. Upon their arrival at Makaena, off Waianae, the men looked up and saw that they had reached the island of Oahu. Nihooleki again fished until the canoe was filled with *aku*. He then ordered his men to eat. After their meal when everyone was satisfied the remaining fish were thrown out

¹ Pui-puiakalawaia, meaning a well-built fisherman, as was also applied to Umi, of Hawaii.



until the canoe was bare, when they set off until they landed at Kaunolu, in Lanai, where they again caught some fish and ate till satisfied. Again they set sail until they reached Keauhou, at Kona, Hawaii, when Nihooleki told his men: "You may all go ashore here while I remain with our canoe. When you go ashore, take each of you one *aku* apiece. There are twenty of you, making twenty *aku*. When you get to that shed of coconut leaves in front of that house, where women are seated, throw down the fish, but don't look back." The men then went ashore while Nihooleki turned the canoe around. On the return of the men they immediately set sail for Kauai, and the same day reached the Kauai waters where the brothers-in-law were fishing. Nihooleki produced the hook and again the *aku* came tumbling into the canoe until it was sunk deep in the water with fish. When the brothers-in-law looked up they saw the canoe and the fish; the canoe was so full that the men had to stand up. Upon their return to shore Nihooleki took up two *aku* for the male and female spirits, [IV:494] took a bath and went home, and told his wife: "Go to the paddlers and give them that canoe load of fish." He then went in and laid down. The fish from the first catch were beginning to get spoiled.

This was kept up for many days and everybody had fish. One day the news about the great catches was carried to Kamapuaa in the uplands of Waiohulu. Kamapuaa upon hearing the great catches said: "I could get some of that fish if I can only get down to the coast." Kamapuaa was the friend of Nihooleki; he was afflicted with the dropsy and was not able to walk; therefore some people carried him down to the beach; but being very heavy the men could only carry him a little ways at a time. By constant begging he however managed to get to the seashore. Before Nihooleki set out on a certain day to fish he gave his wife the following instruction: "In case a man with the dropsy should come, call him in as he is my friend."

After Nihooleki had started, Kamapuaa arrived and came and looked in at the door. "You filthy man, be gone," said the wife of Nihooleki. Kamapuaa with the men that carried him down, went over to the hog pen and there waited for the return of Nihooleki his friend. When Nihooleki returned with the fish, he came and kissed his friend, and then turned to his wife and said: "You are indeed strange. I told you to take good care of my friend, but you have not done so. Never mind, you may stay, but I am going along with my friend." He then told his friend to give some of the fish to the men who brought him down. The men took all they could carry away, but still many fish were left.

When Nihooleki and Kamapuaa were ready to leave Waimea and the wife, Nihooleki addressed his wife saying: "When you give birth to the child within you, call him by my name, Keahaikiaholeha. Here are the tokens by which I shall know him should he search for me, my club and my feather cape." When the wife heard these instructions she wept: by these words the wife knew that this was her own husband, Keahaikiaholeha. When the chiefs and his brothers-in-law heard that this was the king, they came chasing after him. He and his friend then dove into the sea and swam under water until they came up at Kuukuua, at Waianae. One of the Kauai chiefs, however, came following behind them named Pohakuokauai, the same being that rock which is seen at Waianae even to this day. As they drew near to the house where the parents and sister of Nihooleki were living and near to the tomb where his dead body was laid, Nihooleki then turned to his friend and said: "Where are you? When you reach our parents ask them: 'Where is my companion that came along with me?' They will then give you an answer. Then ask them where certain things that belonged to me are. Proceed and take up the threshold where you will find my war helmet; under the place where our sister sleeps you will find a feather cape; at the foot of her sleeping place you will find the lei palaoa; and at the corner in the house is a *kahili*. Take our sister and make her your wife as she is fair to look upon and is also of proper age."



At the close of his friend's instructions, Kamapuaa continued on his way until he came in the presence of his friend's parents and sister. After proving himself a friend of Nihooleki's by producing the different articles in obedience to the instructions given him by his friend he was married to the sister of Nihooleki. Keahaikiaholeha, who was Nihooleki, entered the tomb and disappeared. Thus ends this story. [IV:496]

Legend of Aiai (An account of Aku Fishing outside of Māmala, O'ahu)

Kuula was the father and Hina was the mother of Aiai. They lived in Niolopa, Nuuanu. Kuula and his wife were great fisher folks, and they had in their possession a pearl fish-hook of great value called Kahuoi. This pearl fish-hook was in the keeping of a bird called Kamanuwai and it was kept at Kaumakapili. This pearl fish-hook was so enticing that every time Kuula went out for aku, outside of Mamala, upon seeing the hook the fish would jump into the canoes of their own accord. This fish was the food which this bird lived on. [IV:554]

While Kuula was out for *aku* one day, outside of Mamala, Kipapalaulu the king of Honolulu, also went out fishing; and when he came near the place where Kuula¹ was fishing, he saw the *aku* jumping into the canoes of Kuula of their own accord. Upon seeing this he made up his mind to steal this fish-hook, Kahuoi, which in due time was carried out. This act not only deprived Kuula of his favorite hook, but the bird also hungered from loss of its food. Through this seizure of the pearl hook by Kipapalaulu the bird went without any food, it would fly on its roosting place and go to sleep. It was because the bird, Kamanuwai, closed its eyes from hunger was the reason why the place where it lived was called Kaumakapili², and the place is so called to this day.

Some time after this Hina conceived and in due time gave birth to a male child, Who was called Aiai. At the birth of the child the parents threw it into the stream just below Kaumakapili. The water carried the child to a rock called Nahakaipuami, just below the Haaliliamanu bridge, where it is seen to this day (of writing), where it floated. Kipapalaulu was at this time living at Kapuukolo³, where his palace was situated, with his daughter, Kauaelemimo by name. One day at noon she went in bathing with her maids and discovered Aiai by a large rock. Kauaelemimo took the child as her own and brought it up.

When Aiai grew into manhood he was very handsome; So Kauaelemimo took him to be her husband. After a while she conceived a child and she began to have a longing for Some fish; So Aiai went out rod fishing along the coast and after catching a few took the fish home and gave them to his wife. After the lapse of some twenty or thirty days, Kauaelemimo had a longing for *aku*; so she told Aiai to go out *aku* fishing. Aiai upon hearing his wife's request asked her to go to her father, Kipapalaulu and ask him for a pearl fish-hook. The wife consented to this and went to her father. Upon coming in her father's presence, he asked her: "What is it you want?" "I have come for a pearl fish-hook for my husband." "Yes, here is a pearl fish-hook." Kauaelemimo took it and returned to her husband. When Aiai saw the fish-hook, he said: "This pearl fish-hook is worthless, the fish will not bite it; it will weary one's body for nothing." The wife then asked him: "Where can I get another pearl fish-hook then?" Aiai replied: "You go to your father and tell him there is a pearl fish-hook that will enrich the fishermen. It is in the fishermen's calabash of fishing utensils." By this the husband wished to get possession of the pearl fish-hook Kahuoi which had been stolen from his father by Kipapalaulu.

¹ Kuula was deified upon his death at the cruel hands of Hua of Maui, according to traditions, that he became the god of fishermen to whom the koas around Oahu, Maui, and other islands are dedicated, and though these outward evidences of idolatrous practice have passed away, the inwards feeling of recognition of this god's claim on their efforts is still stronger among the old fishermen than they are willing to admit.

² Kaumakapili, roosting with closed eyes.

³ Kapuukolo, from about the site of the present King Street market to River Street and the stream.



Upon coming to her father she asked for another pearl fish-hook. Kipapalaulu refused, saying: "There is none left to give; that was the last pearl fish-hook I had which I gave you." Kauaelemimo said: "Aiai told me, you had another one; it is in the fishermen's calabash of fishing utensils." "Yes, certainly there is one. I now remember it for the first time." The calabash was then brought to the king and when he looked in it he found the hook which he gave to his daughter. The wife then returned with it to her husband. Aiai took it and said: "My days of poverty⁴ are now [IV:556] over since you have come back." Aiai then said to his wife: "Go back again to your father and ask him for a canoe; not one of five or eight fathoms in length, but get one that is ten fathoms in length; that is the size of the canoe that I want from your father."

When Kauaelemimo arrived in the presence of her father, she asked for the canoe described by her husband. When the canoe ten fathoms in length was brought the father asked the daughter: "Who will be able to paddle this canoe?" "My husband will." When Aiai heard the answer made by his wife, he took the canoe and set out with the bird, Kamanuwai, taking the pearl fish-hook, Kahuoi, along. When he arrived off of Mamala he took out the hook and began fishing. The aku began to come and jump into the canoe of their own accord until it was loaded down deep. The bird then ate some of the fish and was again restored to its former self. When Aiai came home his double canoe was loaded down deep with *aku*. Upon arriving in the presence of his wife he gave her all the fish, but the pearl fish-hook was taken by the bird, Kamanuwai, its guardian. This is the legend of Aiai. [IV:558]

Legend of Puniakaia (An account of the Nu'upia-Halekou Fishponds, O'ahu; the Uhu Fish; and Fishing at Wailua, Kaua'i)

Nuupia was the father and Halekou the mother of Puniakaia¹. The land of his birth was Kaneohe. The parents of Puniakaia were of the royal blood of Koolauloa and Koolaupoko. Puniakaia was a very handsome man and had not a single blemish from the top of his head to the bottom of his feet. He was erect, front and back, and so on the sides. While Puniakaia was living with his parents, a desire to go fishing came upon him, so he accompanied his mother to the beach and they went fishing. The kind of fish caught by them was the kind called pauhuuhu², but only one. This fish was brought home alive and was saved by Puniakaia; being fed and taken care of until it grew to be a very large fish; and to it was given the name of Uhumakaikai.³ This fish was the parent of all the fishes. After Puniakaia had brought up Uhumakaikai until it was full grown, he turned it into the ocean, free from all confinement.

Some time after this a proclamation was issued calling everybody to go out fishing, and amongst those who obeyed the call was Puniakaia. When the fishermen arrived at the fishing place, Puniakaia called upon Uhumakaikai in the following manner:

*Say, Uhumakaikai,
Crawl this way, crawl this way,
Draw along this way, draw along this way;
For here am I, Puniakaia;
Send the fish in large numbers
Until the beach here is stenchd;
The pigs will eat until they reject them,
And the dogs will eat until they waste them.*

⁴ Another interpretation of the *ola na iwi* expression.

¹ Puniakaia, coveting fish, or given to fishing proclivities

² Perhaps, *Panuhunuhu* (*Callyodon ahula*).

³ *Uhu* (Parrot-fish) *makaikai*, sight-seeing; indicating a roving, sight-seeing *uhu*.



As soon as Puniakaia ceased calling, Uhumakaikai was seen to be driving all the fish to Puniakaia; the fish reached from way down deep in the sea to the surface, and they were driven clear up onto the sand. Upon seeing this the people began taking up the fish; some were salted, some given away to the people, and so on, from the Makapuu point to the Kaoio point at Kualoa. With all this great number of people taking the fish, still there was a large number left, there being so many; and the people had to leave a great many behind and the pigs and dogs ate of them. Rumors of this great catch were soon carried to the hearing of Kaalaea⁴, a very beautiful woman, who had no equal in all the land of Koolau; she was just like Puniakaia [very pleasant] to look upon. [V:154]

Relating to Kaalaea.

When the news of the great catch of fish came to Kaalaea, she and her ten brothers boarded their canoes, each taking one, making eleven canoes, and went to the place where the fish were being collected. When these canoes landed, Kaalaea went up on the sand and sat down and did not go about from place to place; but just looked on as the men and women helped themselves to the fish.

While she was sitting there Puniakaia saw her and was captivated by her beauty and quiet demeanor, not at all like the other women; so he said to his mother, Halekou⁵, "Say, Halekou, I am going to secure that woman for my own, because she is very beautiful, without blemish, and in all respects my equal." Halekou gave her consent, saying: "Yes, she shall be your wife, for you two are alike in looks and behavior, there fore you go and ask her."

When Puniakaia came to the presence of Kaalaea, he asked the woman that she become his wife. Kaalaea gave her consent to this. Puniakaia then said to her: "When we get to my mother, don't be backward but go and sit on her lap." When the two came to Halekou, Kaalaea went and sat on the lap of her future mother-in-law. After a little while Halekou ordered the men to load the ten canoes with fish, and this was done; not only the ten canoes but several others also were, filled, and this property was distributed as gifts to the people. Halekou began to contribute gifts to Kaalaea, as was the custom⁶ of those days. Nuupia then did likewise, and then Puniakaia; those three brought offerings to Kaalaea. In giving the various gifts, great heaps of them, Kaalaea on her part gave only herself, still it exceeded that of all three. After the giving of gifts, Kaalaea returned to her place with her brothers and her parents.

Sometime after this Puniakaia asked of his mother that he go and live with his wife. His mother replied: "My son, listen to what I have to say: You are going to the home of your wife to live, but you will be insulted and you will return here in a very short time." After this Puniakaia went to the home of Kaalaea his wife, where they lived as husband and wife. At meal times it was customary with the brothers-in-law of Puniakaia to prepare the meal, then send for Puniakaia and make him sit on their lap while they fed him. This was carried on for some time; all Puniakaia did was to eat and sleep and never left his wife.

One day while the two were in bed, an aunt of Kaalaea's, together with several others, came into the house where the two were sleeping. These people were on their way to catch crabs. While in the house, the aunt said: "Wake up, Puniakaia, and let us go crabbing. What do you do, any way? Just sleep, and when you get up clean your eyes and catch flies and eat?" While the aunt was speaking, Puniakaia was listening through the soft mantle that covered them; the aunt did not know this, however, for she thought he was asleep.

⁴ Kaalaea, name also of a portion of the Koolau district.

⁵ It is quite customary for children to address their parents or other relatives by name, rather than relationship.

⁶ This probably has reference to hookupu, though that custom of giving gifts had a broader application.



This angered Puniakaia and he was sore displeased; and when his brothers-in-law came home he would not speak to them nor go to eat food with them as before. [V:156]

Because of this action of their brother-in-law they were very sad and pondered as to the reason of such action. Puniakaia, on the other hand, did nothing else but sleep day and night for over twenty days. Thinking that the matter would terminate seriously, the brothers-in-law of Puniakaia called the people together, men, women and children, and asked each and everyone of them, who it was that had insulted their brother-in-law; but no one could answer the question. Failing in this Puniakaia was requested to tell them the person who had insulted him. Puniakaia then revealed the person's name, saying: "The person who insulted me is the aunt of my wife, and not my wife. One day while we were in bed, the aunt with several others came into our house and said: Say, Puniakaia, get up and let us go crabbing, for what can you get by sleeping? Only to get up, clean your eyes, catch flies and eat?' While she was speaking, I was lying down, but I could see and hear through our thin mantle. This is the reason why I am sad and unhappy."

When the brothers-in-law heard this, they ordered that the aunt be put to death⁷. After this order was carried out, Puniakaia returned to his own home. When he came in his mother's presence, she asked him as to the reason of his return; he then told her everything relating to the treatment received by him while living with his wife. When Halekou heard this, she wept and said: "It is even as I said to you, that you were to be insulted in the home of your wife, and now you have seen it for yourself."

After living with his mother for a few days, Puniakaia decided to go to Kauai to make a visit; so he started out until he came to the Kaena point, at Waianae, where he met some men who were lashing their canoe for a trip to Kauai. Puniakaia upon coming up to these men, asked them: "Where are you going with this canoe?" "To Kauai." "Can I go with you?" "And why not? The canoe is yours."⁸ The reason why these people allowed Puniakaia to go to Kauai with them was because he was such a handsome looking man.

On coming to Kauai they landed at Wailua, where a high chiefess was living. When she saw that Puniakaia was such a handsome looking man she began to give him presents of great value and after a while she even proposed that she become his wife. All this time, however, she had a husband already, who was then living at some distance on the other side of Kauai.

Some time after Puniakaia had been living with this woman, he went down one day to the beach accompanied by the woman and there saw two men preparing to go out fishing. Upon coming up to the fishermen, Puniakaia asked them: "What kind of fishing are you two going out for?" The two replied: "Oio⁹ fishing; but the most we will ever catch will be about eight, not very many." Puniakaia said: "Yes, I will be the one who will get you all you want, from the ocean to the land, from the bottom of the sea to the top and the people will not be able to carry away all the fish; they will salt some and the pigs and dogs will eat their full and a lot will be wasted." The two men then said: "You are deceiving us. We have lived here all our lives and have never seen so much fish." [V:158]

In this discussion the husband of the woman, who had accompanied Puniakaia to the beach heard it and so said: "Make a wager against him." Wagers were then made; but Puniakaia said: "Say, I am not going to wager my bones against worthless articles. If I must wager my bones I want to wager them against four large pieces of land; one for my

⁷ Rather summary punishment for a relatives insult.

⁸ Evidently "yours to command."

⁹ *Oio*, Bone-fish (*Albula vulpes*).



back; one for my front; and two for my sides.” This was acceptable, and fifteen days were allowed Puniakaia in which time he must catch the amount of fish boasted by him.

After the agreement was made, Puniakaia lived on for eleven days without once making a move about catching any fish. On the eleventh day, however, he saw a canoe being prepared to sail for Oahu, manned by men from different districts of Oahu; some were from Waianae and some were from Kaumakapili. When Puniakaia saw this he said to the men: “When you get to Waianae, those who belong to that place remain there; then I wish you two who are going to Kaumakapili to go up Nuuanu and when you get there look down to Kaneohe. You will see my house with the door open. Go down to it and when you find my mother, Halekou, tell her that her son, Puniakaia, has sent her word to go and call his fish Uhumakaikai to urge forward the fish to Kauai, because in three days the time allowed him to catch a certain amount of fish would expire; and failing to get this fish he will be killed by being cooked in an *umu*.”

After Puniakaia had made this request the canoe set out and on the evening of the same day the canoe reached the harbor of Kou. On this voyage the friends of Puniakaia, Keaumiki and Keauka¹⁰, assisted the canoe, hence its quick arrival. Also, the men who belonged to Waianae, knowing that the request was urgent, decided to continue on instead of stopping at their destination.

When they arrived at Kou¹¹ they left the canoe there and proceeded up Nuuanu, where they looked down toward Kaneohe and they saw the house with its open door-way as described by Puniakaia. The men then proceeded on down to the house and found Halekou the mother of Puniakaia sitting on some mats. The men extended their greetings and Halekou returned the same. Halekou then asked the men: “What has brought you here?” The men replied: “We have come on the request of a boy by the name of Puniakaia.” When Halekou heard this, she wept as well as the chiefs and common people, and said: “We thought that Puniakaia was dead; but we see now that he is still alive. What has he requested you to do?” “He told us that we come and tell you that you go and call for his fish, Uhumakaikai, and request that it drive some fish to Kauai ; because Puniakaia made a wager with the king of Kauai, that in fifteen days he could catch a certain amount of fish, and that if this amount of fish was not caught within this given time, Puniakaia would be killed. Now this is the twelfth day and we have only three days left if Puniakaia is to be saved.” When Halekou heard this, she said: “I am afraid the fish will not obey my call ; for he is the only one that could make the fish do his bidding; but I shall go and try.”

Because of this kind deed performed by these people, Halekou gave unto them a large piece of land, together with one house full of kapas, one house to eat in, one [V:160] house for fish, and one house for them to sleep in. Upon receiving these gifts the men decided to live there and to abandon their old homes and at the same time they vowed that they would live and die serving Puniakaia.

Halekou after this went out accompanied by the chiefs, until they came to the pool where Uhumakaikai made its home. This pool is at Nuupia to this day. Halekou then called out: “Draw along, draw along, draw along the fish, Uhumakaikai; from Kona and Koolau to Kauai where your master Puniakaia now is. Don’t be slow, don’t wait, else your master will be cooked in the *umu*.” At the close of this call, the sea was seen to be disturbed and Uhumakaikai passed below Halekou. She then took up the fish, kissed it and allowed it to go again. Halekou then said: “Make haste, else your master will die.”

¹⁰ Keaumiki and Keauka, favoring gods of the wind and tide.

¹¹ Kou, ancient name for the harbor of Honolulu.



This was the fourteenth day and there was yet left but one day, when Puniakaia would be killed, for the *umu*, the wood, the stones and the covering were ready. On the approach of daylight the next day, the fish were seen coming to Kauai by way of Kona and by way of Koolau, until both schools met at Wailua. Puniakaia on this last day went down to the beach accompanied by the Kauai woman; and they went and sat on the seashore to wait for the arrival of Uhumakaikai.

During the night, however, Puniakaia dreamed a dream in which he heard the remark: "Uhumakaikai is coming. Why did you leave me behind and go alone to a strange land? You do not love me. If I did not hear of your trouble, you would have been killed?" After he woke up he found that he had been dreaming so he became sleepless, wondering what the dream meant. After studying for some time a feeling of affection came upon him for Uhumakaikai.

After the night was spent and the dawn of the new day began to break, Puniakaia came out of the house and looked toward the sea, when he saw the surface as well as the lower portion of the sea brown with fish. Shortly after this Uhumakaikai passed below him; he then reached down, took it up and hugged and kissed it. Then he said: "Yes, I did not intend to leave you behind; I came with the idea of making a tour of sightseeing around Oahu, and then go back to you; but instead I came to Kauai and came near not being able to see you again. Had you failed me I would have been killed."

Puniakaia then released Uhumakaikai and the fish began to come ashore at Wailua. The fish covered the sand and extended some distance into the sea. The people of Wailua and the king who made the wager saw the fish and they agreed that Puniakaia had won. Puniakaia then gave the whole of Kauai to the owner of the canoe that had brought him to Kauai, who then became the king. Puniakaia and his Kauai queen then returned to Oahu. [V:162]

Legend of Hinaaimalama (An Account of the Fish-forms Assumed by the Gods)

The legend of Hinaaimalama¹ is well known throughout Hawaii, for it was Hinaaimalama who turned the moon into food and the stars into fish. This is the way the legend is told to the people even at this time of writing. We must, however, look into the story and see if it is true or not. In this legend, it is said, that it was at the land of Kahikihonuakele² down in the bottom of the deep ocean, where it lies to this day, that the heroine of this legend came from, a land all in darkness, having neither sun, moon nor stars, and it was here that the parents and brothers and sisters of Hinaaimalama lived.

The parents and ancestors of Hinaaimalama were gods and they sometimes changed into the form of fishes. So in this way the gods and fishes have entered into this legend of Hinaaimalama. But the ancestors and parents of Hinaaimalama were great chiefs and chiefesses, and Hinaaimalama was very pleasant to look upon. She had no equal in all the land of her birth.

Kaiuli³ was the husband and Kaikea⁴ was the wife, both were gods taking sometimes the fish form of the *paoo*⁵. From these two Hinaluaikoa⁶, a girl was born. After her came Kukeapua, a boy. From these two, who lived as husband and wife, the brother taking the sister to wife, several boys and girls were born.

¹ Hina-moon-eater.
² Kahiki-honua-kele, foreign submerged foundation.
³ *Kaiuli*, blue sea.
⁴ *Kaikea*, white sea.
⁵ *Paoo*, a small fish (species of *Salarias*).
⁶ *Hina-luai-koa*, coral vomiting Hina.



By Kukeapua, the husband, Hinaluaikoa the wife gave birth to: Hinaakeahi, a female; Hinaaimalama, a female; Hinapalehoano, a female; Hinaluaimoa, a female; Iheihe, a male, who sometimes turned into a rooster; Moahalehaku, a female; Kiimaluhaku, a female; Kanikaea, a female, who sometimes turned into a hen; Kipapalauulu, a male; Luaehu, a male, who sometimes turned into the fish known as *ulua*⁷. The heroine of this legend was Hinaaimalama, who was the favorite child of the father's and was his idol. She was the most beautiful of all the girls, and because of this fact, he made her queen and placed her under the strictest *kapu*; and her companion was her brother Kipapalauulu⁸, the one next to the youngest, therefore their father placed Kipapalauulu as the guard of Hinaaimalama. Kipapalauulu had to go wherever Hinaaimalama went, whether at bathing or at any other place, which duty the brother faithfully kept.

Having thus been placed as guard, Kipapalauulu had to give up everything else and he went on with his duty, and for a long time he faithfully followed out the order of his father; but there came a time when he became negligent and finally one day Hinaaimalama went out bathing by herself. While Hinaaimalama was bathing their father saw that Kipapalauulu was not with her, so he became very angry and called for Kipapalauulu. When Kipapalauulu came before his father, he asked him: "Say, why did you fail to keep my order?" Kipapalauulu replied: "I have been faithful to my [V:266] charge and this is the only time that I did not accompany her when she went out bathing. I did not accompany her while bathing because there were always a lot of servants who attended to her, so I concluded this time not to go out with her." The father then said: "Because you have failed in this I am going to send you away from my presence. For had you kept my order and had been faithful, you would not have done what you did this day."

When Kipapalauulu heard that he must get away from his father's presence, he turned to his sister, Hinaaimalama and said: "I am going, so here is your food and here is your fish." The food was the moon and the fish were the stars. The sister then took these things and put them into a calabash, called Kipapalauulu, after her brother .

After the sister had imparted certain instructions to her brother, he proceeded to where his grandparents were living and told them of his going away because his father had banished him from his presence. After speaking about these things for a while, he asked his grandparents the way of getting out of the place to the surface of the earth, from the bottom of the sea. After his grandparents had heard what he wanted, his grandfather broke open the ocean and a crack was made from the floor of the ocean to the surface above, allowing the bright rays of the sun to reach the bottom. By this means Kipapalauulu climbed up until he arrived on the surface. Reaching the surface of the deep ocean, he looked about him and saw land, heaven, clouds, light, and a vast beyond. He then swam for the land and after a time landed at Kawaluna, a land at the outskirts of the great ocean. Konikonia was the king of Kawaluna, and he was without a wife. He was a king of very handsome appearance.

When Kipapalauulu came ashore on this island, he crawled under some canoes and slept there. He was a very comely fellow, young, of commanding appearance and ruddy complexion. While he was sleeping the king's immediate attendant, called *iwikuamoo*⁹ came up to the place and saw a man with ruddy complexion sleeping under one of the canoes, and seeing that he was good, and handsome, he returned and told Konikonia. When the king's personal attendant came in the presence of the king he told him how he had found a boy. The king then told the man to go and bring the boy to him. Upon the

⁷ *Ulua*, a fish of the *Carangus* species.

⁸ *Kipapa-lau-ulu*. Literally, "paving with breadfruit leaves."

⁹ *Iwikuamoo*. lit., lizard backbone.



arrival of Kipapalauulu at the king's house, the king took him to be his friend and from that time they lived on together.

In this living together, Kipapalauulu felt under deep obligation to the king for the kind treatment he was receiving, so he decided that he would send for his sister, Hinaaimalama, and give her to the king to be his wife. When the sister of Kipapalauulu arrived in the presence of Konikonia he immediately fell in love with her and he took her to be his wife, and they all lived in happiness together. In course of time Konikonia and Hinaaimalama had sons and daughters. Following are the names of the children. The sons: Kaneaukai, Kanehulikoa, Kanemilohai, Kaneapua, Maikoha. The daughters: Kaihukoa, Ihuanu, Ihukoko, Kaihukuuna, Kaihuopalaai.

By this and the following story we will know that some of the beings who inhabited this world were gods and some were fishes and this fact remains to this day. In this legend we will be made to understand their characters and their doings. [V:268]

Legend of Maikoha (an Account of the Fish Grounds of O'ahu, the 'Anae-holo, Fishing Gods, and the Wauke plant)

This was a very brave and fearless young man, and it was this man that broke the kapu poles, the sacred places of worship, the kapu insignia and all the different sacred things. Because of these doings of Maikoha, the father, Konikonia, became very angry. He was not sure which one had done this unholy thing, so he pondered deeply on how he was to find out the guilty person. After spending several days in study he decided on a certain course as follows: he procured two long poles and tied one of them on the back of the necks of all his ten children and the other he tied under the chin. He thought within himself that the one who would not cry would be the guilty one, a sure proof he thought, and he must be sent away. In applying this test, Maikoha was the one who did not cry out, all the other children cried more or less. This satisfied the father that Maikoha was the guilty one and so he was sent away, to go wherever he pleased.

Maikoha then started out and landed at Kaupo, Maui, where he made his home. Here he changed into the *wauke*¹ plant, which is known by this name to this day, and it was at Kaupo that this plant first grew. Because Maikoha's body was very hairy the wauke plant is therefore the same, as we see.

After Maikoha had departed from home, his sisters came in search of him and they traveled as far as Kaupo, where they found he had already changed into the wauke plant. After they had located him they began to make a search for his navel, looking from the top of the plant to the bottom, but they were unable to find it; so a search was made of the roots, and there they found it, for Maikoha had secreted it there. Shortly after this the sisters left Maikoha in Kaupo, Maui, and they continued on their journey until they arrived in Oahu.

Upon their arrival on Oahu, Kaihuopalaai saw a goodly man by the name of Kapapaapuhi who was living at Honouliuli, Ewa; she fell in love with him and they were united, so Kaihuopalaai has remained in Ewa to this day. She was changed into that fish pond in which mullet are kept and fattened, and this fish pond is used for that purpose to this day.

When Kaihuopalaai decided to live in Ewa, her sisters proceeded on to Waianae, where Kaihukoa decided to make her home and she was married to Kaena, a man who was living at this place, a very handsome man and a chief of Waianae. So she remained in

¹ The *wauke* plant (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) was cultivated for the good qualities of its bark for producing the finest kapas.



Waianae and she is there to this day. She changed into that fishing ground directly out from the Kaena Point, and the fishes that came with her were the *ulua*, the *kahala*² and the *mahimahi*³.

When Kaihukoa decided to stay in Waianae, the remaining sisters continued on to Waialua, where Kawailoa met Ihukoko. Kawailoa was a single man and as he fell in [V:270] love with Ihukoko the two were united and they became husband and wife. Ihukoko remained here, and the fish that accompanied her from their home was the *aholehole*⁴.

When Ihukoko decided to remain in Waialua, the sister that was left, Kaihukuuna, continued on her way until she came to Laie where she met Laniloa, a goodly man, and they lived together as husband and wife. The fish that came with her was the mullet and it too remained there to this day.

After the sisters were all married and had been living with their husbands on Oahu for some time, Kaneaukai⁶ their oldest brother came in search of them. This man's body was in the shape of a log of wood, and after he had floated on the surface of the ocean for several days, it drifted to the seashore at Kealia in Mokuleia, Kawaihapai, Waialua, where it was carried in and out by the tide. After being in this form for some time it changed into a human being and journeyed to Kapaehoa, where two old men were living.

When he approached the home of the two old men, he saw them watching an *umu* (oven), and after it was covered up they set out to the beach to do some fishing. After fishing for some time without success Kaneaukai called out to them: "Say, you old men, which god do you worship and keep?" The old men replied: "We are worshipping a god, but we do not know his name." Kaneaukai then said: "You will now hear and know his name. When you let down your net again, call out, 'Here is the food and fish, Kaneaukai,' that is the name of the god." The old men assented to this, saying: "Yes, this is the first time that we have learned his name." ' Because of this fact, Kaneaukai is the fish god worshiped by many to this day, for Kaneaukai became their fish god, and from them others, if they so desired. [V:272]

The Legend of the Oopu God

During times long past the *oopu* god was worshiped. This was done to increase the *oopus*.¹ If the god was not worshiped, the *oopus* would be neither fat nor numerous. This god was called Holu. This name was derived on account of the keeper going to the beach to fish and catching soft-shell crab (*aama* which had shed its shell and was consequently soft) ; that was why it was called Holu. Before that there was no name. The keepers were Kaiana and Waihauakala, and from them were born two children, Ahekeanui, a daughter, and Kaneikakalua, a son.

When the parents died, the children continued in caring for Holu. The people continued also to come up to worship. Here were the things brought: a black pig, a white chicken, root of the black *awa*, dark coconut, and red fish². It was taken and placed on a prepared stone platform. Then was lighted the *imu* for the pig, the *imu* for the chicken and the fish, and the *awa* chewed, the *awa* to be drunk by the god. A child who had never cohabited was selected; when everything was ready, the god's [offering] was given first, and after that the people's.

² *Kahala*, the amber fish, a species of the *Seriola*.

³ *Mahimahi*, dolphin (*Coryphaena hippurus*).

⁴ *Aholehole* (*Kuhlia malo*).

⁶ *Kaneaukai*, a popular god of fisher-folk.

¹ *Oopus*, gobies (*Eleotris fusca*).

² Offerings for the god.



This place had three platforms; the first platform for the women and girls, the second platform for the men and boys, and the third platform for the priests. Prayers for blessings on this life were offered; after that the cup of *awa* was taken and given to this god to drink; he appeared just like a man³, but was in reality a network, and was wrapped in a wicker basket with the exception of the head and the mouth. After that everything was free; the *oopu* was obtained; it was then like the sand-sleeping *opule*⁴; when it was eaten it was delicious.

Concerning the Return of the People to Their Homes.

The people would return rejoicing that Holu had partaken of the sacrifice, for when that was finished [the god] would not sulk and render the *oopu* lean. The people next began the construction of a *ha*⁵; these were small sticks similar to house battens, which were set close together, but without the covering of sugar-cane leaves; tied down with cords of *i-e*, which was the proper vine for cords. The *ha* was built along one side of the stream, walled in well by rocks; and any kind of wood was used. But it must be wood which was known to be durable. The posts and the sills were important timbers, more so than the battens [which may be of any kind of wood]; the side in the water was braced with wooden posts. [V:510]

Concerning the Completion of the Ha.

When the *ha* was completed, a pig was killed, the *awa* was chewed, and when everything was ready, a prayer was offered to Holu in this manner:

“O Holu, grant the desire of your *ha*-constructing devotees; give them the *lehua*-fed *oopu* of Hoopulu. Harken, thou chief of Hoopulu. Return to partake of the drink and the food. Amen.”

After eating, the water was diverted, so that it would flow towards the *ha*, by banking up the head so that the water would rise and flow over the *ha*. The value of this was only for the time of a feshet, when the *oopu* were taken by the water and stranded on the *ha* where it was protected by the bank on either side. The owner of the *ha* waited until the first fish was caught which fish was thrown aside⁶, for that was the custom; for if it were not cast aside, that which had been prepared would become useless, for it would be torn by the water from the head to the rear and become good for nothing.

The Kapu Observed About the Ha.

It was *kapu* for a woman having her menses to climb or walk on the *ha*, because a woman in that condition was despised by Holu. It was *kapu* to bathe at the head of the *ha*. It was *kapu* for a man, woman or child who had been to a house of mourning to walk on the *ha*. He or she should do this first: purify with *olena*-salt water—*Olena* and water and salt mixed together—by throwing the same on the eyes of the unclean. The owner of the *ha* performed this service.

Damming and Diverting the Water so as to Catch Oopus.

It was not well to dam up water where the stream was narrow; the best place was where there was a natural division of the water—where some of it flowed on one side and some on the other side. Then in that case the head of one branch was dammed up and all the water was diverted into the other. After the head was dammed up, and that side was dry, then was the time to look for *oopu*. If one had an *apua*⁷ that was placed where there

³ An image in human form.

⁴ *Opule* (*Anapses evermanni*).

⁵ *Ha*, a water course or trough.

⁶ Fish thrown aside was afterward taken and offered up as a sacrifice, being the “first fruit” of the *ha* or trough

⁷ *Apua*, a wicker fishing basket, somewhat bell-shaped.



was plenty of water so that when the oopus were being swept along, they would be caught in this. The *apua* was a basket braided like the traps used in catching fish in the sea; small at the bottom and large at the mouth like that of a bell; and was braided in the form of a funnel.

The Kapus Relating to this Work.

It was *kapu* for a woman, child, or a man to sit on a knoll, or walk at the head [of this place] or to cause a shadow to fall [on this place] or to make a noise with or in the water behind the *apua*. It was not well to cook the *nuukole* (the red-tail mudfish) and pound it until pulverized, and then throw it into the water. If that were done, a freshet would come and break down the head of the dammed up division. All these kapus belonged to Holu.

That was how the people of Honokohau observed this *kapu* until the days of [V:512] Haumalaue, the *oopu* god of Makamakaole, who fought with and was killed by Kaneikapalua with the aid of Holu. It was he who urged Kaneikapalua to cast his spear and strike the gill; and thus he [Haumalaue] died. At the same time the earthly body of Waihauakala became a large *koa* tree which stands even to this day, a place for recuperating from the effects of an illness. Kalana's soul, however, went and lived at the source of the water, and became a large *koa* tree for the *pali* of Kalana. Ahakeanui was carried by the water to the shore of Kunounou. After a while Holu wanted some *awa*, so he changed from his stone body and went for some; after he obtained it, he still lacked water. So he stretched out his legs and with one foot on one side of the precipice and the other on another side, he trod down and water came forth. Those springs were named Waipu and Kaluaokapuhi. Holu was carried by the water to the sea; he tore off a part of his body, and that became the sea *oopu*, known as *poopaa*. At this time there are no more restrictions on any of these things; the people no longer go up to worship. No attention whatever is paid to them. Lemuel K.N. Papa Jr. [V:514]

Gods of the Fishermen

Fishermen had gods just the same as other callings; none followed the occupation of fishing without a deity.

Customs Of The Fishermen

The fishermen observed the customs of the order of priesthood. If a fisherman had a new seine, it was necessary to bring a sacrifice sanctioned by the order of priesthood, to be offered before using the new net that it might be dedicated in the name of the gods³⁹ of fishing. The services were as follows: A pig was brought to a place as near as possible to where the fishing was to be done; some of the people roasted the pig and some went fishing; the fish or fishes first caught in the net were to be roasted together with the pig; it was called a sacrificing net.

When the pig was cooked all those who arrived at the place of fishing assembled together. The owner of the net then took a small portion of the spleen, and of the snout, and of the tail of the pig, and took also the nose of the first fish caught in the net, putting all these little things together and placing them in a piece of potato, or *kalo*. Thereupon the owner of the net first prayed to the god of fishing according to the ordinances of the priesthood; after prayer the real owner of the net would be the first to eat the things set apart according to the custom of such service, and together with the others would partake of the things prepared, after the services of the sacrifice according to the rites of the order of priesthood were performed.

³⁹ The gods of the fishermen were many, though Kuula predominated on all the islands except perhaps Hawaii, as *koa* or altar places to this deity dotted all the sea-coasts around. Laeapua was Lanai's.



This service was observed in all kinds of fishing. If a new line was to be used, the same service performed for the net was also given it. No net or line was used without first making an offering according to the rites of the order of priesthood.

Another Way Of Performing The Services

Here is another way wherein the fisherman performed the services for nets. If a fisherman had obtained an old net from another person, perhaps obtained by said fisherman through purchase, or made a present of; or perhaps said fisherman had a net which was desired to be changed into a flying-fish (*malolo*) net, it was therefore classed as a new net, for which the sacrificial offerings of the order of priesthood must be carried out in the same manner as of a new net. [VI:120]

An Account of Fishing

There were gods of fishing from the very beginning of fishing to this day; from the earliest fisherman to those of the present time they still serve them for the success of their vocation. Here are the names of the gods of fishing: Kuula was the husband; Hina was the wife, and Aiai the son. Alea in Hana, Maui, was the place of residence. During the time Kahoalii was reigning as king of Hana, Maui, with his place of residence on the hill of Kauiki, and his fishers being the Kuula family, Kahoalii one day sent his attendants to bring [him] some fish. This was the king's customary practice till he became angered at the fishermen.

When the attendants went before Kuula and Hina they (the latter) gave them fish which was a *kahala*.¹ They told the attendants in a straightforward manner as follows: "You two go back and tell the king to rip open the fish, salt the meat, roast the bone in the underground oven, and when cooked eat it, because it is a swollen² time."

*Bring, O Kama,
The fish of victory.
Here is Hana,
A swollen land.*

These were the words of the fishermen to the attendants of Kahoalii. When they came into the presence of the King, Kahoalii, they spoke with falsehood and deceit. This is what the attendants said: "Your fishermen said to salt your flesh, and roast your head and bones in the oven."

When the king heard these deceitful words of his attendants, he was enraged and ordered that the fisher folks die, who were Kuula and Hina. The people went by order of the king to destroy Kuula's house by fire. However, Kuula and Hina had supernatural powers, and heard of their [own] demise by the king. They therefore prepared three small gourd calabashes, to be exploded in the fire, in order that they might not be killed.

Kuula, Hina and Aiai were in the house when it was set on fire and the exits closed. Kuula therefore said to the son: "Say, you must live, and we two will die. If the smoke from the fire settles down towards the mountain, there is where you will go for a dwelling place, while we two will go and dwell in the sea."

At the time the fire was burning and enveloping the outside of the house the smoke leaned towards the mountain. Aiai went and lived in a cave at a different location, while the parents went through the smoke which settled down on the sea and dwelt in the

¹ *Kahala*, amber-fish (*Seriola purpurascens*).

² A time of famine.



ocean. The three unripe gourds were the things which exploded in the fire, by which the king thought the Kuulas had died in the fire, because of the explosions of these things. [VI:172]

On the departure of Kuula, Hina and Aiai, the fishes were all removed, none remaining in the sea and in the waters adjacent to Hana. No fish whatever could be caught by the fishermen of Kahoalii, because Kuula and Hina had fish bodies.

As for Aiai, he went to a cave in a low precipice, where he remained in seclusion until found by Pilihawawa, who took him as a friend to his house where they remained together. During their companionship their occupation was cultivating the land, but though they obtained food there was no fish. Aiai told his friend to weave baskets for the catching of *hinalea*.³ So they wove the baskets, and when finished they went down to the rocky seashore and placed them in position. Then Aiai called on his parents for fish:

*O Kuula and Hina, Send the fish in,
The young hinalea and the opule*⁴.

Hina said to Kuula: "Give some fish for our son." At this time the basket was standing in place and the fishes came into it until it overflowed, the basket being quite full. So the friend Pilihawawa collected the fish and placed them on dry land. Kuula, however, sent in the surfs which, breaking, carried all the fish back into the sea, the fish which were placed in the container only remained. That was the method of fishing and the origin of [Kuula] fishermen which continues to this day. Hina is a real stone, which exists to this day. It controls certain fishes. Here are the names: the *aku*⁵, the *akule*,⁶ the *oio*,⁷ the *moi*,⁸ the *a'u*,⁹ the *manini*.¹⁰

Kuula and Aiai are in the same class; they are both fish stones¹¹, and have certain sacredness to this day. Reddish things are sacred to Kuula, such as the red dye, and the red waist cloth, and everything of a reddish hue, and so on. Therefore through Kuula all the different methods of fishing and the fishes became established throughout these islands; hence, the instructor in fishing.

There are many various methods and divisions in fishing; a different method in shallow water, and in deep water, and a different method again in the fishing grounds mid-ocean. There are also various ways of catching fish in the vocation of fishing, that of the night differing from that of the day; of the morning from that of the evening, as *hahamau*, *iniiniki*, *kikomo*, *kamakoi*, *kiolaola*, *hoauau*, *hooluuluu*, *o*, *moemoe*; by canoe fishing with net; *hiaku*, *kapae*, *kakauhu*, squid catching, and so forth; by bait, with hook and line, rod, stone, wood and so forth.

The fishing seasons varied during the year, and were not always on the same time; there were auguries by which the proper time for fishing might be discerned, and not go fishing without any foreknowledge. Certain kinds of fishing were under restrictions, while others

³ *Hinalea*, wrasse-fish (*Thalassoma ballieui*).

⁴ *Opule*, wrasse-fish (*Anampses cuvieri*).

⁵ *Aku*, bonito (*Gymnosarda pelamis*).

⁶ *Akule*, mackerel scad (*Trachurus crumenophthalma*).

⁷ *Oio*, bone-fish (*Albula vulpes*).

⁸ *Moi* (*Polydactylus sexfilis*).

⁹ *A'u*, sword-fish (*Xiphias gladius*).

¹⁰ *Manini*, surgeon-fish (*Teuthis sandwichensis*).

¹¹ The fisher-folk's deities throughout the islands were simply certain designated stones; in no case were they carved images.



were unrestrained; single-handed fishing and fishing in parties; some with canoe, and some without canoe. [VI:174]

Fish and Methods of Fishing.—Dry (or shore) Fishing

1. *Hahamau*¹². This method of fishing is done on moonlight nights. When the moon rises the tide ebbs; then the women go fishing along the shore; along the rocky ledges and boulders, and coral reefs where the surf breaks. This mode of fishing is by feeling with the hands, with the fingers curved¹³. These are the fishes caught: *heepali*¹⁴, *olali*¹⁵, *hou*¹⁶, *awela*¹⁷, *niholoa*¹⁸, *mananalo*¹⁹, *paolakei*, *paokauwila*, [and] *paoluahine*²⁰.
2. *Holoholo*²¹. Fishing with a net, going to and fro along shore. The name of the net is holoholo, [formed of] a piece of wood two fathoms long with the net tied in a circular manner to the wood, which is flexible, called *alaahee*²². The place where the sea ebbs swiftly is the place where the net is to be let down. One person holds the net and one drives the fish. Fishes to be [thus] caught are: *Uhu*²³, *kala*²⁴, *uwoawoa*²⁵, *manini*²⁶, *nenue*²⁷.
3. *A standing aloilo net [Upena kukulu aloilo]*. There is no place where it can not be cast, being adapted to both deep and shallow sea fishing. The fisherman stands on the shore and casts the net. These are the fishes of this net: *Aloilo*, *hinalea*²⁸, *lauhau*²⁹.
4. Eel snatching [*Inikiniki puh*]. Here is the method: It is hand fishing, the bait being held in the right hand, the left hand snatching [the eel]. These are the baits: *Aama*³⁰, *paiea* (rock crabs), and *heepali*. The place for this kind of fishing is along the black rocky seashore, the same as Kohala's coast. There the fishing is done at high tide and when the sea is boisterous. The only fish to be caught is the eel.
5. *The kikomo*³¹. It is a hook placed at the head of a short rod one fathom in length. The place for fishing is a cleft in the rocks. Eels also are the fish to be caught.
6. Angling [*Kamako*]. The fishing rod is three fathoms long, made of bambu, and of *hau*. The cord is also three fathoms long. *Aama*, *ina* (sea eggs), *pea* (starfish),

¹² *Hahamau*, a term for hand fishing by feeling for and seizing such as are found in rocky ledges of the seacoast. it is not confined to night search, though it is naturally governed by the tide.

¹³ Ready or quickly clutching, or closing upon the prey.

¹⁴ *Heepali* small rock squid (Octopus).

¹⁵ *Olali* (*Thalassoma purpurum*).

¹⁶ *Hou*, snoring fish (*Thalassoma purpureum*).

¹⁷ *Awela* (*Thalassoma purpureum*).

¹⁸ *Niholoa*, unclassified.

¹⁹ *Mananalo*, unclassified.

²⁰ *Paolakei*, *Paokauwila*, *Paoluahine*, all unclassified.

²¹ *Holoholo*, running after, here and there, in one's search, hence the name. The net here described is now known as *upena poo*, head net.

²² *Alaahee*, known also as *walahee* (*Plectronia odorata*). The use of this wood for a circular net frame on account of flexibility, must be of young plants or slender branches, as the mature tree furnishes a close-grained, hard and durable wood.

²³ *Uhu* wrasse-fish (*Julis lepomis*, *Callyodon lineatus*).

²⁴ *Kala*, surgeon-fish (*Acanthurus unicornis*).

²⁵ *Uouoa*, mullet (*Chaenomugil chaptalii*).

²⁶ *Manini*, surgeon-fish (*Hepatus sandwicensis*).

²⁷ *Nenue*, rudder-fish (*Kyphosus fuscus*).

²⁸ *Hinalea*, wrasse-fish (*Thalassoma ballieui*).

²⁹ *Lauhau*, butterfly-fish (*Chaetodon quadrimaculatus*).

³⁰ *Aama*, crab.

³¹ *Kikomo* (not identified).



and *heepali* is the bait used. The place of fishing is at a headland or other suitable place. Fishes to be caught by this method of fishing are: *uhu*, *halahala*³², *hou*, *aawa*³³, *oopukai*³⁴, *hinalea*, *aniholoa*³⁵, *awela*³⁶.

7. *Kaee*. The net is called *nae*, a net of very small mesh, and the place of fishing is the rocky floors covered with a very thin sheet of water. All kinds of small [VI:176] fishes are taken in by this net, such as *ohua*³⁷, *paoo*³⁸, *aholehole*³⁹, baby maninis, and so forth.
8. Basket [*Hinai*]. This is woven in the manner of wicker chairs, with the opening on the top, and standing about one foot high. *Wana*⁴⁰, *ina* and *haukeuke*⁴¹.¹ are used as bait. The place of this method of fishing is in the sea, in coral, flat bottom and rocky places. The basket is placed in position and the man swims away. When the fishes enter [the basket] the man collects them. The fish caught is *hinalea* only, and no other kind.
9. Basket with a large opening [*Hinai puka nui*]. A large basket, two feet high, for deep sea fishing. These are the fishes caught: *Panuhunuhu*⁴², *halahala*, *uhu*.
10. *Uluulu* net. Two sticks each a yard long, the net a yard wide. The place for fishing is in the sea. The fishes are in holes; there is where this net is used. One man holds the net on one side of the hole, and another man with a pole stirs up the water in the hole to drive the fish into the net. The fish to be caught are the *kumu*⁴³, the *uhu*, and so forth.
11. The sea net [*Upena kai*]. This net is called by fishermen, the “mouth of a shark;” the *uluulu* net (No. 10) the “belly of the shark,” and the *hinalea* fishing basket (No. 8) the “eye of the shark.” In these kinds of fishing fishermen are liable to be eaten by sharks, hence the expressions. The placing of the net is done down in the deep sea. One dives down, clears away the rocks and places the net in position, then the fish enter.
12. Spearing [*Ke o*]. It is a long pole, three yards long, with a very sharp-pointed piece of iron⁴⁴ half an arm’s length at one end. This method of fishing is not suited to those who do not know how to dive, but only to those who are long-winded in diving and know how to spear. A fisherman dives and stays down, and the way he stays down is by grasping the bottom with one hand, while the other holds the spear, watching for a fish to come around, and when it does come in sight it is speared; all kinds of fish in the ocean. The length of time it takes to stay down is about half an hour, but in case a shark is encountered, fully one whole hour may be taken in staying down in the deep. How wonderful⁴⁵!

³² *Halahala*, not classed; a fish resembling the except in the colorings.

³³ *Aawa* (*Lepidaplois albotaeniatus*).

³⁴ *Oopukai* (*Cirrhitus marmoratus*).

³⁵ *Aniholoa*, unclassified.

³⁶ *Awela* (*Thalassoma purpureum*).

³⁷ *Ohua*, wrasse-fish (*Cantherines sandwichensis*; *Osbeckia scripta*).

³⁸ *Paoo* (*Salaria*, species).

³⁹ *Aholehole* (*Kuhlia malo*).

⁴⁰ *Wana* and *ina*, sea-urchins.

⁴¹ *Haukeuke*, not classed.

⁴² *Panuhunuhu*, parrot-fish (*Callyodon gilberti*).

⁴³ *Kumu*, goat-fish (*Pseudupeneus porphyreus*).

⁴⁴ This is modern, as iron was not available till after Cook’s arrival, although in ancient times *weke* was the term for such metal.

⁴⁵ Hawaiians like to dwell on the marvelous.



13. Drawing net [Upena kuu]. It is a large net eighteen fathoms long and seven feet wide. It is a net drawn through the sea, two men holding it, while four men drive in the fish.
14. A hulihuli⁴⁶ net. It is taken and placed in position in the sea. Then the rocks are turned over, thus driving the fish into the net.
15. Pakuikui (thrashing) net. A man swims seaward drawing the net, while another man thrashes the sea from the land side. On account of the noise the fishes run into the net. VI:178]
16. Squid spearing [Ka o hee]. [The fisherman] takes a pole in the sea with which to thrust in the hole, thereby killing the squid.
17. The turtle net [Upena honu]. It is forty fathoms long and four fathoms wide. Ten men are necessary to handle this net to dispatch a turtle. Not, however, until a turtle is seen floating on the surface of the sea is the net cast. Sometimes from one to five turtles are taken at one haul. All these different methods of fishing are done in the sea by diving and wading in actual person, without canoe. This is a summary of all the different methods of fishing in the sea, except by canoes.

Fishing From Canoe

1. Squid fishing [Luhee]. The cowrie shell is the bait, together with a stone. Spurs which are curved [forming the hook] are fitted behind the shells whereby the squid is caught. The shell and the stone are both alike, the squid will not seize it if the stone is not identical with the shell; the stone underneath, the shell on top. A stone is cut to resemble the shell [in size and shape]; if the shell is spotted the stone must be spotted, and so in all other particulars. If the stone and shell are good and exactly alike, the squid will seize it. The man who is in the canoe shakes the line in order to move the shell and stone, which the squid pursues to grip. If the shell is a good attraction the catch may amount to forty squids, or perhaps a little less.
2. Looking for squid [Okilo hee]. The squid is the fish. A hook with a stone attached forming the bait are the things that catch it. When fishing, chew the kukui⁴⁷ [nuts] and blow it on the sea to calm it whereby the bottom is made clear, and when the squid is located the hook is let down. There are several varieties of this fish (the squid), and it has a body which it can transform in various ways; that is why the kukui is blown over the sea, to calm it and [permit] the squid [to be] plainly seen. Here are the different forms of the squid at different times: In the morning the form resembles that of bread-fruit, that is, the skin. Toward noon it is red. In the afternoon it is brown, similar to seaweed. In the evening it is dark like the coral. All squid, both large and small, change in the same way. Therefore those who are not learned in discerning the squid are not fit to go out on this kind of fishing.
3. The lau [net]. This net is fourteen fathoms long and is of two kinds. If the net is fourteen fathoms long many people will take part in the fishing. It means this: Three times forty fathoms is the length of the rope to which ki leaves are fastened in small bundles. If the net is nine fathoms long the leaf rope is six times forty fathoms. The dry leaves of the ki plant are used for the purpose, and the

⁴⁶ Hulihuli, searching; turning over.

⁴⁷ Kukui (*Aleurites moluccana*). The chewed nuts produced the same effect on troubled waters as the modern use of oil.



bark of the *hau*⁴⁸ is the [VI:180] rope. This is done to scare the fishes of the sea⁴⁹. The method of fishing is done in this way: The *ki* leaves and net are placed in two canoes. Most of the people are on shore pulling the *ki* leaf rope, and some in canoes. Thus the fish are driven to a suitable place where the net is payed out. Many kinds of fish are caught by this method of fishing.

4. *Kawaa* net. It is a large net, and three are used in this method of fishing. Each is twenty fathoms long. Three canoes are employed; one canoe is loaded with stones and two with nets. One canoe pays out its net, and so does the other, in opposite direction. Then the canoes curve and go inland as the big stones are being thrown down. In this method many fishes are caught.
5. Large-mouth net [*Upena waha nu*]. This has appliances called *pula*⁵⁰ which means, a rope twenty fathoms long, the *hala*⁵¹ leaves and *akia*⁵² being- the *pula* which are set one foot apart. These *pulas* are forty in number, and in some cases more are used. These are used to drive the fish to where the net is located. With this net of the fisherman, the resourcefulness of mail is made apparent. The net is first located at rough or bad places, where the fish mainly gather, and left there. Then the *pula* is drawn, and the fish, on seeing it, run to the rough place and are all caught in the net.

⁴⁸ *Hau (Paritium tiliaceum)*. The bark of the *hau* in long strips, furnished excellent material for heavy cord and even rope, made up while fresh and green, or if dried, by soaking it in water to render it pliable. It was made by plaiting, rather than in twisted strands, and of such size as the purpose in hand required. It was with three cables of twelve strands of *hau* in the effort to haul the Cleopatra's Barge from her stranded position in the bay of Hanalei, in 1824, that the unaided muscular strength of an immense team of natives rolled the vessel over on her keel and broke off the mainmast to which the cables were attached.

⁴⁹ In both *lau* and bag-net fishing very fine-mesh nets are used. The *lau* is a rope with dry *ti* leaves—three or four—strung in it at intervals according to size. For convenience in handling, this rope is formed of ten fathom lengths, and when the *ti* leaves are inserted each length is caned a *kumu lau*. There may be as many as ten lengths used in fishing for *ohuas*, depending on the number of people participating, but not less than four, one being required at each end of the *lau* and one at each end of the net. At first the *kumu laus* are joined in the center, which point is marked by a slender stick some six feet long of about an inch in thickness, called *kuku*. The *laus* which up to this time have been dragged along in a bunch are then payed out from this central point, each leader going in an opposite direction. The others divide, half going to one side and half to the other of the *kuku*, for the purpose of pressing down the leafed rope and at the same time pushing it forward. Having come to the end of their respective *laus* the leaders work forward and gradually form a semicircle with the whole *lau*. On arriving at a suitable place for laying the net, the head fisherman takes hold of the *kuku* and shoves it into the sand, or rock, which is the signal to stop pulling for a while. The shock of the *kuku* digging into the sand is felt along the lines. All halt in their places. The *kuku* is then pulled out, parting the *kumu laus*, each of which is attached to the mouth of the net. The net is carried, partly dragged, in the water by two men, who follow the middle of the *lau* as shown by the *kuku*. When the head fisherman signals to cease pulling awhile, the net is spread out in position and the *kumu laus* are attached to it on either side of the mouth. At a given signal the leaders of the *laus* come together; the *lomi laus*, those who press the leaves down, then work forward so that in a short while the two sides form the fence to a pathway leading straight to the mouth of the net. When the two leaders come together they press the leaves towards the net. This is usually done by one of them grabbing the two ropes which form the fence above referred to and bringing them together, thus driving the fish towards the net. This is the crucial moment and has to be done quickly so as to give the fish no time to come back after striking the net. Care must also be taken that the *laus* do not form “pockets” along their lengths lest the fish circle round in them and dive under them. The head fisherman meanwhile watches the mouth of the net and when no more fish appear the net is raised. In the daytime this method of fishing is called *lau ohua*. *Ohua*, *puaula*, *hinalea*, *weke*, *pua oio*, *kumu*, *moano* and other fish which abound in moss-covered shoals are gathered. In the nighttime this same kind of fishing is called *lauahi*. Larger fish are caught such as *kumu*, *puaula*, *moano*, *weke*, *nenue*, *uku*, lobsters and eels. Daytime fishing of the above on a large scale often going beyond the reef into the deep sea is called *lau lele*. The method of fishing is the same but it is more laborious.

⁵⁰ Properly the word *pula* applies to the *lau* portion adjoining the net collecting the driven fish; the clusters of *hala* and *akia* at regular spaces on the ropes are termed the *lau* as in the *lau* net already described.

⁵¹ *Hala (Pandanus odoratissimus)*.

⁵² *Akia (Wikstroemia)*, of which there are several varieties.



6. Hanging net [Upena hoolewalewa]. Three canoes are employed for this net, one for actual fishing and two to carry the nets. One canoe, which is the one on the right-hand side, carries the bag, the other canoe is the one on the left-hand side. [In setting the nets] the belly of the net forms the juncture of the two nets. At the mouth of the side nets the fishermen dive toward the middle, driving the fish away back in the bag and are thus caught.
7. Pakuikui net. It is the same net as above. with a bag, but with different operations. Poles four fathoms long are used. When the net is cast at its located place. [VI:182] then the poles are thrust in the sea. The fish are thereby frightened into the net in an angry and mighty rush. Such is the method of this fishing.
8. Flying-fish net [Upena malolo]. This is a large net, being eighteen fathoms long and six fathoms high, and the mouth is twelve fathoms long. This is a fine-meshed net. These are the names of the different kinds of these nets: *nukunuku a ula*, single mesh, double mesh, triple mesh. Many canoes carry this net, about thirty. Sometimes one canoe carries the net; sometimes five, and so on. The net canoe leads with six men aboard; the paddle-men are called “flying-fish paddlers.” The canoes are paddled uniformly when encompassing [the fish] without one slacking backward; when near the net the canoes are backed, then the net is drawn in. There are two canoes allotted for receiving the fish, a younger and an elder⁵³ canoe. The younger canoe is the one belonging to the net owner; the elder canoe is that belonging to the paddle men. The tally fish belongs to the wife of the net owner. In the net canoe there are three apportionments; the steersman in the stern of the canoe, the paddler in the bow of the canoe, and the mid-ship paddler. These are the different men who share their apportionment⁵⁴ with the net owner
9. The kapae. This method of fishing is done during windy days. The fish is the flying-fish. The line is twenty-seven fathoms long. This fish is caught with hook baited with lobster, or flying-fish meat. The wind and tide bear these. This fish, the flying-fish is buoyant on the sea, and so is the line; thus this fish is caught. Thirty and less of these flying-fish are caught in this method of fishing.
10. The *koheoheo*. *Koheoheo* is a piece of *wiliwili* wood with alive flying-fish [*malolo*] attached. The line is five fathoms long, the object is to allure the [*mahimahi*] dolphin, and when it becomes ferocious the line and hook is thrown. When the fish bites the paddling of the canoe ceases. The dolphin is a very game fish when caught with a hook, it is a great struggler and snorts when leaping up. A large fish is a fathom and over, long, and a small fish is *muku* (four and a half feet). A large fish is called a *lapalapa*, also *ao*, having a breadth of a yard from the forehead to the mouth. Here are the different names of the dolphin: *Lapalapa*, *ao* and *papaoha*. The principal food of this fish, the dolphin, are flying-fish [*malolo*], *lelepo* and *puhikii*.

⁵³ The younger and elder canoes likely indicate relative size for the division of the catch. These terms are not known to present-day fishermen.

⁵⁴ As a rule the canoe owner received one-third of the catch, the helpers (paddlers and fishermen) took two thirds. Fish are counted by fours, termed a *kauna*. This comes from the custom of seizing two fish at a time in each hand at their discharging or handling, each throw of the hands being a *kauna*. The division of net hauls in fishing was of necessity done on reaching shore, while line-fishing permitted this to be done at sea, if desired, as the fish were caught.



11. Kahala⁵⁵ fishing. Five times forty fathoms is the length of the line. This fish requires an abundance of line, and hooks also. The abode of this fish is a *koa* [station or ground] .This fish does not live in any other part of the sea, only at a *koa*. This is a small mound in the bottom of the ocean; a deep pit is different from this. It is a plain mound not fully cognizant to the fisherman, but by letting down the hook and line it is learned that the *koa* is good, the hook does not entangle.

The *koa* (station) is a place of great enjoyment by all the *kahalas*. The size of the station is about the same as that of a small village with houses standing and the people gathered in crowds. According to the depth to the *koa*, so is the length of the line. Forty hooks are attached to a line when letting down, some less, some more. A stone [VI:184] as large as a *poi* pounder is at the lowermost end, and from the stone to the [nearest] hook is a distance of one fathom. As the line hangs perpendicularly so the hooks hang, a yard from one hook to another, and so on till all the forty hooks are fastened. These hooks are called *kaka*, *ulaula*, *koae*, *lehe*, *mokuleia*. These are the fishes caught on the lower hooks, and on the uppermost hook are the *kahala* caught.

Muhee, opelu, and squid, are the baits for the *kahala* fish when the line is let down for the fish to eat. The shaking of the line indicates the biting of the *kahala*. In this method of fishing, landmarks are necessary to properly identify the station. It could not be found merely by seeking without certain objects on land. The landmarks to be looked for are as follows: Hapuu is the most noted *koa* in the sea of Alenuihaha, north of Kohala, Hawaii. Hukiaa is the land to which this station belongs, and there is a wide extent from the land to this *koa* of Hapuu, about three miles distant perhaps. It is over five times forty fathoms in depth.⁵⁶

The landmark to be looked for is Hapuu, in the lowlands of Halawa, which is six miles distant. It is a temple, built by Kamehameha, called "House of Kaili" [Hale o Kaili]. The mark to be looked for in the uplands is Puuiki, a toboggan [*holua*] slide, which is Upolu, west of Hukiaa. When these come in line, the fishing ground (*koa*) is located, and that is the only proper mode of fishing for the *kahala*.

12. *Kakauhu*. A narrow net not deep, a fathom long, four sticks, the opening being rectangular in shape. An *uhu*, a live one, is used as a decoy to ensnare the stranger *uhu*⁵⁷. It is kept secured by a line, and when it becomes tamed the net is cast. That is the way this fish is caught.
13. *Maomao*⁵⁸ fishing. The *maomao* net is three fathoms long. Lobster is the bait for the *maomao*, and sometimes *pohue* is used. The *pohue* bait is a piece of bitter calabash, made in a circular shape and blackened in the fire, and tied to the opening of the net, thus: there are four sticks encircling the mouth [of the net], and on this mouth the pieces of *pohue* are placed, floating on the sea. The *maomao* on seeing the *pohue* floating takes it for bait and is thus ensnared.
14. Long loose net [Upena luelue]. It has a circular mouth, and across the center of the net is a string to which the bait is fastened. In the bottom of the net is a stone which holds it down, thus is this method of fishing.

⁵⁵ *Kahala*, amber-fish (*Seriola purpurascens*).

⁵⁶ This gives a depth of twelve hundred feet.

⁵⁷ This method of fishing for *uhu* is not often practiced now, for it is hard to obtain the original for a decoy. The more common method is by spearing.

⁵⁸ *Maomao*, unclassified, is a yellowish fish of medium size, with red and black spots.



15. *Kala* basket fishing [*Hinai pai kala*]. Basket is its net, plaited as the basket in the basket fishing. *Kala*⁵⁹ is a nourished fish, fed with sea-weed, with taro and with squash. This continues until the fish fattens, then a basket with food is let down. After the fish have become accustomed to the treatment the catching net is let down. That is the method of its catching.
16. Of the *ahi*. Four hundred fathoms is the length of the line. Large hooks are required, with *aku* and *opelu* as bait. A nice flat stone is used as a sinker and when two times forty fathoms of line have been payed out into the deep, it is pulled up, then the weight drops and the *ahi* is caught by the hook. Then the fish dives carrying many forty lengths with it. The *ahi*⁶⁰ is a very ferocious and powerful fish, and of [VI:186] prolonged vitality. The *ahi* will bear away three times before it dies. It has a very large body, fat and full of meat. Its meat is like that of a pig in thickness.
17. *Opelu* fishing. The net is six fathoms long, with squash as bait.
18. The *holahola*⁶¹ (poison) net. Here is the method: Surround the fish hole with the net, then scatter the poison, thus killing the fishes.
19. The *iao*. A *nae* net is used for its catching, a very fine-meshed net. It is exactly two fathoms long. Here is the description: [the net] two fathoms; two men to handle it, the beaters coming towards the front of the net. Two kinds of fish are caught with this net, the *iao*⁶² and the *nehu*⁶³.
20. The *aku*⁶⁴. A fishing pole is used for securing this fish, with *iao* as bait. The *iao* is a decoy, it allures the *aku* then the hook and line is thrown whereby the *aku* is secured.
21. The *kolo* net. This net is made of very strong-fibered rushes, four times forty fathoms long, and three fathoms in height. Many people are required to draw it, some in canoes and some on dry land.

Of Night Fishing.

1. *Ku kaula*. The catch is the *ulua*⁶⁵, the *kahala*, and so forth. The line and sinker is let down, the line being forty fathoms long. Flying-fish, lobster, *lelepo* and so forth are used for bait. In the afternoon [the fisherman] sets sail, arriving [at the fishing grounds] in the evening. When the weight is let down it is dark; the *ulua* and other fish are caught during the night.
2. *Kapapa ulua*. The canoe is paddled along, at the same time making a noise by striking the paddles against the canoe. The *ulua* hears it and follows the canoe, then the line and hook is payed out and the *ulua* is caught.
3. *Welea*⁶⁶. The line is nine fathoms long, with a hook; *hinalea*, *aawa*, *moano*⁶⁷ and so forth being its bait.

⁵⁹ *Kala*, surgeon-fish (*Acanthurus unicornis*).

⁶⁰ *Ahi*, albacore (*Germo germo*).

⁶¹ *Holahola* is the stupefying of fish by the use of the poisonous shrub *auhuhu* (*Cracca purpurea*) applied to the caves or cavities along the reefs or rocky coasts, the habitat of *aholehole*, *hinalea*, *kumu*, *manini*, *puaula* and *weke*, the varieties caught by this method.

⁶² *Iao*, not classified; better known as *iiao*, similar to the *nehu*, but with decided scales which the latter has not.

⁶³ *Nehu*, anchovy (*Anchovia purpurea*).

⁶⁴ *Aku*, bonito, caught with rod and fly. The bait is the *iiao* which is cast into the sea, preferably alive. The *aku* follows the bait, which is cast from the rear end of the canoe. The rod and fly meanwhile are cast and the fly is taken by the fish. This was the fish for which the old-time pearl hooks were used.

⁶⁵ *Ulua*, cavalia (*Carangus latus*).

⁶⁶ *Welea*, lizard-fish (*Trachinocephalus myops*).

⁶⁷ *Moano*, goat-fish (*Priacanthus cruentatus*) (*Pseudupeneus multifaciatus*).



4. Aweoweo⁶⁸. Its fish line is six fathoms long, with a hook; *paoo* being its bait.
5. Shark fishing [Lawaia mano]. It is an entangling, large net, forty fathoms long and four fathoms high. Many sharks are caught in this net.
6. The awa net. This net is called *mahae*, the meaning thereof being four fingers in a bunch may be run through a mesh. It is three times forty fathoms long and three fathoms high. Encircling is the method applied in this kind of fishing, with a canoe at either end and moving in a circle until the fish which collect at one place are caught, because it is the habit of this fish, the awa⁶⁹, to eat sea moss together at the same [Volume VI:188] place; and while feeding indifferently on sea moss was the time of its being surrounded. The awa is a large fish, its body being a muku (four and a half feet), or a yard, and so on in length.
7. The thrashing net [Upena hahau]. Four times forty fathoms is the length of this net and six yards high. Its method of fishing is to place the net mainly in a straight line, but curving at one end. The reason for that is, that when the fish is going parallel to the net on turning back they will be caught at that place. One man splashes the sea from the front with the paddle, to stir the sea and scare the fish. Many fishes may be caught in this net.
8. The alihilele net. It is six fathoms long, with leaves on either. Two men are engaged with the net. Large mullet are the fish caught in this net.
9. Ani net. It is ten fathoms long, two men being employed, the feet being the splash, hence the name *ani*. Mullet, weke, oama, uouoa are the fishes caught.
10. Ohua palemo net. It is one fathom in length; ten men are employed in fishing with this net. The ohua and the akilolo⁷⁰ are the fishes of this net⁷¹.

⁶⁸ *Aweoweo, catalufa (Priacanthus cruentatus).*

⁶⁹ Awa, milk-fish (*Chanos chanos*). The awa referred to here is the *awa kalamoho*, a large fish of the color and meat of the *anae* (sea mullet), only it is much larger in size, some being as long as six feet, and easily ten inches thick at the largest part. It is shaped very much like the salmon. The *awa* is a hard fighter.

⁷⁰ *Akilolo (Gomphosus, Thalassoma).*

⁷¹ *Ohua palemo net*. As now practiced, *ohua fishing—lau ohua, as it is called—is lau fishing in shoal water in the daytime.*



This is the end of the narrative on nets and fishes⁷². But one thing more: about endurance men in ocean diving and fishing. They are very famous until this day, and there are records about them which are preserved with this people. [VI:190]

**XXI. “Ka Punawai o Wawaloi” and “Ka Loko o Paaiea”
Native Traditions of Loli and the Fishpond of Pā’aiea
(Accounts from the Kekaha Region of North Kona, Hawai’i)**

In 1923, J.W.H.I. Kihe penned a series of articles in the native newspaper, *Ka Hōkū o Hawai’i*. One of the accounts, “*Ka Punawai o Wawaloi*” (The Pond of Wawaloli), tells us that the pond of Wawaloli, on the shore of ‘O’oma, North Kona was named for a supernatural ocean being, who could take the form of the *loli* (sea cucumber), and that of a handsome young man. People of the area regularly traveled between the uplands and shore of ‘O’oma, to gather a variety of fish, seaweeds, and shellfish.

The following narratives were translated by Maly from the original Hawaiian texts published in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai’i* (September 23rd, October 4th & 11th, 1923), and tell us of the supernatural *loli*—elder *kama’āina* interviewees, note that *loli* were very common at Wawaloli through the 1970s, but for some reason, they are less common now.

“Ka Punawai o Wawaloi” (The Pond of Wawaloli)

The place of this pond (Wawaloli) is set there on the shore of the ‘O’oma near Kalaoa. It is a little pond, and is there to this day. It is very close to the sandy shore, and further towards the shore there is also a pond in which one can swim. There is a tradition of this pond, that is held dearly in the hearts of the elders of this community.

Wawaloli is the name of a *loli* (sea cucumber) that possessed dual body forms (*kino pāpālua*), that of a *loli*, and that of a man!

Above there on the *‘ilima* covered flat lands, there lived a man by the name of Kalua’ōlapa and his wife, Kamakaoiki, and their beautiful daughter, Malumaluiki.

⁷² Various “don’ts” in connection with fishing: Don’t say “*E hele ana wau i ka lawaia*,” (I am going fishing). Say instead, “*E hele ana wau i ka nahelehele*,” (I am going to the woods). The fish have ears and they hear; and when you say you are going fishing they hear and run away, so that you would come back empty handed.

Don’t hold your hands behind your back. To do so is an indication of weariness and fish, being very considerate, do not care to burden you further, so they keep out of your reach.

Don’t carry on a conversation on the way to, or on the fishing grounds; fish would hear and would disappear.

Don’t walk on the beach immediately abreast of where the net is intended to be cast. The noise of your feet on the pebbles or sand warns the fish off.

Don’t ask idle questions of canoe-men getting ready to go out fishing. They consider it an omen of bad luck.

Don’t indulge in dirty language or in smutty tales before going fishing. Even the fish are averse to dirt.

Don’t walk on a net when it is spread out; don’t step over a net when it is bundled. Take time to walk around it. It is the house for the fish when it is cast in the sea, and the fish prefer it clean.

Don’t “*aia*” the fish (“there it is”), when you see it entering the net; fish are timid and do not care to be noticed; and when you do, they turn right around and rush out again.

Don’t go fishing if your mouth is wrong (i.e., if you have made a vow which you have not fulfilled); you will only cause weariness to your companions, for you will all come back empty-handed. Fish abhor a gas-bag and keep away from him.



One day the young maiden told her mother that she was going down to the shore to gather *limu* (seaweeds), *ōpihi* (limpets), and *pūpū* (shellfish). Her mother consented, and so the maiden traveled to the shore. Upon reaching the shore, Malumaluiki desired to drink some water, so she visited the pond and while she was drinking she saw a reflection in the rippling of the water, standing over her. She turned around and saw that there was a handsome young man there, with a smile upon his face. He said... [September 27, 1923] "...Pardon me for startling you here as we meet at this pond, in the afternoon heat which glistens off of the *pāhoehoe*."

She responded, "What is the mistake of our meeting, you are a stranger, and I am a stranger, and so we have met at this pond." The youth, filled with desire for the beautiful young maiden, answered "I am not a stranger here along this shore, indeed, I am very familiar with this place for this is my home. And when I saw you coming here, I came to meet you."

These two strangers, having thus met, then began to lay out their nets to catch *kala*, *uhu*, and *palani*, the native fish of this land. And in this way, the beauty of the plains of Kalaoa was caught in the net of the young man who dwelt in the sea spray of 'O'oma.

These two strangers of the long day also fished for *hīnālea*, and then for *kawele'ā*. It was during this time, that their lines became entangled like those of the fishermen of Wailua (a poetic reference to those who become entangled in a love affair).

The desire for the *limu*, *ōpihi*, and *pūpū* was completely forgotten, and the fishing poles bent as the lines were pulled back in the sea spray. The handsome youth was moistened in the rains that fell, striking the land and the beloved shore of the land. The sun drew near, entering the edge of the sea and was taken by Lehua Island. Only then did these two fishers of the long day take up their nets.

Before the young maiden began her return to the uplands, she told the youth, "Tell me your name." He answered her, "The name by which I am known by, is Wawa. But my name, when I go and dwell in the pond here, is Loli. And when you return, you may call to me with the chant:

<i>E Loli nui kīkewekewe</i> ⁹	Oh great <i>Loli</i> moving back and forth
<i>I ka hana ana kīkewekewe</i>	Doing your work
<i>I ku'u piko kīkewekewe</i>	You are in my mind
<i>A ka makua kīkewekewe</i>	The parents
<i>I hana ai kīkewekewe</i>	Are at their work
<i>E pi'i mai 'oe kīkewekewe</i>	Won't you arise
<i>Ka kaua puni kīkewekewe</i>	To that which we two desire
<i>Puni kauoha kīkewekewe</i>	Your command is desired

Having finished their conversation, the maiden then went to the uplands. It was dark, and the kukui lamps had been lit in the house. Malumaluiki's parents asked her, "Where are your *limu*, *ōpihi* and *pūpū*?" She replied, "It is proper that you have asked me, for when I went to the shore it was filled with people who took all there was? Thus I was left with nothing, not even a fragment of *limu* or anything else. So I have returned up here."

⁹ "Kīkewekewe" is translated by Eliza Maguire (1926) as "charmer." The present author is unfamiliar with this meaning of the word. It is most commonly used in the refrain of a song, and is here translated as "moving back and forth," as the word is used in the spoken language. *Kewe* also means concave, similar to the place name 'O'oma.



Well, the family meal had been made ready, so they all sat to eat together. But after a short while the maiden stood up. Her parents inquired of this, and she said she was no longer hungry, and that her feet were sore from traveling the long path. So the maiden went to sleep. She did not sleep well though, and felt a heat in her bosom, as she was filled with desire, thus she had no sleep that night.

With the arrival of the first light of day, the Malumaluiki went once again down to the shore. Upon arriving at the place of the pond, she entered the water and called out as described above. Then, a *loli* appeared and turned into the handsome young man. They two then returned to their fishing for the *kala*, *uhu* and *palani*, the native fish the land.

So it was that the two lovers met regularly there on the shore of 'O'oma. Now Malumaluiki's parents became suspicious because of the actions of the daughter, and her regular trips to the shore. So they determined that they should secretly follow her and spy on her.

One day, the father followed her to the shore, where he saw his daughter sit down by the side of the pond. He then heard her call out —

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

[October 4, 1923]

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

When the daughter returned to her home, her eyes were all swollen from crying. Her mother asked her, "What is this, that your eyes are puffy from crying, my daughter?" She didn't answer, she just kneeled down, giving no response. At that time, her father returned to the house and saw his daughter kneeling down, and he said "Your man, with whom you have been making love at the beach has been taken by the *kahuna* Pāpa'apo'o. He has been cooked in the *imu* that you may live, that all of the girls who this *loli* has loved may live."

That pond is still there on the shore, and the place with the small round opening is still on the side of that pond to this day. It is something to remember those things of days gone by, something that should not be forgotten by those of today and in time to come. [October 11, 1923]

"Ka Loko o Paaiea" (The fishpond of Pā'aiea)

The tradition of "*Ka Loko o Paaiea*" (The fishpond of Pā'aiea) was written by J.W.H.I. Kihe, and printed in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i* in 1914 and 1924. The narratives below, describe traditional life and practices in various *ahupua'a* of Kekaha, and specifically describes the ancient fishpond Pā'aiea. The following excerpts from Kihe's *mo'olelo* (translated by Maly), include references to fishing activities on the Kekaha coast of North Kona, and the fishpond of Pā'aiea, which was destroyed by the Hualālai lava flows of 1801. Destruction of the fishpond was reportedly the result of the pond overseer's refusal to give the goddess Pele—traveling in human form—any fish from the pond:

Pā'aiea was a great fishpond, something like the ponds of Wainānāli'i and Kīholo, in ancient times. At that time the high chiefs lived on the land, and these ponds were filled with fat *awa*, *'anae*, *āhole*, and all kinds of fish that swam inside. It is this pond that was filled by the lava flows and turned into *pāhoehoe*, that is written of here. At that time, at Ho'onā. There was a *Konohiki* (overseer), Kepa'alani, who was in charge of the storage houses (*hale papa'a*) in which the valuables of the King [Kamehameha I] were kept. He was in charge of the King's food supplies, the fish, the *hālau* (long houses) in which the fishing canoes were kept, the fishing nets and all things. It was from there that the King's fishermen and the retainers were provisioned. The houses of the pond guardians and *Konohiki* were situated at Ka'elehuluhulu and Ho'onā.

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

While traveling in the form of an old woman, Pele visited the Kekaha region of Kona, bedecked in garlands of the *ko'oko'olau* (*Bidens* spp.). Upon reaching Pā'aiea at Ho'onā,



Pele inquired if she might perhaps have an *'ama'ama*, young *āholehole*, or a few *'ōpae* (shrimp) to take home with her. Kēpa'alani, refused, "they are *kapu*, for the King." Pele then stood and walked along the *kuapā* (ocean side wall) of Pā'aiea till she reached Ka'elehuluhulu. There, some fishermen had returned from *aku* fishing, and were carrying their canoes up onto the shore...

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

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

XXII. "Ike Hou Ia Molokai-Nui-a-Hina" Molokai-Nui-a-Hina is Seen Again — Some Moloka'i Fisheries Described

While conducting a review of records in the collections of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (BPBM), a 1922 article from the Hawaiian newspaper *Ku Okoa* was located in the Hawaiian Ethnological Notes. Excerpts of that article are presented here, as they share with us observations of the land in and around Kaluako'i as seen from the ocean. The Hawaiian writer describes some of the various practices and customs associated with fishing and agriculture in the area; and describes the lands of Hale-o-Lono-Punakou (an *'ili* in Kaluako'i) on the southern shore, to those at Kawahuna-Na'aukahiki on the northern shore.

The passengers were delighted with Molokai last Sunday, when they sailed there on the steamer Kilauea... ..At Kawaihoa, the ship turned toward Lae-o-ka-laau. As we went on the Kualau breeze of Kaiwi blew wildly, and many people were bent over with seasickness... It was almost eleven o'clock when Kilauea sailed close to land, as she had reached the sheltered calm of Lae-o-ka-Laau. The *puhikii* fish and the *malolo* (flying fish) flew by and the natives exclaimed, "Here is Ka-lae-o-ka-Laau. Lets bestir ourselves!" From this point one could see Kaluakoi in full view. The cove of Kawakiu-nui was visible just below Ka-lae-o-ka-ilio. The sandy beach of Papohaku easily seen, that place where Samuel Hookano of Ewa went about as a child. So was Kapuhi-Kani, with the quiet sea on the lower side of Kaupoa. It was unrippled calm from the sea of Kahaiawa, to the sands of Kamakaipo, on up to Ka-lae-o-ka-Laau. Above that stood the famous hill of Kihaapiilani. From this place on the cheerful voices of the *kahuli* land shells could be heard as though it were the dawn. From this place the writer began his work of pointing out and telling the stories of the various places on this island.

As I pointed to the land, great affection welled up in me for the people of old when they inhabited the places from the high land to the low. There were seas that were swum in, from the sea of Kahalepohaku, Kapuku-wahine, Kanalukaha and to Hale-o-Lono, directly below Waieli. Wai-eli was well known to the seafarers of old, as it stood on the upland to guard over the peace of wonderful Hale-o-Lono, Kaumanamana, Hikauhi and Wai-a-



Kane. In these seas mentioned, if a stranger went there with an idea of showing off his skill in fishing, he would see the sea full of big kumu fish. Strangely though, when a net surrounded the schools of kumu fish and the net drawn up, all he would find would be the sea anemone and the gobe fish (oopuhue). The fish that he had seen had mysteriously disappeared. There was only one way to catch fish here and that was by performing a ceremony for the gods of these seas and when it was done, the canoe was filled. So the natives said.

As we passed directly below Punakou, I pointed out Maunaloa, where the men of the windward side of Palaaau (on the north) were turned into kauila trees. The story as told by some of the old timers are as follows: In the long ago, a youth who was skilled in boxing (mokomoko) lived at Kawailoa, above the hill Iloili. The game that he played best was the ulu-maika. This youth was named Umi-a-Maka... At that time, too, there lived a splendid youth who was just as skillful in mokomoko boxing and other sports as Umi-a-Maka was, on the windward side of Palaaau, close to the cove of Naaukahihi, at the flying sands (one-lele) of Kawahuna...

...I pointed out the hill of Kaana, famed in chants for the lehua blossoms of Kaana. This was the site of the original school where the ancients learned hula dancing of every kind. Above this place Ku-a-Pakaa lived and taught the men and women to farm, to beat out tapa cloths, to build houses, to twist fiber fish lines and every other work in order to secure vegetable food, fish and comfortable living. It was he who taught the people how to fish in the kapu seas previously mentioned... [BPBM Hawaiian Ethnological Notes; Nupepa Kuokoa, September 14, 1922]

XXIII. Hawaiian Fishing Notes Compiled by Theodore Kelsey (1920s-1950s)

The following narratives have been excerpted from manuscripts compiled from native authorities, by Theodore Kelsey, who spent his entire life recording Hawaiian traditions, lore, and practices. The notes were located in the collections of the Hawai'i State Archives (series M445/23); and the late, June Gutmanis (then curator of the Kelsey collection).

Reverend Henry B. Nalimu (born 1835) described 'Ī-ko'a, the Ko'a 'Ahi of Hilo Bay:

I, a relative of Rev. Nalimu's... Ihalau, the great long house of I, was mauka of Waiakea, near Pooholua and mauka of that place. Rev. Nalimu has only heard of the place. He thinks that it is in the forest. When the occupants of Ihalau finished a meal they slammed the covers down onto their calabashes in unison so that the report could be heard at Iko'a, the fishing-grounds of I where he fished for ahi. The location of this ko'a was obtained by bringing into line the coconuts of Papa'i and the Cape of Anapuka (ka lae o Anapuka) on the Puna side, and on the Hilo side, the coconuts of Kau Maui (near Keaukaha), and the cape of Kiha... [Kelsey notes, 1921; in collection of June Gutmanis]

Ocean Fish-Farming In Ancient Hawaii

With the Hawaiians of old fishing was a real science. They well knew each peculiar habit of the denizens of the deep, each various food, each stage of development, each periodic going and coming, each time and season for fishing, each most efficient method of capture.

One of the most interesting and profitable practices of these native fishermen was the science of fish-farming, as it might be termed, out in the ocean. Just as the pigs and the chickens, the cows, the horses, and all the other domestic animals of the farm run to be fed at meal time, as did the finny hosts, when accustomed to men and canoes whose coming heralded food, make haste to gulp down the delicious repasts that humans provided for them. It was by this system of feeding that the fishermen of old trained and tamed their "sea-chickens" preparatory to raiding their roosts.



By far the most important of the fishes thus fed was the sacred 'opelu, which in turn with the aku-fish was tabued in ancient times for six months of the year. Next to the 'opelu came the nenuē, which congregated close inshore. For a few days it might be fed previous to catching it with net, fish-trap, or hook. The bait, cooked in an underground oven for the purpose, was a sea-moss known as limu-'aki'aki. The kala-fish, found in the same locations as the nenuē, was also fed at times. It was caught in basket-traps, using limu-kala sea-weed for bait. To a very limited extent eels were fattened on crushed manini or other fish. Fed on crabs, at times, were such charming pets as devil-fish. Sharks (mano'), regarded as ancestral guardians known as 'aumakuas, were sometimes reared from infancy. Like faithful dogs they would follow their masters while in or upon the ocean. Many a tale is told of how faithful sharks saved the lives of their keepers by bearing them ashore on their backs. A most interesting case of feeding, is such it may be called, was the insertion of pebbles into the mother-of-pearl bivalves known as papaua (pah-pah-oo'-wuh), which when matured were known as pas. The pebbles caused the shells to increase in size and strength for use as trolling-spoons, also known as pas, for catching aku-fish. The land of Kona, Hawaii, was particularly renowned for its excellent pas.

Opelus, after the abrogation of the old tabu-system, were not fed and caught at any time. No indeed, there were special periods for these purposes. In Puna, Hawaii, the season of feeding and catching combined lasted from October through December. In Kona, where 'opelu fishing assumed considerable proportions, the fish were fed from May to August. From August to December they repaid the hospitality of their hosts.

At the opening of the 'opelu-feeding season in Kona an interesting ancient ceremony, probably performed in the same manner in other localities, took place just before sunset on the night previous to setting forth. This was to secure the favor of the fish-god. To this deity, accompanied by weird chanting and prayer, were offered a cup of the divine 'awa, a small sacred black pig cooked in an imu, and consecrated red fish, red tapa, and a red malo or loin-cloth.

Imagine a fleet of graceful outrigger canoes paddled by stalwart brown fishermen, gliding swiftly, just before sunrise, over the tranquil sea, the beautiful variegated sea of Kona (Kona kai malino, kai ma'oki'oki). With them, in gourd calabashes (ipu pohue), or open-mouthed food-containers of lauhala (poho lauhala) they bear a tempting repast for the 'opelus. Rap! Rap! Rap! They strike the outsides of their canoes with their paddles, chanting impressively, perchance, the while. In this interesting manner fish were called to meals in olden days. A man in each canoe would rap a few handfuls of food, together with a flat stone for a sinker, in a piece of brown coconut-fibre cloth that grows at the base of the long crowning leaves. The parcels were then lowered into the sea to a depth of say two fathoms, to which the fish were to become accustomed, and released by a jerk of the line so that they [page 1] showered downward in tasty morsels. Cloth and stone were then hauled in for another load. 'Opelu breakfast was served. Toward sunset many of these fish-stewards provided supper for the 'opelus. In most localities a few days of such stewardship were deemed sufficient.

And now let us consider the bill-of-fares of the fish at various times and places. As a substantial meat diet would attract sharks and voracious eels, the finny poultry of our fish-farms were often trained to vegetarianism. Meals consisted largely of the scrapings of calabashes (pala 'ai) and of such cooked vegetables, served at one time, as pounded taro mixed with a bit of water (kale 'ai) (pa'i 'ai is more solid), pounded sweet-potato (pa'i 'uala), the imported papaia (he'i or mikala) uncooked if ripe, mashed breadfruit, and, in our time, such fare as pumpkins (pu), rice, and salmon. Representing the raw food diet were banana chewed and mashed, and occasionally such a delicacy as the red shrimp of Puna. By way of desert a special flavor was often imparted by intermingling juicy cooked



'aama crabs, whose red color, like that of the Puna shrimps, made them especially attractive, or adding cooked and pounded kukui-nuts (*inamona*).

The habitat of the 'opelu is in shallow water, seldom more than 20 fathoms deep, and at distances from shore ranging from about an eighth of a mile to a mile, and even three or four miles. Here the 'opelu inhabited fish-towns known as ko'a, which were situated about undersea caverns, little plateaus, and mounds of coral. Fisher folk located the positions of these ko'as by alignment or angles formed with prominent landmarks such as distant mountain tops, lowland hills, glistening waterfalls, or groups of tall gaunt cocoanuts, their tossing plumes like kahilis waving on the shore.

And now the fish, in turn, feed the feeders. Let us follow in spirit the fishermen of Puna, who after a few days of fish-feeding have beheld the sea beneath them dark with fish. Out they go, three to a canoe, the actual fisherman (*lawai'a*) forward, the feeder (*hanai 'ai*) in the middle, and the one in the stern who takes charge of the canoe (*malama waa*). Resting on the sides of the canoes opposite the outriggers are the big bag-like one-finger mesh *olonà* nets (*'a'ei* or *'a'ai 'opelu*). The bowmen feed the fish, their now unsuspecting victims, as usual, till they appear in legions. From a little flotilla of canoes lying side by side the nets drop into the teeming sea. What a scramble ensues! The order is given to insert the stretchers that round the mouths of the nets. Quickly, dexterously, the men at bow and stern bend into circles the flexible, flattened net-stretchers of *ulei*, pandanus, cocoanut, or *hau*, the inner sides of which they thrust beneath the canoes. Ah, one boat, whose man forward has observed that the current draws offshore, forges a little ahead of the others, while the crewman in the middle throws chum (*palu*) into the sea. Yes, most of the fish have followed. Weighted with a couple of stones in each of the two corners (*waiu*) at the ends, down go the nets! About two fathoms the nets descend; the canoes are stationary. Bowmen, holding net-hauling lines, clamor for parcels of food from the feeders. Down showers the food, right into the net-mouths. Blowing cocoanut oil upon the restless sea the bowmen glance here and there. Down goes more food. Like crowds of happy children at play the fish swarm over the nets, and within them. Slowly the bowmen haul up. Feeders and steersmen throw their weights toward the outrigger side lest their canoes capsize in a trice. Right against the bottoms the nets are hauled. All lend a hand, as little by little, the gleaming, writhing loads of silvery fish flop and tumble aboard. Ah, the canoe that went ahead of the others has by far the heaviest haul! Again the nets go down, and are again drawn up, well laden. Then stretchers are removed, and nets put back in place. The fortunate fishermen paddle homeward rejoicing, well satisfied with the yield of their sea-farm.

Alas, only a few aged Hawaiians remain who can yet recall the 'opelu-fishing of the old days. Only a little time remain in which they can be with us, in which we may save their valuable stores of knowledge of the past.

(From Mr. Geo. P. Mossman.)
[series M445/23:2]

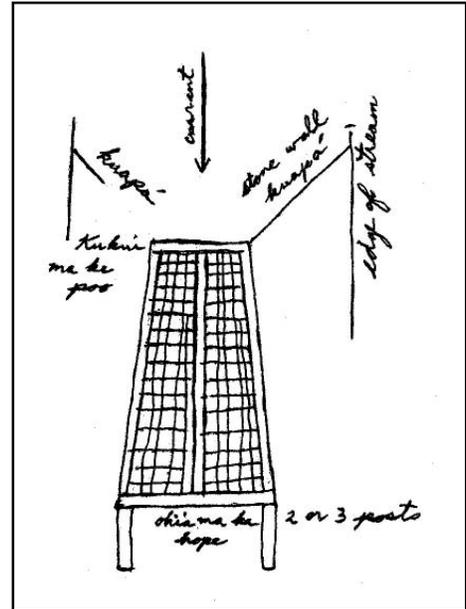


Lawaia Kahe ('O'opu Fishing Traps)

From Kamuela Akoni Mika, of Kaua'i.

There is considerable rain on the island of Kaua'i in the month of June, so that the water in the streams rises. This rise of the waters is called an 'omaka-wai, or a wai ka-lua-hā, Oopus were caught on a network of ahos called a kahe on Kaua'i, and an una (ha) on Hawaii. Two stone walls (*kuapā*) slanting inward against the current were erected. In the middle of the stream the ends of the walls were joined by a *kukui* log over which the current tumbled the fish. The log (beneath which was a straight portion of wall) formed the head of the *kahe*, which was constructed with a slight upward incline. Three *'ohi'a* timbers formed a solid frame for the ahos, which were laid on top of them lengthwise and across, forming many rectangular apertures. At the sides there was an *'ohi'a* timber above and below. Across the outer end was an *'ohi'a* timber which kept the fish in.

When many fish went over the *kukui* log the old folks would say, "*Ahu lala-kukui ka 'oopu*." Opaes were also called this way. (On O-'ahu the fish-grating was called a *ha* (Kel.). [series M445/23]



XXIV. "He Mo'olelo Ka'ao no Hi'iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele" (translated by Maly)

"He Mo'olelo Ka'ao no Hi'iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele" was published in the native newspaper, *Ka Hoku o Hawaii* between September 18, 1924 to July 17, 1928, and was based on native lore, published as early as 1861, and family lore still retained in families at the time of publication. The primary authors of this account were Stephen Desha, Sr., Julia Keonaona-Desha, and J.W.H.I. Kihe. The narrative contains numerous references to fishing practices, gods, and aquatic resources. Among the fishing-related narratives, are those describing the *uhu* fisheries and fishing gods of the Makapu'u and Waimānalo vicinity; gathering *pāpa'i* and *limu* in the Leahi-Maunalua section of O'ahu; and a stone ocean-god in the Mākua-Keawa'ula section of Wai'anae. The following translations, prepared by Maly, focus on the fisheries related narratives from the original account.

Uhu Fishing at Makapu'u and Waimānalo:

On the shores of Kā'anapali, Hi'iaka, Wahine'ōma'ō, and Pā'ūpala'e, met with two men who were preparing their canoe for a journey to O'ahu. The canoe men told Hi'iaka that their journey would take them to the Ko'olau (windward) side of O'ahu, where they would probably land on the shore of Waimānalo, below Makapu'u. When preparations were completed, the men told Hi'iaka *mā* (and her companions), to wait on the shore until the canoe was in the water, and that then, they could board the canoe to begin the journey across the sea.

Passing the point of Kalā'au, Moloka'i [the southwestern point of Moloka'i], they reached the area between Moloka'i and O'ahu [approach O'ahu from the leeward side]. It was here that Hi'iaka saw the large fleet of canoes at rest outside of Makapu'u. The task of the fishermen of this canoe fleet, was fishing for the famous fish of Makapu'u, "ka uhu ka'i o Makapu'u" (the parrot fish cliff of Makapu'u). [The ocean below the cliff of Makapu'u was famous for its uhu fish.] Hi'iaka then turned back and looked towards the point of Kalā'au and then turned and looked again at Makapu'u and she chanted:

Pali kauhuhu ka uhu ka'i o Makapu'u

At the edge of the precipice is the
parrot fish cliff of Makapu'u



Huki ka lani i ka lae o Kalā'au
Kēlā pali makua 'ole o laila
Ama kauwā ka pali o Ulanamawao—e
Mao wale ana i ka lani
Kēlā pali ku'i hāinu i ke kai
I ke kai ke akua pololī o Moeau—e

Ola i ko lā pololī
ʻĪna'i pū me ka waimaka ia
E uwē mai ho'i—e
Aloha 'ino no e
 [November 17, 1925]

The point of Kalā'au pulls at
 the heavens
 That is a parentless cliff there
 [it stands alone]
 The cliff of Ulanamawao [Ulamawao]
 is a servant like the canoe outrigger
 But the skys are clearing
 And that sheer cliff drinks from the
 ocean [rises from the sea]
 In the sea of the hungry deity of Moeau
 [the point on the leeward side of
 Makapu'u]
 Be relieved of your hunger [which is]
 Garnished with tears
 Crying out
 O what a pity

As they continued their journey, they drew near to Makapu'u. Hi'iaka then saw the woman which dwelt along the shoreward point. Hi'iaka then chanted (November 17, 1925):

Noho ana Makapu'u i ka lae
He wahine ke akua pololī
Pololī 'ai 'ole
Make i ka 'ai 'ole
Makapu'u nui kua ke auwe
I 'ai na mākou—e
Hōmai ana ho'i ua 'ai

Makapu'u dwells upon the point
 She is a goddess that hungers
 Hungers because of a lack of food
 Dying because of a lack of food
 Great Makapu'u, lamenting deity
 Let us have something to eat
 Bring forth the food.

Makapu'u then answered, "perhaps if you land on the shore you might receive some food. Here you are asking from the ocean, come land on the shore, beach your canoe." The steersman then spoke to Hi'iaka, telling her, "Say, we have food upon our canoe, perhaps we should eat prior to landing. And here you are asking the people of the land for food, when we already have food here."

Hi'iaka told them no, we are not really hungry, we are just suggesting it to those people there on the land to understand their nature. Perhaps the people on shore will bear kind thoughts for us upon the canoe. Now, Hi'iaka knew that her companion Wahine'ōma'o was indeed hungry, but she did this to see if the people on the land would give food to her friend... If we land and the people on shore have no food, then you will have no trouble, for you will have the food which you brought from Moloka'i.

As they continued shoreward, they also saw the group of fishing canoes which they had seen fishing for the *uhu* fish in the channel between O'ahu and Moloka'i also returning to the shore. They passed by them on the Makapu'u shore side, and landed their canoes on the Ko'olau side of Makapu'u, at the place which was near Waimānalo. Hi'iaka and her traveling companions landed their canoe near the place where Makapu'u dwelt in her fearful condition. When the men saw the many eyes upon the head of that supernatural (*kūpua*) woman, they were overcome with fear. But Hi'iaka told them, "let us go to be hospitably welcomed in the house of this native of the land" (November 24, 1925).

Hi'iaka *mā* departed from the place of that supernatural woman on the point of Makapu'u, and went to the shore of Waimānalo. Wahine'ōma'o saw a woman sitting on a bluff in the wind, and she then said to Hi'iaka: "Say! There is a woman sitting on the cliffs' edge



turning side to side like a bunch of grass which is held in the hand. Who is that woman?” Hi’iaka answered, “That woman which we see there is a native resident of this place. It is Mālei who you see there.” Thus Hi’iaka spoke to her friend Wahine’ōma’o.

Wahine’ōma’o then said to Hi’iaka, “Perhaps she knows who you are.” Hi’iaka said, “I will call to her to see if she knows my name, but if she does not call out my name, she does not know who I am.” Hi’iaka then chanted to Mālei—

*Owau e hele i nā lae ‘ino o Ko’olau,
I nā lae maka kai o Moeau,
Hele ka wahine au hula’ana
o nā pali,
Nānā uhu ka’i o Makapu’u,
Na ka wahine e noho ana
i Kaulu a ka makani,
I Ko’olau ke ola i ka huaka’i
malihinni,
Kānaenae i ka lau weuweu,
Ola i ka pua mau’u,
E Mālei e, Aloha mai,
E Uwē kāua—e*

It is I who travel along the stormy points
of Ko’olau,
From the Point of Moeau which fronts
the sea,
The woman has traveled along the cliffs,
To the *uhu* fish observing cliff of Makapu’u
To where the woman dwells on the cliff
in the wind
It is along Ko’olau, that this journey of
strangers will have life
A chant is offered among the grasses
Life comes through the grass flowers
Aloha o Mālei,
Let us greet one another.

That women who dwells along the these cliffs, heard Hi’iaka’s voice, and responded, “Yes. Come o Hi’iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele, come here, but there is no food. This is a place without food (*he kaha ‘ai ‘ole kēia*). There is but one food here, it is the flowers of the grass. And so the stomach is filled. One may also open the mouth to the wind, and the stomach is filled. That is how one is filled here. It is the food of this place at which I dwell.” Hi’iaka responded to Mālei, telling her that she and her companions were not hungry, we have simply come to see the dark green cliffs of your land. *Aloha* to you! (December 1, 1925)

Hi’iaka and her companions then continued their journey to Kailua and beyond, finally arriving at Hā’ena, on the island of Kaua’i. After having collected the chief Lohi’au, Hi’iaka, Wahine’ōma’o, and Lohi’au made their way back to the island of Hawai’i. During this journey, they traveled through the Kona District (leeward side) of O’ahu. The narratives provide a few references for the Maunaloa area; they are included below.

...Having defeated Kaulililehua-o-Pālolo, Hi’iaka *mā* left that place and traveled to Kaimukī. Hi’iaka turned and looked towards Hawai’i and the burning fires of her elder sister descending to the shores of Puna at Kūki’i... Hi’iaka turned and looked towards Wai’alae where she saw the canoe of Kaulanaakalā sailing by. They then left Kaimukī and passed Wai’alae and Wailupe and arrived at Maunaloa. Upon reaching Niu at Kuli’ou’ou, they looked around and saw some women fishing for *pāpa’i* (crabs) and gathering *‘ōhune* (seaweed). Going to the shore, Hi’iaka asked the two ladies if she might have a small amount of what they had collected in order that her companions might have something to eat.

The women sarcastically answered, “What a question!!! You have not put your nose down (dove) into the water and grasped for the things to be caught. Perhaps if you wouldn’t haughtily stand there asking shamelessly, you would have some food to eat!” Because of the words which these women spoke to Hi’iaka, she chanted:



*He makani holo 'ūhā
Ko Kā'elekei o Paukū
Pau wale ho'i ke aho
i ke noi ana
O ka la ho'i e*

A chilling wind brushes across the thighs
It is the *Kā'elekei* of Paukū
The breath is expended
In asking
The day is here

When she finished her chant, they then departed, and shortly thereafter, those women were killed. Hi'iaka *mā* then arrived at Koko where they ascended to the heights of Kuamo'o-a-Kāne. It was here that 'Ihi'ihilauākea and Kanono'ula dwelt. Arriving at their house, the two women affectionately greeted Hi'iaka *mā*, welcoming them into their home. Thus, the residents of this community (*kaiāulu*) welcomed the travelers from the island of Hawai'i. When the greetings had been exchanged, Hi'iaka *mā* stood to leave, and Hi'iaka looked to the ocean where she saw the canoe of Kaulana-a-ka-lā entering the landing of this place. They then traveled down to the shore and departed from that place expressing their *aloha* to the natives of those shores, and then sailed to Moloka'i... [May 3, 1927].

***Fishery Resources of the Mākua-Ka'ena Region, O'ahu;
and Accounts of the Shark-God Pōhakuoa, and Resonating Sands of Mākua***

On the journey from Kaua'i, while returning with the chief, Lohi'au, to Hawai'i, Hi'iaka and her companions arrive at Ka'ena, O'ahu, where Hi'iaka departed from the canoe, and traveled over land. The following narratives tell us of the fishing in the region, a battle with a supernatural shark who also possessed stone and human forms; and the resonating sands of Mākua:

...My fine readers of the wondrous tale, this account differs from some others which hold that Hi'iaka departed from the canoe at Ka'ena. But in this account she departed at the place called "Ka-leina-a-ka-'uhane" (The soul's leap), and then traveled overland to Wai'anae. It was while on her journey overland that she did a wondrous thing at the sheltered place near the sea, a little to the north side of Keawa'ula. Let us look at this event as we continue our journey in this story. At this shoreward place, mentioned above (Keawa'ula), is a place called Kīlauea, and it was there that Hi'iaka caused the sweet water to appear, thus Keawa'ula had fresh water.

As she continued her overland journey, Hi'iaka met with her elders Ka-lae-o-Ka'ena and Pōhaku-o-Kaua'i, and asked them where the canoe landing of this land was. [November 16, 1926] They told her that it was there below, where the canoe could be seen in the canoe shed... Hi'iaka bid her relatives *aloha* and then continued her journey overland, till she reached the place called "*Kīpuka kai o Kīlauea*." There she saw that there were men and women resting at the place, and some of the people were adorned in garlands of *'ilima*. The activity of many of these people that had gathered there was *lele kawa* (leaping and diving into the sea).

As Hi'iaka drew near to the diving spot of these people of Mākua, they saw her beauty and their voices rose in speculation of where this beautiful stranger had come from. As Hi'iaka drew near to the diving place, called "*Ke-ki'o-kai-o-Kīlauea*," the people became quiet, then some of them called out, inviting her to join them in the sport. Hi'iaka declined the kind invitation of the natives, and at that time, one of the beautiful young women of the place, adorned with a *lei* of *'ilima*, drew near to the leaping spot and leapt. When she fell into the water, she struck a large rock that appeared to push out into the sea. This stone was of a supernatural nature (*kūpuā*), and the girl was killed in the water.

Seeing the tragedy that had befallen the young native woman, a result of her careless leap, Hi'iaka leapt into the water to retrieve her body. Having gotten her, Hi'iaka swam to the shore at a place close to Mākua. The people saw this tragic event and that the



stranger had leapt into fetch the body of the girl. The natives drew near to the place where Hi'iaka came on shore, and the girl's family lamented the loss of their cherished child. Hi'iaka instructed them not to cry, telling them that she would try to restore life to their daughter who had carelessly leapt upon the stones. Setting the girl down, Hi'iaka called out in a prayer to restore life to the dead girl.

Completing the prayer, Hi'iaka stood up and held her supernatural *pā'ū* (outer skirt) in her hand and struck the girl on her right side and left side with the *pā'ū*. Hi'iaka then kneeled down and breathed into the girl's mouth, and she was revived. Some parts of the girl's body were bruised from the fall upon the rock, and Hi'iaka called to the girl's family instructing them in how to care for her wounds. Hi'iaka told them:

There are many leaves in the forest, in the uplands of the mountain, these you must get to apply to the girls wounds. This must be done quickly to lengthen her life. And here is my task, to get the body of the stone which rises out at the place where you leap.

Hearing these words, some of the people were troubled, and asked how Hi'iaka could remove that large stone which rises out of the depths of the sea. Hi'iaka told the multitudes of Mākua, "Do not worry about how I will remove the stone, it is for me to do. This stone which brings death will be destroyed. Now, here is what you should do, take the girl to the house, and I will go to destroy this impertinent stone which rises out of the water to your leaping place..." The name of the stone was Pōhakuloa, and he was a supernatural being who dwelt in the waters of Mākua. He was a stone which destroyed canoes and killed people, and at times, he himself also took human form. It was because the young girl had refused his advances, that he caused her death at the leaping place...

Hi'iaka then stood up and the girl's family took her to the house, doing as Hi'iaka had instructed. Hi'iaka went forward, and the multitudes followed quietly behind her. Hi'iaka stood at the edge of the cliff where the rock was, and she spoke out so that the people who followed could hear:

This place is *ka pōnaha wai o Kīlauea* (the swirling water of Kīlauea). It is one of three places called Kīlauea. The second one is Kīlauea on Kaua'i, and the third one is Kīlauea on the island of Hawai'i–Hawai'i of the green ridges, in the bosom of Kāne. This thing which causes tragedy here among the stones, actually has the body of a man, and his true name is Pōhakuloa. I am going to leap in and fight him so that he will end his treachery at this place. That is, the destroying of canoes, and killing of people. When you look and see the ocean rise in a spout and fall upon Kulaokalā (Kuaokalā), then you will know that I have killed the human form of Pōhakuloa.

Finishing these words, Hi'iaka then leapt into the sea of Kīlauea, where the water swirls. The ocean then rose up, as never before, rising upon the shore, with waves breaking upon the land, and the coral washing up with the waves onto the land. On the promontories the roar could be heard, and the people had never before seen such violent seas. When Hi'iaka fell into the swirling sea at Kīlauea, she was lost from sight. [November 23, 1926]

The people of Mākua thought that this stranger, the woman, had died in the violent sea. They did not know that she was the supernatural being of Kīlauea, the youngest sibling of the great goddess and ruler of Kīlauea. They felt much compassion for this woman who



had been lost to them. While they were there discussing this among themselves, the people saw the water spout rise out of the sea and go directly above Kulaokalā. They saw this and then understood that the woman had not died, but the things that she had spoken of prior to diving into the swirling sea of Kīlauea had come to pass.

Then, a strong earthquake shook the entire island of O‘ahu, and the people of Mākuā heard a great roar from something nearby their place. Looking to the swirling water of Kīlauea, they saw a great black mass rise out of the swirling water of Kīlauea, and the people of Mākuā cried out at the wondrous sight. This great black thing seemed to fly in the direction of the point of Ka‘ena.

Now what had happened was that when Hi‘iaka leapt into *pōnaha kai o Kīlauea* (the swirling water of Kīlauea), she met with the shark body (*kino manō*) of Pōhakuloa. This Pōhakuloa was one of the evil dual formed deity of the ocean of Wai‘anae. A great battle raged between Hi‘iaka and the shark form of Pōhakuloa. The two moved out into the depths of the dark sea and Hi‘iaka was victorious over the shark form of Pōhakuloa. Hi‘iaka then returned to *pōnaha kai o Kīlauea*, where she thrust her hand down into the core of that supernatural stone and tossed it into the sky. That is how the earthquake came to shake the whole island of O‘ahu. Being thrown from the sea, the stone flew and fell upon the land. Hi‘iaka then returned to the shore at *pōnaha kai o Kīlauea* and stood near the people of Mākuā. Everyone was filled with awe at what this woman, the stranger had done.

The stone fell on the side of the point of Ka‘ena, near to Waialua. To this day, the people of Waialua and Wai‘anae still call the stone “Pōhakuloa.” The people who ride the train can see the long stone among the multitude of stones near the point of Ka‘ena... At the time when the ocean became very rough, Wahine‘ōma‘o and Lohi‘au landed at the shore of Keawa‘ula, and that is how they were saved from the rough seas. Hi‘iaka went to meet her companions and then she spoke to the natives of the area, telling them to:

...take the girl who had lost her life and been revived, to bathe in the ocean five times—that is *kua lima* [doing something in fives, symbolic of a full hand, a complete task]. Then, you are to bathe her five times in fresh water. In completing the bathing ceremony, take a crab, the *‘ōhiki-maka-loa*, and bury it at the foundation of the door to the house in which the girls lives.

Having finished her instructions to the natives of Keawa‘ula, one of them spoke out and said:

Ohh! The great trouble of this place, is that there is no water. We have only brackish water which we drink. This is an *‘āina wai ‘ole* (waterless land) in which we live, and it has been this way since the time of our ancestors.

Hearing these words of the native, that there was no fresh water on their land, Hi‘iaka spoke to them:

This is a waterless land. When one travels from Waimānalo to Waialua, there is water at Waimānalo, water at Wai‘anae, and water at Waialua. Waialua, that is that land of Waia, the child of Hāloa and Hinamauouluae. The water of this place is there below the surface of the sandstone flats (*papa one*). Follow me, and I will show you a place where you can find water for yourselves, a water source that is unknown to you.



Hi'iaka lead the natives of Keawa'ula to the place that she had pointed out, it was on the side of the cliff at Keawa'ula. Upon reaching the place, Hi'iaka told them, "Break open this sandstone and dig a little below it, then you will find sweet water. But indeed, so you will not be burdened in digging, I will dig to the water for you." Hi'iaka then pulled up her supernatural *pā'ū* (outer skirt), and drew it above her right shoulder, she then struck the base of the sandstone flats, and everyone heard the rumbling as a deep pit opened in the place where Hi'iaka struck. All of the people of that place, spoke in hushed tones among themselves at the astonishing thing done by Hi'iaka. Hi'iaka then told the people:

Here is the mouth of your *hue wai* (water gourd). You can hear the murmuring of the water below. This water flows below the surface of the land and reaches out to the depths of the sea at Ka'ie'iewaho. This stream branch, and the stream branches of the four mountains of Ka'ena, join together at this spot. Now, I will continue my travels, but don't forget what I told you concerning the girl. Fulfill my instructions for her bathing in the sea five times, and then in the cold fresh water five times.

Finishing these words, Hi'iaka then bid *aloha* to these people and went to join her companions. [November 30, 1926]

She told them, "It is good for you to go by sea, and I by the inland route, to the place where we will meet again." Now, the natives of this place, Keawa'ula, had followed, and met with Hi'iaka at the canoe of Lohi'au. These people told Lohi'au, "Get on your canoe, and we will carry you into the ocean." Wahine'ōma'o agreed to these pleasant words of the natives of this place, and the people took up the canoe, carried it, and floated it in the ocean.

When the canoe was in the water, Wahine'ōma'o took up her paddle at the stern of the canoe and Pā'ū-o-Pala'ā took up her paddle at the bow and they set off to continue their journey... Hi'iaka then continued her journey over land, and came to the "*one 'ōpiopio o Mākua*" (clean white sands of Mākua). Hi'iaka then saw the people of this place, and they were adorned with the *maile lau li'i o Ko'iahi* (small leafed *maile* of Ko'iahi). They were indeed beautiful to behold along the shore, adorned in the famous *maile* of this mountain. Drawing nearer, Hi'iaka also saw her relatives in the uplands, Mailelauli'i and Ko'iahi, and her love for them overflowed, and she called out in a chant to them.

At Mākua, the people the asked Hi'iaka to call her companions to land on the shore and partake in a meal before continuing on the long journey. It was agreed, and before long, Wahine'ōma'o drew the canoe near to the shore and the people of Mākua helped to carry the canoe inland. Looking upon the visitors, the natives of Mākua recognized the beauty of their guests, and the most beautiful among them was the one whom they had first met, Hi'iaka... The people of Mākua were skilled and quickly had a pig ready for the *imu*, along with chickens, broiled fish, and mixed bowls of *poi 'uwala* (sweet potato *poi*). Others of the men and women went diving for *wana* (urchins), while others went to gather *'ōpihi* (limpets), and *'ina* and *hā'uukeuke* (other varieties of urchins). The *'inamona* (*kukui* nut relish) was set out in a bowl, and the people of Mākua had their welcoming feast prepared...

Calling to the *Ali'i wahine* [Chiefess] and people of this land, Hi'iaka said that she would first offer a prayer of thanksgiving for the foods that had been set before them. Hi'iaka chanted:

*O Mākua, land of Maile-lauli'i,
Land loved by Ko'iahi in the uplands,*



*My journey takes me over land,
 In the dazzling heat of the sun,
 Sun which descends below Wai'anae,
 The fragrant sprouts of the kupukupu, fern are loved by me
 The thought of them two is to eat,
 Partake in the food made with love,
 I have eaten my companions,
 Of the food without a voice, there is, only one voice
 Come, come partake,
 That the journey of the companions may be continued
 Ua 'ike iho la nō ho'i i ke one 'ōpiopio.
 (So seen are the fine clean sands of Mākua)!*

Finishing her prayer, Hi'iaka invited Lohi'au to eat to his contentment. She called to him to eat of the generosity of the *Ali'i wahine* (chiefess) of Mākua, 'Ōhikilolo, and Kea'au. Lohi'au then partook of the feast. [December 7, 1926]

Everyone partook in the feast that had been prepared by the natives of the land. And as they ate the poi 'uwala (sweet potato poi), the pieces of pig, the wana (urchins), the 'ina (small urchins) in their gravy, poke uhu momona (raw fish made of the rich parrot fish), and various foods that had been prepared, three beautiful women arrived at the gathering.

One woman was completely covered with garlands of *maile lauli'i*. Another woman was adorned in garlands of *lehua*, *lehua* of every color. And the other woman was adorned in garlands of *hala* and *hīnano*. These women with all of their adornments were truly beautiful, but the beauty of Hi'iaka surpassed them. Hi'iaka knew that these women were her relatives, who dwelled in the uplands. These women had heard Hi'iaka's chant, and had descended from the uplands to greet her. Hi'iaka called out to her relatives in chant:

*So it is you, the women surrounded
 in fragrance
 The fragrant hala of Kea'au and small
 leafed maile
 And my cherished lehua blossoms
 admired by the birds
 The birds are beloved, and there is
 no branch that they don't land on
 Here I am, it is Hi'i
 Hi'i together with the loved one, the
 sweet heart (Pele's lover Lohi'au)
 My sweet heart, is he for me?*

The three women then entered the area of the feast. They were Mailelauli'i, Ko'iahi, and Hala-i-ka-ipo of Kea'au, Wai'anae. They greeted one another with kisses. Hi'iaka then spoke the following words to Hala-i-ka-ipo:

*Hala mai la no 'oe ma kēia 'ao'ao o kāhi pu'u one o 'oukou ae nei, o ka 'anapa
 mai la no ia o ka wai li'ulā i ke kula o 'Ōhikilolo, a kau mai la ho'i ke one o Mākua
 nei i ka 'ōlapalapa?*

Did you perhaps pass by the side of the sand dunes, that glisten like the mirage forming waters on the plain of 'Ōhikilolo, and walk on the rumbling (resonating) sands of Mākua?



When Hi'iaka said these words to one of her relatives, the Chiefess of Mākua then spoke to Hi'iaka. [December 14, 1926]

Hear me oh kind stranger, this is the place of my birth, where my food has been cooked, and I, along with the natives of Mākua have never seen the resonating sands of Mākua; sands like those of Nōhili, Kaua'i. If we go, and see it as you have said, it will truly be a great mystery, for we the multitudes of this land, have never before seen the sands that you describe.

After completing the feast, Hi'iaka took the Chiefess of Mākua along with her people, to see the *one kani o Mākua* (resonating {barking} sands of Mākua). When they arrived at the *pu'uone* (dunes), Hi'iaka climbed to the top of the dune. As Hi'iaka climbed up the dune, everyone was startled because of the ringing and sounds like murmuring, that rose from each place where Hi'iaka stepped. It was like the growling of a dog. Then, from atop the dune, Hi'iaka called to the Chiefess of Mākua, inviting her to climb up to where she was standing. As she ascended the dune, everyone heard the same sounds as when Hi'iaka had ascended the dune. Seeing this mysterious characteristic of the sands of their land, the natives of Mākua began to follow their Chiefess up the dune. From the very top of the dune, Hi'iaka said to the Chiefess:

Say, oh Chiefess of Mākua, if you will lay down with your head above and your feet below, I will call the chief (Lohi'au) to come and pull you by your feet, then you will hear a different sound. This sound can be discerned as being different from the one heard when we climbed up the dune.

Hearing this, the chiefess of Mākua laid down, with thoughts of pleasure, at being pulled by the *ali'i* of Kaua'i. Hi'iaka then called to Lohi'au, to get the Chiefess of Mākua and to pull her by her feet:

Oh Lohi'au-ipo, from the *hala* groves of Naue by the sea! Take the chiefess by her feet and pull her down. You will hear again, the resonating of the sands of Mākua (*ke kani o ke one o Mākua*), and indeed, you will think that it is the sound of the sands at the land of your birth...With pleasure and desire for the Chiefess of the fine clean sands of Mākua, Lohi'au pulled the Chiefess down the *pu'uone* (dune). A ghostly sound, like that heard in the night (*hanehane o ka pō*) rose up when the chiefess was pulled down the dune.

Now Maile-lau-li'i, Ko'iahi, and Hala-i-ka-ipo, adorned in their finery saw this, and in them arose the desire to also be touched by the handsome chief of Kaua'i. So they ascended the resonating dune of Mākua (*pu'uone kani o Mākua*) and laid down, asking Hi'iaka to call Lohi'au to pull them as well... Hi'iaka cautioned her relatives not to become enamored with Lohi'au, for he was chosen for Pele, and no others could enjoy his affections... Lohi'au first took Maile-lau-li'i and as she was pulled down, her garlands of *maile* were ruffled. He then took Ko'iahi, followed by Hala-i-ka-ipo who was adorned in garlands of *hala* and *hīnano*. As each of the chiefesses were pulled down the dune, the soft crying of the dune (*ka 'uwē hone o ke pu'eone*) was heard by all.

Hi'iaka then descended the *pu'uone*, joining the women and said to them:

You have truly been blessed by the handsome child of Kaua'i, but I say to you that it is well to remember the words spoken by our ancestors, "*He 'imi loa'a a na ha'i na'e e inu ka wa'i*" (Searched for, it is found, but indeed, the water will be tasted by another).



Hi'iaka then asked the Chiefess of Mākua if she had been mistaken about the resonating sands of the land of her birth. She responded that yes she had been wrong in denying the presence of resonating sands of Mākua. But from her youth, she had played at the dune, and leapt down its slopes, and never heard the mysterious sounds... [December 21, 1926]

Most of the group then returned to the Chiefess' compound, though some of the people of Mākua remained at the dune playing in the sands, with fond thoughts of this wondrous place... The Chiefess of Mākua invited Hi'iaka to spend the night at Mākua so that they could rest prior to continuing their journey. This was agreed to, and while they were talking, everyone was startled at hearing the sounds of wailing coming from along the *ala loa* (trail), from the Wai'anae side. This voice filled with pain, was the cry of a man. His hands were clasped behind him and he was crying out. Hi'iaka asked the people to bring the man to the house, so that they could inquire if they could be of help.

Upon arriving at the house, Hi'iaka asked, "Has someone died?" The man wiped his face, looked at Hi'iaka, and with a trembling voice he said:

Yes, it is I who will die. I have been on a journey seeking knowledge. I have traveled around O'ahu, and not found that thing which I seek. I then thought that perhaps I would find life at the hill of Hā'upu, Kaua'i. Yet traveling around Kaua'i, I did not find that which I seek. I have also been to Maui, Lāna'i, and Moloka'i, and not been able to find that which I seek.

Hearing this, Hi'iaka asked, "Is it a riddle that someone has spoken to you that you seek the answer to?" Surprised, the man confirmed this and told Hi'iaka that she was the first one to discern the trouble that had befallen him. "So here perhaps is the place where I can be rid of this trouble, and I will escape the death that awaits me" [December 28, 1926]

Hi'iaka then asked the man to tell them the riddle that he had been given. The man said, "Let me tell you a little story and then I will tell you the riddle."

Hi'iaka said, "Before starting your story, let me tell you, 'You are perhaps Kaulana-a-ka-lā, a chief of Moloka'i.'" Astonished, the man confirmed this, and asked, "Are you a native of Moloka'i, that you should know my name?" Hi'iaka simply told him that she had traveled throughout the islands. She then told Kaulana-a-ka-lā:

It was at Waipi'o, Hawai'i, that you received this riddle. And, if you can answer it, you will be awarded one half of Waipi'o, but, if you are unable to find the answer, you will be killed. Is that not so?

The *Ali'i* of Moloka'i confirmed this, and he was filled with awe at the wisdom of Hi'iaka. Hi'iaka then continued:

You have journeyed around Hawai'i, and yet found no one who could explain the riddle to you. You have traveled around Maui, Kanaloa Kaho'olawe and found no one who could answer it. Now arriving at O'ahu, at the point of Koko, you have traveled and met with us here.

The man confirmed that all of this was true. Hi'iaka then asked Kaulana-a-ka-lā to tell them the riddle. Standing up the *Ali'i* of Moloka'i began to chant, offering a prayer first. He then spoke the riddle. Hi'iaka then said that she would inquire of the natives of this land, if they could answer the riddle, and found that none could. Hi'iaka then asked the



Chiefess of Mākua, “Is there not a fishpond at the side of the cliff of Ka’ena, and its name is Manini?” The chiefess answered:

Yes there is a fishpond on the cliff side of Ka’ena, and it is named as you said. In that pond, I have seen all manner of fish, and there is one large fish, *Moanawaike’o’o* (That is the *moanakai* as it is known from here to Kahuku)... [January 4, 1927]

Regarding the Kapu Associated with Fishing the Waters of Pu’uloa

Departing from Mākua, Hi’iaka, traveled overland, through Wai’anae District and into ‘Ewa. The descriptions of the journey, include references to two supernatural shark relatives of Hi’iaka’s, and to the *kapu* associated with fishing in the waters of Pu’uloa:

...Hi’iaka turned and looked to the uplands of Wai’anae and turning around, she saw two of their cherished elders, Kua and ‘Aleikapōki’i. These were shark-formed elders (*kūpuna manō*) of her family. These elders saw Hi’iaka, and Kua said to ‘Aleikapōki’i. “Behold, here is our descendant (grandchild), Hi’iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele.” The other shark agreed with the words spoken by its companion. The two continued to speak among themselves, and they feared that perhaps Hi’iaka would be angry with them [Earlier in the account, these two sharks had tried to stop Hi’iaka from going to get Lohi’au at Kaua’i because they did not believe that a human was a good companion for Pele.]. The two sharks were afraid that Hi’iaka might try to kill them, and that they would have no way to escape from her great power. Kua told his companion, “We will not die if we go and hide.” The two sharks at first thought that they might go hide in their caves, but then they knew that they could be found, so they then thought that perhaps they should go and hide upon the land (*pae i kula o ka ‘āina*). So the two sharks agreed and went inland, where one lies on one side and the other lies near by [to this day]. Hi’iaka saw her shark elders swim away and hide, she called affectionately to them in a chant:

A makani Kaiāulu o lalo o Wai’anae

Ke wehe aku la i ka poli o ka hoa

Ha’i ka nalu o Kua me ‘Aleikapōki’i

*I hiki i moe aku i uka ka luhi
o ke kai...*

[January 11, 1927]

The *kaiāulu* breeze blows to the lowlands
of Wai’anae

Making known what is in the heart
of the companions

The waves are broken by Kua and
‘Aleikapōki’i

So that they may rest in the uplands away
from the burden of the sea...

Hi’iaka then continued her ascent on the trail in the stifling heat of the sun. She reached the heights of Pōhākea, from where she looked to the shore of Ewa. There she saw a group of women making their way to the sea. The women were going down to gather pāpā’i (crabs) and limu (seaweeds), and to gather the mahamoe, ‘ōkupe (both edible bivalves), and such things as could be obtained along the shore of that land. Hi’iaka then began to chant about those ladies:

The *Kēhau* breeze is there below Wai’ōpua,
Bearing the fragrance of the *kupukupu* ferns across the plain,
The coolness is laid upon the grasses,
A coolness laid upon the sea of ‘Ewa,
‘Ewa is made cold (unfriendly) because of the fish which hushes voices,
Be silent in that breeze.



Hii'aka saw the women moving ahead to the shoreline, just like the cold *Waikōloa* wind that blew from the uplands of this place. And this was why Hii'aka had chanted to them. Hii'aka then turned towards the canoe on which her companion and the man [Lohi'au] were traveling. They were paddling and were no longer talking, for Hii'aka had admonished them, warning—

'Ewa is made cold because of the fish that hushes voices. Be silent!

Now, the famous fish of Ewa in those days when the wind blew because of conversations, was the *pipi* (pearl oyster) [It was believed that talking would cause a breeze to blow that would, in turn, frighten the *pipi* (see Pukui 1983).] Only when it was very calm could one go to catch the *pipi*. If anyone spoke while going to get the *pipi*, the breeze would cause rippling on the water's surface, and the *pipi* would be hidden from sight. In this way, Hii'aka had instructed Wahine'ōmao and Lohi'au to be quiet like the women of 'Ewa who were going fishing. If one spoke, the angry winds would blow and bring misfortune... [February 8, 1927]

XXV. “He Moolelo no Makalei” (A Tradition of Mākālei) Fishing Customs and Practices Described (translated by Maly)

The story of Mākālei describes how one of the most famous *ana wai* (water caves) of the Kekaha region came to be found, and provides readers with descriptions of traditional life in the arid lands of North Kona; and rich narratives describing ancient fishing customs, gods, and prayers, from various locations around the islands of Hawai'i, Lāna'i, O'ahu, and Kaua'i. The *mo'olelo* is set around c. 1200 A.D. (by association with 'Olopana's reign on O'ahu), and was submitted to the native language newspaper, *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, by J.W.H.I. Kihe in 1928—Kihe was a Kona native and one of the translators of the Fornander Collection (1916-1919). The following narratives, translated by Maly, are excerpted from the larger account, and focus on selected accounts of fishing and associated activities:

The Supernatural A'u – A'u-lele-o-ka-moana

While fishing off of the *ko'a* of 'Āwini, Kohala, Mākālei hooked a great fish. The fish rose to the water's surface it rested calmly, for it had pulled out three *ka'au* lengths of line. Mākālei then saw the great *kiwi* (horn) of the fish and knew that this fish was an *A'u-lele-o-ka-moana* (Leaping swordfish of the deep sea). Now while Mākālei had been pulling at his line, the fish had taken him to the open ocean. Hawai'i had fallen behind him, and he was now near, on the side of the channel between Moloka'i and Lāna'i. Seeing that this *A'u-lele-o-ka-moana* had taken him this far, Mākālei called to his ancestress—

*E Hina-i-ka-malama-o-Kā'elo,
Pa'a 'ia a pa'a ka i'a a kāua!*

O Hina in the season of *Kā'elo*,
Secure and bind this fish of ours!

By now, the sun was setting, and Mākālei was traveling outside of the point of Keka'a at Kā'anapali, and he continued to hold back the fish. Darkness covered everything and Mākālei could no longer see the land, yet the fish continued to lead him on. Mākālei called again to his ancestress – “O *Hina* in the season of *Kā'elo*, secure and bind this fish of ours!”

During that night, Mākālei and this supernatural fish of 'Āwini encircled Lāna'i two times. In the early light of day, the fish began to tire, and Mākālei then pulled the fish close to the canoe. The size of this fish was truly unbelievable, it was almost seven *anana* (fathoms) long.



Aku Fisheries of Kaunolū, Lānaʻi, and Ke-ala-i-Kahiti (Kahoʻolawe)

Mākālei killed the fish and then landed at Kaʻōhai on the shores of Ka-ulu-lāʻau (Lānaʻi). The shore was filled with people, and Mākālei gave the fish to the residents, who kindly welcomed him and pleasantly cared for him. Now while he was staying on Lānaʻi, he was greatly esteemed by the *kamaʻāina*, and he asked them if there was a fishing *koʻa* at this place. The natives told him, “Kaunolū and Ke-ala-i-Kahiti are the famous *koʻa*, there are many other *koʻa*, but these are the foremost.”

One day, Mākālei went with the people to the shore of Kaunolū and saw the *koʻa*; indeed the natives of this shore were fishing there. Looking upon this scene, Mākālei told the native residents which were with him, “This kind of fishing is a game for the children of my land.” The *kamaʻāina* then asked, “Which land is that?” Mākālei answered—

“O Kaʻelehuluhulu i Kona i Hawaiʻi, ka ʻāina Kupōlua i ka pohu, i ka lā puka ma ke kua, a napoʻo iho no ma ke alo. He ʻāina kaulana iʻo no o Kona i ka pohu a me ka malino o ke kai a nolaila ke kai māʻokiʻoki i ka makani ʻEka pā kolonahe!

It is Kaʻelehuluhulu at Kona, Hawaiʻi; where the dark clouds settle upon the mountain in the rising calm, where the sun appears upon the back and sets at one’s face. The land of Kona is indeed famous for its’ calm and gentle seas, [the land which is] also known for the streaked ocean where the ʻEka breezes gently blow!

Thus Mākālei described Kona where the sun crosses over the back and then glistens upon the ocean.

Mākālei then asked, “Do you have an *uhi* (*pā hi-aku*), or mother of pearl *aku* lure, like the type being used by those fishermen?” Mākālei then took out his lure and showed it to those people who were with him. One person then told Mākālei, “The *aku* lures are cared for by the fishermen themselves for it is in their knowledge to care for the lures.” Mākālei then said, “If you have an *ʻohe* (*aku* line boom) for us, I can try to use my lure Kolomikimiki. It is my inheritance from my ancestress *Hina-i-ka-malama-i-kāʻelo*.”

One of the people told Mākālei, “Let us go to that canoe which is resting on the shore, it belongs to my elder brother, Keʻōmuku who is the head fisherman of this place at Kaunolū.” They then went down to speak with Keʻōmuku, asking that he give them an *ʻohe hī aku* (*aku* line boom), which he did. Keʻōmuku then asked, “Who is your fisherman?” And the people told him it is this young stranger. Keʻōmuku then asked, “Do you have a lure with which to fish?” And they responded that the youth did indeed have a lure, and that was why they were asking for the boom. Keʻōmuku then told them, “So you have gotten your *aku* fisherman after all.”

They then paddled towards the place where the canoes were at rest upon the water. Mākālei then set his lure down, and he then asked his companions, “What are your names, that I may call to you to paddle as is my rule at the time of fishing. If the canoe does not move when I call out to the *kāohi* (paddlers who position and/or hold a canoe in place while *aku* fishing) to paddle, the lure will not be drawn through the water. Indeed, the fishermen lives (has luck) by the moving of the canoe.” They then told Mākālei their names; Pali was the man at the front (*ihu*) of the canoe, Malama was the man at the mast brace (*ku kia*), Pālāwai was the man at the bailing seat (*kā i nā liu*), and the man at the inner outrigger boom (*kua ʻiako*) was Hopu.

When Mākālei *mā* reached the canoe fleet, all of the fishermen were waiting for the *aku* to begin moving. To that time the *aku* had not yet appeared, and the sun was already



drawing to mid day. Mākālei then called to Pali, Malama, Pālāwai, and Hopu, “Paddle for the Mākālei, fisherman of the long day.” Mākālei then called to his ancestress –

*E Hina-i-ka-malama-o-Kā'elo
Ku'u kupuna wahine o ka lā o lalo*

*E pāpale i ke aloha hōmai
I makana na'u na Mākālei
Ho'āla ia mai ke kahuli
Ke ka'awili, ka ho'olili,
ka holopapa*

*Ke aku i ka hale o ke ko'a
o Kaunolū i ke ala i Kahiki
I ke hālulukuku i ka māpuna
I ka piko o Wākea
Ka i'a alaka'i noho i ke ko'a
I ka hale o ka i'a*

Hail Hina of the season of Kā'elo
My ancestress of the sun which is
below (to the south)
Your love overshadows, reaches down
As a gift for me, for Mākālei
Arise o fish which upsets the canoe
The fish which twists, which causes
ripples on the waters surface, and
travels at the lower stratum
The *aku* which is at the house, the *ko'a*
of Kaunolū at the path to Kahiki
Striking at the spring,
At the umbilical of Wākea
The lead fish dwells at the *ko'a*
Which is the house of the fishes

When Mākālei ended his chant the *aku* began to strike at all sides around them. Mākālei then held securely to the lure line and pulled the quivering *aku* to the canoe. He then called to Pali, telling him to take up the *aku* and place it at the bow of the canoe. Mākālei then took up the other *aku* without any errors; and the *aku* were like snarling, raging dogs. When the canoe was filled, called to Pālāwai to bail their canoe, and he called to Hopu, Pali, and Malama telling him, “Our canoe is filled, paddle towards the shore, to the land *ko'a* which is by the house where the canoe carriers await.” Now when Mākālei *mā* finished fishing, the *aku* also stopped rising to the surface and remained in the depths without rising again.

When they landed their canoe upon the shore, Mākālei took up the first caught *aku* from Pali at the bow of the canoe, and then told his *kāohi*, “Divide all the fish as you desire, giving some to those people who had carried the canoes, and to the people who dwell in the houses without fish. If there are any fish left, give them to the dogs and pigs, and do not worry about me. This one fish is all that I need.”

Now this was something new to those people at this place, that Mākālei should give them all the fish, and keep only one for himself. The people were greatly surprised for there were no other fishermen at this place who had ever given so much. The people thought, “This person is no fisherman, but instead he is an *'aumakua* for us” [May 29, 1928].

The fame of Mākālei's deeds went around the island of Lāna'i-a-Ka'ululā'au (Lāna'i of Ka'ululā'au); that is the [area of the] *'okina* (land divisions) of Ka'ā, Kaunolū, and Ka'ōhai on the island of Lāna'i. Because of these deeds of our alert one [Mākālei], a beautiful young girl of Lāna'i went to Mākālei with her mother to ask that he become the young girl's husband. The name of this girl was Mauna-lei, and her mother was Lāna'i-hale, and Pālāwai, who was one of Mākālei's paddlers was the father of this beauty of the land of the god Pahulu; the one for whom it is said “*Eia kau wahi e Pahulu* – Here is your portion Pahulu!”

Mākālei then asked the maiden that she excuse him, “There have been many people which have sought to arrange a marriage, and not one of them have I agreed to.” Mākālei then told Maunalei *mā*, “ I will have no thoughts of marriage until I see the island of Kaua'i. Until this thought has been fulfilled, I cannot consider marriage.” Lāna'ihale then said, “If that is so, perhaps the two of you could dwell under a *palau* (betrothal agreement), until



the time for marriage is right.” But Mākālei explained that that could not be done, “I would not bind any woman to an agreement, for then if some fine man came along, then she would be unhappy. Therefore, I ask you to forgive me, and do not let these thoughts become unjust.” Because of his just words, the people felt certain that Mākālei was indeed a chief.

Now one day while the canoe fleet was out *‘aku* fishing, Mākālei went with his *kāohi* Pālāwai, who was the father of the maiden named Maunalei. When they reached the *ko‘a*, the *aku* were seen swimming, Mākālei turned and tossed out his lure and quickly secured ten fish. When Mākālei *mā* rested, they saw that it had been a great *a‘u* (sword fish) which drove the *aku* to their canoe. Mākālei then took his line and tied one of the *aku* to his lure, he then threw the baited lure behind the canoe and as it fell, the *a‘u* took the *aku*. The *a‘u* ran along the water’s surface thrusting its beak (sword) all about. The canoe fleet scattered as those people on the canoes were fearful that they would be pierced by the *a‘u*.

Mākālei held tight to the line, and A‘ulele traveled out to the dark blue-green sea, to where the islands were seen to sit low upon the water, and Wai‘ale‘ale barely rose above the horizon. As the sun began to descend, Mākālei called to his ancestress –

*E Hina-i-ka-malama-o-Kā‘elo,
Pa‘a ‘ia a pa‘a ka ‘ia a kāua!*

Hail Hina of the season of *Kā‘elo*,
Secure and hold tight this fish of ours!

A‘ulele then dove towards—*Kaua‘i moku lehua pane‘e lua i ke kai* (Kaua‘i, island of the *lehua* forests which appear to travel towards the sea), and darkness fell upon the ocean and the *mokupuni kīhāpai o maika‘i Kaua‘i Hemolele i ka mālīe* (garden island—fine is Kaua‘i perfectly placed in the calm).

Aku and ‘Ahi Fisheries of Kaua‘i

When daylight appeared, Mākālei pulled A‘ulele to the canoe and killed it. At this time the canoe was traveling past the point of Makuaiki at Nāpali. And because there was no good place to land the canoe, Mākālei and Pālāwai paddled till they reached *ke kaha* (the arid shores) of Mānā. It was here that they landed with this great fish of no equal. Now this place where their canoe landed was filled with many native people who greeted them kindly. As was the custom of the people of Kaua‘i, they welcomed Mākālei, and he divided the fish among the people, giving it all away. The people asked Mākālei if he would not take some of the fish, but he declined, “We two are not of this place, you are the natives, and have given us a shelter, a place to sleep, and food to eat while we are dwelling here on Kaua‘i which is so perfectly placed in the calm. Because we are visitors, and this strange fish has been landed upon Kaua‘i, it is for the natives of Kaua‘i.”

Because of Mākālei’s words, he became greatly esteemed by the people who had gathered on the shore. One of the women commented, “What you have said is right for this is Kaua‘i, and though you have only been here a little while perhaps you should turn [to the land] and cultivate a field, and thus burden (*luhi*) your body in the task. It is good (*pono*) to become weary while cultivating the foods of Kaua‘i.” [The hidden meaning of this comment was that Mākālei should take a wife and have children and grow old upon Kaua‘i.] The people delighted at hearing the words of this *kama‘āina* (native resident).

Mākālei then answered, “O kind native, your thoughts are respected. As you have explained, it is indeed right to turn and cultivate the land, and cause the body to be wearied from the task. If you agree, I will cultivate a field.” This is how Mākālei came to dwell on Kaua‘i, fulfilling his words to do so. Because Mākālei’s adept nature and swiftness, he came to see Kaua‘i-iki* and all the famous sites around *Kaua‘i nui moku lehua*. All the people knew of Mākālei and there was no place in which he was not welcome.



Mākālei and Pālāwai dwelt on Kaua'i, and this is how Mākālei came to marry the famous and beautiful maiden of Mānā who was called Ka-wai-li'ulā-o-Mānā (The mirage forming waters of Mānā). Through this marriage, Mākālei became like a *kupa* (native) of *Kaua'i nui moku lehua pane'e lua i ke kai*.

This land of Mānā, is an arid place which is like Kekaha at Kona, Hawai'i, the place from which Mākālei had begun his journey to Kaua'i. When Mākālei began living with his wife, he took up cultivation of crops as was his custom at Kekaha-wai-'ole, Hawai'i. His methods were those which had been taught to him by his father. He planted *kalo*, *'uala*, *kō*, *mai'a*, and *'awa* (taro, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, bananas, and *'awa*), and everything grew beyond compare. All the people of the land who saw the product of Mākālei's cultivation were amazed.

When the fishing season of "Ke kaha o Mānā" (The shore-place of Mānā) arrived, all the people of this place went *lawai'a hī aku* (bonito lure fishing). Mākālei and Kawai remained at their cultivated fields, and Kawai told Mākālei of her desire to eat *aku*. Mākālei told Kawai, "be patient for this is not yet the time for the greatest fishes to be caught." While Mākālei and Kawai were speaking, her mother, Maluaka arrived at their home and told them of the events occurring on the shore and about the great catch of Mākālei's in-laws Wai'awa and Pōki'i. Indeed, Wai'awa was famous for his skills as a fisherman. [June 5, 1928]

The following day, Mākālei went to the shore of Mānā with his wife, his foster father Pālāwai, and his canoe paddlers. When they reached the shore, the canoe fleet was returning from fishing, where he heard of their great success. That evening, Mākālei asked Maluaka that he be given the assistance of three *kāohi*, she agreed, and their names were Ka'aiuahi'ole, Pohākomo, and Limaloa. Mākālei instructed his attendants in their duties, and explained the *kanawai* (laws) which he observed.

Mākālei told his *kāohi*, "If we have taken the canoe to the water and then one of you goes back to get something that has been forgotten, he will be left behind. He will not enter my canoe, for it will be a sign that he will bring bad luck (*pakalaki*). The next day, Ka'aiuahi'ole took the front position, Pohākomo took the position at the wide section of the canoe, Limaloa took the bailer's position, Pālāwai took the *'iako* (outrigger boom) side of the canoe, and Mākālei took the position of the chief fisherman.

Mākālei and his companions paddled to the deep sea *ko'a* of 'Āwini [this is the 'Āwini of Kaua'i], and he then took out the lure *Kolo-mikimiki*, and attached the line. Mākālei then chanted to his ancestress—

Hina-i-ka-malama-o-Kā'elo,

E ala e ke kahuli,

E ala e ka ho'olili,

E ala e ka haluku,

E ala e ka holopapa,

E ke aku i ka māpuna,

I ka hale o ka piko o Wākea,

Ka i'a alaka'i o ke ko'a o 'Āwini,

Hū'ea mai a ku ka-imu-puhi a ke aku,

A ku'i aku ka lono,

He pihe ia i ke kaha o Mānā!

Hina in the season of *Kā'elo*,

Arise o [fish] which upsets the canoe,

Arise o [fish] which causes ripples upon,
the ocean's surface,

Arise o [fish] which strikes the canoe,

Arise o [fish] which travels the
lower stratum,

O bonito at the spring source,

The house at the umbilical of Wākea,

The lead fish of the fishing station
of 'Āwini,

[You are] exposed and rise to the smoking
imu of the *aku*,

The news is told,

A shouting spreads along the
shore of Mānā!



When Mākālei finished his chant, the *aku* rose and struck the canoe, the fish rose to the surface of the water like smoke rising from an *imu*; the fish were like gnashing dogs, and it was a sight which was beyond any comparison. In no time, the canoe was overflowing with the catch; Limaloa and Ka'aiuahi'ole *mā* all agreed that Mākālei was the greatest fisherman of all. [June 12, 1928]

Upon returning to the shore, the people gathered around the canoe and Limaloa called to them showing them the great catch of more than 400 *aku*. Mākālei then divided the fish among his fishing companions, Maluaka, his wife and the people, and all Mānā was filled with the scent of *aku*. Mākālei commanded that Ka'aiuahi'ole place the first caught *aku* at the bow of the canoe, and then commanded that the *kāohi* clean the canoe and carry it to the canoe sheds.

Mākālei then took the fish and offered prayers to his ancestress and gods in the *kahukahu* style as was the custom of his father. Following this day, the fame of Mākālei spread throughout Mānā, and all acknowledged that he was the foremost fisherman and agriculturalist of all the region; indeed Wai'awa and Pōki'i were lucky that their niece, Kawai-li'ulā-o-Mānā had married this youth.

On the next day, Mākālei and his *kāohi* returned again to the *ko'a* of 'Āwini. Taking the *pā* (lure) called *Kolo-mikimiki*, Mākālei chanted to his ancestress *Hina-i-ka-malama-o-Kā'elo*—

*E Hina-i-ka-malama-o-Kā'elo,
Ku'u kupuna wahine o ka lā o lalo e,*

Pāpale i ke aloha i ku'u maka,

*I makana na'u na Mākālei,
Na kau mo'opuna lei, hi'ialo,*

*Kau ma ke kua a hā'awe i ke
aloha ia'u iā Mākālei,
He kama nāu na Ko'a-mokumoku-o-He'eia
a me Ka-ua-pō'ai-hala-o-Kahalu'u,
Ho'āla ia ke aku,
Ke aku ali'i,
Ke aku kahaha,
Ke aku 'olo'olo i ka'elewa'a,*

*E ala e ke kahuli,
E ala e ka ho'olili,*

*E ala e ke ka'awili,
E ala e ka haluku,
E ala e ka holopapa,*

*E ala e ka māpuna,
Ke aku nui i ka piko o Wākea,
Ke aku alaka'i noho i ke ko'a,*

Hail Hina of the season of Kā'elo*,
My ancestress of the sun which
is below,

Overshadowed with love is my
favorite one,

It is a gift for me, for Mākālei,
For your adorning grandchild who
is held close,

Placed on the back and borne is your
love for me, for Mākālei,
I am a child of yours by Ko'a
and Kaua,

Cause the *aku* to rise,
The chief *aku*,

The plump-well fed *aku*,
The *aku* which overflows from
the canoe hull,

Arise o [fish] which upsets the canoe,
Arise o [fish] which causes ripples
upon the ocean's surface,

Arise o [fish] which twists,
Arise o [fish] which strikes the canoe,
Arise o [fish] which travels the
lower stratum,

Arise o [fish] of the spring source,
The great *aku* of the navel of Wākea,
The lead *aku* which dwells at the
fishing station,

* *Kā'elo* (cf. 'elo - saturated) - a wet month in the Hawaiian calendar, January on Hawai'i; a season associated with short days when the sun is "below," or at its' southern extremity, and a time when a star of that name is seen to rise in the heavens.



I ka hale o ka i'a la e-'oia!

There at the house of the fish—indeed
it is so!

Like before, when Mākālei finished his chant, the *aku* rose and struck the canoe, it was like smoke rising from an *imu*, and it was so for three days when Mākālei fished with his companions. On the third day, Mākālei proposed that half the catch be offered to his ancestress-goddess Hina and the *'aumāku lawai'a* (fishermen's deities). Mākālei suggested that this be done in closing the *aku* season, as more than adequate quantities had been caught. Mākālei's companions agreed, and from then on they fished for *ahi*, *kāhala*, *uku*, *'ōpakapaka*, *'ula'ula*, *kalekale*, *hāpu'u*, *nukumomi*, *weke 'ula*, *'ōpelu paka*, the *kawakawa* and such fish. Upon returning to shore, Mākālei divided the fish, giving Kawai'i'ulā and Maluaka their shares. Mākālei was the greatest fisherman and all the other fishermen of the shores of Mānā were like nothing in comparison... [June 19, 1928]

...It was the custom of Mākālei and his son to cultivate the land until the fishing season, when they would go and fish. It is said that all of the people had adequate vegetable foods and fish, and that the native of this place were like one family dwelling together; they dwelt in harmony, with hands joined together in accomplishing all things... [June 26, 1928]

**XXVI. "Ko Keoni Kaelemakule Moolelo Ponoī" (The True Story of John Kaelemakule¹⁰)
Descriptions of Fisheries, and Customs In Kekaha, North Kona
(translated by Maly)**

In a two year period between 1928 to 1930, John Ka'elemakule, Sr., wrote a series of articles that were published in serial form in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*. The story is a rich account of life at Mahai'ula-Kaulana in the period from ca. 1854 to 1900, and include important references to fishing, marine resources, and native beliefs associated with them, in the Kona region. The following narratives from "Ko Keoni Kaelemakule Moolelo Ponoī" were translated by Maly, and are excerpted from the larger series—the narratives describe *aku* and *'ahi* fishing, *'ōpelu* fishing; name and describe the fishing god stone of Mahai'ula; describe the subsistence economics of fishing; and name various *ko'a* (fishing station), fishermen, and a wide variety of fish, once caught along the Kekaha shoreline:

I (Ka'elemakule) born in the month of January, in the year 1854, shortly after the end of the restriction on the island of Hawaii, that had been in place as a result of the small-pox epidemic (*ma'i hebera*); the epidemic was perhaps around 1852 to 1853. In 1854, the restriction of travel between the islands was ended, and this great tribulation that had been upon the Hawaiian nation passed. In the height of this epidemic, thousands of Hawaiians were killed. I arrived just as this passed over our people, and the days of hope returned to our Hawaiian people and land. [May 29, 1928:4]

Six months after my birth, I was given in adoption to Ka'aikaula and his wife Poke, and they took me to their home at Mahai'ula, one of the villages [or hamlets] of Kekaha. It was a fishing village next to Makalawena, about 12 miles distant from Kailua, North Kona. There are several fishing villages along the length of shore of Kekaha wai ole 'o nā Kona [the waterless Kekaha of the Kona lands]. The main work of the residents of this "aina Kaha" (arid coastal land) was fishing, all manner of fishing.

¹⁰ This account was published in serial form in the Hawaiian newspaper *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, from May 29, 1928 to March 18, 1930. The translated excerpts in this section include narratives that describe Mahai'ula and nearby lands in Kekaha with references to families, customs, practices, ceremonial observances, and sites identified in text. The larger narratives also include further detailed accounts of Ka'elemakule's life, and business ventures. A portion of the narratives pertaining to fishing customs (November 13, 1928 to March 12, 1929), and canoeing practices (March 19 to May 21, 1929) were translated by M. Kawena Pukui, and may be viewed in the Bishop Museum-Hawaiian Ethnological Notes (BPBM Archives).



It was from these various practices of fishing that the natives of these villages of the shores of Kekaha gained their livelihood. The residents of these shores lived by fishing and drying the fish. Then when people from the mountain came, they traded the fish for bundles of pa'i 'ai (partially pounded poi), trading also with those who came from Maui, Waipi'o, Waimanu, and sometimes with those who came from North Kohala.

This is indeed a land of hunger, and only with patience could one survive. In good times, boats and sail ships would arrive, bringing the bundles of pa'i 'ai to trade for dried fish. The aku, 'ōpelu, and diced 'ahi were good to dry. There were also the different fish of the sea, like the ulaula, the 'ōpakapaka, the kāhala, and the various other fish like that.

In the time when the storms returned to the "Aina Kaha," the boats could not bring the pa'i 'ai, and the fishermen of Kekaha could not go out to the sea. It was then that there were times of desperate hunger while dwelling on this land... At the time when the storms returned to the coastal lands of Kekaha, the winds blew with great strength and the ocean was whitened by the waves. Great waves covered the points along shoreline of that land that was beloved by the elders...

In those stormy days, when the ocean was whitened by the strong gales, and the waves covered the coastal points of Kekaha, the fishermen no longer looked to the sea, for they knew that the storm was upon the land. We hungry children, would climb up the great kou trees and turn our eyes to the uplands desiring to see the friends from inland, descending with bundles of 'uwala (sweet potatoes), kō (sugar cane), mai'a (bananas), and other things which we hungry people of the beloved coast could eat... [June 5, 1928:4]

When I grew older and it was time to go to school, I entered the Hawaiian school... It was at that time in my youth when I was living with my foster parents, that I first saw Mr. Thurston. He traveled on a canoe on Saturday and landed at Ka'elehuluhulu and stayed at the place of Po'okoai, who was the church leader of this place... In the church where Mr. Thurston held the prayer service, long koa benches were placed along the walls, and in the center of the church, the makaloa sedge had been spread on the floor. The makaloa was obtained from what remained of the famous pond that was covered by the eruption. It was the pond Pa'aiea, a portion of which remains at Ka'elehuluhulu to this day. That is what remains of the great pond that was several miles long, but is now covered by the stone plain that spreads across Kekaha... [June 12, 1928:4]

...The fishing customs in our land, as handed down from ancient times, is something that was greatly regarded by our beloved chiefs. Cherished customs, taught to the children by their parents. The practices of farming were taught to those of the land, and the practice of fishing were taught to those of the coast. Those were the important skills in the ancient times of our ancestors... Let me tell about the customs of fishing in the deep sea, for these are among the things that were practiced by my foster father Ka'aikaula, and that he taught to me. Among the important fishing practices of Kekaha, that I was taught in my youth were aku fishing, ahi fishing, and fishing for opelu with nets. These were the important fishing customs that I was taught...

Fishing for these fish was done at the ko'a 'ōpelu ('ōpelu fishing station or grounds), that was not too far out. And beyond that, was the ko'a for aku and 'ahi fishing. The ko'a for these fish (the 'ahi and aku), was the famous ko'a lawai'a (fishing ground) of Kekaha, known by the name, "Hale'ōhiu..." [November 13, 1928:3]

Aku Fishing

Aku fishing was done with a pā in ancient times by our fishermen ancestors, at the famous ko'a of Hale'ōhi'u, of the land of Kekaha-wai-ole-o-nā-Kona...From this waterless shore of Kona, it is believed that the first pā aku fishing was found, made from the



shoulder blade (*iwi hoehoe*) of Keuwea. He was the father of that famous fisherman of Kekaha, called Ka'eha. His story was seen in the "Newspaper, the Star of Hawaii..." [in 1907]. It is said in the legend, that Ka'eha killed his father, at his father's command, and that Keuwea's shoulder and thigh bones were thrown into a *kāheka* (tidal pool) of Kekaha.

On a following day, Ka'eha went to look at his father's bones and he saw growing up from them, some *pāpaua* (mother of pearl bivalves). From the *pāpaua* on the right side, Ka'eha made the "*pā hi aku kuahuhu*" (the *kuahuhu aku* lure). The *pāpaua* that was on the left side, was thrown into the sea, and that is the reason that the *pāpaua* spread throughout the islands, and how it came to be used for *aku* lures... [December 11, 1928:3]

...It is perhaps appropriate for me to mention some of the famous *aku* fishermen of the days of my youth, those who I fished with at my home of Kekaha-wai-'ole-o-nā-Kona where I was reared. The fishermen whom I mention, their names are on the list of the foremost *aku* fishermen of those days. Nahale was one of the head fishermen at that time. He dwelt in his home at Makalawena, in the land of Kekaha. He was famous for his distant traveling, finding of the *aku*, and *aku* lure fishing. He was very strong and could lift the *aku* onto the canoe... Ho'ino was another famous *aku* lure fisherman of those days. He was a resident of Mahai'ula, and he would fish for *aku* with lures at Hale'ohi'u, the famous *ko'a* (deep sea fishing station) of Kekaha. When I was young, before I became an *aku* fisherman, I was one of his canoe men... Pahupiula, was a part Caucasian fisherman, and he is the third of the fishermen that I remember here on this page. He was very smart in fishing for *aku* with lures, and very fast at getting the *aku* off of the lure and into the canoe. He was from the village of Makalawena... [January 15, 1929:3]

...When I left Kekaha, Pahupiula and the other head fishermen had died, and new head fishermen arose. Makanani was one of the lead fishermen later. But, not only him, there was also Kamaka, who was among the foremost fishermen of the famous *ko'a*, Hale'ohi'u. These men held that position later and their fame was made known, because of their strength, alertness, and readiness in lifting the *aku* fish to the canoe, and their quickness in freeing the fish from the *pā*.

The well known head fishermen of Kekaha, those who practiced and became the foremost *aku* fishermen were Nahale, Ho'ino, Pahupiula, Ka'elemakule, Makanani, and Kamaka. All of them were fishermen of the first class... [February 5, 1929:2]

'Ahi Fishing

'Ahi fishing was also an important practice... The bait that was for 'ahi fishing at the *ko'a* of Hale'ohi'u, as well as at other *ko'a*, was the whole *ōpelu*. Also the sliced *ōpelu* mixed with *aku*. Sometimes, when there was none of this type of bait, the *weke 'ula*, *weke lā'ō*, and even the tail meat of the 'ahi were used. Some fishermen also used the *po'ou*, *moi*, and *akule* as bait... [February 26, 1929:4]

'Ōpelu Fishing

'Ōpelu fishing was another one of the important practices of these islands in ancient times: it was perhaps the foremost of the practices in the streaked sea (*kai mā'ok'ioki*) of Kona. It became the type of fishing that contributed to the livelihood of the fishermen and their families... For 'ōpelu fishing, two men are adequate in going on the canoe to the place of the *ko'a* 'ōpelu which has been known since the days of the ancient people. It is at a place where one can look below and see the fish, that he prepares to feed the 'ōpelu. The man at the front of the canoe is the fisherman, the one who is prepared for this manner of fishing, he leads in all things for this kind of fishing.



There in front of the fisherman was set out the bait of the 'ōpelu, that is the 'ōpae 'ula (red shrimp) and sometimes other baits as well. He'd give the man at the back of the canoe the bait, this man would do what ever the fisherman told him to. The man in the back had a stone weight, the black dirt, and the coconut sheath in which the 'ōpae 'ula or other bait would be placed and folded in. This would be wrapped with cordage and let down into the water about 2 or three fathoms deep, then the man would jerk the cord and the bait would be released. The water would be blackened by the dirt, and this would help the fisherman see the 'ōpelu eating in the water...When many 'ōpelu were seen, he would have the man feed the fish again and lower the net into the water. While the 'ōpelu were eating, the net was drawn up, and as the fish tried to swim down, they were caught in the net... While I was a youth living at my beloved land of Mahai'ula, I fished for 'ōpelu. I went with my foster father, Ka'aikaula, to fish for 'ōpelu at the ko'a 'ōpelu ('ōpelu fishing ground) called "Kaloahale," it was directly seaward of the black sand shore of Awalua... [March 5, 1929:4]

...When the calm weather returned to the land of Kekaha, that was the time that one saw the lehua blossoms return to the sea [a poetical description of the people from the uplands who dwelt in the area of growth of the lehua trees, and who returned to the shore for fishing in good weather]. It was then, that I would also see the fleets of canoes traveling from one extremity to the other upon the sea of my beloved land. At those times, people were also seen looking for aku, the fruit of the sea. It was at this time that I entered into the business of trading the fine dried fish of the land, taking them to Kawaihae and sending them to Honolulu. I continued this work for some time, moving forward without any problems befalling me. As a result, I accumulated quite a bit of money, which I kept hidden in one of the caves of the land... [July 9, 1929:3]

When my new house was completed, Poke, my foster mother, named the house "Kalāhikiola." We spoke about this and I desired to have a song for our house on the day of the feast for moving into the house... As we prepared for the feast to enter the house, there were not many things that would be set out, but they were things which we Hawaiians were accustomed to. It was poi; kālua (roast) pig; poi palau (taro pudding); and things of the ocean, like the 'ōpihi (limpets), limu (seaweeds), wana (urchins); and the fat awa (milkfish) that came from the fishpond of Makalawena (awa momona o ka loko i'a o Makalawena)... [August 6, 1929:3]

The Appearance of the Land of Mahai'ula

...The land of Mahai'ula is there on the western side of the great island of Hawai'i, in the division of land of Kona Kai'ōpua (Kona with the billowy clouds on the ocean). And it is there, that I was reared by my foster parents. As I was growing up, I learned that there were many fishermen living at Mahai'ula, and there were many houses when I was little. There were 9 canoes that were landed along the shore at Mahai'ula. There is a good bay, and the shore is covered with white sand, from one extremity to the other. It was at this canoe landing that one would find canoes all year round, even during stormy times. Dwelling upon the shore of Mahai'ula was good, and looking out to the sea, was the famous ko'a called Hale'ōhi'u.

The majestic mountain, Hualālai was inland, and the vast expanse of the sea was in front. The sun appeared in the east and set in the west. In the evening the 'Ōlauniu breeze blew from inland, gently across the land. (There were many breezes which made living at Kekaha comfortable.) The fishermen of this land made temporary houses on stone platforms under the kou trees (pāpa'i kou hale). These were often very close to the shore along the white sands of the canoe landing. It was a treat for the visitors to look at. At the back of the village, going inland about three miles it was only pāhoehoe lava. To the north and south, pāhoehoe and 'a'ā also covered the land to the seaward points.



There in the middle of the bay and canoe landing of Mahai'ula, is a stone in the water. It stands just a few fathoms out from the shore. When the tide is out, you can walk out to and get on the stone. The ancient name by which this stone was known is "Pōhakuolama." This stone looks like a block on which women weave hats. It is round from top to bottom, two people can encircle it, and it is 5 feet high.

It is said in the legend, that the stone is the body of a woman, and it is a stone which causes the increase or abundance of fish for the fishermen of this land, Mahai'ula. For three months, this female stone dwells in a period of *kapu* (restriction), a period of menstruation. This is in the months of May June, and July. During the time of defilement, the fishermen of old, were also forbidden from taking offerings to the stone with which to ask for the increase of fish. When this female stone, in the bay and canoe landing of Mahai'ula, dwelled in her period of menstruation, the water appeared yellowish-red (*hālena melemele 'ula*) in shallow waters to about two fathoms depth. But when one looked into the water, it could not be seen. The yellow-red remained in the bay of Mahai'ula for the three months mentioned above, and it was so for all the years of my youth. Perhaps it is the same, even at this time.

At the time when her menstruation ended, that was the time that she would be purified, the defilement of the period ended. It was at that time also, that the yellow-red would disappear and the sea water of Mahai'ula became clear once again. Then once again, the fishermen of Mahai'ula would take offerings to her asking that she would cause the fish to increase.

This Mahai'ula, is a land of fish. Not only Mahai'ula, but all of the lands of Kekaha. That is perhaps the reason that the ancient people called this land "Kekaha." If one wants fish quickly, the fire is lit first, then the fish come together in a school. There are many *ku'una 'upena* (net fishing stations) right in front of the village. The *manini, weke lā'ō, and 'anae*, are the fish which are found in these net fishing stations. The fire does not burn long before the fish quiver on the flame. It was also along these seaward points, that in our youth, we found much pleasure in *kā mākoī* (pole fishing), getting many fish. And if you like the *po'opa'a* fish, there among the little inlets and fissures, the *po'opa'a* can be found. [August 22, 1929:3]

There are multitudes of fish that can be caught with the pole along the shores of this land. Among them are the *moi, moana, 'a'awa, kūpīpī, weke*, and all manner of fish. If you desire the *wana*, they can be gotten from the depths to the shallow waters. If you like the *ina*, they too can be gotten to fulfill your desire. There are also many *ōpihi* on this land. The best place is to the south side of Mahai'ula. Many of the women went to do this kind of fishing, gathering the *ōpihi*. Partially clad in their garments while getting the *ōpihi*, the women could be compared to the slopes of Mauna Loa [poetically referring to them being bare breasted]. These things are the source of endearing recollections.

Kekaha is a land without rain, there are perhaps no more than ten times in one year that it rains. The reason for this is that there are not many trees growing on the land of Kekaha. The trees are the thing that pull the rain from the clouds. The drinking water of this land, the water in which to bathe, and the water for doing various tasks, is the water that is partially salty. It is called by the name *wai kai* (brackish water), and it is a water that causes trouble for the visitors to this land... So this is a description of the fisherman's land, in which I was reared by my foster parents. [September 3, 1929:3]

While we dwelt in the shelter of our house, Kalāhikiola, fishing was the occupation undertaken. I also continued selling the fish of the fishermen, taking them to Kawaihae and sending them to Honolulu. So every Friday, I would go to Kawaihae. Then I met with Nawahie, who dwelt in the uplands of Kawaihae with whom I went into the business of selling *pa'i 'ai* (partially pounded *poi*), from Maui. On Saturdays, I took the *pa'i 'ai* along



the coast of Kekaha to the fishermen of Ka'ūpūlehu, Kūki'o, Makalawena, and Mahai'ula. The fishermen paid in fish, which we in turn took back to Kawaihae, for delivery to the market at Kai'ōpihi, Kohala. We carried on this partnership for some time, and it was this which caused me to think of making my own store.

Kekaha Wai Ole o nā Kona (Waterless Kekaha of Kona)

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

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

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

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

*E Kane i uka, e Kane i kai,
E Kane i ka wai, eia ka puua,
Eia ka awa, eia ka luau,
Eia ka ia kea.*

O Kane in the uplands, O Kane at the shore,
O Kane in the water, here is the pig,
Here is the *awa*, here are the taro greens,
Here is the white fish.

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

He mōhai noi kēia iā 'oe e Kāne, e kala i ka hewa o ke kanaka i hana ai, a e hooma'ema'e i ka hale wai, a e ho'onui mai i ka wai o ka hale, i ola nā kānaka, nā 'ōhua o kēia 'āina wai 'ole. Amama.

This is a request offering to you o Kāne, forgive the transgression done by man, clean the water house, cause the water to increase in the house, that the people may live, those who are dependent on this waterless land. It is finished... [October 1, 1929:3]



XXVII. “Na Hunahuna” (Crumbs) February, 1936

Recollections of Keahi Luahine regarding Fishing on Kaua‘i

Notes from the Collection of Mary Kawena Pukui (in collection of Maly)

On one side of Nomilu pond is a *punawai* or spring called Kakakalua where the shrimps, that the *menehune* folk were so fond of, were caught. The kind of shrimps found there were a light pink in color with a white spot in front of the head. Some had white tails. These shrimps were not found all the time.

When the summer months came, the people went to this pond to gather salt. The winds blew the salt across the surface of the pond to the edge where it was carefully scooped out with the hands, or with pieces of gourd shells and dried. The salt of this pond was finer than that of other localities. The first person who reached the spot always offered a bit of salt scooped up to Pele, whose pond this was. This insured a good yield of salt. If no salt was offered, the yield was very small. The salt was dyed with *alaea* clay...

...The *limu kohu* of Kaakaaniu in Waipouli, in Wailua district was the reddest and the best on the island of Kauai. There was much *limu* [page 3] of this variety in Papaa and Moloaa but these did not equal that of Kaakaaniu...[page 4]

...The stone called “Pohaku-alalauwa” lies in the sea between Kalihi-kai and Wanini. When the *alalauwa* fish was seen to swim partly around this rock it meant that schools of this fish were coming to the shores of this island, but, if they swim all around it then they will go to every island of the group... [page 5]

Also in this collection, is a *mele pana* (place name chant) for the Kona District of Kaua‘i, describing various locations, and noted resources from each site named. The *mele* from Malia Kanikanihia, identifies several aquatic resources as being among those most prized:

*Ka wai ko‘ū o ka pu‘u o Kemamo.
O ka pae La‘i pekepeke o Kamo‘omoku.*

‘Uwala moe pili o A‘ala.

*Na ‘ohiki kua ‘ula o Pali uli.
Na lipoa a‘ala o Mopili.
Na ‘opelu kaha nalu o Molehu.
Na pa‘akai a‘ea‘e o Pakoa.
Ka he‘e ho‘okua nui o Kalapa.
Na kala ihu loa o Ke‘awa‘au.*

*Ka pali iki o Kipu.
A ke kai aloha, ho‘okanaka,*

Ho‘okanaka i Kipu ka haku loa.

The water moistens the hill of Kemamo,
The rows of stunted ti leaves grow
at Kamo‘omoku,

The thickly filled sweet potato mounds are
at A‘ala,

The red-backed sand crabs are at Pali uli,

The fragrant *lipoa* seaweed is at Mopili,

The ‘*opelu* fish cross the waves at Molehu,

The fine grained salt is found at Pakoa,

The thick necked squids are at Kalapa,

The long nosed *kala* fish is there

at Ke‘awa‘au.

The small cliff is at Kipu,

It was along this beloved shore that one
became a man,

At Kipu the immortal [Kamapu‘a transformed
from his *humuhumunukunukuapua‘a* form]
took human form.

XXVIII. Fisheries of Waimanalo and Kailua:

Recollections of Charles and Kealoha Alona

(collected by Mary Kawena Pukui - 1939)

In the collection of Hawaiian Ethnological Notes (HEN) of the Bishop Museum, are many references and translations of native accounts, compiled and prepared by Mary Kawena Pukui. Among the



fishery-related narratives of the HEN collection are the following notes describing some of the resources of Waimānalo and Kailua, O'ahu:

Pā Honu Pond at Waimanalo:

...We walked back to Mr. Castle's house, where we sat on a long bench outside, facing the sea. There Alona told me the story of Pa-honu, an enclosure for turtles that was once located back of Mrs. Wall's present home.

There was once a chief who was so fond of turtle meat that he ordered a sea wall built to keep captured turtles from escaping. Every turtle caught by a fisherman was put into this enclosure. No one else was allowed to partake of turtle meat under penalty of death. No one dared [page 2] to eat turtle as long as the old chief lived...[page 3]

The Shark God Kamohoali'i – Why Sharks will not Attack a Person in the Waters of Ko'olau Poko:

...Near Ka-lae-kiona lived a man who liked to catch sharks and he annoyed Kamohoalii by chopping off the tails and bringing them to this spot to throw into the sea. He did it to annoy the two old sweet potato growers, but succeeded in rousing the ire not of the two old men but of their shark god, Kamohoalii. The shark god caught him fishing one day and began to devour him, beginning at his feet. He kept on chewing all the way up to the buttocks. The smell of the excrement in his bowels nauseated Kamohoalii and so he swore an oath never again to hurt nor allow any other shark to [page 5] hurt any person, from Makapuu to Ka-lae-o-ka-oio [the boundaries of Ko'olau Poko]. Kamohoalii's spirit possessed one of his keepers, the potato growers and through him, told the other of this vow.

From that time on, no shark has ever eaten human flesh at Waimanalo. I have swum in the sea with sharks and so have my sons and no shark has ever hurt us. On several occasions, sharks have taken fish right out of my hands but have never bitten me...[page 6]

...Only a short distance to the west, at Inikiolohe, stood a shrine for fishermen. Much *moi* fish and *uhu* were caught here because of the shrine and the fish goddess, Malei. The stones have since been carried away. No trace of the old shrine remains...[page 7]

...When I asked Aiona where the sacred stone, Malei, stood in the olden days he pointed to a spot back of Makapuu hill, on the Koolau side. Then he told me a few things that he remembered of the stone. It was like [page 9] Kini, a stone for the purpose of attracting fish to the shore, but for *uhu* fish instead of *akule* and *oio*. It was a female stone like Kini. [page 10]

Kawainui Fishpond

...Back of the *heiau* of Ulupo stands the large hill, Ulumawao, as though watching over the ruins of the old place of worship.

On we went until we came to Kawainui, once a very large and beautiful pond and now a swamp thickly grown over by grass. Here were found the finest fat mullet on this side of the island. Here also, Haumea, the goddess dwelt with the fish-attracting wood, Makalei. Next door to a building with "Mackay's Radio" at the door was the spot where Makalei stood. Vexed at Paku'i for overlooking Kahinihiniula, the red headed boy, when the fish were divided among the people, Haumea removed her wood and took it to a mountain spring in Maunawili. Only the boy and his grandmother, Neula, knew where the fish had vanished to. Not a fish was found in the ponds until [page 2] the boy was found and the keeper of the pond forgiven. Here also was found the "*lepo ai ia*," or a certain kind of mud



that resembled *haupia* pudding in texture but has the color of *poi*. It was brought by Kaulu, a noted chief, from the Pillar-of-Kahiki.

Today, only grass and common mud is found. The road cuts through a part of the pond. Gone are the chiefs and gone is this pond in which they took much pride...

The Fishermen's Stone of 'Alalā

...Leaving Nawelu's we went on as far as Alāla, where a cement sign with "Lanikai" on it stands. Looking up from this spot we saw the most extraordinary house built on and over the huge rocks. It is owned by Mr. Arthur Powlison. The "haunted house," Mrs. Alona calls it because it was built directly in front of Alāla, a natural shrine on the hill. We had to move some distance away to see Alāla on the hill, behind the house. The fishermen of old watched this big rock on the hill and Waile'a, another natural shrine a distance away, at a place called Waile'a, to locate the best fishing grounds in the sea. "It is too bad," said Mrs. Alona, "to deprive Alāla of an unobstructed view of the sea, for Alāla is not [page 3] only a shrine but a "fish" god. So is Waile'a. Only Waile'a's view is not obstructed by a house. The man who built the house in front of Alāla was a relative of mine. He died a short time after the house was completed.

We looked out at the sea from here to Popo-i'a, a small island not far from the shore and then out to Moku-manu (Bird island) much farther out. On one side of Moku-manu is a cave where Kuhaimoana, a shark god, lived...[page 4; September 14, 1939]

Waimanalo – Ulua Fishing

...The Kona man was very good in *uluu* fishing and used eel for bait. He kept the eels he caught and used them as he needed them. Before he killed an eel, he watched it closely in the water to see whether it moved fast or was sluggish. He made it move by prodding it with a stick. According to the way it moved he knew whether the sea was too warm, too cold or just right to bring the *uluu* near shore. I used to go out with him. Sometimes he fished a long time and caught many *uluu* and at other times he stopped at the second or third. I used to urge him to go on fishing and he answered that that was all for the day. I asked him how he knew and he replied that the eel had told him so. When I first heard this, I was skeptical and kept on fishing, but not an *uluu* did I catch. That taught me to listen to the advice of experienced men who had learned their arts thoroughly...

...Fishing has been poor since the Bellows Field had been established. There are good fishing grounds in front of it and some out near Makapuu. I was taught not to fish in one place until the fish are all gone but to give the fish time [page 5] to increase in one place while I fish in another. Thus there is no diminishing of the supply when one co-operates with nature. With the coming of the aviation field, I can not fish there any more. If it were not for those who pay me to take them to Rabbit Island and back, I wouldn't be able to take care of my large family... [page 6; September 22, 1939]

Waimanalo – Manana Fishing Shrines

...When we reached the island (Manana), he pointed out the two fish shrines. One is almost gone except for a few remaining stones. These shrines were for the *aholehole* and *moi* fish. Alona said that these fishes were once found in great numbers but today there are hardly any. The shrine that faced Waimanalo is still intact, with *manienie* grass growing over it and a coconut tree growing out of its side. [page 1]...

...Shell fish were once very numerous but are rapidly diminishing due to the number of people who come to the island. [page 2; September 29, 1939]



XXIX. Ko'olau Fisheries of Moloka'i (G.P. Cooke 1949)

G.P. Cooke (1949) recorded several interesting accounts of native sites, use of resources, and historic events. In one account, we are told how in the late 1800s, families from the wetter *ko'olau* (windward) portion of Moloka'i, made seasonal journeys to the rich fishing grounds of West Moloka'i:

Near Moomomi on the leeward side of the gullies are several rock enclosures. In some of these I found *la-i* (ti leaf) still growing. The walls had protected these plants from livestock. I could not understand the purpose of these enclosures nor why the ti grew at that low elevation on the windward side near the sea. Mrs. Jennie Wilson, wife of J.H. Wilson, present Mayor of Honolulu, was born in Pelekunu valley. She told me that the inhabitants of Pelekunu would leave the valley at certain seasons of the year when schools of fish came to Mo'omomi. They would paddle by canoe to Kalawao and carry their *paiai* (semi-hard *poi*) and other belongings up the *pali* and overland down the long western slope of Moomomi. Here they caught and dried fish to be carried back to their valley homes at Pelekunu. The name given to the district through which they traveled overland to Moomomi was called Kaiolohia (big ocean swells)... Ti leaf was important in their cooking, for bundling preserved fish and for the *hukilau* (community fishing)... [Cooke 1949:106]

XXX. Native Planters in Old Hawaii Their Life, Lore, and Environment

In the between the 1930s to 1950s, E.S. Craighill Handy and Elizabeth Green Handy, and Mary Kawena Pukui, traveled about the Hawaiian Islands interviewing elder Hawaiians, and documentation of a wide range of traditional practices and knowledge. While the work focused on the traditional and customary practices of planters, they realized that there was a close relationship between the seasons and practices on the land and in the ocean. From their work, come many important descriptions of fisheries and the practices associated with them. The following excerpts from Handy, Handy and Pukui (1972), provide readers here with narratives pertaining to aquatic resources, and their place in Hawaiian culture and practice.

Fishponds: Engineering and Building Skills

From a very early time in their history, Hawaiians, to a greater extent than any other Polynesians, exhibited engineering and building skill, ingenuity, industry, and planning and organizing ability in three types of construction: the grading and building of terraces for growing wet taro; construction of [1972:25] irrigation ditches and aqueducts to bring water to these terraces; and construction of fresh-and salt-water fishponds.

...We know that many taro terraces, irrigation systems, and fishponds were made after the *ali'i* came to Hawaii from islands south of the equator. But it is probable that the older systems of terraces, ditches, and aqueducts and the more ancient fishponds had already been made by early settlers in these islands before the first *ali'i* came. A few *ali'i*, from 'Umi in the 16th century to Kamehameha in the 18th, were planters in Hawaii, but in the southern islands of Polynesia, notably Tahiti, the *ari'i* were essentially deep-sea fishers, not planters. There, and we believe here, it was the pre-*ali'i* Polynesians who were the landmen, the planters, and the builders of *lo'i*, *'auwai*, and *kuapa*.

...The engineering and building skills of the country men were devoted to the peacetime works upon which depended livelihood. They must be recognized as perhaps the greatest examples of the old planters' heritage of knowledge. [1972:26]

Fishing: Seasonal Occupations

After the ending of the heavy rains in February, the time of drenching (*ka'e/lo*)... a season of scarcity of food... Consequently at [1972:31] this time the dwellers in the upland went into the forest seeking fern stalk, with its starch core, and wild bananas while those to seaward were busy with inshore fishing and collecting shellfish and seaweeds.



...Men were active, hunting in the forest, engaging in deep-sea fishing, and working with their canoes, nets, lines and other gear in the halau by the sea... ...Womenfolk living inland migrated to the seashore and camped there in caves and shelters, using their fishing baskets or traps (hina'i) to catch small fry like manini spawn in the holes by the sea. They collected salt that had dried in holes near the shore and dried it on their salt mats and filled their baskets for the return home.

From February to late May, during the spawning season, inshore fishing had been restricted. Beginning with June, summer was the season for deep-sea fishing... ...Salted and dried fish were packed into baskets at this season and stored for the winter.

...Men pressed on with deep-sea fishing on good days as the season drew to a close; by November the sea would have become too rough. Great pieces of the larger firm-fleshed fish (bonito, tuna, albacore, swordfish, dolphin) were sun-dried to preserve them until eaten. Sweet potatoes were likewise dried in the sun after being cooked in the imu. All was put in readiness for "the thunderous time." [1972:32]

The Enveloping Sea

As much a part of his natural environment as the land on which he dwelt was the sea from which he drew much of his sustenance and on which he voyaged. The Hawaiian planter had names for the near and far reaches of the sea by which his 'aina, his homeland, was bordered or surrounded. *Pu'eone* [1972:56] (heaps [of] sand) was the sandy edge of the sea, inshore dunes, or outer sand bar. *Po'ina nalu* or *kai po'i* (sea-breaking) was the point farther out where the wave breaks (*nalu*, wave). *Kai kohola* was the shallow sea inside the reef, the lagoon. *Kai pualena* was the yellowish sea, presumably where streams flow in and roil the waters. *Kai ele* was the dark sea, *kai uli*, the deep-blue sea, and *kai-popolohua-mea-a-Kane* (the purplish-blue, reddish-brown sea of Kane) designated the far reaches of the immeasurable sea (*Hoku o Hawaii*, September 21, 1917)... [1972:57]

Legendary Origins of Fish and Their Relationship to Other Natural Resources

...Ni'auapo'o stepped off and joined boys in playing and surfing, exceeding all in skill. A great storm swept all the boys into the sea and drowned them. Ni'auapo'o, now in the form of an eel, rescued them. He then emerged from the sea a handsome young man and claimed his birthright. His father finally recognized him, thanks to the prayers of his two seers, who told him that he must present gifts to Niu-ola-hiki, his ancestor, offering these at the seashore: a black pig a fathom long, 'awa brewed from 'awa hiwa (black stalk) root, a red and white fish. Taking these to the seashore Ni'auapo'o's father called his ancestor. Niu-ola-hiki rose from the sea in his eel body and ate the offerings...

...There are several points in the story that are of special interest. The coconut is distinctly an Oceanic plant. Hina and Ku as man and wife are identified with fishing, and therefore the relating of the coconut and eel, which were both forms (kino lau) of Ku, is quite logical.

In Tahiti the coconut was believed to have grown from the buried head of a great eel. Probably there are many stories in various Pacific islands which relate the coconut to the eel, since the husked nut is very suggestive of an eel's head: there are three indentations at the bud end of the nut; two small ones (eyes); and a larger one below (the mouth). It is also said that when [page 169] a coconut was to be planted, an octopus (*he'e-puloa*) was put in the bottom of the hole dug for it. The octopus was a kino lau of Kanaloa (loa, long); the long tentacled octopus (he'e-puloa) might influence the length (height) of the tree...[1972:170]



Fishermen's Omens — the Hala Fruit

...The bright red-orange colored keys of the *hala* fruit were also associated with Hi'iaka, the younger sister of Pele, as Hi'iaka-makole-wawahi-waka [wa'a] (Hi'iaka-the-red-eyed-who-smashes-canoes). When fishermen saw the pandanus fruiting and dropping its bright seeds by the shore, they did not put to sea in their canoes, for they knew that high seas that would smash their canoes would be running. This same Hi'iaka appeared over the ocean as a short red rainbow standing at sea level and foretelling storm. (We infer that the red-orange *hala* keys strewn on the shore were like the rainbow at sea.)... [1972:202]

Gourds Used to Distract Sharks

...A unique practice of deep-sea fishermen was described to Mrs. Pukui by Jennie Saffrey and Keahi Luanine. The deep-sea fisherman always carried a number of large bottle gourds in his canoe. When he sighted a tiger shark (*niuhi*) making for his canoe, he took a gourd and threw it high out over the water, not toward the shark but to one side. The gourd landed on the water with a sharp splash, and the *niuhi*, attracted by this, turned from the canoe and rushed at it. When his nose struck the gourd it bobbed away, and while the shark furiously [1972:217] attacked it, trying in vain to get it in his mouth, the fisherman dashed for shore...[1972:218]

Limu – Seaweeds

...Edible seaweeds are so numerous and variable as to locality, season, and regional nomenclature, that it is best not to attempt to list even the most common here. Some of the edible Hawaiian fresh-water plants and seaweeds have been studied by Miller (1927; see also Reed, 1907). To give botanical identification, habit, dietary and medicinal uses, and ceremonial uses and significance of these plants would require almost a life's work. For example, *limu kala* is the common, coarse, yellowish-brown seaweed with small spiny leaves and round "berries," often seen floating at Waikiki and other beaches. It is edible, though coarse; it is named *kala* (spine) because of the little spines on the leaves (which look like miniature holly leaves). Because of the spines and name, it is identified with the *pua kala* or beach poppy, the *'uala kala* or variety of sweet potato with pointed leaf, with the migratory bird called *kala*, having a tuft of feathers on its head like a spine, and with the surgeon fish named *kala* which has a spine on its head. Among all these there is magical and mythological relationship. Because *kala* also means "to loosen," this seaweed has many ceremonial uses. Thus, when a convalescent wants to be freed from all vestiges of his disease, he makes a *lei* of *kala* seaweed and swims seaward with it around his neck, allowing the waves to wash it off. With it will be "loosened" the guilt or other evil causing the illness.

This is the *kala* riddle given by Mrs. Pukui:

Ke kala o uka
Ke kala o waena
Ke kala o kai

The *kala* of the upland
The *kala* in between
The *kala* of the sea

Answer: A *kala* berry, the *pua kala* (beach poppy), and the *limu kala* (*kala* seaweed). [1972:236]

Fishponds – On the Hawaiian Landscape

To supplement their protein diet beyond the unpredictable results of seasonal deep-sea fishing, the Hawaiians of old resorted to the systematic breeding and nurturing of fish, a process which may be called fish farming. These enterprises varied from small individual efforts to large-scale cooperative undertakings directed by ruling chiefs, and varied also according to locality and natural advantages. The most spectacular of these were the



[1972:259] great walled-in sea ponds or *loko i'a kuapa*, many of which can be seen today still in use or in only partial or complete disrepair. Until very recent years many still flourished. Others have been silted up as forested uplands were cleared and the areas put under cultivation.

Ancient Reminders of Fishponds

There are famous fishponds at Nawiliwili and Lawai on Kauai; at Pearl Harbor in 'Ewa District, He'eia and other parts of the Ko'olau districts, and at Maunalua, east of Koko Head, on Oahu. While Maui and Hawaii each had several, Molokai, in proportion to its land area, had the greatest number of ponds, strung along a great part of its low south shore. Hawaii, because of its rough, abrupt lava coasts and lack of reefs and lagoons, had few in relation to the extent of its coast line. However, Cobb (1905, pp. 747-748) says that on Hawaii "ponds were filled up by the volcanic lava flows of 1801 and 1859. The Kamehameha fish pond, which was filled up in this manner in 1859, was said to have been the largest on the islands. Only traces of it are now to be found on the beach." He also mentions small ponds at Hilo (probably washed out by subsequent tidal waves). McAllister (1933, pp. 28, 171 *ff.*) has described some of the more important *loko i'a kuapa* among the many on Oahu, and W.C. Bennett (1931) has mentioned the few on Kauai.

Summers (1964, p. 1) gives much larger numbers for all the several islands than have been previously reported, although she says that "Most of them are now in ruins or completely destroyed," which may mean that many of those listed are traditional, with no remains left for archaeologists to find. The totals given by Summers are as follows: "Hawaii, 20; Maui, 16; Molokai, 58; Oahu, 97; and Kauai, 12." She states that these "approximate" numbers do not include "the numerous small inland ponds." None are given for the island of Lanai, but Cobb (1905, p. 747) says: "There used to be a number of fish ponds on Lanai, but they have all been allowed to fall into decay."

Characteristic Construction and Stonework

Charlie Ka'ano'i of Kamalo on Molokai told us that in 1931 he knew of eleven *loko i'a* still in use on that island. He also said that *na la au*, the days (*la*) of high tide (*au*), is the time of full moon when the currents run shoreward, bringing in the fish. Ka'ano'i, who had been taught his fishing lore from "the old ones," described the operation of the *loko i'a*: as the tide begins to come in through the sluice opening (*makaha*) in the wall (*kuapa*), the fish enter the *auwai* (water runway) into the pond (*loko*). At full tide the gate (*pani makaha*, or *makaha* closure) is shut, so that no fish can escape when the tide turns. A bamboo rake (*kope 'ohe*) is weighted and towed behind a small canoe (*wa'a*), harrowing the bottom of the pond and churning the mud up [1972:260] to the surface "to make more food for the fish." The pond is cleaned at high tide by placing a net (*koko*) across the inner end of the *auwai* (to keep in the fish), and then as the tide goes out the mud or silt is scraped into the *auwai* and so carried out to sea. It is Ka'ano'i's experience, despite what some say to the contrary, that mullet will spawn in *loko i'a* where there are no entrances or exits; in season there will be "plenty *pua 'ama'ama*" (baby mullet).

From the number recorded it is obvious, as well as traditional, that the famous fishponds which have lasted into modern times were of ancient origin. The evidence lies in the type of construction, the massive stonework necessary to form the seaward wall of the shore ponds (*loko kuapa* [place] inside-the-dashing [of-waves]), and the concerted labor of large numbers of men; also in the ancient chiefly names that some of them bore, and the care which later ruling chiefs took, in post discovery times, to order them kept in repair. The broad walls were built of coral blocks or of basalt, banked with earth on the inner face, and some were of great length. Summers (1964, p. 5) says the longest is that at He'eia on Oahu, which is 5,000 feet... [1972:261]



Fresh-Water Ponds

...In areas of wet-taro cultivation, young mullet were placed in the liquid mud of taro patches and there thrived. It is not unlikely that this latter custom came about as a result of placing the smaller fish in the *lo'i* when a net full was caught, in order to keep them fresh. It was discovered that they not only kept fresh, but thrived and grew. The mullet (*'ama'ama*) is a grazing fish, and when the fingerlings (*pua 'ama*) were put into *lo'i* their stirring about and grazing helped keep the water fresh.

The full-sized mullet is called *'anae*. On East Maui there is a valley called Ke'*'anae* (the mullet) and below it a tongue of land that was converted into taro terraces by transporting earth from the valley to cover the bare lava. Near the sea is a small *lo'i* close to the mouth of the stream which belonged to the *ali'i* of this locality. This *lo'i* itself was named Ke'*'anae* and served both as a taro patch, in which very large taro are said to have grown, and as a fishpond, in which mullet were raised. Such was termed *na loko lo'i kalo*. There were two other fish which were sometimes put into taro patches, the *aholehole* and the *awa* or milk fish. The *awa* were put in the *lo'i* when they were fingerlings (*pua awa* or *puawa*).

The planter's *pu'uone* or brackish water pond, was likely to be a less complicated affair than one made for an *ali'i* (such as the large one named Kawainui at Kailua on Oahu).

The *pu'uone* would, because of its location, have required little excavation and practically no walling other than mud to give it an inlet from the sea or bay. Here he could accumulate a stock of fingerlings during the open fishing seasons, and have fish to eat during the spawning season when for reasons of conservation all fishing was *kapu*. [1972:262]

Fish Traps

The "fish farmer" or planter also had the use of fish traps, termed *loko 'umeiki* on Molokai (Summers, 1964, p. 12). These were shore ponds "surrounded by a low wall that is submerged at high tide," according to Beckley (1883, p. 20), and the wall had openings "like lanes, leading in or out." At the incoming tide a net was held against the seaward end of the "lane" and the incoming fish were caught and transferred to a gourd container. At the receding tide others held their nets against the outgoing lane of the pond and the emerging fish were caught in the same manner.

This type of trap was usually communal property, and the right to fish at given turns of the tide was allotted individually to those having an interest in the *'aina* or the *loko* itself (Summers, 1964, p. 16; the descriptions given by Summers are summarized from Beckley, 1883, and J. F. G. Stokes' 1911 notes on Polynesian fish traps and ponds). The term *loko 'umeiki* is not found in either the Andrews-Parker dictionary (1922) or the Pukui-Elbert dictionary (1957), nor is the word *'umeiki*. The Pukui-Elbert gives the term *'umi'i 'iole* to mean rat trap, but does not include *'umi'i* (the primary meaning of which is "clasp, clip, clasp") among the several terms for fish trap, the customary word being *hina'i*. The term *'umeiki* for this type of *loko i'a* seems then to have been restricted to the island of Molokai and not to have been in general usage. By analysis, it would seem to have originally come into use as *'ume* (meaning to attract or entice) plus *iki* (little); thus *'ume-iki*, little [trap]-to-entice [fish].

Lore Associated with Fishponds

Mullet were a favored fish throughout the islands, because of their sweet flavor and their accessibility at the mouths of fresh-water streams. There is a story told of the great schools of mullet in the Keahu-pua-o-Maunaloa fishpond on Oahu (in recent times named simply the Kuapa on maps) which periodically disappeared, only to reappear in the Ka'elepulu Pond in Ko'olaupoko District. Ka'elepulu Pond is not a *loko kuapa* (sea



pond) but a large spring or waterhole (‘e/e) from which the Ka‘elepulu stream empties into Kailua Bay, at some distance. This phenomenon of the disappearing mullet is explained by some by the “probable” existence of an underground tunnel beneath the Ko‘olau Mountains, linking the two ponds. Others say the mullet swim all the way around the southeastern coast and up the Ka‘elepulu stream. To most it remains a mystery. Ke-ahupua (The-shrine-[of the]-baby-mullet) fishpond of Maunalua is one of those said to have been built by the *Menehune*, or “Little Folk”; this one at the behest of a local chiefess, Mahoe, to whom the land area belonged (Sterling and Summers, 1962, Book 6, Vol. 1, pp. 57-58). It is regarded as the largest of enclosed sea ponds, being 523 acres in extent (Summers, 1964, p. 5). [1972:263]

The fishpond near Lihue in Nawiliwili Harbor on Kauai, named Alakoko, is also said to have been built by the *Menehune*, but it was never finished because the little night workers were surprised at their labors by the coming of the dawn (Rice, 1923, pp 36-37), probably indicating the breaking of a *kapu*. Many generations later the gap in the seaward wall was closed, in a rather amateur fashion today, and the pond used for breeding mullet.

Another famous old fishpond (no longer in use) on Kauai was named Nomilu, a natural salt-water pond paralleling the shore at Koloa. W. C. Bennett (1931, p. 116) saw no evidence of artificial walling, but did note on the sea side, “salt pans partitioned off with stones” at different levels. “The salt from these pans was famous.” Mrs. Pukui notes that the pond was said to have been made by Pele, and that “for many generations salt gatherers offered a bit to her whenever they came here for salt.”...[1972:264]

Fishing Practices — Divisions of Labor

...The men, at the same time as they prepared their own food for the day, tended the women’s *imu*, having cooked the taro and other viands, and pounded the *poi*. To this the women’s only contributions were salt, sea urchins and shellfish, and edible seaweed which they prepared or gathered at the shore. Women also dried fish, and sometimes sweet potatoes, and the latter they were permitted to cultivate...

...The women and girls were busy too. The care of children was exacting and time consuming; they prepared pandanus leaves and plaited mats and baskets, performed all the complex operations of tapa making, gathered salt from evaporated sea-water pools and stored it, collected shellfish and edible seaweed, and swept and tended the *hale noa*, or sleeping quarters. [1972:302]

Shrines and Prayers to Promote Abundance

...The *heiau loulou* was a temporary frame, thatched with the broad fanlike leaves of the *loulou* palm. The roof was flat; it did not shed the rain, but gave shade. Such shrines were erected in times of dearth, and were believed to promote abundance of fish. The following prayer was used in dedicating this type of shrine. Under normal circumstances Ku‘ula was the patron of fishing, but here it is Kane who is invoked to “drive hither the fish” (Malo, 1903, p. 207).

O Kane of the time of overturning,
Overturn the bright sea-waves.
The high-arching sea-waves,
The coral reefs,
The bare reefs,
The cave-floors of Lono-muku.
Severed is the milky way of the night, oh Kane!
Here is the offering, oh Kane,
A pig, a white fowl.



Drive hither the fish from Tahiti,
The *ope'lu*, fish that travels with the sun,
The *aku* pulled in by the line,
The *uwuwi* that swims near the surface,
The *aweoweo* that haunts the pools;
Oh Kane send us fish,
That the swollen-eyed may eat it.
Life to the land.
Amen. It is free... [1972:385]

Fishing Resources and Practices in Ko'olau Loa

...Trade winds begin in March, blowing violently out of the northeast. Obviously fishing conditions are unfavorable much of this time. Octopus are caught only when the water is clear and not too rough. Kahana Bay is a famous haven for *akule*. The land titles along shore pre-empt fishing rights here. Normally *akule* are caught in quantity in May. However, on December 19, 1954, early in the morning, local fishermen with their long seine made a haul of 2,400 pounds of *akule* (40 baskets). This followed a long period of clear quiet weather. The moon was full (*mahealani*).

The open season for mullet begins in the first week in March. On March 5, 1953, rains had opened the mouth of Punalu'u Stream. The lagoon was muddy. Fishing hui (organized groups) at Punalu'u and Kaluanui were on the alert, and individual Hawaiians with throw nets were wading along shore, peering into the water, watching for mullet. On this day and the days following, good hauls of mullet were made. Large mullet were evidently coming to the stream mouths again to spawn.

Such episodes as those just described, when *akule* and mullet are running, were, in old Hawaiian days, times when planters left their cultivating of taro, sweet potato, and banana, and feeding of livestock to join their relatives and neighbors along shore in their fishing operations. Each man received his share of catch in proportion to his contribution in time and equipment. The canoes and nets belonged to families living along shore. They exchanged some of their fish and *limu* (edible seaweed) for taro (or poi) and sweet potatoes.

By April there are noticeable along shore many signs of spring. About the middle of April the black hairy seaweed *Sphacelaria tribuloides* begins to appear frequently along the beach, and by mid-May this is growing in abundance on slightly submerged coral heads. This plant is fed on by grazing fish, such as mullet and goatfish. *Ectocarpus* or *Dictyota crenulata* (Hawaiian *limu aka'akoa* or *limu huluilio* ["dog's hair"], edible), a fine branching yellow-brown seaweed is very plentiful on top of coral heads near the shore. Other seaweeds are also increasing farther out in the lagoon, notably *Turbinaria* [page 438] *ornata* with erect stems. *Zonaria variegata*, and *Valonia* sp. (*lipu'upu'u*), a small bright green growth growing on coral well out from shore. Rough weather brings much fresh sargassum (*limu kala*) into shallow water and onto the beach; its yellow-brown leaf is like holly, and it bears yellow-brown berries. There are also *Padina comersonii* and *Dictyota* sp. (Neal, 1930, pp. 55, 57, 58, 63). Under coral heads are innumerable small shrimps, starfish, crabs, and small-fry of various sorts.

At this time there is much *hukilau* fishing with long ropes, with dried *ti* leaves attached to frighten fish feeding in the lagoon toward shore where they are caught in nets and even by hand. *Weke* (surmullet and goatfish) are commonly caught at this time. This operation in the old days brought together men, women, and children of the whole community.



Two very dramatic scenes in the drama of springtime were witnessed, one in April, one in May. On April 16, 1953, early on a warm morning, with the tide very low, a number of Notarchus lineolatus ("sea hares") with earlike appendages on the head, tapering body with brown wavy lines and spots, were observed rolling about in shallow water; others were stranded on the beach above the waterline. The following morning of a warm quiet day, with the tide very low, great numbers of Notarchus were observed moving in procession head-to-tail, out along the sand on the bottom of the lagoon, in lines radiating from beneath the coral heads. They seemed to be moving in all directions. Some were rolling about helplessly in shallow water. Dr Charles H. Edmondson, then Bishop Museum marine biologist, told us that these creatures had come in from deep water to breed under the coral heads. In days following no Notarchus were observed. (See Edmondson, 1933, p. 175, Fig. 89d, p. 177.)

Much young seaweed of various kinds is brought inshore when the waves and tide are high. The small sandcrabs are very busy scavenging small marine life attached to the seaweed.

At full moon, on April 28, the tide was very low, and along the waterline on the beach at 7 A.M. was a great quantity of sea foam, made up of minute sea creatures (plankton) that had enjoyed a population explosion during the night.

Another dramatic "coming of spring" was witnessed at full moon (*mahealani*) on May 10, 1952. The previous day, while swimming, we had noted that the sea water looked cloudy and felt warmish and "oily." On the morning of full moon it was calm, the tide was low, the sun was bright. In the afternoon the beaches all along the shore were covered by great quantities of marine algae, smelling very strong. There was also a large amount of the mossy black *Sphacelaria tribuloides*. This condition continued through the next day when the moon was still full, and at this time we could see a multitude of small particles of black algae floating up from coral heads and drifting shoreward. At dawn of the next day (after full moon, *la'au-ku-kahi*) there [1978:439] were quantities of small marine animals, mostly *Notarchus*, in shallow water. The tide is very low in early morning, then comes in very fast and high. We swam in the afternoon. The water was "milky," "oily," and "roily." Three groups of fishermen were out in boats with big nets.

Rachel Carson (1951, pp. 29-30) has written of the coming of spring. The minute diatoms have managed to tide over the winter season when nutrients are few and sunshine is reduced. These are the elements of the "vernal blooming of the sea" that comes as the sun warms the ocean and shore waters. Carson says:

In a sudden awakening, incredible in its swiftness, the simplest plants of the sea begin to multiply. Their increase is of astronomical proportions. The spring sea belongs first to the diatoms and to all the other microscopic plant life of the plankton... Almost all once their own burst of multiplication is matched by a similar increase in the small animals of the plankton. It is the spawning time of the Copepod and the glassworm, the pelagic shrimp and the winged snail. Hungry swarms of these little beasts of the plankton roam through the waters, feeding on the abundant plants and themselves falling prey to larger creatures. Now in the spring the surface waters become a vast nursery. From the hills and valleys of the continent's edge lying far below, and from the scattered shoals and banks, the eggs or young of many of the bottom animals rise to the surface of the sea.

...So as spring progresses new batches of larvae rise to the surface each day, the young of fishes and crabs and mussels and the tube worms mingling for a time with regular members of the plankton... In the spring the sea is filled with migrating fishes, some of them bound for the mouths of great rivers, which they will ascend to deposit their spawn...chinooks [Pacific salmon]...shad...alewives...[Atlantic] salmon.



When cold and warm “fronts” or atmospheric masses meet each other, or one is superimposed over the other during the season of storm and rain, heavy thunder will roll up the Ko’olau range in a northwesterly direction, often seeming to jar the land below. Sometimes these storms will move from the mountains out to sea, southward at sea, inland again, and up along the Ko’olau range. At such times there is gusty wind (sometimes rather violent) and much rain. At such times there is gusty wind (sometimes rather violent) and much rain. During such weather the Hawaiians were busy with work indoors. Men worked on fishhooks, adzes, digging sticks, weapons, and utensils in the men’s house (*mua*). The women would take down the rolls of pandanus leaf prepared for mat and basket making and plait narrow-strand sleeping mats and broad-strand floor mats, and coarse mats for covering the ground oven. And the women it was who spun by rolling under fingers on the thigh the *olona* cord used as fishlines and for net making, and coconut fiber to be plaited into sennit cord that served as lashings on canoes and in house building. Women also made fish traps or baskets out of *‘ie‘ie* roots. There were repairs of various purposes in the *kauhale* or homestead. This was men’s work. In the canoe house, the canoe and fishing tackle had to be kept in readiness for work. Cutting, finishing, and polishing utensils of coconut shell, wood, and gourd also kept the men busy...[1972:440]

...In interludes of fair weather men worked in their taro and sweet-potato patches, tended their sugar-cane clumps and banana trees, and fished along shore or just offshore. This was the time to catch octopus and squid, unless rains had muddied the water. But there was little deep-sea fishing until the summer months. In these times women went down to the shore for limu (seaweed), wana (sea urchins), ‘opihi (limpets)...

...The spring months had brought many fish into lagoons and bays and the mouths of streams for spawning. From May on into *Kau* was “the season when the sun was directly overhead, when daylight was prolonged, when the tradewind, *makani moa‘e*, prevailed, when days and night alike were warm and the vegetation put forth fresh leaves” (Malo, 1903, p. 53). This was a time of growth and cultivation. These months from May on were also the months for deep-sea fishing with line and net, for opelu, aku, ‘ahi, ulua, mature now after the spring spawning. For the women this was the time for getting shellfish along shore and shrimps in the streams, and also guppies (‘o‘opu) in salt pools formed by streams at sea level...

...Except for some catching of octopus and squid on and inside on and inside the reefs, and some foraging along shore, most other types of fishing were either *kapu* during the Makahiki or impractical because of weather. Nor was this a time for foraging or hunting in the *wao*, the inner valleys and uplands. [1972:441]

...In addition to the general *kapu* affecting all fishing and other routine work, which prevailed until about three weeks before the end of *Makahiki*, there were several other types of restriction on fishing. There were *kapu* intended to protect the spawning season of particular fish, such as the mullet, during the rainy season when they were spawning in the mouths of streams opened by freshets; and there were local *kapu* laid upon particular varieties of fish at other times by *konohiki* on behalf of the *ali‘i*...

Fisheries of the Hana District, Maui

...There is a fishpond at Hana (Fig. 34) named Keko’ona which according to legendary sources is identified with Ku’ula, the god of fishermen. Ku’ula and his wife Hina, and their son ‘Ai’ai, are said to have lived near the pond, which Ku’ula is believed to have built during a time of famine in Hana. With his magic hook he lured fish into the pond, for the people. The pond was always full of fish until a giant ee broke the wall enclosing it and ate the fish. The ee was caught by Ku’ula and his men and killed. The pond was then restored (Cornell, 1934, pp. 29-32).



Beckwith (1940, pp. 19-23) summarizes the lore of Ku'ula. He lived as a man in Hana on the side of the hill called Ka-iwi-o-Pele (The-bone-of-Pele) when he built the first fishpond. As he was dying he gave this to his son, 'Ai'ai, [1972:502] and also four magic objects with which he controlled the fish (a decoy stick, a cowry shell, a stone named Ku'ula which would attract fish, and a magic hook). He taught his son how to pray for fish. 'Ai'ai traveled about the islands erecting fishing shrines (*ku'ula*) near fishing grounds (*ko'a*). "The man Ku'ula who served the chief of East Maui as head fisherman has a place on the genealogical line stemming from Wakea. The fishpond over which he presided, the place where his house stood, the bones of the great eel he slew, the stone of victory (Pohaku o lanakila) set up by his son to commemorate his triumph, all are pointed out today....At the stone Maka-kilo-ia (Eyes of the fish watchman) placed by 'Ai'ai on the summit of Kauiki [a hill in Hana Bay], fishermen still keep a lookout to watch for akule fish entering the bay."

Ku'ula-uka (Upland-Ku) living in the highlands was god of husbandmen, and brother of the god of fishing, Ku'ula-kai (Seaward Ku).

Another version of the Ku'ula story declares that he and Hina his wife, and their son 'Ai'ai lived in Nu'uuanu Valley on Oahu and that after his death Ku'ula was deified, and fishing shrines (*ko'a*) on Oahu and Maui (and later on the rest of the islands) were dedicated to him (Fornander, 1916-1917, Vol. 4, p. 556).

Hana is called a land beloved of chiefs because of the fortress of Ka'uiki [a high rocky hillock by the bay] and the ease of living in that place. In time of war the hill was reached by a ladder of *ohia* poles bound together with withes. On the summit was spread a springy plant to serve as bed. Fishponds [1972:503] below furnished unlimited stores of fish. Heaps of 'awa root 'delighted the nostrils of the dear firstborn chiefs'" (Beckwith, 1940, p. 380). Many *ali'i* through the history of Maui settled with their entourage about Ka'uiki...[1972:504]

...Hamoa is a community of Hawaiian families living on the broad flat seaward peninsula south of Hana town and the cinder cone Ka'uiki. Of old, subsistence here depended mainly on sweet potatoes and fish. There is a large *loko'i'a* (fishpond) here where "fish farming" was carried on as a supplement to the seasonal sea fishing. Its name is Haneo'o, and it was said to be one of the homes of Kihawahine, the *mo'o* (lizard) goddess who lived mainly at Lahaina in West Maui. This fishpond was still intact in 1934. Its inlet (*makaha*) is paved with very large flat stones said to have been brought anciently from many places on Maui (Fig. 35). Probably the diet was also supplemented by yams and sugar cane planted in the interior. Certainly 'awa, from which their favored narcotic drink was brewed, as well as the indispensable economic plants, *wauke* and *olona* (for cloth and cord making), were grown there.

Formerly the men of Hamoa planted taro in the valley named 'Opae-ku'i during the dry season. This valley, 15 miles long, is an offshoot of the vast marshy upland named Waihoi. Here, according to a *kama'aina*, K. W. Kinney, [page 505] the planters took provender for the duration of their stay in the uplands; they mashed up (*ku'i*) shrimps (*opae*) and kept them in calabashes: hence the name 'Opae-ku'i...[1972:506]

Fisheries of the Honua'ula District, Maui

...Keone'o'io lies on the southernmost tip of coastal land in the 'okana of Honua'ula. It is named for the 'o'io fish, which are plentiful here. Formerly they were caught throughout the year, by means of a sweep net drawn by a number of canoes. Now the 'o'io comes rarely. The native houses were grouped around the shore facing the large bay. There is on one side an ancient fishpond walled with rough lava chunks. This was built in the 15th



century by the chief Kauholanuimahu (Fornander, 1880, Vol. 2, p. 71). This formerly had five inlets. Fish were frightened and driven into the pond by means of a net with large meshes (*maka*): mullet, 'opelu, bonito, tuna, and akule. Southwest of this coast, and flowing between the islands of Kahoolawe and Lanai, is the channel named Ke-ala-i-Kahiki (The-way-to-Kahiki).

There are no people living here now. The modern fishing locality is Makena, a few miles beyond Keone'o'io... [1972:510]

Fisheries of Molokai

...According to Cooke (1949, pp. 117-123) many of the Molokai legends have to do with the western end of the island, which was called Kaluako'i (Adz quarry), although the eastern end had the larger population. Kaluako'i folk were sweet potato planters and deep-sea fishers. There were many fishermen's shrines (ko'a)... [1972:514]

The southern coast is one of gently sloping *kula* lands with a shallow shore, for the most part bordered by a good fringing reef. This configuration enabled the people of Molokai to build the largest number of salt-water fishponds to be found on any single stretch of coast in the islands. Summers (1964) has described the various types of Molokai fishponds in detail. Some were built very long ago, and the *Menehune* are credited with their construction. Of the later fishponds, one is said to have been built, by command of and under the direction of overseers, by all the people of the island working together, men, women and children (Summers, 1964, p. 2). These have been filled with silt, mangroves cover many; some are now used as dumps. Mrs. Pukui tells us that two so-called "fish-ponds," squarish in form, served for evaporating sea water to make salt. Several ponds are now being cleared and restored for experimental research in fish farming.

It was probably its fishponds which gave Molokai its reputation as "the land of plenty."...[1972:515]

...Kuliula. This is also a good land. There are fish ponds and sweet potatoes and taro. This is also true of Ahaino 1 and Ahaino 2. All of these lands are very good and rich, and cultivated plants flourish. ... [1972:517]

...There was an interesting cavern high up in Wailau Valley which was named Alapi'i-a-ka'opae (The shrimp-ladder). Under the rocks there are found great quantities of fresh-water shrimps. A local legend relates that 'Ai'ai, the son of Ku-'ula the patron of fishing, carried all the shrimps in Wailua up there... [1972:519]

Kaunakakai was famous for a sea food which Hawaiians considered especially delicious with *poi*, the aloalo, or squilla, small crayfishlike crustaceans up to four inches long that live in holes in dead coral near the shore. The Hawaiians used to catch the males only, recognizing them by their jerky motion as they were drawn out of their holes, attracted by a small fish on a string. The females moved with a gliding motion...[1972:520]

Fisheries and Resources of the Ka Lae Vicinity, Ka'ū

...The great current called *Ke Au-a-Halali'i*, sweeping southwestward from Ka Lae as the wake of a ship, made plain to these men, who sharply watched every sign of ocean and air, the fact that here the flow of ocean (*au moana*) around the island came together from east and west along shore, pushed by whatsoever wind—trade winds (*ko'olau*), southerlies (*kona*), northwesterlies (*kiu*). And they knew that here, in such a current, ran the big fish they treasured most for subsistence—'ahi (tuna), aku (bonito), a'u [page 547] (swordfish), ulua (Caranx) and mahimahi (dolphin fish), and the smaller but much-relished 'opelu (mackerel) and kawele'a.



There were serious drawbacks... There was no reef; there were but tiny coves, few beaches; and this meant few squid, mullet, goatfish, parrotfish, and the like along and off shore in shallows; not an abundance of shellfish and crustaceans, a dearth of *limu* (seaweed)—all food items of prime importance for these tropical oceanic islanders, undoubtedly well acquainted with the dietary wealth of the lagoons of reef-rimmed high volcanic islands and coral atolls whence they had come...[1972:548]

...It is certain that the migrant Polynesians who came from the south did not approach this point direct. Owing to the powerful current which sweeps southward from Ka Lae, and to the normal winds, whether from northeast or northwest, this area would be a point of departure rather than of access. But during winter cyclonic *kona* storms, which from December to February sweep in from the south with a westerly drift, it is quite likely that voyagers or fishermen from the southern seas would have been carried to the coasts of Kona and Ka'u, there to find haven on beaches and small bays...

About a hundred feet from the seaward end of the point are several large smoothly worn flat stones with shallow depressions on top. These were used for making salt to be used in salting tuna and bonito that were sun dried after salting.

On the end of Ka Lae, or South Point, near the sea is a high-walled enclosure which was a fishing *heiau* said to have been dedicated to Kane-makua (Father-Kane). On the west side there is an erect stone where offerings still are occasionally made. A stone-paved ramp runs into the sea just west of this—a canoe landing...[1972: 572]

...Nearby is a small fishing shrine said to have been dedicated to Kua, the shark fishing god of Ka'u. Miss Lily Auld remembered that in 1904 there were six grass houses here. The Hawaiians living in them had their gardens, where sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and melons were planted, walled in to protect them from wind and salt spray. The people gave her chunks of dried tuna...[1972:573]

Additional Archival Resources

The preceding section draws on a wide range of literature pertaining to fisheries, the diverse nature of marine resources, and vast knowledge of the Hawaiian people in their regards. This collection only scratches the surface though, and readers will find many other resources from which to draw detailed knowledge and accounts. Those literary resources include, but are not limited to: Jordan and Evermann (1903); J.N. Cobb (1905); J. Stokes (1909); J.S. MacKellar (1956); R.H. Kosaki (1954); P. H. Buck (1964); Summers (1964); Titcomb (1979); and thousands of manuscripts in such collections as the Hawai'i State Archives; Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum; the Mission House Museum; and the Hawaiian Historical Society.



NĀ PONO KAI ME NĀ PONO LAWAI‘A— RIGHTS TO OCEAN RESOURCES AND FISHING RIGHTS: LAWS AND DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE PROPERTY RIGHTS

In pre-western contact Hawai‘i, all *‘āina* (land), *kai lawai‘a* (fisheries) and natural resources extending from the mountain tops to the depths of the ocean were held in “trust” by the high chiefs (*mō‘ī*, *ali‘i ‘ai moku*, or *ali‘i ‘ai ahupua‘a*). The right to use of lands, fisheries, and the resources therein was given to the *hoa‘āina* (native tenants) at the prerogative of the *ali‘i* and their representatives or land agents (often referred to as *konohiki* or *haku ‘āina*). Following a strict code of conduct, which was based on ceremonial and ritual observances, the people of the land were generally able to collect all of the natural resources, including fish—and other marine and aquatic resources—for their own sustenance, and with which to pay tribute to the class of chiefs and priests, who oversaw them.

Shortly after the arrival of foreigners in the islands, the western concept of property rights began to infiltrate the Hawaiian system. While Kamehameha I, who secured rule over all of the islands, granted perpetual interest in select lands and fisheries to some foreign residents, Kamehameha, and his chiefs under him generally remained in control of all resources. Following the death of Kamehameha I in 1819, and the arrival of the Calvinist missionaries in 1820, the concepts of property rights began to evolve under Kamehameha II and his young brother, Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III), who ruled Hawai‘i through the years in which private property rights, including those of fisheries, were developed and codified.

This section of the study provides readers with access to original narratives from laws, and descriptions of customs associated with land and ocean resources, recorded during the period of the evolution of fee-simple property rights in the Hawaiian Kingdom. This information is cited chronologically and organized in selected categories, and includes lengthy quotes from the original sources. The narratives will allow readers to understand, and form their own assessments of native customs, and the values assigned to fishery resources.

Many of the narratives, and almost all of those cited in the section dealing with disposition of fisheries during the *Māhele ‘Āina* (Land Division), covering the period between 1846 to 1855, were translated by Maly, and are organized here for the first time. Underlining and italics are used below to draw reader’s attention to specific references and selected narratives.

Kānāwai–Nā Kuleana a me nā Pono Kānaka Laws–Responsibilities and Rights of the People (ca. 1833-1846)

Interestingly, it was in the area of fisheries—including the rights of the common people to catch fish, and the rights of the *ali‘i* and *konohiki* classes to select a choice fish for their private use—that what might be termed “fee-simple property rights” made its early headway in the native system. Kamehameha III formally defined the ancient fishing rights and practices of the Hawaiian people in the Constitution and Laws of June 7, 1839, and reconfirmed them on November 9, 1840 (Hawaiian Laws, 1842; Hawaiian Laws compiled from between the years of 1833 to 1842).

By the Law respecting fisheries, Kamehameha III distributed the fishing grounds and resources between himself, the chiefs and the people of the land. The law granted fisheries from near shore, to those of the deep ocean beyond the sight of land to the common people in general. He also specifically, noted that fisheries on coral reefs fronting various lands were for the landlords (*konohiki*) and the people who lived on their given lands (*ahupua‘a*) under the *konohiki*. The laws pertaining to fisheries, reflecting traditional pre-contact values and practices, and the western property rights influences are cited below:



No na Kai noa, a me na Kai kapu.

(Of free and prohibited fishing grounds) (1839-1841)

1.—Of free fishing grounds. (No ka noa ana o ke kai)

His majesty the King hereby takes the fishing grounds from those who now possess them, from Hawaii to Kauai, and gives one portion of them to the common people, another portion to the land-lords, and a portion he reserves to himself.

These are the fishing grounds which his Majesty the King takes and gives to the people; the fishing grounds without the coral reef. viz. the Kilohee grounds, the Luhee ground, the Malolo ground, together with the ocean beyond.

But the fishing grounds from the coral reefs to the sea beach are for the landlords, and for the tenants of their several lands, but not for others. But if that species of fish which the landlord selects as his own personal portion, should go onto the grounds which are given to the common people, then that species of fish and that only is taboo. If the squid, then the squid only; or if some other species of fish, that only and [1842:36] not the squid. And thus it shall be in all places all over the islands; if the squid, that only; and if in some other place it be another fish, then that only and not the squid.

If any of the people take the fish which the landlord taboos for himself, this is the penalty, for two years he shall not fish at all on any fishing ground. And the several landlords shall give immediate notice respecting said fisherman, that the landlords may protect their fishing grounds, lest he go and take fish on other grounds.

If there be a variety of fish on the ground where the landlord taboos his particular fish, then the tenants of his own land may take them, but not the tenants of other lands, lest they take also the fish tabooed by the landlord. The people shall give to the landlord one third of the fish thus taken. Furthermore, there shall no duty whatever be laid on the fish taken by the people on grounds given to them, nor shall any canoe be taxed or taboo'd.

If a landlord having fishing grounds lay any duty on the fish taken by the people on their own fishing grounds, the penalty shall be as follows: for one full year his own fish shall be taboo'd for the tenants of his own particular land, and notice shall be given of the same, so that a landlord who lays a duty on the fish of the people may be known.

If any of the landlords lay a protective taboo on their fish, when the proper fishing season arrives all the people may take fish, and when the fish are collected, they shall be divided—one third to the fishermen, and two thirds to the landlord. If there is a canoe full, one third part shall belong to the fishermen, and two [1842:37] thirds to the landlord. If the landlord seize all the fish and leave none for the fishermen, the punishment is the same as that of the landlords who lay a duty on the fish of the people.

If, however, there is any plantation having fishing grounds belonging to it, but no reef, the sea being deep, it shall be proper for the landlord to lay a taboo on one species of fish for himself, but one species only. If the parrot fish, then the parrot fish only; but if some other fish, then that only and not the parrot fish. These are the enactments respecting the free fishing grounds, and respecting the taking of fish.

2.—Respecting the taboo'd fishing grounds. (No na kai kapu)

Those fishing grounds which are known by the people to have shoals of fish remaining upon them, shall at the proper season for fishing be placed under the protective taboo of the tax officers, for the King. The fishing grounds on Oahu thus protected, are 1, Kalia; 2, Keehi; 3, Kapapa; 4, Malaeakuli; 5, Pahihi. On Molokai, as follows: 1, Punalau; 2, Ooia; 3, Kawai; 4, Koholanui; 5, Kaonini; 6, Aikoolua; 7, Waiokama; 8, Heleiki. On Lanai the Bonito and the Parrot fish. On Maui, the Kuleku of Honuaula and other places.



On Hawaii, the Albicore.

On Kauai, the Mullet of Huleia, Anehola [Anahola], Kahili and Hanalei, and the squid and fresh water fish of Mana, the permanent shoal fish of Niihau, and all the transient shoal fish from Hawaii to Niihau, if in sufficient quantity to fill two or more canoes, but not so small a quantity as to fill one canoe only. But if the fishermen go and borrow a large canoe, that all the fish may be put into one, then there shall be a duty upon them. [1842:38]

On the above conditions there shall be a government duty on all the transient shoal fish of the islands. The tax officer shall lay a protective taboo on these fish for his Majesty the King, and when the proper time for taking the fish arrives, then the fish shall be divided in the same manner as those which are under the protective taboo of the landlords.

If the tax officer seize all the fish of the fisherman, and leave none for those who take them, then he shall pay a fine of ten dollars, and shall have nothing more to say respecting the royal taxes. But if the order for seizing all the fish of the fishermen was from the Governor, then he shall no longer be Governor, though he may hold his own lands, and the tax officer shall not be turned out of office. At the proper time the tax officer may lay a protective taboo on all the King's fish, and the landlords' all around the island. But it is not proper that the officer should lay the taboo for a long time. The best course is for the officer to give previous notice to the fishermen, and then the common people and the landlords to fish on the same day. Thus the rights of all will be protected.

But no restrictions whatever shall by any means be laid on the sea without the reef even to the deepest ocean. Though the particular fish which the general tax officer prohibits, and those of the landlords which swim into those seas, are taboo. The fine of those who take prohibited fish is specified above. [1842:39]

On May 31st, 1841, the King and House of Nobles signed into law several alterations to the above Law on fisheries. The changes in the old laws are as follows:

5. OF SHOAL FISH. (1842)

From the eighth section of the third chapter of this law, which is found on the thirty-eighth page, certain words shall be erased, as follows; ("If in sufficient quantities to fill two or more canoes, but not so small a quantity as to fill one canoe only.["])

The transient shoal fish spoken of in this law are,

- 1 The *Kule*,
- 2 The *Anaeholo*,
- 3 The *Alalauwa*,
- 4 The *Uhukai*,
- 5 The *Kawelea*,
- 6 The *Kawakawa*,
- 7 The *Kalaku*.

These kinds of fish shall be divided equally, whenever they arrive, at these islands, or whenever they drift along. [1842:84]

9. OF THE PUNISHMENT OF FISHERMEN. (1842)

In the third Chapter, eighth section, page 37th, the following words are erased; "*For two years he shall not fish at all on any fishing ground.*" The following words shall also be inserted in their place; "If he take one fish criminally he shall pay five, and always at that rate. And if a canoe full be taken then five canoes full shall [1842:85] be paid, according



to the amount taken, even to the farthest extent.” [1842:86 (HSA collection, KFH 30 1842a. A233)]

In 1846, Article V of the “Statute Laws of His Majesty Kamehameha III” was published. The law defined the responsibilities and rights the *konoiki* and people to the wide range of fishing grounds and resources. The law also addressed the practice of designating *kapu* or restrictions on the taking of fish, tribute of fish paid to the King, and identified specific types of fisheries from the freshwater and pond fisheries to those on the high seas under the jurisdiction of the Kingdom:

ARTICLE V.—OF THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RIGHTS OF PISCARY¹¹ (1846)

SECTION I. The entire marine space, without and seaward of the reefs, upon the coasts of the several islands, comprising the several fishing grounds commonly known as the Kilohee grounds—the Luhee grounds—the Malolo ground, and the fishery of the ocean, from said reefs to the limit of the marine jurisdiction in the first article of this chapter defined, shall be free to the people of these islands. The people shall not be molested in the enjoyment thereof except as hereinafter provided.

SECTION II. The fishing grounds from the reefs, and where there happen to be no reefs from the distance of one geographical mile seaward to the beach at low water mark, shall in law be considered the private property of the landlords whose lands, by ancient regulation, belong to the same; in the possession of which private fisheries, the said landholders shall not be molested except to the extent of the reservations and prohibitions hereinafter set forth.

SECTION III. The landholders shall be considered in law to hold said private fisheries for the equal use of themselves and the [1846:90] tenants on their respective lands; and the tenants shall be at liberty to use the fisheries of their landlords, subject to the restrictions in this article imposed.

SECTION IV. The landlords shall have power, each year, to set apart for themselves one given species or variety of fish natural to their respective fisheries, giving public notice by viva voce proclamation to their tenants and others residing on their lands, and signifying to the minister of the interior, in writing, through his agents in their districts, the kind and description of fish which they have chosen to set apart for themselves. The landlords shall respectively pay for such notification, the fees prescribed by the third part of this act; and it shall be the duty of the minister of the interior yearly to furnish the director of the government press with a list of said landlords, the districts and island of their residence, and the kind of fish specially set apart by each, in the form of a catalogue; which catalogue the said director shall cause to be once inserted in Hawaiian and English languages, in the Polynesian newspaper, for public information, at the expense of said minister to be included by him, according to a fixed rate, in the fees to be received at his department from the respective landlords.

SECTION V. The specific fish so set apart shall be exclusively for use of the landlords, if caught within the bounds of his fishery, and neither his tenants nor others shall be at liberty to appropriate such reserved fish to their private use; but when caught, such reserved fish shall be the property of the landlord, for which he shall be at liberty to sue and recover the value from any fisherman appropriating the same; and more over, if he take one fish criminally he shall pay five, and in the proportion shall he pay to the full amount of what he may have taken wrongfully. Whoever may have taken fish in violation of this law, without paying as about, shall be fined fifty dollars for each offence.

¹¹ Piscary: “The right of fishing; the right of fishing in waters belonging to another person.” (MacKenzie et al., 1991:308)



SECTION VI. The landlords shall not have power to lay any tax or impose any other restriction upon their tenants regarding the private fisheries that is in the preceding section prescribed, neither shall such further restrictions be valid. [1846:91]

SECTION VII. It shall be competent to the landlords, on consultation with the tenants of their lands, in lieu of setting apart some peculiar fish to their exclusive use, as hereinbefore allowed, to prohibit during certain indicated months of the year, all fishing of every description upon their fisheries; and, during the fishing season to exact of each fisherman among their tenants, one thirds part of all the fish taken upon their private fishing grounds. In every such case it shall be incumbent on the landlords to comply in like manner with the requirements of the fourth section of this article.

SECTION VIII. The royal fish shall appertain to the Hawaiian government, and shall be the following, viz:

1st. The bonito when off any part of the coast of Lanai.

2nd. The albacore of Hawaii.

3rd. The mullet of Huleia, Anehola [Anahola], and Hanalei; the squid and freshwater fish of Mana on Kauai.

4th. The shoal fish taken at the following places, noted for the abundance of fish frequenting them; off Oahu: 1, Kalia; 2, Keehi; 3, Kapapa; 4, Malaeakuli, and 5, Pahihi.

5th. Off Molokai: 1, Punalau; 2, Ooia; 3, Kawai; 4, Koholanui; 5, Kaonini; 6, Aikoolua; 7, Waiokama, and 8, Heleiki.

6th. And off Maui; the *kuleku* of Honuaula; and the same whenever found off said island.

7th. All the following transient fish, viz:—1, the *kule*; 2, the *anaeholo*; 3, the *alalauwa*; 4, the *uhukai*; 5, the *kawelea*; 6, the *kawakawa*; 7, the *kalaku*.

These shall be divided equally between the king and fishermen. But on all the prohibited fishing grounds the landlords shall be entitled to one species of fish, and those who have walled fish ponds shall be allowed to scoop up small fish to replenish their ponds. If the prohibited fish of the landlord be mingled with the royal fish, then the landlord shall be entitled to one third of the whole of the fish taken, though this applies only to Molokai, Oahu and the rivers of Kauai.

All which shall be yearly protected by the king's taboo, to be imposed by the minister of the interior, by means of circular from his department, as prescribed in the act to organize the executive ministry; and during the specified season of taboo they shall not be subject to be taken by the people. [1846:92]

SECTION IX. At the expiration of the taboo seasons, all persons inhabiting these islands shall be at liberty to take the protected fish, accounting to the fishery agents of the respective districts off which the same shall have been caught, for the half or portion, so taken; and the minister of the interior shall make known through his agents by *viva voce* proclamation, the respective months or seasons of the year during which the said royal fisheries may be used and the said protected fish taken.

SECTION X. The minister of the interior shall appoint suitable and proper fishing agents in the several coast districts of the respective islands, to superintend the fisheries aforesaid, to whom he shall from time to time give directions through the respective



governors, in regard to the sale or other disposition of the share of fish accruing to the government.

SECTION XI. It shall be the duty of the agents appointed, to exact and receive of all fishermen, for the use of the royal exchequer, during the legalized fishing seasons the one half part, or portion of all protected fish taken without the reefs, whether at the respective places in the eighth section of this article indicated, or in the channels and enclosed seas dividing these islands, or upon the high seas within the marine jurisdiction of this country. And if any officer or agent of this government shall exact more fish of the people than is in and by this section expressly allowed, he shall on conviction, forfeit his office, and be liable to pecuniary fine, in the discretion of the court, before which he shall have been convicted.

SECTION XII. It shall be competent for His Majesty, by an order in council, from time to time, to set apart any given portion, or any definite kind of the said protected fish, or any proportional part of the avails therefrom arising, for the use of the royal palace, to be delivered or paid over to the chamberlain of his household, created by the third part of this act.

SECTION XIII. It shall be incumbent on the minister of the interior to provide, by instructions to the respective governors, for the sale and disposal of all fish received by the said fishing agents, and to pay the avails thereof to the minister of finance. [1846:93]

SECTION XIV. If any person shall, in violation of this article, take out of season the fish protected by the king's taboo, or if any person shall, within the free fishing seasons, take any of the protected fish, without delivering to the agent appointed for that purpose the proportion accruing to the royal exchequer, he shall, on conviction, forfeit all fish found in his possession, and shall, in addition, pay fivefold for all fish thus taken, or he may be put in confinement, at the discretion of the court condemning him. [1846:94; HSA collection KFH 25 .A24 1825/46]

Māhele 'Āina: Development of Fee-Simple Property and Fishery Rights (ca. 1846-1855)

During this period leading into the middle 1840s, the Hawaiian system of land tenure was undergoing radical alteration. Not only were fisher-rights being defined and codified, but also those of land rights. These laws set the foundation for implementing the *Māhele 'Āina* of 1848, which granted fee-simple ownership rights to the *hoa'āina* (common people of the land, native tenants). As in the preceding acts associated with fisheries, this development in land tenure was promoted by the missionaries and the growing business interests in the island kingdom.

On December 10th, 1845, Kamehameha III signed into law, a joint resolution establishing and outlining the responsibilities of the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles, setting in motion the division of lands and natural resources between the king and his subjects. Among the actions called for, and laws to be implemented were:

ARTICLE IV. –OF THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS TO QUIET LAND TITLES.

SECTION I. His Majesty shall appoint through the minister of the interior, and upon consultation with the privy council, five commissioners, one of whom shall be the attorney general of this kingdom, to be a board for the investigation and final ascertainment or rejection of all claims of private individuals, whether natives or foreigners, to any landed property acquired anterior to the passage of this act; the awards of which board, unless appealed from as hereinafter allowed, shall be binding upon the minister of the interior and upon the applicant...



SECTION VII. The decisions of said board shall be in accordance with the principles established by the civil code of this kingdom in regard to prescription, occupancy, fixtures, native usages in regard to landed tenures, water privileges and rights of piscary, the rights of women, the rights of absentees, tenancy and subtenancy, —primogeniture and rights of adoption; which decisions being of a majority in number of said board, shall be only subject to appeal to the supreme court, and when such appeal shall not have been taken, they shall be final...

SECTION XIII. The titles of all lands claimed of the Hawaiian government anterior to the passage of this act, upon being confirmed as aforesaid, in whole or in part by the board of commissioners, shall be deemed to be forever settled, as awarded by said board, unless appeal be taken to the supreme court, as already prescribed. And all claims rejected by said board, unless appeal be taken as aforesaid, shall be deemed to be forever barred and foreclosed, from the expiration of the time allowed for such appeal. [In *The Polynesian*; January 3, 1846:140]

As the *Māhele* evolved, it defined the land interests of Kauikeaouli (King Kamehameha III), some 252 high-ranking *Ali'i* and *Konohiki*, and the Government. As a result of the *Māhele*, all lands—and associated fisheries as described in the laws above—in the Kingdom of Hawai'i came to be placed in one of three categories: (1) Crown Lands (for the occupant of the throne); (2) Government Lands; and (3) *Konohiki* Lands (cf. Indices of Awards 1929). The “Enabling” or “*Kuleana Act*” of the *Māhele* (December 21, 1849) further defined the frame work by which *hoa'āina* (native tenants) could apply for, and be granted fee-simple interest in “*Kuleana*” lands (cf. Kamakau in *Ke Au Okoa* July 8 & 15, 1869; 1961:403-403). The *Kuleana Act* also reconfirmed the rights of *hoa'āina* to: access; and subsistence and collection of resources from mountains to the shore, necessary to their life, within their given *ahupua'a*. Though not specifically stated in this Act, the rights of piscary (to fisheries and fishing) had already been granted and were protected by preceding laws.

The *Kuleana Act*, which remains the foundation of law pertaining to native tenant rights, sets forth the following:

August 6, 1850

An Act confirming certain resolutions of the King and Privy Council passed on the 21st day of December 1849, granting to the common people allodial titles for their own lands and house lots, and certain other privileges.

Be it enacted by the Nobles and Representatives of the People of the Hawaiian Islands in Legislative Council assembled;

That the following sections which were passed by the King in Privy Council on the 21st day of December A.D. 1849 when the Legislature was not in session, be, and are hereby confirmed, and that certain other provisions be inserted, as follows:

Section 1. Resolved. That fee simple titles, free of commutation, be and are hereby granted to all native tenants, who occupy and improve any portion of any Government land, for the land they so occupy and improve, and whose claims to said lands shall be recognized as genuine by the Land Commission; Provided, however, that the Resolution shall not extend to Konohikis or other persons having the care of Government lands or to the house lots and other lands, in which the Government have an interest, in the Districts of Honolulu, Lahaina and Hilo.

Section 2. By and with the consent of the King and Chiefs in Privy Council assembled, it is hereby resolved, that fee simple titles free of commutation, be and are hereby granted to all native tenants who occupy and improve any lands other than those mentioned in



the preceding Resolution, held by the King or any chief or *Konohiki* for the land they so occupy and improve. Provided however, this Resolution shall not extend to house lots or other lands situated in the Districts of Honolulu, Lahaina and Hilo.

Section 3. Resolved that the Board of Commissioners to quiet Land titles be, and is hereby empowered to award fee simple titles in accordance with the foregoing Resolutions; to define and separate the portions belonging to different individuals; and to provide for an equitable exchange of such different portions where it can be done, so that each man's land may be by itself.

Section 4. Resolved that a certain portion of the Government lands in each Island shall be set apart, and placed in the hands of special agents to be disposed of in lots of from one to fifty acres in fee simple to such natives as may not be otherwise furnished with sufficient lands at a minimum price of fifty cents per acre.

Section 5. In granting to the People, their House lots in fee simple, such as are separate and distinct from their cultivated lands, the amount of land in each of said House lots shall not exceed one quarter of an acre.

Section 6. In granting to the people their cultivated grounds, or *Kalo* lands, they shall only be entitled to what they have really cultivated, and which lie in the form of cultivated lands; and not such as the people may have cultivated in different spots, with the seeming intention of enlarging their lots; nor shall they be entitled to the waste lands [generally wet lands and ponds; see citations later in this section].

Section 7. When the Landlords have taken allodial titles to their lands the people on each of their lands shall not be deprived of the right to take firewood, *aho* cord, thatch, or ti leaf from the land on which they live, for their own private use, should they need them, but they shall not have a right to take such articles to sell for profit. They shall also inform the Landlord or his agent, and proceed with his consent. The people shall also have a right to drinking water, and running water, and the right of way. The springs of water, and running water, and roads shall be free to all should they need them, on all lands granted in fee simple. Provided, that this shall not be applicable to wells and water courses which individuals have made for their own use.

Done and passed at the Council House, Honolulu this 6th day of August 1850. [copied from original hand written "Enabling Act"¹² – HSA, DLNR 2-4]

Early in this process, questions regarding the rights of *Konohiki* and imposing of restrictions upon the *hoa'āina* in the matters of fisheries arose, and a number of communications clarifying the Laws cited above, were published. Among the communications is the Interior Department document below, which sought to address the issue:

FISHING RIGHTS, RESTRICTIONS AND LIBERATION
Interior Department Document Number 148

That, to whomsoever it may concern, the catching with hands of fishes and shrimps, etc., from the specified seas call, "Fishing grounds", for human consumption only are hereby liberated.

That, is the King or the *Konohiki* are lack in having the catch of a certain fish and wish to prohibit some of these fishes (unspecified fish: but freely given to citizens), it is well in doing so.

¹² See also *Kanawai Hoopai Karaima no ko Hawaii Pae Aina (Penal Code) 1850.*



That, the *Konohiki* is hereby ordered to take only one fish; and that the main coral fishing grounds, or other coral fishing grounds are under the jurisdiction of the government. That, the *Konohiki* is hereby allowed to take only one fish from these coral fishing grounds; and that he is not to take two or three; not that much.

If the overseer or the *Konohiki* who is in charge of a fishing right knows that he is out of fish, and wishes to have some by sending his brother out to fish, it is at his discretion in doing so; but, not to accuse him after the fish is caught. [HSA – ID Lands]

The most important source of documentation that describes native Hawaiian residency and land use practices—identifying specific residents, types of land use, fishery and fishing rights, crops cultivated, and features on the landscape—is found in the records of the *Māhele ‘Āina*. The *Māhele ‘Āina* gave the *hoa‘āina* an opportunity to acquire fee-simple property interest (*kuleana*) on land which they lived and actively cultivated, but the process required them to provide personal testimonies regarding their residency and land use practices. As a result, records of the *Māhele ‘Āina* present readers with first-hand accounts from native tenants generally spanning the period from ca. 1819 to 1855.

The lands awarded to the *hoa‘āina* became known as “*Kuleana* Lands.” All of the claims and awards (the Land Commission Awards or L.C.A.) were numbered, and the L.C.A. numbers remain in use today to identify the original owners of lands in Hawai‘i.

The work of the Land Commission was brought to a close on March 31, 1855. The program, directed by principles adopted on August 20, 1846, met with mixed results. In its statement to the King, the Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles (George M. Robertson, March 31, 1855) summarized events that had transpired during the life of the Commission:

...The first award made by the Commission was that of John Voss on the 31st March 1847.

The time originally granted to the Board for the hearing and settlement of all the land claims in the kingdom was two years, ending the fourteenth day of February, 1848.

Before the expiration of that term it became evident that a longer time would be required to perform a work... Accordingly, the Legislature on the 26th day of August 1847, passed an Act to extend the duration of the Board to the 14th of February, 1849, adding one year to the term first prescribed, not however, for the purpose of admitting fresh claims, but for the purposes of hearing, adjudicating and surveying those claims that should be presented by the 14th February, 1848. It became apparent to the Legislature of 1848 that the labors of the Land Commission had never been fully understood, nor the magnitude of the work assigned to them properly appreciated, and that it was necessary again to extend the duration of the Board. An act was accordingly passed, wisely extending the powers of the Commissioners “for such a period of time from the 14th day of February 1849, as shall be necessary for the full and faithful examination, settlement and award upon all such claims as may have been presented to said Board.” ...[T]he Board appointed a number of Sub-Commissioners in various parts of the kingdom, chiefly gentlemen connected with the American Mission, who from their intelligence, knowledge of the Hawaiian language, and well-known desire to forward any work which they believed to be for the good of the people, were better calculated than any other class of men on the islands to be useful auxiliaries to the Board at Honolulu...

...During the ten months that elapsed between the constitution of the Board and the end of the year 1846, only 371 claims were received at the office; during the year 1847 only 2,460, while 8,478 came in after the first day of January 1848. To these are to be added 2,100 claims, bearing supplementary numbers, chiefly consisting of claims which had been forwarded to the Board, but lost or destroyed on the way. In the year 1851, 105 new



claims were admitted, for Kuleanas in the Fort Lands of Honolulu, by order of the Legislature. The total number of claims therefore, amounts to 13,514, of which 209 belonged to foreigners and their descendants. The original papers, as they were received at the office, were numbered and copied into the Registers of the Commission, which highly necessary part of the work entailed no small amount of labor...

...The whole number of Awards perfected by the Board up to its dissolution is 9,337, leaving an apparent balance of claims not awarded of say 4,200. Of these, at least 1,500 may be ranked as duplicates, and of the remaining 2,700 perhaps 1,500 have been rejected as bad, while of the balance some have not been prosecuted by the parties interested; many have been relinquished and given up to the Konohikis, even after surveys were procured by the Board, and hundreds of claimants have died, leaving no legal representatives. It is probable also that on account of the dilatoriness of some claimants in prosecuting their rights before the Commission, there are even now, after the great length of time which has been afforded, some perfectly good claims on the Registers of the Board, the owners of which have never taken the trouble to prove them. If there are any such, they deserve no commiseration, for every pains has been taken by the Commissioners and their agents, by means of oft repeated public notices and renewed visits to the different districts of the Islands, to afford all and every of the claimants an opportunity of securing their rights... [Minister of Interior Report, 1856:10-17]

It has been reported that the total amount of land—around the Hawaiian Islands—awarded to *hoa'aina* equaled approximately 28,658 acres (cf. Kame'eleihiwa 1992:295).

Documentation of Fisheries and Fishing Rights Recorded in the Māhele 'Āina

A careful review of thousands of claims recorded during the *Māhele 'Āina* for all islands—with the exception of Kaho'olawe for which no claims were located—revealed that at least 1,233 claims for fishery resources were recorded in the Register and Testimony Volumes of the Land Commission¹³. These claims include those of the *hoa'aina* and the *ali'i* awardees. The break-down of fishery related claims by island includes:

76 claims on Hawai'i
83 claims on Kaua'i;
72 claims on Lāna'i;
202 claims on Maui;
123 claims on Moloka'i;
646 claims on O'ahu; and
31 Ali'i awardees, covering more than 568 *ahupua'a*, and claiming fisheries on one or more of all the major islands from Hawai'i to Kaua'i.

The island of Ni'ihau was relinquished by Victoria Kamāmalu to Kamehameha III, who granted it to the inventory of Government Lands (*Buke Mahele* 1848:1 & 225).

The island of Kaho'olawe was granted to the inventory of Government Lands by Kamehameha III (*Buke Mahele* 1848: 200).

¹³ In the year 2000, *Kumu Pono Associates* digitized the entire collection of records for the *Māhele 'Āina* (that is, all volumes of the Register, Testimony, Mahele Award Books and Royal Patent Books). Most of the records were recorded in Hawaiian, and until recently they have not been completely indexed. It was in this digitized collection that all records cited were located. Our review of the original Hawaiian narratives was further confirmed by a review of electronic copies of translated texts in the collection of *Waihona 'Āina*, which has compiled all available records from the Hawai'i State Archives.



The types of uses and knowledge of resources found in the claims describes a wide range of aquatic and marine resources, including—

‘Āina pa‘akai, ‘āliālia pa‘akai, hāhā pa‘akai, kāheka pa‘akai, lo‘i pa‘akai, loko pa‘akai (salt making beds - ponds); *kahawai* (fresh water stream fisheries); *muliwai* (estuarine pond systems); *pu‘uone* (sand dune-banked ponds); *loko ia kuapā* (walled fish ponds); *loko kalo* (ponds in which both fish and taro were raised); *ki‘o pua* (small holding ponds for fingerlings); *kāheka* (anchialine ponds); *ko‘a* and *lua* (fishing spots and holes relatively near shore); *imu, umu* and *unu* (stone mounds – fish traps); *kahe, paepae* and *hā* (wooden or lattice traps – generally in fresh water streams); and *kai* (ocean fisheries).

In addition to descriptions of methods and locations where resources were found, rights to fish and other aquatic resources were claimed. The named fish included—

āhole, āholehole, akule, ‘anae, awa, he‘e, honu, kāhala, kala, kumu, limu, limu kala, manō, ‘ōhua, ‘ō‘io, ‘o‘opu, ‘ōpae, ‘ōpelu, ‘ōpihi, pa‘akai, pua, uhu, ula, ulua, and weke.

It is perhaps most interesting that *‘o‘opu* from fresh water sources, were the most frequently named fish taken on the islands of Hawai‘i, Kaua‘i, Maui, and O‘ahu.

The record demonstrates a wide breadth of knowledge and reliance upon fishery resources across the islands, and documents the value of fishery resources to the Crown, Government and *Konohiki (Ali‘i Awardees)*. A summary of all claims follows below, generally by island, and includes all references to specific locations, fish, and methods of fishing, described in the original claims.

***Ali‘i Awardees with Multiple Claims on Various Islands
(31 Claims for more than 568 Ahupua‘a, ‘ili and Fisheries)***

<i>Helu</i>	<i>Claimant; Location; and Resource Claimed:</i>
135	(and various <i>Helu</i>) Iona Piikoi. Lands and fisheries at Na Paa, Kona, Kauai; Pualoalo, Honolulu, Oahu; Kaluaoopu, Waiau, Oahu; Mikiola, Kaneohe, Oahu; and Kainehe, Maui.
812	(and various <i>Helu</i>) Asa Kaeo. Lands and fisheries at Laimi, Honolulu, Oahu; Puaa, Lahaina, Maui; Ainakea, Kohala, Hawaii; and Punahoa, Hilo, Hawaii.
4452	H. Kalama (wife of Kamehameha III). <u>Fourteen lands and fisheries</u> on Hawaii, Maui, and Oahu.
5368	Akahi (w.) Lands and fisheries of: Kealia, Makalawena and Keei iki, Kona, Hawaii; and Puuepa and Ulupaalua, Kohala, Hawaii; and Kaaipu, Waikiki, Oahu.
5525	L. Konia (w). <u>Ten lands and fisheries</u> at: Keei, Kona, Hawaii; Lumahai, Kauai; Napili, Honokeana, Alaeloa, and Mailepai, Kaanapali, Maui; and Kalauao, Oahu.
7712	M. Kekuanaoa. <u>Six lands and fisheries</u> on Hawaii, Kauai, and Oahu.
7713	Victoria Kamamalu. Fifty-three lands and fisheries on Hawaii, Kauai, Lanai, Maui, Molokai, and Oahu.
7714 B	Moses Kekuaiwa. <u>Twelve lands and fisheries</u> on Hawaii, Kauai, Lanai, Maui, and Oahu.
7715	Lot Kapuaiwa Kamehameha. <u>Sixteen lands and fisheries</u> on Hawaii, Maui, and Oahu.
7716	R. Keelikolani (w.). <u>Twelve lands and fisheries</u> on Hawaii, Kauai, Maui and Oahu.
8241	John li. Land and fishery of Waipio, Ewa, Oahu.



- 8452 A. Keohokalole (w.). Thirty-seven lands and fisheries on Hawaii, Maui, and Oahu.
- 8515 Keoni Ana. Lands and fisheries of: Kawaihae, Kohala, Hawaii; Kukuau, Hilo, Hawaii; and Halehaku, Maui.
- 8515 B Kaoanaeha (w.). ands and fisheries at: Kamomoa, Puna; Kaloakiu, Waipio; Opuoao, Makapala; Halawa, Kealahewa, and Kaupo, Kohala, Hawaii.
- 8516 B Kamaikui (w.). Lands and fisheries at: Waiaka 1st, Kohala Hawaii; Kalama, Kona, Hawaii; Kahului, Kona, Hawaii; Halawa, Ewa, Oahu.
- 8518 B James Young Kanehoa. Lands and fisheries at: Ouli, Kohala, Hawaii; Ulaino, Maui; and Lawai, Kauai.
- 8519 B Fanny Young (w.) Kiiokalani, Kohala; and Pahoeheo, Kona, Hawaii; Maunalei, Lanai; and Haleu, Lahaina, Maui.
- 8520 Iosua Kaeo. Five lands and fisheries on Hawai'i; Kealia, Lanai; Maui, and Oahu.
- 8520 B Gini Lahilahi (w.) Lands and fisheries at: Waiaka 2nd and Waika, Kohala, Hawaii; Pahoeheo, Hawai'i; Waikahekahe, Hawaii; and Puunoo, Lahaina, Maui.
- 8521 B G. Davis Hueu. Lands and fisheries of: Kukuau 2, Hilo, Hawaii; and Kiilae, Kona Hawaii.
- 8522 B Kale Davis (w.). Lands and fisheries at: Honokahua, Maui; Kapaa, Kohala, Hawaii; and Waikahekahe, Puna, Hawaii.
- 8524 B Peke (w.). Lands and fisheries at: Hianaloli, Hawaii; Kapewakua, Lahaina, Maui; and Kupeke, Molokai.
- 8525 B Julia Kauwa Alapai. Seven lands and fisheries on Maui, Molokai, and Oahu.
- 8559 C. Kanaina. Thirteen lands and fisheries on Hawaii, Maui and Oahu.
- 8559 B Wm. Lunalilo. Sixty-three lands and fisheries on Hawaii, Kauai, Maui, Molokai and Oahu.
- 9971 Wm. P. Leleiohoku. Thirty-five lands and fisheries on Hawaii, Lanai, Maui, Molokai and Oahu.
- 10474 N. Namauu for M. Kekuanaoa. Twelve lands and fisheries on Hawaii, Maui, and Oahu.
- 10613 A. Paki. Six lands and fisheries on Hawaii, Kauai, Maui, and Oahu.
- 10806 Iona Piikoi for Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III; and unnumbered lands described in *Buke Mahele* (1848). At least 159 Crown Lands covering Hawaii, Maui, Molokai, Oahu, and Kauai, with fisheries rights on all island [see Laws published in 1842 above, for description and location of fisheries and fish]:
- 11215 Kealiihonui. Three lands and fisheries on Hawaii, Kauai, and Oahu.
- 11216 M. Kekauonohi (w). Fifty-seven lands and fisheries on Hawaii, Kauai, Lanai, Maui, Molokai, and Oahu (see also Helu 6325).

Island of Hawai'i (76 claims)

- | <i>Helu</i> | <i>Claimant; Location; and Resource Claimed:</i> |
|--------------------|--|
| 817 | Heirs of George Beckley at Kealahewa, Kohala, Hawaii. <u>A farm and fishing grounds, given by Kamehameha I about 1811.</u> |
| 1096 | Hiona at Ponahawai, Hilo, Hawaii. A house lot bounded on east side by <u>fish pond.</u> |
| 1097 | Paakaua at Ponahawai, Hilo, Hawaii. A house lot bounded on east side by <u>fish pond.</u> |
| 1098 | Kaulua at Ponahawai, Hilo, Hawaii. A house lot bounded on east side by <u>fish pond.</u> |
| 2327 | Barenaba at Waiakea, Hilo, Hawaii. A lot adjoining the <u>pond of Kalepolepo.</u> |
| 2564 | Nakahuna at Punaluu, Kau, Hawaii. A lot bounded on the Kona side by <u>Punaluu pond; mauka</u> by Punaluu <u>heiau.</u> |



- 3006 Nape at Kaalaala, Kau. Some sea fisheries.
- 3480 Kauwe at Kauhako, Kapalilua, Kona, Hawaii. A *kupono* ocean fishery, like a pond.
- 3698 Mohoole at Kawainui, Maulua, and Piihonua; Hilo, Hawaii. "...the *oio* is the fish, and the *olona* is the tree; this is what is authorized for Maulua. At Kawainui, the fish is the *uhu* and the *olona* is the tree...Here is another land; Piihonua...the *opihi*... If the land is a headland extending far out in the ocean, then, the *uhu* is the fish, it is proper to take it, or if not, then the *opihi*..."
- 3737 Waiokalehua at Waipio, Hawaii. A pond in the *ili* of Olepeola.
- 3769 Apiki at Punahoa, Hilo, Hawaii. Land bounded on south by fish pond.
- 4012 Thomas Hopu (Hooper) at Kailua, Kona, Hawaii. "Seashore *kihapai*, it is a salt pond, 17 fathoms by 27 fathoms."
- 4099 Keawekuloa at Puako, Waimea, Hawaii. Five *kaheka loko* (anchialine fishponds).
- 4140 Kamanawa at Kaloko, Kona, Hawaii. A lot bounded on side by Kaloko pond.
- 4239 B Kanaina at Kukuau, Hilo, Hawaii. Lot bounded on *mauka* side by fish pond called *laina*.
- 4452 Hazaleleponi Kalama at Kalahuipuaa and Anaehoomalu, *ili* of Waimea, Kohala, Hawaii. Lands including approximately twelve fish ponds.
- 4696 Laauohala at Puueo, Hilo, Hawaii. "...an *unu oopu* (stone mound fishery) made by my own hands.
- 4785 Nakai at Waiakea, Hilo, Hawaii. A lot in the *ili* of Kanahana bounded on the north by Waiakea fish pond. Contains three *kipi* (mulched rafts floated in brackish water fishponds) planted with *kalo*.
- 5157 Kuahopu at Waiakea, Hilo, Hawaii. Six *kipi* (mulched rafts floated in brackish water fishponds) plantings within a pond at Piopio.
- 5317 Kaawa at Lanihau, Hawaii. A lot in the *ili* of Kaluaolike, bounded on Kau side by pond of Alanaio.
- 5759 Kapule at Pahoehoe, North Kona. *Kala* is the fish to be taken by *konohiki*.
- 5759 Kapule at Pahoehoe, North Kona, Hawaii. "...Here is a second thought, about the fish of the *konohiki*, it is the *kala* in the fishery; and the *ulu* is the tree on the land..."
- 5778 Kaai at Pakini, Kau. A protected fish.
- 5874 Keohokalole at Kaawaloa, Kona, Hawaii. Fisheries and ponds at Hanapahoehoe, Awili, Kalaemamo, and Haliilua.
- 5874 Keohokalole at Kealakekua, Kona, Hawaii. Fish pond of Wailokoalii.
- 6230 J. A. Kuakini at Puuanahulu, Hawaii. Fifteen salt ponds and three fish ponds.
- 6235 Kapaakea at Kaapuna, Kona, Hawaii. Some protected fish.
- 7111 Keahupu at Waimanu, Hawaii. Land bounded on Kohala side by a pond.
- 7268 M. Awai at Waimanu, Hawaii. A fresh water *oopu* fishery at Kaapeape.
- 7277 Kaieie at Keei, Hawaii. One pond at Kalaeohia.
- 7312 Mose Keawe at Punaluu, Kau, Hawaii. A *kihapai kalo* adjacent to the pond of Punaluu on east side.
- 7599 I. Kahuna at Punaluu, Kau, Hawaii. Two ponds.
- 7606 Keliilawaia at Punaluu, Kau, Hawaii. The fish pond at Punaluu.
- 7618 Kahoukua at Kaalaiki, Kau, Hawaii. Fish ponds.
- 7702 Kooka at Kealia, Kona, Hawaii. An *umu ohua* (stone mound fry fishery).
- 7721 Makaha at Ninole, Kau, Hawaii. Two ponds on land fronted by the *o hee* (octopus spearing) grounds.
- 7814 Kealo in Kohala [area not named], Hawaii. Six *wai opae* (stream shrimp fisheries).
- 7856 S. Kamakahiki at Waipio, Hawaii. Land in the *ili* of Olowalu bounded on Kohala side by a pond.



- 7857 Kapaka at Waipio, Hawaii. One fish pond.
- 7863 Kalua at Waipio, Hawaii. House lot in the *ili* of Muliwai bounded *mauka* by pond.
- 7878 Kaua at Waipio, Hawaii. House lot in the *ili* of Kaala bounded *makai* by pond of *konohiki.*
- 7954 Kalama at Makaka, Kau, Hawaii. An ocean fishery.
- 8233 Iosua at Kaalaiki, Kau, Hawaii. A *hee* fishery.
- 8472 Keawe at Waipio, Hawaii. *Paepae ia* (fish traps).
- 8475 Kailikani at Waipio, Hawaii. A fish pond at Papalinawao.
- 8477 Kaiwihoua at Waipio, Hawaii. Land bounded by a pond at Waipao.
- 8495 Kaolulo (*w.*) at Waipio, Hawaii. One pond in Ililoa.
- 8758 Kaiolani at Ninole, Kau, Hawaii. An *umu ohua* (stone mound fry) fishery.
- 8773 B Haumea at Kahuku, Kau, Hawaii. The protected fish of the *Konohiki* is the *opelu*, the tree is the *mamaki*.
- 8803 Kamanohaka at Waiakea, Hawaii. Land in Piopio bounded on Puna side by Waiakea pond.
- 8852 Kupololi at Kaiwiki, Hilo, Hawaii. Two *oopu* fisheries; "...the fish, however to be taken when they run; one trap of *oopu*; one *oopu* enclosure; and three *oopu* traps on the edge of Honolii stream.
- 8854 Kalua at Piopio, Waiakea, Hawaii. House lot bounded on south side by Mohouli fish pond.
- 9088 Kepewa at Hilea, Kau, Hawaii. Land bounded on Puna side by Ninole fish pond.
- 9092 Iokua, *Konohiki* at Kaalaiki, Kau, Hawaii. A fish pond.
- 9251 Kaea at Lanihau, Kona, Hawaii. Seven *wai opae* (anchialine shrimp ponds) at shore.
- 9829 Kahulilau at Waipio, Hawaii. Two *paepae oopu* at Nalapa.
- 9830 Kahoomai at Waipio, Hawaii. Two *oopu* fisheries.
- 9930 Lono at Waipio, Hawaii. *Paepae* (lattice traps) in the pond at Lalakea.
- 9955 (9955 B) Lilikalani at Honuapo, Kau, Hawaii. Two ponds built by Lilikalani and three salt beds.
- 10000 Lukehiwa at Honomalino, Hawaii. "...An *ahupuaa*, received from Unualoha, from the sea to the upland *koa* forest. The *opelu* is its fish which is taken, and the *koko* is its wood which is taken..."
- 10004 Wahinenohoihilo at Waiakea, Hawaii. Land bounded on south by the fish pond of Waiakea in the *ili* of Paeaahu.
- 10264 Mahi at Hoopuloa, Hawaii. The ocean fishery of Kipehu.
- 10286 Maunakui at Waipio, Hawaii. A fish pond.
- 10340 Namalo at Kamaoa, Kau, Hawaii. "...A fishing right is at the sea in Kawela, Puueo and Waiopua..."
- 10420 Naiwi at Waipio, Hawaii. A fish pond.
- 10510 Nawali at Ninole, Kau, Hawaii. An *umu ohua* (stone mound fry fishery)
- 10527 Namaielua at Kapua, Hawaii. A fish pond in the *ili* of Kailiohia.
- 10553 Opunui at Waipio, Hawaii. Land bounded on Hilo side by pond of the *konohiki.*
- 10707 Kalaimakalii at Waiohinu, Kau, Hawaii. The fishery of Waimalino.
- 10913 Uahine at Kamaoa, Kau, Hawaii. A salt land; and fishing rights in Kawela, Waiopua and Mohoae.
- 11102 Kahiamoe at Waipio, Hawaii. A house lot in the *ili* of Lalakea bounded on the east side by a fish pond.
- 11105 Naailuhi at Waipio, Hawaii. An *unu* (stone mound) for a fresh water *oopu* fishery.
- 11106 Opihi at Waipio, Hawaii. One fish pond.
- 11108 Kulu at Waipio, Hawaii. An *unu* (stone mound) for a fresh water *oopu* fishery.



11110 Keliimahiai at Waipio, Hawaii. One fish pond in the ili of Papalinawao.

Island of Kaua'i (83 claims)

- Helu Claimant; Location; and Resource Claimed:**
- 27 J. Dudoit at Hanalei, Kauai. Land adjoining fishpond fronting property of J. Kellet.
- 44 G. Rhodes & Co., at Hanalei, Kauai. Original lease of 500 acres, reported by Rhodes to include exclusive right to fish in Hanalei River. Testimony of G.P. Judd: "...Bernard afterwards claimed the exclusive use of the river, and forbade the natives catching fish in it. The head-man complained to me that Bernard stole the fish of his chief. I said the natives were right, and Bernard was wrong but it was better not to quarrel about it, and it was left dormant... ..The fish are exclusive property belonging to the owner of the land, and when land is leased it is always exclusive of the fish, and boats are not allowed the use of the river, without special permission of the owner of the land..."
- 238 P Kinipeki at Kalapaki, Kauai. One parcel bounded on Koolau side by fish pond.
- 387 American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions:
Wahiawa, Kauai. "...the *kahawai* & the *kahakai* belonging to Moopunaohua & the Kauaiki were used & tabooed by Mr. Whitney at his pleasure; & that the right of the mission to their use was never disputed till his decease..."
Waimea, Kauai. "...In connection with the land of Moopunaohua is a sea or fish and moss ground... ...Moopunaohua has a sea belonging to it, whose name I do not know. There was a dispute about this sea between the mission and a man on the beach, and on a trial before me with the hearing of witnesses, it was clear to me that this *Kahakai* belonged to the mission, and thus I decided; this was in 1845..."
Makaweli, Kauai. Ukualii, sworn: "...Knows the land of Mr. Whitney at Makaweli, Kauai, and the ili of Kakalae. It belonged to Mr. Whitney. The river or fishing place called Kawaipoko belongs to the *Ahupuaa* of Makaweli & not to the ili of Kakalae. This fishing place was not given to Mr. Whitney along with the *ili* above named..."
- 597 T.C.B. Rooke at Waioli, Hanalei, Kauai. Records of sale of a portion of the land to J. Deadman. "...running along the ridge and descending by the side of the fish pond where are the cocoanut trees..." Fish pond called Kanoa.
- 2291 Keaweamahi (& Puniwai) at Waimea, Kauai. "...3 fish ponds in Eleao moo of Peekauai *ili*... and the *loko ia* of Kahe in the *ili* Kekupua in Makaweli of Kauai..."
- 2381 Kekoowai at Aliomanu and Kealia, Kauai. Two ponds and a *kahe oopu* (lattice trap for *oopu* fishing).
- 2260 (2660 & 10313) Namauu at Hanalei, Kauai. Land in the *ili* of Hakanawaliwali, bounded on the west side by the fish pond of P. Kanoa, on the south by the *muliwai* (estuarine system) of Waiaula, and on the east by the beach of Mahamoku.
- 2982 Pawale at Waimea, Kauai. The fish pond of Kanaele.
- 3111 Debora Kapule at Wailua, Kauai. Two fish ponds in the ili of Kaiwiiki.
- 3280 Wawae at Kalapaki, Kauai. Three fish ponds at Kalapaki.
- 3284 Wahineaea at Hanapepe, Kauai. Land within which is a fish pond belonging to Victoria Kamamalu, in the *ili* of Eleele.
- 3309 N. Maluaikoo at Waimea, Kauai. Land in the *ili* of Peekauai bounded on *makai* side by Kanaio, a fish pond. Lole, Pekeu, Nekinui and Nakaakauwaa are taro and fish lois in this section.
- 3310 Manu at Waimea, Kauai. Land at Pohakea bounded on *mauka* side by the fish pond of Kealii.



- 3352 Upai at Waimea, Kauai. A lot bounded on side by the pond in Peekauai.
- 3404 Adamu at Papaa, Kauai. A loko koele (pond worked for the king).
- 3405 Poka at Wailua, Kauai. Lot bounded on side by the fish pond of Kaiwiiki.
- 3425 Paiki at Kalapaki, Kauai. A lot bounded on side by Kauhailawa's fish pond.
- 3426 Pelekane at Hanamaulu, Kauai. A lot bounded on side by a fish pond.
- 3564 Kekoa at Nawiliwili, Kauai. "Four fish ponds or lokos in which kalo was also planted..."
- 3568 Kelani at Wailua, Kauai. A lot bounded on side by the pond called Kaiwiiki.
- 3569 Kupalu at Wailua, Kauai. A lot bounded on side by Pohoula pond.
- 3587 Kampoohaku at Waimea, Kauai. A fish and kalo pond called Kahuilua in the *ili* of Peekauai.
- 3588 Koula at Waimea, Kauai. A lot bounded on side by Puliu pond in the *ili* of Peekauai.
- 3593 Keikirole at Waimea, Kauai. A lot bounded on side by the fish pond called Puliu in the *ili* of Peekauai.
- 3594 Kalauhala at Niumalu, Kauai. A lot bounded on side by a fish pond.
- 3602 Koa at Niumalu, Kauai. A lot bounded on side by the pond called Kiowai.
- 3605 Kaiaholomoku at Niumalu, Kauai. A parcel bounded at the corner of Alakoko pond.
- 3639 Nalopi and Kapelehua at Waipouli, Kauai. A lot bounded on side by the fish pond of the konohiki.
- 3642 Kuolohu at Kalapaki, Kauai. A lot bounded on side by the pond called Koenaawanui.
- 3645 Kauleoki at Kalapaki, Kauai. A lot bounded on side by the pond called Koenaawanui.
- 3664 Mahuahua at Hanalei, Kauai. A lot bounded on side by Kanoa Fish Pond.
- 3753 Apolo at Hanalei, Kauai. A house lot bounded on side by the pond of Kanoa.
- 3781 Opio at Waioli, Kauai. A fish pond in Waipa; a lot bounded on makai side by a fish pond.
- 3907 Nakala at Kalapaki, Kauai. Two fish ponds.
- 4076 Kamakaiwa at Hanalei, Kauai. A lot bounded on side by the pond of Kanoa.
- 4085 Kekuanui at Hanalei, Kauai. A lot at Puupoa bounded on side by the pond of Puupoa.
- 4109 Kaunahi at Hanalei, Kauai. A lot bounded on side by the pond of Kanoa.
- 4630 Petero at Mahaulepu, Kauai. Three fish ponds in the ili of Haula.
- 4731 Makuakane at Anahola, Kauai. Lot bounded on side by Loko of Poaeae.
- 4769 Nahuma at Mahaulepu, Kauai. Two salt ponds at Kawaiioa; and a fish pond named Keakiku in the *ili* of Kaukii.
- 4986 Kaikuahine at Kamooloa, Waimea, Kauai. A pond for fish and kalo, and one overgrown pond in the ili of Paohia.
- 5023 Kolia at Anahola, Kauai. A pond.
- 5084 Kaniku at Anahola, Kauai. A ha oopu (oopu trap).
- 5087 Kahawaiolaa at Aliomanu, Kauai. A lot bounded on Moloaa side by pond of Kaluhau.
- 5109 Kuihe at Moloaa, Kauai. A pond named Kaapuna.
- 5142 Kaliuwaa at Anahola, Kauai. Land in the *ili* of Kamoku bounded makai by the fish pond of Waiaka.
- 5341 Pohihi at Kipu, Kauai. A fish pond and salt pond in the ili of Kipukai.
- 5348 Palahe at Waimea, Kauai. One pond in the ili of Peekauai.
- 5434 Kapau at Niumalu, Kauai. (Six ponds) The pond at Kanaio and small ponds for raising fish named Anahole, Alanui, Kahiwapuhau, Kapuulu, and Kahakaloha. Bounded on mauka side by Alakoko pond.
- 5567 Kapehe at Waimea, Kauai. A lot bounded makai by pond of Pekeu.



- 6274 Hakuole at Waimea, Kauai. Land in the *ili* of Peekauai bounded on Mana side by Pelekane's fish pond.
- 6305 Keaweamahi at Waimea, Kauai. Ponds in the ili of Peekauai.
- 6306 Keloi at Waimea, Kauai. Land in the *ili* of Peekauai bounded *mauka* by the fish pond of Kahuamoa; Mana by the fish pond of Peekoa.
- 6529 Holokukini at Kilauea and Pilaa, Kauai. Rights on behalf of the *Konohiki*, Kealiihonui; the protected fish and trees.
- 6638 Namokuliu at Waimea, Kauai. A pond in the *ili* of Peekauai. The fish pond called Kapaikukui.
- 6674 Melieke at Waimea, Kauai. In the *ili* of Peekauai an pa hinana (oopu fry trap) named ka lpupilo.
- 6698 Elia Lihau (a fisherman for Moses Kekuaiwa), at Kekaha, Waimea, Kauai. An ocean fishery.
- 7636 Kanaka at Waipouli, Kauai. A house lot bounded on south by pond of konohiki.
- 7642 Kahanuala at Hanalei, Kauai. Land bounded on Koolau side by fish pond.
- 7919 Kaiahauna at Hanapepe, Kauai. Six fish ponds.
- 7920 Kikoi at Hanapepe, Kauai. Two ponds.
- 7928 Kahakuhananui at Hanapepe, Kauai. Five ponds.
- 8200 B Nanahu at Haena, Kauai. House lot, kula and Loko "Naia". Loko Naia (Naia Fish Pond) is bounded mauka by Loko Kee and *makai* by sea beach.
- 8200 C Mokuohai at Haena, Kauai. Loko Kee in the ili of Kee; bounded *mauka* by Waiakapalai *pali*; Napali by sea beach; *makai* by sea beach.
- 8839 Kuaiwa at Waipouli, Kauai. Land bounded on east by fish pond called Hopekio.
- 8905 S. P. Kalama at Kalihikai, Halelea, Kauai. A right under the konohiki for the protective trees and fish.
- 9013 Kawaimakanui at Waipouli, Kauai. A house lot in the village of Nahalakawawa, bounded on north side by the fish pond called Hopekio.
- 9040 Simona Kuapapahu at Makaweli, Waimea, Kauai. An oopu trap in the muliwai (estuarine system) of Makaweli named Manawai.
- 9067 Keo at Kahili, Koolau, Kauai. Land bounded by Kanaio pond on Anahola side.
- 9069 Kulou at Waioli, Kauai. Land bounded on *makai* side by pond called Kuloko.
- 9152 Kauukualii (w.) at Waioli, Kauai. A fish pond called Kaaikahala; land also bounded by fish pond of Momona.
- 9189 Keawe at Hanapepe, Kauai. Five fish ponds at Helekalaula.
- 9833 B Pepee at Waioli, Kauai. The pond of Kuloko.
- 10146 Mahi at Waipouli, Kauai. House lot at Paikahawai bounded on Kona side by Kalaiki fish ponds.
- 10171 Mana at Waipa, Kauai. Land bounded on Napali side by the pond of Kalokowai.
- 10271 Makailio at Hanapepe, Kauai. A pond at Kapouhana.
- 10309 Naniho at Waioli, Kauai. The fish pond named Opahale.
- 10312 Namaielua at Waimea, Kauai. Land bounded *makai* by the pond of Kanaio.
- 10564 Oleloa at Haiku, Kauai. Three fish ponds. Two fish ponds at Nawiliwili in the *ili* of Wailaau. One fish pond at Kapaa named Hahanui. Fish ponds of Kaiulu and Ahau at Waioli.
- 10955 Wahineiki at Hanalei, Kauai. Land bounded *makai* by pond of Kanoa.
- 11216 M. Kekauonohi dispute with L. Konia regarding boundary between Wainiha and Lumahai, Kauai. Kamoolehua sworn: "...The boundaries which separate Lumahai and Wainiha are: On the mountain side is Waialeale and running to Kahililoa, from there to Kapuwahie, then reaching Eeahu, it continues to Kamakakiloia and finally to Akuakaahea, a celebrated area. Kuli was the tenant of Lumahai and he worked there. My grand folks told me that the Akua (God) used to call out to him, "Kuli, is it work only for you and not to get the fish from



Wainiha here?" and Kuli did go to Wainiha for fish then return to Lumahai. I was with my parents during the ancient [practice] of *Akua makahiki*, Lumahai's people took the *akua* called "Kahalalahala" and the *Akua* of Kaluakukae came to this place of celebration which was at a ridge. The tenants of Wainiha paid their tribute here. The place called "Kealaweke" is the lower land in Lumahai to Kapuuwahie and running crookedly to Keahua..."

Island of Lānaʻi (72 claims)

Helu	Claimant; Location; and Resource Claimed:
Crown	Kamoku, Lanai. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery.
Crown	Paomai, Lanai. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery.
Crown	Kalulu, Lanai. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery.
6814	Pakele at Kaunolu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6815	Kaiwi at Kaunolu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6816	Naholawa at Kaunolu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6817	Kawaihoa at Kaunolu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6818	Haole at Kaunolu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6819	Kamakahiki at Kaunolu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6820	Kanohohookahi at Kaunolu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6821	Kuheleloa at Kaunolu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6822	Kahukilani at Kaunolu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6823	Wahahee at Kaunolu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6824	Napuulu at Kaunolu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6825	Kalaniwahine at Kaunolu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6826	Kalawa at Kaunolu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6827	Laupahulu at Kaunolu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6828	Keamo at Kaunolu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6829	Maawe at Kaunolu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6830	Pukai at Kaunolu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6831	Oioi at Kalulu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6832	Keie at Kalulu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6834	Kaukapala at Kalulu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6835	Kalamau at Kalulu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6836	Muhee (see Helu 6823) at Kalulu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6837	Malulu at Kalulu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6838	Apiki at Kalulu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6839	Kalehuamakanoe at Kalulu, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6840	Kuoha at Maunalei, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6841	Awaa at Maunalei, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6842	Ikeale at Mahana, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6843	Kalawaia at Mahana, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6844	Kalimu at Maunalei, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6845	Kapu at Kealia, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
6846	Malulu at Kealia, Lanai. <i>Kuleana kai</i> (fishery rights) under <i>Konohiki</i> .
7713	V. Kamamalu at Kaa, Lanai. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery.
7714 B	Kekuanaoa at Kaohai, Lanai. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery.
8520	Iosua Kaeo at Kealia, Lanai. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery.
10024	Lono at Mahana & Luahiwa, Lanai "...claims for...fish to be taken under the <u><i>konohiki</i></u> , the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries..."



- 10025 Kaneakua at Palawai, Lanai “...claims for...fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries...”
- 10026 Papalua at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10027 Nalimu at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10028 Oawa at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10029 Aholo at Kuahua, Lanai “...claims for...fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo, from the various fisheries...”
- 10030 Napuulu at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10031 Palaau at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10032 Pakele at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10033 Kaia at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10034 Nakuala at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10035 Naehuelua at Mahana & Kalanihale, Lanai “...claims for...fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries...”
- 10036 Paaao at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10037 Panioa at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10038 Kaiole at Palawai, Lanai “...claims for...fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries...”



- 10039 Puupai at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10040 Pohano at Palawai, Lanai “...claims for...fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries...”
- 10041 Kaneakelua at Palawai, Lanai “...claims for...fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries...”
- 10042 Nakalo at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10043 Paele at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10044 Kapahoa at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10045 Haalu at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10046 Nalei at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10047 Pauahi at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10048 Haole at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10049 Moo at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10050 Wailaia at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10051 Kalamau at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10052 Kuakaa at Pawili, Lanai “...claims for...fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries...”



- 10053 Kapuhi at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10054 Elikai at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10055 Kunea at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10056 Keaka at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10057 Ohoe at Lanai “...claims for fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries. We are the people in the *Ahupuaa* of Palawai, Pawili, Kaunolu, Kalulu, Maunalei and Mahana.”
- 10058 Kaunele at Kaa *loko*, Lanai “...claims for...fish to be taken under the *konohiki*, the length of the sea from the deep ocean to the shore at Kaholo (Kaunolu), from the various fisheries...”
- 11216 M. Kekauonohi at Palawai, Lanai. *Konohiki* Fishery.

Island of Maui (202 claims)

- | Helu | Claimant; Location; and Resource Claimed: |
|-------------|--|
| Crown | Wailua, Hana, Maui. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery. |
| Crown | Honomanu, Koolau, Maui. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery. |
| Crown | Keanae, Koolau, Maui. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery. |
| Crown | Wailua 1 st & 2 nd , Koolau, Maui. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery. |
| Crown | Waiohonu, Hana, Maui. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery. |
| Crown | Kahakuloa, Kaanapali, Maui. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery. |
| Crown | Napili 2 nd , Kaanapali, Maui. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery. |
| Crown | Polua, Kaanapali, Maui. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery. |
| Crown | Waiokila, Kaanapali, Maui. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery. |
| Crown | Honokowai, Kaanapali, Maui. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery. |
| Crown | Keokea, Kula, Maui. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery. |
| Crown | Kealahou 1 st & 2 nd , Kula, Maui. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery. |
| Crown | Waiohuli, Kula, Maui. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery. |
| Crown | Ukumehame, Lahaina, Maui. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery. |
| Crown | Olowalu, Lahaina, Maui. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery. |
| Crown | Wahikuli, Lahaina, Maui. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery. |
| Crown | Wailuku, Maui. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery. |
| 3 M.A. | Keohokalole at Hamoa, Hana, Maui. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery. |
| 42 M.A. | Kahanu at Honomaele, Hana, Maui. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery. |
| 75 | C. Cockett at Mahinahina 4 th , Kaanapali, Maui. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery. |
| 76 | William Shaw at Honokowai, Maui. The <u>ocean fishery of Haenanui</u> . |
| 82 M.A. | J. Phillips at Launiupoko, Lahaina, Maui. <i>Konohiki</i> Fishery. |



- 205-206 Anthony Catalena at Waikapu, Maui. "...land in Waikapu by the name of Halepalahalaha, also a certain fishing ground with it by the name of Nuukoli, said land and fishing ground to belong to Anthony Catalena and his Sandwich Island born heirs forevermore together belonging with all privileges belonging to said land & fishing ground, and no rent or tax shall ever be required, more than is required of other lands & fishing grounds of the same character. We also hereby agreed that said land and fishing ground shall never be transferred to any alien or non-resident of the Sandwich Islands..."
- 209 S. Grant at Paakea & Puakea, Koolau, Maui. Konohiki Fishery.
- 215-216 Henry Brooks at Wailuku, Maui. "...Kamehameha III do further give to him a certain fishing ground named Papuulu, which fishing ground shall belong to Henry L. Brooks during his natural life & then it shall revert to Kaunuohua or her heirs; said ground shall not descend to the heirs of Henry L. Brooks..."
- 300 A. Paki at Pakala, Lahaina, Maui. Lot bounded mauka by fish pond of Kekuanaoa.
- 302 J. A. Kuakini at Wainee, Maui. Lot adjoining Mokuhinia pond.
- 395 Kahikona at Waianaenui, Lahaina, Maui. Lot bounded on Olowalu side by a pond.
- 412 Kaili at Waikapu, Maui. Land which had been leased for four Ulua fish.
- 425 Pi at Waihee, Maui. Stream at Pahukaula "...The oopu have been eaten and shared with the konohiki as well..."
- 441 Apiki at Wailuku, Maui. Land bounded on the south side by the loko paahao (prisoner's fish pond; fish from pond used to feed prisoners), in Halaula; and a lot bounded by a fish pond on the west side in the ili of Lokonui.
- 443 J. Richardson at Oloewa, Hana, Maui. Konohiki Fishery.
- 456 Kaai at Waikapu, Maui. Land at Kumuhonua, leased for fish.
- 460 Puupahoehoe at Waikapu, Maui. Land at Oohia, its boundaries are: Kealia which has the Paakai (salt beds), and the sea fishery and the kula...
Objection by Haanui: "...There are on the north end of the church some patches which Puupahoehoe had leased for liquor, a turtle and 40 goats. Fish and a shark also was a price for land..."
- 473 B Pikanele at Paanui, Honuaula, Maui:
"...2. Papaanui. I got it that year from Auhea, from Mahune, her Luna. My right in that land is that it was land which was taken in the time of Kaauwai because the annual tax was lacking. It was I who gave the payment from my own property: 1 hog a fathom-long hog, 4 lau upena (nets), 80 tapas, 40 tapa skirts, 1 aho lawaia (fishing line) 200 fathoms. I was dispossessed in 1846..."
Molokini. I got it in 1840. My right was from Kalaimoku to Hoapilikane, and from him to me. I was dispossessed in 1846..."
- 491 Haawahine at Waikapu, Maui. I have a kuleana at Waikapu named Koloapelu; the fishery is at Maalaea. Kaapala is also a taro and fish pond.
- 520 D. Ii at Huelo, Hamakualoa, Maui. Konohiki Fishery.
- 526 Kalaimoku at Wainee, Maui. House lot on filled portion of Mokuhinia pond.
- 527 Kaleipaihala at Pakala, Lahaina, Maui. A fish pond.
- 643 G. M. Macy at Wailuku, Maui. Land of Kunaheananui; land in two divisions, including a fishing ground.
- 645 Kaohie (wahine) at Lahaina, Maui. Bounded by the ponds of Hoolili and Luaehu.
- 791 Nahinu at Nukupano, Haiku, Hamakualoa, Maui. A fishery.
- 851 Salai Hiwauli (wahine) at Kalepolepo, Maui. The pond of Koanaulu.
- 1766 Kaili at Waihee, Maui. A fish pond in the ili of Makaaka.



- 1853 M. Kekauonohi at Lahaina, Maui. A house lot on the *mauka* side of Hoolili pond. A house lot and fish pond at Halekamani.
- 2202 Iopa Napahi at Waiokama, Lahaina, Maui. A house lot nearly surrounded by ponds.
- 2418 I. Kauhi at Kahewa, Wailuku, Maui. Lot bounded on side by a small pond.
- 2432 Kahilikaula at Wailuku, Maui. The right to take fish of the sea of Halaula, as in the law.
- 2443 B Kanehaku at Keanae, Maui. One Loko (pond) in the ili of Pololua.
- 2447 Kaawa at Waiehu, Maui. A fish pond at Pahapahawale.
- 2937 Wm. Harbottle at Opana, Hamakualoa, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 2937 Wm. Harbottle at Kumunui 1, Kaupo, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 2965 B Kamule at Haneoo, Maui. A lot bounded *makai* by a fish pond in Kapahunui.
- 3017 Manu at Waikapu, Maui. Akule fish used to pay for work on land.
- 3036 Kupuupuu at Haneoo, Hana, Maui. Land bounded on *makai* side by a fish pond in the *ili* of Maia.
- 3038 Kealakahi at Haneoo, Hana, Maui. Land bounded on *makai* side by a fish pond in Kanahaha.
- 3113 Kauakahi at Waihee, Maui. A lot bounded on east by puuone (dune-banked pond) at Koiahi; there is also a pond named Kailiili.
- 3234 C Kaianui at Wailuku, Maui. Two ponds in the ili of Paukukalo.
- 3253 Hiona at Wailuku, Maui. Two fish ponds in the ili of Paukukalo.
- 3274 Wanaoa at Waiehu, Maui. A fish pond in Maluhia.
- 3328 Naoopu at Waiehu, Maui. There is an oopu fishery in the stream from Kaohe to Kapuoho, which are the boundaries from *mauka* to *makai*.
- 3377 Puulau (wahine) at Waiehu, Maui. Two wai oopu (fresh water goby fisheries), a canoe shed on the reef flats.
- 3782 Opunui at Waihee, Maui. Land bounded on Kahakuloa side by Poalima Fish Pond [fishpond worked on Friday tax days].
- 3379 Puna at Ahikuli, Wailuku, Maui. A fresh water oopu fishery.
- 3419 B Pupule at Waiokama, Lahaina, Maui. A fish pond.
- 3432 Kula at Waiehu, Maui. The pond named Kahakumaka at Pahapaha.
- 3441 Kapoula at Waiehu, Maui. A fish pond at Pahapahawale.
- 3866 Piimaiwaa at Waihee, Maui. Land at Puulolo bounded on *makai* side by Kuihelani's fish pond.
- 3386 Pehuino at Wailuku, Maui. Three fish ponds in the ili of Paukukalo.
- 3862 Pu at Waihee, Maui. A pond at Makaaka.
- 3887 Kawainui at Waihee, Maui. One pond at Kapoho.
- 3887 C (3887 B) Mahoe at Waihee, Maui. One pond.
- 3905 Nahinu at Haiku, Maui. I hereby tell you of my land claims. Nukupono is a *kuleana* (right), one section is a *kai* (fishery), gotten from my parents in 1832, upon the passing of Kaahumanu. At Haiku.
- 3905 B Kaili at Pauwela, Maui. A pond at Haliipali.
- 3905 D Keliiaa at Pauwela, Hamakualoa, Maui. Noni a kai (fishery), a *kula* land and a *kalo* land.
- 3905 F Konohia at Kaupakulua, Maui. An ocean fishery at Paehala.
- 3905 G Keonekapu at Peahi, Hamakualoa, Maui. An olona patch and ie patch [items used to make fish nets and traps], and stream fishery.
- 3905 H Kuewa at Peahi, Maui. The *kuleana* is in Hukioho; there is a *kai* (fishery).
- 3905 I Kuhaohao at Halehaku, Hamakualoa, Maui. An olona patch and ie patch [items used to make fish nets and traps].
- 3905 K Piopio at Halehaku, Hamakualoa, Maui. An olona patch and ie patch [items used to make fish nets and traps].



- 3925 H Kaaha at Kahananui, Kaanapali, Maui. A lot bounded on side by the pond of Apolo.
- 4284 Kekumoku at Waihee, Maui. Four ponds at Kapoho.
- 4289 Kauihau at Waihee, Maui. Oopu fisheries.
- 4296 Kawainui at Waihee, Maui. A pond at Kapoho.
- 4296 B Mahoe at Waihee, Maui. A fish pond in the *ili* of Kapoho.
- 4303 Kekahuna at Waihee, Maui. A lot bounded *makai* by Kuihelani's fish pond.
- 4389 D Palea at Waihee, Maui. A puuone (dune-bank pond) in the *ili* of Kapoho.
- 4405 K Kekahuna at Waihee, Maui. A fish pond in the *ili* of Makaaka.
- 4405 N Kaaukelehonua at Waihee, Maui. A fish pond in Makaaka.
- 4405 O Keaka at Waihee, Maui. A fish pond in the *ili* of Kapoho.
- 4432 Kahikiula at Waihee, Maui. A fish pond at Kapoho.
- 4434 Kaamakua at Waihee, Maui. Land bounded by the fish pond of Kuihelani.
- 4438 C (4438 B) Kekaula at Waihee, Maui. A fish pond in Kapoho.
- 4550 Naaimelemele at Honokohau, Maui. A fresh water oopu fishery.
- 4670 Puou at Haneoo, Hana, Maui. A lot bounded *makai* by a fish pond in the ili of Kaluakuhiana.
- 4670 B Keke at Haneoo, Hana, Maui. Land in the *ili* of Kamaikane bounded *makai* by a fish pond.
- 4763 Ninaulii at Kahakuloa, Maui and Pohakupili, Molokai. "...lands given to my father by Hoapili *kane*; my father was a long time fisherman to Hoapili *kane* and later employed by Kamehameha III in the same capacity till a few months ago..."
- 4857 Naohiki at Keanae, Maui. A muliwai (estuarine - fishery).
- 4878 I Kupalii at Paunau, Lahaina, Maui. A lot bounded on *mauka* side by pond of Nalehu.
- 4919 Kahaule at Papaaea, Hamakualoa, Maui. A large pond for fish in the *ili* of Hualele.
- 4830 Kalawaia at Waiohue, Koolau, Maui. "...a loi ia (fish-taro pond) which I dug with my own hands...; and twelve mounds of *olona*."
- 4956 Kahaule at Pulehunui, Kula, Maui. "...my father gave up the fishery rights."
- 5212 Inoaole (name not given) at Pahoa, Lahaina, Maui. Olona patches; fresh water shrimp fishery; opihi fishery; and an oio fishery.
- 5230 Keaweamahi Crown at Pulehu nui, Kula, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 5250 Kenui at Hanawana, Hamakualoa, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 5320 Asa Kaeo at Pakala, Lahaina, Maui. Land bounded on *mauka* side by Paki's fish pond.
- 5333 Anakalea Pea at Waihee, Maui. Two fish ponds in the *ili* of Pakala.
- 5336 Polokuua at Wailuku, Maui. A fresh water oopu fishery at Kaohe.
- 5367 Aiawale at Honokohau, Maui. Five haha oopu (areas where oopu are trapped by hand) fisheries.
- 5393 Hoomaikai (*wahine*) at Halehaku, Maui. A wai opae (fresh water shrimp fishery).
- 5407 Mahiai at Laie, Waiohuli, Maui. A small house site on the kuapa (fishpond wall) of Kalepolepo.
- 5495 Kepaa at Holawa, Maui. At Holawa there are 4 *Wai Opae* (shrimp ponds).
- 5497 Kauahilahaole at Peahi, Hamakualoa, Maui. An oopu and opae fishery.
- 5512 Kulani at Halehaku, Hamakualoa, Maui. Oopu and opae fisheries in the stream of Kawaiiola.
- 5514 Pohaillele at Opana, Hamakualoa, Maui. A section of *ie* [aerial roots used to make fish baskets].



- 5517 Haolehua at Honopou, Hamakualoa, Maui. Fresh water oopu and opae fisheries.
- 5524 L. Konia at Alaeloa, Kaanapali, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 5524 L. Konia at Honokeana, Kaanapali, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 5524 L. Konia at Mailepai, Kaanapali, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 5524 L. Konia at Napili 3rd, Kaanapali, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 5610 Kalama at Honokohau, Maui. A portion of *ili* of Punalau is a shore fishery which runs to the fishery of Punalau on the west, and on the east it meets the fishery of Keauhou.
- 5774 Kaai at Waikapu, Maui. Salt ponds and prohibited fish. One parcel with a fish pond in the ili of Kaluapuaa.
- 5780 (See 5774 above)
- 5813 Kaha at Punaluu, Oahu. A fresh water oopu fishery.
- 5834 Kaweawea at Puako, Lahaina, Maui. A house lot bounded *makai* by an old dry fish pond.
- 5963 Mahuka at Lahaina, Maui. A protected fish variety, two muliwai (estuarine systems) and two ponds.
- 6325 M. Kekauonohi at Lahaina, Maui. There is one fish pond at Kapunakea in Lahaina, Maui; made at the command at Kekauonohi.
- 6230 J.A. Kuakini at Maulili, Kipahulu, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 6239 Kalaimoku at Nuu, Kaupo, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 6243 (41 MA) Kaohie at Puako, Lahaina, Maui. House lot bounded on Olowalu side by a dry fishpond.
- 6390 Kahikona (*wahine*) at Lahaina, Maui. A house lot bounded on the Olowalu side by a large fish pond of the King.
- 6401 Keakuahani at Keopuka, Maui. Several wai Opae (shrimp ponds).
- 6453 Kapohaku at Keokea, Maui. A fishing right.
- 6456 Keliimahiai at Kahakuloa, Maui. A house lot in Kuhanahana bounded on Lahaina side by Namahana's fish pond.
- 6482 Kuana at Kuiaha, Maui. at Kaohe in Kuiaha, there is a *loko* (pond) and *uala* patches there.
- 6715 Hoomanawanui at Keauhou, Honuaula, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 6760 B Hanalei at Lahaina, Maui. Land of Moalii bounded on Olowalu side by pond of Victoria.
- 7475 Kaahiki et al., at Honokohau, Maui. "...we fifteen claimants have a fresh water place to catch oopu."
- 7641 Kapu at Lahaina, Maui. Land leased for five kaau of akule fish in the land of Puehuehu.
- 7713 V. Kamamalu at Waihee, Wailuku, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 7713 V. Kamamalu at Kelawea, Lahaina, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 7713 V. Kamamalu at Aki, Lahaina, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 7714 B M. Kekuaiwa at Honokohau, Kaanapali, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 7715 L. Kamehameha at Waiokama, Lahaina, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 7716 R. Keelikolani at Kuhua, Lahaina, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 7716 R. Keelikolani at Wauwahi, Kahikinui, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 7716 R. Keelikolani at Kanahena, Honuaula, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 7742 Kahale at Wailuku, Maui. A fish pond in the *ili* of Paukukalo.
- 8427 Kapahukauila at Wainee, Maui. House lots adjoining Mokuhinia pond on north west bank.
- 8452 Keohokalole at Muolea, Hana, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 8515 Keoni Ana at Puako, Lahaina, Maui. A fish pond.
- 8515 Keoni Ana at Halehaku, Hamakualoa, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.



- 8518 B J.Y. Kanehoa at Ulaino, Koolau, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 8525 B J. Alapai Kauwa at Haneoo, Hana, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 8559 B Wm. Lunalilo at Kaapahu, Kipahulu, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 8559 B Wm. Lunalilo at Waiehu, Wailuku, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 8559 B Wm. Lunalilo at Honolua, Kaanapali, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 8559 B Wm. Lunalilo at Polanui, Lahaina, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 8660 Kaleimakalii at Aleamai, Hana, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 8822 Kane at Ahikuli, Wailuku, Maui. Fresh water *oopu* fisheries.
- 9018 Kapono at Pulehunui, Kula, Maui. Land at Kupuewai bounded on the west by its *kai hee pali* (octopus fishery).
- 9022 Kekahuna at Kula, Maui. An ocean fishery at Makehu.
- 9811 Makaula at Polanui, Lahaina, Maui. The shore and deep sea fish which are not prohibited under the law; *limu* (seaweeds); *ia maoli* (fishes found naturally in area).
- 9812 Kaamano at Wainee, Lahaina, Maui. The shore and deep sea fish which are not prohibited under the law; *limu* (seaweeds); *ia maoli* (fishes found naturally in area).
- 9813 Namaka at Kelaweia, Lahaina, Maui. The shore and deep sea fish which are not prohibited under the law; *limu* (seaweeds); *ia maoli* (fishes found naturally in area).
- 9814 Nawai at Kelaweia, Lahaina, Maui. The shore and deep sea fish which are not prohibited under the law; *limu* (seaweeds); *ia maoli* (fishes found naturally in area).
- 9815 Liu at Kelaweia, Lahaina, Maui. The shore and deep sea fish which are not prohibited under the law; *limu* (seaweeds); *ia maoli* (fishes found naturally in area).
- 9816 Kaumunui at Kelaweia, Lahaina, Maui. The shore and deep sea fish which are not prohibited under the law; *limu* (seaweeds); *ia maoli* (fishes found naturally in area).
- 9817 Makaele at Puehuehu, Lahaina, Maui. The shore and deep sea fish which are not prohibited under the law; *limu* (seaweeds); *ia maoli* (fishes found naturally in area).
- 9818 Paahana at Kilolani, Lahaina, Maui. The shore and deep sea fish which are not prohibited under the law; *limu* (seaweeds); *ia maoli* (fishes found naturally in area).
- 9819 Hulalia at Polaiki, Lahaina, Maui. The shore and deep sea fish which are not prohibited under the law; *limu* (seaweeds); *ia maoli* (fishes found naturally in area).
- 9820 Paele at Wainee, Lahaina, Maui. The shore and deep sea fish which are not prohibited under the law; *limu* (seaweeds); *ia maoli* (fishes found naturally in area).
- 9821 Kaleiopu at Olowalu, Maui. The shore and deep sea fish which are not prohibited under the law; *limu* (seaweeds); *ia maoli* (fishes found naturally in area).
- 9822 Kaailau at Makila, Lahaina, Maui. The shore and deep sea fish which are not prohibited under the law; *limu* (seaweeds); *ia maoli* (fishes found naturally in area).
- 9823 Kaaao at Halakaa, Lahaina, Maui. The shore and deep sea fish which are not prohibited under the law; *limu* (seaweeds); *ia maoli* (fishes found naturally in area).
- 9824 Kahulanui at Honuaula, Maui. The shore and deep sea fish which are not prohibited under the law; *limu* (seaweeds); *ia maoli* (fishes found naturally in area).



- 9825 Pamani at Holanui, Lahaina, Maui. The shore and deep sea fish which are not prohibited under the law; limu (seaweeds); ia maoli (fishes found naturally in area).
- 9971 W.P. Leleiohoku at Papaea, Hamakualoa, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 9982 Levi at Waiakea, Hilo, Hawaii. Land bounded on Puna side by fish pond.
- 10128 Maui at Olowalu, Maui. An oopu fishery in the stream at Wailoa.
- 10474 Namauu at Kaupakulua, Hamakualoa, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 10474 Namauu at Ulumalu, Hamakualoa, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 10474 Namauu at Pahoa, Lahaina, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 10474 Namauu at Paunau, Lahaina, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 10512 Kahuina at Keaa 2nd, Koolau, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 10568 Oleloa at Kakanoni, Kipahulu, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 10650 Pia at Honopou, Hamakualoa, Maui. I have a stream with Oopu. My section of the stream with Oopu (Kahawai Oopu) is named Makaku. Gotten from Nohoua in 1822.
- 10667 Pikanele at Waihee, Maui. Three ponds (loko and puuone) at Kapoho.
- 10806 Iona Piikoi for Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III at Puako, Lahaina, Maui. Land known by name of Halekamani; bounded on *mauka* side by Keoni Ana's fish pond.
- 10806 Iona Piikoi for Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III at Panaewa, Lahaina, Maui. Land bounded on *mauka* side by King's fish pond.
- 10828 B Kaniho at Wailua, Koolau, Maui. A fish pond.
- 11171 Kalaikoa at Wailuku, Maui. A fish pond in the ili of Paukukalo.
- 11216 M. Kekauonohi at Alaenui, Kipahulu, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 11216 M. Kekauonohi at Wailamoa, Kipahulu, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 11216 M. Kekauonohi at Moolo, Kaupo, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 11216 M. Kekauonohi at Puulani, Kaupo, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 11216 M. Kekauonohi at Popoiwi 1st & 2nd, Kaupo, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 11216 M. Kekauonohi at Kahuai, Kaupo, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 11216 M. Kekauonohi at Keoneoio, Honuaula, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 11216 M. Kekauonohi at Palauea, Honuaula, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 11216 M. Kekauonohi at Papaka, Honuaula, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 11216 M. Kekauonohi in the Ili of Moomuku, Kaanapali, Maui. *Konohiki* Fishery.

Island of Molokai (123 claims)

Helu Claimant; Location; and Resource Claimed:

- Crown Ualapue, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- Crown Kalamaula, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- Crown Palaau, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- No Helu I. Kaeo (*Konohiki* of Puaahala), Molokai, contests L. Haalelea (*Konohiki* of Wawaia): ...Kauka, sworn: It is true that the pond was for Puaahala, but the pond was permanently transferred into Wawaia in time of Kamehameha I's residency on Molokai.
- No Helu Halemake at Mapulehu, Molokai. A house lot bounded on east side by Mapulehu fish pond; and on west side by Kaluaaha fish pond.
- No Helu Kupaa; Kalamaula, Molokai. Land in the ili of Ohaipilo, bounded on east by Kinipaa Pond, and on shore by Ohaipilo Pond.
- 10 M.A. Hanakaipo at Ahaino, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 30 M.A. S. Helehewa at Ohia 2nd, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 34 M.A. Hoe at Puelelu, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.



- 46 M.A. (8559 B) W.C. Lunalilo at Kaluaaha, Molokai. A house lot bounded on Halawa side by government fish pond of Niaupala; and on Kaluaaha side by the government fish pond of Kaluaaha.
- 101 D Akahi at Kaamola, Molokai. Parcel bounded *makai* by a pond.
- 140 B Kailimeau at Kailiula, Molokai. A lot in Waihilahila, bounded by *makai* by a pond.
- 146 B Kahaule at Puaahala, Molokai. A lot bounded *makai* by a pond.
- 147 B Kainiki at Kumueli, Molokai. A pond at Kumueli.
- 152 B Kahawae (wahine) at Kumueli, Molokai. A lot bounded *makai* by a pond.
- 237 Q Kanae at Kaluaaha, Molokai. Dispute regarding boundary of pond between Kaluaaha and Mapulehu. "...Palea, sworn, the section which divided Kaluaaha and Mapulehu is the cave called Molokainuihina and running seaward to the rock called Kaimuakanealai, then to the opening called Kuaea and from Molokainuihina running toward the uplands. Kaluaaha is small on the Kona end here and large on the Koolau..."
- 237 U Loika at Ualapue, Molokai. A lot in the *ili* of Kupa, bounded *makai* by a pond. A pond named Kaluaaha at Kaluaaha; "The enclosure of that *loko* is ancient, I have seen A. Paki and his own men working before the death of Nahienaena and it has been intact to this time..." Also adjoining pond of Niaupala.
- 240 C Kaalele at Kaluaaha, Molokai. A pond.
- 2632 Kalaeone at Mapulehu, Molokai. Land adjoining the east side of Pipio, the fish pond of Kanae.
- 2715 Hinau at Keanui, Molokai. A sea fishery. Land bounded on *makai* side by the fish pond. Dispute with government: "...one of the witnesses, Kamokupae, having testified that Kalaeloa belonged to Kaamola was frightened by Hinau, who said she should not hereafter go after crabs & other things in his fishery..." Kaina, sworn: "...I know this place which is disputed between Keawanui and Kaamola. A pond is the makai boundary for Kaamola, and from thence run to the imu puna (coral mound fish trap) of Kaamola and Keawanui...from thence run to the leeward of the salt making place at the seashore, and run on the Koolau edge of the pond called Mikimiki..." Timoteo Keaweiwi, sworn: "...I heard that the pond of Keawanui was for Kaamola in the time of Pohano when Hekilikaakaa was the *konohiki*. Kaaoakalima stole food (a man of Kaamola) and he hid the food in the harbor of Keawanui. The *konohiki* of Keawanui sought the food and found it. The one who stole it was reported and there was a trial and the pond was taken for Keawaanui. This transfer was from the time of Kihapiilani until this time. It was never returned to Kaamola, except Mikiawa pond, for Kaamola, until this day. ...The point of Kalaeloa is for Keawanui. The way the fish are netted is this: when it is high tide, the nets are outward and the fish are for Keawanui; when the tide ebbs, the nets turn inward and the fish are for Kaamola..."
- 2937 William Harbottle at Ioli, Molokai. Sea fishery, a pond and *kula* land.
- 3189 I. Kuhio at Moanui, Molokai. A lot bounded on side by the pond of Kaluaaha; and an ocean fishery.
- 3218 Aikake Lui (Isaac Lewis, or Kanae) at Mapulehu, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery. Objects to Government claim for fishpond named Niaupala. Kawaiku, sworn: "...I know the boundaries which separate Mapulehu and Kaluaaha...in the time of Liholiho I saw Naea netting the fish in the pond. I know the fish were divided with the konohiki of Mapulehu. The fish were divided by Kapi. I understood the fish were for the alii..." Timoteo Keaweiwi, sworn: "...it was the government which made Niaupala pond, that was when Liholiho sailed to Britain, and the work has been



continuous by the district on repairing, until this day, and it is in the hands of the government. I have seen the *puka* of Huaea...

...This is what I heard about this *puka*. It is the boundary of Kaluaaha and Mapulehu. From thence run inland and come ashore at Kihele, this is a pebbly point where there are *ala* stones on which *limu* grows. From thence it lies to Ka imu o Kanealai—this is a large *imu*—this distance is from one Hakawai to the other Hakawai, and *mauka* is the *maika* site. The place called Hakawai is to the Koolau of the lot of Kawelo. From this watercourse is the ascent to the stone called Hoonoho—that stone does not exist at this time; however, the place I saw it was below, or Kona of the spring. From thence...ascend to the place where Kaohele died [from a hit on] the head, below the *holua* and at that *holua* exactly, ascend straight inland. When Kalaimoku was alive, I netted fish at this place. At that boundary, Huaea, the people of the Koolau side set their nets [above], and at Huaea, the people of the Kona side set their nets [below]...

Kukamana, sworn: "...I know the boundary which separates Pukoo and Mapulehu. The boundary is from the rock named Kepemanu adjoining the Government Road. Run seaward to the *mahiki* grass at the seashore and turn back. The dry sand is for Mapulehu, and the sea also. My knowledge is from the time of Kamehameha I until this time..."

- 3679 S. Makapo et al., at Mapulehu, Molokai. The pond of Maii; "...this was a very much over grown fallow area; one side is open and one side is being dug... I have begun to work on it..."
- 3730 Ilae at Pukoo, Molokai. A pond received from Kekauluohi. "This fish pond was affirmed to have been built by all of the people of Molokai & is the fruit of their joint labor & toil in former days, when they were drafted & they further affirmed that this pond, not having been built by the private labor of any one chief, with his *poalima*, but as before said, by all the people of Molokai..."
- 3747 Upae at Kumueli, Molokai. The pond of Heleiki.
- 3821 Puupuu at Ualapue, Molokai. Lot bounded on side by pond in Hookupualii.
- 3824 Pahupu at Keawanui, Molokai. A lot bounded on one side by a pond in Paalaala; and *makai* by the sea fishery of Ohia.
- 3834 Puhia at Kapuaokoolau, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 3836 Paele (3792 B), at Ualapue, Molokai. Lot bounded on side by the pond in ili of Kalokoia.
- 3840 Paaluhi at Ualapue, Molokai. A lot bounded on side by a pond in ili of Puuhanau.
- 3911 Naone at Ahaino, Molokai. A lot bounded on side by the pond in ili of Puuloli.
- 3975 Hulihee at Ualapue, Molokai. A lot bounded on side by a pond in ili of Kaukeanu.
- 4018 Kimokeo Mose at Kaamola, Molokai. Lot bounded on side by a pond.
- 4028 Makanui at Kumueli, Molokai. Lot bounded on side by the pond at Kamakaulu.
- 4029 Pohea at Wawaia, Molokai. A *pond* surrounded by land of *konohiki*.
- 4078 Kahaiau at Ualapue, Molokai. Lot bounded on side by pond in Naulu.
- 4082 Kamai at Waialua, Molokai. Land in Kuamaunapoko bounded on *makai* side by fish pond.
- 4090 Kauakahi at Keawanui, Molokai. A near shore fishery called Mikimiki.
- 4097 Kuaana at Manawai, Molokai. Lot bounded on side by pond of the *konohiki*.
- 4122 Kahaule at Ahaino, Molokai. A lot bounded on side by a pond in ili of Kahiki.
- 4164 Kalolou at Ualapue, Molokai. A lot bounded on side by pond in ili of Kupa.
- 4168 Keliioea at Kupeke, Molokai. A lot bounded on side by pond in ili of Hei.
- 4171 Kalanoa at Kailiula, Molokai. A lot bounded on side by pond in ili of Pualoalo.



- 4172 Kaloulou at Kaluaaha, Molokai. Lot adjoining the Government pond.
- 4175 C Oni (*wahine*) at Manawai, Molokai. Her husband was drowned on his return from carrying *kalo* and fish to Hoonaulu at Lahaina.
- 4176 Kanemanaole at Kawela, Molokai. The *ili* of Puuonuu bounded on side by the kuapa (fish pond wall).
- 4178 D Naniha at Wawaia, Molokai. Lot bounded on side by pond.
- 4194 Kuluwaimaka at Ualapue, Molokai. A lot bounded on side by the pond of Hulihee.
- 4196 Keanui at Kaluaaha, Molokai. Lot bounded on side by pond in ili of Pahukauila.
- 4197 Kamoku at Kaluaaha, Molokai. An ocean fishery.
- 4201 Kaholo at Manawai, Molokai. An ocean fishery in the ili of Kukaeiole.
- 4202 Kaholo at Manawai, Molokai. An ocean fishery.
- 4209 Kauhikoakoa at Ualapue, Molokai. Lot bounded on side by pond.
- 4600 W.L. Hoonaulu at Manawai, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 4606 Pili at Kupeke, Molokai. Lot bounded on side by a pond.
- 4612 Pala at Honoulimaloo, Molokai. The *ili* of Kaipumakole; “...this ili has no mountain area or fishery.”
- 4755 Naai at Waialua, Molokai. Lot bounded *makai* by pond in Ilahoele.
- 4811 Kahaka at Mapulehu, Molokai. Lot bounded on side by pond of Niaupala.
- 4820 Kumulaua at Kaamola, Molokai. Lot bounded on side by pond in Waipoki.
- 4826 Pukila at Kumueli, Molokai. A lot in the *ili* of Waipukua bounded *makai* by a pond.
- 4891 Kupihea at Kupeke, Molokai. A lot in the *ili* of Puina bounded *makai* by pond. Also in the *ili* of Ahaino a lot bounded *makai* by a pond.
- 4962 Kanakaokai at Waikolu, Molokai. A shore fishery in the ili of Polapola.
- 5000 B Kaahu at Halawa, Molokai. One pond in the ili of Kii.
- 5013 Kukeokeo at Kawaikapu, Molokai. Land of Mookahi bounded by sea fishery on the south.
- 5028 B Palu at Kaluaaha, Molokai. A lot bounded *makai* by pond.
- 5038 B Ohule at Kupeke, Molokai. Lot bounded *makai* by pond.
- 5040 B Lili at Kupeke, Molokai. Lot bounded *makai* by pond in ili of Kainahale.
- 5063 Kama at Moanui, Molokai. Lot bounded *makai* by pond in ili of Makawanana.
- 5074 Kauhanui at Kumimi, Molokai. A house lot bounded on *mauka* side by pond.
- 5147 Kaiu at Ualapue, Molokai. A lot bounded *makai* by pond.
- 5382 L. Haalelea at Kamanoni, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 5575 Kapuaipoopoo at Pelekunu, Molokai. Rights to a stream and the protected fish in sea.
- 6299 Kuhio at Moanui, Molokai. Land bounded on Kaluaaha side by pond.
- 6374 Keawe at Pelekunu, Molokai. An ocean fishery of the ili of Honokaupu.
- 6450 Kaunuohua at Kalaupapa, Molokai. *Konohiki* fishery.
- 6519 Wahilani at Pukoo, Molokai. Land bounded on Kupeke side by fish pond; and *makai* by fish pond.
- 6559 Peleleu at Halawa, Molokai. A fresh water oopu fishery.
- 6561 Pilaliohe at Honomuni, Molokai. Portion of fish pond converted into kalo patches. Pond belonging to *konohiki*.
- 6572 Paele at Kupeke, Molokai. Land in the *ili* of Kanua bounded *makai* by pond.
- 6573 Kalawaia at Kupeke, Molokai. Land in the *ili* of Pooelopana bounded *makai* by pond.
- 6663 Mahoe at Kupeke, Molokai. Land in the *ili* of Waioku bounded *makai* by pond.
- 6743 Iliuli at Kailiula, Molokai. Land in the *ili* of Kalewa bounded *makai* by the Government Fish Pond.
- 7130 Kinimaka at Onouli Maloo, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.



- 7136 Kahalekapu at Pelekunu, Molokai. A fresh water oopu fishery; and olona patches.
- 7713 V. Kamamalu at Halawa, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 7755 Kaluakamano at Kahanui, Molokai. Four fish ponds.
- 7758 Simona at Poniuhua, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 7762 Kaninaualii at Pohakupili, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 7776 Kalahohina at Halawa, Molokai. An ocean fishery.
- 7779 Kaleleiki at Makakupaia iki, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 8214 Ilae Napohaku at Pukoo 2nd. One fish pond.
- 8515 Keoni Ana at Kupeke, Molokai. The fish pond of Kupeke.
- 8519 Loika at Kalolou, Kaluaaha, Molokai. A shallow sea fishery at Kaluaaha.
- 8524 B Peke at Kupeke, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 8525 Julia Alapai Kauwa at Honomuni, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 8559B Wm. Lunaliilo at Waialua, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 8559 B Wm. Lunaliilo at Kawela, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 8660 E. Kuakamauna at Ahaino, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 8660 Kuakamauna at Keopuka Uuku, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 8914 Kaluaaku at Kalaupapa, Molokai. A fishery named Papaloo in the sea. "...it is bounded by Makaanalua *makai*, by Ahuli on the *mauka* side, from the break of the waves to the deep sea."
- 8967 Kalauao at Kaluakoi, Molokai. Land and fishery at Kaumanamana.
- 8968 Kanakaokai at Kaluakoi, Molokai. Land an fishery at Waiakane.
- 8969 Kama at Kaluakoi, Molokai. Land and fishery at Waiaoole.
- 9971 W.P. Leleiohoku at Kamalo, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 9985 Luha et al., at Mapulehu, Molokai. A loko akaakai (bulrush pond) at Kapapoko.
- 9991 Lolo at Kaamola, Molokai. Land bounded by fish pond.
- 10851 Pauahi at Kaluakoi, Molokai. The land and fishery of Onopalani.
- 10853 Pepee at Haleolono, Kaluakoi, Molokai. A claim for the land from the mountain to the ocean fishery.
- 11029 J. Stevenson at Kumimi, Molokai.
- 11085 Kekoowai at Keawanui, Molokai. Land in the *ili* of Paa bounded on *makai* side by pond.
- 11216 M. Kekauonohi at Awawaia, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 11216 M. Kekauonohi at Kumueli, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 11216 M. Kekauonohi at Kapualei, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 11216 M. Kekauonohi at Makaanalua, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 11216 M. Kekauonohi at Moakea, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.
- 11216 M. Kekauonohi at Naiwa, Molokai. *Konohiki* Fishery.

Island of Oahu (646 claims)

- | Helu | Claimant; Location; and Resource Claimed: |
|-------------|--|
| 2 | Robert Kilday at Nuuanu, Oahu. "...The land in Nuuanu Valley called Pualoalo and two fish ponds thereto attached (in Kukuluaeo) has been in my possession and granted me, by his present Majesty, Kamehameha III, since 1821... ..The fish ponds are situated about two miles from the land, but are considered an <u>appendant to that land. They belonged naturally to the place. Witness testified that they are to be used as fish ponds, by old usage a tenant would not be allowed to fill up a fish pond...</u> " |
| 5 FL | Kapilimanu at Kalia, Waikiki, Oahu. <u>A pond at Kalia.</u> |
| 7 FL | Namaile at Kalia, Waikiki, Oahu. <u>A pond at Kalia.</u> |
| 8 FL | Kuaiwahia at Kalia, Waikiki, Oahu. <u>A pond at Kalia.</u> |
| 19 FL | Poomanu at Honolulu, Oahu. Land bounded on mauka side by <u>Kuwili pond.</u> |



- 20 FL J.W.D. Paalua at Honolulu, Oahu. The pond of Kunawai.
- 21 FL Kahiwalani at Kalia, Waikiki, Oahu. Ten kio pua (ponds for raising fish fry).
- 26 FL Kalalawalu at Kaluahole, Waikiki, Oahu. A fishery and the aholehole fish.
- 30 FL Maa at Kalia, Waikiki, Oahu. Two kio pua (ponds for raising fish fry).
- 31 FL Waihinano, Pawaa, Waikiki, Oahu. "...a lele in Pawaa close to Kahiualani which is a pond and is now used for raising Kahiwalani's birds..."
- 32 FL Kunewa at Kalia, Waikiki, Oahu. In the ili of Haole one kio pua (ponds for raising fish fry); two fish ponds; and two kio pua at Kalia.
- 34 John Neddles at Honolulu, Oahu. Land "now occupied as a fish market, situated on the corner, west of the Seaman Chapel, bounding in the rear on the store premises of Stephen Reynolds, as a gift, made to me by Boki about November 15, 1827." (April 28, 1846.)
- 35 FL Mahuka at Waikiki, Oahu. Thirty-nine puuone (dune banked ponds) at Kalia; and one pond at Kalokohonu, in Honolulu.
- 57 Simeona Kou at Kapuukolo, Honolulu, Oahu. "...Fishing is his work; that is his right in living on this site. There are not many houses there at this time. There are the fishermen. They are independent..."
- 57 FL Kalua at Honolulu, Oahu. Land bounded on mauka side by government pond at Kunawai.
- 62 FL Kinaiuka at Honolulu, Oahu. A lot bounded on one side by the pond of Kuwili.
- 66 FL Kamaala at Kuwili, Honolulu, Oahu. House lot bounded on side by Kuwili pond.
- 75 FL Waiuanuhea at Kalia, Waikiki, Oahu. A pond at Kalia.
- 77 FL Kalalilo at Honolulu, Oahu. Claims lot of Kinaiuka (see 62 FL above).
- 79 FL Kekuanui at Honolulu, Oahu. A lot bounded on one side by the ponds of Piikoj.
- 90 Kepane Montgomery (wahine), Honolulu, Oahu. House lot with fish pond built by Captain Winship, on the sea side of the yard. The walls of the pond were afterward taken away, but I do not know who took them; perhaps Marini, guardian of the applicant.
Kiaimoku, sworn deposed: "I do not know anything about the fish ponds; they were made when I returned from Hawaii. I heard Winship built them, the ponds were in front of the houses. The dams of the ponds are now fallen away. They have been in a dilapidated state from the time of Kamehameha down..."
Kapea, sworn deposed: "...Winship also hired a fish pond to be built on this land. The people from then have called the pond Umiahapa..."
- 97 FL Kapapa at Kalia, Waikiki, Oahu. Three kio pua (a holding pond for raising fish fry).
- 98 FL Kaehuokalani at Kalia, Waikiki, Oahu. Two ponds at Kalia.
- 99 FL Uma at Kalia, Waikiki, Oahu. House lot bounded on side by a fish pond.
- 100 FL Kekaula at Waikiki, Oahu. Five kio pua (holding ponds for raising fish fry) at Kalia.
- 101 F.L. Kaluaoku at Waikiki, Oahu. Two ponds and three small kio pua (holding ponds for raising fish fry).
- 102 FL Kaanaana at [location not given – Kalia, Waikiki, Oahu]. Seven kio pua (holding ponds for raising fish fry).
- 104 FL M. Kekuanaoa at Waikiki, Oahu. Five fish ponds at Kalia; muliwai (estuarine system) of Piinaio; and coconut grove of Makalii.
- 153 Wm. Sumner at Kahaohao, Honolulu, Oahu. Land and ocean fishery to breaking waves of Koholaloa.
- 169 M. Kekuanaoa at Honolulu, Oahu. "...I know this place. It is Waititi of Seaman's Chapel lot, occupied in part as a Fish market. It is in Honolulu..."
- 195 Kamahiai at Honolulu, Oahu. Land at Kawaiahao, bounded on Waikiki side by a fish pond.



- 247 C. Kanaina (for Wm. C. Lunalilo) at Kakaako, Honolulu, Oahu. A house lot, for Wm. C. Lunalilo, formerly belonging to his mother, M. Kekauluohi. It was formerly a fishing place.
- 272 Joseph Booth at Waikiki, Oahu. Three fish ponds.
- 275 H. Zupplein at Honolulu, Oahu. A fish pond.
- 387 American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Punahou, Honolulu, Oahu. The boundaries of that part which lies on the sea shore we cannot define so definitely, but presume there will be no difficulty in determining them as it is commonly known as pertaining to Punahou. This part embraces fishing grounds, coral flats & salt beds.
There was a large flat on the sea shore embracing fishponds & salt beds & coral flats.
Manana, Oahu (in connection with the claim for the ili of Kionaole, Waiawa). "...A fish pond situated near the river joining southeast corner on a piece of waste land reckoned as belonging to Manana, an *ahupuaa* on the opposite side of the river. Said fish pond was dug out for me by my church members in 1838 & measures 27 fathoms by 14..."
Waialua, Oahu. Dry land adjoining the stream. "...The steam is not conveyed with the land. It is, however, the boundary on this side. If the supplies of the school are taken on the stream this is not a wrong, however, the fish are protected..."
- 569 Puniwai at Honolulu, Oahu. A lot bounded on *makai* side by an old fish pond.
- 673 Naiwi at Waiahao, Honolulu, Oahu. A fish pond which I made. Lot bounded by fish pond of Haole papa (Kilday), toward the sea.
- 677 Kamamalu at Honolulu, Oahu. Lot bounded *makai* by salt ponds.
- 697 Kaunuohua at Kahehuna, Honolulu, Oahu. Contested by Kuaana. The case of this (fish) pond was taken to court twice and it has been verified that the pond is for Kaunuohua.
- 704 Honaunau at Kakaako, Honolulu, Oahu. Land bounded on Waititi side by Kaloa's land and fish pond.
- 706 Kukuna Neki at Honolulu, Oahu. Land bounded on *makai* side by fish pond at Kahua.
- 717 Moanauli at Kaliu, Honolulu, Oahu. Land bounded on Waikiki side by fish pond called Waiaula.
Also, a fish pond named Kuaikahala at Kapalama.
- 723 Kawahauila at Kikihale, Honolulu, Oahu. A lot bounded by Pehu's fish pond.
- 733 Kaluaohu at Kaliu, Honolulu, Oahu. A house lot bounded on north by a pond.
- 734 Iona Piikoi at Kaneohe, Oahu. A lease on the pond of Nuupia.
- 748 Kalauhala at Honouliuli, Oahu. Lot bounded on east side by pond of Panahaha.
- 754 Kaunahi at Honouliuli, Oahu. Lot bounded on the south by the Loko Nihola (Nihola Fishpond).
- 759 Liliu at Honouliuli, Oahu. Two-thirds of the fish pond within Kahakuliili's pond.
- 769 Pekane at Honouliuli, Oahu. A fish pond made by Pekane, bounded by the fishery of Kaaumakua.
- 777 Keala (wahine) at Honolulu, Oahu. Counter to A. Paki. House built by Paki for Keala's husband. "...Claimant has lived in this house, making a business of selling fish... Keala and her husband, who was Paki's man, continued to live there, appropriating part of the house to a fish market, and sometimes selling rum...."
- 818 Heirs of George Beckley at Kalihi, Oahu. Fishing grounds called Kaliheawa.



- 828 Kawahaea at Poohilo, Honouliuli, Oahu. "...*Kula* land. It is surrounded by Kauakahilau's land. It is one large loko kalo (pond in which fish and taro are cultivated) the kalo is claimant's and the fish is Kekauonohi's..."
- 834 Oni at Poohilo, Honouliuli, Oahu. Bounded by ponds of Waianu and Kahui.
- 837 Ihuula at Kaliu, Honolulu, Oahu. House lot bounded on Waikiki side by Ainaio fish pond.
- 839 Kaaiawaawa at Honouliuli, Oahu. Lot at Hoohilo bounded on the east by pond of Kahui.
- 844 Kuailau at Huehuehu, Honouliuli, Oahu. Lot bounded on west side by pond of Kahui. This pond is for Kaope and I am the caretaker.
- 845 Kukahiko at Poohilo, Honouliuli, Oahu. Lot bounded on the south by the loko (ponds) of Aimea and Kanenelu.
- 851 Salai Hiwauli (*wahine*) at Kalihi, Oahu. Land with four fish ponds.
- 853 Poo (w.) at Honolulu, Oahu. Lot bounded *makai* by the pond of Paoao.
- 854 Huluhulu at Waikele, Oahu. A pond at Kahakuohia.
- 857 Kapepee at Pouhala, Waikele, Oahu. *Kalo* land bounded on *makai* side by konohiki's fish pond.
- 858 Kanealoha et al., at Waikele, Oahu. A fish pond at Waipahu.
- 859 Kalauao at Pouhala, Waikele, Oahu. A small puuone (dune-banked pond).
- 862 Kahalehili at Waikele, Oahu. A puuone (dune-bank pond).
- 868 Kaikainalii (w.) at Moanalua, Oahu. A lot bounded on *makai* side by Fish Pond named Mahailoloa; and a lot bounded on Waikiki side by ponds of Mokumoa and Wele.
- 872 Kahakuliili at Loloulu, Honouliuli, Oahu. One-third of a fish pond.
- 873 Kauwahine at Waialua, Oahu. A house lot bounded on north side by puuone (dune-bank pond) at Kealia.
- 875 Kane at Waimalu, Oahu. Pohakupu pond. The loko kalo (pond in which fish and taro are cultivated) of Pohakupu. "...I had seen the *konohiki* come here and the natives took taro and fish from the pond and fed him here..."
- 879 Puakai at Kainalu, Waiawa, Oahu. One lot with a fish pond; two lots with two fish ponds.
- 883 Kumupopo at Poohilo, Honouliuli, Oahu. Lot bounded on the east by the pond of Waianu.
- 890 Kuhano at Waikele, Oahu. At Ohua, a lot bounded on the east by the pond of Hana (loko Hana).
- 894 Hikiau at Kawaihapai, Waialua, Oahu. "...My house lot is bound north, by my hee fishing ground..."
- 897 Ohule at Waikele, Oahu. A small pond for fish.
- 904 Naheana at Kuhia, Waiawa, Oahu. A lot bounded on the sides by ponds of Puali and Kuhia. Also, a pond bounded on the east side of Hanamaulu pond.
- 914 Kamaala at Niukee, Honouliuli, Oahu. Lot bounded on the west by the pond of Omoomoki.
- 917 Kaulu at Kamilomilo, Honouliuli, Oahu. Lot bounded on the east by the pond of Naholowaa.
- 919 Keaweluahi at Honolulu, Oahu. Lot bounded on north by pond at Mulihopu (pond named Paoao).
- 933 Kamae at Koiuiu, Honolulu, Oahu. Lot bounded *makai* by fish pond.
- 979 Kauaikeoho and Kauakahi at Honolulu, Oahu. A fish pond lot, bounded on Waikiki side by Nuuanu stream. The pond contains fish.
- 1044 Hoomoeapule at Moanalua, Oahu. The ocean fishery at Mokuoego; and *konohiki* fisheries of Mokumoa and Ahua.
- 1006 Makani at Waikele, Oahu. A fish pond.
- 1032 Opunui at Honolulu, Oahu. A fish pond.



- 1051 Kanakaole at Kapalama, Oahu. One *kalo* patch and fish pond.
- 1075 Umi at Kahauali, Honolulu, Oahu. Part of a fish pond.
- 1082 Kekuanui at Puunui, Honolulu, Oahu. A *Kai paakai* (salt bed) and a *loko* (fish pond).
- 1085 Kahouiki at Hauhaukoi, Honolulu, Oahu. A *loko kalo* (pond in which fish and taro are cultivated).
- 1087 Uluoa at Honolulu, Oahu. A fishpond named Kaiahooni; house lot at Aala bounded on *makai* side by Kuwili fish pond.
- 1131 Piilani at Honolulu, Oahu. Contests M. Kekuanaoa. Kaiama sworn: "...I have known the boundaries of the land of Piilani. The patch over which there is a dispute is for Palikea in Honolulu here. I had known this at the time that Kinau was governor of Oahu and he (Piilani) had a contract for four hundred fish. We had started the fish pond for Kinau but had not quite completed it... We planted taro instead; the first time was in 1835..."
- 1180 Kaia at Moanalua, Oahu. A *loko puuone* (dune-banked fish pond in the *ili* of Maokaliu.
- 1189 Ewa at Kahauiki, Kalihi, Oahu. A lot bounded on the west by the island of Mokumoa and Kaihikapu pond.
- 1190 Kahaumanu at Kapakahi, Moanalua, Oahu. Four *puuone* (dune-banked ponds) adjoining the fish pond of Kaipuni, belonging to John li.
- 1243 Kahoowaha at Kalihi, Oahu. Lot bounded on side by *kuapa* for ponds of Pahou and Apili.
- 1257 Kahalekai at Kalihi, Oahu. Three *puuone* (dune-bank ponds) and some salt beds.
- 1268 Nakai at Waikiki, Oahu. Land bounded on Ewa side by Kekuanaoa's fish pond.
- 1275 Mookini at Paakea, Waikiki, Oahu. A house lot bounded on the Ewa side by Kekuanaoa's fish pond. Also, seven *kio puu* (pond for raising fish fry) at Kalia.
- 1277 Samuela at Kapaakea, Waikiki, Oahu. A lot bounded on Ewa side by Kekuanaoa's fish pond (Paakea pond).
- 1280 Kaaha at Kawananakoa, Nuuanu, Oahu. One fish pond bounded on *makai* side by fish pond of Kaluahinenui.
- 1281 Kuluwailehua at Waikiki, Oahu. The fishery in the *ili* of Kamoku.
- 1284 Kawelo at Kapalama, Oahu. A *kio puu* (pond for raising fish fry) next to Kuwili (pond).
- 1315 Kahuakailoa at Wawaloa, Moanalua, Oahu. One fish pond.
- 1317 Oleloino at Umi, Moanalua, Oahu. One fish pond.
- 1330 Kekulou at Alia, Moanalua, Oahu. Five *loko* (fish ponds) adjoining *loko Paakai* (Salt lake).
- 1375 Kapule at Kewalo, Honolulu, Oahu. One pond.
- 1377 Malo at Wehewehe, Waikiki, Oahu. A house lot bounded on *mauka* side by Kekuanaoa's fish pond.
- 1394 Kauwa at Keauhou, Honolulu, Oahu. One pond.
- 1411 Kuaana at Kamoku, Waikiki, Oahu. Six *loko akaakai* (bulrush ponds), five made with my hands, which are finished, and one yet incomplete.
- 1440 Kekaha at Kaluakau, Waikiki, Oahu. The pond called Kanekualau.
- 1441 Paikau at Waikiki, Oahu. The pond called Milohae.
- 1496 Kahue at Pauoa, Oahu. A house lot and two fish ponds in the *ili* of Kolowalu; also, an *alialia paakai* (salt bed) at Kukuluaoe.
- 1497 Hunona at Honolulu, Oahu. A fish pond at Honuakaha; and five *alialia paakai* (salt ponds) at Kukuluaoe.
- 1498 Newa at Honolulu, Oahu. Two fish ponds and an *alialia paakai* (salt pond) at Kewalo.



- 1499 Kapalu at Pauoa, Oahu. A fish pond in the *ili* of Kewalo. Also an *alialia paakai* (salt pond) at Kukuluaeo, Honolulu.
- 1501 Kanekapolei (*wahine*) at Honolulu, Oahu. Eight fish ponds and an *alialia paakai* (salt pond) at Puukea and Kukuluaeo.
- 1502 Paele at Honolulu, Oahu. Three fish ponds and an *alialia paakai* (salt pond) at Kukuluaeo.
- 1503 Puaa at Honolulu, Oahu. Three fish ponds at Kukuluaeo.
- 1504 Pahiha at Honolulu, Oahu. A fish pond and *alialia paakai* (salt pond) at Puukea and Kukuluaeo.
- 1512 Nalawewa at Waikiki, Oahu. A fish pond.
- 1515 Kaihuolua at Waikiki, Oahu. A *kai* (ocean fishery) of Kukaha at Kalia.
- 1521 Haula at Kalihi, Oahu. A *puuone* (dune-banked pond) adjoining the west side of Weuweu pond.
- 1522 Kalima at Moanalua, Oahu. A *puuone* (dune-banked pond) adjoining land of Kaauwai; an ocean fishery at Ohua, adjoining Mokueo.
- 1529 Mu at Nauala, Kapalama, Oahu. Lot bounded on side by the pond of Welj.
- 1530 Weuweu at Niau, Kalihi, Oahu. A *puuone* (dune-bank pond) and the pond of Keuwiuji.
- 1535 Kanuku at Pelekane, Kapalama, Oahu. Two *puuone* (dune-bank ponds), adjoining the ponds of Naaihele.
- 1537 Kauluhua at Kaliawa, Kalihi, Oahu. A *puuone* (dune-banked pond).
- 1538 Kauki at Kalihi, Oahu. A *puuone* (dune-bank pond) and *haha paakai* (salt bed) at Kaliawa.
- 1570 B Paekane at Honouliuli, Oahu. Two fish ponds at Mokumeha in the *ili* of Kaaumakua.
- 1570 C Naholowaa at Honouliuli, Oahu. A fish pond at Kaaumakua; and a fish pond at Mokumeha.
- 1572 Kawaaleleiki at Waipahu, Waikele, Oahu. A fish pond bounded on Waianae side by *loko Puhau*.
- 1573 Kawahamana at Niukee, Honouliuli, Oahu. Land bounded on side by the pond of Niholoa; and *alialia paakai* (salt ponds)
- 1596 Kahawai at Poohilo, Honouliuli, Oahu. Lot bounded on north by pond of Puhipaka.
- 1600 Kaawa at Honolulu, Oahu. The pond of Hanahou, bounded on side by *aina paakai* (salt beds).
- 1604 Kakoo at Kuhiawaho, Waiawa, Oahu. A fish pond.
- 1605 B Nakai at Niukee, Honouliuli, Oahu. Lot bounded *makai* by pond of Niholoa. Lot bounded on Honolulu side by pond of Lokoeli.
- 1613 B Huailua at Waikele, Oahu. A fish pond at Paiwa, bounded on *mauka* side by pond of Ohua.
- 1614 Kekualilili at Waikele, Oahu. A *puuone* (dune-banked pond) at Kahakuohia.
- 1615 Keoni at Waikele, Oahu. A *puuone* (dune-banked pond) at Aala.
- 1616 Kaluahinenui at Homaikaia, Waipio, Oahu. A *loko* (fishpond) named Ninauele in the *ili* of Homaikaia; a lot bounded on three sides by the fish ponds of Kalokoloa, Ainaio, and Ninauele; a lot bounded on Waianae side by *loko* (fish pond) of Homaikaia.
- 1630 Nuuanu at Waikiki, Oahu. Kenao sworn: "...I have known about Kanewai since the time of Kamehameha I...His claim is a *loi* named Hanai... We used to release fish in the pond, going to Maunalua for them. It was that way until 1832 when Kaahumanu I died, and I left the place ..."
- 1657 Pukeau at Waikele, Oahu. A *puuone* (dune-bank pond) in the *ili* of Auiole.
- 1659 Puupuu [location not given], Oahu. A *puuone* (dune-bank pond).



- 1666 Maualele at Poohilo, Honouliuli, Oahu. Lot bounded on west by pond of Kahui and Waianu.
- 1672 Makue at Kamoku, Honouliuli, Oahu. Lot bounded on south by pond of Puniawa.
- 1675 E Kaneolei at Kaohai, Waikele, Oahu. Lot bounded on side by pond of Kaohai.
- 1675 F Kaneiakama at Waikele, Oahu. A fish pond called Malau in the *ili* of Kahakuohia.
- 1677 Pao at Kaluaopalena, Kalihi, Oahu. Lot bounded on south by pond named Welu.
- 1682 Puhi at Kapakahi, Waikele, Oahu. Lot bounded on Waianae side by pond of Kamapuna. Lot bounded *mauka* by Ananakini pond.
- 1694 B Hulili at Waikele, Oahu. A fish pond called Kulaalamih.
- 1704 Opunui at Waikahalulu, Honolulu, Oahu. Lot bounded on side by pond of Waikahalulu.
- 1708 Hina (*wahine*) at Honolulu, Oahu. A fish pond at Auwaiolimu.
- 1711 Hanamaulu at Waiawa, Oahu. A fish pond in the *ili* of Kuhiawaho.
- 1712 B Hopu at Waikele, Oahu. A lot bounded on the Honolulu side by pond of Aialii; and *makai* by pond of Kaohai.
- 1712 D Hulu at Kaohai, Waipio, Oahu. Lot bounded on Honolulu side by Aialii pond.
- 1715 Haa at Waiawa, Oahu. A lot bounded on the north by pond of Kamalii; on south by pond of Kuhia; on west by pond of Kahaulono. The parcel contains two fish ponds at Kuhialoko.
- 1716 Hauna at Kanupoo, Waikele, Oahu. A portion of the loko kalo (pond in which fish and taro are cultivated) of Kanupoo.
- 1758 Kalaeone at Kamoku, Waikiki, Oahu. Fish ponds at three locations.
- 1765 Kahikaele at Niukukahi, Waikiki, Oahu. A house lot bounded on *makai* side by Kekuanaoa's fish pond.
- 1776 Pehu at Palolo, Waikiki, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 1780 Lahilahi at Kuilei, Waikiki, Oahu. Seven *Loko* (ponds).
- 1791 Kuaha at Waialae, Oahu. A fish pond.
- 1792 Koahou at Waialae, Oahu. Three fish ponds.
- 1800 Waianae at Kaluaopalena, Kalihi, Oahu. A puuone (dune-banked pond).
- 1836 Kaiole at Niu, Oahu. Two ponds.
- 1859 Kalei at Punaluu, Kaneohe, Oahu. Lot bounded *makai* by a fish pond.
- 1958 Mahu at Malae, Kaneohe, Oahu. One fish pond at Malae.
- 1963 Kanehoalani at Kaneohe, Oahu. A lot bounded *makai* by fish pond of Kalokohou.
- 2002 Mahu at Ohua, Waikele, Oahu. One puuone (dune-bank pond) at Ohua.
- 2004 Makaina at Wailupe, Waikiki, Oahu. A kio pua (pond for raising fish fry).
- 2022 Kunia at Aiea, Oahu. One fish pond at Kepoho. "It consists of one loko where he plants his kalo and grows his fish."
- 2033 Umi at Waikiki, Oahu. A kio pua (pond for raising fish fry).
- 2035 Aluli at Moanalua, Oahu. A puuone (dune-bank pond) adjoining the pond of Kaikainalii.
- 2040 Kahahawai at Kapalama, Oahu. "...a fishery in the ili of Kalawahine whose sea is Iwilei. On the south of Kuwili run along the wall of the pond to the makaha (sluice gate) of Kapukui, lying along the wall to the place where a *hau* tree is growing..."
- 2043 Kawaha at Halawa, Oahu. A fish pond in the ili of Kunana.
- 2049 Kamakani at Kealapii, Aiea, Oahu. One loko kai (sea or salt making pond).
- 2077 Kanakaole at Waikiki, Oahu. Two kio pua (ponds for raising fish fry) at Kalia.
- 2079 Kauhola (*wahine*) at Waikiki, Oahu. A kio pua (pond for raising fish fry).
- 2081 Kaoneanea at Waikiki, Oahu. A house lot and fish pond in the ili of Kamookahi.



- 2102 Kaohe at Aiea, Oahu. A puuone (dune-banked pond) in the *ili* of Kalokopaoa.
- 2126 Keoho at Waikiki, Oahu. A loko (fish pond) at Kawelulua.
- 2131 Kanihoalii at Halawa, Oahu. Two puuone (dune-banked ponds) in the *ili* of Kamao.
- 2141 Keapohiwa at Aiea, Oahu. A fish pond at Kapakai.
- 2155 Puaaliliii at Halawa, Oahu. One loko kalo (pond in which fish and taro are cultivated).
- 2168 Mao at Kahaluu, Oahu. A near shore fishery and two ocean fisheries.
- 2170 Kealawaa at Kapapa, Kahaluu, Oahu. A kio pua (pond for raising fish fry); bounded on Koolauloa side by pond of Alapai.
- 2206 Lehuanui at Kukuluao, Waikiki, Oahu. One aina paakai (salt bed) and one loko (fish pond).
- 2229 Kekela at Kapalama, Oahu. Land bounded on *makai* side by fish pond of Kuwili.
- 2230 Kupau at Kahaluu, Oahu. A pond in the *ili* of Pahakili.
- 2235 Holowale at Kahaluu, Oahu. Lot bounded on Kailua side by pond of Kapalaoa.
- 2236 Paele at Kahaluu, Oahu. Lot bounded by a small pond on the south.
- 2239 Maikai at Kahaluu, Oahu. A fish pond.
- 2244 Aipuhi at Waihee, Oahu. A fish pond in the *ili* of Kaniaia.
- 2246 D Iopa at Kahaluu, Oahu. A lot bounded on *mauka* side by fish pond of *konohiki*.
- 2246 E Palu at Kahaluu, Oahu. One fish pond.
- 2249 Kalauonakukui at Kahaluu, Oahu. Lot in Kahouna bounded on east by the pond of Kahouna.
- 2254 Pala at Honolulu, Oahu. A puuone (dune-bank pond), adjoining Paauau.
- 2255 Waiwaiole at Nini, Honolulu, Oahu. A puuone (dune-bank pond).
- 2283 Kaili at Waialae, Oahu. An ocean fishery under the *konohiki*.
- 2285 Kaaikalo at Waialae, Oahu. An ocean fishery under the *konohiki*.
- 2302 Kilioopu at Waihee, Oahu. A fish pond in the *ili* of Kaniaia.
- 2305 Kuikekoi at Waihee, Oahu. A fish pond.
- 2310 Hoonaulu at Kaneohe, Oahu. A lot bounded *makai* by Papohaku fish pond in Waikapokinui.
- 2312 Hanakinau at Waialae, Oahu. The right to take fish of the sea under the *konohiki*.
- 2315 Halekii at Wailupe, Waikiki, Oahu. A loko hooholo ia (a pond in which fish are released).
- 2328 Pololu at Wailupe, Waikiki, Oahu. A loko hooholo ia (a pond in which fish are released).
- 2330 Pololu at Wailupe, Waikiki, Oahu. A loko hooholo ia (a pond in which fish are released).
- 2340 Kumuhonua at Wailupe, Oahu. A loko hooholo ia (a pond in which fish are released).
- 2343 Keliwaiwaiole at Kaneohe, Oahu. Lot bounded *makai* by fish pond of Kalokohou.
- 2345 Keau at Kaneohe, Oahu. Lot bounded *makai* by fish pond of Kalokohou.
- 2363 Kukaaipahu at Waialeale, Oahu. A right to take fish under the *konohiki*.
- 2365 Kailiuli at Waialealeiki, Oahu. The right to take fish of the sea under the *konohiki*.
- 2366 Kahanu at Waialeale iki, Oahu. "...The trees of the *kuahiwi* and the right to fish under those of the konohiki fall under my claim..."
- 2369 Kalaikau at Waimanalo, Oahu. A small pond named Aala.
- 2371 Kaiko at Waialeale nui, Oahu. An ocean fishery under the *konohiki*.
- 2372 Kukaloo at Kaneloa, Waikiki, Oahu. A loko (pond).
- 2373 Kimo at Waikiki, Oahu. A loko (pond).
- 2387 Kuilei at Waialeale iki, Oahu. One pond and one ocean fishery.



- 2389 Kamanaohiwi at Waialaeiki, Oahu. The right to take fish of the sea under the *konohiki*.
- 2391 Kuapuu at Waialae nui, Oahu. An ocean fishery under the *konohiki*.
- 2412 Kauhi at Waihee, Maui. A fresh water oopu fishery.
- 2440 B Kaaua (w.) at Honolulu, Oahu. A puuone (dune-bank pond) at Kuwili.
- 2444 Keawekukahi (Keawekuhia) at Kaneohe, Oahu. A fish pond in Waikalua.
- 2471 Kamanene at Kaneohe, Oahu. Land in the *ili* of Kalokohou, bounded *makai* by the fish pond.
- 2476 Kalauao at Kaneohe, Oahu. Land in the *ili* of Punaluu bounded *makai* by fish pond of Punaluu.
- 2477 Kahau at Waikalua, Kaneohe, Oahu. Two puuone kai (dune-banked fish ponds). The two fish ponds have been taken away by the *konohiki*... He wished it as a place to get fish from to put in the large fish pond of Piikea.
- 2494 Julia Kekoa at Kalauao, Oahu. One fish pond in the *ili* of Kaonohi.
- 2497 Kaheau at Kaneohe, Oahu. Land in the *ili* of Waikapoki bounded on Koolauloa side by a fish pond.
- 2516 Kaula at Waialae iki, Oahu. The right to take fish under the *Konohiki*.
- 2531 Makuakane at Kaneohe, Oahu. A lot bounded *makai* by the fish pond of Kalokohou.
- 2535 Umiumi at Waimanalo, Oahu. One pond at Puha.
- 2555 Wahaulaula at Kaneohe, Oahu. A lot bounded *makai* and Kailua by the fish pond of Kanohuluiwi.
- 2562 Nauka at Heeia, Oahu. One fish pond in the *ili* of Koena.
- 2576 Huina at Waialae iki, Oahu. The right to take fish under the *Konohiki*.
- 2584 Hinaaimalama at Kaneohe, Oahu. Four *loi* bounded *makai* by the fish pond of Punaluu.
- 2608 B Puahiki at Heeia, Oahu. A lot bounded *makai* by fish pond.
- 2628 Paele at Kaneohe, Oahu. A fish pond at Waikalua; formerly there was also a *kio pua* (pond for raising fish fry) for the large pond.
- 2647 Pulehu at Waimanalo, Oahu. A pond in the *ili* of Kailili.
- 2693 Wanahea at Waialua, Oahu. A fish pond at Kamananui.
- 2699 Wewehi at Waialua, Oahu. The pond at Lokoea; and right to fishes, oopu, opae, and limu kala. There is a daily right to take fish; the right to take the *anae* is only in the windy times, that is when they can be caught.
- 2700 Wahinealohaoleia at Waianae, Oahu. An ocean fishery and two muliwai (estuarine systems) at Pahawai.
- 2701 Wahapoepoe at Wailupe, Oahu. One pond in the *ili* of Kalokoloa.
- 2702 Waialua at Kahuku, Oahu. A salt making pond at Mahukini.
- 2704 Haui at Kahuku, Oahu. A fish pond named Kuhiwa.
- 2705 Hao at Kahuku, Oahu. A small fish pond on the *kula* land.
- 2710 Haupu at Kalihi, Oahu. A house lot in the *ili* of Haunapo and two "Kio hooholo ia" (small ponds in which to let fish go).
- 2720 Pooluku at Waialea, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 2725 Puhi at Kawailoa, Waialua, Oahu. One parcel bounded *makai* by the pond of Konohikilau; and the muliwai (estuarine system) of Anahulu.
- 2727 Puu at Kawailoa, Oahu. Fish in the pond of Ukoa.
- 2732 Pukawale at Kahuku, Oahu. The ocean fishery called Keekee.
- 2739 Pia at Laie, Oahu. Dispute between Pia and C. Kanaina regarding the pond of Kapuna.
- 2740 Peku at Kawailoa, Oahu. The right to fish in the pond of Ukoa.
- 2741 Pueo at Kawailoa, Waialua, Oahu. A parcel bounded *makai* by Punahoolapa pond.
- 2758 Napoe at Kahuku, Oahu. Two fish ponds at Punalau.



- 2759 Nawaa at Moanalua, Oahu. A puuone (dune-bank pond) in the *ili* of Kahohonu.
- 2767 Naauhau at Pahipahialua, Koolauloa, Oahu. A fish pond.
- 2770 Makaino at Kawela, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 2771 Maulua at Punalau, Oahu. A fish pond named Puekahī.
- 2782 Makole at Kahuku, Oahu. An aina paakai (salt bed); and two fish ponds at Amo.
- 2785 Makakiekie at Kahuku, Oahu. A fishery called Kaiohana and a fish pond.
- 2787 Makaokalai at Kahuku, Oahu. A fish pond named Kumuhahane; a pond called Kahukupunawai; and an aina kai (salt bed) named Hanumaha.
- 2789 Mooni at Kahuku, Oahu. A fish pond at Waiula.
- 2797 Kahakinaawa at Waialua, Oahu. A fish pond.
- 2812 Kanealii at Waialeale, Oahu. A fishery and salt making land in Kapunaiki.
- 2816 Kahaleipu at Waialeale, Oahu. Land bounded on Waialua side by a fish pond.
- 2824 Kuheleloa at Waialeale, Oahu. Land bounded by the fishery.
- 2826 Kalaweaumoku at Kahuku, Oahu. Salt beds at Ahamaui; and two fish ponds.
- 2832 Kaina at Pahipahialua, Oahu. The fishery of Kaiki.
- 2833 B Kaula at Kamakela, Honolulu, Oahu. One pond.
- 2849 Kaanaana at Moanalua, Oahu. Fish in the pond of Ukoa.
- 2850 Kawi at Kawela, Oahu. One pond.
- 2855 Kahoohano, Waialua, Oahu. Fish in the pond of Ukoa.
- 2858 Kahuwaa at Waialeale, Oahu. A pond at Kiao.
- 2885 Kupihea, Punalau and Kahuku, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 2910 Kahakualoa at Paalaa, Waialua, Oahu. Counter M. Kekuaanao. “...there was a fishery attached to this land...”
- 2911 Kahakuloa (wahine) at Paalaa, Waialua, Oahu. “...I always understood that there was a sea or fishing attached to this land...”
- 2925 Keliihuluhulu at Kawailoa, Waialua, Oahu. Lot bounded on side by Punahoolapa pond.
- 2926 Kahakai at Kawailoa, Waialua, Oahu. “...two kalo patches and a loko (fish pond) between them; ...and right to the fish: oopu, opae, limu kala, and certain fish to which there is a right at the time when they can be caught, such as the anae...”
- 2932 Kailiuku at Kahuku, Oahu. A fish pond at Waihinalo.
- 2940 Kahoohano at Puaena, Waialua, Oahu. The fish at Ukoa; 40 lua ula (lobster holes); 20 lua kumu (goatfish holes); some lua hee (octopus holes); and 4 koa opelu (*opelu* fishing stations).
- 2953 Hauu at Waianaeanae, Oahu. A lot bounded on the west by pond of Laepoko.
- 2961 Akaloa at Lehanoiki, Waianaeanae, Oahu. A lot bounded south by the pond of Nalu (Laepoko).
- 2970 Pauli at Waianaeanae, Oahu. A pond at Lehanoiki.
- 2983 Pakohana at Kewalo, Honolulu, Oahu. One pond.
- 2988 Lokoio at Waianaeanae, Oahu. A lot bounded *mauka* and Waianaeanae by Hoolonokio pond.
- 3002 Namuliwai at Waianaeanae, Oahu. A parcel bounded east by the pond of Laepoko.
- 3004 Napoe at Waianaeanae, Oahu. A lot bounded on side by Kahoolonokio pond.
- 3005 Naluai at Kalia, Waikiki, Oahu. The pond named Kamaikeao.
- 3011 Mahiole at Kualoa, Oahu. One half of the pond for Mahiole.
- 3012 Makaweli at Waialaenui, Oahu. Three haha paakai (salt beds).
- 3029 Kaapuiki at Waianaeanae, Oahu. Liliha had wood, fish, taro and other things brought from Waianaeanae to her.
- 3039 Kamokuwaiole at Waianaeanae, Oahu. A lot bounded on side by Laepoko pond in Lehanoiki; on shore by ocean fishery.
- 3043 Kapiioho (Kapiipo) at Waikane, Oahu. Two sea fisheries.



- 3077 Kahai at Wailupe, Oahu. The muliwai (estuarine system) of Kaliu for raising fish.
- 3084 Kanaiomano at Waianae, Oahu. A lot bounded on side by Laepoko pond in Lehanonui.
- 3089 Kapela at Waianae, Oahu. A lot bounded on side by the pond of Aheakalani, at Kahoolanakio.
- 3091 Kuaana at Waianae, Oahu. A lot bounded on side by the pond at Pohakoj.
- 3092 Kaula at Waianae, Oahu. A lot bounded on side by Laepoko pond.
- 3095 Kahonu at Waianae, Oahu. Land at Lehanoiki bounded on the east by the pond of Laepoko, and on the west by the sea fishery.
- 3097 Keonekapu at Waianae, Oahu. A lot bounded on side by Laepoko pond.
- 3121 James Mahoney at Kaneohe, Oahu. A fish pond in the *ili* of Pau called Opapaa.
- 3142 Hooliku at Kapalama, Oahu. A puuone (dune-banked pond) in the *ili* of Iwilei.
- 3144 Oku at Kapalama, Oahu. A puuone (dune-banked pond) at Pelekane; a puuone adjoining Naaihele.
- 3158 Malauea at Pelekane, Kapalama, Oahu. One puuone (dune-bank pond) at Kuwili.
- 3159 Lapa at Kamananui, Waialua, Oahu. An ocean fishery with the right to choose which fish is to be protected.
- 3166 Kamai at Honolulu, Oahu. A pond at Kewalo.
- 3167 Kaapawale at Honolulu, Oahu. A pond at Kewalo.
- 3169 Koalele at Honolulu, Oahu. Seven fish ponds at Kewalo.
- 3170 Kuaaka at Honolulu, Oahu. A pond at Kewalo.
- 3174 Kahikauila at Honolulu, Oahu. Two ponds at Kewalo.
- 3216 Ahuai at Waialaeiki, Oahu. An ocean fishery and right to take fish under A. Paki.
- 3262 Lohiau at Waialaeiki, Oahu. The right to take fish under the *konohiki.*
- 3322 Tute at Manoa, Oahu. Payment for labor on land two lau of weke; one lau of uhu; one lau of kahala and ulua.
- 3344 Naiwieha at Kaneohe, Oahu. A lot bounded *makai* by the pond of Mikiola.
- 3374 B Haikauai at Honolulu, Oahu. Two ponds at Nini.
- 3505 Kailimaloo at Waiau, Oahu. A lot bounded on side by the fish ponds of Kamuahane and Hanaiki.
- 3505 C Wahaolelo at Waiau, Oahu. Fish pond of Muliwai nui; and Muliwai iki, a smaller pond.
- 3579 Kahoowaha at Waialaenui, Oahu. A loko paakai (salt pond).
- 3684 B Kawaiomano at Waianae, Oahu. A lot in the *ili* of Pahoa bounded on side by the small pond of Laepoko.
- 3961 Nohunohu (w.) at Kapalama, Oahu. A pond at Kaluapilau.
- 3691 B Kauhi at Honolulu, Oahu. A lot bounded on Ewa side by Kalanialii's pond.
- 3721 B Makuaole at Waikiki, Oahu. Four puuone (dune-bank ponds) at Keauhou.
- 3723 Male at Kahuku, Oahu. Two fishponds at Ahamau.
- 3724 Maiake at Punaluu, Oahu. A fresh water oopu fishery.
- 3746 Wahineomua at Punaluu, Oahu. An ocean fishery at Kauaiki.
- 3748 B Kanakaole at Kalokoai, Kaneohe, Oahu. A lot bounded on side by the fish pond of Kawana.
- 3749 B Paihoihowale at Kaneohe, Oahu. A fish pond in the *ili* of Keana.
- 3750 B Puomii at Kaneohe, Oahu. A puuone (dune-banked pond) at Hanalua.
- 3751 B Paele at Heeia, Oahu. A lot bounded *mauka* and *makai* by the puuone (dune-banked pond) of Uhuu; and on Kailua by the big pond of Heeia.



- 3806 Lalawalu at Waialua, Oahu. Haha oopu (areas where *oopu* are trapped by hand) at Waionana, Mokoihemo, Kunanaomuku, and Wanui. "I also have a fishing right. The fish to which I have a right are the *anae*, the *ahole*, *oopu*, and fresh water *opae*."
- 3808 Laipo at Paumalu, Oahu. The ocean fishery of Kukaela.
- 3813 Pakui at Kahuku, Oahu. An ocean fishery and salt making land.
- 3815 Pailalau at Kawela, Oahu. A fishery and salt bed at Hanakaee.
- 3845 Puamii at Kaneohe, Oahu. A puuone (dune-banked pond) at Hanalua.
- 3873 Paakahi at Laie, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 3940 Napunawai at Waialua, Oahu. A muliwai (estuarine system) at Kawailoa kai; pond at Haohao, Kawailoa kai; and a "...right in the pond named Ukoa is for *oopu*, *opae*, *limu kala*, *anae*, and the young *ahole* fish. There is a right to two fish at the time they can be caught, the *anae* and the young *ahole* fish... Some of us also have a claim to a fishery. The fishes are the *opelu*, the *kumu* and some other fishes..."
- 3941 Napunaoi at Waialua, Oahu. A fishing right in Ukoa for fresh water *opae*, *oopu*, *limu kala*, *anae* and *ahole*. There is also a right to the sea fishery.
- 3942 Nauwahi at Waialua, Oahu. "...My right to the fishes. My right at Ukoa is to take them with the *eke* (fish net). The *anae* and young *ahole* fish can be taken at the season, and *oopu* fish, *opae* and *limu kala*..."
- 3951 Niau at Kahuku, Oahu. An ocean fishery at Kakaako (Kahuku).
- 3953 Niho at Kaaawa, Oahu. The fishery at Helumoa.
- 3954 Newa at Kaaawa, Oahu. The ocean fishery of Uki.
- 3955 Nakai at Kaaawa, Oahu. An ocean fishery
- 3957 Nawaa at Punaluu, Oahu. A muliwai (estuarine system) fishery.
- 4003 Hano at Laie, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 4016 Hauna at Punaluu, Oahu. An ocean fishery at Hanaiwi; the *uhu* is the fish which I am permitted to take.
- 4048 Kuauau at Kahaluu, Oahu. Lot bounded Koolauloa by fish pond.
- 4216 Naihekolu at Waikalua, Kaneohe, Oahu. Seven *loi paakai* (salt making ponds). Claimant was accused by the *konohiki* of taking some fish by theft; the *konohiki* took the salt ponds.
- 4217 Kaula at Kaneohe, Oahu. A puuone (dune-banked pond) at Waikalua.
- 4249 B Kau at Kailua, Oahu. Land bounded on the Koolaupoko side by fish pond of Kaelepulu. Kau also claims a fish pond by his house lot.
- 4251 B Kaipo at Kailua, Oahu. Lot in the *ili* of Kaelepulu bounded mauka by fish pond.
- 4261 Kauila at Pupukea, Oahu. Land bounded on west by a sea fishery.
- 4261 B Kuheleloa at Pawaa, Waikiki, Oahu. Lot bounded on side by the pond of Opu.
- 4266 Kalalawaia at Waialea, Oahu. The fishing overseer, named Hao, is in charge of the fishing days.
- 4275 B Paele at Heeia, Oahu. A fish pond bounded on Kailua side by large fish pond of Heeia.
- 4279 B Ia at Pawaa, Waikiki, Oahu. Lot bounded on side by pond of Opu.
- 4282 B Nahuukai at Waikiki, Oahu. Two ponds.
- 4286 B Haumea at Waikiki, Oahu. Five puuone (dune-banked ponds) at Keauhou; and two puuone called Kulekoloa.
- 4306 Kolikoli at Waialua, Oahu. A pond at Kawailoa kai. I also have a claim for fish in the pond of Ukoa.
- 4309 Kawahaomaui at Waialua, Oahu. A haha oopu (areas where *oopu* are trapped by hand) at Kawaiiki and a haha oopu at Kawailoa.
- 4310 Kaaikaula at Waialua, Oahu. House lot bounded on side by a pond.
- 4312 Kilioe at Waialua, Oahu. A house lot bounded by a shore fishery at Keone.
- 4313 Kuhi at Waialua, Oahu. A pond at Kamananui.



- 4314 Kaaiohelohua at Waialua, Oahu. A fish pond named Kuemanu at Kamananui.
- 4317 Keoahu at Waialua, Oahu. Five kio pua (ponds for raising fish fry) in the land of Paoo, at Kamananui.
- 4331 Kamano at Laie, Oahu. A kalo patch and fish pond in Kapaka.
- 4339 Kahoowaha at Malaekahana, Oahu. A pond at Waipunaea.
- 4353 Kawai at Waiono, Koolauloa, Oahu. A kula land bounded on north by the shore fishery.
- 4356 Kaikuaana at Laie, Oahu. A kai (fishery) at Laniloa.
- 4358 Kaumualii at Punaluu, Oahu. A stream fishery.
- 4365 Kuolulu at Punaluu, Oahu. Kula land bounded on north by shore fishery.
- 4366 Kalima at Kaluanui, Oahu. A fish-taro pond at Puuiki.
- 4367 Kekui at Kahana, Oahu. One fish pond.
- 4371 Kahopukahi at Punaluu, Oahu. A hee fishery, and an uhu fishery.
- 4374 Kuapuu at Kahuku, Oahu. The fishery of Pauwela.
- 4381 Kaliku at Paumalu, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 4387 Kahuwaa at Paumalu, Oahu. An ocean fishery at Haliiloulu.
- 4390 Kupaihea at Kahuku, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 4397 Kueo at Haleaha, Koolauloa, Oahu. An ocean fishery at Haleaha.
- 4402 Kauiki at Kaaawa, Oahu. An ocean fishery at Kuahu.
- 4403 Kaihumua at Kaaawa, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 4407 Kahalau at Heeia, Oahu. Lot bounded on Kailua side by fish pond.
- 4408 Kaumu at Kaaawa, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 4409 Hulue at Kaaawa, Oahu. The fishery at Paula.
- 4410 Kapu at Kaaawa, Oahu. A fishery.
- 4414 Kenuikapaole at Kaaawa, Oahu. A right to the shore fishery.
- 4415 Kapu at Kaaawa, Oahu. The ocean fishery at Makahono.
- 4430 Kauhaa at Punaluu, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 4443 Kuheleloa at Kaaawa, Oahu. An ocean fishery at Hapau.
- 4449 Kaaikaula at Kahuku, Oahu. An aina paakai and ocean fishery.
- 4451 Kuapuaa at Laie, Oahu. “...Outside of the place where the waves begin to break are four lua hanai (holes where fish are fed) which are mine...”
- 4452 C. Kanaina for Hazaleleponi Kalama at Kalihi, Oahu. A house lot bounded on the Honolulu side by a fish pond belonging to Liholiho.
- 4452 Hazaleleponi Kalama. The ahupuaa of Kailua and Kaneohe, Koolaupoko, Oahu including approximately twenty fish ponds.
- 4457 Anakalooa at Honolulu, Oahu. Four ponds for raising fish at Kakaako.
- 4470 Helau at Kaneohe, Oahu. Puuone (dune-bank pond) at Mahinui; makai is the pond of Mikiola.
- 4471 Piikea at Kaneohe, Oahu. Two fish ponds at Waikalua.
- 4475 Kahilirole at Kaneohe, Oahu. A puuone (dune-bank pond) at Mahinui.
- 4477 Kahalekala at Kaneohe, Oahu. A puuone (dune-bank pond) at Papaa.
- 4478 Kane at Kaneohe, Oahu. Two fish ponds in the ili of Malae.
- 4479 Kailiakaale at Kaneohe, Oahu. A fish pond at Puahuula; and fish raised in the ponds by Laakea.
- 4483 Mahina at Kaneohe, Oahu. A fish pond in the ili of Kuapemana.
- 4485 Oopa at Kaneohe, Oahu. Lot bounded on side by puuone (dune-bank pond) at Mahinui.
- 4488 Kapuhi at Kaneohe, Oahu. Two puuone (dune-bank ponds) at Aa.
- 4489 Kahoohanohano at Kaneohe, Oahu. Land in the ili of Punaluu bounded makai by the fish pond.
- 4493 Mana at Waimanalo, Oahu. A pond in land of Kamahalo.
- 4501 Kaahuwalu at Waimanalo, Oahu. A pond in the ili of Puha.
- 4502 Piia at Waimanalo, Oahu. Lot in Ahiki bounded on side by pond.



- 4503 B (See 4501)
- 4605 Hakau (*wahine*) at Waikiki, Oahu. Fish pond of Kaheina in Piinaio.
- 4677 Puaaiki at Honolulu, Oahu. A lot at Kaliu bounded on side by a pond.
- 5243 Kaikaina at Waiono, Koolauloa, Oahu. A Loko (pond) in which ai (taro) is also grown; and some *haha paakai* (salt ponds) at Kalokoeli .
- 5323 Kawana at Honolulu, Oahu. A house lot at Apua bounded on east and south side by a pond.
- 5340 M. Kuna at Kailua, Oahu. One pond at Kaelepulu.
- 5371 Ehu at Waipio, Oahu. A lot in the *ili* of Hanaloa bounded on Honolulu side by Loko Eo.
- 5409 Makea at Waianae, Oahu. Salt ponds in the *ili* of Kamaile 2; and a pond with fish which was divided with the *konohiki*.
- 5411 Mahu at Waikele, Oahu. The fish pond named Kapawili.
- 5432 Kapaku, Honolulu, Oahu. An *oopu* fishery at Kaaleo.
- 5537 Kealiiwahanui at Heeia, Oahu. House lot bounded on the Kailua side by the big pond.
- 5571 Kahuna at Kailua, Oahu. "...I have an *ili*, Kaelepulu Pond, and the *muliwai* (estuarine system), and three *puuone* (dune-banked ponds), and the ocean fishery of Hau..."
- 5581 Kalaimanuia at Kalauao, Oahu. A lot bounded on the east side by the fish pond of Opu.
- 5584 Kauhi at Puuloa, Oahu. Three *kio pua hooholo ia* (ponds in which to raise fish fry) at Kohepalaoa.
- 5586 Kahiki at Waimalu, Oahu. Two *puuone* (dune-banked ponds) bounded on sides by the fishponds named Kukuhua and Hooke.
- 5594 Kauhane at Puuloa, Oahu. Lot bounded on south side by fish ponds of Kauhi.
- 5595 B Kapahu at Waikele, Oahu. Two fish ponds called Mapunalele in the *ili* of Keahupuaa.
- 5595 B (5595 C) Napuku at Waikele, Oahu. Two fish ponds in the *ili* of Ulumoku.
- 5595 C (5595 D) Keoni at Waikele, Oahu. A fish pond in the *ili* of Ulumoku.
- 5603 Kaakaa at Waikele, Oahu. House lot bounded on the Honolulu side by the pond wall of Kaohai; and on Waianae side by the pond of Ohule.
- 5604 Kaahuwalu at Waipio, Oahu. Land at Hanaloa bounded on the south by pond of Kumumu; on the west by pond of Kapowa.
- 5605 Kapule at Waipio, Oahu. Land at Eo bounded on the east by pond of Eo. Also a pond at Kuhia.
- 5606 Kapela at Waipio, Oahu. Land at Homaikaia; and land at Kanaloa bounded on north by pond of Paki.
- 5614 Kepaa at Kualoa, Oahu. One fish pond.
- 5625 Kauwahikaua at Waialaeiki, Oahu. One fish pond. A lot bounded on east by the pond of Malokohana; on the shore by the pond of Lolopu.
- 5641 Kamaikeaho at Waimanalo, Oahu. A claim at Makapuu in Pakis fisheries of Kapuakole.
- 5644 Kamalii at Waiawa, Oahu. Land bounded on north by pond of Paa and on east by pond of Kahelehookahi. A fish pond bounded on *makai* side by Kalokoloa pond; and on the Waianae side by Poailani loko.
- 5646 Kaionio at Waiawa, Oahu. A pond bounded on the east by pond of Kahauolono. Pond called Kalokoloa bounded on Waianae side by pond of Mokolea.
- 5647 Kaia at Waipio, Oahu. A loko kalo (pond in which fish and taro are cultivated) and fish pond named Kaluaalaea in the *ili* of Eo; bounded on Honolulu side by pond of Eo.



- 5653 B Kanehekili at Honouliuli, Ewa, Oahu. Land in Poohilo bounded *makai* by Kanimano, konohiki's fish pond.
- 5660 Kalua at Kalauao, Oahu. "...I have a claim for a fishery as far as Mokuumeume. On the north is a fishery for me, on the east is Halawa..."
- 5661 Kaehunui at Puuloa, Oahu. A Kio pua (pond for fish fry) bounded on east by the sea fishery; and haha paakai (salt beds).
- 5662 Kawelo at Waimano, Oahu. A part of the ocean fishery.
- 5670 C Kumupopo at Honouliuli, Oahu. House lot bounded on *mauka* side by Waianu pond; Honolulu by Kahui pond; and *makai* by Kaluakanaka pond.
- 5722 Kaio at Hakipuu, Oahu. Two fish ponds.
- 5726 Kauihou at Oneawa, Kailua, Oahu. Two muliwai (estuarine systems) and an ocean fishery.
- 5735 Koi at Waikele, Oahu. Two ponds at Kapakahj; and some loko kai hinana (ponds for young oopu fish).
- 5736 Kihi at Keaau, Waianae, Oahu. A house lot bounded by the sea and on the west by a puuone (dune-banked pond). In the *ili* of Kapepe.
- 5793 Kekuanui at Kapalama, Oahu. A claim for the fishery at Apua.
- 5807 Aiawahia at Kahana, Oahu. A wai oopu (fresh water goby fishery).
- 5808 Kiamanu at Punaluu, Oahu. A wai oopu (fresh water goby fishery).
- 5811 Kumumu at Waipio, Oahu. The puuone (dune-banked pond) called Henuhenu; bounded on the makai side by Kapapawaa, a pond.
- 5815 Kekohai at Heeia, Oahu. Lot bounded on Koolauloa side by fish pond of the konohiki in the *ili* of Kikiwelawela.
- 5817 Kamoku at Kalauao, Oahu. Land bounded on south by the pond of Ino; on the west by the pond of Kamahiai.
- 5838 Kealakula at Kailua, Oahu. A fish pond in the land of Nalima.
- 5850 Kahiakua at Punaluu, Oahu. An oopu fishery.
- 5851 Kaipuea at Punaluu, Oahu. A fresh water oopu fishery.
- 5853 Kamano at Haleaha, Koolauloa, Oahu. A fish pond.
- 5864 Puniwai at Waimanalo, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 5908 Puou at Waipio, Oahu. Land bounded on the south by the pond of li.
- 5934 Piko at Kalauao, Oahu. Land and pond bounded on south by sea.
- 5956 Makaikae at Waimalu, Oahu. Land bounded on Waianae side by fish pond of Waieli.
- 5959 Makaualii at Puuloa, Oahu. A pond for raising fish.
- 5977 Mahoe at Puuloa, Oahu. Land bounded on the north by a fishery at Kohepalaoa.
- 5989 Makole at Waikele, Oahu. A house lot at Kaohai bounded on north by pond of Kahalehili.
- 5998 B Puou at Waipio, Oahu. Land at Homaikaia bounded on *makai* by Koloamanu's pond.
- 6040 Ehu at Heeia, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 6062 Uhuuhu at Heeia, Oahu. Puuone (dune-bank pond) fishponds at Kalamanu, and a puuone at Mokapu.
- 6068 Hikauhi at Kalauao, Oahu. One pond.
- 6076 Humehume at Waipio, Oahu. Land at Homaikaia bounded on south side by pond of Kailua. A loko kalo (pond in which fish and taro are cultivated) and fish pond, bounded on *mauka* side by pond of Eo.
- 6101 Mumuku at Kailua, Oahu. Ocean fishery of Kumaumauo at Kalaheo.
- 6126 Napoo at Puuloa, Oahu. Land bounded on the south by Kamau's kio pua; and on the west by Mahoe's kio pua.
- 6140 Nahalepili at Waiawa, Oahu. Two ponds.
- 6156 Nua at Kalauao, Oahu. Land bounded on the east by Opu fish pond.



- 6156 B Mahoe at Kalauao, Oahu. Land bounded on *makai* side by fish pond of Opu.
- 6175 Kamaha at Wailupe, Oahu. "...The protected fish (*la hoomalu*) [are at] Kahoalii, Waipao, Kaea, Kaheaai, Kaea 2, Kaohia, Laulaupoi, Hawaiiioa, Kauhilaepuu, Keoneuleku, Kumuhau, Kamuku, Ainaio Ouaua, Puolonaio, Kulawaihowale, Puulaula, Kaulua, Kaohai, Kamuliewai, Kahoowahaloko..."
- 6223 Ehu at Heeia, Oahu. A fishery.
- 6233 Kahukaipo at Honolulu, Oahu. Fish caught at Kaukahoku. "...we had fish as lease for cultivation of the places."
- 6235 Kapaakea at Malaekahana, Oahu. Some protected fish.
- 6252 Kekukahiko at Waikiki, Oahu. The fishery of Kaalawai.
- 6548 Hoolliliamanu at Waiawa, Oahu. A puuone (dune-banked pond) at Papao.
- 6748 Alapai at Kaneohe, Oahu. Kalo land and pond in the *ili* of Waikapoki bounded *makai* by the sea.
- 6968 Kawahaohi at Kailua, Oahu. One fish pond.
- 6971 Kikoi at Kailua, Oahu. "...In the *ili* of Kawailoa...there is a protected fishery, Pohokoko; also some pools for young fish..."
- 6976 Kaluahinenui at Waimanalo, Oahu. One fish pond connected to the house lot in the *ili* of Kahikiea.
- 7154 Kahookoikoi at Kalihi, Oahu. One fish pond in the *ili* of Haunapo.
- 7173 Kekuku at Kaneohe, Oahu. Some fish ponds built by claimant. "...Kahina brought the young awa fish from Waikiki and bred them for Kamehameha I..."
Kepani, sworn: "...I knew this patch was for the *konohiki* because it was a huge patch with breeding fish in it for the *konohiki* and there was cultivation of taro..."
- 7244 Puhi at Waiau, Oahu. Dispute regarding pond in Kumuhahane. "The produce of the land and the fish of the pond were exclusively for Puhi."
- 7254 Makahuluhulu at Waialae, Oahu. The pond of Kaohai and some salt ponds.
- 7267 Ahu (*wahine*) [location not given], Oahu. Made two *auwai* that flow to a pond (loko) on the shore.
- 7334 Kulepe at Waianae, Oahu. Two fish ponds in the ili of Moomoku.
- 7342 Kuokoa at Moanalua, Oahu. "...the people went to scoop salt at Aliapaakai..."
- 7344 Kulani at Aiea, Oahu. A puuone (dune-banked pond).
- 7390 Hanemo at Honokohau, Maui. The fishery of Punalau.
- 7400 Koa at Waialua, Oahu. A fish pond.
- 7404 Kealohaio at Waialua, Oahu. "...I also have a right to fish in Ukoa, however, not the entire pond, but some fish: the oopu, opae, anae and the aholehole fish can be taken on the windy days..."
- 7406 Kalimahuamoia at Waialua, Oahu. "...right in Ukoa, to take fish, this is an ancient right of mine. The *oopu*, the *opae*, and the *limukala*. The right to take the *anae* and the *aholehole* fish is mine on windy days..."
- 7410 Kupalii at Mokuleia, Oahu. Fishing holes and shore area at Kolea.
- 7418 Kaeawa at Waialua, Oahu. A right to take fish from the pond of Ukoa; and lot bounded on Waianae side by pond of Kolikoli.
- 7422 Kaawa at Pupukea, Oahu. An ocean fishery and salt making land at Poohina.
- 7424 Kawiwi at Kawailoa, Oahu. The right to take fish from Ukoa pond.
- 7425 Kawelo at Kawailoa, Oahu. "...The right to take fish from the sea; seven *kali opelu* (places where *opelu* congregate), ten *lua ula* (lobster holes) and ten *lua kumu* (kumu holes)... There is also a right to opae at Pihapihaulaula..."
- 7437 Kuewa at Maili, Oahu. A fish pond and wahi paakai (salt making place) at the shore.
- 7443 Kauhane at Manananui, Oahu. One fish pond.
- 7445 Kaheiki at Waimano, Oahu. Five fish ponds in the *ili* of Opukaula.



- 7447 Kuheleloa at Manananui, Oahu. Land in the *ili* of Kamuliwai bounded on the Honolulu side by a fish pond named Uaua; on *makai* side by Ainaio fish pond.
- 7505 Keliikipi at Heeia, Oahu. A *kio pua* (pond for fish fry) at Mokapu.
- 7515 Kekuamanaole at Heeia, Oahu. One fish pond.
- 7517 Kapule at Heeia, Oahu. Nine ocean fisheries.
- 7526 Kamohoalii at Heeia, Oahu. A small ocean fishery.
- 7589 Kahoonana at Waialae, Oahu. An ocean fishery under the *konohipi*.
- 7709 Keaweiwa at Waianae, Oahu. Salt ponds in the *ili* of Kamaile 2.
- 7712 B (7713) M. Kekuanaoa for Victoria Kamamalu at Waianae, Oahu. Fish pond and *ili* of Pahoa.
Kulepe, sworn: "...about 1841, I restored a *lihi* of Pahoa which lies between the fish pond and the stone wall, and was claimed for Pahoa..."
- 7713 M. Kekuanaoa for Victoria Kamamalu at Honolulu, Oahu. Fish pond called *Kawa*.
A. Paki, sworn, for the Government: "Knows that the fish pond called "Kawa", in Honolulu, was broken up in the year 1847 & the materials of the wall taken to help to construct the wall or breakwater erected by the Government on the west side of the harbor. The Government got permission from M. Kekuanaoa to take the materials of the wall of "Kawa" to make the Breakwater. He did not give the Government any portion of the soil of "Kawa," or of "Kaakaukukui..."
G.P. Judd, sworn, for Government, says: "...I was the Hawaiian Minister of Finance in the year 1847, and remember when the wall was built from the present lime kiln House running over to the land of sea & Sumner, Known as Koholaloa. It was built to prevent the filling up of the Harbor of Honolulu. It was thought advisable to remove a part of the wall of a fish pond in "Kawa," which I supposed belonged to the Government. Finding, however, that it was claimed by M. Kekuanaoa, for Victoria, Mr. Young and I applied to him for the privilege of removing it, which he granted to us, and accordingly it was removed under the direction of Piikoi and the stones put into the new wall first named, and my impression is that we built a new partition wall for the Governor's fishpond... Piikoi ran a plow through the fish pond to give direction to the stream and divert it from the harbor..."
- 7722 Hookala at Kawaihoa, Oahu. Right to take fish in the sea.
- 7737 Newa at Manananui, Oahu. Four fish ponds called Kanekekee in the *ili* of Weloka.
- 7752 Kamaka at Manananui, Oahu. A *puuone* (dune-banked pond) bounded on north by the *puuone* of Naue; on the west by the *kuapa* pond of Kupa.
- 7763 Kanakainoio at Manananui, Oahu. One fish pond.
- 7763 C Kamaka at Manana, Oahu. Two *puuone* (dune-banked ponds).
- 7771 Kuhia at Kalihi, Oahu. A *puuone* (dune-bank pond) in the *ili* of Kahaukomo.
- 7808 Kanakainoio at Manananui, Oahu. A *puuone* (dune-banked pond) bounded on the north by the *puuone* of Kahanumaikai; on the south by the *puuone* of Wahineae.
- 7879 Kalaiheana at Waiahao, Honolulu, Oahu. The fish in the sea fronting Kolowalu.
- 8024 Ahulau at Waialua, Oahu. Nine salt ponds at Kahapaakai; and the right to take fish in the sea.
- 8026 Awa at Waiahole, Oahu. A fresh water *oopu* fishery.
- 8033 Akaole at Waikiki, Oahu. House lot bounded *makai* by Paakea pond.
- 8047 Ehu at Honolulu, Oahu. A *puuone* (dune-banked pond) and salt beds at Kaimukanaka.
- 8050 Ewauli at Waialua, Oahu. "...A right to take fish at Ukoa as some others of us do; *oopu*, *opae*, *limu kala*; and the right to take the *anae* and the *aholehole* fish in the windy times..."



- 8051 Ehu at Pupukea, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 8065 Haula at Waikiki, Oahu. One pond named Keauhou.
- 8143 Hoa at Heeia, Oahu. Three puuone (dune-banked ponds) at Mokapu.
- 8164 Hoopii at Hauula, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 8166 Hianana at Kawailoa, Waialua, Oahu. “...At Opaepala in Kaluakoe is a place for catching oopu fish, and the stream...”
- 8167 Hikiau at Kaipapau, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 8174 Hoai at Hauula, Oahu. A right to fish.
- 8193 Hina at Heeia, Oahu. The ocean fishery of Piloloa.
- 8194 Hoka at Heeia, Oahu. Land bounded on the Kailua side by the fish pond.
- 8204 Hakau at Honolulu, Oahu. Eight salt beds and three ponds at Kukuluaeo.
- 8241 LN Nahua at Waipio, Oahu. One fish pond.
- 8241 DO Hana at Waipio, Oahu. Land bounded by the pond of Eo.
- 8241 F Kaumiumi at Waipio, Oahu. Land bounded *makai* by pond of Keomaikai.
- 8241 GG Kauhi at Waipio, Oahu. Two ponds in the *ili* of Kahaole.
- 8241 CB Keawekolohe at Waipio, Oahu. Land bounded *makai* by pond of Homaikaia.
- 8307 Kukanono (*wahine*) at Waianae, Oahu. Land bounded on south by fish pond of Liliha.
- 8313 Kamilolilii at Hauula, Oahu. An ocean fishery; Hauula is the name of the fishery; another ocean fishery...bounded on the East by fishery of Kaluanui ...; on the West by Kaweloapeekoa’s fishery.
- 8340 Kaiwinui at Hauula, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 8341 Kahunahana at Hauula, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 8342 Kaailaau at Hauula, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 8345 Kaakaukua at Waialua, Oahu. The hee fishery at Hau.
- 8354 Kapela at Kaneohe, Oahu. “...A shallow sea fishery and a deep sea fishery are also claimed, in connection with Kalokohou...”
- 8356 Kane at Hauula, Oahu. One muliwai (estuarine system) and one fish pond.
- 8378 Kahawaii at Kaneohe, Oahu. Land in the *ili* of Kalokohou bounded on *makai* side by fish pond.
- 8393 Kahinu at Kaneohe, Oahu. A puuone (dune-banked pond) at Puahuula.
- 8394 Kamalii at Kaneohe, Oahu. A puuone (dune-banked pond) at Puahuula.
- 8410 Kau at Waiono, Punaluu, Oahu. A fresh water oopu fishery.
- 8413 Kahanaumaikai at Hauula, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 8419 Kealainanea at Waialua, Oahu. Four loko ia (fish ponds).
- 8432 Kaiama at Paalaa, Waialua, Oahu. Land bounded on north by muliwai (estuarine system).
- 8436 Kauhi at Hauula, Oahu. A fishery.
- 8437 Keoho at Hauula, Oahu. A fishery in the *moo* of Kaieie.
- 8438 Keawe at Hauula, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 8443 Kauhalekua at Laie, Oahu. A fish pond.
- 8504 George Holmes at Kapalama, Oahu. One fish pond at Kumuulu.
- 8506 Sea & Sumners at Waikiki, Oahu. An ocean fishing ground at Ele or Diamond Point, called Kuilei.
- 8517 M. Kekuanaoa at Waikiki, Oahu. Loi kalo and fish ponds.
- 8559 C. Kanaina at Kapahulu, Waikiki, Oahu. The fish pond of Koaka.
- 8580 Keliwaiwaiole at Laie, Oahu. The fishery from the sand beach of Puukolu to Paeowaho.
- 8583 Kuheana at Kapaka, Koolauloa, Oahu. Kalo and fish belong to the konohiki, Kanaina.
- 8612 Kanehoalani at Waimanalo, Oahu. The ocean fishery of Apuakea.
- 8614 Kekino at Waimanalo, Oahu. A fish pond named Kalaloko bounded on *mauka* and Koolauloa sides by the muliwai (estuarine system) of Puha.



- 8628 Kauhi at Waialua, Oahu. An ocean fishery at Mananui.
- 8764 Kawiliau at Honolulu, Oahu. Right to take fish from the place of the *Konohiki*...
- 8844 Kekuanui at Puunui, Honolulu, Oahu. Several *loko ia* (fish ponds); several *kio pua* (fry ponds), and several *kaheka paakai* (salt making ponds).
- 8856 Kalanui at Kapalama, Oahu. A fish pond.
- 8989 Kaimu at Kailua, Oahu. A fish pond at Kaelepulu.
- 8994 Kekuhe at Kahaluu, Oahu. Ponds in the *ili* of Kapapaluna.
- 9014 Kuaana at Kalauao, Oahu. A pond in the *ili* of Kapuai.
- 9037 Kahakai at Waimanalo, Ewa, Oahu. A pond at Kalaipuawa. A right to *kala* from Aimea.
- 9039 Kaniau at Kaneohe, Oahu. Four *puuone* (dune-banked ponds) in the *ili* of Keana.
- 9306 Kaawe at Waimalu, Oahu. Land bounded on Honolulu side by pond of Pohakupu.
- 9315 Haki at Waimalu, Oahu. A fish pond in the *ili* of Waieli.
- 9332 C Kekoanui at Halawa, Oahu. Land bounded on *mauka* and Waianae sides by *loko kalo* (pond in which fish and taro are cultivated).
- 9334 Kaiwi at Aiea, Oahu. A *puuone* (dune-banked pond) *makai* of Kaomuoiiki.
- 9336 B Kalohi at Aiea, Oahu. A fish pond in the *ili* of Kaomuoiiki.
- 9338 Keapoahiwa at Aiea, Oahu. A fish pond in the land of Kaliawa.
- 9342 Kawelo at Waiawa, Oahu. The pond of Kapahala and the pond of Apalawai, in the *ili* of Papaa.
- 9356 Kuheuheu at Waimalu, Oahu. Land bounded on Honolulu side by fish pond of Kukahua; and on *makai* side by fish pond of Kaakaaka.
- 9361 Hanamaulu at Waiawa, Oahu. A *puuone* (dune-banked pond) in the *ili* of Kuhiawaho.
- 9368 Kakoo at Waiawa, Oahu. A fish pond at Kuhiawaho.
- 9374 Kainoino at Waiawa, Oahu. A *puuone* at the mouth of the *muliwai* (estuarine system) of Waiawa, named Kalokoloa.
- 9375 Peahi at Waiawa, Oahu. A *puuone* (dune-banked pond) named Kekio *makai* of Mokuolea.
- 9384 Nahalepili at Waiawa, Oahu. Four *puuone* (dune-banked ponds) in the *ili* of Kuhialoko bounded by fish pond of Kaloko.
- 9386 Puakai at Waiawa, Oahu. The fish ponds of Kuakuanui, Apalakai, and Apalawai.
- 9391 Keo at Waimano, Oahu. A fish pond *makai* of Ainaio.
- 9400 Hilo at Kalauao, Oahu. Land bounded on *makai* side by pond of Eli.
- 9402 Hikiau at Kalauao, Oahu. Land bounded on *makai* side by fish ponds; bounded on Waianae side by fish pond of Kiapu.
- 9404 Nowelo at Kalauao, Oahu. Two fish ponds named Kumuoehia and Kumuulu, for fish and taro.
- 9407 Kuaalu at Waimalu, Oahu. Fish pond of Kawakauliuli in the *ili* of Pipio.
- 9410 B Wahaolelo at Waiau, Oahu. Fish pond at Muliwai and a smaller pond at Muliwaiiki.
- 9482 Kawaamoole at Kamaile, Waianae, Oahu. The fish pond of Kahuilua, bounded *makai* by the pond of Maheuluna.
- 9483 Kahue at Kamaile, Waianae, Oahu. Land bounded on Waialua side by *loko koele* (pond worked for the king) of Kaekekaha.
- 9487 Kauo at Kamaile, Waianae, Oahu. Land bounded by fish pond of Oopalau.
- 9532 Kapapa at Kalia, Waikiki, Oahu (see 97 FL). Ten *kio pua* (ponds for raising fish fry).
- 9534 Kaehuokalani at Puunui, Waikiki, Oahu (see 41 FL). Two ponds.



- 9535 Paoo at Waikiki, Oahu. Three ponds.
- 9547 Kaleonui at Kailua, Oahu. Land bounded *makai* by fish pond in the *ili* of Hailaau.
- 9548 Kaulahea [location not given], Oahu. Several loko (ponds) and aina paakai (salt beds).
- 9549 Kaholomoku at Honolulu, Oahu. A fish pond and four salt beds at Kukuluaoe.
- 9550 Puaa at Honolulu, Oahu. Five salt beds at Kukuluaoe.
- 9639 Kaniau at Kaneohe, Oahu. Four puuone (dune-banked ponds) in the *ili* of Keana.
- 9865 Kaili at Kamaile, Waianae, Oahu. Half an interest in a loko kalo (pond in which fish and taro are cultivated).
- 9917 Lohi at Waialua, Oahu. The right to take fish in the pond of Ukoa.
- 9920 Lula at Heeia, Oahu. Land bounded on the Koolauloa side by fish pond of Kanoa in the *ili* of Kikiwelawela.
- 9951 Laanui at Kawailoa, Waialua, Oahu. Two ocean fisheries, called Kalaopa and Kalehunui.
- 9976 Lono at Pupukea, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 10003 (Iopa Lilikalani, see 9955 B)
- 10005 Laamaikahiki at Manananui, Oahu. Land bounded by the puuone (dune-banked pond) of Kaumawaho.
- 10158 Manoanoa at Waikane, Oahu. Land bounded on *mauka* side by fish pond of Kolowalu.
- 10167 Malaekoa at Leleo, Honolulu, Oahu. Four kio pua (ponds for raising fish fry).
- 10199 Maio at Waialua, Oahu. "...There is also a claim to the fish: oopu, opae, & limukala. The anae, hee and aholehole fish, can be taken in the windy time..."
- 10202 Makakea at Kaneohe, Oahu. A fish pond in the *ili* of Waikalua.
- 10215 Mauae at Waimanalo, Oahu. "...There are two kai kapu (prohibited fisheries), Awaawamalu and Paka. The uhu is the prohibited fish of Awaawamalu, the hee is the prohibited fish of Paka..."
- 10241 Mahoe at Hauula, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 10242 Makuahine at Waialua, Oahu. Fishery and land of Kukuiloloa.
- 10255 Makuku at Waialua, Oahu. "...One oopu fishery and the stream for this, which is for me, from Awawalu to Kahaoloa..."
- 10363 Nameahaele at Waialua, Oahu. A ha oopu (lattice trap for oopu) in the stream of Kuhihi, at Keeka.
- 10426 Niihau at Mokapu, Heeia, Oahu. A kio pua (a holding pond for raising fish fry).
- 10430 Nahaalu at Waihee, Oahu. A fish pond in the *ili* of Maluaka.
- 10456 Nahuina at Waiahole, Oahu. One loko manu [perhaps a pond in which water birds rest and feed].
- 10461 Niau at Waimea, Oahu. A fresh water oopu fishery.
- 10463 Napela at Honolulu, Oahu. Two kio pua (ponds for raising fish fry) and aina paakai (salt beds) at Kukuluaoe.
- 10503 Nuuanu at Kapalama, Oahu. A kio pua (pond for raising fish fry).
- 10605 I. Piikoi at Kaneohe, Oahu. Ili and pond of Mikiola; (other unspecified fisheries with his *ahupuaa*).
- 10619 Poouahi at Laie, Oahu. A fish pond in the *ili* of Naeloli.
- 10668 B Oopa at Kaneohe, Oahu. A fish pond at Mahinui.
- 10710 Paa at Heeia, Oahu. The fishery of Kauai.
- 10713 Poohiwi at Heeia, Oahu. Land in the *ili* of Papele bounded on Kailua side by the fish pond.
- 10743 Palaau at Heeia, Oahu. An ocean fishery at Keaueai.
- 10748 Puhipaka at Laie, Oahu. Two fish ponds.



- 10769 Pale at Kawaiiloa, Waialua, Oahu. Two hee fisheries, Keawaiki and Paweawea; two koa opelu fishing grounds, at Hau and Keone; and a house lot at Ukoa bounded on the east and the north by the pond.
- 10804 Pakuiwa at Kapaka, Koolauloa, Oahu. A fishery.
- 10806 Iona Piikoi for Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III at Honolulu, Oahu. Loko Kuwili at Kaukahoku.
- 10806 Iona Piikoi for Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III at Honolulu, Oahu. Loko Kaimukanaka. "...it belonged in ancient times to Kamehameha I. I have always understood that this loko descended from Kamehameha I to Kamehameha II and from him to the present King. It was formerly a fish pond but is now a salt pond."
- 10821 Paki at Laie, Oahu. The land of Kalokoloa extending from the breaking waves to the mountain; one pond; and one muliwai (estuarine system).
- 10882 Paaao at Kailua, Oahu. The pond of Pohakupuna at Pohakupu.
- 10924 Uluehu at Pupukea, Oahu. An ocean fishery.
- 10977 Wiwi at Heeia, Oahu. A fishery with four koa [fishing stations].
- 11015 Palanaike at Kaneohe, Oahu. A puuone (dune-banked pond) in the *ili* of Kaeleku.
- 11199 Kauila (*wahine*) at Waipio, Oahu. Two puuone (dune-banked ponds).
- 11225 Kekualoa at Kaliu, Honolulu, Oahu. Land bounded on the Ewa side by the fish ponds of Kawa and Kuwili.



I'a Ho'omalū (Protected Fish): Fisheries and Resources Associated with the Procurement of Fish Described in Historical Communications

As described in the overview of laws and introduction to the records of the *Māhele 'Āina* above, the *Ali'i* and *Konohiki* awardees of *ahupua'a* and other land units with ocean fisheries, were required to issue public notice identifying the *i'a ho'omalū* (protected or taboo'd fish) of their choice—generally one each per land. As a result of this requirement, further documentation from this period identifying choice fish of various lands across the island group was recorded.

While occurring more than 150 years ago, the memory of “*Konohiki*” fish remains fresh in the minds of *kūpuna* and elder *kama'āina* who have participated in oral history interviews with the author over the last fifteen years. There are numerous accounts of choice fish such as *'ama'ama*, *'anae*, *he'e*, *akule*, and *'ōpelu* being carefully guarded up through the 1940s, and in a few instances even later. It has been reported that sometimes, shots were fired overhead of those who tried to take fish out of given fisheries without permission.

As might be expected, the transition in Hawaiian history from a time when fisheries were managed by chiefs and their subordinates—and also often associated with ritual observances—to one where fee-simple interest and broader public rights existed, was filled with difficulties for the native tenants. In the years following the *Māhele*, hundreds of communications between *hoa'āina* (native tenants), *ali'i* and *konohiki* land owners, and the government document the wide range of issues which arose.

The following letters and notices are among those found in the collection of the Hawai'i State Archives (HSA), identifying fish and land areas where fishing occurred. The communications also provide the present-day readers with documentation on the lease and or sale of fishery rights; and the wide range of resources from mountains to sea, which were tended and collected in order to fully benefit from the wealth of the ocean and land-based fisheries.

The communications are presented chronologically, and by island when possible. Because the *ali'i-konohiki* awardees generally claimed “*ia hoomalū*” on more than one island, multiple locations were given in some notices. Underlining and italics have been inserted here in selected texts, to draw reader's attention to particular points.

Claims on Multiple Islands

March 1st 1850

A. Paki, to J.Y. Kanehoa, Governor of Maui

...In accordance with law, therefore, I make report our lands on Maui and Molokai, and the fish which we think is ours, as set forth in Section 4, Book two of the Law. I report the lands and the fishes to you, and you report to the Minister, and the Minister to direct the Chief to advertise in the newspaper.

Kaunakakai <i>Ahupuaa</i> , Molokai,	the fish is <i>Hee</i> .
Kamalo <i>Ahupuaa</i> , Molokai,	the fish is <i>Hee</i> .
Kawaikapu <i>Ahupuaa</i> , Molokai,	the fish is <i>Hee</i> .
Kainalu <i>Ahupuaa</i> , Molokai,	the fish is <i>Hee</i> .
1 Mailepai <i>Ahupuaa</i> , Maui,	the fish is <i>Hee</i> .
2 Alaeloa <i>Ahupuaa</i> , Maui,	the fish is <i>Hee</i> .
2 Honokeana <i>Ahupuaa</i> , Maui,	the fish is <i>Hee</i> .
3 Napili <i>Ahupuaa</i> , Maui,	the fish is <i>Hee</i> .
Puunau <i>Ahupuaa</i> , Maui,	the fish is <i>Opelu</i> .

These are the lands and fishes known... [HSA Int. Dept. – Lands]



January 14, 1852

A. Paki; to Keoni Ana, Minister of Interior

...According to law, it is proper for this and that *Konohiki* to make report of their prohibited fish belonging to their lands, the fish set apart by law for them, and that is what I lay before you so as to help your work.

On Hawaii:

Kei *Ahupuaa*, *Ohua* is the fish.

Maui:

Puunau *Ahupuaa*, *Opelu* is the fish.

1 Mailepai *Ahupuaa*, *Nehu* is the fish.

2 Alaeloa *Ahupuaa*, *Hee* is the fish.

2 Napili *Ahupuaa*, *Hee* is the fish.

Molokai:

Kamalo *Ahupuaa*, *Anae* is the fish.

Kaunakakai *Ahupuaa*, *Anae* is the fish.

Oahu:

Waialae *Ahupuaa*, *Anae* is the fish.

Heeia *Ahupuaa*, *Hee* is the fish.

Makaha *Ahupuaa*, *Hee* is the fish.

Kalauao *Ahupuaa*, *Anae* is the fish.

Kauai:

Lumahai *Ahupuaa*, *Hee* is the fish.

Haena *Ahupuaa*, *Hee* is the fish.

These are the fish and our lands from Hawaii to Kauai, and you can publish it according to law... [HSA Int. Dept. – Lands]

March 2nd, 1852

Kinimaka; to Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior:

...As a help towards the proper carrying out of the duties of your office according to law, therefore, I notify you of my prohibited fish:

Onouli, Molokai. *Manini* is the prohibited fish.

Kalahiki, Kona, Hawaii. *Opelu* is the prohibited fish.

Maihi, Kona, Hawaii. *Opelu* is the prohibited fish.

Holualoa, Kona, Hawaii. *Kala* is the prohibited fish.

These are the lands belonging to me where the fish is forbidden... [HSA Int. Dept. Lands]

Interior Department – Lands (ca. 1852)

NOTICE

The prohibited fish of the lands of the King, in the hands of Honorable A. Paki.

Kalamaula, Molokai. *Amaama*;

Ualapue, Molokai. *Amaama*.

Wailua, Kauai. *Akule*.

A. PAKI,

As directed: J. W. P. KAMEALOHA... [HSA Int. Dept. – Lands]



May 18, 1852

C. Kanaina; to Keoni Ana:

...I hereby tell you the Restricted Fish (la kapu), of my several lands, those which I desire to restrict:

<u><i>Inoa Aina</i></u>	<u><i>Inoa Ia</i></u>	<u><i>Kalana</i></u>	<u><i>Mokupuni</i></u>
Honuapo	<i>Ohua Manini</i>	Kau	Hawaii
Kapualei	<i>he Kala</i>	Kona	Molokai
Waialua	<i>he Hee</i>	Kona	Molokai
Kawela	<i>he Hee</i>		Kona Molokai
Kalimaoha	<i>he Hee</i>	Lahaina	Maui
Kapahulu	<i>he Hee</i>	Kona	Oahu
Kaalaea	<i>he Hee</i>	Koolaupoko	Oahu
Kapaka	<i>he Hee</i>	Koolauloa	Oahu
Laie	<i>he Hee</i>	Koolauloa	Oahu
Kalihiwai	<i>he Akule</i>	Koolau	Kauai...

[HSA Int. Dept. – Misc.]

January 24, 1854

J.W. P. Kamealoha, Clerk for A. Paki; to the Elele Hawaii:

...I, the undersigned, give notice by this letter, that I am directed by the Honorable A. Paki. I name the prohibited fish of A. Paki's own lands:

Ahupuaa

Heeia, Koolaupoko, Oahu.	<i>Hee</i> is the fish.
Waialae, Kona, Oahu.	<i>Anae</i> is the fish.
Kalauao, Ewa, Oahu,	<i>Anae</i> is the fish.
Makaha, Waianae, Oahu.	<i>Opelu</i> is the fish.
Haena, Kauai.	<i>Hee</i> is the fish.
Lumahai, Kauai.	<i>Uhu</i> is the fish.
Kainalu, Molokai.	<i>Hee</i> is the fish.
Kawaikapu, Molokai.	<i>Hee</i> is the fish.
Kamalo, Molokai.	<i>Hee</i> is the fish.
Kaunakakai, Molokai	<i>Anae</i> is the fish.
Puunau, Lahaina	<i>Opelu</i> is the fish.
Napili, Kaanapali	<i>Nehu</i> is the fish.
Keei, Hawaii	<i>Ohua</i> is the fish.

These are the prohibited fish...

Public Notice:

The protected fish of the lands of the King, as set down by the hand of his Excellency, A. Paki:

At Kalamaula, Molokai	the <i>Anae</i> .
At Ualapue, Molokai	the <i>Anae</i> .
At Wailua, Kauai	the <i>Akule</i> ...

[HSA Int. Dept. – Lands, 1854]

Olelo Hoolaha

Ka Hae Hawaii, Feberuari 18, 1857

<u><i>Konohiki</i></u>	<u><i>Ili Aina</i></u>	<u><i>Ia Kapu</i></u>
L. Kamehameha	Moanalua, Oahu	Anae
Pelakaluhi [Palekaluhi]	Wailupe, Oahu	Amaama



<i>Konohiki</i>	<i>Ili Aina</i>	<i>Ia Kapu</i>
R. Moffit	Pupukea, Oahu	Moi
R. Moffit	Paumalu, Oahu	Hee
R. Moffit	Waialea, Oahu	Hee
R. Moffit	Kawela, Oahu	Hee
R. Moffit	Kahuku, Oahu	Moi
R. Moffit	Keana, Oahu	Hee
Peka Keolokaia	Kahaluu, Oahu	Hee
Kekukahiko	Kaalawai, Waik., Oahu	Anae
J.W.E. Maikai	Keaahala, Kapok., Oahu	Uhu
L. Konia	Keei [nui], Hawaii	Ohua
L. Konia	Puunau, Maui	Opelu
L. Konia	Kainalu, Molokai	Hee
L. Konia	Kamalo, Molokai	Anae
L. Konia	Waialae, Oahu	Anae
L. Konia	Heeia, Oahu	Hee
L. Konia	Kalauao, Oahu	Aaae [Aeaea]
L. Konia	Lumahai, Kauai	Moi
L. Konia	Haena, Kauai	Hee
Kauanui	Kaunakakai, Molokai	Anae
Akahi	Keei [iki], Hawaii	Kala
Akahi	Kealia, Hawaii	Opelu
Akahi	Makalawena, Hawaii	Iao
Akahi	Puuepa, Hawaii	Uhu
Mahoe ½ Kaeo	Houuaula [Honuaula], Maui	Kala
Keekapu	Kekio, Oahu	Anae
Keekapu	Kukaiau, Oahu	Uhu

Olelo Hoolaha

Ka Hae Hawaii, Apelila 15, 1857

<i>Konohiki</i>	<i>Ili Aina</i>	<i>Ia Kapu</i>
W.L. Moehonua	Mokauae [Mokauea], Kal., Oahu	Anae
W.L. Moehonua	Kaeliwai 1-2, Waimea, Koolauloa, Oahu	Kala
T.C.B. Rooke	Halawa, Oahu	Anae
C.W.K. Kenui	Kahakuloa, Maui	Pauhuuhu
Geo. Shaw	Haenanui, Maui	Hee
Geo. Shaw	Kekuapaawela, Maui	Kala
W.H. Kaauwai	Kukuipuka, Maui	Opihi
W.H. Kaauwai	Nehe, Maui	Anae
W.H. Kaauwai	Honokohau, Maui	Uhu
Keoni Ana	Halehaku, Maui	Uhu
Pane	Maunalei, Lanai	Hee
T. Cumming	Waimanalo, Oahu	Uhu
Kalakaua	Kohala, Hawaii	Oio
J.H. Morrison	Paupau [Paauhau], Hamakua, Hawaii	Uhu
A. Adamas	Niu, Waikiki, Oahu	Amaama
L. Dawis [Davis]	Honokohau, Maui	Hee
Aikake Lui	Mapulehu, Molokai	Hee
W.Z. Hoonaulu	Manawainui, Molokai	Manini
P. Puihi	Kapuakoolau, Molokai	Anae



Olelo Hoolaha
Ka Hae Hawaii, Mei 6, 1857

Konohiki	Ili Aina	Ia Kapu
Kanaina	Kalemaohe, Maui	Opelu
J.H. Kaawa	Kapuna, Maui	Opihi
J.H. Kaawa	Kalua, Wailuku, Maui	Akule
L. Kamehameha	Puaa, Hawaii	Hee
L. Kamehameha	Kaloko, Hawaii	Opelu

Olelo Hoolaha
Ka Hae Hawaii, Iune 3, 1857

Konohiki	Ili Aina	Ia Hoomalu
[Kauai]		
V.K. Kaahumanu	Kikiaola (Waimea)	Moi
V.K. Kaahumanu	Wahiawa	Hee
V.K. Kaahumanu	Koloa	Hee
V.K. Kaahumanu	Mahaulepa [Mahaulepu]	Hee
V.K. Kaahumanu	Huleia	Hee
V.K. Kaahumanu	Niumalu	Akule
V.K. Kaahumanu	Nawiliwili	Akule
V.K. Kaahumanu	Kapaki [Kalapaki]	Akule
V.K. Kaahumanu	Hanaulu [Hanamaulu]	Akule

Ko Hawaii Ia Hoomalu

V.K. Kaahumanu	Keauhou 1, Kona	Hee
V.K. Kaahumanu	Keauhou 2	Hee
V.K. Kaahumanu	Kahaluu	Hee
V.K. Kaahumanu	Holualoa 1	Kala
V.K. Kaahumanu	Holualoa 2	Kala

Ko Lanai Ia Hoomalu

V.K. Kaahumanu	Kaohai	Hee
V.K. Kaahumanu	Kaa	Uhu

Ko Molokai Ia Hoomalu

V.K. Kaahumanu	Halawa	Opihi
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Ko Oahu Nei Ia Hoomalu

V.K. Kaahumanu	Maunaloa	Anae
V.K. Kaahumanu	Halawa	Anae
V.K. Kaahumanu	Kaluanui	Hee
V.K. Kaahumanu	Waiialua	
	Kaiwailoa [Kawailoa]	Hee
	Paaloa [Paalaa]	Hee
Ko. S. Grant	Helu 1 Kepakea [Paakea] Maui	Oio
	Helu 2 Kaliae	Opihi
P.F. Manini	Nanakuli, Waianae	Hee
F. Manini	Nanakuli	Hee



Island of Hawai'i

January 15, 1847

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

...I have made a circuit of this Island, and did some of the work of which I knew something about. I am performing the duties of this position of my Master, the King, with some feeling of uncertainty.

When on my journey, I ran across some of the burdens put on by the Tax Officers and other officials, as follows: "At Kaelehuululu, all of the natives went fishing on Tuesday, and they did not get any fish, they came back and had to pay the (tax)." This is mine, that this payment was not right because of not having been able to get any fish, this was done by the overseer of the Tuesday labor day.

At Kona, Kau, Puna, Hilo, Hamakua, Kohala, the natives making canoes are charged, as follows: "If one canoe, and it is dug out and finished, and only awaiting its being pulled down to the sea, the Tax Officer said, that the one who owned the canoe should pay one dollar, 2, 3, and 4, and so forth, this charge being for the prohibited trees of the Government, that is what the Tax Officer said." This is mine, I took off that burden according to the old law, page 41, section 20, and the law passed in 1841, page 69, section 12, and the new law, page 149, section 7. This is mine, not to pay as informed by the Tax Officer, because, they are only words of admonition, and nothing is said about any fine... [HSA ID Misc. Box 142]

July 24, 1847

**G.L. Kapeau, Governor, Island of Hawaii;
to Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior:**

...Section 1, Article 5, paragraph 7, page 72: "All of the transient fish, that is, the *kule* 1, the *anaeholo* 2, the *alalauwa* 3, the *uhukai* 4, the *kawelea* 5, the *kawakawa* 6, the *kalaku* 7. These are the fish to be divided in half, half to the Government, and half to the fishermen.

Some of the fishes belonging to this class have been taken by some of the *Konohiki*. William P. Leleiohoku has taken the *kule* school of Honuaula, the *ahupuaa* which adjoins Keopu, as his *tabu* fish. Keelikolani has taken the *uhukai* for her land at Kapalilua. What about this?

My opinion is that the placing of the *tabu* by these *Konohiki* in that way, they do not rightly belong there, there is no word in that paragraph authorizing them to do so... And if the *tabu* fish of the *Konohiki* get mixed up with that of the King, the *Konohiki* entitled to one-third thereof. But this only applies to Molokai and Oahu, and the rivers on Kauai... [HSA Int. Dept. – Lands]

January 24, 1853

Akahi (w.); to Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior:

...Pursuant of law, I report my lands and the forbidden fish, so that your work will be expedited:

On Hawaii:

Kealia *Ahupuaa*, (Kona).

Opelu is the fish.

Keei *Ahupuaa*, (Kona).

Kala is the fish.

Makalawena *Ahupuaa*, (Kona).

Iao is the fish.

Puuepa *Ahupuaa*, (Kohala).

Uhu is the fish.

These are my lands and the prohibited fish according to the law.



It shall be unlawful for people from other places to go on these lands as provided by law...
[HSA Int. Dept. – Lands]

Islands of Kaua'i & Ni'ihau

Waimea, Kauai, January 20, 1840.

Samuel Whitney, to Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III):

I have seen in your law book, on page 18, some words, as follows: "Those persons who seek after wisdom in all the country places, of these islands, whose petition has come before me, or my minister, and we are satisfied that it is all right, then these words shall belong to the Government." Where art thou: I am one in the out-of-the-way places who has written to you. Some of the subjects on your land here on Kauai are in grief. This is one of the reasons of their grief, about the small fish in the rivers and the streams. The lunas have classed them the same as the fish of the breakers at the reefs, and a *konohiki* has tabooed the shrimps, another, the mudfish, another, the aholehole, and another, the mullet, in the same river, and likewise all of the fish in some of the rivers have been tabooed, and there is no place where the poor people can have hopes of doing your work or theirs (konohikis). My thought is that all rivers from *mauka* to the sea, should be free, no taboo, no dispute. This is mine.

Here is this question to you. Did you say to the tax officers that they consider what is proper for the land, and that they, after due consideration, make their decision the same effect as your laws? If that is what you did, then, we have no other King, they are the only kings.

Here is another: The law which you gave the *konohiki* to taboo things for themselves, is the sedge included in said grant. The sedge for making mats here and on Niihau has been tabooed. How can people there set their bodies aside for the yearly tribute? This is a very hard law, because, in some parts of the land here, the pandanus leaves are taboo, it is impossible for the poor man to make his house, the *hau* is the same in some places...
[HSA Int. Dept. – Misc.]

Interior Department Document No. 11 (n.d. ca. 1850)

Islands of Kauai and Niihau

Aina	Konohiki	Ia Hoomalu	Laa Hoomalu
Apana 1. (Kona)			
Kaauwaekahi	Kaulaloa	<i>Opule</i>	
Kaawanui	Kaulaloa	<i>Oopu</i>	
Kukuilolo	P. Kanoa	<i>Amaama</i>	
Kuiloa	Manu	<i>Anae</i>	
Koula	Nakuahanai	<i>Oopu</i>	
Manuahi	Pueo		<i>Oopu</i>
Makaweli	Kiokio	<i>Oopu</i>	<i>Koa</i>
Kakalae	Wini	<i>Amaama</i>	
Peekauai	Victoria [Kamamalu]		
	Kapuniai	<i>Moi</i>	
Kikiaola	M. Kekuanaoa	<i>Moi</i>	
Na Opelu	Victoria	<i>Moi</i>	
Kaawaloa	Victoria	<i>Moi</i>	
Nohomalu	Victoria	<i>Moi</i>	
Na Kahelu	Victoria	<i>Moi</i>	
Ohaiula	Victoria	<i>Moi</i>	
Olapa	Victoria	<i>Moi</i>	
Haelule	Victoria	<i>Moi</i>	
Milolii	Victoria	<i>Moi</i>	



<i>Aina</i>	<i>Konohiki</i>	<i>Ia Hoomalu</i>	<i>Laa Hoomalu</i>
Kekaha	Kaumualii	<i>Hee</i>	
Kolo	Lainaholo	<i>Hee</i>	
Nualolo	Kapuniaia	<i>Hee</i>	

Apana 2. (Napali & Halelea)

Awaapuhi	Aea	<i>Oio</i>	<i>Koa</i>
Honopu	Moaiki	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Kauila</i>
Kalalau	Pilipo	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Kukui</i>
Kolokini	Pilipo	<i>Moi</i>	<i>Kukui</i>
Pohakuao	Pilipo	<i>Hee</i>	
Hanakoa	Mokuohai	<i>Moi</i>	<i>Kukui</i>
Hanakapiai	Keahiaka	<i>Oio</i>	<i>Ahakea</i>
Haena	Kekela	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Lehua</i>
Wainiha	Daniela	<i>Oopu</i>	<i>Manene</i>
Kapaloa	Daniela	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Lehua</i>
Kiilua	Daniela	<i>Amaama</i>	<i>Ohiaha</i>
Polo	Daniela	<i>Kala</i>	<i>Ahakea</i>
Puaaloliloli	Daniela	<i>Uhu</i>	<i>Koa</i>
Kaelieli	Daniela	<i>Oio</i>	<i>Koa</i>
Lumahai	Niuloahiki	<i>Amaama</i>	<i>Manene</i>
Waikoko	Kamehameha III	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Koa</i>
Waipa	Koukou	<i>Hee</i>	
Waioli	Daniela	<i>Oopu</i>	<i>Ohiaha</i>
Limunui	Kahua	<i>Oopu</i>	<i>Ohiaha</i>
Maoia	Kahue	<i>Aholehole</i>	<i>Ohiaha</i>
Kalehuahale	Kahue	<i>Oopu</i>	<i>Ahakea</i>
Puhipae	Kahue	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Ahakea</i>
Puapuahoi	Kahue	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Ohiaha</i>
Hanaleiiki	Kahue	<i>Uhu</i>	<i>Ahakea</i>
Palikoe	Kahue	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Ahakea</i>
Mahaaua	Kahue	<i>Opelu</i>	<i>Lehua</i>
Ohiaile	Kahua	<i>Oopu</i>	<i>Kauila</i>
Kilua	Kahue	<i>Oopu</i>	<i>Ohiaha</i>
Kalihikai	S.P. Kalama	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Ohiaha</i>
Kalihiwai	Peke	<i>Amaama</i>	<i>Ohiaha</i>

Apana 3. (Kauakahi, with the Minister of Finance)

Apana 4. (Puna & Kona)

Homaikawaa	Kekuanaoa	<i>Uhu</i>	<i>Hau</i>
Kamalomaloo	K. III	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Ohiaha</i>
Kumukumu	K. III	<i>Uhu</i>	<i>Hau</i>
Halaula	K. III	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Koa</i>
Kealia	Koahou	<i>Oopu</i>	<i>Koa</i>
Kulihaeli	Koahou	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Ohiaha</i>
Kapaa	Kaikioewa	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Hau</i>
Keahapane	Kulauko	<i>Amaama</i>	<i>Hau</i>
Ulakui	Keoni li	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Hau</i>
Waipouli	Lunalilo	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Koa</i>
Olohena	Kiaimoku	<i>Hee</i>	
Wailua	Wikolia (Victoria)	<i>Anae</i>	<i>Ohiaha</i>
Hanamaulu	Wikolia	<i>Anae</i>	<i>Hau</i>
Papuaa	Wikolia	<i>Opihi</i>	<i>Kukui</i>
Kalapaki	Wikolia	<i>Uhu</i>	<i>Koa</i>



<i>Aina</i>	<i>Konohiki</i>	<i>Ia Hoomalu</i>	<i>Laa Hoomalu</i>
Nawiliwili	Wikolia	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Hau</i>
Kukuiokahea	Wikolia	<i>Opihi</i>	
Kaholo	Wikolia	<i>Opihi</i>	
Haiku	Wikolia	<i>Oopu</i>	<i>Ohiaha</i>
Niumalu	Wikolia	<i>Awa</i>	<i>Koa</i>
Makaopuna	Wikolia	<i>Opihi</i>	
Kipu	Wikolia	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Koa</i>
Mahaulepu	Kameh. III	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Lama</i>
Paa	Kameh. III	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Hau</i>
Paa	Kameh. III	<i>Uhu</i>	<i>Ahakea</i>
Weliweli	Kameh. III	<i>Uhu</i>	
Hihinui	M. Kekuanaoa	<i>Ahole</i>	<i>Ohiaha</i>
Nukumoi	M. Kekuanaoa	<i>Moi</i>	
Milohae	M. Kekuanaoa	<i>Hee</i>	
Kapalau	M. Kekuanaoa	<i>Uhu</i>	
Kahoai	M. Kekuanaoa	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Ohiaha</i>
Kualu	M. Kekuanaoa	<i>Opule</i>	<i>Ohiaha</i>
Kaohe	Hewahewa	<i>Maomao</i>	
Aepo	Moehau	<i>Hee</i>	
Keekee	Kuakauna	<i>Kala</i>	
Puuki	Aikanaka	<i>Amaama</i>	<i>Ohiaha</i>
Kulilole	Aikanaka	<i>Oio</i>	<i>Ohiaha</i>
Hapaiehu	Aikanaka	<i>Opule</i>	<i>Ohiaha</i>
Kalaheo	Kamehameha III	<i>Kumu</i>	<i>Ohiaha</i>
Kahookeeo	M. Kekuanaoa	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Koa</i>
Kukaekaloa	M. Kekuanaoa	<i>Opihi</i>	<i>Koa</i>
Nupa	M. Kekuanaoa	<i>Opihi</i>	<i>Koa</i>
Mopunohua	Wini	<i>Opihi</i>	

Niihau:

Kaali	Victoria	<i>Hee</i>
Kaali	Victoria	<i>Uhu</i>
Kapaka	Victoria	<i>Hee</i>
Niuniau	Victoria	<i>Hee</i>
Kanalo	Victoria	<i>Hee</i>
Kalialinui	Victoria	<i>Hee</i>
Pohualoa	Victoria	<i>Moi</i>
Kahuku	Victoria	<i>Moi</i>
Kaununui	Victoria	<i>Hee</i>
Loe	Victoria	<i>Hee</i>
Kaluahonu	Victoria	<i>Hee</i>
Kaluahonu	Victoria	<i>Hee</i>
Pauhula	Victoria	<i>Hee</i>
Kamoamo	Victoria	<i>Hee</i>
Moa	Victoria	<i>Hee</i>
Puuwai	Victoria	<i>Hee</i>
Apopo	Victoria	<i>Hee</i>
Halewelo	Victoria	<i>Hee</i>
Halehaa	Victoria	<i>Hee</i>
Nonopapa	Victoria	<i>Hee</i>
Pololi	Victoria	<i>Hee</i>
Kamalino	Victoria	<i>Uhu</i>
Umeumelua	Victoria	<i>Hee</i>



<i>Aina</i>	<i>Konohiki</i>	<i>Ia Hoomalu</i>	<i>Laau Hoomalu</i>
Pahau	Victoria	<i>Uhu</i>	
Kahaino	Victoria	<i>Uhu</i>	

[HSA Interior Department Doc. No. 11]

Interior Department – Lands Document No. 19 (n.d.)

M. Kekuanaoa; to Keoni Ana:

I, M. Kekuanaoa, make known the prohibited fish of the lands of V. Kamamalu, and Ruta Keelikolani, on the Island of Kauai:

Apana 1:

Kikiaola	<i>Moi</i>
Makaweli	<i>Akule</i>
Kukiloloa	<i>Moi</i>

Apana 2:

Wahiawa	<i>Hee</i>
Koloa <i>Hee</i>	
Mahaulepu	<i>Hee</i>

Apana 3:

Kipu <i>Hee</i>	
Haiku <i>Opihi</i>	
Niumalu	<i>Akule</i>
Nawiliwili	<i>Akule</i>
Kalapaki	<i>Akule</i>
Hanamaulu	<i>Akule</i>

R. Keelikolani

Apana 5:

Waipa	<i>Hee</i> [HSA Int. Dept. – Lands]
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April 8th, 1854.

J.W.H. Kauwahi; to Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior

...Regarding the salt at Niihau, I again make application. Because, my application does not affect the salt-pans of Niihau now in the hands of the old resident there. But, for the Government's own salt, and not the salt-pans, because, in the former years part of the salt was set apart for the Government, and that salt is still at Niihau, this salt does not belong to any particular person, and is not the salt-pans, this is the salt which I am applying for, and asking to buy same.

And because I was afraid of the storms and the seas at certain times in Niihau, and would prevent the vessel from anchoring, and the Government might be impatient because of the delay there, that is why I am asking for a time for me to take away my salt. But, if the Government will permit me to take it away at divers times, that is the salt which I bought, from it, then, I will leave it until such suitable time for me, then to take it away.

I do not know how much salt there is, I cannot make an estimate, but, this is certain, that the Government has salt, and that some was taken away by the agents there, who were dividing the salt with the men who did the work in the past. And if the Government says that it does not want the salt, it would be better to let me have it for nothing. But, if the Government wants to sell it, then, it would be better to accept the sum of \$25.00, and the money is ready, only waiting for the consent... [HSA – Int. Dept. Misc. Box 145]



Island of Lāna‘i

Interior Department Lands (1848):

The lands, prohibited fish and the prohibited wood and the Konohikis in the Seventh District:

<u>Aina</u>	<u>Konohiki</u>	<u>Ia Hoomalu</u>	<u>Laa Hoomalu</u>
Kaohai	Pia	Hee	Naio
Pawili	Pia	Hee	Lama
Palawai	Kaunele	Anae	Ahakea
Kaunolu	Muhee	Hee	Lama
Kalulu	Kalawaia	Hee	Ahakea
Maunalei	Waaiki	Hee	Kukui
Mahana	Kukaloloua	Hee	Ahakea
Paomai	Kauila	Hee	Naio
Kaa	Kaawa	Uhu	Naio
Opelepelea	Pali	Malolo	Koko
Mooloa	Pali	Malolo	Koko
Kaloma	Pali	Maomao	Koko
Kaumalapau	Pali	Maomao	Koko
Kealia 1	Kapu	Uhu	Aalii
Kealia 2	Kapea	Uhu	Aalii
Kamao	Palahu	Hee	Koko

[HSA – Int. Dept. Lands, 1848].

August 26, 1852

Noa Pali; to Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior:

...Forbidden fish of the *konohiki* and the prohibited woods. According to law.

<u>Konohiki:</u>	<u>Land:</u>	<u>Fish:</u>	<u>Wood.</u>
Makaio Kuanaoa	Kaa, Kaohai,	Uhu, Hee,	Koko Naio
Nahaolelua	Maunalei,	Hee,	Kukui
Kanaina	Mahana, Paomai,	Hee, Hee,	Ahakea Aiea
Haalelea	Palawai,	Anae,	Ahakea
Kaeo	Kealia,	Uhu,	—
Kaahou	Kamao,	Hee,	Koko
li	Kalulu,	Hee,	Ahakea
Pali,	Kamoku, Kealia,	Uhu, Uhu,	Koko Koko.

Your highness, you straighten this out in your office... [HSA Int. Dept. – Lands]



Island of Maui

Kalanikahua (Haiku), East Maui

May 16, 1848 (unsigned letter); to Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior:

**[regarding problems in Government and Konohiki work days—
pō'ahā & pō'alima etc.—and access to resources]**

...We, your people living in Alaea here, make known to you the difficulties here in Hamakualoa. Our troubles are these, which have come upon us, that the days set apart for ourselves are turned into working days of the Government only. For the year 47 up to 48 inst., it is only on our days that the Government work is being performed, and not on the King's or Konohiki days.

The nature of the work is this: Posts for houses, and rafters for houses, making pens for stray animals, and such. Here is another trouble to us, parents who have several children, they have all gone back to work, also the old men who are weak, and such. Here is another trouble to us, the taking away of our fish, the aweoweo which we, the people went to fish for in the night, we did our fishing at various places of the sea, four and eight have been collected, some for the government, some for us. We said, is it not the fish which go in the shoals in the day time, and which are seen by everyone, and we go and fish, then, that is to be divided... [HSA, Int. Dept. – Misc. Box 143; Archivist translation]

April 24, 1848

S.M. Kamakau, Tax Assessor, Kipahulu, Maui;

to Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior

(regarding clarifications of restrictions and rights to stream fisheries):

...The Minister of the Interior has directed that there are only two things which the Konohiki can prohibit, one tree in the mountains, and one taboo fish in the sea. But the prohibiting of shrimp, and the mud-fish in the streams against everyone would be all right, if the water where the mud-fish, the water where the shrimp, and where the mud-fish school, and the water where the olona grow, the lauhala bushes grow, belong to their kuleana. But making the restrictions on the places where the people have a right is all wrong. Because the Konohiki's and the rights of the people enter the streams, though the prohibition has been made from the mountains and the sea, as to the streams... [HSA – Int. Dept. Misc.]

September 14, 1848

J.Y Kanehoa, Governor of Maui; to Keoni Ana Minister of the Interior:

...A. Paki has written to me about his taboo fish for his land of Puunau, which is the opelu, being the same as told us in the Legislature... [HSA Int. Dept. – Lands]

November 18, 1848

J. Kapule; to Keoni Ana

Island of Maui:

Aina	Haku Aina	Konohiki	Ia Hoomalu	Laa Hoomalu
Waiokila	Nalehu	Luka	Pauhuuhu	
Makaliua 1	Kekuhe	Kanaina	Uhu	
Makaliua 2	Hanunu	Kanaina	Uhu	
Kapaloa	Puhi	Kanaina	Uhu	
Kahakuloa	Kuakamauna	Kanaina	Pauhuuhu	
Ahoa	Mahoe	Kamehameha III	Pauhuuhu	
Hononana 1	Kenui	Kanaina	Uhu	
Hononana 2	Kenui	Kanaina	Pauhuuhu	
Honokohau	Nueku	Mose Kaikioe	Uhu	Ahakea
Honolua	Polea	Kanaina	Hee	



<i>Aina</i>	<i>Haku Aina</i>	<i>Konohiki</i>	<i>Ia Hoomalu</i>	<i>Laa Hoomalu</i>
Moomuku	Kaina	Kanaina	<i>Hee</i>	
Kahauiki	Nalimu	Kanaina	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Koa</i>
Honokahua	Kale	Keoni Ana	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Koa</i>
Napili	Laahili	Kamehameha III	<i>Hee</i>	
Honokeana	Paki	Konia	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Hau</i>
Honokeana 1	Paki	Konia	<i>Hinalea</i>	<i>Ulu</i>
Alaeloa	Paki	Konia	<i>Hee</i>	
Mailepai	Paki	Konia	<i>Nehu</i>	
Kahana	Palea	Kanaina	<i>Nehu</i>	
Kahaiole	Paki	Konia	<i>Nehu</i>	
Mahinahina	Paki	Konia	<i>Hee</i>	
Waihali	Anami	Kuakini	<i>Hee</i>	
Moomuku	Dauida	Hoapili paha	<i>Hee</i>	
Haena	Kou	Kuakini	<i>Hee</i>	

[HSA Int. Dept. – Lands. 1848]

May 25, 1849

**S.P. Kalama on behalf of Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior;
to J.Y. Kanehoa, Governor of Maui:**

I have received the letter from the both of you, in regard to a dispute over tabu fish claimed by the *Konohiki*, in the fishing grounds set apart for the Government under the law.

The *Konohiki* is entitled to select one kind of fish in the fishery belonging to the Government, providing said *Konohiki* has a claim in the sea, in which the Government is interested; he is to reserve for his use one kind of fish, of different variety and name, from the variety on which a restriction is placed by the Government Agent, so as to avoid annoyance & future disputes.

If you have taken the course as explained by you on the various sections of the law, regarding *Konohiki* & Government fish; you have in my opinion taken the proper course. The law is very plain on the subject of supervising & placing of restriction on fish.

Act justly, so that satisfaction be given to both parties, also to the public... [HSA Interior Department Book 2, Part 2]

Puumalei [Pu'uomaile, Haiku]

August 9, 1853

John T. Gower; to R. Armstrong, Minister Public Instruction:

...In passing around through Hamakua and Koolau I find that many natives who have bought land and others who wish to buy, who have fish nets and *olona*, but cannot in these *pilikia* times get away to dispose of their manufactures in order to raise the cash. Now I would take their nets and *olona* if I knew there was a sale for such things at Honolulu. Could you ascertain through any parties who would be likely to know, whether nets are in demand? And what price a net that contains 2 *lau*, and is 2 fathoms deep, would bring? The usual price I hear for such nets is \$20 – Would they bring more or less than that at the present time? I suppose there are some coming into market now, and perhaps there are none wanted on Oahu, there is so much sickness.

If it would not be too much trouble to make these inquiries you would confer a favor by so doing, both upon many of the people, as well as myself, which I shall be happy to reciprocate. I expect to go through Hamakua & Koolau again next month and if I should learn that it would be safe to do so, I shall be glad to take nets and *olona* in payment for land.



I do not learn that any of the upland is wanted in Kuiaha, for cattle. Kapihe said he wanted some in the ravine and offered \$20 per acre, very likely would pay more for it. If you wish to sell the valley I would dispose of it to the best advantage possible, without charge.

We are all well in this region. We have taken "Torberts" girl for a year. Mr. Croswell has just got about through with cutting his wheat. Has done it nearly all with syckles, by native labor. The crop is good this year – well filled... [HSA, Series 261 – Box 14]

July 15, 1856

Mahoe; to L. Kamehameha, Deputy Minister of the Interior:

...I am Mahoe, the *Konohiki* of Kaeo *ahupuaa* in Honuaula, Island of Maui. I hereby tell you of my protected fish in the fishery of my land, Kaeo. Kala is the Protected fish in the fishery of Kaeo. Let it be published as required by the Law... [HSA Int. Dept. – Misc.]

Island of Moloka'i

Interior Department Lands (1848):

The lands, prohibited fish and the prohibited wood and the *Konohikis* in the Sixth District:

<u><i>Aina</i></u>	<u><i>Konohiki</i></u>	<u><i>Ia Hoomalu</i></u>	<u><i>Laa Hoomalu</i></u>
Moakea	Kahuluaikea	<i>Uhu</i>	<i>Ahakea</i>
Keopuka 1	Oopa	<i>Uhu</i>	<i>Ohia</i>
Keopuka 2	Kaahu	<i>Uhu</i>	
Pohakupili	Kanakaloa	<i>Hee</i>	
Lupehu	Kula	<i>Kala</i>	
Honouli 1	Lima	<i>Anae</i>	<i>Ohia</i>
Honouli 2	Kuli	<i>Anae</i>	<i>Ohia</i>
Kumimi	Poe	<i>Hee</i>	
Moanui	Kaai	<i>Hee</i>	
Waialua	Pakaka	<i>Anae</i>	<i>Ohia</i>
Poniuhua	Hoe	<i>Hee</i>	
Puelelu	Hoe	<i>Anae</i>	
Kainalu	Keawenuiaumi	<i>Anae</i>	<i>Ohia</i>
Kawaikapu	Keopuhiwa	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Ohia</i>
Honomuni	Namilo	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Ohia</i>
Kuliula	Kou	<i>Hee</i>	
Ahaino 1	Kanelauhiwa	<i>Hee</i>	
Ahaino 2	Kupihea	<i>Hee</i>	
Kupeke	Haolekaukau	<i>Anae</i>	
Pukoo 1	Kaeo	<i>Hee</i>	
Mapulehu	Kamai 1	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Ohia</i>
Kaluaaha	J. Hulu	<i>Anae</i>	
Ualapue	Kawelo	<i>Anae</i>	
Kahananui	Kuahine	<i>Opihi</i>	
Manawai	Oni	<i>Manini</i>	
Ohia 1	Kauaawa	<i>Anae</i>	
Ohia 2	Kauaawa	<i>Anae</i>	
Keawanui	Hinau	<i>Anae</i>	<i>Ohia</i>
Kaamola 1, 2,3, 4,	Moke	<i>Anae</i>	
Kaamola 5	Halualani	<i>Anae</i>	
Kaamola 6	Kapu	<i>Hee</i>	
Puaahala	Manoha	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Ohia</i>
Wawaia	Nakoi	<i>Anae</i>	<i>Kopiko</i>
Kumueli	Palama	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Ulei</i>
Kapualei	Poaimoku	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Kukui</i>



<u><i>Aina</i></u>	<u><i>Konohiki</i></u>	<u><i>Ia Hoomalu</i></u>	<u><i>Laau Hoomalu</i></u>
Puakoolau	Pua	<i>Hee</i>	
Makole	Kaueia	<i>Anae</i>	
Kawela	Nalaalau	<i>Hee</i>	
Kupaia	Kekuhe	<i>Hee</i>	
Kamiloloa	Kauhane	<i>Hee</i>	
Kapaakea	Kekoa	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Wiliwili</i>
Kaunakakai	Liili	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Wiliwili</i>
Kalamaula	Uleule	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Ohia</i>
Kahanui	Kauakahi	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Ohia</i>
Palaau	Kalama	<i>Pua</i>	
Hoolehua	Lonoaea	<i>Anae</i>	
Iloli	Lono	<i>Anae</i>	
Punakou	Hoa	<i>Anae</i>	
Kaluakoi	Kama	<i>Moi</i>	
Kalaupapa	Kanakaole	<i>Hee</i>	
Makanalua	<i>Hee</i>		
Mahulili	Kaha	<i>Pauhuuhu</i>	
Polapola	<i>Uhu</i>		
Kawaluna	Kaha	<i>Uhu</i>	
Pelekunu	Lokomaikai	<i>Uhu</i>	<i>Ohia</i>
Kamalo	Peelua	<i>Hee</i>	<i>Ohia</i>

[HSA Int. Dept. – Lands, 1848].

August 18, 1851

**W. Goodale, Interior Department Clerk;
to Rev. S.G. Dwight, Kaluaaha Molokai**

...In reply to yours of Aug 13 I have to say.

No Fish ponds on Molokai are to be sold at present. Please pay Mr. Meyers Bill of Ten Dollars and send the receipt to this office as so much cash.

The Patent for land in Pukoo are at the Palace waiting signature.

Pukoo waewae belongs to Napohaku... [HSA Interior Department Book 3]

September 12, 1851

A.G. Thurston, Interior Department Clerk; to Rev S.G. Dwight:

In reply to yours of the 8th inst. His Highness instructs me to authorize you to lease the fishpond of Keoneokuino, for the term of five years, at public auction. If that brings a good price the other Govt ponds on Molokai will probably also be leased in due season... [HSA Interior Department Book 3]

April 2nd, 1852

A.G. Thurston, Interior Department Clerk; to Rev S.G. Dwight:

...Yours of the 23rd ult. has come duly to hand, and I am instructed to reply.

That His Highness approves of the Lease of the Keoneokuino Fishpond at the price you specify, viz. \$25.— pr. year; and as soon as you can send down the survey of the pond if one can be made, with the name of the Lessee, the Lease will be made out.

You are authorized also to lease the Kuliula pond if it will bring \$30. for the same length of time.



The Patents you speak of are not yet signed, and probably will not be until the coming Parliament enact that the Minister of the Interior sign them alone, as he now does Govt. Leases.

The owners of half lands are, of course, expected to pay for half the cost of surveying and dividing the land.

Onouli *maloo* belongs to Kinimaka and of course his *poalima* continues.

One half Lupehu is exempt, but the other half belongs to Kuha lake, and no *konohiki* can be expected to be so generous as to give up the right to *poalima*. How the hoainas are to determine whether they are on Govt or *Konohiki* land in these cases of half lands I don't know. [HSA Interior department Book 3]

Island of O'ahu

September 6, 1842

(Lease Agreement for Nuupia Fishpond, Kaneohe, Oahu):

I, KAMEHAMEHA III., and KEKAULUOHI, the premier of the Government, lease a certain fish pond named Nuubia [Nuupia], at Koolau, Kaneohe.

Said fish pond to belong to PIKOKI, and his heirs or his representatives, unmolested, for the term of ten years from the day of the signing of this instrument. And he is to pay to my heirs or my representatives, the owner of the land, each year, the sum of twenty dollars.

At the end of the ten years, then, to return said pond to KAMEHAMEHA III., and his heirs or his representatives, the owner of said pond.

And should PIKOKI desire to continue his occupancy, then to have a new document made if agreeable, and if not, then that will be the end.

In testimony of these words, we bind ourselves, and our heirs or our representatives, to the proper carrying out of all of these words above, and we sign our names below, this sixth day of September, in the year of the Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-two.

Done at Honolulu, Oahu, Hawaiian Islands

Witness:

Keoni Kivini. KAMEHAMEHA III.
Kauwahi. KEKAULUOHI.
PIKOKI.

Interior Department Document No. 18 (n.d.)

Kapepee; to Iona Piikoi:

Hee is the prohibited fish in the *Ahupuaa* of Waianae, from Keaau to Nanakuli. That is the only fish. But the trouble that I have heard, is that the bait for line-fishing is *hee*... [HSA Int. Dept. – Lands]

Interior Department Document No. 70. (n.d.)

J. Kekukahiko; to Keoni Ana:

...I inform you, honored one, that the prohibited fish of my land of Kaalawai, Ili, at Waikiki. This is the said prohibited fish, the *Kala*. That is the fish that I have forbidden according to the law of the Hawaiian Islands... [HSA Int. dept. – Lands]



Interior Department Document No. 74. (ca. 1850)

King's Agent to Iona. Piikoi:

...Lands of the King entitled to prohibited fish on the Island of Oahu, *pali* Koolau-poko and Loa, in the *Ahupuaa* of Kailua, *ili* therein, the names are below:

Kawailoa, <i>ili</i> of Kailua,	the fish is <i>hee</i> ;
Halekou, <i>ili</i> of Kaneohe,	the fish is <i>anae</i> ;
Waikalua, <i>ili</i> of Kaneohe,	the fish is <i>anae</i> ;
Keahala, <i>ili</i> of Kaneohe,	the fish is <i>uhu</i> ;
Kahaluu, <i>Ahupuaa pali</i> Koolau,	the fish is <i>hee</i> ;
Maluoko, <i>ili</i> of Waihee,	the fish is <i>anae</i> ;
Waiahole, <i>Ahupuaa pali</i> Koolau,	the fish is <i>hee</i> ;
Hauula, <i>Ahupuaa pali</i> Koolauloa,	the fish is <i>hee</i> ;
Waialea, <i>Ahupuaa pali</i> Koolauloa,	the fish is <i>hee</i> ;
Paumalu, <i>Ahupuaa pali</i> Koolauloa,	the fish is <i>alalaua</i> ;
Pupukea, <i>Ahupuaa</i> ,	the fish is <i>uhu</i> ... [HSA Int. Dept. – Lands]

April 11, 1850

P.F. Manini; to J.W. Opunui

Listen to me, I wish to inform you that this is the third time that I have written you, I have warned you two times about your abusing your position, and I inform you that we will have to go before the Premier and have this matter investigated. This is what I notify you that Mokuumeume and the fishery I am the luna of those places from the Premier. You must stop fishing in the Government sea for *anae*, and your people from taking the growing things, for the *makaainana* may be deprived of the *pili* for the houses, and if the Premier gives notice of the prohibition, some *makaainana* have made complaint because you have prohibited the *pili* of Mokuumeume, they were permitted to take *pili* for their own use but not for sale... [HSA ID – Lands]

May 14, 1852

J. Kekino, Tax Assessor; to Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior:

...I wish to inform you concerning Makua, Kahanaikei [Kahanahaiki] and Keawaula, Government lands. There are some *hau* groves in Makua, and one at Kahanaikei. I have asked the old timers, and they told me that they were koeles from ancient times, and that *hau* at Kahanaikei, the old timers they say, belonged to the chiefs from ancient times. The value of these if for making rope for horses. Here is another, can the natives go and get that, if so, then there will be no more and there will be no benefit left therefrom, these doubts I wish you would make clear to me. Here is another, can the old timers go fish in the rivers... [HSA – ID Lands]

August 12, 1852

M. Kekuanaoa; to Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior:

...Here are the forbidden fishes of V. Kamamalu's lands here on Oahu, please publish it in the newspaper:

Maunalua, <i>ili</i> of Waimanalo.	<i>Anae</i> is the fish.
Waialae, <i>ili</i> of Waikiki.	<i>Anae</i> is the fish.
Kaakaukukui, <i>ili</i> of Honolulu.	<i>Anae</i> is the fish.
Kauluwela, <i>ili</i> of Honolulu.	<i>Anae</i> is the fish.
Halawa, (<i>Ahupuaa</i>) of Ewa.	<i>Anae</i> is the fish.
Waiawa, (<i>Ahupuaa</i>) of Ewa.	<i>Anae</i> is the fish.
Paalaa, <i>ili</i> of Waialua.	<i>Weke</i> is the fish.
Kawailoa, <i>ili</i> of Waialua.	<i>Weke</i> is the fish;



Kaluanui, <i>Ahupuaa</i> Koolauloa.	<i>Hee</i> is the fish.
Kikiwelawela, <i>Ili</i> of Heeia.	<i>Hee</i> is the fish.
Kaelepulu, <i>Ili</i> of Kailua.	<i>Uhu</i> is the fish;

These are the forbidden fish of these lands, there remains the lands on Maui, and Hawaii, and maybe Kauai... [HSA Int. Dpt. – Lands]

“Inoa o na Ia” (Names of Fishes) – 1860 (a)

Here below is list of named fishes. If anyone else has additional names, please prepare a list of those that remain:

Aama	Alaihmaoli	Alaihimahu	Aloilo
Alalaua	Anae	Amaama	Awa
Aawa	Awaawa	Akilolo	Aweoweo
Eaa	Iao	Ieiea	Iiao
Ihehe [Iheihē]	Okupe	Ohiki	Ohikiaumoana
Opaeohaa	Opae	Opihi	Opaekalaole
[Opaeohaa]			
Opakapaka	Ohune	Oio	Oopumakole
Opelu	Oopuhue	Oopukai	Oopukauleloa
Oopunapili	Oopunaokea	Oopuokuhe	Opulepule
	[Oopunakea]		
Ohuaaliko	Ohuakukaepaa	Ohuanahinui	Omilumilu
Oopupaapaa	Opelupalahu	Olepe	Ulae
[Oopupoopaa]			
Uhuula	Uhueleele	Ula	Ulahiwa
Ulakoae	Ulapapapa	Ulaponi	Ulua
Upopolu [Upapalu]	Hihimanu	Halaloa	Hekole
Hekolekole	Hepopolo	Hehalahala	Heuwouwoa [Uouoa]
Hepoko	Heehu	Honumaeaea	Honumake
Honuea	Honumaoli	Hinana	Hinalea
Hinalealuhine	Hee	Hauliuli	Heepali
Kala	Kaku	Kawelea	Keawakalamoho
Kamamamo	Kaoaonui	Kihikihi	Kokala
Kaloli	Kaalaeke	Kakahoehalu	Kukuma
Kaea	Kinau	Kawakawa	Keaku
Kamoano	Kupoupau [Kupoupou]	Kalelo	Kaiheihē
Kaapihi	Kakalahooulu	Kaahilolo	Kaleho
Kaweke	Kahalaomokuleia	Kohola	Lolikae
Lolipua	Lolikoko	Loliluau	Lupelupe
Laumilo	Lauhou [Lauhau]	Maikoiko	Makolekole
Malolo	Mano	Manoleleioe	Manoluia
Manokihikihi	Manolalakea	Manoihuwaa	Maomao
Manini	Makaa	Momoawaa	Nohu
Nohunohu	Palani	Pulua	Puhikowali
Puhihaka	Puhiomole	Puhinanakee	Puhileihala
Puhinanae	Puhipalahoana	Puhinukuula	Puhioilo
Puhukii [Puhikii]	Palapala	Puamaana	Puaokeii
Pauu	Pahenehene	Pipio [Papiio]	Paolekei
Pauhuhu	Pipipi	Pupuawa	Pupumahina
Pupuokoleioi	Pokipoki	Papaialoa	Papaimoala
Papaikuhonu	Papaikuaapa	Pakii	Paakauila
Puakahaha	Puahunehune	Papainanai	Weke

J.K.P. Kimo. Kaakopua, Oahu
Ka Hae Hawaii, Malaki 21, 1860. [Maly, translator]



“Inoa o na la” (Names of Fishes) – 1860 (b)

Here below is a list of additional fish as requested by Kimo:

Aa	Aoaonui	Auau
Ahi	Aholehole	Ahuluhulu
Aku	Akule	Akupa
Ehu	Ina	Oama
Oeoe	Oolola	Oililepa
Omaka	Omale	Olali
Ono	U-u	Umaumalei
Haawae [Hawae]	Haukeuke	Halahala
Hilu	Hou	Humuhumu
Kakaia	Keke	Kikakapu
Kowae	Kumu	Lai
Lanipala	Lehe	Maii
Makaa	Meumeu	Mahimahi
Moano	Moi	Muhee
Naia	Nana	Nainai
Nahawele	Nenue	Nehu
Nunu	Nuao	Pahu
Palani	Paapaa	Pakale
Panuhunuhu	Paloa	Paka
Popolo	Puili	Poou
Puwalu	Walu	Wela
Weluhu		

S. Hookano. Manoa, Oahu
Ka Hae Hawaii, Apelila 4, 1860 [Maly, translator]

Kānāwai Lawai‘a: Fishing Laws Further Defined (1850-1874)

In conjunction with proceedings of the *Māhele ‘Āina* and the subsequent Land Grant program—which sought to get more native tenants on fee-simple land holdings, where the *Māhele* failed—the Kingdom’s laws in regards to property and fishery rights were also tested and continued to evolve. The new laws, based on those of traditional and customary rights, and the laws enacted in the 1830s and 1840s, sought to address a wide range of issues. As noted in the communications above, rights of access and taxation or tribute were among the problems that were associated with fisheries and fishing practices.

Interestingly, in 1850, the Kingdom Laws, published in the “Penal Code of the Hawaiian Islands” (1850), also addressed the use of *auhuhu* (*Tephrosia purpurea*), to stun fish. As seen in the section of this study on native traditions and practices, use of *auhuhu* and other fish-stunners, was an ancient practice, and based on oral history interviews, is one which continued in use through the early 1900s. Chapter XXIV, Section 9 of the Penal Code (1850) stated that it was against the law to put “*auhuhu* or other substance deleterious to fish, into any lake, pond, stream or reservoir for the purpose of destroying the fish” (1850:52; HSA collection KFH 561.A3.1850).

On May 15th 1851, the House of Nobles passed an Act, “*Granting the People the Rights of Piscary, Now Belonging to the Government.*” Kamehameha III signed the Act into law on July 11th, 1851. The Act confirmed the rights of the *konohiki* to their private fisheries, and reconfirmed the order that they were to make public notice of their choice fish in their given *ahupua‘a*. The act also granted that all fishing grounds belonging to the government, from shore to the deep ocean—including those extending beyond sight of land (based on traditional and customary practices)—were from then on, the common property of all the people.



***An Act Granting To The People The Rights of Piscary
Now Belonging to the Government.***

Whereas the fish belonging to the government are productive of little revenue; and whereas the piscary rights of the government as managed by the fishing agents are a source of trouble and oppression to the people: Therefore,

Be it enacted by the house of nobles and representatives of the Hawaiian Islands in legislative council assembled:

SECTION 1: That thirty days from and after the publication of this act in the Elele and Polynesian newspapers all fish belonging to or especially set apart for the government shall belong to and be the common property of all the people equally; excepting that the two-thirds mentioned in section 8, number 7, article 5, chapter 6, part 1, of the "Act to Organize the Executive Departments," shall not be exacted of the *konohiki*; and in all cases where the *konohiki* shall set apart one kind of fish only, as per section 4 of said law, such fish shall belong to the *konohiki* exclusively and without deviation or molestation.

SECTION 2: All fishing grounds pertaining to any Government land, or otherwise belonging to the Government, excepting only ponds, shall be, and are hereby, forever granted to the people for the free and equal use of all persons: *Provided, however, That for the protection of such fishing grounds the minister of the interior may taboo the taking of fish thereon at certain seasons of the year.*

SECTION 3: The minister of the interior shall give public notice in the Elele and Polynesian newspapers of any such taboo imposed by him, together with the name of such fish, and no such taboo shall be in force until due notice has been given. Any person who shall be [1851:23] found guilty of violating such taboo, upon complaint before any district justice, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding fifteen dollars in the discretion of the court, and restore all fishes taken, or the value thereof.

SECTION 4: No person living without the Kingdom shall take any fish within the harbors, streams, reefs, or other waters of the same for the purpose of carrying them for sale or otherwise to any place without the Kingdom.

SECTION 5: Every person violating the provisions of the preceding section may be punished, upon complaint made to any district justice, by a fine not exceeding two hundred dollars in the discretion of the court.

SECTION 6: All acts or parts of acts, resolves or parts of resolves; contrary to the provisions of this act shall be, and the same are hereby, repealed.

SECTION 7: The minister of the interior is hereby charged with the execution of this act...

Approved by the King July 11, 1851. [1851:24; HSA collection KFH 25. A24. 1851]

As described in the selected communications above, it was also found that by this time some owners of *ahupua'a* (those belonging to native *konohiki* through the *Māhele*, and those large tracts of land sold as Royal Patent Grants to affluent natives and foreigners) attempted to deny the *hoa'āina* (native tenants) on their given lands, access to the fisheries and resources necessary to sustain themselves. As a result another Law was enacted in 1851, which addressed this matter and set forth penalties for such actions:



An Act to Protect the People in Certain Fishing Grounds (1851).

Whereas, certain persons to whom government lands have been sold have assumed exclusive rights of fishing in the sea adjacent to said land, without the justification of law; and whereas the people in numerous instances have been unjustly deprived of their rights to the fish on the grounds long since made free to them by law, namely, on the fishing grounds commonly known as the Kilohee grounds, the Luhee grounds, the Malolo grounds, and the fishing of the ocean from the reefs seaward; and whereas the present law affords no sufficient protection to the people in those rights: Therefore, Be it enacted by the nobles and representatives of the Hawaiian Islands in Legislative Council assembled:

SECTION 1. That no person who has bought or who may hereafter buy any Government land, or obtain land by lease or other title from any party, has or shall have any greater right than any other person resident in this Kingdom over any fishing ground not included in his title, although adjacent to said land. The fish in said fishing ground shall belong to all persons alike, and may be taken at any time, subject only to the taboos of the minister of the interior.

SECTION 2. If that species of fish which has been tabooed by any *konohiki* shall go onto the grounds which have been or may be given to the people, such fish shall not be tabooed them. It shall only be tabooed when caught within the bounds of the *konohiki*'s private fishery. Nor shall it be lawful for a *konohiki* to taboo more than one kind of fish upon any fishing grounds which lie adjacent to each other.

SECTION 3. Every *konohiki* or other person who shall willfully deprive another of his legal rights to fish on any fishing ground [1851:25] which now is or may become free to the use of the people, or who shall willfully exact from another any portion of the fish caught on any public fishing ground, or who shall willfully exact of another for the use of any private fishery a greater amount of fish than by law he is entitled to receive as his share, and any tenant or other person who shall willfully deprive any *konohiki* of his fishing rights by appropriating to himself the tabooed fish of said *konohiki*, or otherwise, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars for every such offense, in the discretion of the court, and in default of the payment of said fine be imprisoned at hard labor until the same is paid.

SECTION 4. The several district justices of the Kingdom shall have power to try and punish all offenders against the provisions of the preceding section committed in their respective districts. .

SECTION 5. This act shall take effect ten days from and after the publication of the same in the Elele and Polynesian newspapers...

Passed by the House of Representatives, May 24, 1851....
Kamehameha. [1851:26; HSA collection KFH 25. A24. 1851]

In 1859, the “*Civil Code of the Hawaiian Islands*” addressed once again, laws and practices associated with fisheries, rights, and responsibilities. These provisions were based on those previously discussed, and reconfirmed: the right of the people to “fishing grounds appertaining to the government;” and the right of the minister of the interior to set restrictions on the taking of fish for the protection of such grounds.

ARTICLE V. OF THE FISHERIES.

SECTION 384. All fishing grounds appertaining to any government land, or otherwise belonging to the government, excepting only ponds, shall be, and are hereby, forever



granted to the people, for the free and equal use of all persons: Provided, however, That for the protection of such fishing grounds the minister of the interior may taboo the taking of fish thereon at certain seasons of the year.

SECTION 385. The minister of the interior shall give public notice of any such taboo imposed by him; and no such taboo shall be in force until such notice has been given. Every person who shall violate such taboo shall be punished by a fine not exceeding fifteen dollars and the value of the fish taken.

SEC. 386. No person residing without the kingdom shall take any fish within the harbors, streams, reefs, or other waters of the same for the purpose of carrying them for sale, or otherwise, to any place without the kingdom, under penalty of a fine not exceeding two hundred dollars, in the discretion of the court.

SECTION 387. The fishing grounds from the reefs, and where there happen to be no reefs, from the distance of one geographical mile seaward to the beach at low water mark, shall, in law, be considered the private property of the konohikis, whose lands, by ancient regulation, belong to the same; in the possession of which private fisheries the said konohikis shall not be molested, except to the extent of the reservations and prohibitions hereinafter set forth.

SECTION 388. The konohikis shall be considered in law to hold said private fisheries for the equal use of themselves and the tenants on their respective lands, and the tenants shall be at liberty to use the fisheries of their konohikis, subject to the restrictions imposed by law.

SECTION 389. The konohikis shall have power each year to set apart [1859:83] for themselves one given species or variety of fish natural to their respective fisheries, giving public notice by *viva voce* proclamation, and by at least three written or printed notices posted in conspicuous places on the land, to their tenants and others residing on their lands, signifying the kind and description of fish which they have chosen to be set apart for themselves.

SECTION 390. The specific fish so set apart shall be exclusively for the use of the *konohiki*, if caught within the bounds of his fishery, and neither his tenants nor others shall be at liberty to appropriate such reserved fish to their private use, but when caught such reserved fish shall be the property of the *konohiki*, for which he shall be at liberty to sue and recover the value from any person appropriating the same.

SECTION 391. The konohikis shall not have power to lay any tax, or to impose any other restriction, upon their tenants, regarding the private fisheries, than is hereinbefore prescribed, nor shall any such further restriction be valid.

SECTION 392. It shall be competent to the konohikis, on consultation with the tenants of their lands, in lieu of setting apart some particular fish to their exclusive use, as hereinbefore allowed, to prohibit during certain months in the year all fishing upon their fisheries; and, during the fishing season to exact of each fisherman among the tenants one-third part of all the fish taken upon their private fishing grounds. In every such case it shall be incumbent on the konohikis to give the notice prescribed in section 389.

SECTION 393. No person who has bought, or who may hereafter buy, any government land, or obtain lease or other title from any party, has or shall have any greater right than any other person resident in this Kingdom, over any fishing ground not included in his title, although adjacent to said land.



SECTION 394. If that species of fish which has been tabooed by any *konohiki*, shall go on to the grounds which have been or may be given to the people, such fish shall not be tabooed thereon. It shall be tabooed only when caught within the bounds of the *konohiki*'s private [1859:84] fishery. Nor shall it be lawful for a *konohiki* to taboo more than one kind of fish upon any fishing grounds which lie adjacent to each other.

SEC. 395. Every *konohiki* or other person who shall willfully deprive another of any of his legal rights to fish on any fishing ground, which now is, or may become, free to the use of the people, or who shall willfully exact from another any portion of the fish caught on any public fishing ground, or who shall willfully exact of another, for the use of any private fishery, a greater amount of fish than by law he is entitled to receive as his share, and any tenant or other person who shall willfully deprive any *konohiki* of his fishing rights, by appropriating to himself the tabooed fish of said *konohiki*, or otherwise, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars for every such offense, in the discretion of the court, and in default of the payment of such fine be imprisoned at hard labor not exceeding three months.

SECTION 396. The several district justices shall have power to try and punish all offenses against the provisions of the last preceding section committed in their respective districts. [1859:85; HSA collection, KFJ 30 1859 .A235]

Following 1859, few, if any laws pertaining to fisheries appear to have been revisited or passed until 1874. The Legislature of 1874, requested of Attorney General R.H. Stanley, an opinion regarding the right to take fish for one's sustenance, and the privilege of taking fish for sale at profit; and the restrictions associated with the laws pertaining to those things of the fisheries and of the land. Specifically referring to the Articles of 1859 above, Stanley (1874) responded to the president of the Legislature with the following paper:

LAWS – 1874

...I am asked to give my opinion in regard to Section 1477 of the Civil Code beginning with the words "but they shall not have a right to take such article to sell of profit;" and also the construction of Section 388 of the Civil Code in reference to the word "restriction" when compared with Section 1477.

In examining these points it is necessary to look at the subject embraced in both Sections. Section 1477 applies to certain specific rights of the people, and only applies to the products of the land and has nothing whatever to do with Section 388, which relates solely to the *private fisheries*, of the *Konohikis*; consequently you cannot compare the word "restriction" with Section 1477, in which a certain restriction is patent upon its face, and in which the only restriction is the taking of such articles to sell for profit.

Whereas by Section 388, the *Konohiki* is considered in law to hold said private fisheries for the equal use of themselves and of the tenants in their respective lands, the tenants shall be at liberty to use the fisheries of their *Konohikis*, subject to the restrictions imposed by law.

What *restrictions*, what *taboo*, or prohibition, Section 390. The specific fish so set apart shall be exclusively for the use of the *Konohiki*, if caught within the bounds of his fishery, and neither his tenants nor others shall be at liberty to appropriate such reserved fish to their private use, but when caught, such reserved fish shall be the property of the *Konohiki*, for which he shall be at liberty to sue and recover the value from any person appropriating the same. [1874:1]

To my mind, in the first instance this tenancy placed the people under the *Konohiki* in the same relation as tenants by the copy-hold as under the feudal tenures in England—a



tenure by which the tenant had nothing to show except the rolls made by the chief or the steward of the lord of the manor.

And under such tenure they were bound to give military service to the chief; under our old laws they were bound to give *Konohiki* days labor.

Such law, i.e., as to labor, has been abrogated and no greater rights were given to the people in relation to the piscary than from time immemorial.

And no legislative action can take away, impair or alter such right, as it was *vested* in the *Konohiki* and his people the *hoainas*.

The succeeding Sections define the rights of the *Konohiki* in relation to their reserved or taboo fish, and contain certain provisions to protect tenants or *hoainas* from further tax or restriction.

Under Sections 387, 388, &c., as I understand it, the entire fishing ground lying between low water mark and the outer edge of the coral reef (or *kuanalu*) along the seaward front of an *ahupuaa* or *ili* was the private property of the *Konohiki*, possessed and held as such, subject to the piscatorial rights of the tenants (*hoainas*) living on that *ahupuaa* or *ili*. And such *Konohiki* has a common right of piscary with the tenants on the land, or such owner is at liberty, if he sees fit, to taboo, reserve, or set apart annually, one particular species of fish for his own private benefit, or in lieu thereof, on consultation with his tenants make an arrangement whereby he would be entitled to receive one third part of all the fish caught on the ground.

It is unnecessary to inquire what were the respective rights of piscary enjoyed by the *Konohiki* and the people in ancient times, because since 1839 those rights are defined by written laws. [1874:2]

See English version of Old Laws, p. 36. His Majesty the King hereby takes the fishing grounds from those who now possess them, from Hawaii to Kauai, and gives one portion of them to the common people, another portion to the landlords, and a portion he reserves to himself.

Again the fishing grounds from the coral reefs to the sea-beach are for the landlords, and for the tenants of their several lands, but not for others.

This is the point at which the existing piscatory regulations of the Kingdom had their commencement and since which, ancient customs ceased to govern the subject.

Kamehameha III, having the allodium of all the lands, with the concurrence of the chiefs resumed the possession of all the fishing grounds in the Kingdom, for the purpose of making a new distribution and regulating the respective rights of all parties interested therein according to written laws.

The fishing rights of *Konohikis* and the *hoainas* were defined and regulated by the law of 1839, which was at different times amended, until 1846, when those rights were defined by Art. 5, Chap. 6, Part 1 of the Act to organize the Executive Departments, (Vol. 1, pp. 90, 92, Sections 1 to 7).

Section 3 has particular reference and is re-enacted, Section 388 Civil Code.



In my opinion upon receipt of a conveyance of a part of an *ahupuaa* or *ili* entitled to piscatorial privileges, the party acquiring it takes with it a common right of piscary in the fishing ground attached to such *ahupuaa* or *ili*.

That is to say, he becomes for the purposes of the law governing this subject, a tenant of the *ahupuaa* or *ili*, and as such entitled to take fish in the private fisheries belonging to such *ahupuaa* or *ili*, subject to the restriction imposed by statute in favor of the *Konohiki*.

The Supreme Court has decided, that it understands the word *tenant* as used in this connection to have lost its ancient [1874:3] restricted meaning, and to be almost synonymous at the present time with the word *occupant* or *occupier*, and that every person occupying lawfully any part of an *ahupuaa* or *ili*, is a tenant within the meaning of the law.

In other words, those persons who formerly lived as *tenants* under *Konohikis* but who have acquired fee simple titles to the *kuleanas*, under the operation of the land commission, continue to enjoy the same rights of piscary that they had as *hoainas* under the old system.

Vol. 2, Statute Laws, p. 70.

If any person who has acquired a *kuleana* on any *ahupuaa* or *ili*, having a private fishery under the law, should sell and convey his land, or even a part of it, to another, a common right of piscary would pass to the grantee as an appurtenance to the land—it would pass as an incident.

But in my opinion, you cannot extend that right beyond that of legitimate tenancy. Squatters' rights are unknown to the Common Law of this Kingdom, and are not in accordance with the law as it now stands.

And here is the great distinction between the rights of the *Konohiki* and those of the tenant or occupant, for while the *Konohiki* holds the fishery as his private property, the *tenant* has only a right of piscary therein, as an incident to his tenancy.

This marked distinction in their respective rights, must create a corresponding difference in regard to the transfer of those rights.

As the conveyance by the owner of a *kuleana*, of a part of his land to another, would create such a tenancy in the grantee as would entitle him to a common right of piscary, so in my opinion a conveyance of a part of an *ahupuaa* or *ili* by the owner, would create such a tenancy as to carry with it as an appurtenance thereto under our laws, a common right of piscary; subject always to the rights of the owner of the fishery and his representatives as regards the *tabood* fish, and [1874:4] the right to meet his tenants and arrange as to the time of fishing, and taking one third of the product.

And I cannot for a moment admit that any person holding a lease of a parcel of real estate within such land (except from the *Konohiki* and that privilege attached) or any person who shall have been a permanent resident on such land for one year previous to using the fishery, is entitled to rights of tenant or *hoaina* as understood by the law of 1839, 1846, or the Civil Code.

Respectively submitted, R.H. STANLEY, Attorney General.
[Stanley, 1874:5; HSA collection, Legislative Pamphlet, 1874]



FISHERY RESOURCES AND NATIVE PRACTICES DESCRIBED IN BOUNDARY COMMISSION TESTIMONIES (1865-1915)

As described earlier in this study, the *Māhele* and Land Grant programs of the Kingdom of Hawai'i codified the rights and responsibilities of the people on the land and sea. The development of private property rights was accompanied by rapid growth in business interests which required a secure land base for long-term investment. In an address before the Annual Meeting of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society (1857), J.F.B. Marshall spoke of the growing business ventures in the islands which included—the cultivation of sugar and coffee; harvesting *pulu* for mattresses and pillows, and *kukui* for oil; ranching and export of hides, tallow and wool; farming for trade and export, and salt manufacture (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*; November 5, 1857). As a result, large land owners (including *Konohiki* and foreign residents) pursued the establishment of formal boundaries on their land holdings, in order to protect their private property “rights.”

In 1862, a law was enacted in which a Commission of Boundaries (the Boundary Commission) was established in the Kingdom. The goal Commission being to legally set the boundaries of all the *ahupua'a* that had been awarded as private properties in the *Māhele 'Āina*. R.A. Lyman, Commissioner for the Island of Hawai'i between the 1860s to early 1900s, noted that a commissioner was to “determine certain geographical lines, that is, he is to ascertain what, in fact, were the ancient boundaries of lands, which have been awarded by name only” (Lyman, 1900 Volume D No. 5:357). Furthermore, the Commissioners were, whenever possible, to determine and “assign whatever was included in such land according to the boundaries as known and used from ancient times” (Lyman 1897 – Volume D No. 5:101; cf. Supreme Court, 4th Hawaiian Reports). Under this premise, the commissioners were to address not only land matters, but also those of fisheries, and a wide range of resources and practices as known from ancient times.

In order to accomplish their mandate, the commissioners were to identify knowledgeable native residents and *kama'āina* from whom detailed testimonies and descriptions of the lands and rights could be recorded. From this process evolved a rich collection (thousands of pages) of first hand accounts describing many facets of—land use; residency; beliefs and customs; changes in the landscape in the period from ca. 1790 to 1890; and descriptions of fisheries of the Hawaiian Islands. In 1874 the Commissioners of Boundaries were authorized to certify the boundaries for lands brought before them (W.D. Alexander in Thrum 1891:117-118).

The primary informants for the boundary descriptions were old native residents of the *ahupua'a* for which boundaries were to be certified, or of neighboring lands. Nearly all of the informants stated that they were either born on one of the lands being described, or that they had lived there since their youth. All of the witnesses had learned of the boundaries either from their own elders, or from others who had lived upon the land in the preceding generation. And nearly all native witnesses described the landscape by the nature of the terrain, presence of resources, land use, and features which were of significance to the people of the land (*kama'āina*).

Most of the testimonies were taken between 1873 to 1893, though some were recorded in the early 1860s. The oldest informants were born around 1785, by association with events described at the time of their birth, and the youngest around 1830. The native witnesses usually spoke in Hawaiian, and in many cases, their testimony was translated into English and transcribed as the proceedings occurred (some testimonies recorded only in Hawaiian, are translated here by Maly for the first time). Transcribers focused on main points of reference during testimony and cross-examination. Readers will also note in the accompanying narratives, that there are often inconsistencies in spelling of particular words such as place names, people names and natural or man-made features.

The narratives below are excerpted from the testimonies given for the islands of Hawai'i, Kaua'i, Lāna'i, Maui, and Moloka'i (Molokai), and are further divided alphabetically, by district and *ahupua'a*.



Unfortunately, no testimonies were taken for the islands of Kaho‘olawe and Ni‘ihau. This is because by the time of the Commission proceedings, Ni‘ihau had been sold almost in its entirety to one owner and its boundaries were the ocean around it; and Kaho‘olawe was a part of the Government land inventory, thus not of the class of lands eligible for or requiring hearings before the Commission.

The excerpts herein focus on nearly all testimonies, notes of survey, and decisions, which address some form of marine and aquatic resources, or practices associated with the management of, or procurement of such resources. A thorough review of the thousands of pages from the Commission proceedings, was conducted as a part of the present study¹⁴. Every effort was made to identify— (1) types of fish; (2) locations of fisheries (from deep sea to near-shore and mountain streams); (3) references to fishponds; and (4) practices associated with the fisheries of the various lands cited. In some cases the narratives were translated by Maly from Hawaiian, and are given in English here, for the first time.

Rufus A. Lyman, Commissioner for the Island of Hawai‘i, paid the greatest attention to the collection of native testimonies, addressing not only physical boundaries of the lands, but also the practices that were defined by those boundaries. It will be noted that for far too many locations around the other main Hawaiian Islands, commissioners did not regularly record native testimonies as a part of the proceedings. In even more instances, the important goal of documenting how the lands were “*known and used from ancient times*” was not recorded. Thus, no fishery information was recorded in the formal proceedings for Kaho‘olawe, Lāna‘i and Ni‘ihau; this is also the case in some districts on the remaining islands.

In the case of Lāhainā and other districts on the Island of Maui, and in some locations on other islands, the proceedings were undertaken following 1900. As a result, the “rights” and descriptions of fisheries were not addressed. This trend became pronounced shortly after the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy in 1893. With the subsequent “Annexation” of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States in 1898, and their designation as a “Territory” of the same in 1900, *the private and piscary rights to fisheries—and ultimately the responsibility for them—was determined no longer to be a private matter, but one of public right and interest* (see historical and governmental descriptions of this process in this study). Descriptions of the decline of Hawaiian fisheries from the early 1900s to the present, as given by *kūpuna* and elder *kama‘āina*—see oral history interviews in this study—seem to reveal a flaw in such an approach

Overview of Fisheries and Associated Resources Described in Testimonies

Through the words of native *lawai‘a* (fisher-people) and *hoa‘āina* (tenants of the land), recorded in the Boundary Commission proceedings—and organized here for the first time since recordation—we are privy to rich documentation of the nature and extent of fisheries in the Hawaiian Islands. We learn a number of important facts regarding the customs, practices and beliefs associated with fishing. The following notes summarize some of the key documentation cited in the testimonies:

- In the period of Hawaiian governance, fishery boundaries were defined; places named describing the kinds of fishery resources an area was noted for; limitations on the kinds of fish, and who could take them were prescribed; rituals were observed; and choice fish held under *kapu* (restrictions).
- Among those fish selected by the people were — ‘Ahi, Akule, ‘Ama‘ama, He‘e, Malolo, Manō, ‘O‘opu (from the mountains), ‘Ōpelu, Uhu, and Ulua.

¹⁴ In the year 2000, Kumu Pono Associates digitized all of the records of the Boundary Commission proceedings from all the Hawaiian Islands. The narratives cited in this section of the study have been transcribed verbatim from the digitized records of the original handwritten notes of the period.



- Fish were caught by several methods — *Ō* (spearing); *Upena* and *Ku'una* (setting nets); *makau* and *pā* (hooks and lures); *hāhā* (trapping in one's hand); and in *loko* (ponds), both natural and manmade.
- Some 160 *loko*, *loko i'a*, *kuapā* and *pu'u one* (walled and dune-banked fish ponds); and ponds in which fish and taro (*loko i'a kalo*) were grown together, are named or identified on the islands of Hawai'i, Maui, Moloka'i (Molokai), O'ahu and Kaua'i. The presence and use of *mākāhā* (sluice gates) is also noted.
- The witnesses also reference practices of canoe making; preparation of *olona* (used for netting and fishing line); collection of human bone for hooks; making *pa'akai* (salt); and the exchange of fish for other goods.

While the fishes and resources described in the cited testimonies, reflect the customs and practices of the Hawaiian people of the period, the named species and practices should not be considered exhaustive. As seen in the voluminous native traditions and historical accounts of fishing and associated practices (cited in this study), the knowledge and experience of the people is deeper than what was recorded by the commission. Readers are also asked to keep in mind that the testimonies herein address the outer edges of the named *ahupua'a* and smaller land units described, and did not claim to document all that was practiced and known.

One of the best examples of the kinds of knowledge practiced and recorded is exemplified in the testimonies for the *ahupua'a* of Wai'anae, O'ahu (Oahu Volume No. 1 in this study). Readers may wish to look first at the Wai'anae testimony of Kaapuiki (also known as Kaopuiki), and the resultant decision of the commissioner to get a sense of the kinds of information that was recorded. Research in native traditions and historical writings further informs us that similar knowledge was known, and practices occurred on all lands and fisheries throughout the Hawaiian Islands. Furthermore this knowledge and practice is still spoken of and practiced by many *kūpuna* and other *kama'āina* to the present day (see oral history interviews in this study).

Underlining and italics have been used below to draw reader's attention to specific references in the narratives.

Testimonies for the Island of Hawai'i

District of Hāmākua

Honokaia, Hamakua District

Makaenaena, sworn: ...There were always in old times fisheries belonging to Honokaia extending out to sea a short distance. The boundary at the shore between Honokaia and Kawela is a large rock in the sea called Pohakulehuhui... [Volume A No. 1:94]

Kaikuaana, sworn: [describing reason for knowing boundaries] ...The different lands had different *Konohiki* and if we went into a land we did not belong on the *Konohiki* of that land would take our birds away. The fisheries belonging to Honokaia always reached out to where they catch Uhu. A stone at the sea shore called Pohakulehuhui is the boundary between Honokaia and Kawela. [Volume A No. 1:95]

Kalopa, Hamakua District

Ohakee, sworn: ...In ancient times this land had fishing rights taking in the Uhu fisheries. A gulch named Luakao is the boundary between Kalopa and Papalele on sea shore.. [Volume A No. 1:110-111]

Kaaukai Kaiawahanui, sworn: ...Kalopa is bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights included the Uhu grounds. The place in gulch on shore, called Luakao is boundary between Kalopa and Palele [Papalele]... [Volume A No. 1:111]



Luai, sworn: Was born on Kalopa, at the time of the death of Kaneihalau at Kapulena, Hamakua, Hawaii. Have always lived on Kalopa and am a *kamaaina* of said land and know the boundaries; was shown them by my father, Hamohamo, when we went after *mamake*. Kalopa is bounded *makai* by the sea, ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:112]

Kawela, Hamakua District

Makaenaena, sworn: ...The fisheries belonging to Kawela in olden times extended a long way out to sea. The boundary between lands of Kawela and Kuilei is at a rock in the center of the Kainapahoa gulch at the shore... [Volume A No. 1:99]

Kaikuaana, sworn: ...The fisheries belonging to Kawela in olden times extended out to sea and included the places they catch *Uhu*. The boundary between Kawela and Kuilei at the sea shore is at a large rock called Kahuinakii, in the center of the gulch... [Volume A No. 1:100]

Keahua 2nd, Hamakua District

Ohakee, sworn: ... There is an *awaawa kai* there and a point on the Waipio side where the *awaawa* is the boundary. The boundary is at a place called "Mahoe." Bounded *makai* by the sea and extending to the outside of the breakers where it is cut off by the Kalopa fishing rights... [Volume B:96-97]

Kekalani, Hamakua District

Hihipa, sworn: [running *makai*] ...thence across the land to the *auwai* that runs to the fish pond on Kekalani; thence *mauka* to a place called Kumukoa... thence along the middle of the *pali* to *Ahupuaa* [boundary marker/altar] a grove of bushes at the sea shore, bounded *makai* by the sea. The ancient fishing rights did not extend beyond the breakers... [Volume B:91-92]

Kuilei 2nd, Hamakua District

Kealia, sworn: ...The boundary runs to a large rock in the sea, below the *pali* where the natives fish. [Volume B:81]

Keahimaia, sworn: ...the boundary between Kuileinui and Kuileiiki runs *makai* to the Government road and from there to shore; thence to a rock below the *pali*, which is a fishing place for the natives. In ancient times there was no fishing right extending out to sea belonging to this land. [Volume B:82]

Kukaiau, Hamakua District

Kahue, sworn: ...I know Puuokihe. It belonged to Kaohe, and above that is where people were buried in old times, when people used to make fish hooks from the bones... Formerly when any one died, on all those lands, Kaa, Kaawikiwiki &c would not wail — at night wrap up [bodies] and take into the mountain and bury secretly, lest the bones be used to make fish hooks... [Volume B:444]

Nainoa, sworn: ... There are graves on Puuokiha, and also at Iolehaehae, and many other places. In old times, if any one died, could not wail, lest people come and steal their bones for fish hooks; so used to carry body secretly and bury in mountain... [Volume B:447]

Paauhau, Hamakua District

J.P. Parker: ...the fish between Mahiki point and Kawihinui point belong to the *Ahupuaa* of Paauhau... [Volume A No. 1:1]



Waikoekoe, Hamakua District

Keau, sworn: I was born at Kau before the sailing of the *peleleu* for Molokai [ca. 1794]...
...thence along my land Patent No. _____ to the sea shore to a point called Paakaha,
bounded on the *makai* side by the sea; the land has ancient fishing rights extending out to
sea... [Volume B:77-78]

D. Waiau, sworn: ...The ancient fishing rights of Waikoekoe extended out to sea cutting
off the sea from Kanahonua and the five lands on the eastern side... [Volume B:79]

Malaihi, sworn: ...Waikoekoe had the sea, *makai* of the five lands to the east of it. It took
all the sea on the Kohala side to Waipio. Kukuihaele had only a small fishing right...
[Volume B:80]

Waimanu, Hamakua District

Piikea, sworn: ...Kekalani, an *ili* of Waimanu bounds it on the Kohala side, at shore; at an
ahupuaa called Lonalona there is a *heiau* there called Halehiwa there. From this *heiau*
which is close to the sea shore the boundary runs along the high tide mark to the mouth
of the river. Fishing right at the Kohala side of the river in Waimanu belonging to Kekalani,
said fishing right changing according to the course of the river. From Halehiwa the
boundary runs *mauka* to the *makaha* of Kekalani pond (now grown up with weeds);
thence along the bank of the pond, down to the side of a *heiau* called Lonalona; at the
foot of the *pali* turn toward Kohala; thence up the *pali* in an *awaawa*... Bounded *makai* by
the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:86-87]

Kamehaiku, sworn: ...Starting from the mouth of the river the boundary runs *makai* side of
a wall toward Kohala taking in a narrow strip of sand beach and breakers. Sea and fishing
right belonging to Waimanu and not to Kekalani. Thence on the *makai* side of Halehiwa to
near the foot of the *pali*; thence *mauka* along the side of an old dried up fish pond; thence
to the side of Lonalona; thence to the foot of the *pali*; thence up an *awaawa* called
Kumukoa... [Volume B:87]

Waipio, Hamakua District

Keala, sworn: ... Bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea
and in olden times they used to extend along to Naluea gulch... [Volume B:113]

Waiokalehua, sworn: ...Bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to
sea... [Volume B:116]

Notes of Survey:

...165. Thence the *ahupuaa* of Waipio owns the shore fishing on all accessible rocks on
the coast as far to the northwest as the gulch Naluea about two miles... [Volume 1 No.
3:334]

Lalakea, Ili of Waipio, Hamakua District

N. Keau, sworn: ...The sea bounds Lalakea *makai*, but in olden times the fishing rights
extended only to the edge of the breakers... [Volume B:117]

Muliwai, Ili of Waipio, Hamakua District

Kamakahiki, sworn: ...from the place called Kaholokuaiwa the boundary runs out into the
valley along the *makai* side of the fish pond to the *makai* side of Muliwai ponds; thence up
on the east side of the pond thence *mauka* along an *auwai* to a pond called Waiomoa,
thence the boundary turns along the *makai* side of the pond towards Kohala, to the
makaha, thence toward Kohala between Waiomoa and Muliwai ponds; thence along
Kalua's *kuleana* to Imaikalani... The place near the shore where the boundary of Muliwai



runs into the bottom of the valley, runs along the *makai* side of Muliwai fish pond and thence out to a place called Mokapu, where an old fish pond used to be, thence it turns *mauka*... [Volume B:83-84]

Waiokalehua, sworn: ...The ponds were used for keeping small fish in, which were afterwards taken and put in the large pond of Muliwai. Mokapu is an old pond that is now dried up. It is on Waipio; here the boundary turns *mauka* along the east bank of Muliwai pond, and from thence along the land to Waimoa pond, the boundary does not follow the *auwai* for the Muliwai people used to plant food on both sides of the *auwai*. The boundary strikes the Waiomoa cultivating grounds and then turns along the bank of the *loi*, toward Kohala, and runs to the pond, then along the *makai* side of the pond to the road; thence along Kalua's *kuleana* to Imaikalani... [Volume B:84-85]

Pohakumaululunui, Ili of Waipio, Hamakua District

Konohiki, sworn: ...Bounded on the *makai* side by Pohakumaululuiki; the *makai* boundary runs along where an old fish pond used to be; there is a pile of stones just *makai* of the pond, on the *makai* land... [Volume B:98]

G.W.D. Halemanu, sworn: ...Running up the *kahawai* to this place it is very narrow. There are some places where they catch *oopu* in this gulch; that have been pointed out to me as belonging to Waipio, and not to Pohakumaululunui, these fishing places are called Kalakua and Hakalau... [Volume B:99]

District of Hilo

Alae, Hilo District

Kenoiele, sworn: ...Fishing rights extending a short distance out to sea. [Volume B:292]

Hakalau nui, Hilo District

Kekualilii, sworn: ...Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... The boundary is along the Hamakua branch of the stream; in the valley, where we used to go fishing in the stream, Hakalau people used to take the fish away from us... [Volume B:359-360]

Kanehoalani, sworn: ...Fishing rights extending out to sea. The boundary between Hakalau and Kamaee at the shore is at a large flat rock in the water... [Volume B:360]

Honohononui, Ili of Waiakea, Hilo District

Naipo, sworn: ...to Kapalaho a fish pond at the sea side... 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. [Volume B:150-151]

Kukuau 1st, Hilo District

Kapu, sworn: ...Commencing at a pile of stones on the Puna side of the Waiolama river; thence to Hanalei fish pond; on Waiakea there is a strong wall between the fish pond and the river which is the boundary between the two lands; thence to Kumu, on the bank of the Waiolama river; thence to Kalanakamaa, where the Government road to the volcano runs through the land... [Volume B:162]

D. Kaihenui, sworn: ...Maalo was *Konohiki* of Waiakea. If Kukuau people went for fish *makai* of Kuauna, Waiakea people took them away. Stones were put along the old Kuauna and it has been cut through for canal, and below the canal, stones are still there... [Volume D:342]

[Note: Testimonies and surveys describe ten fishponds on the lands of Kukuau and Waiakea.]



Kulaikahono, Hilo District

Kalani, sworn: ...This land had fishing rights in the sea in olden times and to sea was "Kapu," the canoe landing is on this land. [Volume D No. 5:18]

Makahanaloa, Hilo District

Nahale, sworn: ...Makahanaloa and Pepekeo lay side by side from sea shore to where Pepekeo ends in the woods. They are bounded makai by the sea and had ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. Kulaimano bounds Pepekeo [sic] on the South side. Waimaanau Gulch is the boundary between these two lands at the sea shore; thence the boundary runs mauka in the gulch... [Volume A No. 1:189-190]

Maulua iki, Hilo District

Hemahema, sworn: ...The boundary at the seashore between Maulua-iki and Maulua-Nui is between two large rocks at the seashore in the valley of Maulua... ...In olden times the fishing right belonged to Maulua-Nui... [Volume B:351]

Nanue, Hilo District

...*Eia na aina e pili ana me "Nanue."*

Ma ka aoao Akau Komohana o Piha, no Keelikolani; ma ka aoao mauka mai o Humuula, he aina Moi ; ma ka aoao Hikina Hema o Honohina no Kamakaeha; ma ka aoao Hikina Akau ke kai hononu a ke kai awaia no ko Nanue... D.S. Alapai. Sept. 28, 1873 [Volume A No. 1:454]

Here are the lands adjoining "Nanue."

On the North West side, Piha of Keelikolani; on the uplands side, Humuula, land of the King; On the South East side is Honohina, of Kamakaeha; on the North East side is the deep ocean, and there is a fishery that belongs to Nanue... D.S. Alapai... [Maly, translator]

Piihonua, Hilo District

Manuia, sworn: Have heard that the water of Kapuakala belonged to Piihonua and Paukaa. Piihonua had fishing rights at the seashore from Puuau to Piilani... [Volume B:24]

District of Ka'ū

Hilea Nui, Kau District

Kaele, sworn: ...thence to Ahupoho aa, a *kihapai* on Hileanui, aa on the Hilo side on Hileaiki; thence *makai* to Puuainako, a point of rocks in the sea; sea on the *makai* side, and Ancient fishing rights extending out to Kai malolo, at Paneenee... [Volume A No. 1:420]

Hionomoa Iki, Kau District

Nahala, sworn: ...Makaka bounds this land on the Kona side. Kalolena is the boundary at shore between Hionomoaiki and Makaka. Ancient fishing rights along shore only. From Kalolena which is an *awawa kai*, the boundary runs mauka to Puupili... [Volume A No. 1:428]

J. Kaonohi, sworn: ...Bounded by the sea (which belongs to Makaka) on the *makai* side. Fishing rights along shore and limited to those fish that could be caught by hooks from the rocks... [Volume A No. 1:429]



Honuapo, Kau District

Kauinui, sworn: ...The land has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea; embracing the Uhu and Hee fisheries... [Volume A No. 1:408]

Kalehuula, sworn: ...The sea is the makai boundary and the land has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:410]

Kahilipaliniui, Kau District

Luukia (w.), sworn: ...thence to Pauopele, the mauka corner of Kahilipaliiki. (Hale o Lono is on the boundary of Waiohinu.) Thence along Kahilipaliiki to seashore. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:407]

Kahuku, Kau District

Kumauna, sworn: ...The sea bounds Kahuku on the makai side and the land had ancient fishing rights. The cave Kanupa is between Puulonolono, Puukeokeo and Pohaha on the aa; a hill called Hapaimamo is on Kahuku and the boundary between Kapuhonu and Puuohia runs makai of this hill. I am an old canoe maker... In ancient days the people of Kahuku did not go fishing, but were after birds of all kinds to eat and this is the reason all the land on the mountain belonged to Kahuku. My makuahonowai and others always took their weapons with them as they used to have fights when they found people from other lands catching birds. The sandalwood belonged to Kahuku... [Volume A No. 1:141-142]

J. Kaulia, sworn: I live at Waiohinu, Kau, and according to my parents' statement, I was born about three years after the missionaries first arrived on the Islands. Am kamaaina of Kahuku and some other lands in Kau. In 1848... Pipi ordered me to inquire about boundaries of land as it was at the time they were setting apart the ia kohu [select fish] and the Laau kohu o na Konohiki [select tree of the Konohiki]. Pipi had lived in Kau a long time, and told me the boundaries. He said Kalaehumuhumu was the boundary between Manuka and Kahuku, and Kaumuuala between Kahuku and Pakini... Haumea was Konohiki of Kahuku at that time. Uhu ia kohu [Uhu was the select fish] and Koa laau kohu [Koa the select tree]... Afterwards I came to live at Kaanaholua (near Pohakuloa) on Kahuku and near the boundary of Manukaa and Kahuku, catching goats... [Volume A No. 1:145]

Kapapala, Kau District

Kenoi, sworn: ...thence to the heiau called Makoloa at Kuuhala on the seashore. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:438]

Kawela, Kau District

Kekuhaupio, sworn: ...thence to Mokuhoihoi, the aa being on the land of Kawela and the pili on Puueo Heiau ili aina; thence to the goat pen at Kaaiwai at the seashore; the sea bounds Kawela makai, and the land has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:389]

Keaiwa, Kau District

F.S. Lyman, applicant: ...The said land is bounded as follows: on the East by the sea, with fishing rights in the sea. On the South by the Land of Wailoa; as per Royal Patent No. _____ sold by the Government to F.S. Lyman, from the sea into the lower part of the roads; and from thence along the land of the Government, Wailoa, to the upper end of the land... [Volume A No. 1:115]

J. Kaonohi, sworn: ...from the makai side of said land it is bounded by the land of Kaapahu to the sea shore, said land being owned by the Hawaiian Government, on the



makai side it is bounded by the sea, and had ancient fishing rights in the sea as wide as the length of the seashore boundary; and extending out to sea; thence from sea shore it follows F.S. Lyman's Patent No. [] to mauka of Kaupala, a small hill where canoe makers used to put their gods, said hill being on Keaiwa... [Volume A No. 1:116]

Uwelo, sworn: ...the Government land of Kaapahu joins Keaiwa to shore follow ridge of stones to *pahoehoe* to left of burial ground to old road to shore; thence in *aa* to rock in sea called Lahana. It is bounded makai by the sea and has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:117]

Notes of Survey: ...Containing an area of 2078 acres more or less and also the fishing rights in the sea for one mile from the shore of the same width as the width of the land at the shore.

R.A. Lyman, Commissioner of Boundaries, 3d Judicial Circuit... [Volume A No. 1:121]

Keauhou, Ili of Kapapala, Kau District

Kenoi, sworn: ...Thence to Okiokiaho a pile of stones at the seashore; two piles of stones and a *mawae* [fissure or crack in ground] The land of Keauhou is bounded on the makai side by the sea, and has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:445-446]

Keliilohi, sworn: ...Keauhou is bounded makai by the sea and has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:304]

Kioloku, Kau District

Kumauna, sworn: ...The sea is the makai boundary and the land has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:400]

Pae, sworn: ...The land is bounded makai by the sea, and has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:401]

Mohoceanui, Kau District

Puhiki, sworn: ...Thence along Punaluu to Kalaekoko a *puu pahoehoe oiaina* [a trail side resting place on a rocky knoll] thence along Mohokeaiki to Puu o Mohokea, a hill and *kauhale kahiko* [ancient house site] on Mohokeanui; the sea is the makai boundary and the land has ancient fishing rights, extending out to koa opelu, where the sea of Punaluu cuts it off... [Volume A No. 1:415]

Paauau, Kau District

Applicant: ...The said land is bounded as follows: On the East by the sea, with the fishing rights of the sea. On the South by Paauauiki according to Royal Patent No. owned by F.S. Lyman... [Volume A No. 1:159]

Nahala, sworn: ... Paauau always had ancient fishing rights extending out to sea, as wide as the land at shore. Commencing on the South side at sea shore the lands adjoining are all Patented to the *mauka* corner of Nahala's land... [Volume A No. 1:159]

Alohikea, sworn: ...Paauau had an ancient fishing right, extending into the sea, and spreading out wider than the land to Makaka; out in the deep sea, the shallow sea belonged to adjoining lands, between Makaka and Paauau. At the East side the boundary ran straight to sea... [Volume A No. 1:161]



Pakini nui, Kau District

Puhi, sworn: ...thence to Kanikaula a *heiau*; thence to Pouli, a *kauhale* and canoe landing; thence to Mokuhonu, a rock in the sea. The sea bounds it on the *makai* side, and the land has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:395]

Pakini iki, Kau District

Puhi, sworn: ...I was born at Kawela, Kau three months before the *Okuu* [ca. 1804] and have always lived at same place near there. I am a *kamaaina* and know the boundaries of Pakiniiki. I used to go with my parents, cultivating and fishing and they showed me boundaries of the lands... [Volume A No. 1:391]

Kuehu, sworn: ...thence to Pohakukulua, two rocks in the sea on the boundary between Pakini iki and Kamaoa; thence along shore to Pakini nui. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:392]

Punaluu, Kau District

Nahala, sworn: ...Thence to Punahaha, *puu pahoehoe* or islands of rocks in the sea, bounded *makai* by the sea. The land has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:418]

Joba Nakahuna, sworn: I was born at Punaluu, Kau... Nakahuna, my father (now dead), pointed out the boundaries to me when we cultivated food and when we went *mauka* after sandalwood, as different lands had different *Konohiki*, and it was *kapu* to go and get things off of other lands, than that which one lived on.

Punaluu is bounded by the sea *makai*, and has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea (to sea of Makaka). Punaluu is bounded on the East side by Mohokeanui... [Volume A No. 1:418]

Waiohinu, Kau District

Ikipaananea, sworn: ... The boundary at shore between Kiolakaa and Waiohinu is at Kalaea a *kauhale*, and point near the goat pen at Hamauai, *makai* of the fish pond at Kaalualu landing, thence to Kuahewa, *wahi mahiai* (a cultivating ground), thence *mauka* to Pohakuloa, a cave, an *anawai* [water cave]; near the goat pen of Kakananui... *Sea bounds Waiohinu on the *makai* side, and the land has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea...* [Volume A No. 1:402-403]

Kalakalohe, sworn: ...I was born at Waiohinu, at the time of *Peleleu* [ca. 1795]... I used to go into the woods bird catching and after *mamake* and *olona*. My parents told me boundaries *makai* and *mauka*. The boundary at shore between Kahaia and Waiohinu is at Kahuku, a *lae* [point] where they fish for *ulua* thence to Kikalamakalii... [Volume A No. 1:403]

District of Kohala

Honokane, Kohala District

Mamane, sworn: ...This is as far as I know of the *mauka* boundaries. Bounded *makai* by the sea. The *Uhu* was the *Konohiki* fish, and the fishing rights extended out to sea to a place called Hahaku... [Volume B:120]

Puulau, sworn: ...I do not know any more about *mauka* boundaries. Bounded *makai* by the sea; have heard that the ancient fishing rights extended out to sea. I do not know anything about other boundaries.... [Volume B:120]



Kaauhuhu, Kohala District

Poohina, sworn: ...Thence to Lipoa, a place on the *mauka* side of Government road to Honoipu; Thence to place *makai* of Government road called Kamowiwo, Alapai's *kuleana* on Kaauhuhu. Makaiwalani's land on Kahei (Royal Patent No. 2451 Makaniwalani & Napele) reaches from the sea shore to the middle of Alapai's *kuleana*. A rock under a *puuhala* tree is the *mauka* corner of this land. The sea bounds the land of Kaauhuhu on the *makai* side. The land had fishing rights extending a long distance to sea in ancient times... [Volume A No. 1:54]

Kaiholena 1st & 2nd, Kohala District

Kama, sworn: ...My parents now dead, were *kamaaina* of Kohala, and pointed out the boundaries of the lands to me. The sea bounds these two lands on the *makai* side. These lands had ancient fishing rights extending out to the deep sea. The land Makeanehu 1st bounds Kaiholena 2nd on the south side. The lands Kaiholena 1st and 2nd lay side and side from the shore to the end of both lands. The boundary between Kaiholena 2d and Makeanehu 1st at the sea shore is a long rocky point, narrow near the main land and growing wider a little way from the shore called Honoaumi... [Volume A No. 1:80]

Hauli, sworn: ...The sea bounds Kaiholena 1st and 2nd on the *makai* side. The fisheries belonging to these lands used to extend out to sea as far as from here to Kama's house (about 5/8 of a mile). A point at the sea shore on south side of land is the boundary between Kaiholena 2d and Makeanehu 1. There is a *pali* called Nohonaumi just *mauka* of this point... [Volume A No. 1:81]

Kawaihae 1st, Kohala District

Kelua, sworn: ...the boundary runs down Keawewai gulch to Keanakawaha; thence down the gulch to Pohakuloa and thence follows the gulch to the sea. Kawaihae 1st is bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:148]

Kawaihae 2nd, Kohala District

Kahialukela, sworn: ...Kawaihae is bounded *makai* by the sea, and has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea; bounded on the Kona side by the *Ahupuaa* of Waimea. In Kamehameha I time, I heard from my parents that he gave the land adjoining Kawaihae at the sea shore to Ouli; thereby making that land extend to the sea, before that time, Ouli stopped at Puuiki. Davis and John Young were great favorites of Kamehameha I and he gave them the land, thereby making Ouli (*Ili* of Waimea) bound Kawaihae at the sea shore... [Volume B:74]

Kaneahiku w. sworn: ... I have been away from here 40 or 50 years, and have forgotten the boundaries. John Young was alive when I moved away. The beach and sea on the Kona side of Kauhuhu belonged to Kawaihae Hikina. When we came from the other Kawaihae on to this place to fish, we had to give part of our fish to Olohana [John Young]... [Volume B:390]

Kamoehau, sworn: ...The sea from Pokiiahua to Kauhuhu belonged to Kawaihae Akau, and the sea on the Kona side of Pokiiahua to Kawaihae Hikina. Mahi lived on the tract of land between Pokiiahua and Kauhuhu, but was *Konohiki* under Kalaimoku, and not under Olohana. He used to divide the fish and give part to Olohana. Olohana and Kalaimoku were *noho like* [lived under same privileges], so they used to give him part of the fish...

Part of the *poho paakai* [salt pans] belong to Kawaihae Hikina, but most of them belong to Kawaihae 1st. The boundary between the two lands is where I stated before. The folks living *mauka* on Kawaihae 2d used to go after salt at the shore to the salt works near



Kauhuhu. The poho paakai Pohakuloa, Kaholei, Piipepii, Nupaa belong to Kawaihae Hikina, the other poho paakai to Kawaihae 1st. They are lele of Kawaihae Hikina. Kaneloa is on Kawaihae Hikina, and I know of poho paakai called Kaneloa. Know of place of Kawaihae Hikina called Makela, but do not know of salt piece of that name.

Malahuehue is an *ili* of Kawaihae Hikina, and I know of salt place at shore by that name, and it belongs to Kawaihae Hikina. Kukui is an *ili aina* of Kawaihae Hikina; I do not know of any salt place of that name. Kapahukapu is an *ili* of Kawaihae Hikina, I do not know of any *poho paakai* of that name. The places I have mentioned are *ili aina* of Kawaihae Hikina, and the *poho paakai* of the same names belong to it also... [Volume B:391-392]

J.P. Parker, Jr., sworn: ...I know the lands of Kawaihae 1st and Kawaihae 2d, and have heard where the boundary is between them from Huevo, Kini Keoke and Kauwe. They told me that the fishing rights belong to the King's Kawaihae and that the gulch between my house at the shore and John Young's old house was the boundary. The gulch is on the Kona side of my house... [Volume B:392]

S.P. Wahinenui, sworn: ...When we used to catch fish Olohana's man used to take part, and the *Konohiki* of Kawaihae 1st a part. I do not know why. I have always heard from Huevo (George Davis) that the fishing rights belonged to Kawaihae 1st. I have heard that the places for making salt belonged to both lands. The poho paakai have the same names as the ili aina to which they belong on both Kawaihae. The makaha of the fish pond is called Kukui and belonged to Kawaihae 2nd. I never heard any dispute about the *poho paakai*, but the dispute was about the land on the Kona side of them to Pokiahua gulch. [Volume B:393]

Kehena 2nd, Kohala District

Kikalaeka, sworn: ...Hauli, now present in Court, showed me the *makai* boundaries of Kehena 2nd. I went with Wiltse several years ago when he was surveying on the sea shore. I do not know the boundaries. Do not know whether Kehena 2nd had any fishing rights or not... [Volume A No. 1:75]

Hauli, sworn: ...A water spring named Maue on the north side of Keawanui is the boundary at the shore between Kehena 1st and Kehena 2d. The sea bounds Kehena 2d on the *makai* side. I have always heard that Kehena 2d had ancient fishing rights extending out a good way into the sea. Nakapauluhua, father of Pohakuuli, was Konohiki of Kehena, and always charged people for fishing on the sea belonging to Kehena and collected the pay... [Volume A No. 1:75]

Kiokalani, Kohala District

Kekuaaea, sworn: ...thence to Ahuliili, a resting place. The compass was put here to sight to Puulepo; thence *makai* to Pukoa, a resting place; thence to Malae, a point at the shore; Bounded makai by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:276]

Pohakuuli, sworn: ...Bounded makai by the sea, where we went fishing; we had to give fish to the Konohiki... [Volume B:277]

Kukuipahu, Kohala District

Ku, sworn: ...From the shore to Kepioholowai is as far as I know the boundaries. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:135]

Kaneihalau, sworn: ...I have heard that Kaauhuhu and Kukuipahu join. Bounded on the *makai* side by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. This is all I know of the boundaries of Kukuipahu... [Volume B:137]



Mahukona 2nd, Kohala District

Palua, sworn: ...Poupou is the point at shore between Mahukona 1st and Mahukona 2nd. Bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. Kaheana's *kuleana* joins Mahukona 1st at the sea shore. [Volume B:141]

Makapala, Kohala District

Kaohe, sworn: ...Makapala is bounded on the east side by the land Niulii, Kehena *mauka*, Aamakao on the north side, and the sea on the *makai* side; the fishing rights—grounds belonging to Makapala in old times extended out into the sea about as far from the shore as from where we are now to the top of that hill (pointing to a hill about half a mile distant). Outside of the Makapala fishing grounds the sea belonged to other lands... ...The boundary then turns toward the west for a short distance. Thence *mauka* near brow of *pali* to stream; thence across the gulch to place called Paea to a ridge between Kipukaiole on Niulii and Makanaihe on Makapala to side of old fish pond called Kilohe; Thence up to east side of Haleolono hill... [Volume A No. 1:85-86]

D.K. Naiapaakai, sworn: ...The sea is on the *makai* side of the land of Makapala. The fishing grounds belonging to land in olden times, extended a good distance out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:87]

Niulii, Kohala District

Kahakumu, sworn (same witness as in Waiapuka): Niulii is bounded on the Hilo side by Waiapuka. On the *mauka* end by Kehena, On the Kohala side by Makapala, and *makai* by the sea. The land has free fishing rights... [Volume B:127]

Pololu, Kohala District

Kuke, sworn: ... the sea bounds the land of Pololu on *makai* side. Pololu had an ancient fishing right extending out to *uhu* fishing grounds. There is a *kupono* of Pololu on the side adjoining Makanikahio 1 belonging to D. Kalakaua, that owned part of the fishing right. I do not know the boundaries of it... [Volume A No. 1:60]

Pa-u, Ili of Pololu, Kohala District

Kauai w. sworn: ...Land of Pa-u always had ancient fishing rights extending out in the sea to the outer edge of the breakers... [Volume D No. 5:233]

Pupuka, sworn: ...The ancient fishing rights belonged to Pa-u and not to the *Ahupuaa* Pololu... [Volume D No. 5:234]

Puako, Kohala District

Kauwewahine, K. sworn: ...Lalamilo bounds Puako on the Kawaihae side (or North side) a wall at the dam of a fishing pond at a place called Makaha is the boundary. Thence along the stream from the pond to a place called Kaekuakapuaa, a wall at the shore; Thence along shore towards Kona to a large rock on the sand beach called Kapelekaaha. The sea belongs to Lalamilo. Thence *mauka* along Lalamilo to Puapuaa passing from the Kona side to the *mauka* side of the pond. Thence towards Kohala hills to Piikoele, an old pond now filled with sand, on the *mauka* side of the present pond; thence to the *Makaha*. These are the boundaries of Puako as told me by my parents... [Volume B:296]

Puanui, Kohala District

Kanaha, sworn: ...Bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:130]

Paahao, sworn: ...Bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:130]



Kekuaia, sworn: ...Bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out as far as you can see bottom... [Volume B:131]

Puuepa 1st, Kohala District

Pahiha, sworn: ...Hukiaa 3d bounds Puuepa 1st on the east side; Kukuipahu *mauka* and Puuepa 2d on the north side and *makai* by the sea. Puuepa 1st always had a fishing right, extending out into deep water. A long rock in the sea called Pohakuloa is the boundary at shore between Puuepa 1st, Hukiaa 3d; there is a large rock on shore marked P & H; thence the boundary runs up *iwi aina* (a ridge of small stones which the natives formed in clearing their potato and *kalo* patches) to stones set in the ground and marked P... [Volume A No. 1: 163-164]

Waiapuka, Kohala District

Kuuku, sworn: ...Ancient fishing rights extending out only a short distance... [Volume B:125]

Waika, Kohala District

Puhi, sworn: ... A rocky point, named Oneloa, is the boundary of Waika where Kawaihae joins it. I do not know about fishing rights... [Volume A No. 1:171]

Kaohia, sworn: ...The sea is the *makai* boundary, and the land had an ancient fishing right extending out to sea. Oneloa is the boundary between Kawaihae and Waika; thence up a small *awaawa* to a point *makai* of Maaukaa... [Volume A No. 1:172]

Anaehoomalu, Ili of Waimea, Kohala District

George Kaukuna, sworn: ...Know the land of Anaehoomalu in South Kohala. Puanahulu, a land in North Kona bounds it on the Southwest side; this land used to bound it on the *mauka* side also, but I am told that Waikoloa now bounds it from the South corner, bounded on the North side by Kalahuipuaa; and by the sea on the *makai* side. The land has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:386]

Naauhau, sworn: ...Waikoloa is said to bound Anaehoomalu *mauka* to Kepani; just before you can see the trees at the shore, on Kalahuipuaa, coming towards Kawaihae. There turn *makai* along Kalahuipuaa to Iiilinehe at Pohakuloa, on the sea shore. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:387]

Notes of Survey: Area 866 Acres. Including 2 fish ponds of an aggregate area of 4½ acres. Surveyed by J.S. Emerson... [Volume C No. 3:325]

Kalahuipuaa (Lahuipuaa), Ili of Waimea, Kohala District

George Kaukuna, sworn: ...a place called Milokukahi; a grove of Milo trees, where the boundary turns *makai*, along Waimea to seashore. Between the seashore and Milokukahi there is a place on the boundary called Keahaaha on *aa*. Pohakupuka, a rock in the sea, is the boundary at shore. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:384]

Naauhau, sworn: ...thence to Pohakupuka, a large rock in the sea with holes through it. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:385]

Notes of Survey: Area 359 Acres. Including 7 fish ponds of an aggregate area of 10½ acres... [Volume C No. 3:327]

Lalamilo & Waimaa, Waimea, Kohala District

...His Honor, C. Kanaina only claims the beach and fishing rights. Lalamilo had ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. His Verbal instructions to me & written Instructions to



Kaukuna his Agent...

Waimaa: Bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:298]

Kaahumoku, sworn: ...Kaahumoku, continued from Puako: The boundary at shore between Lalamilo and Ouli is at Kaihumoku; thence along shore and around Puako and along shore to Keawaulaula. Thence *mauka* along the boundary of Waimaa to Kaieo, an *ahu pohaku*; thence towards Kohala along Waikoloa to Kuiehua, a gulch; thence to Kaihumoku. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:298-299]

Ouli, Ili of Waimea, Kohala District

Pupuka, sworn: ...I was born on Ouli, and was quite large at the building of Kiholo [ca. 1812], but do not know the date of my birth. I have lived on Ouli and adjoining lands. I know all the boundaries of said land, used to *mahiai* on the *makai* portion of it. Ouli is bounded *makai* by the sea, and has ancient fishing rights; it is bounded on the Kona side by Waimea.

The boundary at seashore is at Kaihumoku, a point of stones in the sea, or the middle of the sand beach; thence direct to Ahuahaloo, the boundary following an old trail to this place... [Volume B:64]

Waikoloa, Ili of Waimea, Kohala District

Mi, sworn: ... Waimea is a Kalana. – which is the same as an island divided in to districts. – there are eight Okana in Waimea. In those Okana are those lands said to extend out (*hele mawaho*). These lands came in to the possession of Kamehameha I who said to Kupapaulu, go and look out to of the large lands running to the sea, for John Young and Isaac Davis. Kupapaulu went to Keawekuloa, the *haku aina*, who said if we give Waikoloa to the foreigners they will get Kalahuipua [Kalahuipuaa] and Anaiomalua [Anaehoomalu] (two lands at the beach) then your master will have no fish. So they kept the sea lands and gave Waikoloa to Isaac Davis. John Young asked my parents if it was a large land they said, the black aa was Napuu, and the good land Waimea... [Volume A No. 1:7]

Moolau, sworn: ...all the plain was given to Waikoloa, and Keanakaloa secured the fish lands at the shore. All the *pili* from Ouli to the aa of Kona belonged to Waikoloa... [Volume A No. 1:8]

District of Kona

Auhaukeae, North Kona District

Kekoanui, sworn: ...Kailianu w. was the *kamaaina* at the shore; she lived near the land; she pointed out the boundaries on both sides of the land at the shore; I marked the corner of the land on the South side, cut into a large rock X; on the North side is a ridge of rock in the sea by a sand beach; did not mark that. That land always had undisputed fishing right in the sea... [Volume B:450]

Haleohiu, North Kona District

Kanehailua, sworn: [near the southern boundary, *makai*] ...thence to Kuula [a near shore hill], a *puu pohaku*, where we used to worship. Bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:266]

Hamanamana, North Kona District

Kaukaliinea, sworn: ...thence to Kahua, a *lae* at the seashore. Bounded *makai* by the sea. I have heard that the Ancient fishing rights belonged to Haleohiu. The people from Hamanamana had their fishing confined to the rocks... [Volume B:264]



Kanehailua, sworn: thence *makai* to Kahua at the seashore. Bounded *makai* by the sea. The ancient fishing rights was limited to the rocks at shore. The sea belonging to Haleohiu... [Volume B:264]

Haukalua 2nd, South Kona District

Hoolau, sworn: ...Bounded on the *makai* side by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:214]

Hianaloli [Hienaloli] 4th, North Kona District

Haleokane, sworn: I was born at Hianaloli, North Kona, Hawaii and have lived here ever since. I was quite large when Mr. Thurston arrived [1820], know the boundaries of the land, my *makua* (now dead) pointed them out to me. The sea is the *makai* boundary and the land has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:346]

Holualoa 1st, North Kona District

Keliikanakaole, sworn: ...thence *makai* following an *iwi aina* to a place at shore called Kuapae, a rocky point in the sea, with sand each side of it. The boundary at shore between Puapuaa and Holualoa 1st. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:337]

Ihihi, sworn: ...thence *makai* to Puuopelu, an *oioina kukui* [trail side resting place, shade by *kukui* trees]; thence *makai* along the *iwi aina* to Kuapae, a *puu pahoehoe* with sand on Kailua side and sea on the *makai* side. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:338]

Holualoa 4th, North Kona District

Kea, sworn: ...My parents (now dead) who were also kamaainas, pointed out the boundaries to me. At that time all lands had different *Konohiki*. Kaumalumu bounds Holualoa 4th on the South side; the sea on the *makai* side. Ancient fishing rights extending out to where it is hard to see bottom... [Volume A No. 1: 343]

Haleokane, sworn: ...The sea is the *makai* boundary and the land has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. Hianaloli 5th is on the South side, the boundary at shore between Hianaloli 4th and Hianaloli 5th is Okikau, a water hole and bathing place... [Volume A No. 1: 346]

Honaunau, South Kona District

Kila, sworn: ... Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea.... [Volume A No. 1:282]

Kuiline, sworn: ...Know a place called Anapuka; it is way on Honaunau. The boundary as it was told to me runs from Anapukalua to Puulehu, and then to Mahana. Bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:223]

Honokohau Iki, North Kona District

Hoochio, sworn: ... thence *makai* to Maliu a *lae*, the sea bounds the land *makai*; and there is a very small fishing right cut off by the sea of Kealakehe and Honokohaunui... [Volume A No. 1:364]

Kamohai, sworn: ...Thence to a *heiau* named Halekuo thence to Maliu a *lae* in the sea; on the North side of the point. Ancient fishing rights extend from Maliu to Kananaka; a ledge of rocks in the sea, which looks red from the water is next to Honokohaunui... [Volume A No. 1:365]

Kekoanui, sworn: I am a *kamaaina* of Honokohau, and live there. I went with Mr. Hitchcock to survey the land. We commenced at the corner marked by Brown, at the



seashore. Kaloko, said to be Keelikolani's land, is on the North side of the land. Kaohi w. and Kailioha kane were our kamaainas in the surveying; they pointed out the boundaries, a large rock in the sea, over which the waves break; it is quite a little distance off from the shore. There is a "Koa Opelu" in the sea, the kamaainas say it belongs to this land. Kaohi is a very old woman and is feeble, as is the man; they said that the people of Kaloko fish in the Koa Opelu, as formerly the Konohiki of Honokohau was a woman, who married a man who was the Konohiki of Kaloko, and allowed him to fish on her grounds... ..Honokohau nui has fishing right in the sea... [Volume B:452-453]

D.H. Hitchcock, sworn: I marked the North *mauka* corner by the *aa*, as near as I could tell from what the natives told me of the boundary... According to the boundaries of Honokohau the "Koa Opelu" is entirely within the land, as the old woman said it belonged... From the beach up the North side of the land, the boundary line strikes up onto the *aa* to an *Ahu*, and on to a stone wall, said to be the boundary. The South side was surveyed by J.F. Brown, as far up as Honokohau iki extends, and we found his corner... The only disputed point was about the "Koa Opelu," which the Kaloko people claim... [Volume B:453]

Honokua, South Kona District

Kaleikoa, sworn: ...The sea bounds it *makai*. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:211]

Honomalino, South Kona District

Kuakahela, sworn: ...Bounded *makai* by the sea, ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. Kalipo is the boundary at shore between this land and Kalihi. Kalihi has been sold by Government from shore to the Government road... [Volume B:190].

Hookena, South Kona District

Kekuhaulua, sworn: ...Hookena had ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:275]

Kamaka, sworn: ...Hookena had ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:277]

Kaapuna, South Kona District

Kama, sworn: ...Commencing at *ahupuaa* on the South side of Kipahoehoe bounded at the shore by Kaleokane, a point extending into the sea, boundary in the middle of the point... running *mauka*, then returning on southern boundary to *makai*] ...Thence along land sold to *Kapunanaka*, a *puu pahoehoe* all cracked up, at the shore, bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:198-200]

Kaa, sworn: ...Bounded *makai* by the sea, fishing rights extending some distance out, and there cut off by Honomalino... [Volume B:202]

Kahaluu, North Kona District

Papa, sworn: ...The sea bounds it *makai*, and it has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. Keauhou bounds Kahaluu on the Southern side; at the sea shore the boundary between these two places is at Ohiki, a point on the South side of Paaniau, and near to it... [Volume A No. 1:321]

Kaahuna, sworn: ...Keauhou bounds Kahaluu on the South side; sea *makai*; and the land has fishing rights. The boundary at shore is Ohiki, a pile of stones on the South side of Paaniau... [Volume A No. 1:322]



Kahauloa 2nd, South Kona District

Kahula, sworn: ...From Kaneaa the boundary runs *makai* along an *iwi aina* to Kahuamoa, a pile of stones; thence *makai* to Mahana, a pile of stones; thence to Kaneahuea, the *pahoehoe* at the foot of the *pali* being on Keei and the *pali* on Kahauloa. Fishing rights in shallow water only... [Volume A No. 1:297]

Kahului 2nd, North Kona District

Niniha, sworn: ...I pointed out the boundaries of Kahului 1st when it was surveyed; thence along the land sold, to Kalalii, a *pulu lepo* at seashore. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:328]

Makuakane, sworn: ...Thence the boundary runs along land sold, to the sea, and the land has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:329]

Kalahiki, South Kona District

Palea, sworn: ...Pohokinikini is the name of two water holes on Waiea, where Cummings' land ends and my lands bound Kalahiki from there to the seashore. The sea bounds it on the *makai* side and the land has Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1: 291]

Kalama 3rd, South Kona District

Naili, sworn: ...Kaaemoku's land on Kalama 4th bounds Kalama 3rd at seashore on the South side; and the place called Mokunui is said to be the only fishing place belonging to Kalama 3rd. From the seashore the boundary runs *mauka*, along kuleanas, and lands sold, and along remnants, belonging to Government... [Volume A No. 1:310]

Kalama Kumu, Ili of Napoopoo, South Kona District

Kamauoha, sworn: ...Kalamakumu is bounded *makai* by the sea and it has ancient fishing rights extending out a short distance; the outside sea belonging to Kealakekua. My father-in-law, who was *Konohiki*, pointed out the boundaries to me. I am *Konohiki* now. The boundary at sea shore between this land and Kalama Ililoa is at a landing on Kalama Ililoa, at the south side of Kaiwikahua; Kapahukula's *kuleana*; thence the boundary runs *mauka* along a stone wall... [Volume A No. 1:300]

Kaloko, North Kona District

Nahuina, sworn: ...thence *makai* to Keawewai, an *awaawa*, with water near the shore road thence to Okuhi, an *awaawa* in the sea with a point on each side of it. On the *makai* side Kaloko is bounded by the sea; and the land had ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. The *koa* is on Kaloko and the *olona* on Honokohaunui... [Volume A No. 1:371]

Kaohe 4th, South Kona District

Pahua, sworn: ...thence to Palake, where Kamehameha I had a canoe made; thence to Aimoku, the *mauka* corner. Bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:219]

Huakano, sworn: ...Bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea.... [Volume B:219]

Kapua, South Kona District

Nakai w., sworn: ...In old times they were very particular about the boundaries of lands. Kaulanamauna bounds it on the Kau side, Okoe on the Kona side, I do not know the *mauka* boundary. The boundary at the sea shore on the Kau side is at a fishing place called Ahuloa, there is a large rock there called by that name; thence *mauka* to Kaanamalu, a cave... [Volume B:185]



Makea, sworn: ...I lived at Manuka for a while. The last witness is my wife and she was the cause of my going there. I know the boundary of Kapua at the shore. Keau, my father (now dead) told me that Ahuloa was the boundary between Kapua and Kaulanamauna. From the shore to the Government road I do not know the boundaries, the boundary there is the *pa heiau* [temple wall] *makai* of the road... [Volume B:186]

Kuakahela, sworn: ...Ahuloa is at the sea shore, the sand is on Kaulanamauna; thence along the *aa* to Kahepapa where the boundary leaves the *aa* and runs up a short distance...across the *aa* to *koa* woods, to a place called Kawiliwahine where they make canoes for both lands, thence to Koolau where Kapua ends, it is here cut off by Kaulanamauna and Honomalino, this is where *Kokoolau* grows, in the *koa*... thence along Okoe along the *awaawa* to Makalei, at the sea shore. I can go and point out all the places I have been to and I can tell the marks the *kamaaina* showed me. Bounded *makai* by the sea, ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:189]

Kaumalumalu, North Kona District

Kamakahoohia, sworn: ...Kaleiahana (now dead) pointed out the boundaries to me; they used to go into the mountain after *uwau*. I went with them after sandalwood. The sea bounds this land *makai* and it has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. Pahoehoe 1st is on the South side; the boundary at shore between these two lands is Manawai, a water hole on the North side of the landing... ..thence to Kui, a *pali* in the woods where canoe makers used to worship; here the boundary strikes the Judd road [Volume A No. 1:324-325]

Palauolelo, sworn: ...The boundary at seashore between Holualoa and Kaumalumalu is at Kuula opelu, a *heiau* [an *’opelu* fisherman’s temple] The *Kaheka* [near shore pond – anchialine pond] is on Kaumalumalu... [Volume A No. 1:325]

Kaupulehu, North Kona District

Keliihanapule, sworn: ...Bounded on the South side by Kukio owned by Pupule, the boundary at shore is in the middle of a place called Keawaiki. The land had ancient fishing rights extending out to sea from Keawaiki to Popoomino, a pile of stones at the corner of Pupule’s land... ..The place where they make salt at the seashore is on the Puna side of the lava flow... [Volume B:247-248]

Kahueai, sworn: ...The boundary on Kohala side at shore is a spot of sand called Kolomuo on the south side of Kalaemano... ..Bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:249-250]

Aea, sworn, (witness on Puawaa [Puuwaawaa]): ...The boundary at seashore between Puawaa and Kaupulehu is at Pohakuokahai, a rocky point in the *aa*, on the lava flow of 1801, from Hualalai to sea. I think it is the third point from Kiholo in the flow as you go towards Kona... [Volume B:251]

Keahuolu, North Kona District

J.Z. Waiau, sworn: ...thence to Puunahaha, a large red hill on the *mauka* side of the *makai* Government road, thence to Puuokaloa, an *oioina* or small hill; thence to Kaiwi, a *lae pohaku* on the middle of point. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:354-355]

Kealakai, sworn: ...thence to Puunahaha; the boundary passing on the North side; from thence to Puuokaloa; thence *makai* to Kaiwi, the *kula* in middle of point and *lae pohaku* on the point at sea shore. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea and claiming the *opelu*... [Volume A No. 1:356]



Mahu, sworn: I was born on the land of Keahuolu at the time of the birth of Kamehameha II [1797], and my parents who were kamaainas of the land told me its boundaries. Kealakehe bounds it on the North side, the boundary at shore between the two lands is at Kaiwi; thence it runs *mauka* to Puuokaloa... [Volume A No. 1:358]

Kealakekua, South Kona District

Kuanana, sworn: ...I heard Kapaakea say that what is below the wall along sand beach at the shore, was for Government, and all above that was theirs. After the land was sold, the Jail was used; but the land, and fish pond, was held by the Ahupuaa, as formerly; the Government Luna never came for the fish. I never heard of any of the land as belonging to the Government, above the beach wall, until lately; only that below the beach wall was set apart for the Government... [Volume D:67]

J.W. Smith, sworn: ...Paris sold to J.R. Logan, who hired me as Manager of his Sugar Plantation, and shewed me where his boundary was; he thought of putting his Mill near the sea, so enquired of kamaainas, who told him it all belonged to Kealakekua, to the *Alii*, except what was below the beach wall, which belonged to the Government. No one ever disputed Mr. Logan's rights there; and he sold to Thomas Cook, according to that *makai* boundary. He sold to Paris, and he to Greenwell, by those boundaries; the Fish pond was held by them, and they kept it stocked with fish, and used it. I never heard of the land being claimed by the Government until Mr. Wall came around lately, except that portion below the wall, as I said... [Volume D:68]

J.D. Paris, Jr., sworn: I know the whole land of Kealakekua was held by Atkins, as long ago as I can remember, and was purchased from him, by my father in 1862 or 3; father held the entire land, flats included undisputed possession of the flats and Fish pond, and sold to Mr. Logan, about 1865, who sold to Thomas Cook, and father purchased it back from him, and held it several years, and sold to me about 1874. I held the whole land, including what is now claimed by the Government, and the Fish pond; then I sold to H.N. Greenwell. I held undisputed possession, and no one ever claimed that this was Government property then. A number of old kamaainas lived on the flat then, who said that the flat and the Pond were "Konohiki," what was below the wall along the sand beach was considered to belong to Government. I rented the Fish Pond to Kamauoha, the father of G.P. Kamauoha, now in Legislature... [Volume D:68]

Henry Haili, sworn: ...Wahine was the *Konohiki* of the land which belonged to Keohokalole and Kapaakea. Wahine told me, when he had charge of the land, that Captain Cummings leased the land from Keohokalole, including the Fish Pond, after that, Keohokalole sold the land, and my grandfather, Nunole, had charge of the land, and the people living there, all worked under him as *Konohiki*, all receipts of land, and the cocoanuts near the Jail, Nunole took to Atkins. Atkins contested Cummings' right to the Fish Pond, and the Lease had expired...and Nunole had charge again of the Pond, for Atkins...and leased the Fish Pond to Kamauoha Senior, who was the Jailer then...
...Paris kept the Fish Pond, and after Greenwell bought the land, I leased it again of him for \$30, including the Pond, and I still hold it by Lease, though for less rent than before, as the cattle come into it and spoil it... [Volume D:69]

Kealia, South Kona District

Kekuhaulua, sworn: ...the boundary turns toward Kona, to Keawe o Kini the makai boundary at seashore. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:274]

Keauhou 1st, North Kona District

Lono, sworn: ...The boundary at the shore between Keauhou 1st and Keauhou 2nd is at Kamauae, a heiau for fishermen situated above the beach, on the hill where the houses stand; thence *mauka* to a breadfruit tree; thence to the head of *Holua*... Keauhou is



bounded by the sea and the land has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea...
[Volume A No. 1:319]

Keauhou 2nd, North Kona District

Keakaokawai, sworn: ...I used to go on the mountain with my father collecting sandalwood and catching birds; his name was Kauluahi, an old bird catcher and *kamaaina* now dead; Honalo bounds Keauhou 2 at sea shore on South side; A *pali aa* called Lekeleke is the boundary at sea shore between these lands... [Volume A No. 1:256]

Kakio, sworn: ...The boundary at shore between the two Keauhous is at a place called *Kamauae* at the beach; Thence it runs *mauka* to the head of *Holua* (an old sliding place)... They say in the days of Keeaumoku the *Akule* used to belong to Keauhou 2d and the birds to Keauhou 1st, but the Chief of Keauhou 2 married a chief of Keauhou 1st and after that all the fish were given to Keauhou 1st and the birds and land *mauka* to Keauhou 2nd. [Volume A No. 1:267]

Keeki 1st, South Kona District

Kaluna, sworn: ...Mokuape, a rock in the sea, is the boundary at shore between Keeki 1st iki and Kahauloa it is on the North side of a place called Kaneahuea... Bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:225]

Kahula, sworn: ...Fishing rights in shallow water only... [Volume B:226]

Keopu 3rd, North Kona District

Kaleiheana, sworn: ...John li (now dead) pointed out the *makai* boundaries to me. The land has very small fishing rights, which are cut off by Honuaula. The sand in the sea is on Honuaula, and the *aa* is on Keopu. The boundary at shore between these two lands is at Puukoa, a noted place for surf riding. There is a wall here called Papaula, and the boundary comes to the middle of said wall... Bounded *makai* by the sea... Commencing on the other side at seashore at a large stone called Okolepohupohu *makai* of the Governor's stone house Hulihee... [Volume A No. 1: 302]

Kauakahi, sworn: ...Papaula is the boundary at the shore between Keopu and Honuaula...; The land had ancient fishing rights at Okolepohopohu, and from there the boundary runs *mauka* to Makakauahi, an *oioina*... [Volume A No. 1: 303]

Kiilae, South Kona District

Kila, sworn: ...Kuwaia, a water spring, under the *pali*, at the seashore, is the boundary between Kiilae and Keokea; the land has ancient fishing rights extending out, as far as you can see bottom; Commencing at the spring at the sea shore, the boundary runs *mauka* along Keokea to a *kahawai* (gulch) called Keokea... [Volume A No. 1:292]

Laaloa 1st, North Kona District

Nahina, sworn: ...Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1: 331]

Lanihau Nui, North Kona District

J.Z. Waiau, sworn: ...It is bounded on the North side by Keahuolu and on the South side by Lanihauiki, the land has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. The boundary at shore between Lanihaunui and Lanihauiki is Kukanapaio, an *awaawa kai* in the rocks; thence *mauka* to Kuaaona between the fish ponds, outside of the fort [at Ahuena]. I think one good sized fish pond is on Lanihauiki, called Waikauila; Waihonu is on Lanihaunui; thence to a coconut tree on the inside of the old fort; thence to a long stone above the fort, buried in sand, some of the *kamaaina* say it used to reach wet sand... [Volume A No. 1:305-306]



S.K. Kaai, sworn: ...The boundary at shore between the two Lanihau is at a place called Kukanapaio, an awaawa kai, between two points; the point nearest the land of Lanihau 2nd is said to be on that land, and the water is on Lanihau 1st; thence the boundary runs southeast, the sand on Lanihau 2 and the pahoehoe on Lanihau 1st to a hale kupapau, a tomb called Kaluanaiau; thence a little more towards the east to Puupalena. South side of this place is Puupohaku; thence the boundary runs to the South side of Waiopae; thence to the ponds Waikauwila and Waihonu; passing between said ponds and running along the middle of the wall; thence into this yard to a cocoanut tree near the wall; thence mauka to the mauka side of the old Fort... [Volume A No. 1:349]

Lehuulanui, North Kona District

Hapuku, sworn: ...I only know the boundaries of Lehuulanui below the great walled lot. Sea bounds this land on the *makai* and it has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea...Paaaoao is the boundary at sea shore between Kawanui and Lehuulanui; there is a wall and landing there... [Volume A No. 1:315]

Maihi 1st, North Kona District

Ehu, sworn: ...Honalo bounds it on the north side. Maihi 2nd on the south side. Leinakalooa is the boundary at shore between Maihi I and Maihi 2nd. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. The Opelu belonged to Maihi and the Ahi to Keauhou; bounded makai by the sea... [Volume A No. 1:311]

Kailikini, sworn: ...Leinakalooa, a canoe landing is the boundary between Maihi 1st and Maihi 2nd. A pali between Koa Opelu [a heiau] belongs to Maihi 1st. The sea bounds it makai. The boundary at shore between Maihi 1st and Honalo is at Keawakui running along the south side of it... [Volume A No. 1:312]

Makalawena, North Kona District

Kahailii, sworn: ...Commencing at the seashore, the boundary between the land of Makalawena and Mahaiula is a kahaka [tidal pool], called Kaelemiha... ..thence to Mokupohaku, or Kaiwikohola, a large rock in the surf. Makalawena is bounded makai by the sea, and the land has ancient fishing rights, extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:373-374]

Mamae, sworn: ...The boundary at shore between Makalawena and Mahaiula is Nahaleoahumakaike, a kahaka; thence to an ahu called Kaelemiha... ..Thence to Pohakuaeapoapu, a large rock at the seashore, and from thence to a large rock in the surf called Kaiwi Kohola... [Volume A No. 1:374-375]

Decision...

Honolulu, April 3d, 1883

Honorable Frederick S. Lyman, Commissioner of Boundaries, Island of Hawaii

...I have to request that you will settle the boundaries of the *Ahupuaa* of Makalawena in North Kona, Hawaii. the land was awarded to the late Madam A. Akahi, and is now the property of Mrs. Bernice Pauahi Bishop.

I send herewith, a map made many years ago by Kaelemakule from a survey made by him; and also a map of same with notes of survey, made lately by Mr. J. Emerson. The land is of small value, except for the fishing rights attached, and so far as I know there is no dispute about boundaries...

(signed) Charles R. Bishop... [Volume No. 5:11]

...The fishing rights belonging to this land extend one mile out to sea from the shore line, and are bounded on either side as follows:



On the south by a line starting from the southern boundary at sea and running North 57° 00' West (true).
On the North by a line starting from the Northern boundary at sea and running North 50° 00' West (true).

The above description is taken from Kaelemakule's survey and corrected by the triangulation.

By J.S. Emerson, Government Surveyor... [Volume C No. 4:34]

Olelomoana Iki (1st), South Kona District

Kimo, sworn: ...Commencing at a large rock in the sea called Kaluahee; thence mauka to Kapulehu... Bounded makai by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. The boundary at shore between Kolo and Olelomoana 1st iki is a large hill, as large as this house, called Kaluaolapauila... [Volume B:206-207]

Kapule w., sworn: ...Commencing at the seashore, the boundary between Olelomoana 2d nui and Olelomoana 1st iki is at Kaluahee; the boundary line running in an awaawa to the right of it... The boundary I have testified to is the boundary of Olelomoana 1st iki from the shore to Papai... Bounded on the North by Kolo Kapuaau, or Kaleiulala is the boundary at shore... Puaau is a moku in the sea. Bounded on the makai side by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:208]

Olelomoana Nui (2nd), South Kona District

Kamaka, sworn: ...The boundary at the shore is in an awaawa on the North side of Kaluahee; thence mauka up the pali to the North side Kauhiuli, a kauhale... Bounded makai by the sea. Fishing rights belonging to Konohiki; bounded on the South side by Opihale... [Volume B:204]

Kapule w., sworn: ...Opihale 1st bounds it on the South side. The boundary at shore between Olelomoana 2d nui and Olelomoana 1st iki is Kaluahee; there is an awaawa at the right side of it; thence up the awaawa to Kauhiuhi... The boundary at shore between Opihale and Olelomoana 2d nui is at Kukuly; thence mauka to Kapakoholua... I can point out the boundaries from woods to shore. Bounded makai by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. [Volume B:205]

Pahoehoe 2nd, South Kona District

Kuaimoku, sworn: ...Bounded makai by the sea and I have always been told that the land has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. I was born here... [Volume B:196]

Papa 2nd, South Kona District

Kuakahela, sworn: The boundary at shore between the two Papas is at Keawemoku...There is koa on this land fit to make canoes, but the most of the koa is on Honomalino. Anapuka bounds it on the South side of a point called Namakahiki... Bounded makai by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:193-194]

Makea, sworn: ...Anapuka bounds it on the South side at a large puka on the South side of Namakahiki; thence mauka along a line of craters or holes, to the woods... Sea bounds it on the makai side. Ancient fishing rights as far out as you can see bottom... [Volume B:194]

Puaa 1st, North Kona District

Kauwa w., sworn: ...Puaa is bounded makai by the sea and the land has ancient fishing rights near the shore, but not extending out to sea. Thence commencing at a punawai by



the seashore called Holoke, between the lands of Puaa and Auhaukeae and running *mauka* to Poholua, a *huli pali* near the shore and just above a house... .. *makai* to Hiilia, a *punawai*; thence to Kekawa, at the seashore. Hiilia is *mauka* of Governor Adam's wall, and Kekawa is the *awaawa kai* [an ocean inlet], with points each side. The boundary is between the two. Puaa has ancient fishing rights extending to the squid grounds... [Volume A No. 1:376-378]

Kahueai, sworn: ...The boundary at shore on the Kau side is Nakakai, owned by Pupule, the *mauka* corner of Pupule's land on Puaa 2d is at Kaopapa... ..thence *makai* along Hauanio's land and thence along Ukumea's land and then along Kole to the sea shore. Bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:244-245]

Puapuaa Nui, North Kona District

Ukumea, sworn: ...Bounded on the North side by Piki, the boundary at shore between these two lands is Keawapuapua on the south side of the *awa* [landing]... ..thence to Huloa, a resting place above Governor Adams wall; thence to seashore. I do not know the name of this *makai* point. Bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:260-261]

Mahalo, sworn: ...Commencing at the seashore on the Kau side of the *Awaawa Puhuihiu*, the *awaawa* being on the Kau side of the canoe landing; thence to Pakuhano, *aa mauka* of the wall... ..thence *makai* to Ahulooa; thence to Puuopelu; thence to Kuapae at the seashore. Bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:261]

Puawaa [Puuwaawaa], North Kona District

Aea, sworn: ...Ono, an older cousin of mine, now dead, pointed out the boundaries to me; as the different lands had different *Konohiki* and different *koele* [planting areas worked for the chiefs] &c. The land of Puawaa is bounded on the South side by Kaupulehu and *mauka* by the same. On the North by the land of Puanahulu, and *makai* by the sea. The ancient fishing rights of the land extend out to sea.

The boundary at sea shore between this land and Kaupulehu, is at Pohakuokahai, a rocky point in the *aa* on the lava flow of 1801, the flow from Hualalai to sea. I think it is the third point from Kiholo, in the flow, as you go toward Kona; thence the boundary between these lands runs *mauka* on *aa* to Keahupuaa... [Volume A No. 1:253]

Nahinalii, sworn: I was born here, at the time of the building of Kiholo [ca. 1812], and lived here till 1865 when I moved to Kawaihae... Pohakukahai is the boundary at shore between this land and Kaupulehu. From this point the boundaries between these two lands, runs *mauka* to Keahukaupuaa; Paniau is the name of the place where the *Ahu* stands...

The *kamaaina* of this land told me that the boundary, at shore between Puawaa and Puanahulu is between Lonokai [a *heiau*], on Puawaa and Puoakaulii [a *heiau*] on Puanahulu; they are very close to the shore... [Volume A No. 1:255-256]

Waiaha 2nd, North Kona District

Peahi, sworn: ...A water hole called Waialipi is on the boundary between the two *Waiahas*. Waiaha 2d is bounded by Waiaha 1st to a banana grove at the edge of the woods... Waiaha 2d is bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:269]



District of Puna

Apua, Puna District

Keliilohi, sworn: ...The boundary at the shore between Apua and Keauhou is at Okiokiaho... [return makai] ...Thence along land of Kahue to Waikoolihilihi, a punawai; thence to Keanawaa, a cave with a waterhole; thence to Ahuahaau; thence to Keanawaa on the lower pali; thence to Keahupuaa, a long paa [wall] and a large pile of stones at the shore. Bounded on the makai by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:300]

Hulunani, Puna District

Kaaihili, sworn: ...thence makai along Lainaholo's purchase along land purchased by a company of natives to the sea shore. Bounded makai by the sea, and had ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:421]

Ililoa, Puna District

Rev. Makuakane, sworn: ...The boundary at the shore on the Hilo side between this land and Kauaea is at the Ahupuaa (ahupohaku [a stone mound]) where they used to set up the idol; it is on a point. Thence the boundary runs up mauka along old iwi aina to place called Ahuamalama... Thence the boundary between Ililoa and Opihikao runs makai along old iwi aina to sea shore to a point in sea called Hoesa. It is bounded on the makai side by the sea, and had ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:413]

Kahula, sworn: ...The boundary at the shore between this land and Kauaea is at an ahupuaa or ahupohaku at a point on the shore; Thence the boundary between these lands runs mauka along old iwi aina, an iwi pohaku to mauka side of Ahuamalama... the boundary of this land runs makai along iwi aina of Opihikao to point at sea shore called Hoesa. Bounded makai by the sea, and has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:413]

Kahaualea, Puna District

Kalakalohe, sworn: ...I used to be a bird catcher, and am a kamaaina of Kahaualea. Kahiliole, my father (now dead) pointed out the boundaries to me, when we went up to divide the birds with the bird catchers of Kahaualea. Keaweheana, the Konohiki of the land gave my father charge of the bird catchers. The land had ancient fishing rights extending out to sea.

The sea bounds Kahaualea on the makai side and at the shore there is a rocky point on the Kau side of a lauhala grove called Kupapau; the grove is on Kahaualea and the point is on the boundary... [Volume A No. 1:208-209]

Kahuwai, Puna District

Kamahele, sworn: ...This land had ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:404]

Kahula, sworn: ...Place called Kapukiikii is on boundary between Puua and this land... This land has ancient fishing rights extending out to sea, and joining the sea fisheries belong to land of Kula, cutting off the fisheries of the lands between... [Volume B:404]

Waiakolea, Ili of Kalapana, Puna District

Puahau, sworn: ...the land of Waiakolea; it is an ili kupono of Kalapana... I know the apana at the sea shore. It is bounded makai by the sea. Mi's land Patented, lays on north side of it, Kanakaole's land Patented on the south side, Kaaihili's Ili and Kaiwi's lands all patented on the mauka side of it. The ancient fishing rights extended a short distance out to sea. If the men swam in the sea with the upena kuu, then the fish belonged to this land.



but if they went in canoes to fish, then the fish belonged to Kalapana, as the landing place for canoes is on Kalapana... [Volume B:426]

Kamoamoā, Puna District

Maunaihihi, sworn: ...Pulama bounds this land from the *mauka* corner to the sea shore. The boundary at sea shore is at a puu *pahoehoe* called Olona... Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:424]

Kailihune, sworn: ...This land is bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:424]

Kapoho, Puna District

Heleluhe, sworn: ...A point at the shore called Pokeokeo, is the boundary between Kula and Kapoho. The latter land had ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. Thence the boundary runs from Pokeokeo to the Hilo side of pond; Haehae between Kula (or Hale [-kamahina]) and Kapoho and thence to Kawaiakahoalii on the Hilo side of pond; thence *mauka* between two ponds to a large *ahu pohaku*; thence to an *ohia* grove and through said grove up to the Government road to a pile of stones, on the Kau side of the school house... [Volume A No. 1:205]

Kaui, sworn: ...Pualaa bounds Kapoho on the Kau side; Lamaula, a point at sea shore, is the *makai* boundary between these two lands... [Volume A No. 1:207]

Keahi, sworn: ...Kapoho joins the sea shore, so does Halekamahina and Kula. Pualaa joins Kapoho on the Kau side, at Lamaula shore; along shore to Halekamahina at Kawaiakahoalii; along shore to Kula at Kekele; along shore to Kumukahi point in Kula, and on to Puua at Kaoko... [Volume B:437]

Keahi recalled: ...I know the boundaries of Kaniahiku at sea shore. From sea shore to *lauhala* trees in the *nahelehele*, some distance along the shore as far as from Street above Court house to half way to the beach, and is narrow along near sea, in *lauhala* trees, four fish ponds in Kaniahiku; they are broken by the sea and is like a river, and the land with *lauhala* of Kaniahiku joins... [Volume B:438]

Kalei, sworn: ...Kaniahiku at the shore is about as wide and large as this Court house yard...; the *mauka* side of fish pond belongs to Kaniahiku, and *makai* to Kapoho... [Volume B:438]

Kauaea, Puna District

Pake Kaelemakule, sworn: ...thence *makai* to a point at the shore called Kulepe. Bounded *makai* side by sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... The *Koa opelu* belongs to Kauaea... [Volume B:411]

Keaau, Puna District

Uma, sworn: ...know the boundaries between Keaau and Waikahekahe. My parents pointed them out to me when we went after birds and sandalwood.

Waikahekahe Nui joins Keaau at sea shore at Keahuokaliloa, a rock that looks like a human body, which is between two points; the point on Waikahekahe is called Kaluapaa and the one on Keaau Keahuokaliloa; thence the boundary runs *mauka* to place called Koolano... The sea bounds Keaau on the *makai* side. Ancient fishing rights including the *Uhu* which was *Konohiki* fish, extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:191-193]



Naipo, sworn: ...Keliinohopuu, my father, Ku, his brother and Kapuli (all dead) showed me boundaries. They told me Kapohakau, a large rock on the point at shore is the boundary between Waiakea and Keaau; thence mauka along Waiakea to Kawiakawa a small cave where natives worshipped idols, the boundary runs up mauka in awaawa; Keaau on the Puna side and Waiakea on Hilo side to Mawae... The sea bounds Keaau on the makai side and the land had ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:197-198]

Keahialaka, Puna District

Iwiholu, sworn: ...My father, Nohinuhinu, showed me boundaries. It was at a time of famine, and we went into *nahelehele* to collect food, and it was then he showed them to me so as to keep me from trespassing on other lands, for if we were caught on other lands the people of that land took our food away from us. Kaukulau is the land on the southern boundary. It is at a place called Pokea, an old canoe landing; the boundary is a few rods on the south side... The land has ancient fishing rights... [Volume A No. 1: 177]

Kamilo, sworn: ...The boundary between Keahialaka and Kaukulau is on the southern side of the landing called Pookea; thence run *mauka* to Kalehuapae a resting place on the old road that runs *mauka*... ..thence *makai* to Government road to Keahupuaa the *pali*; cracks &c on the brow of the *pali*; thence to sea shore, to point called Paukaha on the Puna side of Lae aka Huna on Puna side of Pohoiki harbor. The land had ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1: 178-179]

Keekee, Puna District

Kenoi, sworn: ...*makai* along *iwi aina* to Keanakolo, a cave at the sea shore. Bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. The fishing right on the Kehena side used to run to a large rock in the sea called Mokupaiea and then out to sea... [Volume B:416]

Pahio Haui, sworn: ...Thence *makai* along *iwi aina* to Keanakolo, a cave at the sea shore; bounded *makai* by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea; The fishing right on the Kehena side used to run to a large rock in the sea called Mokupaiea and then out to sea... [Volume B:416-417]

Keonepoko Nui, Puna District

Kaumaikai, sworn: ...I know the boundaries on the Hilo side of this land. The land of Halona bounds it at the shore on the Hilo side. The boundary at the shore between this land and Halona is at a rock in the sea, that is called Mokuopihi; thence the boundary between them runs *mauka* to the Hilo side of *Moku laau* [wooded area] called Ekuokapuaa... [Volume B:401]

Kunewa, sworn: ...The boundary at shore between this land and Keonepoko iki is at an *awa* running to shore called *Kaeko*; thence runs *mauka* crossing Government road and into point of wood called Halewaa, most of this point (or grove) of woods is on Keonepoko... Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:401-402]

Kukuihala, Puna District

Kenoi, sworn: ...The boundary between this land and Keekee at the shore is between place called Halapapai on Keekee, and Kepio on this land, at an *ahupuaa* (*ahu pohaku*)... thence *makai* along *iwi aina* to sea shore at place called Nailiohia. This place is a *moku* or rock in the edge of the sea. This land had ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:419-420]



Kula, Puna District

Keahi, sworn: ...My *kupunakane*, Kaiapele, now dead, pointed out the boundaries to me. In those days we could go where we pleased. Puua bounds Kula, one side, the sea *makai*, and Kapoho on the other side, and *mauka*. The land had ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. A point called Pohomakaili is the boundary between Kapoho and Kula; thence *mauka* to Puuhau... ...the boundary of Puua to the Government road, thence along the same *pali* to Hanaokawahine, a place where a woman was said to have been destroyed by a lava flow; thence the boundary follows along the same *lapa* to a place called Kipu, a celebrated point at the sea shore; thence along the sea to place of commencement... [Volume A No. 1:200-201]

Keahi, recalled: Kaoko is the name of a point at sea shore on the boundary between Kula and Puua... [Volume A No. 1:203]

Kaui, sworn: ...Imakekuhia, my father, pointed out boundaries to me, when I was young, as the adjoining land had different *Konohiki* and we only gathered things on our own lands. Pokeokeo is the boundary at sea shore between Kapoho and Kula, an *ahua o*

Pahoehoe on the point; thence *mauka* to Haehae, a fish pond; thence the boundary runs along the wall of said pond, to wall between Haehae and Kapoholepo, a small pond on Kula; thence to Waiakahoalii, a pond on Kula, the boundary being at *Uluhala* [pandanus grove] on the Kau side of the pond; thence *mauka*, across and along the *aa*, to a place called Iliokee; the *aa* is on Kula and the *pahoehoe* on Kapoho; thence the boundary runs to the Government road... [Volume A No. 1:201-202]

Kalio, sworn: ...Kula had ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume A No. 1:203]

Pohoiki, Puna District

Kaluahine, sworn: ...The land of Keahialaka bounds Pohoiki on Kau side. The boundary between them at the shore is at a point called Kahuna, thence the boundary runs *mauka* to a lapa crossing the Government road... ...Thence *makai* along land of Oneloa sold and patented to Makaimoku to place called Palipoko. Bounded *makai* by sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. [Volume B:408-409]

Pualaa, Puna District

D.A. Alapai, sworn: ...I know the boundaries between this land and Ahalanui... Oili (now dead) was the *kamaaina* who pointed out the boundary. A point at shore called Pohakuopala is the boundary at the shore between these two lands... ...The land of Ahalanui is on the Kau side of this land and Kapoho on the Hilo side... ...Pualaa is bounded *makai* by the sea, and had ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. [Volume B:406-407]

Puua, Puna District

Kahapuku (wahine), sworn: ...Puua did not have any ancient fishing rights, the sea all belonged to Kahuai... [Volume A No. 1:213]

Waiakahiula, Puna District

Naholowaa, sworn: ...The land is bounded at the shore on the Puna side by land of Honolulu. There is a small *mawae* at shore on boundary called Puuholoaa. This point is *mauka* corner of Honolulu adjoining Nanawale. There is a rock in the sea called Papala on the boundary; thence the boundary between this land and Honolulu runs *mauka* along old trail to Puholoaa, the *mauka* corner of Honolulu... ...Bounded *makai* by sea, and had ancient fishing rights extending out to sea. [Volume B:396-397]



Nahou, sworn: ...The boundary at shore between this land and Honolulu is at a rock in the sea called Papala; Thence it runs up a *kualapa*, the *hau* trees at Government Road...
...Place called Olea is boundary at shore between Kaohe and this land. I do not know the rest of the boundaries on that side. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:397]

Waikahekahe Iki, Puna District

Palau, sworn: ...My mother, Mau, was a *kamaaina* of the land, and showed me the boundaries. The boundary at the shore between this land and land of Makuu is at a *kualapa* called Kuuwelu, there is also a *mawae* there...
...This land is bounded *makai* by the sea. The ancient fishing rights extended way out to sea. The boundary at shore between this land and Waikahekahe nui is at a point called Lahale; thence the boundary runs *mauka* to a grove of cocoanut trees *makai* of the Government road... [Volume B:399-400]

Testimonies for the Island of Kauai

Waioli, Halelea District

James W. Gay, Surveyor
October 17th 1873

N.B. for fishing right, see plan... [Volume 1:59 – map not filed with documents]

Eleele, Ili of Hanapepe, Kona District

Applicant's letter:

...Kuiloa to a place on river bank called Palemo; thence to an *auwai* leading to a fishpond, Kualaa... [Volume 1:76]

The following natives were also sworn and gave similar testimony: Helela, Kaia, Kalepa.

Decision:

Commences at a rocky point on the sea shore at the junction of the Kuiloa boundary and called Kupuhili and thence *mauka* along the Hanapepe river and boundary of Kuiloa to a place on river bank called Palemo, thence turning East to an old *Auwai*, that formerly led to a fishpond, Kualaa... [Volume 1:77]

Lawai, Kona District

June 2, 1864

Puu, hoohikiia: ...ka ia o Kahakai, ua kaawale ko Keekee me ko Lawai... [Volume 1:5]

Puu, sworn: ...the fish of the shore were set aside for Keekee and Lawai...
[Maly, translator]

June 6, 1864

P. Kanoa, i hoohikiia, a olelo mai: I ka makahiki 1845 ua haawi mai o Kekauonohi i ka aina o Keekee iau. A ua hele pu au me Kekua kekahi kamaaina a nana i kuhikuhi mai i na palena o Lawai me Keekee... He aina okoa o Keekee. Na ia o Kahakai o Keekee no Keekee ia, a o na ia ma kahakai o Lawai, no Lawai ia... [Volume 1:6]

P. Kanoa, sworn and states: In the year 1845, Kekauonohi gave me charge of the land of Keekee. I went with Kekua, one of the natives, and he pointed out the boundaries of Lawai and Keekee to me... Keekee is a different land. The fish of the shore of Keekee belong to Keekee, and the fish of the shore of Lawai, are for Lawai... [Maly, translator]



Decision

Ma ka olelo, o na hoike ua maopopo, i ka wa kahiko ua kapaia o Keekee, he “Ku.” Olelo mai kekahi poi “He Ku ia no Lawai.” He aha ia ke Ku? Ma ka olelo o na kanaka kahiko ua akaka ke ano o ke Ku; he aina i koe, aole ia i lilo pu me ka Ahupuaa. Kekahi manawa paha ua lilo pu me ka ahupuaa; a kekahi manawa aole lilo pu. Aia no ia i ka manao o ke Alii nona ka aina. Ma ka olelo o na hoike aole pilipaa loa o Keekee i Lawai e like me ka ili. He aina okoa no o Keekee. Okoa ke Konohiki, okoa ka auhau ana, a okoa ka lawaia ana ma kahakai...

Eia keia mea maopopo, i ka makahiki 1839, a kokoke malaila paha, ua haawi mai ka Moi o Kamehameha III, i ka Ahupuaa o Lawai ia James Young Kanehoa a iaia ka aina a hiki aku i kona wa i make ai. Alaila lilo i kona hooilina oia hoi o Hikoni nei... ..Eia ka ninau nui o Keekee kekahi anei i haawi pu ia mai ia Kanehoa, me ka Ahupuaa o Lawai? Ina ua olelo ka Moi ia Kanehoa a me ke Ku o Keekee alaila ua lilo pu; Aka, ea aole hoike i hoike mai ana pela, aole hookahi. Aole i noho o Kanehoa ma Keekee; aole ia i hoonoho i kekahi Konohiki malaila; aole ia ia ka ai; ka Auhau ana a me ka lawaia ana ma kahakai. Ia Kapuniai o Keekee a mai Kapuniai ia Kekauonohi a mai Kekauonohi a ia Paulo Kanoa, aole ia Kanehoa mai mua mai... [Volume 1:7-8]

By the testimonies of the witnesses it is understood that in ancient times, Keekee was called a “Ku.” Some of the people have said that “It is a Ku of Lawai.” What is a Ku? In the words of the old people, the nature of the Ku has been explained; it is a land that remains, it does not go together with the Ahupuaa. Sometimes perhaps it goes with the ahupuaa; and sometimes it does not go with it. It is up to the decision of the King as the land is his. In the words of the witnesses, Keekee was not held closely by Lawai, like an ili. Keekee is a separate land. There is a different overseer, the taxation (tribute paid) is different, and the taking of fish on the shore is different.

Here is the great question about Keekee, was it given to Kanehoa with the Ahupuaa of Lawai? If the King said to Kanehoa, “and with the Ku of Keekee,” then it was given together; but there is no evidence or witness to that, not one. Kanehoa did not live at Keekee; nor did he appoint a Konohiki there; he did not eat of the food there; the taxes or the fish of the shore. Keekee was to Kapuniai, and from Kapuniai to Kekauonohi, and from Kekauonohi to Paulo Kanoa, not from Kanehoa in the first part... [Maly, translator]

Kikiaola, Ili of Waimea, Kona District

Makemake, sworn: ...The kula land commences at a rocky point called Kaaimanuanu and thence South along pali to Papaenaena and thence to rolling surf on reef and thence to a place in sea, Kuhiki, and thence along to opposite side of Kihiai in the pali of Huluhulunui and thence including face of pali to place of commencement... I know this from my father. He had Luhi, it belonged to him, he had the fishing right also the Kula... [Volume 1:133]

Eleelekai w., sworn: I lived at Papaenaena from time of Kaumualii. Papaenaena then belonged to Waimea, never belonged to Kikiaola. I remember when Kikiaola was given by Kaumualii to a foreigner Hulumanu [a favorite of the chief]. The fish of Luhi was also given to Hulumanu, as a separate gift. This Kula land was not given. Luhi is the sea. Waimea was the name of all this Kula, never heard of this land being called Kikiaola till this day. [Volume 1:133-134]



Poepu, sworn: Live Waimea, was born there, formerly lived in Papaenaena. Knew Kaumualii. Knew of his giving land of Kikiaola to *Hulumanu*, also the fish of Luhi. Land above Luhi belonged to Waimea. Hulumanu belonged to Kekaha... [Volume 1:134-135]

Isaac H. Kapuniai, sworn: I am adopted son of Kapuniai, who was *Konohiki* of Waimea. He was *Konohiki* of the *Kula* and lived sometimes in Kauai house. In 1850 repaired, fixed and planted potatoes for California. Never knew that Kikiaola had any *Kula* land. Only *kalo* land and fishing right, between the *kalo* land and the *pali* there is a piece of land belonging to Waimea... [Volume 1:135]

Opunui, sworn: Kaumualii gave this land to Whitney Pinanuu, a *haole* was then *Konohiki* when Whitney got land. Sea belonged to Kikiaola. *Kanoa* afterwards was *Konohiki*. I was *luna* then, the sea was *kapu*. I took fish and then sold them. No natives lived in olden times in Kikiaola, the *Moi* was the *Kapu* fish. The land commences at Pohakulani, thence to *pali* and down *pali* to the sea... [Volume 1:137]

Kamalenui, sworn: Was born at Kikiaola, lived there afterwards at different times, heard from my father and other old men that there were two *auwai*...never heard of any *Kula* land belonging to the Kikiaola, except the patch of Paele. Sea given by Kaumualii to a person because there was no fishing right attached to this land.

Cross-examined.

Knew Whitney never knew this land to belong to him, nor have heard that sea belonged to Whitney, don't know name of this *Kula*. After death of Whitney, don't know to whom sea belonged perhaps to Whitney's wife or her heirs. Don't know if sea was kapued. Wahauaia was formerly *Konohiki*, this sea was then kapued... [Volume 1:138]

Kaumiloli, sworn, I lived in Kikiaola from the time of Kaikeoewa. The boundary is at an old watercourse made to take water into Paele... Top of *pali* belongs to Hulumanu and to the sea. Kaumualii gave the sea to Whitney, or a *loi*, the *Kula* land, sea was given to the *kalo* lands of Kikiaola... [Volume 1:138]

Decision in favor of Petitioner:

The Commissioner finds for the petitioner in regard to the disputed land between the old *auwai* and the *pali*; said land belongs to Kikiaola. The commissioner also finds that the *Kula* land surrounding Mr. Rowell's land and the church land belongs to Kikiaola with the fishing right pertaining to the same... [Volume 1:138-139]

Pilaa, Koolau District

Notes of Survey:

...North 17° 9' East 390 links down face of *pali* to stone on beach called "Pohakumalumu" & continued on out to sea to form boundary of fishing right & thence in Easterly direction to place of commencement & containing an area of One thousand Five hundred & Twenty acres, 1,520 acres... [Volume 1:19]

Wailua, Puna District

Keo, sworn: I know the boundary of Wailua it commences on the sand beach, where fish were drawn in on that part of the sand they were divided with Olohena. The Blow hole and the God stone of Kewalo are in Olohena. Kewalo house was also on Olohena... [Volume 1:34]



Testimonies for the Island of Lanai

No record of fishery rights or types of fish caught on Lānaʻi was recorded in the proceedings as few *kamaʻāina* testimonies were given in Commission Books (see testimonies in records of *Māhele ʻĀina*). Several place names given in the testimonies reference marine resources, and selected descriptions reference coastal features. They include, but are not limited to the following narratives:

Halepalaoa (Whale House), in Kaohai (Volume 1:110)
Lae Paakai (Salt Point), in Kealia (Volume 1:117)
Haalele Paakai (Salt Left Behind), in Palawai (Volume 1:109)
Waiopae (Shrimp Pond), in Palawai (Volume 1:109)

Ahupuaa of Kaohai, Lanai

Notes of Survey
Property of Her Royal Highness Ruth Keelikolani.

Commencing at a red wood post (the same being the point of Commencement of Pawili Survey) on the South East side of a small inlet of the sea at a place called Halepalaoa) the boundary runs: South 56° 46' West true 6454.4 feet along Pawili... [Volume No. 1:110-111]

Ahupuaa of Kealia Aupuni, Lanai

Notes of Survey – The Government Land of Kealia...:
21. S. 6° 6' E. true 1779 feet along Palawai to a large pile of stones at sea shore at a place called Lae Paakai; thence along seashore to point of commencement... [Volume No. 1:116-117]

Ahupuaa of Kealiakapu, Lanai

...Hooponopono ana i na Palena i ka Aina i kapaia "Kealiakapu" ma ka Mokupuni o Lanai...

Ma ka la 24 o Januari M.H. 1877 ua noho ke Komisina ma kona Keena Oihana ma Lahaina e hooholo no ke noi maluna'e. Ua hoohikiia o Wm. D. Alexander (Luna Ana Aina Aupuni) no ka ike a Papalua ame Kaka o kakauia maloko o kana Buke Hoomanao (W.D.A.) no ka mea o laua na kamaaina nana i kuhikuhi i na palena o "Kealiakapu." A Papalua ka mea nana i kuhikuhi ma kai, a o Kaka hoi ma uka.

Hoomaka ma kahi i kapaia o "Oanapuka" ma ka aoao Komohana o kekahi kahawai, holo aku no ma ka pali, a holo loa, aku a hiki i kekahi kahua hale kahiko... ..alaila pii iluna o ka honua, a Pohakupukapuka, alaila holo ma ka Alanui a hiki i kekahi pali, a hiki i kahawai, alaila pii ka palena iluna o Kuahiwi, holo ma ke kualapa, a pili me Kaunolu, holo ma kahawai o Kaunolu a hiki i Kauheo, malaila aku a hiki i Pohakuloa, alaila holo pololei a kokoke i ka hale o Ohua, a ke kumu o ke kahawai, a hiki i ka "Heiau" Kaulana o Kaunolu, hele ka palena a kekahi lua wai a hiki i kekahi pohaku kapu i ka wa kahiko... [Volume No. 1: 94-96]

Establishing the Boundaries of the Land called "Kealiakapu," Island of Lanai...

On the 24th day of January, Year 1877. The Commissioner convened in his Office at Lahaina proceedings regarding the application above. Wm. D. Alexander (Surveyor General of the Kingdom) took oath on the matter of the knowledge of Papa and Kaka as recorded in his journal (W.D.A.), that they were the native residents who pointed out the boundaries of "Kealiakapu to him. Papalua pointed out the shoreward lands, and Kaka did the uplands.



Beginning at the place called “Oanapuka” on the West side of the gulch, run along the cliff, a good distance, till reaching an ancient house site...
...then go up the earth slope to Pohakupukapuka, then go along the Road to a certain cliff, and to the gulch, then the boundary goes up the mountain, run along the ridge along Kaunolu, go along the gulch of Kaunolu to Kauheo, from there to Pohakuloa, then straight and near the house of Ohua, and the source of the gulch, to the Famous “Temple” of Kaunolu, then the boundary goes to a water hole and to a stone that was *taboo* in ancient times... [Maly, translator]

Ahupuaa of Maunalei, Island of Lanai

On the 5th day of November 1866... Application on behalf of Madame Fanny Young Kekela...

Boundaries of Maunalei

Commencing at stake on North East corner of land at its junction with Kalulu at high water mark... [running *mauka*, then returning *maka*] ...thence following along bottom of gulch to the sea at Holohana's stones, a little below the high water mark; thence following high water mark to place of commencement. (Said to contain an area of 3442.38 Acres more or less). This land also comprises the sea contained between the reef and high water mark from a line drawn North 21° 20' E to reef, and a line from Holohana's stones North 14° E, to reef... [Volume No. 1:1-2]

Ahupuaa of Palawai, Lanai

Ma ka la 14 o Iulai, A.D. 1877, ua waiho mai o Prof. W.D. Alexander he palapala noi i ke Komisina Palena Aina o Maui, no ka hooponopono ana i na palena o kahi mau aina i pau i ka anaia o ka Mokupuni o Lanai. Oia hoi o “Palawai” no W.M. Gibson Esquire; “Kaohai” no ka mea Kiekie R. Keelikolani; “Kalulu,” “Kamoku,” he mau Aina Lei Alii; “Kamao,” “Kealia,” “Pawili,” & “Kaunolu,” he mau Aina Aupuni.

Ma ka la 17 o Sepatemaba, A.D. 1877, ua noho ka Aha a ke Komisina e hoolohe no ke noi malunae, O M.D. Monsarrat (Hope Ana Aina Aupuni)...

Hoohikiia a olelo mai:

Na’u no i ana keia mau aina a pau, ua hele pu au me na kamaaina ma na palena apau o keia mau aina, a ua lokahi lakou apau, ua pono, a ua pololei ka’u ana ana. O Reverend N. Pali ko’u alakai nui, nana i kuhikuhi, a ua make iho nei kekahi.

No ka hiki ole ana mai o Pali i keia la, ua hoopanee ka Aha a hiki mai oia noho hou.

Ma ka la 30 o Sepatemaba 1877, ua hiki mai o Pali, a ua noho hou ka Aha. Hoohikiia o Pali a olelo mai.

O Pali au, he kamaaina au no Lanai, na ko’u mau makua i kuhikuhi mai ia’u. A no ko’u noho konohiki ana hoi malalo o Kauikeouli [Kamehameha III] maopopo loa ia’u na palena. Noho konohiki au no Kalulu, Kamoku. He mau aina Aupuni o Kamao, Kealia, Pawili, ame Kaunolu. Maopopo loa ia’u.

On the 14th day of July, A.D. 1877 Prof. W.D. Alexander set an application before the Commissioner of Land Boundaries at Maui, to establish the boundaries of several lands that have been surveyed on the Island of Lanai. They being, “Palawai” belonging to W.M. Gibson Esquire; “Kaohai” belonging to Her Excellency R. Keelikolani; “Kalulu,” “Kamoku,” Crown Lands; “Kamao,” “Kealia,” “Pawili,” & “Kaunolu” being Government Lands.



On the 17th day of September, A.D. 1877, the Committee of the Commission convened to hear the above application of M.D. Monsarrat (Assistance Surveyor of the Kingdom)...

Sworn and stated:

I am the one who surveyed all these lands, I went with the native residents along all the boundaries of these lands, and they were all in concurrence, it was true, and my surveys were accurate. Reverend N. Pali was my main guide, it was he who showed me, and others who have since died.

Because Pali did not appear on this day, the Commission has continued the hearing to be reopened.

On the 30th day of September, 1877, Pali arrived and the Commission was reconvened. Pali sworn and stated:

I am Pali, I am a native of Lanai, my parents showed me it. And because I was established as the *Konohiki* below Kauikeouli, I am very familiar with the boundaries. I was the *Konohiki* of Kalulu & Kamoku. The lands of Kamao, Kealia, Pawili and Kaunolu are all Government land. I am very familiar with them. [Maly, translator]

Survey of Palawai, Lanai, Property of W.M. Gibson

Commencing at a concrete post (the same being the point of commencement of "Kamao" survey) at the seashore near the middle of "Manele" Harbor, the boundary runs:

1. N. 67° 55' West true 1940 feet along Kamao to a stone on the west side of the road marked with a cross...
24. ...S. 5° 59' E. true 6671.8 feet along Kealia Aupuni following down ravine for some ways but leaving it near the sea, where it (the ravine) makes a bend to the West and the boundary continues straight to some stones, one of which being marked with a cross.
25. S. 6° 6' E. true 1779 feet along Kealia Aupuni to a large pile of stones at seashore at a place called "Lae Paakai."

Thence along seashore to point of commencement. The traverse along the shore being as follows:

1. S. 82° 48' E. true 6575 feet to Manele Point;
 2. N. 20° 1' E. true 2301 feet ;
 3. N. 22° 37' E. true 292 feet to Commencement.
- Area 5,897.1 Acres... [Volume No. 1: 108-110]

Testimonies for the Island of Maui

No record of fishery rights or types of fish were recorded, for the Districts of Hāmākua Loa, Hāmākua Poko, Hāna, Kahikinui, Kaupō, Kīpahulu, Ko'olau or Lāhainā (see testimonies in records of *Māhele 'Āina*).

Auwahi, Honuaula District

Notes of Survey:

...South 7° 5 1/2 East (true) 240 feet across of fishing *koa*, to sea shore point called *Kamoa*;

...10. Thence along Sea Shore to point of beginning... [Volume No. 1:233]

Kukuipuka, Ili of Kahakuloa, Kaanapali District

Kekuanui Kaialiilii, sworn: ...Know *Ili* of Kukuipuka. My father told me that the stream in



Makamakaole gulch separated Kukuipuka from Kahakuloa. This stream was the boundary because the Kukuipuka people were allowed to go to the stream for shrimps. My father was a sort of head man at Kahakuloa. My father told me the above when I was a small boy... [Volume 2:117]

Napunoa, sworn: ...The taro land to the North of us and South of the Makamakaole stream is all in Kahakuloa and does not belong to Kukuipuka. Also all of the main and small streams north of this ridge are in Kahakuloa. I know about the Kukuipuka natives catching shrimps in the Makamakaole stream north of where we now stand. They had no right to the shrimps but out of good nature the natives of on North or Kahakuloa side of this ridge allowed them to take the shrimps that they wanted... [Volume 2:118-119]

Pupule, sworn: ...I know about the Kukuipuka natives getting shrimps in the stream but they only fished by permission of the Kahakuloa people. They had no rights in said stream North of the gate... [Volume 2:119]

Maulili, Kipahulu District

Unihikama (hoohikiia) hoike no ke Aupuni: Ua ike au ina palena o Kikoo ame Maulili... ..mai Koukouai a hiki Kahoopupuai, mai Kahoopupuai mai a hiki i ka pohaku nui o Muliwai kona inoa. Mai Muliwai mai a hiki i Kulana. Hee nalu kaawale maila o Maulili malalo. Ko Makoliku wahi no kau i hai ae la maluna... [Volume No. 1:17]

Unihikama (sworn), witness for the Kingdom: I know the boundaries of Kikoo and Maulili... [going *maka*] ...from Koukouai to Kahoopupuai; from Kahoopupuai to a large stone, Muliwai is its name. From Muliwai to Kulana. The surfing waves separate it and Maulili is below. I have given the places spoken of by Makoliku, above... [Maly, translator]

Makoliku. Hoike no ke Aupuni. Hoohikiia a olelo mai:

Ua ike no au ina palena o Kikoo ame Maulili. No Kipahulu no au. Ma Kikoo ku'u aina hanau. Mokuhalii ka palena o ku'u wahi i ike ma uka. Mai Mokuhalii mai holo aku la a hiki Hilinaikaio, mai Hilinaikaio mai a hiki i Kahalepukoa, mai Kahalepukoa mai a hiki i Puainako, mailalia mai holo aku la a hiki i Kahoomano. O kela wahi i kapaia o Kania no Kikoo, mai Kania mai hiki i Papakolea, mai Papakolea mai a hiki i Ku-ai. No Kikoo o Ku-ai, mai Kuai a Kawapoele. No Kikoo no o Kawapoele he pauku aina, a he punawai. Mai Kawapoele mai holo aku la a hiki i Kalapu he punawai no ia i kapaia malaila. Mailaila mai hiki i Ko'uko'uai he punawai no o Ko'uko'uai, aia mawaena o na Ahupuaa o Maulili ame Kikoo. Mai Ko'uko'uai hiki i Kahoopupuai. No Kikoo ame Maulili o Kahoopupuai, mai Kahoopupuai a hiki i ka muliwai i kai. Mai muliwai mai a hiki ina Moku iloko o ke kai. He muliwai ka mea nana i hookaawale o Kikoo ame Maulili. Ua loihi ko'u noho ana ma Kipahulu. O Nahikao ka inoa o ku'u makuakane nana au i kuhikuhi mai ina palena o Kikoo. Kahapuulani ame Kane na mea i haawi mai ia'u o Kikoo e malama.

Ua hoopaneeia keia Hooponopono Palena Aina a hiki i ka la apopo, oia ka la 9, o Nov, 1871, ma ka hora 10 a.m.

Issac Harbottle

Lahaina, Maui, Nov. 11, 1871.

O wau o Isaac Harbottle ka mea hoopii ke ae nei au i ko'u pono i-a ma ke kai o ku'u aina Ahupuaa o Maulili ma Kipahulu, mokupuni o Maui e like noia me ka pono ma ke Kanawai Kiwila, o ko Hawaii Pae Aina, oia hoi ka pauku 387, a hiki loa aku i ka pauku 392, a oia no ko'u makemake e like me ia Kanawai.



Notes of Survey:

...Eia na palena o Maulili i anaia e Kahananui. E hoomaka ana ma ke kihi hema o keia aina ma kahi e kokoke ana i ka pali. Kahakai oia kahi huipuai o Kihapali a me Kanemakua he kihi hoi ia i hoailonaia i ka puu pohaku a mai ia kihi aku penei ka moe ana o ke Panana; i ka moku pohaku i kapaia o "Kolekole."

Hema 59° 15' Hi i ka moku pohaku i kapaia o Mokuahole ma kahi e oi loa na i ke kai

Hema 79° 15' Hi. i ka lae hoi i kapaia o Kualoa

Hema 50° Ko. a maia hiki no nana ia ka moe ana o kona kai

Hema 36° Hi. e holo i ke kai mai ka lihi kai aku, a hala hookahi mile a penei ka moe ana o na Mokuna e holo ana

Hema 78° 30' Hi. 486 pauku i ka pohaku i ka poina nalu o ua aina nei alaila

Akau 89° 30' Hi. 538 pauku a hiki i ka pohaku i kapaia o Kaiohalau a malaila aku e holo ana mawaena konu o ke kahawai e kaawale ai o Kikoo a me ua aina nei i ka

Akau 26° Ko. 795 pauku

Akau 34° 15' Ko. 1118 pauku

Akau 42° Ko. 557 pauku e oki ana ma kahi i kapaia o Koukouai ma ka uwapo...

...Akau 48° 30' Ko. 227 pauku a hiki i ke Ahua kapaia Mokuhalii, he kuahu Kalai-waa...

... Hema 15°.45' Hi. 580 pauku a hiki i ka pali kahakai i kapaia o Kupinai, a maia kihi no nanaia ka moe ana o ke kai.

Hema 10° Hikina a hala 200 pauku mai laila aku a hala hookahi mile ma ke kai, a mai Kupinai aku ma ke kahakai a hiki i kahi i hoomaka ai... [Volume No. 1:19-21]

Makoliku. Witness for the Government, Sworn and stated:

I know the boundaries of Kikoo and Maulili. I am from Kipahulu. Kikoo is my birth place. Mokuhalii is the boundary of my place, seen in the uplands. From Mokuhalii run to Hilinaiaikaio; from Hilinaiaikaio to Kahalepukoa; from Kahalepukoa, to Puainako; from there go to Kahoomano. That place called Kania is for Kikoo; from Kania, go to Papakolea; from Papakolea to Ku-ai. Ku-ai belongs to Kikoo; from Kuai to Kawapoele. Kawapoele belongs to Kikoo, it is a land section, and a spring. From Kawapoele go till Kalapu, a spring there by that name. From there to Ko'uko'uai; Ko'uko'uai is a spring, there between the *Ahupuaa* of Maulili and Kikoo. From Ko'uko'uai to Kahoopupuai. Kahoopupuai is for both Kikoo and Maulili; from Kahoopupuai to the estuary on the shore. From the estuary to the Islands in the sea. An estuary is what separates Kikoo from Maulili. I have lived a long time at Kipahulu. Nahikao was the name of my father, it was he who pointed out the boundaries of Kikoo. Kahapuulani and Kane are the ones who gave the care of Kikoo to me.

This proceeding of the Boundary Commission was convened until tomorrow, the 9th day of Nov., 1871, at 10 a.m.

Isaac Harbottle

Lahaina, Maui, Nov. 11. 1871.

I am Isaac Harbottle, the petitioner, and confirm my right to fish and the sea of my *Ahupuaa* of Maulili at Kipahulu, island of Maui, as is the right in the Civil Code of the Hawaiian Islands, that is section 387, all the way to section 392, that is what I desire as in the law...

Notes of Survey:

...Here are the boundaries of Maulili as surveyed by Kahananui. Begin at the southern corner of this land, at a place near the cliff. The shore is



where Kihapali and Kanemakua meet, a corner marked by a mound of stones, and from that corner the compass is set to the rock island called "Kolekole."

South 59° 15' East stone island called Mokuahole, at a distance in the sea.

South 79° 15' East to the point called Kualoa

South 50° West from where he can look over the extent of his fishery.

South 36° East go to the sea from the shore, passing about one mile out, and that is how the division is run.

South 78° 30' East 486 links to a stone where the waves break on that land, thence;

North 89° 30' East 538 links to the stone called Kaiohalau, and then go to the middle of the stream that separates Kikoo and this land to the North 26° West 795 links.

North 34° 15' west 1118 links.

North 42° West 557 links cutting across the place called Koukouai, at the wharf...

...North 48° 30' West 227 links to a mound called Mokuhalii, it is a canoe maker's altar...

...South 15° 45' East 580 links to the sea cliff called Kupinai, and from this corner one can look across the sea.

South 10° East passing 200 links and from thence pass one mile on the sea, and from Kupinai along the shore to the place of commencement... [Maly, translator]

Kalialinui, Kula District (1870)

Kiha hoohikiia a olelo mai:

I Kula kuu wahi i hanau ai ma Kamaole o ka Mokupuni o Maui, Hawaii Pae Aina. Ua noho au me Kamehameha Akahi iloko o ka makahiki 1797. Ua ike au i ka aina o Kealialinui [Kalialinui], a ua ike no au i ka mea e pili ana ia Kealialinui i oleloia ae la, oia no ka aina o Wailuku, no Kamehameha ia aina. Ua lilo keia wahi ia Kamehameha i ka wa e kua ana o Kepaniwai [1790], oia ka manawa mua a'u i ike ai i ua aina la a hiki wale i keia la. O ko'u poe kupuna makuakane ka Luna Hooponopono o Wailuku, Maui nei. Ina e komo mai kekahi konohiki iloko o ke ahupuaa o Wailuku alaila na ku'u poe kupuna e kuhikuhi i na palena o ua aina la. O ka wa a'u i ike mua ai i keia aina oia no ka manawa e ola ana o Kamehameha. Aole nae au i lilo i Luna na ke Alii, aka ku'u poe kupuna wale no. Ua hele au e nana ina palena o Wailuku me ku'u mau kupuna, a ua ike hoi au ina palena o Kalialinui e kaawale aku ai o Wailuku... ...ua hoomaka mai ka palena o Wailuku mai Kapukaulua mai a hiki i Keone Kapoo, a mai Keone Kapoo mai hoi, a hiki i Pohakunahaha...

...Ua ike au he mau loko ia kekahi o Mauoni, ame Kanaha na inoa o ua mau loko ia nei. Aia keia mau loko ia iluna o ka aina o Wailuku o Maui nei. Ua ike maoli au i keia mai Loko ia. He kanaka wau no na Alii. O ke kumu o ku'u ike ana no Wailuku ia mau loko ia, noho iho la ku'u kaikuahine me kuaana. A oia no ka mea nana i malama ia mau loko i haiia ae la malalo o Kamehameha Akahi. Pau o Kamehameha Akahi noho iho o Auwae, o Naea mai kona hope ka makua o Emma. A pau oia noho iho la o Keahi. Pau no oia lilo iho la ia P. Nahaolelua ke konohiki i keia manawa.



Ninauia i kela aoao o W. C. Jones ka Loio, a olelo mai:

Hanau au i Kula. I Hamakua poko au kahi i noho ai, i ka manawa e ana ia ana ka aina o Kalialinui. I laila wau kahi i kuhikuhi pololei ai i ka palena, na Kuihelani au i hoouna mai e hele aku e kuhikuhi i ka palena o Wailuku ame Kalialinui. Ua hele pu mai no e Makalena me au. Ua hai mai no na Kanaka kahiko ia'u ina palena o na aina i haiia ae la. Ua hele no au maluna oia mau aina a puni ia'u mamua o ku'u holo pu ana me Makalena ma e kuhikuhi ai i ka palena aina. Ua hele pinepine no au iluna oia mau aina...

...Ua ike makou ia mau loko i kapaia o Mauoni ame Kanaha. He Alii o Kihapiilani oia ka mea nana i kukulu i ka pa ma hai o na loko ia i hai ia ae la. Oia ke Alii o Wailuku, Mokupuni o Maui; aole no ke kukuluia ana o ka pa, oia mau loko he kumu ia e kaawale ai o Kalialinui ame ka aina o Wailuku mai. No ke Alii ka aina i kapaia o Kealialinui oia no ka aina mai Kinohi mai... [Volume 1:5-7]

Kiha sworn and says:

My birth place was in Kula at Kamaole, Island of Maui, Hawaiian Islands. I lived with Kamehameha First in the year 1797. I know the land of Kealialinui [Kalialinui], I know the things that have been spoken of, that is for the land of Wailuku, that land is for Kamehameha. This place became Kamehameha's at the time of the battle of Kepaniwai [ca. 1790], and that was the first time that I saw that land, and to the present day. My grandfather was the one who oversaw the settlements of Wailuku. If a *Konohiki* came into the *ahupuaa* of Wailuku, my grandfather was the one who showed him the boundaries of the land. The first time that I saw this land was when Kamehameha was alive. I did not become an overseer for the chief, it was my grandfather. I went to look at the boundaries of Wailuku with my elders, and I saw the boundary where Kalialinui is separated from Wailuku... ..it begins at the boundary of Wailuku, from Kapukaulua to Keone Kapoo, and from Keone Kapoo to Pohakunahaha...

I know the fishponds Mauoni and Kanaha are the names of those ponds. These ponds are upon the land of Wailuku, Maui. I have known these fishponds very well. I was a man for the chief. The reason that I know Wailuku and these ponds is that I stayed with my elder sister and brother. They were the ones who cared for the above mentioned ponds under Kamehameha First. When Kamehameha First died, they went to Auwae, then Naea was his replacement, the father of Emma. And when he was finished, it went to Keahi. When he was done, it went to P. Nahaolelua, who is the *Konohiki* at this time.

Question asked by the side of C.W. Jones, Attorney, and answered:

I was born at Kula. I lived in Hamakua poko at the time that the surveying was done at Kalialinui. I pointed out the correct boundaries then. I was sent by Kuihelani to go and point out the boundaries of Wailuku and Kalialinui. Makalena also came with me. The old people are the ones who told me the boundaries of the said lands. I have been all across the lands, and around them before my traveling with Makalena folks, and shown the boundaries. I have often gone upon the lands...

...We saw the ponds called Mauoni and Kanaha. The Chief Kihapiilani is the one who made the walls of the ponds spoken of. He was the chief of Wailuku, Is. of Maui; the walls were built for these ponds and are the source that separates Kalialinui and the land of Wailuku. The land called Kealialinui is for the chief, it has been that way from the beginning... [Maly, translator]



H. Kuihelani hoohikiia a olelo mai:

I Wailuku ku'u wahi i hanau ai, he kanalima paha o'u M.H. i noho ai ma keia aina o Wailuku nei a keu aku paha. Ua noho ku'u makua i konohiki no Wailuku nei. Aole au i noho konohiki. Aka ua ike nae au ia Mauoni ame Kanaha. He mau loko ia ma Wailuku nei, mokupuni o Maui. I kuu wa uuku ua hele pu au me ku'u makuakane ma keia wahi i haiia ae la. He umi paha o'u makahiki ia manawa. No ka Moi, Elua ia mau loko ia. Ua hele au mahope iho o ka manawa o Kamehameha Ekolu. Ia makou na'e ka malama oia mau loko. Na makou no e lave i ka i-a.

Apau o Kamehameha Ekolu, o Kamehameha Eha iho, aole nae ia makou ka malama ia manawa. O P. Nahaolelua ka mea nana e malama nei i keia mau loko ia i ke ahupuaa o Wailuku, Maui. Keahua ka palena o Wailuku ma ke kai. Ia'u ka malama oia kai mai ku'u makuakane mai, oia ka aina i oleloia iho nei o Pukaulua. Aia no ia ili aina ia'u i keia manawa. No ka Moi ke kai. Aole poe i aeia e kii i kela ia iloko o na loko ia, no ka mea ua kapu loa ke kii i ka ia. Aia no a hu ka i-a mawaho o ka loko alaila hiki i kela mea, keia mea ke kii i ka i-a mawaho wale no o na loko. He paakai no kolaila. He opeia ka paakai a laveia na na alii. Aole au i ike i ka aina o Kalialinui e oleloia nei. Aole au i hele i Kalialinui e laveia ai. Ua ike au ia Kamaomao, ua koke no ia Pohaku, ke ahupuaa o Wailuku, Maui nei o ko Hawaii Pae Aina...

...Ua hoohuliia kanaka i ke kukulu ana i ka pa mawaho o na loko ia, ma Oopuola. O Kihapiilani ke Alii o Maui ia manawa, nana no i hoohuli na kanaka i ke kukulu ana i ka pa. Ua ike au i ka pohaku o Makaku. O ku'u lohe he pohaku kela no na uhane e hui ai. Pela mai ka olelo a kekahi poe. Ame Kamaomao kekahi, ua hele makou e ohi i mao no na alii i mea e ala ai na Kapa Aahu o lakou. Aole poe kanaka e ae, o na kanaka wale iho la no o Wailuku, Maui, Hawaii Pae Aina. [Volume No. 1:10-11]

H. Kuihelani, sworn and says:

My birth place is at Wailuku, I have lived on the land of Wailuku for fifty years, a little more perhaps. My father was the *konohiki* of Wailuku. I was not a *konohiki*. But, I do know Mauoni and Kanaha. They are fishponds of Wailuku, Island of Maui. When I was little I went with my father to this place spoken of. I was perhaps ten years old at the time. For the King, two fishponds. I went after the time of Kamehameha Third. It was us who cared for those ponds. It was us who took the fish.

When Kamehameha Third died, it went to Kamehameha Fourth; we did not take care of them then. P. Nahaolelua is the one who cares for these fishponds in the ahupuaa of Wailuku, Maui. Keahua is the boundary of Wailuku at the shore. I am the one who has stewardship of sea (fishery); it is from my father; that land mentioned is Pukaulua. I have that land section at this time. The fishery is for the King. People are not allowed to take the fish from within the fishponds, because the harvesting of fish is restricted. Though when the fish overflow from the ponds, then this person and that person can harvest the fish that are on the outside of the ponds. There is also salt there. The salt is bundled up and taken by the chiefs. I do not know the land of Kalialinui, spoken of. I did not go to take things from Kalialinui. I know of Kamaomao, the stone is close to pig-cairn (boundary marker) of Wailuku, Maui of the Hawaiian Islands...

...Men were sought out to construct the wall outside of the ponds, at Oopuola. Kihapiilani was the Chief of Maui at that time, it was he who sought out the men to build the wall. I know of the stone of Makaku. What I heard was that it is a stone where the spirits gather. That is what some



people say. And Kamaomao is one also; we used to go gather *mao* [a native hibiscus] for the chiefs, as something with which they would scent their *Kapa* Clothing. No other people, only the people of Wailuku, Maui, Hawaiian Islands... [Maly, translator]

Kaonoulu, Kula District

Notes of Survey:

...North 85° 3' West true 340 feet along Waiohulu along the *Kuapa* of an old fish pond at Kalepolepo to sea... [Volume No. 1:177]

Pulehunui, Kula District

Homai, Hoohikiia a olelo mai: Hanauia au ma Pulehunui. O kou mau makua na mea ia laua ka aina mai ka uka a ke kai. A ma keia aina au i noho ai a hiki i keia manawa. Ua kamaaina au i na palena o Pulehunui, iau no hoi la mahele ana i na ia, ke kai lawaia no ko Pulehunui. Ua kamaaina au i na palena o Pulehunui e pili ana me Waikapu. Ua ike au i na palena makai o Kihei, holo a hiki i Kalaepohaku. A holo o Pulehunui me Waiakoa, ua pili ka palena o Pulehunui me Kealia... [Volume 1 :128]

Homai, sworn and testifies: I was born at Pulehunui. My parents are the ones who had the land from the uplands to the sea. And it is at this land that I live to the present time. I am familiar with the boundaries of Pulehunui, and I am the one who divides the fish and the fishery that belong to Pulehunui. I am familiar with the boundary of Pulehunui, adjoining Waikapu. I also know the shoreward boundary of Kihei, running to Kalaepohaku. Pulehunui and Waiakoa run together, Pulehunui also adjoins Kealia... [Maly, translator]

Imihia, Hoohikiia a olelo mai: Hanauia au ma Kaonoulu, Kula, Maui... Hoomaka ma Waiohonu, holo i ke kahakai, makai o Waiohonu o Pohokiikii, makai olaila o Kalapahaalii, makai o Kalapahaalii o Kaopala... i Kaluaakapiele, mai laila aku holo a hiki i Kapalaoa. Mai laila ae holo a hiki i ka muliwai, a mai laila holo a hiki i Kalaea. He kai lawaia no ko Pulehunui mai Kalaepohaku aku pii i uka o Waiakoa no ma ka aoao ma Honuaula... [Volume 1:132]

Imihia, sworn and testifies: I was born at Kaonoulu, Kula, Maui... Begin at Waiohonu, go along the shore, below Waiohonu is Pohokiikii, below there is Kalapahaalii, and below Kalapahaalii is Kaopala... to Kaluaakapiele, from there go to Kapalaoa. From there go to the estuary, and from there go to Kalaea. Pulehunui has an ocean fishery from Kalaepohaku, and to above Waiakoa, on the side of Honuaula... [Maly, translator]

Imihia [continued from page 134]: ...*Elua Kaopala a'u i ike ai, hookahi mauka o Pohokiikii, a hookahi makai o Pohokiikii. Mai Pohokiikii holo a hiki i Kaopala, no Waikapu kahi makai o Pohokiikii. Mai Waiohonu a hiki i Pohokiikii; mai Pohokiikii holo a hiki i Keahoakakiele, a hiki aku i ka muliwai. O Honuamea ke kai, a o kahi loko o Kohemalalama o Kulanamoku, he wahi Heiau ia. Mai Kaopala aku holo a hiki i Kealaae (maanei, ua kauohaia keia hoike e ka loio o ka aoao Moi e hoomaka hou ua ae keia e ka hai hou). O ka wai e kahe ana mawaena o Pulehunui ame Waikapu, oia iho la no ka palena e ka aina o Waikapu me Pulehunui, no Pulehunui o Kaopala mauka. Mai Waiohonu a hiki i Keawakahakai, mai Keawakahakai aku a hiki i Puukawanawana, mai Puukawanawana aku a hiki i Kaopala 1; mai Kaopala 1 aku a hiki i Pohokiikii, a mai Pohokiikii aku i Kaopala 2; a mai keia Kaopala 2 aku, a i Kalapaaalii, a mai Kalapaaalii i Keahuakapule; mai keia*



wahi aku a hiki i Kapalawai; a mai keia wahi aku a keia Kealaa; a mai keia wahi aku, holo a hiki i Kihei. O Honuamea ke kai, no Pulehunui o Kihei, a o Pohokiikii aia no Pulehunui... [Volume No. 1:144]

Imihia: I know of two Kaopala, one is inland of Pohokiikii, and one is shoreward of Pohokiikii. From Pohokiikii go to Kaopala, the place below Pohokiikii is for Waikapu. From Waiohonu to Pohokiikii; from Pohokiikii go to Keahoakakiele, and then to the estuary. The sea is Honuamea, the pond is Kohemalamalama, Kulanamoku is a Temple. From Kaopala go till Kealaa (here, the witness was instructed by the attorney on the side of the King, to begin again, and agreed to repeat it). The water that flows between Waikapu and Pulehunui, is the boundary of the lands of Waikapu and Pulehunui; the upland Kaopala is for Pulehunui. From Waiohonu till Keawakahakai; from Keawakahakai till Puukawanawana; from Puukawanawana till Kaopala 1; From Kaopala 1 till Pohokiikii; from Pohokiikii till Kaopala 2; and from Kaopala 2 till Kalapaaalii; from Kalapaaalii to Keahuakapule; from this place to Kapalawai; from this place to Kealaa; from this place, you go to Kihei. Honuamea is the fishery, Kihei is for Pulehunui, and Pohokiikii is in Pulehunui... [Maly, translator]

Kekoa, Hoohikiia a olelo mai: Hanauia au ma Omaopio e pili ana me Pulehunui... Ua kamaaina no au i na palena o Pulehunui a puni ka aina... Aole nae i komo pono loa i Kealia kapakahi iki no mauka. Kanaio ame Aikahi he mau loko ia laua. Pili mai no nae o Kealia ma ka aoao o Waikapu. O Kihei he wahi lae one ia... [Volume 1:145]

Kekoa, Sworn and testifies: I was born at Omaopio, adjoining Pulehunui... I am familiar with the boundaries that surround the land of Pulehunui... It does not enter directly into Kealia, but angles above. Kanaio and Aikahi are two ponds. Kealia adjoins the side of Waikapu. Kihei is a sandy point... [Maly, translator]

Kuapaa. Hoomaka na hoike o ka aoao kue. Hoohikiia a olelo mai: He kamaaina au no Waikapu. Ua ike au i ke Ahupuaa o Pulehunui. Ua ike au i na palena o Waikapu a Pulehunui... He mahiai, lawaia, ame kumakahiki kau mau hana... Ke kai lawaia ko Pulehunui, mai Kalaepohaku, e hiki mai i Kihei... [Volume 1:145-146]

Kupaa. Begins the testimony of the opposing side. Sworn and testifies: I am a native of Waikapu. I know the *Ahupuaa* of Pulehunui. I know the boundaries of Waikapu and Pulehunui... I am a farmer, a fisherman, and do it regularly each year... The ocean fishery of Pulehunui is from Kalaepohaku to Kihei... [Maly, translator]

Waiohulu, Kula District

Notes of Survey:

...North 85° 3' West true 340 feet along Kaonoulu along the Kuapa, an old fish pond at Kalepolepo to sea... [Volume No. 1:173]

Halakaa, Lahaina District

Notes of Survey:

Hema 48° Komohana 2.60 kaulahao a hiki i kahakai, e pili ana keia mau aoao me Puehuehu, alaila Hema 54° Hikina 6.21 kaulahao e holo ana ma kahakai, a malaila aku e holo ana i ke kai, a kupono ke Awa hookomo waa. O ka ili o keia apana aina, 41 eka 35 ½ roda... [Volume No. 1:76]



South 48° West 2.60 chains to the shore, these sides adjoining Puehuehu, then South 54° East 6.21 chains running along the shore, and then into the sea, to the canoe landing entrance. Total of this parcel of land is 41 acres 35 ½ rods... [Maly, translator]

Kapunakea 1, Lahaina District

Levi Keliipio, hoike, hoohikiia a olelo mai: O Levi Keliipio kou inoa. Aia ma Honolulu kou wahi e noho nei. He kamaaina au no Lahaina nei. Ua ike au i na palena o Kapunakea 1. Ma ke kihi makai he “puka i kai”, holo i uka, a na pohaku a Kane (no 1), holo hou aku he Ahua aa, oia ka palena o Kapunakea 1 nei. Wahikuli ma ke kihi Akau, holo aku ma ka aoao Ukumehame i kekahi puu aa hou. Alaila holo i kai ma ka pohaku a Kane (no 2), holo aku a ka loko, alaila, holo kapakahi aku a hiki i ke kai. Ua ike au mai kou makuakane mai. He kamaaina kahiko oia nolaila. Malaila au i hanau ai... [Volume No. 1 :70]

Levi Keliipio, witness, sworn and testifies : My name is Levi Keliipio. I live in Honolulu. I am a native of Lahaina. I know the boundaries of Kapunakea 1. At the shoreward corner, an “inlet in the sea,” run inland to the stone of Kane (no. 1), thence to an aa mound, that is the boundary of Kapunakea 1. Wahikuli at the northern corner, run along the side of Ukumehame to a new aa mound. Then run to the stone of Kane (no. 2), then go to the pond, then along the edge to the sea. I learned this from my father. He was an old native there. That is where I was born... [Maly, translator]

Puaaloo, Ili of Ukumehame, Lahaina District

Nawelu, Hoohikiia a hai mai : O Nawelu kou inoa. Ua kamaaina au i keia wahi i keia manawa, no ka mea, he kanaka malihini au no Kahikinui mai. A hiki au maanei i ka manawa o Weioi e ola ana. Ua ike au i ka palena o Puaaloo ka palena o Kohehale makai loa, a mauka loa o Uwai maanei o Olowalu, o Mopua ka palena o ke kai lawaia. Aole au i ike i ka holo ana o ka aina i o a ianei... [Volume No. 1 :201-202]

Nawelu, sworn and states: My name is Nawelu. I am familiar with this place at this time, actually, I am not a native, but from Kahikinui. I arrived here during the time that Weioi was living. I know the boundaries of Puaaloo, The boundary on the shore is Kohehale, and in the uplands is Uwai, and here is Olowalu. Mopua is the boundary of the ocean fishery. I do not know the boundaries of the lands at other locations... [Maly, translator]

Notes of Survey:

...North 53° 00' West true bearing 590 feet to point from which Catholic church spire bears North 84° 43' East. From this point Puaaloo claims the strip of sand beach and fishing right for a distance of 3000 feet toward Olowalu; the boundary of the above described land on the makai side being the sea shore at high water mark... [Volume No. 1:203]

Waiokama, Lahaina District

Z.K. Halemano – Surveyor: ...no Wainee no Waiokama ka punawai. Alaila holo i kai ma ke kihi kuapa o na loko elua. Alaila, holo loa aku no i kai a hiki i Halepiula, a ma ke kua aku o ka hale o Napaepae a hiki loa aku i ke kai. Ua komo ka hale o Napaepae no Waiokama. I ka holo ana a hiki ma Mokuula, ua oki no mawaena aku o ka loko. [Volume No. 1:134]



The pond is for Wainee and Waiokama. Then run to the shore to the corner of a wall between the two ponds. Then run the distance along the shore out to Halepiula, and the back of Napaepae's house out to the shore. Napaepae's house is in Waiokama. Running thence to Mokuula [fish pond], the pond is cut in half... [Maly, translator]

Poholopu: ...He pa keia i pa ia e Paahana i mea e kaawale ai na Aina, kaawale o Wainee mai Waiokama aku. Ua manao o Paahana e pa loa no a hiki i Mokuula, aka lohe o Kamehameha i Hawaii, papaia mai o Paahana, aole e pa hou aku... O wau no kekahi i kokua pu mea ka pa ana i keia pa. Holo aku no ma kuauna a hiki ma kekahi pohaku nui aia i waena aku. Alaila, holo aku ma ka wai a hiki i kekahi punawai ma Mokuula, ma kela aoao o ka punawai no Wainee ua komo ka punawai no Waiokama. Mai laila aku, holo aku ma ka lihi o na kuapa o na loko, makai o Mokuula, holo aku no a ma ke kua aku o ka hale o Napaepae a hiki loa aku i ke kai...

...I ka manawa i pa iai kela pa e Paahana, o Pueo ke Konohiki. He pa kiekie no kela ia manawa, aka, no ka piha loa i ka lepo i keia wa, ua ano nalowale kela pa... Na kou kaikoeke, oia o Paahana i kuhikuhi pono iau i na palena. I kona noho ana mai iluna o Waiokama, na na kamaaina i alakai a kuhikuhi pono ia ia i na palena... O Makalaukalo he inoa pana wale no ia, no Waiokama no nae ia wahi. Aole ia he Aina Lei Alii... [Volume No. 1:135-136]

Poholopu, sworn: ...This is a lot that was enclosed by Paahana, in order to separate the land, to separate Wainee from Waiokama. Paahana thought to build the wall all the way to Mokuula, but when Kamehameha I who was on Hawaii heard, he forbade Paahana, it was not to have a new wall... I was one of them who helped to build this wall. The wall runs to a large stone in the middle. The water flows to a pond at Mokuula, on that side of the pond is for Wainee, and enters the pond of Waiokama. From there it runs to the corner of the wall of the pond, below Mokuula, and runs along the back of Napaepae's house to the sea...

...At the time that Paahana built the wall, Pueo was the overseer, It was a high wall at that time, but because it has been filled with dirt at this time, the wall is partially hidden... It was my brother-in-law, Paahana, who showed me the boundaries, and the time that he was placed over Waiokama, the natives took him and pointed out the boundaries... Makalaukalo is only a place name, it is a place for Waiokama. It is not one of the Crown lands... [Maly, translator]

Kapoino, Wailuku District

Letter from Applicant:

...Kapoino Nui had a fishing right named "Nuu Kukahi." Kapoino iki had no fishing right... [Volume No .2:1]

Kaaemalani w., sworn: ...Kapoino Nui does not itself extend to the sea but has a fishing right known as "Nuu kukahi." The land between Kapoino Nui and the sea belonged to the Ahupuaa of "Waiehu..." ...I have never understood Kapoino Nui extended to the sea. Some of my relatives cultivated land on Kanaio and Kahoana and paid tribute to the *Konohiki* of Waiehu and not to the *Konohiki* of Kapoino. Kapoino Nui was a "Ku" and from there had its fishing rights. Kapoino Nui is not an Ili. Kapoino iki abounded on its makai side by "Manukohala..." [Volume No. 2:3-4]



Auwae, sworn: ...Kanaio belonged to Kapoino Nui. Kapoino Nui had a sea fishing right. Kapoino Iki did not have a sea fishing right, neither did Kahoana, Kanaio nor Manukohala, but Kanaio shared in the fishing right of Kapoino Nui... ...Know the boundaries of Kapoino Nui, commencing at the sea at a place called Papamuku; thence *mauka* over the *Pali*...thence *makai* to the boundary of Kapoino Iki along the ditch between both those lands to the land of Kanaio from thence to the sea. Along the sea to a point between Waieo and Nukukahia, the land follows the ditch to the Northern boundary of Kanaio and thence to the sea along the land of Hananui; There is an extension of Kapoino Nui to the sea... The fishing rights of Poinonui is a "*lele*." Kahoana and Kanaio do not go to the sea; the only land that reaches the sea is the land of Kapoino Nui, the land below the main road to Waihee belongs to the land of Kapoino Nui... I know it had a fishing right... [Volume No. 2:4]

Notes of Survey:

...And that the *Ili* of Kapoino has a sea fishing right between Papamoku and Kalua; said fishing right known as "*Nuu kukahi*." [Volume No. 2:5]

Waihee, Wailuku District

Kuaiki, Hoohikiia a olelo mai: O Kuaiki ko'u inoa. Noho au i Waihee i ka wa e noho konohiki ana o Kaianui mahope iho o Auwae; o Mokuhulu ka palena makai, he mokupuni ia iloko o ke kai. Holo mai a Kaaleo (ma ka Alanui Aupuni) holo aku a Kapulehu, holo aku a Kanoa, holo aku ma ka pali o Huluhulupueo, lele ka wai no Waihee, paa ka wai no Kahakuloa. Holo aku a Naolonawehe a hiki i Kapahu, holo a Maninole, holo a "Eke" (lua pele). Na ka poe kahiko i kuhikuhi mai ia'u, ua pau i ka make. Ua pii no au a Kapahu. O ka palena ma keia aoao. Moe mai ma ka pali a Koaeloa, holo mai a alo iki o Puunahaha ma Waihee, holo mai a Kapae iki ke pa a Lii ma Waihee. Holo aku a ka pa a Lii, holo aku no ma na loi, ma kahi maloo no Waiehu ia, ma kahi wai no i Waihee, holo aku a ke ko'a o Aiohule, alaila holo (maloko o ke kai) aku a kahi i hoomaka ai... [Volume No. 1:98]

Kuaiki, Sworn and says: My name is Kuaiki. I've lived at Waihee since the time that Kaianui was *konohiki*, after Auwae; Mokuhulu is the shoreward boundary, it is an island in the sea. Go from Kaaleo (on the Government Road), go to Kapulehu. Then go to Kanoa, then go to the cliff of Huluhulupueo; the waterfalls for Waihee, the water held back is for Kahakuloa. Then go to Naolonawehe and to Kapahu. then go to Maninole, then go to "Eke" (crater). The old people pointed this out to me, they are all dead. I climbed up to Kapahu, the boundary on this side. Come down along the cliff of Koaeloa, go a little in front of Puunahaha in Waihee, then go to Kapae iki the lot of Lii in Waihee. Go along the lot of Lii, and along the *loi*; the dry area is for Waiehu; and the water place is for Waihee; then go to the fishing station of Aiohule; then go (in the sea), to the place of commencement... [Maly, translator]

Lii, Hoohikiia a olelo mai: He kamaaina au no Waiehu. O Molokai kou one hanau, noho au i Waiehu mahope iho o Kaauwai. (Hoomaka mauka mai). Holo mai ma ka pali, kaa ka pohaku no Kou, paa ka pohaku, Pohakunahaha, holo mai a ka pohaku o Auka (he kahua maika ia na Kahekili). Holo kekee aku a hiki Kuakakauakaua, holo aku a hiki ma ke kai i Halekii, a hiki loa aku i ke koa lawaia. [Volume No. 1:98]

Lii, Sworn, and testifies: I am familiar with Waiehu, Molokai was my birth place, I have lived at Waiehu since Kaauwai. (Beginning in the uplands). Go from the cliff, where the stones roll, is for Kou; it is all stone. Pohakunahaha, the stone runs to Auka (a stone maika arena of Kahekili's).



It goes at angles to Kuakakauakaua, and runs to the sea at Halekii, a goes all the way out to the fishing ground. [Maly, translator]

Waikapu, Wailuku District

Cross Examination, Testimony:

Mr. Hewitt: How close is it to Pali Hai?

Mrs. Piimoku: About a space, there is a road, alley, leading between these rocks going to the beach.

Mr. Hewitt: Between Pali Hai and Puupuu?

Mrs. Piimoku: Yes, there is a road for people to go to fishing.

Mr. Hewitt: On the beach?

Mrs. Piimoku: Yes... [Volume 3:487]

Peepee, Ili of Wailuku, Wailuku District

...Hon. H. Kuihelani i hoike. A ua hoohikiia a hai mai, ua ike au i na palena... ...A o ka Apana mauka o Kalaahui ko Peepee uka ia. Mai Kalaahui a Kanaio, ka oopu wale no kai lilo – koe ka wai a me ka aina no ke Ahupuaa. O ke ana o ka aina, ua pololei... [Volume 1:230]

...Hon. H. Kuihelani, witness, and sworn, states, I know the boundaries...
...The parcel above, Kalaahui is upper Peepee. From Kalaahui and Kanaio, only the oopu can be taken—the water and the land is for the Ahupuaa [Wailuku].... [Maly, translator]

Notes of Survey (1859):

...There is a fishing right belonging to Peepee which takes the stream down to Kanaio, only the fish and not the stream or water.... [Volume 1:231]

Testimonies for the Island of Molokai

Honomuni, Kona District

...S. 26° 55' E. true 183 feet along Grant 3108 to D. Kaopeahina, Apana 2 to end of fish pond wall at sea. Thence around fish pond wall and along sea shore to initial point. The direct bearing and distance being N. 77° 45' E. true 2376 feet. Area 783 acres.

Survey of Sea Fisheries belonging to the Ahupuaa of Honomuni, Island of Molokai.

Apana I. Being exclusively to the Ahupuaa of Honomuni.

Commencing at a point on the Sea Shore which bears S. 56° 45' W. true 60 feet from a rock marked with a cross at South East corner of the Ahupuaa of Honomuni and running:

1. N. 41° 22' E. true 1600 feet to point called Namahana at edge of cliff;
2. S. 65° 20' W. true 2190 feet along edge of reef to point called Moelehu;
3. N. 54° 48' W. true 2010 feet to point on sea shore at end of the fish pond wall of Kihaloko;
4. Thence along fish pond walls and sea shore to initial point.
Area 100 Acres.

Apana II. Being used in common by the Ahupuaas of Honomuni of Ahaino 2 and called Hona; Commencing at the end of the fish pond wall of the pond called Kihaloko and running:



1. S. 54° 48' E. true 120 feet along Honomuni fishery to point on reef. Thence
2. S. 43° 20' W. true 190 feet to point on reef.
3. N. 38° 25' W. true 90 feet to wall of the fish pond Kihaloko.
4. Thence along fish pond wall to initial point.
Area ½ Acre [Volume 2:45-46]

Hoolehua, Kona District

Notes of Survey:

Commencing at a stone marked with a cross on sea shore adjoining the land of Ilioli...
Apana I...

6. S. 21° 54' E. true 1887 feet along Palaau, to a rock marked with a cross at edge of shore and mud flat, from which the Government Survey Station South Base bears N. 5° 1' East true.
7. Thence S. 20° 54' E. true 1500 feet along Palaau across mud flat to old fish pond wall.
8. Thence along old fish pond wall and shore to initial point. The bearing and distance from rock marked with a cross at edge of shore and mud flat to initial point being S. 53° 00' W. true 3527 feet. Area 133 Acres. [Volume 2:20]

Ilioli, Kona District

Notes of Survey:

...Apana I. Fish ponds of Pakanaka and Kula of Huea

Commencing at a stone marked with a cross on sea shore adjoining Hoolehua, From which stone the Government Survey Station Ilioli bears N. 50° 34' W. true 1138 feet and South base bears N. 20° 14' E. true and running:

1. N. 57° 34' W. true 1138 feet along Hoolehua, Apana 1 to a cross on a stone...
9. S. 58° 4' W. true 1248.5 feet along same along shore to fish pond wall.
10. Thence around fish pond wall and along shore to initial point the direct bearing and distance being N. 69° 11' E. true 4637.5 feet.
Area of Fish Pond 69.85 Acres... [Volume 2:14-15]

Kahanui, Kona District

Notes of Survey:

Apana 1. Called Punalau.

Commencing at a stone marked with a cross at sea beach, from which stone the Government Survey Station Puu o Kahanui bears N. 15° 54' E. true and running:

1. N. 26° 39' E. true 112.5 feet along Land Commission Award 7755 across sand and along fish pond wall to rock marked with a cross. From which the Government Survey Station Puu o Kahanui bears N. 10° 25' E. true 2184 feet...
7. S. 8° 4' E. true 140 feet along Grant 2709, Apana 4 to Haalelea;
8. N. 76° 23' E. true 52 feet along Aipohaku pond Land Commission Award 7755 to rock marked with a cross;
9. S. 16° 36' E. true 50.8 feet along Aipohaku pond to cross on stone;
10. S. 43° 20' W. true 104.3 feet along Aipohaku pond to stone marked with a cross;
11. S. 64° 59' E. true 254.8 feet along Kauhaa Pond, land Commission Award 7755 to angle of pond.
12. S. 20° 34' W. true 112.2 feet along Kauhaa pond to stone marked thus [arrow to right].
13. N. 54° 48' W. true 201 feet along Kauhaa Pond. Hence
14. S. 64° 59' E. true 254.8 feet along Grant 2709 to rock marked with a cross in Fish pond wall. From which rock the government Survey Station Puu o Kahanui bears N. 43° 30' E. 3529 feet.



15. Hence along Fish Pond wall and sea coast to initial point. The direct bearing and distance being S. 68° 49' E. true 1641 feet.
Area 89 Acres... [Volume 2:12-13]

Kalamaula, Kona District

Notes of Survey:

Commencing at a mark on a rock, thus [arrow to right] at end of *Fish pond wall on sand at sea at place called Piliioalii*; from which rock the Government Survey Station Kaunakakai bears S. 65° 14' E. true, and Puu Luahine bears N. 61° 52' E. true and running:

1. N. 57°18 E. true 267.5 feet along Naiwa, Apana 1 to stone marked with a cross...
37. S. 20° 37' W. true 5567 feet along Kaunakakai to a stone marked with a cross at the north corner of a small pond.
38. S. 23° 36' W. true 1015.5 feet along Kaunakakai passing on the West edge of two small ponds to a cross on a stone at sea on North edge of road.

Thence along sea shore to initial point, the direct bearing and distance being N. 69° 40' W. true 12170 feet.

Area 6747 Acres [Volume 2:25]

Kamiloloa, Kona District

Kekuhe, Hoohikiia a hai mai: Ma Kaluaaha kou wahi noho i keia manawa. No Makakupaia o Kamiloloa kou mau makua a me kou mau kupuna. Ua hiki iau ke hoomaopopo i na palena o Kamiloloa. He Kai no ko Kamiloloa, mai ke kai okilo hee mai ka hoomaka ana a hiki ma ka poina nalu ma Kunahiwa. Aia maloko o Kuanalu... ..Mai Puu Ulaula aku a i Kaulahuki, he puu ia ke pili la no ia me Makakupaia, mai Kaulahuki aku a hiki i Waiulaula. He halau kahi olona ia no ka poe kahiko, mailaila aku holo ma ka lihi pali...Holo mai Makaliilii holo i kai, a hiki i Puu pulou hookahi no puu malaila, he wahi puu no makai o keia ka puu kaulana o Puu Pulou. Holo mai Puu pulou aku holo i kai o Puu o Kamalii. Mai Puu o Kamalii aku hele a hiki i muliwai, mai muliwai aku hele a hiki i Kalokoloa. He kohola ia, hele loa a hiki i kai uliuli kae aku. Iau ia wahi, ke hoomanao nei no au... [Volume 1:184-185]

Kekuhe, Sworn and testifies: Kaluaaha is where I live now. My parents and grandparents were from Makakupaia and Kamiloloa. I know the boundaries of Kamiloloa. Kamiloloa has a Fishery, from the octopus grounds to where the waves break at Kunahiwa. There at the back of the waves... ..Then from Puu Ulaula to Kaulahuki, it is a hill adjoining Makakupaia. From Kaulahuki to Waiulaula, a long house is there in which the old people prepared olona; then from there to the edge of the cliff... ..Go from Makaliilii towards the sea, to Puu Pulou; from Puu Pulou go to Puu o Kamalii. From Puu o Kamalii go to the estuary; from the estuary go to Kalokoloa. It is on a reef flat, then go on until the edge of the blue ocean. That is the place that I know... [Maly, translator]

Honunui, Hoohikiia a hai mai: he kamaaina au ia Kamiloloa. Ma Makakupaia kou wahi i hanau ai. Aia ma Kaluaaha noho nei, no nolaila (Kamiloloa) kou mau makua. He kai no ko keia aina, mai ke kai okilo hee mai, a hiki i Kuuna o Kuuwahine ka palena mai ke kai mai. Aia i kohola ia wahi... ..mailaila aku a hiki i Waiulaula, o ka mea kaulana malaila, he Puu Maniania, ka halau kahi olona ia; mailaila aku holo aku la ma ka lihi pali a hiki i Kamakaliilii... ..Mai Puu pulou aku, holo a hiki i Puu o Kamalii iho aku a hiki i muliwai. Mailaila holo a hiki i Kalokoloa, he kuuna ia he Kohola ia wahi, mailaila aku a hiki i ke kai hee. Malaila makou i noho ai me ko makou mau makua, a mai ko makou mau makua ko makou ike... [Volume 1:185]



Honunui, Sworn and testifies: I am a native of Kimiloloa. I was born at Makakupaia. I live at Kaluaaha. My parents were from there (Kamiloloa). This land has a fishery, it is an area set apart for hee, out to Kuuna o Kuuwahine, the boundary from the sea. It is a reef flat... ..From there to Waiulaula, the famous thing there is Puu Maniania, the long house where olona was prepared; from there go to the edge of the cliff of Puu o Kamakaliili... ..From Puu Pulou go to Puu o Kamalii and down to the estuary; from there go to Kalokoloa, it is a net fishery, (kuuna) and a reef flat; from there to the hee fishery. That is where we lived with our parents, and from our parents we gained our knowledge... [Maly, translator]

Notes of Survey:

...Commencing at a stone marked with a cross at sea shore 920 feet east of Pond wall at a place called Kaluaaloo, from which stone the Government Survey Station Kaunakakai bears N. 72° 43' W. true and Makakupaia bears N. 50° 38' E. true... [Volume No. 2:18]

Kapaakea, Kona District

Notes of Survey...:

31. S. 36° 21' W. true 1037.5 feet along Kamiloloa to a stone marked thus [arrow to right] at sea beach at a place called Anahaki; Thence following along the sea shore and around fish pond and sea shore to initial point; the direct bearing and distance being N. 58° 57' W. true 3090 feet... [Volume No. 2:23-24]

Kaunakakai, Kona District

Notes of Survey...:

20. S. 20° 37' W. true 5567 feet along Kalamaula to stone marked with a cross at the North corner of a small pond.
21. S. 23° 36' W. true 1015 feet along Kalamaula passing on the West edge of two small ponds to a cross on a stone at sea on North edge of road;
22. Thence along sea shore to initial point... [Volume No. 2:34]

Kawela, Kona District

Notes of Survey:

Commencing at the Sea at the South easterly corner of the land, a short distance west of a clump of *Hala* trees, running thence North... ..thence passing over the ridge to the valley on southerly side called Wailaalau in range of hills called Wapaa being bounded by the *Ahupuaa* called Makakupaia; thence S. 19° W. 300 ch. to the sea at S.W. corner of pond called Kaoaini at pile of stones and thence following the shore to point of commencement... [Volume No. 2:61]

Keawanui, Kona District

Notes of Survey:

Commencing at the Northwest corner at a cross on a stone on the upper edge of Government Road...

4. S. 19° 23' W. true 198 feet along Grant 831 across Government Road and along *kuauna* [embankment].
5. S. 26° 6' W. true 71.9 feet along Grant 831 to point at edge of fish pond. Thence
6. S. 47° 8' E. true 130.7 feet along Grant 831 to a rock marked thus [arrow to right].
7. S. 62° 15' E. true 240.5 feet along Grant 831...
10. N. 76° 27' E. true 61 feet to a cross on a stone at the sea shore from which rock the government Survey Station Kalaeloa bears South 24° 10' W. true 1075 feet...



12. N. 30° 57' W. true 975 feet to a cross on a stone at the end of fish pond wall.
13. Thence along fish pond wall to end of wall at shore joining the fish pond of Papaililii, the direct bearing and distance being North 29° 10' West true 1980 feet.
14. Thence N. 36° 11' W. true 303.6 feet along Land Commission Award 3979 to initial point.
Area 73 Acres... [Volume No. 2:71]

Makakupaia, Kona District

Notes of Survey:

Commencing at a stone marked with a cross at sea at a place called Puu Alii, from which stone the Government Survey Station Onini bears North...

7. S. 41° 42' W. true 890 feet along Kawela to cross on stone.
8. S. 34° 50' W. true 17503 feet along Kawela to stone marked thus [arrow to right] at sea near Government road and at end of the wall of fish pond called Kaoaini.
9. Thence along fish pond wall and sea coast to initial point the direct bearing and distance being N. 81° 25' W. true 2030 feet.
Area 1425 Acres [Volume No. 2:16-17].

Makole, Kona District

Mana, Hoike, Hoohikiia a olelo mai: O Mana kou inoa. Ma Kawela, Molokai kou wahi e noho nei. Ua ike au i ke Ahupuaa o Makole ame kona mau palena... O ka palena mauka loa mai o keia aina o Puukolekole, mai laila mai holo kapakahi a hiki Maalaula. Alaila, holo pololei loa i kai a hiki i ke kai... ..Ma ka aoao e pili la me Kawela ke ana mua ana ma kekahi puu pohaku iloko o ke kai... Mai Maalaula holo pololei o Keonelo, he mau loko e pili pu la, o Panekahe a me Makolelau. Ekolu loko iloko o Makole, o Kapukaulua, Kawai, ame Makolelau... [Volume No. 1:91]

Mana, Witness, Sworn and states: My name is Mana, my residence is at Kawela, Molokai. I know the *Ahupuaa* of Makole and its boundaries... The distant upland boundary is Puukolekole, from there it goes, not in straight lines, to Maalaula. Thence straight to the shore... On the side adjoining Kawela to a stone mound in the ocean... From Maalaula go straight to Keonelo, there are several ponds adjoining there, Panekahe and Makolelau. There are three ponds in Makole, Kapukaulua, Kawai and Makolelau... [Maly, translator]

Maikui, Hoike, Hoohikiia a olelo mai: O Maikui kou inoa, ma Kawela, Molokai au e noho nei, ua ike au i ke Ahupuaa o Makole a me kona mau palena. Hoomaka ma kai mai ma Kapukaulua, holo ma ke kualono a ke honua o Alahee a Huewai. A ke alanui e iho ai i Koolau... ..hola ma nae holo kapakahi a Maalaula, alaila, holo pololei loa i kai. Holo aku a ka loko o Panahaha no (Puakoolau ia loko), a o ke loko o Makolelau no Makole ia loko, holo aku mawaena o keia mau loko. Ekolu lokoia iloko o Makole, Uluanui, Kawi [sp?] ame Makolelau. [Volume No. 1:92]

Maikui, witness, Sworn and stated: My name is Maikui, I live at Kawela, Molokai, and I know the *ahupuaa* of Makole and its boundaries. Begin on the shore at Kapukaulua [pond], and go along the mountain ridge to Alahee a Huewai. And the road descends to Koolau... ..run in at angles to Maalaula, then go straight to the shore. Go to the pond of Panahaha (the pond of Puakoolau), and the pond of Makolelau, the pond of Makole, go between these ponds. There are three ponds in Makole, Uluanui, Kawi [sp?] and Makolelau. [Maly, translator]



J.K. Halemano, Hoike, Hoohikiia a olelo mai: O Halemano kou inoa, he Ana aina kau hana i kahi manawa, ua ike au ia Makole. A nau no i ana. Hoomaka ke ana ana ma ka aoao hema o Kapukaulua, (he loko ia) e pili ana me Kawela. Holo Komohana Akau a he mau puhala... ..A iho aku a hiki i ke kai, oki hapalua i ka loko, no Puakoolau kekahi hapa, a no Makole kekahi hapa a hiki i ka puka, holo aku i ka Akau Komohana a kahi i hoomaka ai... ..ua anaia e au ma ka M.H.1873, Nov. 11.

Na Palena

Ke Ahupuaa o Makole e waiho la ma Kona, Molokai, penei na palena: E hoomaka ana ma ke kai ma ka aoao Kom. o ka papohaku, a e holo ana i ka Ak. Kom. ma ka aoao kom. o ka lokoia i kapaia o Kapukaulua e pili ana ia Kawela. A hiki i na puhala, a ma ka aoao Kom. oia mau puhala... ..Hema 15° Kom. 295 kaul., e pili ana ia Puakoolau, e holo ana no ma kae kahawai a pii iki maluna o ke honua a kokoke i kahakai, iho ilalo o kahawai a pii iluna ma ka aoao Komohana o ua kahawai la, a e mahele ana i ka loko ia a kahi i kapaia o Kapuka. A mai laila aku e holo ana i ka Ak. 82° Kom. 95 kaul. e pili ana i ke kai, a kahi i hoomaka ai. Malaila 2,087 eka, Z.K. Halemano, Mea Ana Aina... [Volume 1:92-93]

J.K. Halemano, witness, sworn and states: My name is Halemano, At times my work is that of a land surveyor, and I am familiar with Makole. I surveyed it. The surveying began on the south side of Kapukaulua (a fish pond) adjoining Kawela. Running West North to some pandanus trees... ..Then descend to the shore, the fishpond is divided in two, half for Puakoolau, and half for Makole, to the opening, then run North West to the place of commencement... It was surveyed by me in the year 1872, Nov. 11.

Boundaries:

The Ahupuaa of Makole is situated in Kona, Molokai, and the boundaries are thus: Beginning on the shore, at the W. of the stone wall and running to the N.W., on the W. side of the fishpond called Kapukaulua, adjoining Kawela; to the pandanus trees on the W. side of the *hala* trees...

...South 15° W. 295 ch., along Puakoolau, running along the edge of the stream and rise a little bit on the earth, and near the shore; then down the stream and climb up on the North side of the stream; dividing the fishpond at the place called Kapuka. And from there running to the N. 82° W. 95 ch. along the ocean to the place of commencement.

Therein are 2.087 acres.

J.K Halemanu, Surveyor. [Maly, translator]

Makolelau, Kona District

Kauku, hoike, Hoohikiia a hai mai: Ua ike au ia Kanaulu, ua ike ia Makolelaue. No Kanaulu ia aina... Ma ka aoao manae nei o Puakoolau. O Kawela maka aoao malalo a mauka mai, o ke kai ma ka aoao makai... [Volume No. 1:181]

Kauku, witness, sworn and states: I know Kanaulu and know Makolelau. The land is for Kanaulu... On the east side is Puakoolau. Kawela is on the side below and above, and the sea is on the shoreward side...

Ke Ana Ana o Makolelau, ma Kona, Molokai.

E hoomaka ana ma ke kai, ma ka aoao Komohana o ka Papohaku, a e holo ana i ka Akau Komohana, ma ka aoao Komohana o ka lokoia i kapaia o Kapukaulua a hiki i na



pukahale e pili ana ia Kawela no Lunalilo... ..e pili no me Puakoolau, no Puili, e holo ana no ma kae pali a pii iki maluna o ka honua, a kokoke i kahakai iho i ke kahawai a pii ma ka aoao Komohana a hiki i kahakai e mahele ana i ka lokoia. A hiki i kahi i kapaia o Kapuka me ka makaha ala ke ano, a malaila aku e holo ana i ka Akau 82° Komohana a kahi i hoomakai. Malaila 2087 Eka... [Volume 1:181-182]

The Survey of Makolelau, at Kona, Molokai

Beginning at the shore, on the West side of the Stone wall, and running North West, on the West side of the fishpond called Kapukaulua, to the entry of the house in Kawela belonging to Lunalilo... ..[descending] along Puakoolau of Puili, and running along the edge of the pali, rising a little on the land, and close to the shore, down the stream, then rise up on the West side to the shore, dividing the fishpond. Reaching the place called Kapuka, and the makaha (sluice gate) there; thence run North 82° West to the point of commencements. There are 2087 acres... [Maly, translator]

Manawai, Kona district

...O Kaiwikaola kou inoa, noho ma Lahaina Maui. Ua noho ma Molokai mamua, ua kamaaina wau i na palena o Manawai. O kou wahi no ia i noho ai. O Ohia Hikina ma ka aoao malalo, e pili ana me Manawai. O Ohia Komohana pili i ke kai, komo ka ia iloko o Manawai no ia, a puka i waho; ua eli ia e makou ma ka aoao malalo, oia ka palena ma ka aoao malalo... ..Ma ka aoao manae o Manawai o Kahananui, o Kalapa o Pakui no Manawai ia, kaa ka pohaku, no Kahananui ia, holo pololei mai uka mai a hiki i kai nei, o ka Loko o Puuhalo, no Manawai ia. manae no Kahananui, aole i komo o Kahananui i ke kai... [Volume 1:204]

...My name is Kaiwikaola, (I) live at Lahaina, Maui. I lived on Molokai before, and I am familiar with the boundaries of Manawai. It is where I lived. East Ohia is on the lower side, adjoining Manawai. West Ohia is adjoining the sea, the fish that come in are for Manawai, and those that go out. We dug [the boat landing] along that side, the boundary is on the lower side...
...On the east side of Manawai is Kahananui, Kalapa o Pakui is for Manawai; where the stones roll down is for Kahananui; go straight from the uplands to the shore, the Pond of Puuhalo, it belongs to Manawai. Kahana nui is east; Kahananui does not enter the sea... [Maly, translator]

Notes of Survey by Z.K. Halemano:

...a hui hou me ke kahawai no Kahananui, a malaila pili me Kahananui, holo i kai a pili me ka aoao hikina o ka loko e pili ana i ke kai. Alaila pau ka pili ana me Kahananui, Aupuni. Mai i ka Hema Hikina ma ke awa Ku moku a hiki i Kuaau, no Ualapue kekahi aoao o ke Awa a no Manawai kekahi aoao... [Volume 1:206]

...meeting again the stream of Kahananui, and there along Kahananui, run to the sea, to the east side of the pond adjoining the sea. Then it ends along Kahananui of the government. From the South east along the boat landing to Kuaau, onside of the landing is for Ualapue, and one side is for Manawai... [Maly, translator]

Mapulehu, Kona District

Mahoe I, Hoohikiia a olelo mai: Ua ike au i ka palena o Mapulehu...O Pahukini pili ia ia Kaluaaha a me Mapulehu, holo mai a hiki i ka Loko o Niaupala, he alanui mawaena o ka Loko Niaupala ame Pipio. Ua ike au i ka loko o Panahaha. He mau lele ko Mapulehu aia i Koolau o Molokai nei ma Wailau... [Volume No. 1:142]



Mahoe I, Sworn and testifies: I know the boundaries of Mapulehu... Pahukini is next to Kaluaaha and Mapulehu, then go to the Pond of Niaupala; there is a trail between the Ponds of Niaupala and Pipio. I also know the pond of Panahaha. There are some *lele* lands of Mapulehu, there in Koolau of Molokai, at Wailau... [Maly, translator]

Notes of Survey:

...passing down said Auwai to the Northerly side of fish pond on Kaluaaha; thence S. 85° E. 1 chain following the Northerly side of said fish pond, thence N... following the Northerly edge of said fish pond; thence South...East...following the Eastern edge of said fish pond; thence South...East... following the Easterly side of fish pond to the sea (from this point on the sea to the top of the mountain ridge at the peak called Olokui the boundary is Kaluaaha). From the Southeasterly corner of fish pond of Kaluaaha follow the Sea to point of commencement. Comprising an Area of One Thousand, Nine Hundred and Eight Acres.

The right of this land to the Sea on the above *Ahupuaa* extends from a line bearing S, 28° 35' East from the corner on Northerly side of Kaluaaha fish pond opposite the large Auwai which forms the boundary between this land and Kaluaaha, extending to the outside reef and upon the easterly side reaching to the centre of the fish pond called Panahaha on the *Ahupuaa* called Pukoo Akahi; from thence to the reef upon the easterly side of the opening on said reef leading the harbor of Mapulehu... [Volume No. 1:142-143]

Punaula, Ili of Mapulehu

Halemano, Hoohikiia a hai mai: Ma Lahaina nei au e noho nei. Ua hele au ma Molokai, ma ke Kii ana mai o John Ilae iau. Ame pohihihi iau ka manawa au i hele ai i Molokai, aka, ua hele au, ke ana aina kau hana i hele ai ilaila. Ka Ili o Mapulehu o Punaula ka inoa. Oia kau i hele ai e ana, a ua ana imi i ka ili, hana i ke kii, a hoihoi aku ia John Ilae.

Ma kou manao wale o Ku ka mea nana i kuhikuhi iau i na palena. He elemakule, he kanaka e ae no kekahi nana au i kuhikuhi. O John Kanae pu no kekahi i kou wa i hele ai e ana... ..ua hoomaka au i ke ana aina mai kahakai aku. Ua haiia mai na palena ma ke kai, he one loihi, maloko iho o Kuaau, ua one la. A ka hapalua o ka Loko o Pukoo, oia kai hala io, a loa mai ke kai o Punaula... He 82 eka ka Ili ana aina la.

O John Kanae ka mea keakea i ko makou ana ana, mawaena o ka pa pipi... Ua pau loa ka ululaau i ke komo no Punaula. He puu pohaku aia ma kahakai e pili ana me ka pa o Panahaha & ka Loko o Pukoo, oia kahi i hoomakai o ke ana aina... [Volume 1:196]

Halemano, sworn, and states: I live at Lahaina. I came to Molokai because John Ilae came to get me. I am uncertain about the time I came to Molokai, but I came and surveyed the land, that is what I did when I came. The *Ili* of Mapulehu, its name is Punaula. That is what I did, come and survey, seek out the *ili*, and make a drawing, and returned it to John Ilae.

As I recall, Ku was the one who showed me the boundaries. He was an old man, and there was another one who showed them to me. John Kanae was also one at the time that I came.

I began the survey from the shore, and the boundaries are given from the shore. There is a long sand beach, the beach is in Kuaau. A half of the pond of Pukoo passes out to the sea, and takes the sea of Punaula... There are 82 acres in the area surveyed.



John Kanae is the one who has objected to our survey running through the cattle corral... The forest ends when Punaula enters there. There is stone mound there on the shore adjoining the wall of Panahaha and the pond of Pukoo, that is where the survey began... [Maly, translator]

Notes of Survey:

...Hem. 21° 30' Hi. 31.40 kaulahao a ka Lae One i kahakai a mai laila a Kuapa o Panahaha he umi kaulahao mai Kuapa aku ma kahakai a kahi i hoomaka ai. A mai laila aku a Kuapa ka Lokoia o Pukoo, a ma kuapa a ka makaha a mai laila, he umikumalima kaulahao, manae aku o ka makaha a ka palena mai o ke kai. Oia ka palena mai o ke kai, manae a o ka Lae One ko lalo. A o na eka o keia aina, 82 Eka... [Volume 1:198-199]

...S. 21° 30' E. 31.40 chains to Lae One (Sandy Point) on the shore, and from there to the Wall of Panahaha, ten chains from the Wall along the shore to point of commencement. From there the Wall of the Fish pond of Pukoo, and the wall to the makaha (sluice gate), is fifteen chains, east of the sluice gate and boundary on the ocean. That is the boundary on the sea; east and below Lae One. The acres of this land is 82... [Maly, translator]

Naiwa, Kona District

Notes of Survey:

1. N. 5° 32' E. true 320 feet along Ooia, Land Commission Award 7755 to Kaluaokamano, along fish pond wall;
2. N. 36° 47' W. true 77.9 feet along same fish Pond wall to cross cut on stone...
6. N. 85° 7' W. true 603.9 feet along same, to rock marked with a cross. From which the Government Survey Station Puu o Kahanui bears N. 10° 25' E. true 2184 feet; thence
7. N. 13° 39' E, True 562.3 feet along Kahanui called Punalau Pond to rock marked thus [arrow to right]... [running inland; then running towards shore]
81. S. 57° 18' W. true 267.5 feet along Kalamaula to rock marked thus [arrow to right] at end of fish pond wall on sand at sea at place called Piliwale; from which rock the Government Survey Station Kaunakakai bears S. 65° 14' E. true and Puu Luahine bears N. 61° 52' E. true;
82. Thence along shore and Fish pond walls to initial point. The direct bearing and distance being S. 83° 52' W. true 2448 feet. Area 5803 acres... [Volume 2:6-10]

Palaau, Kona District

Notes of Survey:

Apana I

Commencing on the sea beach at a rock marked with a cross at point joining Grant 2709 to Haalelea, Apana 4, and Land Commission Award 7755 to Kaluaokamano; from which rock the Government Survey Station on Puu Iloili bears North 88° 32' West true and on Puu o Kahanui North 64° 25' East true... [running *maka*]

11. S. 21° 54' E. true 1287 feet along Hoolehua, Ap. I to rock marked with a cross at edge of shore and mud flat;
12. S. 21° 54' E. true 1500 feet along Hoolehua across mud flat to old fish pond wall;
13. Thence along old fish pond wall and shore to initial point. The bearing and distance from rock marked with a cross at edge of shore and mud flat to initial point being S. 72° 44' E. true 5452 feet. Area 512 Acres. [Volume 2:28-29]



Awawaia [Wawaia], Kona District

Notes of Survey:

Commencing on the sea, at the South and Westerly corner of this land and at the corner of land called Kumueli, running from thence N. 16° W. to the river of Wawaia, thence following up said river to the foot or base of the mountain ridge called Lapaeoea; thence following up along edge or top of said ridge to its termination; thence to the mountain range above Pelekunu.

Upon the sea the boundary commencing at the corner of land called Kumueli follows along the sea to the south and Westerly corner of the fish pond belonging to Wawaia; thence following around the stone wall bounding said fish pond on its makai and easterly sides to the end of said wall; thence along the northerly side of said pond to a certain clump of Hala trees, near the North Westerly corner of said fish pond; thence N. 18° 30' W. 3 34/100 chains; thence N. 43° 30' W. 22 chains to a certain Hala tree on edge of river; thence N. 18° W, to edge of pali bounding Wawaia gulch or valley, on the east; thence following up edge of said pali 15 chains from thence to top of mountain peak called Kamoa and thence to mountain ridge above Pelekunu bounded always by land called Puaahala. Comprising an area of Two thousand four hundred acres, more or less.

W.H. Pease (Apr. 8, 1865) [Volume 1:50]

West Ohia, Kona District

Notes of Survey:

Beginning at an iron pipe on East side of stream at the South East corner of this land at high water mark at sea adjoining the land of Manawai, Land Commission Award 4600 to W.L. Hoonaulu. From this pipe the Government Survey Trig station Kalaeloa bears by true Azimuths 59° 17' 30" 3166.5 feet and Manawai Trig Station 272° 16' 30" 16830 feet and running by true azimuths:

1. 118° 21' 107.7 feet along sea shore to a pipe;
2. 360° 00' 584.0 feet along fish pond wall;
3. 60° 30' 185.0 feet along fish pond wall;
4. 94° 10' 278.0 feet along fish pond wall;
5. 113° 10' 147.0 feet along fish pond wall;
6. 135° 30' 156.0 feet along fish pond wall;
7. 153° 54' 590.1 feet along fish pond wall to a pipe along side of a red wood post on shore at high water mark;
8. 255° 45' 238.0 feet along Keawanui, Land Commission Award 2715 to Hinau along shore to a pipe... [Volume 2:123-124]

Testimonies for the Island of O'ahu

District of 'Ewa

Aiea, Ewa District

Kawana, Hoohikiia: Noho au ma Aiea, hanau au malaila i ke kau o Kamehameha I, ia Kaniaukani [ca. 1811] nei. He kamaaina au no laila, he ike kou mai kou mau kupuna mai a me kou mau makua mai o na palena o Aiea. E hoomaka ma ke kai ma kahi i kapaia o Kapuniakaia e pili ana me ke kai o William. Holo a ka maloo kahi i kapaia o Kaeo, ma ke kua mai o na hale o Doctor Ford...

...Mai laila aku a hiki i Kahalehaha a mai laila aku a hiki i Kaluakauila he kauhale kalai waa ia. Mai laila aku a hiki i Hapuu... Mai laila aku a Kulima mai laila aku a Kapukapu mai laila o Kapukakohekohe kahi i make ai o Kalanimanua, holo aku a hiki i ka pohaku i loko o ke kai i kapaia o Makaalaea. Mai laila aku a ka hui ana o ke kai me Halawa, holo pololei mai keia pohaku a kela pohaku ma ka aoao e pili ana me ko William Poomuku... [Volume No. 1:51-52]



Kawana, sworn: I live at Aiea, and was born there in the time of Kamehameha I, Kaniaukani [the return of Kamehameha I to the island of Hawai'i in ca. 1811]. I am a native there, my knowledge of the boundaries of Aiea is from my grandparents and from my parents. Beginning at the shore at the place called Kapuniakaia, adjoining the sea of William, going to where it is dry at the place called Kaeo, at the back of the houses of Doctor Ford...

[continuing *mauka* along stream shared by Waiea and Kalauao] ...from there to Kahalehaha, and from there to Kaluakauila, a house of canoe makers. from there to Hapuu... [running *makai*] From there to Kulima and from there to Kapukapu; from there to Kapukakohekohe, the place where Kalanimanua died, and on to a stone in the sea called Makaalaea. From there to where the sea of Halawa is met, and run straight from this stone to that stone on the side adjoining William Poomoku's place... [Maly, translator]

Puakai, Hoohikiia: Noho au ma Waiawa, hanau au ma Kapalama, Oahu; hoi hou mai au mai Kauai mai i ke kua [1824] ia Kahalaia a me Humehume a noho ma Kalawao. Hanau au mamua o ke Kuanohu [ca. 1816] oia ka hana ana i ka Pupu o Oahu nei a me ko Kauai. Na Kanepaiki i hai mai iau i na palena, he konohiki no Kalawao, Walehau, Kanepaahana, Hookaea, he mau konohiki lakou i ke kau o Kamehameha III.

Hoomaka ma ke kai ma Omuoiki ma ke kua aku o ka hale o Kalohi, holo a hiki i ka haupaupa he wahi i kapaia o Makaohalawa. Malaila holo a hiki i ka Mole o Kahakupohaku holo i uka mawaena o na loko elua. Kailapaia no Halawa, Kahakupohaku no Aiea a hiki i ka honua; ae mai malaila a hiki i kahi e ku ai ke ahua o ka wa kahiko... [Volume No. 1:53]

Puakai, Sworn: I live at Waiawa, I was born at Kapalama, Oahu; I returned from Kauai at the time of the battle [1824] between Kahalaia and Humehume, and lived at Kalawao. I was born before Kuanohu [ca. 1816], that is the building of the Fort of Oahu and at Kauai. Kanepaiki told me the boundaries, he was a *Konohiki* of Kalawao, Walehau, Kanepaahana, and Hookaea, were all *Konohiki* in the time of Kamehameha III.

Begin at the shore at Omuoiki, at the back of the house of Kalohi, go to the *hāpapa* [rocky flat land], a place called Makaohalawa. From there go to Mole o Kahakupohaku, go towards the uplands between the two ponds. Kailapaia is for Halawa, Kahakupohaku is for Aiea, and reach the land *honua* [area of soil]; across from there to the place where stands an altar to a god of ancient times... [Maly, translator]

Kalohi, Hoohikiia: ...Holo aku...a hiki i Kulima holo a hiki i ka Pukakohekohe holo a hiki i ka loko loa he Puuone ia. Holo mai laila a hiki i ka hui ana me Halawa, poholo ke kanaka hoi mauka no Aiea, makai no Halawa, mauka no Aiea, holo a ke lae o Kukii a hiki i Manuia... [Volume No. 1:53-54]

Kalohi, sworn: ...Go...until Kulima; then until Pukakohekohe; then to the long pond, it is a Dune-banked pond. From there go to where Halawa is met, and people enter the uplands of Aiea, the lowlands are for Halawa, the uplands for Aiea; thence to Kukii and Manuia... [Maly, translator]



Keawe, Hoohikiia: ...Ike au i na palena o Aiea a me Halawa mai kou makuakane mai... Hoomaka ma ka Mole o Kahakupohaku holo mawaena o ke kuapa o na loko elua a hiki i ka honua a hiki i na Pohakuhele, holo a hiki i ka Malaula he kula, holo a na hale o ke lii kaa holo a Laukoa, holo ma ke kuamoo he poo o ka holua, holo no ma ia lihi pali o Halawa a hiki i Uau... [Volume No. 1:54]

Keawe, sworn: I learned the boundaries of Aiea and Halawa from my father...Begin at the center of Kahakupohaku and go between the wall of the pond to the land and Pohakuhele, then to Malaula, a *kula* [dryland plain]; thence to the house of the chief Laukoa; then along the ridge of the top of the sled track; then along the edge of the cliff of Halawa to Uau... [Maly, translator]

Halawa, Ewa District

Puakai [illegible – refers reader to testimony on page 53 for Aiea]
[Volume No. 1:164]

Halawa

From Folio 164

Description:

...Beach called Kumuma'u on the west bank of a small stream; the Station point being marked by coral stones buried in the sand so as to form a cross with point thus [arrow facing up with cross piece] indicating true North, and from whence the following azimuths from a true meridian are observed: Puuloa Trig. Station [triangle] 106° 50' (distant 8220 feet); Ewa church 157° 53'; Salt Lake Station 219° 01'...

- I. N. 6° 00' E. 3510 feet along Moanalua and the Kalihi fish pond Lelepaua to East angle of the fish pond, Waiaho adjoining old salt works; thence
- II. N. 13° 50' W. 3475 feet along Moanalua crossing the Puuloa-Honolulu road to a pile of coral stones...
- XX. S. 71° 10' W. 700 feet along Aiea, to the *makai* end of the stone wall separating the fish ponds of Kailapaia (which is in Halawa) & Kahakupohaku; thence
- XXI. Along the East shore of Pearl River Bay to the sea; including the Island of Kuahua and all fish ponds now skirting this coast, and along the seashore to initial point, the line being the high water mark & fish pond walls along above mentioned shores.

Area 8712 Acres... [Volume No. 1:334-235]

Honouliuli, Ewa District

...Fishery of Hoaeae.

The testimony of the kamaainas is that the fishing extends to the depth of a man's chin, opposite this land. Mr. Robinson & Mr. Coney agree to this and that outside of that the fishing belongs to Honouliuli. The award of Hoaeae does not include the Kai. The makai, cultivated part of Hoaeae and the Kai or fishery were granted to Namauu by R. P. 4490 for M. Kekuanaoa. The survey by A. Bishop is not copied into the R. P.; the Patent being without metes & bounds.

The red line indicating the fishery of Hoaeae, conforms to Mr. Bishop's survey, and is agreed to by Mr. Robinson as representing their rights of fishing.

Next is the *Kai* of Apokaa which is a *lele* of Hanohano. The petitioner claims to within neck deep of the shore, along this, as far as to point marked "Miki" on the map but the line of this "neck deep" water has not yet been defined by survey.



Wit. from "Lae o Kane" a point in Miki, this survey follows & conforms to the boundary laid down in R. P. No. 4524 to Namahana, of Auiole, an *Ili* of Waikele. This patent describes as going to "*Kahakai*" and the plot on the patent bounds it by the "*Kai o Honouliuli*." This patent terminates at boundary of Waipio & Auiole; From thence I followed the authority of a map of Waipio & notes of Bishop (Waipio has been awarded by survey, following on the coast Pookala Point, the terminus of peninsula, not giving on the map any *Kai* to the peninsula "*Anemoku*" of Waipio, as I found none designated in the notes. From thence the line is midway of channel between this and Halawa (consented to above).

My accompanying notes of survey correspond with this plot and my testimony as given; though I have not described the fishery. My notes and survey follow the line of the shore. [Volume No. 1:245]

Kukahiko, sworn: I was born at Honouliuli, an *ahupuaa* on Oahu; born in 1810. Know boundaries, am *kamaaina* of the land and sea. I know Papapuhi. I belong there. It is a cape, the division of Hoaeae & Honouliuli. (Wit. points it out). The fishery opposite Hoaeae where a man can stand belongs to Hoaeae, and outside in deep water is Honouliuli, and so on, the shore water belongs to the land & the deep water of Honouliuli, till you come to Kalaeokane, a village of Kupalii, which is a point of division between Honouliuli & Waikele, in assessing the ancient tax, putting houses on the line so as to evade both. Thence the line ran on the edge of the shore, giving no water to Auiole. The line of Honouliuli cutting across the land to Panau. There the people would cross from side to side to escape tax of either land. There the whole *Kai* of Homakaia belonged to Waipio.

Along the coast to Pili o Kahi joining Nanakuli is all Honouliuli

X [cross-examined] by Kimo. There is a *Kai* to Kapuna, which is a portion of Honouliuli, and not of Auiole. In ancient time not a division of the fish caught by the Kolo, but latterly John li secured a division. I belonged at Honouliuli, not at Kapuna, the *Kai mauka* of Kaulu belongs to Waipio. The *Kai* below, the *Moana* [deep water] belonged to Honouliuli, heard that in shallow places it belonged to Waipio.

Hanama, sworn for petitioner: Was born at Hilo, know land of Honouliuli; have lived on it now and then a year or some months, with Haalelea. I am 37 yrs. old. I know the boundaries from Kauhi, a *kamaaina*, who died three months ago. Kauhi was a *makua* of Haalelea's, was of age of last witness. I, Kalaauala, Kamakani & Haalelea went round boundary with Kauhi, beginning at Pili o Kahi, which he pointed out as the division of Nanakuli & Honouliuli. We stopped there three days; thence we came to Waimanalo, a river on coast & stayed one day; thence to Kolina, thence to Kualakai, thence to Kanela [Keoneula], stayed there a week, thence to Keahi; thence to Puuloa; there then was a conversation with Haalelea; Kauhi told H. that $\frac{1}{2}$ the *moana* was Honouliuli & $\frac{1}{2}$ Halawa. Haalelea inquired why $\frac{1}{2}$ was *lele* to Halawa. Kauhi said that Halawa & Honouliuli were lands joining at their heads at the sea, that the *lae* of Halekahi belonged to Honouliuli & not to Halawa. This progress was made in 1856, coming to Pookala, Kauhi said that Waipio took the shallow water & Honouliuli the deep, to Kaulu; that on the West side the *Kai* belonged to Honouliuli, and on the East side to other lands, coming to Panau; the *Kai* of those places belonged to Honouliuli, that thence to Kapuna, Honouliuli anciently took the cape & thence turned. That from there to Miki was all Honouliuli, not mentioning any *Kai* for that shore.

X by Kimo. The same people went all around. They are all dead but me.
At 5 p.m. adjourned to 31st 1873

Rc'd. 31st. Present: Coney, Stanley, Judd, Kimo.



Mr. Judd submits that it is not within the jurisdiction of the Commissioner to award as territory, the sea or inland waters, defining only the land, and leaving fishing rights as appurtenances to be regulated by law.

Mr. Stanley Contra. The point is reserved for argument and consideration.

Professor Alexander gives a memorandum from Vol. 10, p. 59 of Ld. Com. awards, from the award of Keahua, where the part of the survey including the fishery was expressly excluded by the Commissioners and the party was referred to his rights at law.

Considerations respecting Award of Fishery.

The petitioner for settlement of boundaries of Honouliuli asks that the fishing rights in "Pearl River" be determined and certified.

The Attorney General advises the Commissioner not to include such rights in the certificate, confining the award to the shore line and leaving fishing rights to the provisions of the Statute.

As the duty of the Commissioner is supplementary to the work of the "Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles," determining the boundaries of what they awarded by name only, the principles and rules adopted by them, and powers granted to them, and their practice together with subsequent statutes or decisions of the Supreme Court will in respect to boundaries form a rule for the Com. of Boundaries.

The Board cite among certain questions to be decided "Water privileges and rights of piscary" page 90, Vol. II of Stat., Laws, and page 109 Vol. I, on the same clause they speak of rights of primogeniture, rights of adoption &c. It is obvious that the Board could have entertained such matters only in a collateral and incidental way, and only in making the award, not in the boundary of what was awarded, and therefore little or no authority can be derived thence to the B. C.

There is no question that the treatment of rights to fish ponds and such enclosed spaces of the edge of the sea bays &c was as land to be surveyed and awarded as dry land. There is as to such tracts covered with water, not a mere right of fishing but a sole and exclusive ownership. Sec. 384 Civil Code.

As to the general sea coast both near the shore and beyond the reef there may be rights of piscary but there are statutes which regulate them. In Oni v. Meek and in Haalelea vs. Montgomery, this is expressly held, and parties are remitted to their rights under them.

The present case is a claim of right of piscary over a navigable bay or loch perhaps unlike any other in the Kingdom, and is a claim of exclusive fishing right as to the whole of a certain branch of this loch of the part lying outside of a line "chin deep" opposite the other lands situated on this branch. It is distinguishable from the right claimed and by statute given to Konohikis with certain [Volume No. 1:247] prescribed reservations. Civil Code Sec. 387-92 being a claim as a private and exclusive fishing as completely as that within the "chin deep" line, is claimed for the lands adjacent... [Volume No. 1:248]

[Attached between pages 247-248]

Copy from Award of Keahua, Vol. 10, p. 59

Apana 6 i Kai

O keia apana 6 ua hooleia keia ana ana i ke Kai, a e hoopania. Aka e hiki no ke kii i ia e like me ke Kanawai. Aole nae hiki ke hookoia i keia apana me ke ano kuleana aina.

Ma ke kauohaia ana mai i Nailiili – Kak.



Olelo Hoo [illegible]

O Ke kai pono [?] o Keia aina i oleloia nona. Aole e hiki ke hooko aku i ke kai e like me ka hooko ana I ka aina maoli, aka e hiki no ia Kahanaumaikai ke koho i ia hookahi iloko o ia Kai e like me ke Kanawai, a e hiki no hoi ke hoomalu i kue ole i ke ano nui o na Kanawai. Sept. 22 1852

Parcel 6, Fishery

The survey of parcel 6, Ocean is denied, and closed. But as set forth in the Law, fish may be taken. This parcel cannot be confirmed as a private property right.

Decision

The ocean [right] of this land of which he speaks. The ocean cannot be confirmed, as would be a true land, but Kahanaumaikai can select one fish in the ocean, as set forth in the Law, and can reserve such without opposing the intent of the Law. [Maly, translator]

[Volume No. 1:248 continued]

I find in repeated instances that the Board declined to award and define piscary rights, leaving parties to their rights under general statutes, e.g. in the award to Keahua, Vol. 10, p. 59, where the fishing right was surveyed and included in the land asked for, the Board expressly refused to award this portion of the survey, remitting the claimant to the law, endorsing this refusal both on the notes of survey in the award and on the accompanying plot, and no instances of a customary practice are shown to me.

Upon due consideration of the premise, I decline to award the fishery of Honouliuli as a right or as territory, but deeming it of importance that all rights depending on *kamaaina* testimony be now settled as far as may be, and knowing of no better place than the records of the boundary commissioner for the preservation of such claims, I take the testimony offered on the subject and make such a supplementary finding as such testimony warrants... [Volume No. 1:248]

Fishing Right of Honouliuli in Pearl Loch

For reasons set forth at large in the record of the Commissioner, the Fishing Right is not awarded in the body of the certificate of boundaries, but the finding of the Commissioner in the testimony presented, as well as by the assent of parties adjacent and in interest is set forth in this supplement as follows, to wit.

The Fishing Right of Honouliuli covers the whole of "West Loch," with the reservation to Hoaeae, Waikele (Except the *Ili* of Auiole) and Waipio of the fishing opposite each to where the water is "chin deep" to a man, say five and one half feet deep, also cutting off the bight or inlet where the boundary of Waipio and Waikele cuts across from [] to Kaulu constituting the "Fishery of Hoomakaia." The channel at the entrance of the Loch, as far up as Pookala point is divided equally between Honouliuli & Halawa... [Volume No. 1:250]

Kaholona, Ili of Manana, Ewa District

...Kapu in concurrence with Kelama says, Kaholona is a *Ku* of Manana, and belongs to Gov'r. Kanoa. It comprises 11 pieces, viz.:

1. The fishing right is called Kaholona – from Pohaku o Kane to the Makahapuaa o Paaaoa...
3. Kalokoeli, a fish pond taro patch.
4. Palali, a fish pond & taro patch surrounded by Paaaoa & Muliwai o Keahua...
6. Mana – 1 *loi* fishpond joins Opukaulu (Ford's)... [Volume No. 1:219]



...1. The Fishing Rights called Kaholona. This extends along the South and West shores from Pohakuokane to the Makahapuaa or Southwest angle of Loko Paoao...

...3. Kalokoeli, a fish pond and taro patch. Beginning at the fence at South end of small *loko* thence:

1. S. 63° W. 73 feet along small loko of Kahanaumaikai.
2. N. 36° W. 94 feet along small *loko* of Kahanaumaikai.
3. S. 69° W. 137 feet along L. C. A. 5873, Ap. 2 of Kahanaumaikai...
7. S. 53° E. 55 feet along L. C. A. 9150, Ap. 1, Loko Paoao of Kupa.
8. S. 10° E. 115 feet along fence of L. C. A. 9150, Ap. 1...
...to the initial point containing an area of 3.67 acres. [Volume 3:51-52]

4. Palali, a "fish pond and taro patch."

Beginning at the northeast angle of Loko Paoao thence:

1. N. 83° E. 125 feet along Ke[illegible]ki of C. Kanaina.
2. S. 77° E. 295 feet along Loko Hiiakaluna, L.C.A. 7447, Ap. 3 of Kuheleloa...
6. S. 53° E. 103 feet along L.C.A. 5873, Ap. 2 to Kahamaumakai.
7. S. 75° W. 118 feet along Loko Paoao, L.C.A. 9150, Ap. 1.
8. N. 51° W. 81 feet along Loko Paoao, L.C.A. 9150, Ap. 1.
9. N. 24° W. 517 feet along Loko Paoao, L.C.A. 9150, Ap. 1;
to the initial point, containing an area of 2.55 acres...

...6. Mana, "One *loi* and fish pond," now rice land and swamp.

Beginning at the northwest angle of Kaheiluna... to the initial point, containing an area of 4.30 acres... [Volume 3:51-53]

Muliwai, Ili Ku of Manana, Ewa District

Muliwai is one of the sundry lands applied for by C. Kanaina in general petition, see 175 b...

8. Muliwai, the river—fish right—as far as two certain cocoanuts... [Volume No. 2:302]

Hanohano an Ili & Apokaa a Lele of Hanohano; Waikele, Ewa District

II. Fish ponds of Kaakuu and Poukamumu.

Beginning at the N.W. corner of the Kaakuu fish pond, adjoining the Pouhala fish pond, the boundary runs:

1. S. 0° 5' E. true bearing 668 feet along outer wall of Kaakuu fish pond to its S.W. corner; thence
2. S, 7° 42' E. true 287 feet along outer wall of Poukamumu;
3. N. 77° 15' E. true 246 feet along Poukamumu fish pond;
4. N. 46° 03' E. true 88 feet along Poukamumu fish pond;
5. N. 28° 11' W. true 102 feet along Poukamumu fish pond;
6. N. 36° 46' E. true 170 feet along Kaakuu fish pond;
7. N. 53° 40' W. true 41 feet along Kaakuu fish pond;
8. Thence along the stone wall separating the Kaakuu from the Maaha fish pond, to its junction with the wall of the Pouhala fish pond. N. 17° 40' W. true 585 feet; thence
9. N. 88° 19' West 100 feet along the wall separating Kaakuu from Pouhala fish pond to place of beginning.
Area 5 86/100 Acres. [Volume No. 2:342]

III. Apokaa, a Lele of Hanohano

Beginning at a rock on the shore adjoining Hoaeae, R.P. 4490, the boundary runs:

1. N. 13° 22' W. true 440 feet along fence along Hoaeae;
2. N. 23° 29' W. true 2542 feet to Pohaku mokomoko adjoining Government Road



3. N. 61° 28' E. true 648 feet along stone wall adjoining Government Road to corner of stone walls, along Pouhala o Luluhiwalani, R.P. 4488;
4. S. 61° 20' E. (magnetic) 1210 feet true, S. 51° ¾ E. along Crown Land of Pouhalakai;
5. Magnetic S. 81° E. 744 feet along Pouhalakai;
6. Magnetic S. 86° E. 896 feet along Pouhalakai;
7. Magnetic S. 32° E. 381 feet along Pouhalakai;
8. Magnetic S. 24 1/2° E. 139 feet along Pouhalakai;
9. Magnetic S. 6 1/2° W. 113 feet along Pouhalakai;
10. Magnetic S. 4° E. 153 feet along Pouhalakai to a marked rock in the Kuapa or Sea wall of Loko Pouhala; thence along the shore to place of beginning.

The *kuleana* of Puolohinalo being excluded.
Area 75 6/10 acres, more or less... [Volume No. 2:343]

Kapakahi, Ili of Waikele, Ewa

Kaohimauna, sworn: Am well acquainted in this district. This land consists of several pieces.

The river belongs to Kapakahi from the head of it down to the wall called Pahumu. Along the river adjoining Paiwa are sundry fish ponds belonging to Kapakahi. I don't know how many. Follow the river down; there is an *apana* joining Kanupo, joining Aualii on *mauka* side, and a *lele* of the *ahupuua* called Kaeleku, also Onio.

Then there is a larger piece below, joining Kaohai — also joins Waipio (on N.E.) by the fish pond Aialii, a part of Kapakahi joins Waipio – runs up into Waipio.

Kapakahi extends in one piece, which is the principal one from Aualii to Kaohai. There is a loko on the other side of the river, of Kapakahi, bounded by Loko Puhau, Ohua, the river.

Wit. sums up as follows — pieces, viz.:

1. The river. 2. The fish ponds in Paiwa. 3. The piece from Aualii to Kaohai, adjoining the *Ahupuua*. 4. The pond of Aialii, bounded by Kaohai & Waipio, 5. The *loko*, outer bank of river, joining Ohua & Puhau.... [Volume No. 2:306-307]

Ohua, Ili of Waikele. Ewa District

Kaii (w.), Hoohikiia: ...Ua noho Konohiki au me kau kane o Naoloa mahope iho o ke kaua ana ia Humehume nei ma ka A.D.1820 na Kahoili i kuhikuhi mai iau a me kau kane i na palena Ohua. He kamaaina kahiko loa ia no ia aina. A penei na palena.

E hoomaka ana mauka mai ma ka muliwai mauka iho o na Niu kulua... Maila aku a hiki i ke kahi i hui ai o Ohua, Paahao, Pouhala, holo aku no a pili i ka auwai o Pouhala holo no mai laila aku ua kaawale no na palena ma ke kuauna lepo a pili me ka loko i kapaia o Mokuula, holo no ma kona kuauna a ma ke kahi hikina. Alaila holo a ka muliwai o ka wai aku no Kapakahi, maloo mai no Ohua holo no ma ia lihi muliwai a hiki i kahi e hoomaka ai. [Volume No. 1:100]

Apana 2. He Loko ia. E hoomaka ana kau ike ma ka aoao mauka e pili ana me Kaaukuu. Alaila, holo i kai, e ike ia no na palena ma na kuauna lepo e hoopuni ana a puni ka loko.

Apana 3. He Loko o Pouhala iki. Ua like no na palena o keia Loko me ko ka apana 2, ua hoopuni ia na palena me na kuauna lepo. [Volume No. 1:100-101]



Kaii (w.), sworn: I and my husband, Naoloa, were the *Konohiki*, after the battle of Humehume in the year A.D. 1820 [in 1824], Kahoili is the one who showed me and my husband the boundaries of Ohua. He was an old native of the lands. The boundaries are thus:

Beginning on the upland side of the estuary (*muliwai*), by the two coconut trees... from there to the corner where Ohua, Paahao and Pouhala meet, then along the water channel of Pouhala, along there where the boundary is marked by an earthen wall (*kuauna lepo*) and adjoining the pond called Mokuula, run along its wall to the eastern corner. Then run to the *muliwai*, the water is for Kapakahi, and the dry side is for Ohua; run along the edge of the *muliwai* to the point of commencement.

Parcel 2. A Fish pond. My understanding is that it begins on the upland side adjoining Kaaukuu. Then runs in the sea, its boundaries are known by the earthen walls that surround the pond.

Parcel 3. Pouhala iki Pond. The boundaries are like those of the Pond in parcel 2, it is surrounded by an earthen wall... [Maly, translator]

Kaumeliula, Hoohikiia: ...Apana 2 & 3. He mau Loko ia.

Ua hoopuni ia me na kuauna lepo keia mau Apana e like me ke kii a Kaelemakule e waiho nei i mua ou. [Volume No. 1:101]

Kaumeliula, Sworn: ...Parcels 2 & 3. Fish ponds. Parcels surrounded by earthen walls, just as in the map of Kaelemakule that is before you. [Maly, translator]

Letter of John Kamauku, Applicant:

O ka poe pili ma kona mau aoao o ka Ili o Kapakahi, ka mea nona ka lele o Paahao, Kahapuupuu, Pouhala, Kaaukuu, Kulaalamihī & kahawai o Kanupoo...

Those that adjoin its sides are the *ili* of Kapakahi, those who have the *lele* of Paahao, Kahapuupuu, Pouhala, Kaaukuu, Kulaalamihī & and the stream of Kanupoo...

[Notes of Survey]

...Parcel 2. Pond of Maaha in the Ili of Ohua.

Beginning on the Eastern corner of this land, run:

North 60° West 3.20 chains along Kahapuupuu

South 85° West 7.00

South 43° West .70

South 30° East 7.50

South 40° East .50

South 57° East 1.30

North 65° East .60

North 33° East 8.15

To the beginning. 5 8/100 Acres.

Parcel 3. Pond of Pouhala iki in the Ili of Ohua.

Beginning on the Southern corner and run:



North 32° West 1.80 chains adjoining Pouhalanui

North 27° East 1.00 chains

North 64° East 4.00

South 38° East 2.00

South 50° West 1.00

South 61° West 4.00

To the beginning. 1 10/100 Eka... [Volume No. 1:103-105; Maly, translator]

Paahao, Ili of Waikele, Ewa District

...Apana 2. Lokoia i Kapaia Kukapoalani – ua pili keia loko me Pouhala ame Ohua, o na kuauna lepo e hoopuni ana, oia no na palena.

Apana 3. Loko ia i Kapaia o Mokuulaiki e pili ana no me Mokuula Nui, o na kuauna lepo e hoopuni ana, oia no na palena.

Apana 4. Loko ia i Kapaia o Kulaalamihi, o na kuauna no e hoopuni ana oia no na palena.

Paele: kamaaina au no Waikele, ua hanau ia wau malaila i ka hana ia ana o ka Papu oia o Kekuanohu i ke au o Kamehameha I, ua ike au i ka Ili o Pahao, a me kona mau palena a me na palena o na Lele he mau Loko ia ekolu.

Hoomaka ma ka pohaku nui ma ke kahawai e pili ana me Pouhala, a me ka Ili aina o "Paiwa." Alaila pii mai he wahi paakea a kau iluna; alaila holo pili me Pouhala a loa mai ka hale, holo pololei no a hiki i ka hui ana o Pouhala Ohua ame Pahao; alaila holo i uka ma ke alo iho o na hale a me ka hale pule Farani; holo a iho i ka aina kalo, holo no ma ke Kuauna a hiki i ka Muliwai, holo no ma ia lihi Kahawai a hiki i ka hoomaka ana. Viz. The rock "Puniaohua"

Apana 2. Loko ia o Mokuulaiki

Apana 3. Loko ia o Kukapoalani

Apana 4. Loko ia o Kulaalamihi.

Ua hoopuni ia keia mau Loko ia e kuauna lepo, oia no na palena.

The survey of land as claimed, made by Kaelemakule is filed. [Volume No. 1:294]

Parcel 2. Fish pond called Kukapoalani, this fish pond adjoins Pouhala and Ohua, the earthen walls surrounding it are the boundaries.

Parcel 3. Fish pond called Mokuulaiki, adjoining Mokuula Nui, the earthen walls surround it on all boundaries.

Parcel 4. Fish pond called Kulaalamihi, the earthen walls surround it on all boundaries.

Paele: I am a native of Waikele, I was born there when the fort Kekuanohu was made in the time of Kamehameha I [ca. 1816]. I know the *ili* of Paahao and its boundaries, and the boundaries of the lele parcels which are three Fish ponds.

Begin at the large stone along the stream adjoining Pouhala and the *ili* land of "Paiwa." Then rise up to a place of white stone (*wahi paakea*) above; then run along Pouhala till you get to the house; go straight until Pouhala, Ohua and Paahao meet; then go to up along the side of the houses and the



Catholic church; go below the taro land; go along the wall to the estuary; go along the edge of the stream to the point of commencement. Viz. The rock "Puniaohua"

Parcel 2. Fish Pond of Mokuulaiki.

Parcel 3. Fish Pond of Kukapoalani.

Parcel 4. Fish Pond of Kulaalamihi.

All of these ponds are surrounded by the earthen wall, those are the boundaries... [Maly, translator]

...Paele, sworn: Note read to witness, his testimony as recorded by the late Commissioner W.P., Kamakau, which he says is correct.

Says in ancient times the taro lands and the *kai* were valued, but the *kula* land was of little or no account, but now the *kula* is valuable... [Volume No. 2:295]

Mokuumeume (Northern Half) of Island, Waimalu, Ewa District

Kekaina, Sworn says: I live at Waimalu, Ewa, Oahu; was born there and taken to Puuloa when eight years old; later went to Lahainaluna Seminary and graduated there in 1854; when I was about twenty years old; then went back to Waimalu and have lived there since 1854. I have known Mokuumeume all the time; have been there for melons and fishing; half the island was owned by the Government, and half by Kekauonohi. When we got melons or fished on Kekauonohi's half, we gave her half of what we got. I know boundary between two halves of the island. The half towards Waialua belonged to Kekauonohi; the half towards Honolulu belonged to the Government. Kekauonohi got her half through her parents and grandparents, in connection with the land of Waimalu. It was a *Lele* of Waimalu. The eastern half is a *Lele* of an *Ili* in Kalauao, called Kuhailimoa (Looks at Plan on file herein). The boundary between the two halves of the island was as indicated in this plan... [Volume 3:17]

Waieli, Ili of Waimalu, Ewa District

Ke Ana o ke Kai.

E hoomaka ana ma ke kihi mua i hoomaka ai keia aina. A holo: Hema 28° Komohana 8 kaulahao ma ke Kai o Kalauao a hiki i ka pau ana o ka papau 6, kapuai i ka hohonu i ka wa kai piha. Alaila hoi hou ma ke kihi i hoomakai. Alaila holo:

Akau 77° Hik. 823 pauku

Hema 27° Hik. 323 pauku

Hema 68° Hik. 320 pauku ma Kapaakea Loko

Hema 9° Hik. 640 pauku ma ke Kai o Aholoa a i ka pau ana o ka papau 6 kapuai ka hohonu. Alaila holo malaila a i ka pau ana o ka holo mua ana

Malaila 7 ½ Eka Kai... [Volume 1:114]

Survey of the Sea.

Beginning at the first corner where this land begins. And go: South 28° West 8 chains along the Sea of Kalauao to the end of the shallow water at 6 feet in depth, at the time of high tide. Then go again to the point of commencement. Then go:

North 77° E.. 823 links.

South 27° E. 323 links.

South 68° E. 320 Links along Kapaakea Pond.

South 9° E. 640 links along the Sea of Ahaloa to where the shallow water



ends at 6 feet depth. Then go from there to where one cannot go further.
There being 7 ½ Acres of Sea... [Maly, translator]

Waieli.

...3. Description of Fishery.

Beginning at a point on the sea shore at boundary between Waieli and Kalauao said point being 6923.85 feet North and 13380.80 feet West of the Government Survey Station Salt Lake and running as follows by true azimuths:

1. 38° 00' 528.0 feet to a depth of six (6') feet of water at high tide; thence from initial point:
2. 113° 00' 543.0 feet along sea shore;
3. 37° 00' 213.2 feet along Kapaakea pond;
4. 78° 00' 211.2 feet along Kapaakea pond;
5. 1° 00' 422.4 feet along the sea of Ahaloa to a depth of six (6') feet of water at high tide and containing an area of 7.50 acres... Honolulu, February 12th 1914... [Volume 3:89-90]

Homaikaia, Ili of Waipio, Ewa District

Application of Kahikimua, widow of Kamoikeehuehu:

That the *Ahupuaa* of Waipio on said island of Oahu was granted to the Honorable John Ii, deceased by Land Commission Award No. 8241, a patent to which No. 5731 was got out on the [] April 1875, that by his last will dated, the 28th day of April A.D. 1870, he devised to his brother, J. Komoikeehuehu, the *Ili* of Homaikaia inside of the said *Ahupuaa* of Waipio, consisting of two Apanas, the first taro land comprising 28 92/100 acres and having the following lands adjoining, viz.: Namooelua, Papohaku, Kalualaea, Kanaloa, and Waikele; and the second *Kula* and Fishery comprising 70 acres; both of which are more particularly described in the annexed survey made by F. Pahia in February 1879 in accordance with the boundaries located by an old *Kamaaina*, Huluhulu (kane); that the said Komoikeehuehu died intestate and leaving no kin... [Volume No. 1:400]

[Application dismissed as it is within the larger holdings of the John Ii Estate, and thus settled under Royal Patent No. 5372].

District of Kona

Kahauiki, Ili of Honolulu

Kainapu, sworn, states: ...a short distance to a *Kalo* patch called "Kapalaalaea;" then *makai* along Nahinu's *kuleana* to sea; that land belongs to me now; then along the fish pond wall of "Wele" to Island of Mokumoa along *mauka* side of Mokumoa to fish pond of Kahikapu [also written Kaikikapu]; then along the wall to a big rock marked with a X... [Volume 2:108-109]

Bolabola, sworn, states: ...*makai* to patch called "Kapalaalaea;" then to sea to a point called "Puukapina;" then along pond wall of "Wele" to "Mokumoa;" then to boundary of "Moanalua" along *mauka* side of Island, then along wall between "Kahikapu" and "Wele" ponds to large rock, Kamomona, belongs to Kahauiki... [Volume 2:109]

Amona, sworn, states: ...*makai*, then turns to Kapalaalaea, then to sea; then along Wele wall to Mokumoa, along *mauka* side of Island along wall dividing Wele and Kahikapu, then *mauka* up Moanalua boundary... [Volume 2:109]

Notes of Survey:

Commencing at a large rock marked with a cross in the stone wall between the fish ponds of Weli [also written Wele] and Kahikapu, from which rock the Government Survey Station Hauiki bears N. 68° 28' E. true 5348 feet and Mokauea Station bears N. 86° 55' E. true 8283 feet and running:



1. N. 26° 15' E. true 415.8 feet along Moanalua;
2. N. 11° 5' E. true 1168.2 feet along Moanalua to stone on *mauka* side of Government road marked thus [staff with ball on top - *puloulou*] and called Pohakuaukai;
3. N. 1° 15' E. true 1254 feet along Moanalua;
19. S. 55° 22' W. true 397 feet along same to angle of fish pond wall;
20. Thence along the Wall of Weli pond to the Island of Mokumoa and along the mauka side of that Island to the wall between Wele and Kahikapu ponds and along that wall to initial point. [Volume 2:111-112]

Kalawahine (of Haalelea), Ili of Honolulu, Kona District

C.J. Lyons, sworn for Petitioner: Am a surveyor. Surveyed portion of Kalawahine, all that is supposed to remain to the *Konohiki*, Mrs. Levi Haalelea. The tract of land called Iwilei is a part of Kalawahine. It is the portion on the sea coast, adjoining Kahololoa on the West. In making the survey I had some natives living on the land for guides, and took their united testimony... The survey, marked A, begins at centre of a well established coral rock and comes down the middle of an old auwai; thence on old *kuauna* to fish pond, following Kekai's patent; then follows outside wall of pond to Sumners board fence (the pond belonging to His late Majesty) where it meets Sumners boundary. Kahololoa, the award of which I followed... The line along said island to the West corner is in conformity to the Kahololoa award. Thence along a portion of the sea called Molokahana, following foundation of an ancient fish pond wall. (Molokahana is said to belong to W.L. Moehonua.) To where it joins the wall of fish pond, Kuwili; well defined; thence along that wall to corner of Kaia's *kuleana*... [Volume No. 1:221-222]

Puunui, Lele of Honolulu, Kona District

Application of Kapolei:

...O ka mea nona ka inoa malalo iho ka nonoi aku nei e hooponopono ia na palena o ka Lele o Puunui. He elua Loko ia me ka aina Hana Paakai ma Kakaako, Honolulu, Oahu, a penei na palena e like me ke ana a J. W. Makalena, e waiho pu ia aku nei me keia palapala hoopii... [Volume No. 2:182]

...The one whose name is below asks that the boundaries of the *lele* of Puunui be confirmed. There are two Fish ponds and Salt Making Lands at Kakaako, Honolulu, Oahu, and the boundaries are as surveyed by J.W. Makalena, and set forth in this application... [Maly, translator]

Notes of Survey:

Elua Loko ia me ka aina Hana Paakai ma Kakaako, Lele o Puunui, Honolulu, Oahu.

E hoomaka i ke ana ma ke kahi Hikina o keia apana, ke kahi Hikina hoi o ka Loko o Ahua, e pili ana i ke kuleana o Kukao a me na Loko o Kaa no Aupuni, a holo aku:

Hema 52° 30 Kom. 4 kaulahao ma Kuauna me ko Kukao kuleana;

Hema 25° Hik. 223 pauku ma Kuauna;

Hema 62° Kom. 432 pauku ma ka auwai me Kuaimeki;

Akau 81° 30 Kom. 330 pauku ma Kuaimeki a pili i Kalokoeli;

Akau 45° Kom. 761 pauku ma Kalokoeli a pili i ka auwai;

Akau 46° 30 Hik. 448 pauku;

Akau 61° 30 Hik. 582 pauku ma ka lihi Hikina o ka auwai a hiki i na Loko o Kaa;

Hema 53° 30 Hik. 234 pauku;

Akau 53° Hik. 72 pauku;

Hema 43° 30 H. 470 pauku ma ka auwai a hiki i ke kahi i hoomakai;

Malaila 9 ½ Eka.

J. W. Makalena, Ana Aina, Honolulu, Aug. 14th 1873. [Volume No. 1:182-183]



Two Fish Ponds, and Salt Making Land at Kakaako, Lele of Puunui, Honolulu, Oahu.

Beginning on the eastern corner of this parcel, the eastern corner of the Pond of Ahua, adjoining the *kuleana* of Kukao and the Pond of Kaa belonging to the Government, and running:

South 52° 30 West 4 chains along the *Kuauna* (wall-bank) and Kukao's land;

South 25° East 223 links along the *Kuauna*;

South 62° West 432 links along the water channel and Kuaimeki's;

North 81° 30 West 330 links along Kuaimeki and adjoining Kalokoeli;

North 45° West 761 links along Kalokoeli and adjoining the water channel;

North 46° 30 East 448 links;

North 61° 30 East 582 links along the Eastern edge of the water channel to Kaa Pond; South 53° 30 East 234 links;

North 53° East 72 links;

South 43° 30 East 470 links on the water channel to the point of commencement.

There being 9 ½ Acres. [Maly, translator]

Iwiula, sworn: ...I know this Lele of Puunui; it is *makai* of Honolulu on the salt making ground... [Volume No. 1: 183]

Kai o Kaliawa (Fishery of Kaliawa), Kalihi, Kona District

In the Matter of the Boundaries of the Fishery at Kalihi, Oahu, known as the Kai o Kaliawa. This matter came on for hearing before William Foster, Commission of Boundaries for the First Judicial Circuit, at the Police Court Room in Honolulu, Oahu, on Tuesday, the 21st day of January 1890, at 1 o'clock p.m.

Petition of Samuel M. Damon was filed on January 13, 1890, alleging that he is the owner of a certain Fishery, known as the "Kai o Kaliawa," situated in Kalihi, Oahu, being a portion of the *Ili* of Kaliawa and of the lands contained and described in Land Commission Award 818 to the Heirs of George Beckley; the metes and bounds whereof were appended to said petition, marked Exhibit A and that the names of the persons claiming lands and fish ponds adjoining said fishery are Charles Lucas, representing the Heirs of Alexander Adams: the trustees of His Majesty's Estate; Allen Herbert and Gilbert Waller...

...A map of the Kaliawa fishery is produced by Petitioner.

Lokana, sworn, examined by Mr. Laukea, says: I live at Kalihi-waena; know the sea-fishery of Honoku, belonging to His Majesty. I have seen the survey, filed by Mr. Damon, of the Boundaries of Kaliawa. The boundaries, as claimed on the survey and map, are correct. I know all the lands and the points on the map. The names on the map are right. I have known the place since death of Kamehameha III.

Keamahu (w.), sworn, says, (examined by Mr. Rosa): I know the fishery of Kaliawa. Am a *kamaaina* there; have been there since 1819. My sister married Waialua, a fisherman. Afterwards I was *Konohiki* under Kaleiluhiole, who was a *Konohiki* of Kamehameha V. He had control of the Kaliawa Fishery. Kahuiku, my father-in-law, pointed out to me the boundaries of Kaliawa, before he died in 1853. It begins at Ka Poo ka Mahina, just inside



breakers on Honolulu side; comes up to a pile of rocks, *Ahu Pohaku*, which is there now; goes to a small ditch called Waiololi; then goes by an island called Kahakaaulana, which belongs to *Ahupuaa* of Mokauea; then runs to a sand hill called Kalaeunaoa; then to a little hole in edge of reef, called Kaluapuhi; then to a sand hill called Kalaeone; then to corner of Pahouiki fish pond, belonging to John li; then to Pahounui, another pond; then to Pohakukiei; then to gate of fish pond of Apili; then to gate of fish pond called Makaaa; then it crosses over to a stone on the boundary of Kaliawa; then along Waller's fence to the *makaha* of Weli pond; then it goes to Kalaeokaoki, a ledge of rocks near Island of Mokuoni, & then to a harbor called Ahu Kahookomowaa, the harbor to the fishery of Keehi; then to Pupuawa, a drain; then to Keahukumano, a pile of rocks, still standing; then to Hiiwai o Keehi; from there to Aweowonui, a drain; From there to rock of Kahuainana; thence to Lae o ka iki, in breakers.

These were the boundaries in Kaleiluhiole's time, and also in Ruth's. Sometimes the Mokauea fishermen go over into Kaliawa, and sometimes the Kaliawa men go over into Mokauea, but the boundaries are well understood.

Lama (w.), sworn, examined by Mr. Rosa, says: My husband was Kilinahe, a chief, one of Kanaina's heirs, now dead. I know boundary of Kaliawa; I was *Konohiki* with my foster father Kahunahana. I am daughter of Ohule (k.), who is now old, blind and very feeble. He was *Konohiki* from Kahunahana. Ohule and Kahunahana told me the boundaries of Kaliawa and I was born there. Kilinahe, my husband, was *Konohiki* of Moanalua, the adjoining land. Ohule is so aged and feeble that he has to stay in the house. The boundaries of Kaliawa were pointed out to Fairweather, Beckley's brother-in-law, by Kahunahana, Ohule and Maka; I was present; I was 14 years old then and unmarried. I was born when chiefs were working salt at Moanalua, the first time that salt was known at Alia paakai.

Poomahina is first boundary on Honolulu side; thence to a pile of rocks ; then to Waiololi; from there to Kalaeunaoa, crossing Kahakaaulana; then to Kaluapuhi, a *hiwai*; thence to Kalaeone; from Kaluapuhi to Kaluapuhinui, another *hiwai*; then to Kalaeone; then to wall of Pahouiki, a fish pond; thence to Mokulau, a mound between Pahouiki and Pahounui; then along wall of Pahounui to Halii, the boundary between Pahounui and Apili; thence to Makaaa, adjoining Apili; then to Makukaloo, a sand mound where some of my relatives are buried, which separates Waller from the sea of Kaliawa; thence to Ilinui; that is the boundary between Kaliawa and Moanalua; thence to Kalaaukie; then to Kalaenahaweli, where they catch the fish of Keehi; thence to Kalaeokaoki; thence to Ke Ahu Kumano; otherwise Ke Ahu Kehookomowaa; thence to Hiiwai Nui then to Moleokauhola; Pupuawa adjoins. All these places are known as Moleokauhola, in the breakers; then to Namoku, otherwise known as Lae o Keiki, in the breakers.

Certificate of Boundaries

...Wherefore I do hereby certify that the Boundaries of said Fishery of Kaliawa are as follows: viz.:

Beginning at a point in breakers on East side of channel, at a point called "Ka Poo ka Mahina." Thence running by local magnetic meridians:

N. 2° 00' W. 1150 feet along Mokauea Fishery to an *Ahupohaku*, from which North end of ridge on main house of Kahakaaulana bears:

N. 2° 00' W. and Moanalua Trig. Station N. 22° 25' W.;

Thence running N. 5° 15' E. 1520 feet to Waiololi;

N. 21° 00' W. 185 feet, along shore of Kahakaaulana;

N. 38° 30' W. 300 feet, along shore of Kahakaaulana;

N. 5° 45' W. 835 feet to Kalaeunaoa;

N. 13° 30' E. 2180 feet to Hiiwaiiki, (at 850 feet passing place called Kaluapuhi):



N. 1° 45' W. 395 feet to Kaluapuhinui;
 S. 58° 00' W. 465 feet to Kalaeone;
 N. 5° 15' W. 725 feet to wall of Pahou iki fish pond;
 Thence around outside edges of walls of Pahou iki, Pahou nui and Apili ponds, to the North corner of Apili pond;
 Thence N. 54° 00' W. 370 feet;
 N. 3° 45' E. 1050 feet to Makaha (Sluice gate) of Weli pond;
 S. 37° 20' E. 820 feet;
 S. 46° 30' W. 1180 feet to Ka lae o Kaoki;
 S. 21° 50' W. 2120 feet to Ahu Kahookomowaa;
 S. 22° 00' E. 1660 feet to Pupuawa, and following between these points the edge of rocky ledges, left bare at low water;
 S. 30° 10' E. 1620 feet to Keahukumano;
 S. 1° 40' E. 2250 feet to Hiiwai o Keehi, from which point the North end of ridge of main house on Kahakaaulana bears S. 83° 15' E. and North end of ridge of main house on Mokuofo bears S. 69° 15' W.;
 Thence S. 9° 00' E. 870 feet to Kalaeone;
 N. 20° 45' W. 1675 feet to Kahuainana awalua;
 S. 24° 30' W. 2130 feet to Lae o ka iki in breakers on West side of channel;
 Thence N. 60° 30' E. 2350 feet to the initial point.
 Area 290 acres, a little more or less... 21st day of January A.D. 1890... [Volume 3:3-6]

Kaluaopulu, Ili of Kalihi, Kona District

...Apana 2.

Niau ma ka Hikina, Kula o Apili me ka Pa aina o Adams ma ka Akau, Loko o Kaunapo ma ke Komohana, Kula o Niau ma ka Hema... [Volume No. 1:191]

...Parcel 2. Niau is on the East, the flat lands of Apili and the Division Wall of Adams is on the North, the Pond of Kaunapo is on the West, the flat land of Niau is on the South... [Maly, translator]

...Notes of Survey:

Apana 1. Loko o Pahouiki me ke kula e pili ana.

E hoomaka ana ma ke kahi Komohana o ka Loko Pahouiki ma ke kiko (point) e loa ai ka piko o kahi Kualono (ma ka Akau iki o Kaala Mts.);

Akau 59° 13 Kom. a e loaai i ka pali kapaia Keanakamani (ma ka Akau iki o ka puu ulaula);

Akau 54° 30' Hik. ma ka pohaku P a e holo ana; Akau 74° 00' Hik. 6.21 Kaulahao, e holo ana ma ka aoao Akau o ke Kuapa, e kaawale ai na Loko elua; Alaila: Hema 81° 00' Hik. 3.27 kaulahao a hiki i ka pohaku X...

...Hema 18° 00' Kom. 0.62 Kaul. a hiki i ka palena kai nui (high water), ma uka iki o na kaha XX alaila holo hou;

Hema 64° Kom. 1.95 Kaul. ma kuapa o Pahouiki; alaila

Akau 53° 30' Kom. 8.27 Kaul. e oki ana i ka loko, a kau i kuapa, ma ka pau ana o 3.27 Kaul. ke kiko kaawale loa iloko he 0.90 Kaul. (offset) i ka lima hema a i ka palena oiaio, alaila, holo hou;

Akau 17° 00' Kom. 8.04 Kaul. e oki ana i ka loko a kahi i hoomaka ai.

He kanaha Pauku he kaawale oia loa iloko o keia hapa Ili 39 Eka... [Volume No. 1:346-349]

Parcel 1. Pond of Pahouiki and the adjoining flat lands.

Beginning at the Western corner of the Pond Pahouiki, and the point from where a certain mountain peak (on the North of Kaala Mtns.) bears North



59° 13 West and where seen is the place called Keanakamani (on the North below the red hill); North 54° 30' East to the stone (marked) P and running; North 74° 00' East 6.21 Chains, running on the North side of the Kuapa (Pond wall), that divides the two Ponds; Then South 81° 00' East 3.27 Chains to a stone (marked) X... ..South 18° 00' West 0.62 Chains to the boundary of the high water below the marks XX then run again; South 64° West 1.95 Chains on the pond wall of Pahouiki; then North 53° 30' West 8.27 Chains across the pond, and onto the pond wall, ending at 3.27 Chains, the point set inside 0.90 chains (offset) on the left hand side of the true boundary, then run again; North 17° 00' West 8.04 Chains cutting across the pond to the point of commencement. There are forty Links set apart in this portion of the *ili*, 39 Acres... [Maly, translator]

Kapalama, Kona District

S. Bishop, sworn, states: ...the survey notes of fishery were taken from Brown's map & A. Bishop's map; it is carefully defined on Bishop's map made a little after 1850; the fish pond is also defined as *lele* of Kapalama in same map... [Volume 2:183]

Notes of Survey [*makai* boundaries]:

Beginning at the *mauka* East end of the Kuapa wall of Loko Ananoho, this boundary runs thence by True Meridian:

- N. 30° 45' E. 3360 feet along *ili* of Mokauea in Kalihi L.C.A. 6450, Ap 1, to Kaunuohua ...West 24 feet along Coral Wall
- N. 17° 15' E. 100 feet along Kuapa wall of Loko Kuwili 2nd;
- N. 11° 20' E. 160 feet along Kuapa wall of Loko Kuwili 2nd;
- N. 55° 50' W. 430 feet along Loko Kuwili 2nd of Aupuni;
- S. 42° W. 77 feet along Loko Kuwili 2nd of Aupuni;
- N. 59° W. 690 feet along Loko Kuwili 2nd of Aupuni;
- N. 11° 45' W. 337 feet along Loko Kuwili 2nd of Aupuni;
- N. 40° 20' W. 304 feet along Loko Kuwili 2nd of Aupuni;
- N. 50° 40' E. 91 feet along Loko Kuwili 2nd of Aupuni;
- N. 5° 50' E. 960 feet along Loko Kuwili 2nd of Aupuni;
- S. 83° E. 328 feet along Loko Kuwili 2nd of Aupuni;
- S. 47° 50' W. 428 feet along Loko Kuwili 2nd of Aupuni to West angle of Kuapa wall
- S. 85° 30' W. 249 feet along sea shore;
- N. 89° 40' W. 400 feet along sea shore;
- S. 69° 10' W. 600 feet along sea shore;
- S. 86° 30' W. 730 feet along sea shore;
- N. 5° W. 86 feet along Kuapa wall of Loko Ananoho to Initial Point... [Volume 2:184-187]

Also the Fishing grounds of Land Commission Award 7714B to M. Kekuaiwa, described as follows:

Beginning at the junction of the East Kuapa wall of Loko Ananoho with the shore and running thence by true meridian:

- N. 86° 30' E. 730 feet along the Sea Shore;
- N. 69° 10' E. 600 feet along the Sea Shore;
- S. 89° 40' E. 400 feet along the Sea Shore;
- N. 85° 30' E. 249 feet along the Sea Shore to the West angle of Kuapa wall of Loko Kuwili 2nd;
- S. 36° 30' E. 133 feet along Kuapa of Kuwili 2nd;
- S. 46° 50' E. 355 feet along Kuapa of Kuwili 2nd;
- S. 53° 20' E. 380 feet along Kuapa of Kuwili 2nd;
- S. 59° 45' E. 400 feet along Kuapa of Kuwili 2nd;
- S. 29° 30' W. 1428 feet along Kuwili fishery;



S. 87° W. 830 feet along Sea;
N. 62° 10' W. 1630 feet along Mokauea fishery;
N. 8° E. 685 feet along Kuapa wall of Loko Ananoho;
N. 5° 20' W. 415 feet along Kuapa wall of Loko Ananoho to the Initial Point, comprising an area of 101 acres, more or less... [Volume 2:188]

Also a *lele* of Land Commission Award 7714 B to M. Kekuaiwa, situated in the *Ili* of Iwilei and known as "Loko Kealia" [Kealia Pond] and described as follows:

Beginning at the South angle of this piece, and running thence by true meridian as follows:

N. 8° 00' E. 72 feet, along L.C.A. 153 to W. Sumner;
N. 59° 45' W. 142 feet, along L.C.A. 153 to W. Sumner;
N. 31° 30' E. 195 feet, along L.C.A. 153 to W. Sumner;
N. 56° 15' E. 347 feet, along L.C.A. 7163 to Koi;
S. 55° 45' E. 170 feet, along L.C.A. 7163 to Koi;
S. 18° 15' E. 142 feet along L.C.A. 153 to W. Sumner;
S. 59° W. 560 feet along L.C.A. 153 to W. Sumner to the Initial point. Comprising an area of 3.3 Acres... [Volume 2:189]

Makiki, Kona District

Kuoi Hoohikiia: Noho au ma Kewalo i keia manawa ua hanau au ma Kapunahou, Oahu, kamaaina au no Makiki... Ua hanau au i ka wa i hana ai o Kamehameha ia Leahi mahope iho o ka make ana o Namakeha, oia ka lua o ka waa nui a Kamehameha.

E hoomaka ana mai Kaananiau aku he wahi ia e hookupu ai o na Konohiki i ka wa kahiko; alaila, holo aku mai laila a hiki i Kaiwiokaihu mai laila aku holo a ma ke kua iho o na hale o Captain G.H. Luce a hiki i ka Loko i kapaia o Opu, a ma ka aoao makai oia Loko, holo pololei a hiki i ka loko o John li i kapaia o Miki; mai laila aku holo a hiki i ka loko o W.L. Moehonua i kapaia o Kuwili; holo i uka a hiki i kahi o Lewis Cooke... [Volume 1:58]

Kuoi Sworn: I live at Kewalo at this time, I was born at Kapunahou, Oahu, I am familiar with Makiki... I was born at the time that Kamehameha worked at Waikiki, after the death of Namakeha, that was the second of the great canoe fleets (Peleleu) of Kamehameha [ca 1803].

Beginning at Kaananiau, a place where the *Konohiki* made offerings in olden times; then go from there to Kaiwiokaihu, from there go to the back of the house of Captain G.H. Luce to the Pond called Opu, and on the shoreward side of the Pond, run straight to the pond of John li called Miki, and from there go to the pond of W.L. Moehonua, called Kuwili, then go above to the place of Lewis Cooke... [Maly, translator]

Olelo Hooholo, No. 33

E hoomaka ana mai Kaananiau aku, he wahi ia e hookupu ai o na Konohiki i ka wa kahiko. Alaila holo aku mai laila a hiki i Kaiwiokaihu, mai laila aku holo ma ke kua iho o na hale o Captain George H. Luce a hiki i ka loko i kapaia o Opu, a ma ka aoao makai oia loko, holo pololei a hiki i ka loko o John li, i kapaia o Miki. Mai laila aku holo a hiki i ka loko o W. L. Moehonua i kapaia o Kuwili, holo i uka a hiki i kahi o Lewis (Cooke), mailaila aku holo pololei a hiki i kahi G.P. Judd, alaila, holo i nae a pau mai kahi pa o Judd, malaila aku holo pololei i uka a hiki i ka loko o ka Moi i kapaia o Kawaipuhee, malaila aku a hiki i ka loko i kapaia o Makua. Alaila, holo no i ka hikina o Kalia no manae, alaila holo i uka a hiki i ka loko o Haumea, i kapaia o Keauhou... [Volume 1:60-61]



Description No. 33.

Beginning at Kaananiau, a place where the *Konohiki* made offerings in olden times; then go from there to Kaiwiokaihu, from there go to the back of the house of Captain George H. Luce to the Pond called Opu, and on the shoreward side of the Pond, run straight to the pond of John li called Miki, and from there go to the pond of W.L. Moehonua, called Kuwili, then go above to the place of Lewis (Cooke); from there go straight to the place of G.P. Judd, then run straight inland to the pond of the King called Kawaipuhee, then from there to the pond called Makua. Then to the east of Kalia, then to the upland, to Haumea's pond, called Keauhou... [Maly, translator]

Opu [Ili and Fishpond], Makiki, Kona District

Maui, E. Maui, sworn: This man is personally known to me as having been for a long time in charge of the land of his late Majesty, Kamehameha V in his lifetime & since.

Says—Have been in charge of this land since the accession to throne of Kamehameha V. Have been in charge of the pond of Opu, and the appurtenant lands. The pond of Opu is the Kumu [foundation] of this land. It and they have been Kam. V, undisputed in my knowledge. This I knew before I took charge.

This pond of "Opu" lies adjacent to Miki of John li, as in this map... [Volume No. 2:281]

Kuoi, sworn, Witness appears to be 75 years. I belong on the land of Opu, was born at Punahou. *Kamaaina* with the land of Opu. The pond adjoining Miki is the foundation of it. The land adjoins John li's Estate of Pawaa. I was the guide to Prof. Alexander in making his survey. I pointed out to him the true ancient boundary of this land.

The land goes *mauka* to the *Heiau* of Pepeiao o Hikiea, *mauka* of Puuohia; thence down *makai*, the boundary on the Manoa side is where a stone will roll down. The rock Puukalia is on the line; thence to top of "Round Top" thence down a sliding place to ancient boundary of Punahou (now Castle & Cooke's patent)... [Volume No. 1:283]

Section 5 or Opu Fish Pond, Area 1 31/100 Acres.

Beginning at the upper corner of this near a granite post in General Miller's fence, the boundary runs:

1. South 13° 12' west (Magnetic south 5 ½° west) 107 feet along estate of J. li's called Miki; thence
 2. South 3° 46' East 160 feet along J. li's estate called Miki,
 3. South 27° 01' West (magnetic south 18° West) 203 feet along Miki to a concrete post at West corner of J. li's land;
 4. Thence North 46° 27' west (Magnetic North 55 ½° West) 197 feet, along Grant 2790 to L. Kamehameha;
 5. North 18° 3' East (Magnetic North 8 ½° east) 95 feet, along Grant 2341 to General Miller;
 6. North 40° 42' East (Magnetic North 31° 50' East) 241 feet along Grant 2341;
 7. thence North 60° 57' East 72 feet to the place of beginning...
- [Volume No. 1:287-288]

Maunalua, Kona District

Judgment:

...Commencing at a point on the sea shore 238 feet West from the West angle of the wall of the Fish Pond on the sea shore, the boundary runs along the land of Kuliouou:



1. N. 15° 6' W. 858 feet to the summit of a ridge called Puoahi; thence along ridge;
2. N. 6° 0' W. 1656 feet;
3. thence N. 11° 8' W. 1683 feet;
4. thence N. 9° 34' W. 787 feet; thence in a bent line along ridge to a point N. 1° 8' W. distant 1110 feet;
5. thence N. 26° 55' W. 494 feet; thence in a bent line along ridge to a point N. 0° 17' W. distant 890 feet; thence up along same ridge bounded by the land of Kuliouou to its junction with high ridge at a peak bearing N. 23° 40' W.; thence along summit of high ridge in an easterly direction, bounded by the land of "Waimanalo" in Koolau, across the road from Honolulu by Diamond Head to Koolau & down to the sea at the end of the ridge at a point bearing N. 75° 0' East from said crossing of road; thence around along sea shore & wall of Fish Pond to point of Commencement. Area 7464 Acres...
[Volume 2:96-97]

Moanalua, Kona Oahu

Bolabola, sworn states: I am a *Kamaaina* at Moanalua, have lived there over 30 years, I am well acquainted with the boundaries of this land. It begins at sea, at Kumumau, runs mauka along Halawa to Govt. road, then to top of Koolau Mountains, then along ridge to Kalihi ridge, then runs down top of Kalihi ridge to head of Kahauiki from there down a side ridge to Puu a Kalae & follows that ridge down to Puu Kapu, then down to a road called "Pohakuaukai" mauka of Government road, then down to sea to fish pond wall between Weli and Kaikikapu, then along the wall to Island called "Mokumoa" along Weli side of the Island, to pond wall adjoining the sea, then straight across channel to a point called "Kaoki" near Island of "Mokuonini" or "Mokupilo" then it follows on edge of deep water on right hand side of channel to place called "Kaoki" outside Island of Mokuoeo where the sea breaks, then to point called Pahunui at edge of deep water, then to coral called Hanaweke on edge of deep & shallow water, then to bunch of coral called "Namahana" then to Kealamake, then to Lauaina then to "Koko" south of Ahua point then to Kukukahi, then to Auwaiomiki then to Palani (a bunch of coral rocks) which is directly makai of Kumumau the starting point - The Islands of Mokumoa - Mokupilo - and Mokuoeo belong to Moanalua - The ponds of Lelepaua & Kaihikapu are in the Ahupuaa of Moanalua. When Hoapili had Moanalua these ponds belonged to him, now they belong to the Government, they took them in 1844.

Ainoa, sworn states: I live at Moanalua & was born there & lived there ever since. I am over 60 years of age. Moanalua & Kahauiki join at fish pond wall at sea, the wall between Weli & Kaikikapu, along the wall to Island of Mokumoa, that Island is in Moanalua then to sea of Ilinui along the Weli side of Mokumoa then to point called Kaoki near Island of Mokuonini, then along edge of deep and shallow water of Kalihi Channel, to "Kaiki" right in front of Mokuoeo & Mokupilo, these Islands are in Ahupuaa of Moanalua from Kaiki then towards Puloa [Puuloa] on edge of reef to Palani and turns mauka to Kumumau; at Palani there are bunches of coral and deep holes. The ponds of Lelepaua and Kaihikapu are in Moanalua they belonged to Hoapili who owned Moanalua now they belong to Kaluapelena in Kalihi. In old times they were a part of Moanalua.

Uku, sworn states: I live at Moanalua and was born there & have lived there ever since, I am over 60 years of age, I know the boundaries of the land, at the sea the land of Kahauiki & Moanalua join at Mokumoa, along the wall dividing pond walls of Kaikikapu and Weli - Mokumoa is in Ahupuaa of Moanalua, then to the sea wall of Weli, to the sea of Ilinui. Ilinui belongs to Moanalua, then to point of Kaoki, on west edge of Channel, then runs out along edge of shallow water to Kaiki. There sea breaks near Mokuweo. Mokuweo is in Moanalua, then to Ahuamalo, then to Ahuawai, then to Palani, then mauka to Kumumau... [Volume 2:99-101]



Judgment:

...Commencing at a point on the sea shore called "Kumumau" on the west bank of the small stream, the Station point being marked by coral stones buried in the sand so as to form a cross, with point thus [arrow pointing up with line across it], indicating true North...

1. N. 6° 00' E. true 3510 feet along Halawa, along the edge of Kalihi fish pond Lelepaua to East angle of the fish pond Waiaho adjoining old Salt Works...
[makai course]
21. Along the fish pond walls between the ponds of Weli and Kaihikapu to the Island of Mokumoa; thence along the Weli side of the Island of Mokumoa to sea wall of Weli; thence straight through the channel to a point called Kaoki near the island of Mokunini or Mokupilo; thence along edge of deep water, on right side of channel to place called Kaiiki, outside of Island of Mokueo, where the sea breaks; thence to point called Pahunui at edge of deep water; thence to coral called Hanaweke on edge of deep and shallow water; then to bunch of coral called Namahana; then to Kealamake, then along edge of reef to Lauaina, then to Koke, which is south of Ahua point, then to Kukukahi; then to Auwaiomiki; then to Palani, a bunch of coral which is directly South of or makai of Kumumau; thence to initial point Kumumau; the direct bearing and distance from rock in Wall of Weli and Kaihikapu pond to Kumumau is South 67° 50' west true 21,040 feet. Area above low water mark 9045 Acres.

Exclusive of ponds of Kaihikapu and Lelepaua, the Island of Mokumau, Mokuonini and Mokuoeo are a part of Moanalua and are included in the above area... [Volume 2:102-106]

Kaihikapau and Lelepaua (Loko – Fishponds), Moanalua, Kona District

W.D. Alexander:

These lokos are bounded on three sides by the land of Moanalua, which belongs to the Estate of Her Royal Highness, Ruth Keelikolani and on the remaining side by the sea. I herewith enclose notes of survey and a plan of the same... [Volume 2:118]

E pili ana i na palena o ka Loko of Kaihikapu and Lelepaua, Apana o Kona, mokupuni o Oahu.

Regarding the boundaries to the ponds of Kaihikapu and Lelepaua, District of Kona, island of Oahu.

Decision – Notes of Survey:

Commencing at the Southwest corner of the land at point in wall of pond or boundary of Halawa and Moanalua and running:

1. N. 6° 00' E. true 1749 feet along boundary of Halawa and Moanalua and along land of Moanalua; thence
2. N. 27° 55' E. true 2079 feet along Moanalua;
3. N. 66° 5' E. true 528 feet along Moanalua;
4. S. 81° 37' E. true 1518 feet along Moanalua;
5. S. 4° 30' W. true 1056 feet along Moanalua;
6. S. 14° 50' E. true 1122 feet along Moanalua;
7. S. 88° 30' E. true 1285 feet along Moanalua to wall between Lelepaua & Kaihikapu;
8. thence N. 69° 47' E. true 2422 feet along Moanalua;
9. S. 70° 18' E. true 3375 feet along Moanalua to wall of pond at sea; thence
10. S. 36° 55' W. true 4465 feet along sea; the wall of the pond being the boundary to point at end of wall;
11. S. 87° 28' W. true 850 feet along a portion of Moanalua called Ahua;



12. N. 54° 10' W. true 3550 feet along Ohua to wall between ponds of Lelepaua and Kaihikapu;
13. S. 57° 50' W. true 1040 feet along south wall of Lelepaua along Moanalua;
14. N. 86° 12' W. true 1765 feet along same;
15. N. 50° 15' W. true 1350 feet along same to initial point.
Area 742 acres [Volume 2:120-121]

Hamohamo, Ili of Waikiki, Kona district

Keohokalole, sworn: Hamohamo was my property. I recv'd it from Aikanaka, my father, who lived on it & previous to Aikanaka, Naihe, his father, my grandfather lived also on the land & occupied it. I lived here with my father. When I came here, Kaahumanu was living near the mouth of the muliwai, Apuakohau, in some small houses. At that time, the natives living on the present *kuleana* of Kekuanaoa worked under Naihe, being a part of Hamohamo.

After Kaahumanu died, Kekuanaoa occupied that part of the land as a *kuleana*. The natives on Hamohamo had a right to take fish in the muliwai of Apuakehau... [Volume No. 1:13]

Kailio, sworn: I live on Hamohamo, came here with Aikanaka, from Hawaii. The boundaries were well known by the natives in old times & ran up by side of the *muliwai*, to a certain stone wall & then followed it to an *auwai* & then *mauka* to the *auwai* of the *kalo* land. The natives of Hamohamo fished in the muliwai of Apuakohau. [Volume No. 1:14]

Hooku, sworn (for His Majesty): I was *Konohiki* of Kaneloa in 1851. I learned the boundaries of the sea of Hamohamo from Kailielulu. The boundary on the easterly side commences at a certain rock near a place called Paliki & runs out from there to a coral rock, on the inner reef. It runs along in front of Hamohamo, on edge of inner surf or reef.

The sea outside of the inner reef belongs to Kaneloa. Paakea, nor his Luna, did not object to my disposing of the fish caught there & Nahalau [has] done the same when he was Konohiki, without opposition.

The sea next to Hamohamo on the Honolulu side, is Keonioku, belonging to Kekuanaoa.

The corner of the sea of Hamohamo on that [side] is at the *muliwai* & runs out to a rock called Pualilii... [Volume No. 1:16]

Pupule, sworn (for Jno. Dominis): I know the boundary of the sea between Kaneloa & Hamohamo. The easterly corner is at a certain rock on the beach & thence the boundary runs out to a coral rock on the reef inner, called Pohaku o Kauai; thence to a rock on outer reef called Lae Pohaku. On the Honolulu side it commenced at the muliwai & thence makai to a rock called Pualilii & thence to the outer reef. I do not know the name of the corner but the boundary is straight. When Jarrett was Luna & Kailielule & Nahalau, the fish I caught were divided between the Konohikis of Kaneloa & Hamohamo; that is those caught between the inner & outer reefs... [Volume No. 1:16]

Hookaia, sworn (for J.O. Dominis): the sea of Hamohamo, on the east, commenced at a rock, *makai* nearby of a cattle pen, & runs out *makai* to a rock on outer reef & thence along outer reef to a point opposite the *muliwai*. I came to Hamohamo when the chiefs came from Hawaii. I lived sometimes at Honolulu & sometimes at Hamohamo. The squid taken by the women belonging to other lands, on the inner reef, were divided with the Luna of Hamohamo.



The outer reef, I supposed belonged to the Government & have heard that the *Konohiki* of Kaneloa, claimed to a right to fish on the outer reef. I did not claim the squid taken on the outer reef. I have heard that the sea of Hamohamo is on the inner reef & that Kaneloa runs along outside of it. The persons who told me so are dead. Kailielulu was one... [Volume No. 1:17]

The following award of Boundaries of Hamohamo was issued to J.O. Dominis.

Apana 1. Commencing at the sea, at the South & Easterly corner of this land, a short distance East of the mouth of the *muliwai* called *Kukaunahi*, running from thence: N. 35° 15' E. 20 chains, bounded by land called *Kekio* (This line runs to the end of a certain coral wall, which forms the northerly boundary of *Kekio*) & 31 links beyond...along the middle of the *auwai* separating this land from that belonging to *Mahuka* & the Govt. to the middle of the *auwai*, bounding the *Loko* called *Kalamanamana* on the East; thence S. 42° W. 14 09/100 chains...thence S. 70° West 9 10/100 chains & N. 80° W. 1 chain to a stone wall crossing the *muliwai* at its head, following the stream of water through it's middle, which connects the *auwai* called *Luakao* with the *muliwai* called *Apuakohau*; thence S. 58° 30' W. 4 78/100 chains along the easterly side of the *muliwai* to the upper side of the Govt. road at the bridge; thence following along the easterly side of the *muliwai* of *Apuakohau* to the sea; thence following along the sea at low water mark to point of commencement. [Volume No. 1:19]

Fishing privilege:

On its easterly side commences at a point distant from the South & easterly corner of the boundary of the land of Hamohamo on the sea, as follows:

S. 35° 30' E. 5 67/100 chains; S. 21° E. 4 95/100 chains; S. 30° W. 6 75/100 chains.

This point, the commencement of the fishing privilege of Hamohamo on the East, is near a rock called *Paliki*, at a large stone standing above high water mark, from the said stone the boundary runs S. 64° W. 11 50/100 chains to a coral rock on the inner reef called *Pohaku o Kauai*. From the above stone on the beach, the fishing privilege follows the beach along the front of Hamohamo to the easterly sides of the mouth of the *muliwai* of *Apuakohau*; from thence it runs out on the reef S. 26° W. 18 50/100 chains to a coral rock; from thence the fishing privilege follows the reef to the coral rock on the easterly sides mentioned above as *Pohaku o Kauai*... [Volume No. 1:20]

Kapahulu, Ili of Waikiki, Kona District

Keowaho, sworn, states: I live at *Waialae* and have lived there from my birth which [was] about the time of *Kamehameha First's* death. I know boundaries of *Waialae-nui*. It joins *Kapahulu* at sea at *Kupikipikio*; it runs this way round foot of *Daimond* [sic] Head to a place called *Kalahu*, then *mauka* along this side of *Telegraph station* to *Mauumae*... My parents showed me boundaries of *Waialae-iki* in old times. I went before *Kamakau* when boundaries of *Kapahulu* were in dispute and spoke of these boundaries of *Waialae-iki*. I live at *Waialae* now. I live by fishing. I own a *kuleana* and house on it. The fish *Amaama* is the *Konohiki* fish and the *Kou* is the *Konohiki* wood... [Volume 2:13-14]

Kauluwela and Kaawa Fish Pond, Waikiki, Kona District

Manele, sworn, states: I was born before death of *Kamehameha 1st*. I am *kamaaina* at *Honolulu*. I knew *Loko Kawa*; have known it from time of *Kaomi*. I was a man then; I heard from *Kahikili* it was a *lele* of *Kauluwela*; *Kahikili* was uncle of *Kekaunohi*. *Kauluwela* is near *Waikalulu*. *Kinau* & *Kekuanaoa* had possession of *Loko Kawa* at time they were living near old Fort... [Volume 2:131]



Kaluahine (w.), sworn, states: I live at Kawa Loko; Have lived there 32 years. Kawa is a *lele* of Kauluwela. The old stone wall was broken down & part used on fish pond wall & part used in harbor wall. Sumner land is the boundary on the south. On Waikiki side the stream comes down; the Prison is built in Kawa... [Volume 2:131]

Ku, sworn, states: I was a *Hulumanu* [favorite of the chief]. I lived at Kawa & with Kamehameha III in Palace yard; born in 1810. I remember the old wall of Kawa. Dr. Judd & Kekuanaoa took it down and used it for sea wall & the wall near the Government road was never disturbed. I remember the land *mauka* sold to Lee. Kawa is a *lele* of Kauluwela in old times; all inside old wall was Kawa; the wall runs in straight line to Sumner land and then to dry land. I worked on pulling down that wall by order of King; the Chiefs opposed the wall being pulled down because they wanted the fish... [Volume 2:132]

Kapule, sworn, states: I am 87 years of age. I know Kawa. It is a *lele* of Kauluwela. I worked on pulling down the old wall. Dr. Judd had it removed; all inside that old wall was Kawa; outside was Sumner's; the Prison is built in Kawa; up to where water goes is Kuili... [Volume 2:132]

Notes of Survey:

Makai Section

Beginning at the East corner of Kawa Fish Pond from which point Government Survey Station F, by King W Bridge bears S. 76° 45' E. 262 4/10 feet and the S. cor. of Oahu Prison Wall N. 58° 6' W. distant 775 3/10; thence the boundary runs:

N. 23° 50' E. true bearing 232 feet along outside edge of wall;

N. 8° 00' E. true bearing 125 feet along outside edge of wall;

N. 20° 50' E. true bearing 64 feet along outside edge of wall;

Thence along on P side of road leading to Oahu Prison N. 66° 15' W. 473 feet;

Thence along high water mark to point bearing S. 48° 40' W. 920 feet;

S. 19° 30' W. 655 feet along Kahololoa L.C.A. 153;

S. 31° 30' E. 304 feet along Kahololoa, L.C.A. 153;

N. 50° 00' E. 1358 feet along Royal Patent 1879 ½ to W.L. Lee;

N. 24° 15' E. 27 feet to Initial point. Area 22 3/10 Acres... [Volume 2:135]

Paakea, Ili of Waikiki, Kona District

Kawalawala, sworn: I live at Puahia, on *makai* part. I have lived there a long time, since I was a young man. I came from Kauai. I know boundaries of Paakea, *makai* of Puahia is *Kula* of Kanewai, runs along as far as Keaau's *Kuleana*; to Pohakoaumiumi, in Piliamoo along Kiki; and Waiaka, on that side I don't know any more; further down the boundary is Opukaola-loko; from there it runs mauka to a big stone called Paakea-pohaku, near Paakea-loko; then up to Government road...

...I know Kaialiu; it is on both sides of road, in Paakea all of it. There are salt ponds there; some *Kula* and wet land. The *makai* stone wall was built when I came there; it ran up to Punahou; the *mauka* part has been removed since. I never heard who built it. Waihinalo is all *makai* of wall; *mauka* of wall is all coral rock. There is no land *mauka*, only rock; that is where they cultivate *makai* of wall. Waihinalo was good land; there were some fish ponds. I heard none of coral rock is in Waihinalo.... [Volume 2:50-51]

Mika Jobe, sworn states: I am 41 years of age. I was born at Waikiki and live there now near Paakea... .. the pond of Kaialiu is not the same now; the row of stones have been taken away; now the land about there is called Kaialiu; formerly Kaialiu was the pond alone and is in Paakea... [Volume 2:52-53]



S.E. Bishop, sworn states: I am a surveyor. I have been a surveyor in government service for four years, & I surveyed the whole land of Waikiki... Oponui was a head man in Paakea ...Oponui pointed out boundaries to me between Paakea and Waihinalo; Waihinalo being between Keauhou and Paakea. In referring to my notes taken on the spot, he said "Paakea consists of the Ponds, also that Paakea included the marsh land above Beretania street." Kaialiu in that he differed from the other witnesses who claimed the line ran across the Marsh, as represented on Map Exhibit B... Oponui was an old man, I should say about 70 years old; he lived, I think, *mauka* of lower pond in Paakea; he had lived in Paakea since 1847. Waihinalo joins Paakea, but line between Waihinalo and Keauhou was not pointed out to me; my impression from statements of witnesses was that Waihinalo extended to above upper pond, above where Keauhou and Paakea joined each other... [Volume 2:53-54]

Pau, Ili of Waikiki, Kona District

Application:

The owners of the adjoining lands to Opukaalukula and fish pond, one of the said Leles, are, so far as known to your petitioners, Ruth Keelikolani, Hananamoku, Maria Hahai and Likelike... [Volume No. 1:389]

Mahuka, sworn: I can walk over the Boundary of Pau (he does ride over the *makai* Boundary of Pau) as pointed out by him; all the fish ponds *makai* and claimed to be in Pau are left outside. The name of the land *makai* and fish ponds is Kapaaweo.... [Volume No. 1:390]

Wailupe (Loko – Fish Pond), Wailupe, Kona District

...In the Matter of the Boundaries of the Fish Pond and *Kula*, belonging to the Crown, in the *Ahupuaa* of Wailupe, Kona, Oahu, Hawaiian Islands... [Volume 3:7]

Kalua, sworn, says: I live at Wailupe, Oahu; have lived there all my life; am now over eighty years old. I went with Monsarrat and showed him the boundaries in this matter. The Pond and *Kula* of Wailupe begins on the Windward or Maunalua side at a rock; goes along *kuauna* to *loko* of *Konohiki*. Then along another *kuauna* to main road. There is a curve in the survey, by a house; then it goes to *loko* of *Konohiki*; then straight to end of *loko* *Konohiki*. Then to main road. An embankment of stones is boundary between land and sea. A spring there is called Puhikani; it belongs to the Crown Lands. Then the boundary runs along stone wall to a spring called Punakou, which belongs to the Crown. Then the boundary goes to Pukoakahalauaola, which is towards Honolulu and is the boundary between Waialae and Wailupe; then it goes to *Makaha*, gate of pond; then to Pauahi's house. The *kuapa* is the boundary. Then the boundary goes to Puuoku, and along the *kuapa* back to the rock where it started from. These are the true boundaries that I have given... [Volume 3:7-8]

Keoahu, sworn says: I was born when Kamehameha I died; born at Waialae, Oahu, adjoining Wailupe, and have lived there all my life; know Waialae and Wailupe; know the fish pond and *kula* of the Crown at Wailupe. The boundary on windward side begins at a rock near where I am now living; then it goes in a winding line, not in a straight line, to Puhikani, a spring, along the *kuauna*. Then along a natural *kuauna*, one made by God, to a spring Punakou. The pond side of this natural *kuauna* is now dry, but there used to be a pond there. From Punakou the boundary goes along the *kuauna* to Pukoakahalauaola, which is the boundary between Wailupe and Waialae. The two springs, Punakou and Puhikani belong to the crown from olden times up to now. The main road now does not reach to the natural *kuauna*, but goes along the edge. From Pukoakahalauaola the boundary goes to Puuoku; the boundary is a stone wall that bounds Waialae and Wailupe. From Puuoku the fish pond wall is the boundary to the place where I live. These are the true boundaries that I have given... [Volume 3:8]



Kalua, re-called by Mr. Brown for Cross Examination: ...I was gone whaling one year when Kamehameha III was King. I know the water hole called Kaualua. The *Konohiki* fish pond got water from there. The fish pond was also called Kaualua. In olden times this fish pond was separated from Wailupe fish pond only by a *kuauna*; there is a *kuauna* there now, but freshets have washed up the earth, so that now the water in the Wailupe pond has retreated from banks. In olden times there was no stone wall there. *Kawaiaalamihī* is name of that place; what looks like a wall there is the remains of old salt ponds. In olden times the water of the big pond came up to Puhikani and went into it at high tide. The water from Puhikani comes from under a bank three feet high; on top the bank the land belongs to the Crown; from there the Crown Land ran to the Government Road and then followed along the retaining wall of the road. The *kula* of Kaohai did not come so far down as the pond. I know Kunapo; it is not a pond, but water from a pond. I know *Kamaikeaho pond. This joins Wailupe pond.* It belongs to *Konohiki*. Kaohai joins this pond, but does not join sea of Wailupe. *Kamaikeaho* joins the sea of Wailupe; Kaohai joins *Kamaikeaho*. William Hunt does not live on Kaohai but on Kanuihalau. In olden times the fish pond wall was all that divided Wailupe pond from Waialae sea; the strip of sand on west side of pond has filled in of late years. In old times the water went to the rock Pukoakahalauaola; latterly the earth and sand have drifted in, so the water don't reach there now. That rock is a little *makai* of the gate that used to go to Perry's place.

The sea used to go from there to Punakou; the sea used to cover the spring Punakou at high tide; sea used to go up to edge of present Government Road near Puhikani. The lower edge of road was the water's edge. I was not a witness at the settlement of Boundaries of Wailupe before Land Commission, and did not go with the surveyors. I never pointed out the boundaries of Wailupe Fish Pond to Mr. or Mrs. Perry; never told them that Punakou spring and land near it belonged to *Konohiki*; never talked with Mrs. Perry about boundaries of fish pond. I saw Makalena out there surveying the pond at one time; I showed him the boundaries of the pond. I don't know whether they are the same I showed Monsarrat. Makalena surveyed the outside wall of the pond as far as Puuhopu. I did not show Makalena all around the pond. I gave Monsarrat the true boundaries. Kealaiki has lived there a long time; so has Pukae and Pauahi. Pauahi once leased this pond from Piikoi...

Cross Ex'd by Mr. Monsarrat. I don't know about Bishop's survey of the pond. Kaualua is the *Konohiki* spring. The reason why the bank was built between Punakou pond and the big pond was to make a road for people below; also to prevent fish escaping from big pond; it was built a long time ago; it is an ancient wall, was built by my ancestors, especially Haloi; at that time one *Konohiki* had charge of pond and land. There is only one big pond. Perry made an embankment at Puhikani. What is now Punakou pond was once part of big pond.

Mr. Brown puts in evidence a survey made by A. Bishop of "Loko Nui i Wailupe, Oahu," not dated; admitted by Mr. Monsarrat to be a survey of the big pond... [Volume 3:10-11]

...Mr. Brown puts in evidence copy of Royal Patent 4498, on *Kuleana* 6175.

Mrs. Anna A. Perry, sworn, examined by Mr. Brown, says: My husband bought Wailupe nearly twenty years ago. Palekaluhi, the owner of the land, showed me the boundaries of the fish pond; he was Malaea's son (Witness points out boundaries on Monsarrat's map). Palekaluhi was trying to sell me the land when he showed me these boundaries. He said the boundary began at *makaha* of fish pond, ran to Punakou spring, taking in Punakou pond; then it ran over to Puhikani spring; it took in both springs. Kalua showed me the boundaries that I have just pointed out; he showed them to me on the same day that Palekaluhi showed them, and has done so many times since. The only dispute is from



the *makaha* to Puhikani. The last time that Kalua showed me the boundaries may be 16 years ago; perhaps less. Kalua always said that the springs belonged to me, but the water flowed into the ponds... [Volume 3:13]

District of Koolau Loa

No references to fisheries or *kapu* fish found in narratives. Boundaries of given lands used High water mark as the *makai* boundary. Lands included—Kahana, Kaluanui, Kaunalā, Lā'ie maloo, Lā'ie wai, Makao, Makaua, Pahipahi'ula, Papakoko, Paumalū, Punalu'u, Pūpūkea and Waiale'e (see testimonies given during *Māhele 'Āina*).

District of Koolau Poko

Hakipuu, Koolau District

J.F. Brown, Surveyor, sworn: Prom Pupueo to sea shore by the lines set forth in said Royal Patent. On seashore I followed high watermark and wall of Fish Pond called "Moolii" to starting point... [Volume No. 1:396]

Notes of Survey:

...N. 1° 58' W. true 208 ½ feet along Kualoa to place where old cocoanut tree formerly stood;

N. 29° 06' W. true 105 feet to edge of big fish pond; Thence along North East shore of big fish pond to point bearing N. 29° 06' W. distant 1238 feet; thence along N.E. shore of big fish pond to point bearing N. 4° 45' E. distant 299 ½ feet;

Thence along N.E. shore of fish pond to point bearing N. 40° 40' W. distant 518 feet;

S. 84° 29' W. 360 feet along wall separating large from small fish pond.

N. 31° 20' W. 3065 feet to summit of mountain ridge "Kanehoalani"

Thence along the summit of ridge dividing this land from Kaawa to pond bearing S. 67° 30' W. distant 720 feet...

Thence along summit... .. to Peak "Puuohulehule..."

...Thence along sea shore to the S. end of big fish pond wall, which point bears N. 3° 05' E. distant 2660 feet from last mentioned point.

The total Area of the *Ahupuaa* is 1165 5/10 acres, of this Area there remains to the Estate of Kanaina 924 ½ acres, comprising 10 acres of rice land, the Fish Pond of 124 ½ acres and 790 acres of grazing and Mountain Land.

Thence along the big fish pond wall and sea shore to Initial point, bearing North 84° 45' E. dist. 3820 feet... 29th day of March A.D. 1880.. [Volume No. 1:398-399]

Kalokohanahou, Ili of Kaneohe

... Honolulu, Aperila 3, 1873

Aloha oe.

O ka mea nona ka inoa malalo ke nonoi aku nei e hooponopono ia ka palena o kona mau Ili aina. Oia hoi o Kalokohanahou ma Kaneohe, Koolaupoko, Oahu. He aina kula me ke kalo, kai lawaia a me ka Loko. A penei na palena.

E hoomaka ma ke kihi Kom. Akau ma ka Pohaku i hoailona pea ia ma ka palena o keia aina a me ke kai e pili ana me ke Ahupuua o Heeia, a e holo ana ma ka lihi kai me ka aina maloo...:

Greetings.

The one whose name is below, asks for the perfection of the boundaries of my *ili* lands, it is Kalokohanahou in Kaneohe, Koolaupoko, Oahu. It is a dryland and *kalo* land, a fishery and a fishpond. Then boundaries are thus... .. Malaea Kanamu:



Beginning at the Northwestern corner at a Stone marked with a cross on the boundary of the land and the sea adjoining the *ahupuaa* of Heeia, and running only the ocean's edge and the dryland:

South 22° East 3.00 chains on the ocean of this land

South 1° East 8.00 chains

South 2½° West 8.00 chains

South 36° East 4.60 chains to the place adjoining Kalokohanahou

North 60° East 8.00 chains along the kuapa (fish pond wall)

North 70° East 4.00 chains along *kuapa*

South 79½° East 2.00 chains along *kuapa*

South 64° East 1.00 chains along *kuapa*

South 48° East 1.00 chains along *kuapa*

South 41° East 1.00 chains along *kuapa*

South 29° East 1.00 chains along *kuapa*

South 18° East 1.00 chains along *kuapa*

South 11½° East 2.00 chains along *kuapa*

South 11° West 1.50 chains along *kuapa*

South 21° West 2.00 chains Sea of Kanohuluiwi

(Kai o Kanohuluiwi)

South 35° West 1.00 chains

South 23½° West 1.60 chains land Kanohuluiwi

South 61½° West 1.20 chains

South 79° West 1.18 chains Land of Kanohuluiwi

South 43° East 1.13 chains

South 44° West 1.00 chains

South 21° East .16 chains

South 46° West 2.22 chains

South 41½° West 1.50 chains

South 36° West 1.90 chains

South 51½° West 1.12 chains

South 30° East .45 chains

South 49° West .65 chains

South 15½° West 2.16 chains

South 46° West 2.00 chains

South 49½° West 3.80 chains

North 45° West 16.00 chains to the corner of Lipuna

North 2½° West 11.00 chains

North 3½° West 9.00 chains

North 16° West 6.30 chains



North 00° East 9.50 chains

To point of commencement... [Maly, translator]

Dryland & Kalo 39 Acres, 5 8/100 chains

Pond of Kalokohanahou 12 Acres 9 5/100 chains... [Volume No. 1:106-107]

He ana no ko ke Kai o keia Aina e holo ana ma ka palena o ke kai me Heeia:

North 51° East 37.40 kaul. a hiki i ke koa o Pulehu

South 10° West 19.40 kaul. a hiki i ke koa o Luahiwa

South 38° East 6.50 kaul. a hiki i ke koa o Luahiwa

South 21° West 26.80 kaul. pili me ka aina maloo. [Volume 1:107]

A survey of the Sea of this land, running along the boundary of the sea of Heeia:

North 51° East 37.40 ch. to the fishing station of Pulehu

South 10° West 19.40 ch. to the fishing station of Luahiwa

South 38° East 6.50 ch. to the fishing station of Luahiwa

South 21° West 26.80 ch. adjoining the dry land. [Maly, translator]

Kalokohanahou:

...Ma ka Hale o Malaea Kanamu, Mei 13th 1873.

Kekeni, Hoohikiia, Noho au ma keia aina i keia manawa. A ua hanau ia no au malaila he kamaaina loa au malaila. Ua ike au ina palena o Kalokohanahou, he Iliaina iloko o Kaneohe Koolaupoko Oahu. Ua ike au ina palena o keia aina. Ua noho Konohiki kou mau kupuna a me kou mau makua maluna o keia aina. A pela no hoi iau. A na lakou i kuhikuhi mai iau ina palena o Kalokohanahou. Ua hanau ua wau malaila i ka Okuu nei, Mai Ahulau, 1804. A penei kou ike ina palena o Kalokohanahou.

E hoomaka ana ma ke kuleana o Keau e pili ana me Lipuna. Alaila, holo a hiki i ka puu i kapaia o Puupahu. Alaila, pili me Kikiwelawela. Alaila, holo hou a hiki i ka puu i kapaia o Puuomauiki. Alaila holo a hiki i kahakai. Alaila, holo i Kai pili me Kikiwelawela ma ke kai holoia. Alaila holo no ma ka hohonu ke pili nei ia aina [illegible – akau] mai o Kikiwelawela. Alaila, pili aku me Heeia. Alaila, holo aku mai laila a hiki i ke Koa o Pulehu o ka hapalua oia koa. Alaila, holo a hiki i ke koa i kapaia o Luahiwa, o ka hapalua no oia koa. Alaila, holo no ma ka hapalua o ka hohonu mawaena o Kalokohanahou a me Mokuoloe. Alaila, holo a pae i ka aina maloo ma kahi i hoomaka ai... [Volume No. 1:111]

At the house of Malaea Kanamu, May 13th 1873.

Kekeni, Sworn: I live on this land at present, and I was born there and am very familiar with it. I know the boundaries of Kalokohanahou, it is an Ili land of Kaneohe, Koolaupoko, Oahu. I know the boundaries of Kalokohanahou. My grandparents and parents were the overseers of this land. I was also. And it was them who showed me the boundaries of Kalokohanahou. I was born there during the Okuu. The pestilence, of 1804....

Begin on the property of Keau adjoining Lipuna. Then go to the hill called Puupahu. Then along Kikiwelawela; then run to the hill called Puuomauiki. Then to the shore. Then run along the sea adjoining Kikiwelawela, go along the ocean. Then go to the deep area adjoining the land [north?]. Then along Heeia. From there run until the Koa (fishing station) of Pulehu, that is half of that Koa. Then run to the Koa (fishing station) called Luahiwa, half of that Koa. Then run out to half the depth between Kalokohanahou



and Mokuoloe. Then run to the dry land and the point of commencement...
[Maly, translator]

Kaelepulu, Ili of Kailua, Koolau Poko District

Puhi, sworn states: I went with Mr. Alexander when this survey was made of Part 1. I am acquainted with *Kamaaina* there; Naooumeume was the *Kamaaina* there that pointed out the boundaries. He is the authority of all others in boundaries about there; he is so acknowledged by all. I have lived there since 1852. Naooumeume (K) has always lived there, he claims to be 100 years of age and is now unable to travel; Kaelepulu does not reach to the sea, it is cut off by Crown land; I have a *kuleana* in the adjoining land of Pahehe (Witness here described the fishing rights in old times). The fishing rights of this land was over one mile from the shore and just outside the breakers; the *tabu* fish was the "Uhu" but the people went to law, and it was decided that the reef bounded the fisheries so then was thrown open... [Volume 2:88-89]

Kaluapuhi, Halekou, Waikalua, Keaahala, Kanohuluiwi Ili & Island of Moku Manu, Kaneohe, Koolaupoko District

C.J. Lyons, sworn, states: this is the Government map of Kaneohe of a survey made by me; the notes of survey filed with this application are made from my notes of survey... The boundaries of these Crown Ilis were made from information I got from Keawekuhia (k)... He was acknowledged by all parties at Kaneohe to be the authority on boundaries. He was a man of about 75 years of age...

...The Islands of Mokumanu I understood from Keawekuhia were part of "Kuaaohe" which is a *lele* of Waikalua. They are surrounded by the sea... [Volume 2:64-65]

Lot F. Waikalua waho

At the land beach

Initial point a marked stone [up arrow] on the sea beach 336 feet Southeast by from the South angle of the Punaluu Fish Pond. Local Declination about 8° 00' Run:

1. S. 57° 00' W. true 168 feet along Punaluu;
2. S. 64° 00' W. true 1082 feet along Punaluu to South angle Punaluu;
3. S. 38° 30' E. true 365 feet along Waikalualoko; Local Declination 10° East;
4. N. 86° 00' E. true 490 feet along Waikalualoko;
5. S. 44° 30' E. true 200 feet along Middle of river;
Along middle of river N.E. by to Sea
Along sea beach at high water mark to initial point.
Area 26 acres... [Volume 2:72-73]

Lot J. Keaalau, A *Lele* of Waikalua

Initial point Government Survey Trig Station Mahinui on ridge separating this from the land Mahinui 860 feet from Makaha of fish pond; Present marks are arrow marked stone in trench (to be replaced by concrete post).

Local needle 9° 40' East; Azimuths from true South Hawaii-loa 202° 00'; Pyramid rock 188° 44' run:

1. S. 40 05' E. true 485 feet up ridge along Mahinui;
2. S. 54 00' E. true 755 feet up ridge along Mahinui;
3. S. 32 30' E. true 580 feet up ridge along Mahinui;
4. S. 67 12' W. true 750 feet to junction with main ridge;
5. N. 69 16' E. true 365 feet along main ridge; *Ili* of Paalea;
6. N. 10° 25' E. true 850 feet down ridge along Puahuula;



7. N. 29° 00' W. true 980 feet down ridge along Puahuula;
Initial point of Puahuula Survey; N. 42° 00' W. true 335 feet to the sea;
S. 74° 00' W. true 1785 feet the boundary being the fish pond wall at high water mark to initial point. Area 66 55/100 acres.
8 Acres fish pond... [Volume 2:73-75]

...Lots M. N. and O. (copied from Webster's Survey)
Kanohuluiwi, Loi and fish pond...

Lot O.

Commencing at North [mark] on Sea adjoining Kapule, and runs:

1. S. 55° 20' W. Magnetic B. 212 feet along Kapule
2. S. 51° 13' W. Magnetic B. 174 feet along Kapule;
3. 2 feet offset to right to side of *auwai*;
4. thence 300 feet along *auwai*;
5. S. 66° 00' E. 128 feet along edge of *Pali* bent line;
6. S. 33° 00' E. 90 feet along edge of *Pali*;
7. S. 22° 45' W. 33 feet to a stone;
8. S. 89° 15' E. 140 feet to wall of fish pond and Sea shore to initial point.
Area 5 Acres... [Volume 2:76-77]

Lot P.

Halekou, Kaluapuhiloko and Kuaaohe. The latter a *Lele* of Waikalua-waho. All situated in the peninsula generally known as Mokapu [including at least four fish ponds and large salt works complex].

Initial point a well known as Waiakekua... Mokapu signal [triangle with dot in center] Stn. 214° 40' Dist 7600 Feet S. hole in rim of crater 217° 0' highest point of Mokolea 281°57';
Run:

1. N. 52° W. true 680 feet along Kaluapuhiwaho;
2. N. 24° 35' W. true 2135 feet along Kaluapuhiwaho to a pile of stones 70 feet Southwest from a fixed rock and 41 feet N.W. from another one;
3. N. 66° 30' E. true 2340 feet along Kaluapuhi and along Ulupau of the *Ahupuaa* to a point near the East corner of an old stone enclosure (Kamailipo) 12 feet E. of a marked rock;
4. N. 55° 10' E. true 4380 feet along Ulupau to Pohakupaka a hole in the rim of the Crater (the South one of two) 460 feet south of the Mokapu Signal; Thence around the N.W. rim of the Crater to a place known as "Kahekili leap" on the *pali* of Kaholo direct bearing and distance being
5. N. 40° 00' E. true 2800 feet;
6. N. 68° 00' W. true 1220 feet along shore at high water mark and point near Kapukaulua;
7. S. 60° 20' W. true 3880 feet along shore to a point of rock North of harbor;
8. S. 27° 15' W. true 575 feet to a station which is 40 feet N.W. of a cluster of graves and S. 60° W. 44 feet from marked stone; Mokapu Signal reads 263° 23'; Pyramid Rock reads 113° 10';
9. S. 51° 00' W. true 5100 feet along Heleloa of *Ahupuaa* to a marked stone at South end of ledge;
10. S. 45° 10' W. true 23450 feet along same land to shore;
11. S. 26° 00' E. true 1125 feet along on shore of bay to opposite end of fish pond wall;
12. S. 46° 20' W. true 880 feet along fish pond wall to N.W. angle of Nuupia;
13. S. 55° 20' W. true 1375 feet along Nuupia the fish pond bending wall being boundary;
14. N. 50° 00' E. true 1300 feet along Nuupia to end of wall;



15. N. 80° 20' E. true 1290 feet along shore of Nuupia;
 16. S. 62° 40' E. true 1320 feet along shore to rock at point of ledge;
 17. S. 57° 10' E. true 875 feet along Nuupia to end of fish pond wall;
 18. S. 12° 20' E. true 1105 feet along Nuupia to a stone with a hole in it thus [a circle] called "Luakiko;"
 19. N. 56° 10' E. true 1600 feet along Kaluapuhiwaho to a flat stone sunk and an old *poi* pounder buried under it;
 20. N. 9° 05' W. true 1765 feet along Kaluapuhiwaho to a mark on a coral rock;
 21. N. 89° 20' W. true 2090 feet along Kaluapuhiwaho to initial point...
- Area 675 Acres... [Volume 2:77-79]

Mahinui, Ili of Kaneohe, Koolau Poko District

...Land Commission Award 6400 to Kapu, No. 107

No. 1. Kula Valley *makai*, with Fish Ponds & old *Loi*

...Bearings: *makaha* of big fish pond 43° 15' distance 860 feet Hawaiioloa 202° 00' true azimuth from South;

Pyramid Rock 188° 44' true azimuth from South...

13. N. 19° 15' W. true 320 feet along Mikiola to a point on seaside bank whence the initial point bears N. 34° 20' E. dist. 1260 feet; thence:
14. S. 88° 40' W. true 710 feet to the South end of the wall dividing Mahinui and Mikiola fish ponds; thence around by the outer wall of the fish pond of which this last station is the S.W. angle; to its junction with the east pond; thence along outer wall of the east pond to its junction with the shoreline; thence along high water mark to a point directly *makai* of the initial point; thence up the bank to the initial point. Area 157 ½ Acres [Volume 3:45-46]

District of Waiialua

Kawailoa and Paalaa, Waiialua District

Kea, sworn: I was born when the *Okuu* was at its height [ca. 1804] (appears about 70 years of age), was born before the *Okuu*. Was born at Palaa [Paalaa], live at Palaa now, and have always lived here. Know the ancient boundaries of Palaa & Kawailoa. Learned them from the old chiefs and old people.

Palaa adjoins the sea beach. Kamananui adjoins it on the beach at N.W. corner of this land, at a place called Kaiaka, belonging to Kamananui, runs along by the salt lands of Kamananui, along Anderson's land (which is patented) to the river, Laukiha... [Volume No. 1:213]

W.C. Lane, sworn: I came here to live in 1856, about two years after I had full charge of the lands of Palaa & Kawailoa from Kekuanaoa, acting for Victoria Kamamalu, my charge was as *Konohiki* of the lands... Palaa lies on the beach, commencing at the right of a big rock or ledge, runs South westerly to a sand beach called Kaiaka... ..to the river (See Royal Patents of Anderson & Davis) to river, Laukiha, crossing it to fish pond bank called Kealia, following round taro patches, and along boundary of Robinson's land... [Volume No. 1:213-214]

District of Wai'anae

Waianae, Waianae District

Dek. 24, 1868. S. Kaapuiki, Hoohikiia: Ua noho au ma Waianae nei mahope iho o ka make ana o Kamehameha Nui. Ua lilo o Waianae nei ia Boki, oia kou wa e noho ai ia Waianae nei, mai ia manawa mai a hiki i keia la. Ua noho au i Konohiki no Waianae nei a hiki i keia la. A make Boki, noho aku au malalo o Liliha a make oia, noho aku au malalo o Kamehameha III a make oia ia Liholiho ma ka hoolimalima ia a pela no i keia Moi o Kamehameha V.



Ua ike au i na palena o Waianae, e pili ana me Makaha, hoomaka ma Keawaiki, he wahi pae waa ia, he awaawa one olola. Holo pololei a hiki i Kumanomano mai laila aku a hiki i Puea, he wahi piina ia e ike aku ai i kahi o John Holt. A mai laila aku moe pololei a hiki i ka lapa o Kaanui a ma keia lapa e pii ai a hiki i ka welelau o ka pali e kaawale ai o Makaha me Waianae. Mai laila aku holo pololei a hiki i ko Puukaua i kapaia o Kawiwi. Mai laila aku a hiki i Kilohana, Alanui pii o Kumaipo, mai laila aku holo pololei a hiki i Kaala. Mai laila aku holo pololei maluna o ka Mooholua, ua kahi e kaawale ai o Maili no Waialua a o Haleauau no Waianae; holo i ke kahawai maluna no oia moo 'la.

Na Kuhakoi a me Kaliko, Kaalo, Hopuhopuaukele he poe kamaaina lakou no Waianae nei. Ua hanau ia au ma Waipio uka i Oahu nei. Ua nui au i ka Okuu nei oia ka Mai Ahulau [ca. 1804].

A ma keia kapa o Kaukonahua holo o Waianae, o ka wai no Waialua, maloo mai no Waianae, holo mai laila aku a hiki i Kokolea, he Haha Oopu ia. A mai laila aku a ke poo o ke Kahua maika; a mai laila aku, holo pololei ma ke Kahua maika a hiki i ke Awaawa i kahawai. A he mau Moo uala ia ma kela aoao o Kahaleula ia kahawai. Alaila holo ma ka lihi pali o Waialua a me Waianae a hiki i Mahu, he wahi Kahuahale ia me kahi kumukukui. A ma ia kumukukui holo pololei i uka ma ka honua a iho i ke kahawai a hiki i Paka, he Haha Oopu ia. Kau ma kela kapa o ke alanui kahiko ia e hele ai i Kukaniloko a mai laila aku a waena. Alaila holo pololei i uka a hiki i na hale o Leleahana, he Kahuna Kapili Waa ia; mai laila aku holo a kiei i ka pali, kaa ka pohaku no Waialua ia ili mai ka pohaku no Waianae ia, holo pololei i ke kuahiwi. Mai laila aku holo no ma Kaulu a hiki i ka Lualio he wahi alu ia. (oia kahi i kanu iai kekahi wahine i pepehi ia ai e ke kane) Holo hou i kai maluna o ka Moo mai ka Lualio a hiki i ka Halepounui. mai laila aku holo pololei ma ka honua, he alanui ia e kaawale ai o Waikele no Ewa a Waianae nei. Mai laila aku holo pololei a iho i ke kahawai makai no Waikele ia a hiki i Opu, he Haha Oopu ia, pii pono i luna ma ke alanui. Alaila holo pololei i kai a hiki i ke Ahua e nana aku ai i ke Alanui Aupuni, holo pololei i kai a hiki i ke poo o na wahi awawa lili, ae aku iluna o ka honua holo pololei i kai a hiki i ke Alanui Aupuni. Mai laila aku komo i ke awaawa koa ae aku ia wahi a iho hou i kahawai nui o Kawaieli ma Lihue, mai laila aku holo hou a hiki i na moo uala i kapaia o Kahaleula ma ka aoao hema o ke kahawai no Ewa. A ma ka aoao akau no Waianae mai laila aku holo i uka o Lihue a hiki i Kawaieli pono, ma kela kapa o Honouliuli ma keia kapa aku o Waianae a hiki i ka puka ana mai o na wahi awaawa. Pii pololei ma kahi moo, holo i uka a iho i ke kahawai e pale ae o Paupauwela, no Honouliuli ma keia kapa a me Waianae nei. Mai laila aku holo ma kela kapa o ke kahawai i na hale o Kuhau ma, holo pii i ka pali e kaawale ai o Ewa me Waianae nei. Holo ma ia welau pali a hiki i ka puu i kapaia o Kalepeamo; mai laila aku a hiki i Pohakea a hiki i ka welelau pali ma Halona; mai ia wahi aku a ma ka welau pali a hiki i kahi i kapaia o Kaakaamaniania, he mau puu ia elua. Mai laila aku holo i ka pali o Kanehoalani a hiki i ka pali o Kapiliokahe i kahakai ma Kalanimua he hale ia no Kahekili. Holo ma ke kai a ke kai ohee, kai malolo, kai lawaia mano. Holo hou a hiki i Keawaiki kahi i hoomaka ai. [Volume No. 1:41-43]

Dec. 24, 1868. S. Kaapuiki, Sworn¹⁵: I have lived in Waianae since a while after the death of Kamehameha the Great. Waianae became Boki's, and that was the time when I came to live at Waianae, from that time to the present. I have been the *Konohiki* of Waianae to the present day. When Boki died, I was under Liliha, and when she died, I was under Kamehameha III, when he died, it was with Liholiho as a lessee, and so it is with this King, Kamehameha V.

¹⁵ See also testimonies of Kekau of Wahiawa (Volume No. 1:44-45); Hilimaka (Volume No. 1:45-46); and Laehao (Volume No. 1:46-47), for descriptions of Waianae, Waialua and Honouliuli mountain-zone oopu fisheries.



I know the boundaries of Waianae adjoining Makaha. Begin at Keawaiki, a place where canoes land, it is a broad sandy inlet. Then go straight to Kumanomano, from there go to Puea, it is an elevated area from where one can see the place of John Holt. From there, go straight along to the ridge of Kaanui, and from this ridge climb up to the tip of the cliff that separated Makaha and Waianae. From there go straight to Puukuu also called Kawiwi. From there go to Kilohana, Road that ascends Kumaipo, from there go straight to Kaala. From there go straight above Mooholua, said place separated Maili from Waialua and Haleauau from Waianae; go along the gulch to top of said ridge.

Kuhakoi and Kaliko, Kaalo, Hopuhopuaukele were the natives of Waianae nei. I was born at Waipio uka, Oahu. I was big when the *Ooku*, the pestilence occurred [ca. 1804].

Waianae runs along this side of Kaukonahua. The water is for Waialua. When it is dry, the Waianae people go there, to Kokolea, it is an Oopu fishery (he Haha Oopu ia – where oopu are caught by hand). And from there, to the top of the *maika* field (*Kahua maika*); from there run straight along the *Kahua maika* to a stream gulch. There are sweet potato planting fields on that side of Kahaleula, the stream. Then go along the edge of the cliff of Waialua and Waianae to Mahu; it is a house site (*Kahuahale*) with some *kukui* trees. From the *kukui* trees go straight inland along the dirt, and down the stream to Paka, an Oopu fishery (he Haha Oopu ia). Then onto that side of the ancient trail that goes to Kukaniloko, and from there into the middle (lands). From there go straight inland to the houses of Leleahana, he is a canoe making priest. From there go where you can overlook the cliff where the stones roll down is Waialua, where the rock are is Waianae; continue straight up the mountain. From there go to Kaulu (the cliff ledge) and then to Lualio, it is a hallow. (It is a place where a woman was killed by her husband) Then go towards the coast on the ridge, from Lualio and to Halepounui.

From there go straight along the land, where the road separates Waikele of Ewa and Waianae nei. From there go straight and down to the stream shoreward of Waikele, to Opu, an Oopu fishery (he Haha Oopu ia), then get right on top of the road. Then go straight to the shore and the hillock overlooking the Government Road, go straight towards the shore, to the head of a small gulch. Along the top of the land, go straight to the Government Road. From there enter the valley with *Koa* trees, and then drop down into the large stream of Kawili at Lihue; from there go again to the sweet potato fields called Kahaleula, on the South side of the Ewa stream, and on the north side is Waianae. From there go to the uplands of Lihue, till Kawaieli, on the side of Honouliuli, and on this side is Waianae to the opening of the valley. Then up along a cultivated field, to above the stream that cuts off Paupauwela of Honouliuli, and on this side is Waianae. From there, go to the side of the stream and the houses of Kuhau folks, and then up the cliff that separated Ewa and Waianae nei.

Go along this ridge, to the hill called Kalepeamoia, and from there to Pohakea, and top of the ridge of Halona; from that place, along the ridge to the place called Kaakaamaniania, where there are two hills. From there, go to the cliff of Kanehoalani, and to the cliff of Kapiliokahe. Then on the shore to Kalanimua, Kahekili's house. Out to the fishery where *hee* are speared, the *malolo* fishery, and the shark fishery. Then go again until Keawaiki, the place of commencement... [Maly, translator]



Olelo Hooholo No. 25

E hoomaka mai Mauna Lahilahi mai a hiki i ka puu i kapaia o Maileunu oia no hoi ka lapa i kapaia o Haanui. A ma ia lapa e pili ai a hiki i ka welelau o ka pali e kaawale ai o Makaha me Waianae. Mai laila aku holo pololei a hiki i ka Puu Kaua i kapaia o Kawiwi, mai laila aku a hiki i Kilohana alanui pii o Kumaipo; mai laila aku holo pololei a hiki Kaala; mai laila a holo maluna o ka Mooholua a hiki i ka puu o Kamaohanui. Ma kela aoao no Waianae a ma keia aoao no Waialua, holo aku malaila a hiki i ka hulei i kapaia o Puupani. Alaila, iho ma ke poo o ka holua i kapaia o Puulehelehe, holo malaila a hiki i ke kahawai o Kaala i kahi i kapaia o Laie. Holo ma ke kahawai a hiki i Kaula; pii mai mai ke kahawai a hiki i luna o ka honua, holo mai o ke kula ia o Puea. Kaa ka pohaku no Waialua paa ka pohaku no Waianae. Holo no pela a hiki i kahi i kapaia o Leinakea, he Kawa i kapaia o Waiheu. Mai laila aku holo hou ma ka honua a iho hou i ke kahawai o Mohiakea. Pii hou a hiki i luna no Waianae ka honua. Holo mai laila aku a hiki i kahi i kapaia o Mailepoho; holo hou a ke kahawai ohia. Mai laila aku a Waikoloa no Waianae ia, o ka wai no Waialua; holo no ma ia kahawai a hiki i kahi i kapaia o Kahuku, he Haha Oopu ia. Holo i uka, lilo ka wai ia Waianae holo no ma ia wai a hiki i ka uapo o Kaukonahua; aia malaila kekahi pohaku nui i kapaia o Kauna ka inoa; holo no mai laila aku a hiki i kahi awawa i kapaia o Kailiulaula. Alaila, holo a hiki i ka huina wai o Wahiawa me Kaukonahua, holo aku mai laila maluna o ka lapa o kau iluna; holo Hema a hiki ma kela kapa o kahawai mauka mai o kahi o na haole e noho nei. Huli hou holo Akau a hiki i kahi kumu kukui, he wahi kahuahale ia, o Mahu ka inoa. A ma ia kumu kukui holo pololei ma ka honua i uka a iho i ke kahawai a hiki i Paka, he Haha Oopu ia. Kau ma kela kapa o ke Alanui Kahiko ia e hele ai i Kukaniloko, mai laila aku a waena. Alaila, holo pololei i uka a hiki i na hale o Leleahana, he Kahuna Kapili Waa ia; mai laila aku holo a kiei i ka pali, kaa ka pohaku no Waialua, ili mai ka pohaku no Waianae. Holo pololei i ke kuahiwi; mai laila aku holo no ma ke kaulu a hiki i ka Lualio, he wahi alu ia; holo hou i kai maluna o ka moo mai ka Lualio mai a hiki i kahi i kapaia o ka Halepounui. Mai laila aku holo pololei i kai ma ka honua, he Alanui ia e kaawale ai o Waikele no Ewa. Mai laila aku a holo pololei a iho i ke kahawai o ma kai mai o Kawaieli; holo malaila ma ke kahawai no Waikele ia a hiki i Opu, he Haha Oopu ia. Pii pono i luna ma ke alanui. Alaila, holo pololei i kai a hiki i ke Alanui Aupuni, holo mai laila aku a komo i ke awawa Koa; ae aku ia wahi a iho hou i ke kahawai nui o Kawaieli ma Lihue. Mai laila aku holo hou a hiki i ka moo uala i kapaia o Kahaleula ma ka aoao Hema o ke kahawai no Ewa, ma ka aoao Akau no Waianae. Mai laila aku holo i uka o Lihue a hiki i Kawaieli pono, ma kela aoao no Honouliuli ma keia aoao o Waianae. Holo a hiki i ka puka ana mai o na wahi awawa. Pii pololei ma kahi moo holo i uka a iho i ke kahawai e pale ai o Paupauwela no Honouliuli ia, ma keia kapa o Waianae. Mai laila aku holo a ma kela kapa o ke kahawai i na hale o Kuhau ma. Alaila, holo pii i ka pali e kaawale ai o Ewa me Waianae; holo ma ia welau pali a hiki i ka puu i kapaia o Kalepeamo; mai laila aku holo a hiki i kahi i kapaia o Pohakea; holo a hiki i ka welelau pali ma Halona. Mai laila aku ma ia welelau pali no a hiki i na wahi puu Kulua i kapaia o Kaakaamaniania; mai laila aku holo no ma ka pali i kapaia o Kanehoalani; malaila iho a hiki i ka pali o Kapiliokahe i kahakai ma Kalanimua, he kahuahale ia no Kahekili. Holo ma ke kai a ke kai ohee kai malolo, kai lawaia Mano, Kahala. Holo a hiki i kahi i hoomakai. [Volume No. 1:47-49]

Decision No. 25

Beginning at Mauna Lahilahi, and up to the hill named Maileunu, that is on the ridge named Haanui, and along this ridge, adjoining and to the peak of the cliff that separated Makaha and Waianae. From there, go straight to Puu Kaua also called Kawiwi; from there to Kilohana, where the trail ascends Kumaipo; from there straight to Kaala; from there, go above Mooholua, and to the hill Kamaohanui. On that side is Waianae, and on this side is Waialua; from there go to the rise called Puupani. Then go down to the head of the *holua* (sled track) called Puulehelehe; from there,



to the stream of Kaala, at the place called Laie. Go along the stream to Kaula, and climb the gulch to the ground above; go along the flat lands of Puae. Where the stones roll is Waialua, where the stones stay put is Waianae. Go there, and then to the place called Leinakea, the leaping places called Waiheu. From there go again along the ground and down to the stream of Mohiakea. Then go up again to the top of Waianae, the dirt; and along till the place called Mailepoho, and again along the stream to *ohia*. From there along Waikoloa for Waianae, the water is for Waialua. Go along this stream to the place called Kahuku, it is an Oopu fishery (he Haha Oopu ia). Go inland, the water is for Waianae; go along this water to the bridge of Kaukonahua; where there is a large stone known by the name of Kauna. Go from there to a gulch called Kailiulaula. Then go to where the waters of Wahiawa and Kaukonahua meet. Go from there to the top of a ridge, and go South to the upland side of the stream gulch, by where a foreigner lives. Turn again and go to the North to a *kukui* tree, a place where there is a house (*kahuahale*). Mahu is the name of that *kukui* tree. Go straight along to where the land (earth) is above, and go down a stream to Paka, where there is an Oopu fishery (he Haha Oopu ia). Then on the side of the old trail that goes to Kukaniloko. From there in the middle, then go straight to the uplands to the houses of Leleahana, he is a canoe making priest; from there go to where one can look over the cliff. Where the stones roll is Waialua, where the stones accumulate is Waianae. Run straight to the mountain and from there along the cliff to Lualio, it is a hollow; then go towards the sea along the ridge from Lualio to the place called Halepounui. From there go straight towards the sea along the land, the trail separating Waikele of Ewa. From there go straight down the stream below Kawaieli; go there along the stream of Waikele to Opu, an Oopu fishery (he Haha Oopu ia), then get up right on the trail. Then go straight towards the sea to the Government Road, and from there go into the gulch with *Koa* trees; cross that place, and go down the large stream gulch of Kawaieli in Lihue. From there, go again until the sweet potato fields called Kahaleula on the South side of the stream is Ewa, on the North side is Waianae. From there go above Lihue to the actual place of Kawaieli; that side is Honouliuli, and this side of Waianae; go to the opening of the gulch. Then go straight up the ridge to the ridge, and then down the stream which separates Paupauwela of Honouliuli, on this side is Waianae; from there go along the side of the stream to the houses of Kuhau folks. Then go up the cliff that separated Ewa from Waianae, and along the cliff ridge to the hill called Kalepeamoia; from there go to the place called Pohakea, go to the top of the cliff at Halona. From the top of the cliff go to the place the Kulua hills called Kaakaamaniania; from there go to along the cliff called Kanehoalani; from there down to the cliff of Piliokahe at the shore of Kalanimua, the house of Kahekili. Go on the sea to the fishery where *hee* are speared, to the *malolo* fishery, and the Shark and *Kahala* fishery. Then go to point of commencement... [Maly, translator]

Pahoa, Ili of Waianae, Waianae District

Apana 3 - Fish Pond.

Commencing at a point in the center of three cocoanut trees from which the Government Survey Station in Mauna Kuwale bears N. 68° 47' E. true, the boundary runs:



1. S. 58° 33' W. true 361 feet across road and North end of pond;
 2. S. 4° 32' E. true 840 feet along lower side of pond;
 3. S. 21° 20' E. true 656 feet along lower side of pond;
 4. N. 81° 9' E. true 174 feet across lower end of pond;
 5. N. 11° 4' W. true 748 feet part way along stone wall;
 6. N. 74° 38' E. true 86 feet along Pond;
 7. N. 25° 28' W. true 255 feet along Pond;
 8. N. 2° 40' E. true 377 feet along Pond;
 9. N. 59° 12' E. true 104 feet along Pond across road;
 10. N. 27° 39' W. true 218 feet along pond to initial point.
- Area 10 24/100 acres... [Volume 2: 116-117]



HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS: MARINE RESOURCES, AND TRANSITIONS IN FISHING PRACTICES DESCRIBED

Among the most significant collections of documentation pertaining to the diverse nature of Hawaiian fisheries—including study of traditional and early historical practices associated with them; and changes in the quality of marine resources, and the methods by which they were collected—are those that were undertaken in the period of Hawaiian history marked by its greatest turmoil and changes. The preceding sections of the study have covered Hawaiian traditions, practices, knowledge and management of fishery resources from antiquity to the late 1800s. This system was radically altered in 1893, when the Hawaiian Monarchy was overthrown by foreign residents and American forces. Subsequently, the leaders of the parties responsible for the overthrow, made a steady move towards annexation of the Hawaiian Islands by the United States, which occurred in 1898. Then in 1900, the Hawaiian Islands became a “Territory” of the United States, and the resulting “Organic Act” set in place the legal parameters for freeing up the fisheries of Hawai‘i.

As a part of that process, detailed studies of the Hawaiian fisheries were undertaken between 1898 to 1905. The resulting reports on fisheries include, but are not limited to a Message from the President of the United States to the Committee on Foreign Affairs (December 6, 1898); The Investigation of Fisheries and Fishing Laws of Hawaii (January 13, 1902); the Preliminary Report on an Investigation of the Fishes and Fisheries of the Hawaiian Islands (1901); and the Bulletin of the United States Fish Commission (1903-1905). These reports provide readers with detailed descriptions of the types, quantity and locality of catch; who was fishing; how the catch was distributed; changes in the fisheries; and recommendations regarding long-term management of the fisheries.

In regards to the management context of the reports, readers here will observe that the recommendations are generally based on the “economic values” of the fishery. It is perhaps this point that has led to the continual decline of the quality and health of the Hawaiian fisheries. In the traditional and early historical Hawaiian system, collection of fishes and other aquatic resources was undertaken on an as-needed basis, supported by a broad range of conservation-stewardship practices, and further governed by strict *kapu* and *kānāwai*.

It has been the observation of nearly every *kūpuna* and elder *kama‘āina* interviewed by Maly over the past 15 years, that when Hawaiian fisheries (from mountain streams to deep sea) were managed under the old system—including the *kapu*, periods in which fisheries were rested, private ownership of fisheries, and at times severe penalties for infractions on the *kapu* and *kānāwai*—that the fisheries were capable of sustaining hundreds of thousands of residents and fisher-people. The foundational component of the native relationship with fisheries and harvesting of resources, was that the *kanaka* and their environment shared a familial and religious relationship. Each person bore responsibility for his or her actions. This concept is personalized and expressed in Hawaiian life as “*Mālama i ka ‘āina, a mālama ka ‘āina iā ‘oe!*” (Care for the land, and the land will care for you!) The saying is also expressed as “*Mālama i ke kai, a mālama ke kai iā ‘oe!*” (Care for the ocean, and the ocean will care for you!) (see interviews in Volume II).

As noted earlier in this study, following the events that led to the change of governance in the Hawaiian Islands between 1893 to 1900, *the private and piscary rights to fisheries—and ultimately the responsibility for them—was determined no longer to be a private matter, but one of public right and interest.* Descriptions of the decline of Hawaiian fisheries cited in this section of the study, and the oral historical accounts as given by *kūpuna* and elder *kama‘āina* (see Volume II) reveal that components of the traditional integrated system of resource management was perhaps best for Hawai‘i Nei. While the economic management approach, and releasing of people from responsibility for given lands and fisheries, has led to an imbalance and decline of this great resource.



The following reports, extensive sections of which are cited verbatim, provide us with detailed and important descriptions of fisheries, and shed light on how we arrived at the present status of the resources. Underlining is used below to draw reader's attention to selected narratives.

Report of Committee on Fisheries. Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands (September 7, 1898)

Hon. SHELBY M. CULLOM,
Chairman of the Hawaiian Commission.

SIR: Your committee on fisheries respectfully submit the following report:

Each of these islands may be roughly described as consisting of one or more central lofty mountains with sides sloping rapidly toward the sea. There are naturally few lakes or ponds, and these are of inconsiderable size. The streams, while numerous, are of small volume, short and of rapid fall. Much of the coast line is skirted with a coral reef, between which and the shore there is a space of shallow water. From the reef, and where there is no reef from the shore, the water deepens rapidly.

As might be expected, there are few fish in the streams and lakes, and these are of little value. They belong, as at common law, to the owners of the soil under the streams and lakes.

There was formerly little animal food upon the land, and consequently the natives, who lived mostly along the coast, looked to the sea as their chief source of animal food. It followed that their sea fisheries were regarded as among their most valuable properties. These were closely connected with the ownership of land; indeed, they were regarded as appurtenances to the adjoining or neighboring lands, and the laws or customs governing them can be explained only by reference to the system of land tenures formerly existing, which was of a feudal nature.

Without going into too great detail, the land may be said to have been divided up into large tracts and small tracts. The large tracts commonly included a strip of land extending from the summit or well up on the slopes of the central mountain of an island to the sea. These were called ahupuaas and were owned by chiefs or lords, called konohikis. Within these were the smaller tracts, called kuleanas, occupied by the common people, who were regarded as tenants of the owners of the larger tracts. There were also other tracts, generally intermediate in size, called ilis, some of which were independent, like the larger tracts, and others of which were subordinate, like the smaller tracts. The King was lord over all.

As lord paramount the King could take and redistribute the fishing rights as well as the lands of his subjects. This he did in 1839, taking all fishing grounds and giving one portion of them to the common people, one portion to the landlords, and reserving one portion for himself, at the same time prescribing certain restrictions and regulations under which the rights thus conferred were to be exercised. This was done by statute, the provisions of which, as amended from time to time, are still in force. In 1846 and the following few years the change was made from the feudal system to that of several ownership, and titles were awarded by commissioners to quiet land titles to those who proved ownership or right of occupancy under the preexisting system. In a few cases titles to fisheries were awarded, or afterwards patented or allowed by commissioners of boundaries, by metes and bounds, but in most cases, where the award of patent referred to fisheries at all, it conferred merely a right of fishery as an appurtenance to the land without specifying the extent of the fishery, and left it to be determined either by the



general provisions of the statute or the testimony of witnesses. In the majority of cases, however, no reference was made to fisheries, and the right rested solely on the statute. In 1848 the great division of lands was made by which the King gave to the Government a large number of royal lands, and upon the downfall of the monarchy the crown lands also became Government lands.

In shoal waters along the shores there are many fish ponds, made artificially by the construction of stone walls of semicircular form with the shore line as a diameter, and with small openings through the wall for the flow of the tide. These are found on Government lands as well as private lands.

Now, bearing in mind the foregoing facts, the sea fisheries of these islands, except as expressly awarded or patented, are governed as follows by statute:

All fishing grounds appertaining to government lands or otherwise belonging to the government, excepting fish ponds, are free for all persons. The minister of the interior may, however, for the protection of the fishing grounds, forbid the taking of fish at certain seasons. There has thus far been no occasion for the exercise of this power by the minister. The fish ponds owned by the government are leased to private persons. Their future disposition is an appropriate subject for consideration by the committee on public lands. Upon the sale of any government land the fisheries appertaining thereto remain free. No person residing without the islands may take fish within the waters of the islands for the purpose of sale without the islands. The fishing grounds from the shore to the reef, and where there is no reef for a distance of one mile, belong to the *konohikis*, for the use of themselves and their tenants. Each *konohiki* may set apart one variety of fish for himself, or, on consultation with his tenants, may prohibit all fishing during certain seasons, and during the fishing season receive from his tenants one-third of all fish taken. The tenants may take fish either themselves or for sale or exportation. No person shall use giant powder or other explosive substances in taking fish. No person shall take the young of the mullet and *awa* under four inches in length, except for the purpose of stocking ponds.

It will be seen that fisheries are governed here by principles recognized by the common law. There are common fisheries, commons of fisheries, and several fisheries; but owing to the peculiar conditions that have existed here the two latter classes of fisheries exist here to a much larger extent than in other English-speaking countries. Rights of fishery here are, as at common law, subject to rights of navigation. They are subject also to statutory regulation.

Until recently the fishing industry has been engaged in chiefly by Hawaiians, but of late the Chinese and Japanese have entered largely into it. They fish both on the free fishing grounds and on private grounds, including fish ponds, which they lease from the owners. No fishing on a large scale has yet been undertaken, but a fishing company of whites has recently been formed, which is to work with a sailing vessel about 70 feet in length, with auxiliary steam power. Fishing in shallow water near shore is conducted mostly with nets; that in deep water with hook and line. There are shoals or banks offshore, especially in the channels between Oahu, Molokai, Maui, Kahoolawe, and Lanai, which are said to be good fishing grounds.

Fish are not found in such quantities in Hawaiian waters as in some other waters, and yet the number of species is perhaps unusually large, amounting to several hundred, of which about 100 may be found in the markets. These are of great variety of size, shape, and color, and include many species of excellent food qualities. The sales at the



Honolulu fish market amount to from 40,000 to 80,000 fish of varying sizes per week. These are all inspected by an officer of the board of health.

Hawaiian waters afford rare opportunities for the study of fish and other marine life. While some scientific investigation has been made in this direction, it has been very limited, owing to lack of facilities. The establishment here of a station under the United States Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries would no doubt prove to be of great benefit to both the people of these islands and those of the mainland. In this connection it may not be out of place to add that there is some prospect for the establishment here of a marine aquarium and biological laboratory by the trustees of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, and that the Hawaiian legislature at its last session authorized the minister of the interior to reserve a portion of the reef on the south-eastly side of the channel of Honolulu harbor for a marine park, and to enter into an agreement with the said trustees for the establishment of aquarium and laboratory within said park.

Very respectfully,

W. F. FREAR & JNO. T. MORGAN.

List of Fish Known to the Honolulu Market (1900)

In the 1900 issue of the Hawaiian Annual and Almanac, L.D. Keliipio, Fish Inspector, Board of Health, reported on the types of marine resources sold in the Government's Fish Market at Honolulu. The following list identifies—214 types of *i'a* (fish); 15 types *pāpā'i* (crabs - crustaceans); 32 types of *pūpū* (shellfish); and 24 types of *limu* (seaweeds):

Aawa	A'ulepa
Aawa-lelo	Awa
A'ea'e	Awa-aua
Aeaea	Awa-kalamoho
Aha	Awela
Ahaaha	Aweoweo
Ahi	Enenue or Nenue
Ahi-kihikihi	Hahalua
Ahi-palaha	Halahala
Ahi-poonui	Halalu
Aholehole	Hapuupuu
Ahuluhulu	Hauliuli
Aku	Heapi
Aku-kinau	Hee (squid)
Akule	Hee-kaiuli
Alaihi	Hee-makoko
Alaihi-kalalao	Hee-pali
Alalaua	Hee-pulua
Alamoo	Hihimanu
Aloalo	Hilu
Aloilo	Hilu-pano
Amaama (mullet)	Hilu-ula
Amoomoo	Hilu-uli
Anae	Hinalea
Aniholoa	Hinalea-akilolo
Aoao-nui	Hinalea-eleele
A'u	Hinalea-niau
Au'a	Hinalea-nukuiwi-ula
A'ua'u	Hinalea-nukuiwi-uli
Auku	Hinalea-olali



Hinana
Honu (turtle)
Honu-ea
Honu-kahiki
Hou
Humuhumu
Humuhumu-hi'u-kole
Humuhumu-kapa
Humuhumu-lii
Humuhumu-maneoneo
Humuhumu-meemee
Humuhumu-nukunuku-apuaa
I'aulaula
I'aulaula-kea
I'aulaula-ula
Iapake
Iheihe
Iiao
Kaapeape
Kahala
Kahala-mokulele
Kahali
Kakala-hooulu
Kaku
Kala
Kala-pala
Kala-palaholo
Kala-uli
Kalekale
Kaluha
Kalu-niau
Kanio
Kapa
Kawakawa
Kawakawa-kinau
Kawelea
Kekee
Kihikihi
Koe
Kokala
Kole
Kowali
Kumu
Kupala
Kupipi
Kupoupou
Kupoupou-lilo
Laenihi
Laenihi-eleele
Laenihi-kea
Lahau-wiliwili
Lai
Laihala
Laipa;a
Lauhau
Lauhau-kapuhili

Lauhau-kikapu
Lauhau-mahauli
Lauki-pala
Laumilo
Lehe
Leleiona
Lolohau
Loulou
Lupe
Mahimahi
Maiii
Maika
Maikoiko
Makapuu
Malamalama
Malamalama-ula
Malamalama-uli
Malolo
Malolo-eheuula
Malolo-hapuu
Mamahao
Mamamo
Manini
Mano (shark)
Mano-ihuwaa
Mano-kihikihi
Mano-lalakea
Manoni
Mano-paele
Maoamo
Mikiawa
Moa
Moamo
Moano-auki
Moano-lehua
Moano-papaa
Moano-ukali
Moi-lii
Moi-mana
Monomi
Mu
Muhee
Na'i
Na'u
Naenae
Nakea
Nehu
Nihokomaka
Nohu
Nopili
Nukumomi
Nunu
O'u
Oama
Ohe
Ohua-aliko



Ohua-lii
Ohua-nihonui
Ohua-paawela
Ohua-palemo
Oila
Oililepa
Oio
Okuhekuhe
Olali
Omakaka
Omilu
Ono
Onoholoa
Ono-malani
Oopu
Oopuhue
Oopukai
Opae (shrimps)
Opae-hune
Opae-kai
Opae-kalaole
Opae-lolo
Opae-oehaa
Opakapaka-oolola
Opelu
Opelu-kika
Opelu-lalii
Opelu-palahu
Opule
Opule-uli
Oukuuku
Paakaihelei
Pahapuu
Paka
Pakii
Pakuikui
Palahoana
Palailai
Palani
Panuhunuhu
Paoo
Paoo-lekei
Paoo-moana
Paoo-puhi
Paopao
Papiopio-ulu
Pauu
Piha
Pilikoa
Piopio
Pipio
Poe
Pohopoho
Poo'u
Poopaa
Pua-ii

Pualu
Puihi (eels)
Puhikii
Puili
Uha
Uhu
Uhu-aa
Uhumakaokai
Uhu-palukaluka
Uhu-ula
Uhu-uli
Ukikiki
Uku
Ula
Ulae-ula
Ulae-uli
Ulaia
Ula-koae
Ulapapapa
Ula-poni
Ulaula
Ulua
Umaumalei
Uouoa
Upapalu
Uu
Uukanipo
Uwiuwi
Uwiuwilua
Wana
Weke
Weke-moelua
Weke-pueo
Wekeula
Wela
Welea

Crabs, etc. (Papai)

Aama
Aloa
Elekuma
Elepi
Kuhonu
Kukuau
Kumimi
Moala
Ohiki
Ohiki-aumoana
Opeapea
Papa
Pokipoki
Pokipoki-aumoana
Pokipoki-kuapua



Shell Fish (Pupu)

Halula
Haukeuke
Hawae
Ina-ula
Ina-uli
Kuapaa
Kupee
Leho-kupa
Leho-okala
Leho-paulu
Leho-ula
Lepokolea
Loli-kae
Loli-koko
Loli-pua
Nahawale
Naka
Okole
Okupe
Olepe
Opihi
Owakawaka
Papaua
Pioe
Pipi
Pipipi
Pu
Puhikaua
Puleholeho
Pupu

Wana
Wi

Sea Weed, etc. (Limu)

Akiaki
Alaula
Huluhuluwaena
Kaihee
Koeleele
Limu-eeleele
Limu-huna
Limu-kala
Limu-koko
Limu-kopu
Limu-lipoa
Limu-make
Lipala
Lipeepee
Lipuupuu
Loloa
Nanue
Oolu
Pahapaha
Pakaiea
Palawai
Panoonoo
Pepeiao
Wawahiwaa
[Hawaiian Annual & Almanac;
1900:45-46]

***Preliminary Report on the Investigations of
The Fisheries and Fishing Laws of Hawaii – 57th Congress,
1st Session House of Representatives Document No. 249 (1902)
(by David Starr Jordan and Barton Warren Evermann)***

Scope of the Investigations.

So little being definitely known regarding the fishes and other aquatic resources of the Hawaiian Island, it was manifestly desirable to go into the whole questions of fisheries of those islands, and to make the investigations sufficiently comprehensive and exhaustive to enable the Commission to publish, in time, a full and reliable report upon the aquatic resources of the entire group. [page 3]

This would, in the first place, necessitate much work by shore parties, who would make inquiries along the following lines:

1. A qualitative and quantitative study of the commercial and shore fishes, mollusks, crustaceans, and other aquatic animals and plants. Attention would be given to the actual and relative food values and the commercial importance of



the different species; the important facts in their life histories, such as their migrations, spawning time and place, food, feeding habits, enemies, and maximum and average size.

2. The methods, extent, and history of the fisheries would have to receive careful attention. The kinds of apparatus used, the manner, time, and place of using each, the species taken in each, and the manner of caring for and disposing of the catch; the statistics of the fisheries, value of each kind of apparatus, as boats, nets, traps, etc.; nature and value of shore property; nationality and number of people engaged in the fisheries; business relations and contracts between fishermen and those by whom employed; quantity and value of each species caught; prices paid the fishermen, also those received wholesale and retail; changes in methods, extent, and character of the fisheries in historic times as shown by records and traditions, particularly since the coming of Europeans and Asiatics.
3. The fishery laws would need special consideration, including an account of fishery regulations and legislation from the old system of *tabu* to the present time.

The possibility of improvement in the methods of taking fish and the methods of handling and marketing them should receive careful consideration, and the necessity for and possibility of fish-cultural operations with reference to species that may be in danger of extinction or serious diminution, and the introduction of species not native to the islands, are questions requiring careful investigation.

The expedition sailed from San Francisco for Honolulu May 29, and the summer and early fall were devoted to work along these lines.

Preliminary to a proper understanding of the economic phases of the fisheries, it is of course necessary that we know just what species of fishes and other aquatic animals inhabit or frequent Hawaiian waters. A large part of the time of the present expedition was therefore devoted to making collections of the species brought to the market by the fishermen and such as could be obtained by the use of seines and other means in shallow water along and near the shore. Mr. Cobb devoted his entire time to the methods and statistics of the fisheries.

About 350 species of fishes were obtained, about 70 of them being new to science, in addition to about 100 obtained by Dr. Jenkins in his expedition of 1889 and only lately described by him. A detailed account of the fishes of the islands will be published later, illustrated by colored plates taken from fresh and often from living specimens by Messrs. Hudson and Baldwin. [page 4]

The fishes of Hawaii are remarkable for their brilliancy of color, a trait which they share with the fishes of other volcanic and coral islands of the Tropics. Of the many species which come into the markets nearly all are good food fishes. A very few (mostly puffers — Tetraodontidae) are poisonous—or at least noxious—and a few species living in the crevices of the reefs are too small to be sought for food purposes.

As the natives mostly eat fishes raw, certain species not of especial excellence when cooked are very highly valued by them. This is especially true of the parrot-fishes (Scarus), which sell in the market at prices which seem extraordinarily high.



FOOD-FISHES.

The following is a list of the principal fishes of the Hawaiian Islands, the majority of which are used as food, arranged according to the alphabetical order of the native names, together with the identifications, so far as they have been determined:

Common name.	Scientific name.
<i>Aalaihi</i>	<i>Thalassoma duperreyi</i> .
<i>Aawa</i>	<i>Lepidoplois bilunulatus</i> .
<i>Aha</i>	<i>Athlennes</i> (new species).
<i>Ahi</i>	<i>Germo sibi</i> .
<i>Aholehole</i>	<i>Kuhlia malo</i> .
<i>Akilolo</i>	Gomphosus and <i>Thalassoma</i> , species.
<i>Aku</i>	<i>Gymnosarda pelamis</i> .
<i>Akule</i>	<i>Trachurops crumenophthalmus</i> .
<i>Aleihi</i>	<i>Holocentrus diadema</i> , etc.
<i>Aloiloi</i> .	
<i>Amaama</i>	<i>Mugil dobula</i> .
<i>Anae</i>	<i>Mugil dobula</i> (adult).
<i>Api</i>	<i>Zembrasoma guttatum</i> .
<i>Awa</i>	<i>Chanos chanos</i> .
<i>Awa kalamoku</i>	<i>Chanos chanos</i> .
<i>Awaawa</i>	<i>Elops machnata</i> .
<i>Awela</i>	<i>Thalassoma purpureum</i> .
<i>Aweoweo</i>	<i>Priacanthus cruentatus</i> .
<i>Ea</i>	<i>Lepidoplois modestus</i> .
<i>Enenuē or Nenuē</i>	<i>Kyphosus fuscus</i> .
<i>Hapuupuu</i>	<i>Epinephelus</i> (new species).
<i>Hauliuli</i>	<i>Lemnisoma thyrsooides</i> .
<i>Hihimanu</i>	<i>Aetobatus narinari</i> .
<i>Hilu</i>	<i>Anampses cuvieri</i> .
<i>Hilulauli</i>	<i>Coris lepomis</i> .
<i>Hinalea</i>	<i>Coris, Novaculichthys</i> , etc.
<i>Hinalea</i>	<i>Coris gaimardi</i> .
<i>Humuhumu meemeē</i>	<i>Hemiramphus depauperatus</i> .
<i>Humahuma</i>	<i>Melichthys bispinosus</i> , etc.
<i>Iheihe</i>	<i>Euleptorhamphus longirostris</i>
<i>li</i> .	
<i>liao</i> .	
<i>Iono</i>	<i>Remora remora</i> .
<i>Kahala</i>	<i>Seriola</i> , species.
<i>Kaku</i>	<i>Sphyræna snodgrassi</i> .
<i>Kala</i>	<i>Monoceros unicornis</i> .
<i>Kawakawa</i>	<i>Gymnosarda alleterata</i> .
<i>Kalekale</i> .	
<i>Kaualea</i> .	
<i>Kikakapu</i>	<i>Chretodon omatissimus</i> .
<i>Koae</i> .	
<i>Koi</i>	<i>Etelis carbunculus</i>
<i>Kole</i> .	
<i>Kuapaa</i> .	
<i>Kumu</i>	<i>Upeneus porphyreus</i> .
<i>Kupipi</i> .	
<i>Kupoupou</i>	<i>Cheilio inermis</i> .
<i>Laenihī</i>	<i>Iniistius, Hemipteronotus</i> , etc.
<i>Lai</i>	<i>Scomberoides toto</i> .



Laipala
Lao
Lauhau
Lauia
Lauwiliwili
Lolohau
Louho
Laukipala
Mahihi
Mahimahi
Maïïï
Maïkoïko
Makaa
Malamalama.
Malolo
Mamama
Mamamu
Mamamu
Maneoneo
Manini
Mano
Mano hihikihi
Maumau.
Mikiawa.
Moa
Moano
Moi
Moi-lii.
Mu
Munu
Nainai
Nanihu.
Nehu
Nihipali.
Nohu
Nohupinao.
Nunu
Oau.
Oili
Oililepa
Oio
Okuhekuhe.
Olale
Omakaha
Omilu
Ono
Oopu
Oopuhue
Oopukai.
Opakapaka
Opelu
Opule
Paapaa
Paka.
Pakaikawale.

Zebrasoma flavescens.
Halichraeres lao.
Chaetodon quadrimaculatus.
Scarus jordani, etc.
Forcipiger longirostris.
Cephalacanthus orientalis.
Zanclus canescens.
Lampris luna.
Coryphaena hippurus.
Coryphaena hippurus.
Teuthis nigroris.
Teuthis lineolatus.
Malacanthus brevirostris.

Cypsilurus simus.
Abudefduf abdominalis.
Kyphosus fuscus.
Sphrerodon grandoculis.
Zebrasoma hypselopteron.
Teuthis sandwichensis.
Shark.
Sphyrna zygaena.

Ostracion camurum.
Upeneus velifer.
Polydactylus sexfilis.

Sphaerodon grandoculis.
Upeneus trifasciatus.
Teuthis olivaceus.

Anchovia purpurea. *Atherina* (new species).

Scorpaenopsis cacopsis.

Aulostomus chinensis.

Monocanthus spilosomus.
Alutera scripta.
Albula vulpes.

Thalassoma purpureum.
Perkinsia (new species).
Carangus melampygus and *C. bajad.*

Eleotris fusca and Gobies of all species.
Tetrodonhispidus (reputed very poisonous)

Apsilus kelloggi.
Decapterus pinnulatus.
Anampses evermanni, etc.
Cirrhites marmoratus.



Welea.
Wolu

[same as *walu*].

Laws Relating To The Fisheries.

Previous to about 1830 a state of affairs very much resembling the feudal system of Europe during the middle ages existed on the islands. The King and chiefs owned all the lands, while the common people were mere tenants at will, whose duty it was to support their feudal [page 7] lord and his numerous retinue in peace by the sweat of their brows, and in war defend him with their lives.

A unique feature of this system was that not only were the lands owned by the chiefs but the exclusive right to fish in the waters of the ocean adjacent to the estates was in most instances considered it part of the estates themselves, and as a result of this condition of affairs the common people were prevented from gathering from the sea, without vexatious restrictions and grievous exactions, that very necessary part of their food supply which they so much loved and which the sea could furnish in such abundance. The only redeeming feature in this was that if his landlord became too exacting the tenant could move on to the land of some more lenient taskmaster. As the importance of the chief was determined largely by the number of tenants he had on his lands, this proved at times a check on the rapaciousness of some of the chiefs.

In order to continue this condition of affairs more securely in their own hands the ruling classes had recourse to the system of *tabu* (a corruption of the Hawaiian word "*kapu*"). To *tabu* was to command to do or not to do, and the meaning of it was "obey or die." The *tabu* was a prerogative adhering exclusively to political and ecclesiastical rank, and was common to the Polynesian tribes, having been adopted and enforced by the priesthood and nobility as a protection to their lives, property, and dignity. In nearly every instance the penalty for breaking a *tabu* was death. Tabus were of two kinds, perpetual and temporary.

The perpetual tabus were universal and were well known to the people. It was perpetual *tabu*, except to the higher nobility, to cross the shadow of the king, to stand in his presence without permission, or to approach him except upon the knees. Everything pertaining to the priesthood and temples was under perpetual *tabu*. Squid, turtle, and two or three species of birds could be eaten only by the priests and *tabu* nobility, while women were tabued from eating plantains, bananas, coconuts, the flesh of swine and certain fish, among them the *kumu*, *moano*, *ulua*, *honu*, *ea*, *hahalua*, and *naia*. Men and women were allowed under no circumstances to partake of food together. This last *tabu* applied to everybody in the kingdom—king, nobles, and common people—and was one of the most oppressive of the religious tabus, as it necessitated having separate eating houses for the women and men, thus putting everybody to considerable unnecessary expense and trouble.

The incidental and temporary tabus were the most oppressive and dangerous to the common people, as they were liable to be thoughtlessly violated. The king and *tabu* nobility would *tabu* favorite paths, springs, streams, and bathing places, etc., as the whim seized them.

The general tabus declared by the king were proclaimed by herald, [page 8] while the temporary tabus were notified to the people by a staff, surmounted by a crown of white or black *kapa*, stuck in the ground close to the object declared sacred.

The priesthood received its death blow in 1819, when Liholiho, the king, destroyed the idols and broke the worst of the religious tabus by eating openly with his queen. The



common people, and, strange to relate, the priests themselves, followed his example, and in a few weeks the country was without any religion at all.

In the fisheries the king usually had certain fishes tabued, while the chiefs or landlords (called "konohikis") had the same privilege with one species in the sea fisheries belonging to their respective estates. This *tabu* did not prevent the fishermen from catching the species so set apart, but they were compelled to hand over to the king or chiefs all or a portion of the catch of these species.

The advent of the American missionaries in 1820, coming as it did immediately after the destruction of the native religion by Liholiho, was most fortunate, the people being ripe for a change, and they gladly embraced the Christian religion after a short period of hesitation. The missionaries reduced the native language, which had been oral previously, to writing, and under their direction the people made probably the most remarkable advances in civilization and education ever witnessed among a heathen race. Stimulated by this great advance in intelligence and learning, the king, Kamehameha III, in conjunction with the chiefs and nobles, in 1839, gave the people a written constitution and code of laws.

The following are the provisions in this document which relate to the fisheries:

Chapter III.—8. Of Free And Prohibited Fishing Grounds (1839).

1. Of free fishing grounds.—His Majesty the King hereby takes the fishing grounds from those who now possess them from Hawaii to Kauai; and gives one portion of them to the common people, another portion to the landlords, and a portion he reserves to himself.

These are the fishing grounds which His Majesty the King takes and gives to the people: The fishing grounds without the coral reef, viz., the Kilohee grounds, the Luhee ground, the Malolo ground, together with the ocean beyond.

But the fishing grounds from the coral reef to the sea beach are for the landlords and for the tenants of their several lands, but not for others. But if that species of fish which the landlord selects as his own personal portion should go on to the grounds which are given to the common people, then that species of fish, and that only, is tabooed; if the squid, then the squid only; or if some other species of fish, that only and not the squid. And thus it shall be in all places all over the islands; if the squid, that only; and if in some other place it be another fish, then that only and not the squid... [page 9]

2. Respecting the tabooed fishing grounds.—Those fishing grounds which are known by the people to have shoals of fish remaining upon them shall, at the proper season for fishing, be placed under the protective *taboo* of the tax officers for the King. The fishing grounds on Oahu thus protected are: 1, Kalia; 2, Keehi; 3, Kapapa; 4, Malae-akuli; 5, Pahih. On Molokai as follows: 1, Punalau; 2, Ooia; 3, Kawai; 4, Koholanui; 5, Kaonini; 6, Aikoolua; 7, Waiokama; 8, Heleiki. On Lanai, the bonito and the parrot-fish. On Maui, the kuleku of Honuaula and other places. On Hawaii, the albicore.

On Kauai, the mullet of Huleia, Anehola [Anahola], Kahili, and Hanalei, and the squid and fresh-water fish of Mana, the permanent shoal fish of Niihau, and all the transient shoal fish from Hawaii to Niihau, if in sufficient quantity to fill two or more canoes, but not so small a quantity as to fill one canoe only. But if the fishermen go and borrow a large canoe, that all the fish may be put into one,



then there shall be a duty upon them... [page 10] [see full texts of Law in section of this study titled “*Nā Pono Kai Me Nā Pono Lawai’a...*”]

On April 1, 1841, the nobles met at Luaehu, in Lahaina, and made the following changes in the above laws:

5. *Of Shoal fish.*—From the eighth section of the third chapter of this law, which is found on thirty-eighth page, certain words shall be erased, as follows: “If in sufficient quantities to fill two or more canoes, but not so small a quantity as to fill one canoe only.”

The transient shoal fish spoken of in this law are: (1) the *Akule*, (2) the *Anaeholo*, (3) the *Alalauwa*, (4) the *Uhukai*, (5) the *Kawelea*, (6) the *Kawakawa*, (7) the *Kalaku*.

These kinds of fish shall be divided equally whenever they arrive at these islands, or whenever they drift along...

21. *Of the protection of the fisheries.*—The following words are to be inserted in the eighth section of the third chapter, on the thirty-eighth page: “The general tax officer may lay a protective *taboo* on the King’s fish, and also on those of the land agents, but the land agents and the King also may eat of their own fish tabooed by themselves, even before the *taboo* of the tax officer is repealed.” [page 11] [see full texts of Law in section of this study titled “*Nā Pono Kai Me Nā Pono Lawai’a...*”]

In 1845 it was found necessary to define more clearly the rights of the respective parties, and the following was adopted in connection with other legislation:

Chapter VI.—Article V.—Of The Public And Private Rights Of Piscary (1845).

SECTION I. The entire marine space without and seaward of the reefs upon the coasts of the several islands comprising the several fishing grounds commonly known as the *Kilohee* grounds, *Luhee* grounds, the *Malolo* grounds, and the fishery of the ocean from said reefs to the limit of the marine jurisdiction in the first article of this chapter defined shall be free to the people of these islands. The people shall not be molested in the enjoyment thereof except as hereinafter provided.

SEC. II. The fishing grounds from the reefs, and where there happen to be no reefs from the distance of one geographical mile seaward to the beach at low-water mark, shall in like manner be considered private property of the landlords whose lands by ancient regulation belong to the same; in the possession of which private fisheries the said landlords shall not be molested except to the extent of the reservations and prohibitions hereinafter set forth.

SEC. III. The landlords shall be considered in like manner to hold said private fisheries for the equal use of themselves and of the tenants on their respective lands; and the tenants shall be at liberty to use the fisheries of their landlords, subject to the restrictions in this article imposed... [page 11]

SEC. VIII. The royal fish shall appertain to the Hawaiian Government and shall be the following^a, viz:

^a A number of the common names in use at that time have since been changed so that at present it is a difficult matter to determine the scientific names of the species mentioned in the law. The following are some which have been determined: The bonito, *Gymnosarda pelamis*; the albacore, *Germo sibi*; the mullet, *Mugil dobula*; kule, *Trachurops crumenophthalmus*; the anaeholo, a young mullet; the alalauwa, *Priacanthus*; the kawakawa, *Gymnosarda alleterata*.



First. The bonito when off any part of the coast of Lanai.

Second. The albacore of Hawaii.

Third. The mullet of Huleia, Anehola, and Hanalei; the squid and freshwater fish of Kauai.

Fourth. The shoal fish taken at the following places noted for the abundance of fish frequenting them: Off Oahu: 1, Kalia; 2, Keehi; 3, Kapapa; 4, Malaeakuli, and 5, Pahihi.

Fifth. Off Molokai: 1, Punalau; 2, Ooia; 3, Kawai; 4, Koholanui; 5, Kaonini; 6, Aikoolua; 7, Waiokama, and 8, Heleiki.

Sixth. And off Maui; the *kuleku* of Honuaula; and the same whenever found off said island.

Seventh. All the following transient fish, viz: 1, the *kule*; 2, the *anaeholo*; 3, the *alalauwa*; 4, the *uhukai*; 5, the *kawelea*; 6, the *kawakawa*; 7, the *kalaku*.

These shall be divided equally between the King and fishermen. But on all the prohibited fishing grounds the landlords shall be entitled to one species of fish and [page 12] those who have walled fish ponds shall be allowed to scoop up small fish to replenish their ponds. If the prohibited fish of the landlord be mingled with the royal fish, then the landlord shall be entitled to one-third of the whole of the fish taken, though this applies only to Molokai, Oahu, and the reefs of Kauai.

All which shall be yearly protected by the king's *taboo*, to be imposed by the minister of the interior by means of circular from his department, as prescribed in the act to organize the executive ministry; and during the specified season of *taboo* they shall not be subject to be taken by the people... [page 13] [see full texts of Law in section of this study titled "*Nā Pono Kai Me Nā Pono Lawai'a...*"]

In 1850, under the heading of "Malicious injuries and mischiefs," the "destroying, cutting, injuring or impairing the usefulness or value of any fish net," etc., and the "putting of *auhuhu* or other substance deleterious to fish into any lake, pond, stream, or reservoir for the purpose of destroying the fish," were made misdemeanors.

As it was found to be a difficult matter to collect the government's share, and the fishing agents were oppressing the people, it was decided in the following act to give to the people the free use of the government fisheries. [page 13]

***An Act Granting To The People The Rights Of Piscary
Now Belonging To The Government (1850).***

Whereas the fish belonging to the government are productive of little revenue; and whereas the piscary rights of the government as managed by the fishing agents are a source of trouble and oppression to the people: Therefore,

Be it enacted by the house of nobles and representatives of the Hawaiian Islands in legislative council assembled:

SECTION 1. That thirty days from and after the publication of this act in the *Elele* and *Polynesian* newspapers all fish belonging to or especially set apart for the government shall belong to and be the common property of all the people equally; excepting that the two-thirds mentioned in section 8, number 7, article 5, chapter 6, part 1, of the "Act to organize the executive departments," shall not be



exacted of the *konohiki*; and in all cases where the *konohiki* shall set apart one kind of fish only, as per section 4 of said law, such fish shall belong to the *konohiki* exclusively and without deviation or molestation.

SEC. 2. All fishing grounds pertaining to any Government land, or otherwise belonging to the Government, excepting only ponds, shall be, and are hereby, forever granted to the people for the free and equal use of all persons: *Provided, however, That for the protection of such fishing grounds the minister of the interior may taboo the taking of fish thereon at certain seasons of the year...* [page 14] [see full texts of Law in section of this study titles “*Nā Pono Kai Me Nā Pono Lawai’a...*”]

Although the Government had given the people free access to the fisheries attached to its lands, many persons who had purchased or leased land from the Government after this had been done attempted to assert exclusive rights to the fisheries adjacent to the lands, and refused the fishermen the rights they had previously enjoyed. In order to redress this grievance the following law was enacted in 1851:

An Act To Protect The People In Certain Fishing Grounds (1851).

Whereas, certain persons to whom government lands have been sold have assumed exclusive rights of fishing in the sea adjacent to said land, without the justification of law; and whereas the people in numerous instances have been unjustly deprived of their rights to the fish on the grounds long since made free to them by law, namely, on the fishing grounds commonly known as the *Kilohee* grounds, the *Luhee* grounds, the *Malolo* grounds, and the fishing of the ocean from the reefs seaward; and whereas the present law affords no sufficient protection to the people in those rights: Therefore, [page 14] Be it enacted by the nobles and representatives of the Hawaiian Islands in Legislative Council assembled:

SECTION 1. That no person who has bought or who may hereafter buy any Government land, or obtain land by lease or other title from any party, has or shall have any greater right than any other person resident in this Kingdom over any fishing ground not included in his title, although adjacent to said land. The fish in said fishing ground shall belong to all persons alike, and may be taken at any time, subject only to the taboos of the minister of the interior... [page 15] [see full texts of Law in section of this study titled “*Nā Pono Kai Me Nā Pono Lawai’a...*”]

In 1859 a civil code, embracing all the laws then in force, was prepared for and passed by the legislature. The sections relating to the fisheries were as follows:

Chapter VII.—Article V.—of the Fisheries (1859).

SEC. 384. All fishing grounds appertaining to any government land, or otherwise belonging to the government, excepting only ponds, shall be, and are hereby, forever granted to the people, for the free and equal use of all persons: *Provided, however, That for the protection of such fishing grounds the minister of the interior may taboo the taking of fish thereon at certain seasons of the year.*

SEC. 385. The minister of the interior shall give public notice of any such *taboo* imposed by him, and no such *taboo* shall be in force until such notice has been given. Every person who shall violate such *taboo* shall be punished by a fine not exceeding fifteen dollars and the value of the fish taken...



SEC. 387. The fishing grounds from the reefs, and where there happen to be no reefs, from the distance of one geographical mile seaward to the beach at low-water mark, shall, in law, be considered the private property of the konohikis, whose lands, by ancient regulation, belong to the same; in the possession of which private fisheries the said konohikis shall not be molested, except to the extent of the reservations and prohibitions hereinafter set forth.

SEC. 388. The konohikis shall be considered in law to hold said private fisheries [page 15] for the equal use of themselves and the tenants on their respective lands, and the tenants shall be at liberty to use the fisheries of their konohikis, subject to the restrictions imposed by law...

SEC. 392. It shall be competent to the konohikis, on consultation with the tenants of their lands, in lieu of setting apart some particular fish to their exclusive use, as hereinbefore allowed, to prohibit during certain months in the year all fishing upon their fisheries, and during the fishing season to exact of each fisherman among the tenants one-third part of all the fish taken upon their private fishing grounds. In every such case it shall be incumbent on the konohikis to give the notice prescribed in section 389.

SEC. 393. No person who has bought, or who may hereafter buy, any government land, or obtain lease or other title from any party, has or shall have any greater right than any other person resident in this kingdom over any fishing ground not included in his title, although adjacent to said land... [page 16] [see full texts of Law in section of this study titled “Nā Pono Kai Me Nā Pono Lawai’a...”]

For some years the use of giant powder or dynamite in the fisheries was permitted. Owing to ignorance or carelessness in handling this dangerous explosive such a large number of persons had lost their lives or been maimed that in 1872 the following law forbidding its use was passed: [page 16]

An Act To Prevent The Use Of Explosive Substances In Taking Fish (1872).

Be it enacted by the King and the legislative assembly of the Hawaiian Islands in the legislature of the Kingdom assembled:

SECTION 1. No person shall use giant powder or any other explosive substance in taking fish within or upon any harbor's, streams, reefs, or waters within the jurisdiction of this Kingdom.

SEC. 2. Whoever violates the provisions of the preceding section shall be punished by a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars and not less than twenty-five dollars, or by imprisonment at hard labor not exceeding five years and not less than three months, or both at the discretion of the court.

SEC. 3. The several district justices and police courts shall have concurrent jurisdiction in all Cases under this act.

In 1888 this law was amended as follows:

SECTION 1. That section 1 of an act entitled “An act to prevent the use of explosive substances in taking fish,” approved June 3, A. D. 1872, be, and the same is hereby, amended by adding to said section the following words:

“The possession by fishermen, fish venders, or persons in the habit of fishing, of fish killed by giant powder or other explosive substance shall be *prima facie*



evidence that the person in whose possession such fish were found used giant powder or some other explosive substance in taking such fish, contrary to the provisions of this act.”

SEC. 2. That section 2 of said act be, and the same is hereby, amended so as to read as follows:

“Whoever violates the provisions of this act shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two hundred dollars and not less than fifty dollars, or by imprisonment at hard labor not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court.”

The general act was again amended in 1892, so as to make the penalty a fine not exceeding \$100 nor less than \$25, or by imprisonment at hard labor not exceeding six months, or both, in the discretion of the court.

Unfortunately this law is not very closely enforced, and as a result great destruction is still being wrought to the fisheries by the use of this explosive, especially in the more inaccessible portions of the islands.

For many years it had been a common practice for the fishermen to catch young fish, particularly the mullet and *awa*, and sell them. This had proved such a heavy drain upon the supply of these species that in 1888 the following law was adopted:

An Act To Provide For The Protection Of Certain Fish Within The Bays, Harbors, Waters, Or Streams Of The Hawaiian Islands (1888).

Be it enacted by the King and the Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom:

SECTION 1. It shall not be lawful for any person to take, catch, or destroy the young of the fish known as the mullet and the *awa* under 4 inches in length in any of the bays, harbors, waters, or streams of this Kingdom: Provided, however, That nothing in this act shall prevent the taking of the fish herein above prohibited for the purpose of stocking ponds.

SEC. 2. It shall not be lawful for any person to sell or offer for sale, or have in his possession, except alive, any of the young fish mentioned in section 1 of this act.

SEC.3. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall, upon conviction before any police or district magistrate, be punished by a fine of not less than twenty dollars nor more than two hundred dollars, or by imprisonment at hard labor for not less than ten nor more than ninety days, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court: Provided, nevertheless, That no such fine shall be imposed upon [page 17] any person who, fishing for other fish, accidentally takes or catches no more than forty of the young fish mentioned in section 1 of this act.

SEC. 4. This act shall take effect from and after the date of its approval. Approved this sixth day of September, A. D. 1888.

In 1892 the following amendment to a previous law, designed to clear up disputed points which had arisen, was passed:

An Act To Amend Section 388 Of The Civil Code Relating To Fisheries (1892).

Be it enacted by the Queen and Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom:



SECTION 1. Section 388 of the civil code shall be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

“SEC. 388. The konohikis shall be considered in law to hold said private fisheries for the equal use of themselves and of the tenants on their respective lands; and the tenants shall be at liberty to take from such fisheries, either for their own use or for sale or exportation, but subject to the restrictions imposed by law, all fish, seaweed, shellfish, and other edible products of said fisheries.”

SEC. 2. This act shall take effect and become a law from the date of its approval.

Approved this 4th day of August, A. D. 1892.

The various changes and modifications made in the fishery laws from time to time have been in the direction of their simplification of explanation, that the rights of fishermen and the *konohiki* might be more clearly defined. It also appears that the rights and privileges of the common people were extended from time to time. Since annexation the only legislation pertaining to the fisheries of the islands by the Congress of the United States is in three sections of the enabling act, section 94, providing for the investigations upon which this paper is based, and already quoted, and sections 95 and 96, as follows:

Repeal of Laws Conferring Exclusive Fishing Rights.

SEC. 95. That all laws of the Republic of Hawaii which confer exclusive fishing rights upon any person or persons are hereby repealed, and all fisheries in the sea waters of the Territory of Hawaii not included in any fish pond or artificial inclosure shall be free to all citizens of the United States, subject, however, to vested rights; but no such vested right shall be valid after three years from the taking effect of this act unless established as hereinafter provided.

Proceedings for Opening Fisheries to Citizens.

SEC. 96. That any person who claims a private right to any such fishery shall, within two years after the taking effect of this act, file his petition in a circuit court of the Territory of Hawai[i] setting forth his claim to such fishing right, service of which petition shall be made upon the attorney-general, who shall conduct the case for the Territory, and such case shall be conducted as an ordinary action at law.

That if such fishing right be established, the attorney-general of the Territory of Hawaii may proceed, in such manner as may be provided by law for the condemnation of property for public use, to condemn such private right of fishing to the use of the citizens of the United States upon making just compensation, which compensation, when lawfully ascertained, shall be paid out of any money in the treasury of the Territory of Hawaii not otherwise appropriated.

Except in a few isolated instances these exclusive fishery rights are of not much importance on any of the islands except Oahu. On this [page 18] island, particularly in the vicinity of Honolulu, they are of considerable value, owing to the easily accessible market afforded by the city. On the other islands the population is too scattered to make the fisheries valuable. The owners of fishery rights usually lease them to Japanese, Chinese, and Hawaiians.

The abolishment of these fishery rights will, in some instances, work very serious damage to the commercial fisheries if proper laws are not provided to take the place of the old restrictions. Under the laws governing these fisheries at present, the owner can, and in some places does, protect certain species, particularly the mullet, during the



spawning season by placing a *tabu* on them, and as everybody had to account to him when fishing he could easily prevent the use of destructive forms of apparatus or over fishing.

The fisheries of Honolulu are rapidly falling off in amount, with a corresponding rise in the price of fish, which are now perhaps higher than in any other seaport town in the world. One cause of the falling off is to be found in over fishing within a limited area. The markets of Honolulu are supplied by resident fishermen, by fishermen along the line of the Oahu Railway at Waialua and Waianae, and by fishermen on the north side of the Pali, about the village of Heeia. None of these fishermen goes into deep water, or to any great distance from Honolulu. Their equipment is on a relatively small scale, and thus far larger equipments have not been found profitable. The high price of labor, its relative untrustworthy character, and the ease of overstocking the market have brought attempts at fishing on a large scale to a comparative failure. Native fishermen work when they feel like it. Chinese fishermen are afraid of new situations and beset by superstitious fears. Japanese fishermen enter into combinations with their competing fellows, thus defeating the purpose of large fishing plants to control the markets themselves.

The most valuable element in the Hawaiian fisheries is the *amaama* or mullet (*Mugil dobula*). The system of fencing off arms of the sea for the formation of mullet ponds is practically, in American territory, confined to Hawaii. The recognition of private ownership in such ponds is contrary to American precedents. If it be found impracticable to recognize such private ownership, these ponds may be condemned by the United States Government and again leased to private persons. The best interests of the fisheries will be served by leaving their present owners in undisturbed possession. The matter should, however, receive careful consideration, as the action of Congress will constitute a permanent precedent. Under Hawaiian law the sea between the land and the barrier reef is also held as personal property. The act establishing the Territory of Hawaii wisely provided for the extinction of such titles.

After the fishery rights are abolished in 1903 there will be almost [page 19] no restrictions on the general fisheries. At the present time very fine-meshed seines are used, especially around Honolulu (Oahu) and Hilo (Hawaii.), and immense numbers of very small young fish, such as the mullet (*Mugil dobula*), *ulua* (*Caranx sp.*), and *akule* (*Trachurops crumenophthalmus*), from 2 inches in length up, are caught and sold, although it is against the law to sell young mullet under 4 inches in length. Unless this great drain on the young is stopped the fisheries are bound to suffer severely.

The use of fine-meshed nets and the sale of small fish should be absolutely prohibited.

The same remark applies to the various species of *Mullidae*, known as *weke*, *moano*, *munu*, *kumu*, *umu*, etc. Two of these species, the *munu* (*Upeneus trifasciatus*) and the *umu* (*Upeneus porphyreus*), stand among the very first in quality of Hawaiian food-fishes, ranking with the famed red sur-mullet (*Mullus barbatus*) of Europe.

The large shore fishes known as *ulua* are worthy of similar protection. Hundreds of young too small to be of any food value are taken every day in the seines in Pearl Harbor and in the Bay of Hilo.

For the adequate protection of the fishes of the Hawaiian Islands the following regulations are suggested.

1. The size of the meshes of seines should be limited. No seine with a mesh less than 3 inches in extension should be used. An exception may be made which will



allow the use of seines not exceeding 30 feet in length and with mesh not under three-eighths of an inch in extension for the purpose of taking bait.

2. The capture or taking in any manner whatsoever or the selling, offering for sale, or having in possession any amaama, weke, moano, kumu, or nunu, or other fish of the family Mullidae of less than 8 inches in length should be prohibited.
3. The minimum size limit for the ulua and related species of the family Carangidae should be 12 inches.
4. The minimum size limit for all species other than those specifically mentioned above should be 5 inches.
5. The amaama, or mullet, is of great importance on the islands of Oahu and Molokai, and in order to properly conserve the supply the catching of them during their spawning season should be prohibited. Their principal spawning season is from the latter part of October to the early part of February.
6. The selling of female ula (locally known as lobster) when carrying eggs should be strictly prohibited. While there is no present sign of a decrease in the supply of this crustacean, it is better to start now than when it is too late.
7. As the waters of Pearl Harbor (Oahu) seem to be favorably adapted to the raising of oysters it would be well if this industry could be established and fostered by the passage of a law permitting the [page 20] leasing of small plots of land under water, adjacent to the shores, for the purpose of planting and raising oysters. There are at present a few beds of small native oysters scattered through Pearl Harbor, but very little dependence can be placed upon these to supply the demand. Several efforts have been made to introduce oysters from the eastern portion of the United States and from California, and the results were sufficient to show that with proper care and encouragement, such as recommended above, a profitable industry could be built up.
8. An efficient force of fish wardens should also be provided for in order to see that the laws are properly enforced. Each warden could have a certain district, in which he would reside, and he would thus be enabled to keep a close supervision over the fishermen.
9. It is also recommended that the native birds of the islands should be protected and that a clause to that effect be made a part of any legislation that may be had.

That legislation equivalent to the above recommendations is demanded by the interests of Hawaii admits of no question. It, however, raises the more important question: Should such a statute be passed by Congress and enforced by the Federal judges, marshals, and other officials; or should it be left to the action of the Territorial legislature?

The present commission desires to express no opinion on this large question of national policy. It is proper, however, to state this fact: With the present Territorial legislature it is apparently wholly impossible to pass any kind of statute for the protection of the fisheries. With the present laws governing suffrage there is no prospect of any change in this regard.

The chief argument used against protective laws is the desire of the Hawaiian people to eat little fishes raw. Of these little fishes thus eaten, one or two, called "nehu," never grow large. On the other hand, it may be urged that the nehu is an important food of larger fishes; that the market value of all which are taken is insignificant, and that the young of the mullet and other fishes of real value are taken and eaten with the nehu.



Introduction of Additional Species of Fishes, etc.

The fresh waters of the Hawaiian Islands are too limited in importance to justify experiments in acclimatization. The chief streams are on the island of Kauai. The only native fishes in any of the streams are different species of gobies, known collectively as "oopu." These have some value as food, but are not highly esteemed.

Although the waters adjacent to the islands teem with fishes and other denizens of the sea, numerous efforts have been made to introduce additional species. Among the principal species so far introduced are the following:

From China and Japan.—Goldfish (*Carassius auratus*), china-fish [page 21] (*Ophiocephalus*), a species of catfish (*Macropternotus maqur*), and one or more species of frogs.

From the United States.—Brook trout (*Salvelinus fontinalis*), black bass (probably *Hicropterus salmoides*), catfish (*Ameiurus nebulosus*), carp (*Cyprinus carpio*), the bullfrog (*Rana catesbiana*), and the terra pin. In 1876 some salmon and trout eggs were sent to parties in Honolulu in exchange for 100 awa. There is no record of what became of these eggs.

The goldfish and frogs have thrived very well and are now to be found on most of the islands. At Hilo the frogs are so abundant that they have become an article of sale. On the island of Kauai they have been found especially useful in destroying the fluke, an insect which works considerable damage to the cattle. They have also assisted very materially in thinning out some of the noxious insects which have been introduced.

The china-fish is to be found in numbers in the vicinity of Honolulu alone, and is raised in the irrigation ditches and fresh-water ponds. The china-fish and goldfish are generally sold alive to the Chinese.

The rivers of the islands are, in nearly every instance, small mountain streams, which become torrents in the wet season and a series of pools, connected by slender rivulets, during the dry season. Trout do not thrive under such conditions, and it is a waste of time to attempt to acclimatize them. Only one plant (on Kauai in 1894) has so far been made, and nothing has been seen or heard of them since. The small-mouthed black bass, however, would probably thrive under such conditions. One plant of this species has been made (at Hilo), and although they were never seen again it is probable that this was owing to their poor physical condition when planted. Owing to the absence of the consignee when they arrived, they were allowed to remain in the cans for some time before being planted, and as a freshet occurred the next day it is probable they were all carried out to sea. As the rivers are filled with fresh-water shrimp, the bass would have an abundant food supply.

The catfish (American and Chinese) are found in considerable numbers on Oahu, in the vicinity of Honolulu. Carp are found on the islands of Maui and Kauai, but are not yet common.

A more valuable fish than the black bass is probably available for these islands. It is the Japanese dwarf salmon or ayu, *Plecoglossus altivelis*. It is one of the most delicate of fishes, breeds freely, and lives in every clear stream of Japan from Hokkaido to Formosa, being thus well adapted to the climate of Hawaii. Perhaps more than any other foreign fish whatever it merits introduction into the waters of the United States, especially into those of California.



Several lots of oysters from the eastern part of the United States and from California have been brought to the islands at different times [page 22] since 1893 and planted in Pearl Harbor. While the results achieved were not very satisfactory from a financial standpoint, still they were sufficient to show that the business might be put upon a remunerative basis if it were given the time and attention necessary. The eastern oyster was found to breed to a limited extent.

Clams could be planted in Pearl Harbor and in other favorable localities, and would probably thrive well.

The abalone, which is very highly prized by the Chinese, might be introduced on the rocky reefs and sea walls.

The depletion of the fisheries of these islands can be best prevented by proper protective legislation such as we have suggested. Fish-cultural methods have not yet been developed with regard to any of the fishes native to or suitable for these islands. The establishment of a fish-cultural station there is at present wholly impracticable and unnecessary.

The establishment, however, of a biological station similar to that at Woods Hole or that at Beaufort, N. C., for the study of the many important problems connected with tropical insular aquatic life is of the highest importance and is earnestly recommended.

Fish Ponds.

The most interesting of the fishery resources of the islands are the fish ponds. Many of these were built so long ago that even tradition does not approximate the date. As they were originally owned by the kings and chiefs, it is very probable that they were built by the forced labor of the common people. They are found principally in the bays indenting the shores of the islands, the common method of construction being to build a wall of lava rock across the narrowest part of the entrance to a small bay or bight of land and use the inclosed space for the pond. They were also built on the seashore itself, the wall in that case being run out from two points on the shore some distance apart in the shape of a half circle. A few were built somewhat interior, and these are filled by the fresh-water streams from the mountains or by tidal water from the sea carried to them by means of ditches. In the sea ponds the walls are built somewhat loosely, which permits the water to percolate freely. The ponds are arranged with narrow entrances, protected by sluice gates, which can be opened or closed at will. These are frequently left open when the tide is running in, which allows the *amaama*, or mullet, and the *awa* to enter freely. When the tide turns the gates are closed, making prisoners those which have entered. The salt-water ponds usually contain only the *amaama* and *awa*.

In the fresh and brackish water ponds goldfish, china fish, *oopu*, *opai* [opae], carp, *aholehole*, and *okuhekuhe* are kept. No attempt at fish culture is made with these ponds, the young fish being captured in the [page 23] open in the case of most of the species enumerated and placed in the ponds until they attain a marketable size. Large quantities of *amaama* and *awa* are handled in these ponds annually, especially on the island of Oahu. Dip nets, seines, gill nets, and scoop nets are used in taking the fish from the ponds; and as they are quite shallow, this is done very easily. The ponds are operated almost exclusively by Chinese.

A number of the ponds have been allowed to fall into decay, particularly on Molokai and Hawaii, while on Oahu others have been filled up to meet the growing demand for rice land and for other purposes. The maintenance of these ponds should be encouraged as much as possible, as they are of great assistance in maintaining a regular supply of fish at all seasons of the year.



The irrigation ditches used in watering the numerous rice fields are also employed incidentally in raising a few of the species enumerated above.

Fish Markets And Methods Of Handling Fishery Products.

There are 7 fish market houses, 1 each at Honolulu (Oahu), Hilo (Hawaii), and Wailuku (Maui), and 4 at Lahaina (Maui). In addition peddlers with small carts retail fish throughout the sections of inhabited country which are not convenient to the markets or to the fisheries. There is great room for development in this part of the business, however, as the inhabitants of some of the more inaccessible villages rarely ever have an opportunity from one year's end to another to purchase fish.

At Honolulu the market house, with land, is valued at \$155,000. It is owned by the Territorial government, and is one of the best appointed fish markets in the United States. A fish inspector, with one assistant, is in charge of the market, and all fish must be inspected by him before they go upon the stalls. In this manner complete control over the fish sold in the city is obtained, as no peddling through the streets is permitted.

There are 20 stalls for the sale of fresh fishery products, the rents of which vary from \$15 to \$30 per month, according to location. Only 15 of these were occupied in 1900. Of these, 11 were run by Chinese, 3 by Japanese, and 1 by natives, the total number of persons employed being Chinese 40, Japanese 6, and natives 2. In addition to these, 6 tables were occupied by 6 native women on Saturday for the sale of *limu (algae)*, while 3 tables were devoted to the sale of dried fish during most of the week, and were run by 3 native women. On a few days in the week, when fresh fish are scarce, certain of the dealers also sell pickled California salmon. The fishermen bring their catch to the market at whatever hour is convenient to them, and the dealers sell for them on a basis of 10 per cent commission. Fish brought in previous to noon must be sold before the market closes the same day, [page 24] but if brought in after noon it can, if not sold before night, be kept in a cold-storage house close by, and placed on the stalls again the next morning, but in that event it must be distinguished by a small placard bearing the words "Iced fish." The inspector is empowered by law to pass upon all fish before being placed upon the stalls, and can condemn any tainted fish either then or afterwards. It is the usual custom to make frequent inspections of the fish after they go upon the stalls, as they soon become tainted in that climate. No ice is used around the market house. The larger fish are dressed, while the smaller ones are sold round. There is no loss in dressing, however, as the head, entrails, etc., are sold. All except goldfish are sold dead. This market is exceedingly well managed, and there appears but little, if any, chance for improvement.

The market house at Hilo, which is owned by private parties, was built at an expense of \$10,000, including the value of the land, and was opened for business on April 1, 1899. During 1900 the number of stalls occupied was 27, the rents of which varied from \$5 to \$15 per month. These were not occupied continuously, as frequently a dealer would give up the business after a week or a month's trial and someone else would start in. There are 32 stalls in all. The number of persons employed around the market was 22 Chinese, 18 Japanese, and 14 natives. During the summer of 1901 a syndicate of Chinese and Japanese bought up the stalls and began to take advantage of their position by shutting out the other dealers and compelling the fishermen to sell to them at a low price, while there was no limit to what they could charge the townspeople, as fish could not be sold on the streets. As a result a number of the fishermen carried their catch by carts to Olaa, about 11 miles away, and established a temporary market there. The territorial government leased the market in August, 1901, which broke up the combination.



An inspector was also appointed, who will have complete charge of everything about the market. Previously there was no inspection and large quantities of tainted fish were foisted upon the people. As at Honolulu, every effort is made to dispose of the catch the same day that it comes in, as no ice is used. Owing to the heavy surf close to the market house, the fishing boats can not land there and are compelled to go to Waiakea, a suburb of Hilo about a mile away. The fishing boats usually land here during the morning and are immediately boarded by the dealers, who begin to dicker for the catch. When a boat with a large catch comes in, a stranger would think that Bedlam had broken loose, as Japanese, Chinese, Portuguese, Hawaiian, English, and variations of these languages are hurled back and forth, each man trying to outstrip every other in the amount of noise made. Everything is on a cash basis, the successful dealer counting down the money at once and removing the fish, which are carried to the market [page 25] by carriers, with baskets slung over their shoulders on poles, and carts. The principal selling time at the market is in the afternoon, after the dealers have returned from Waiakea.

The market house at Wailuku is a small affair with only 5 stalls, which are run by 2 Chinese and 5 natives, and is owned by a private individual. The market house, with land, is valued at about \$1,500. Most of the fish sold here are brought from Kahului, a few miles away, while some *amaama* come from the island of Molokai. It has no government supervision, which it needs.

The principal market house at Lahaina is owned by the government, and is valued at about \$6,000, including the land. It contains 6 stalls, which rent at \$3 per month. These were run in 1900 by 1 American, 4 Japanese, and 4 natives. Close by are 2 private stalls, which are operated by 4 Japanese. In addition, in 1900, there were 2 private additional fish markets in town, with a total valuation of \$650. These contained 6 stalls, which were run by 4 Chinese, 4 Japanese, and 4 natives. The greater portion of one of these was destroyed by fire in the early part of 1901 and has not since been rebuilt. There is no inspector at Lahaina, although one is sorely needed, as the sale of tainted fish, particularly by the Japanese, is quite common. Lahaina is the principal market for the disposal of the fish taken by the fishermen on Molokai and Lanai.

Commercial Fisheries.

Commercial fishing is prosecuted on the islands of Oahu, Hawaii, Maui, Molokai, Kauai, Lanai, and Niihau. Fishing is also carried on about some of the smaller islands of the group, but it is done by fishermen from the above-named islands. While the fisheries are of considerable importance now, they could easily be expanded if the proper efforts and attention were given to them. For many years the native Hawaiians held a monopoly of the business, but of late years the Japanese have been engaging in it in large numbers. The natives fish spasmodically as a rule, while the Japanese give to it their whole time and attention, and as a result they are doing much better financially than the former. It is probable that the commercial fisheries will be entirely in the hands of the Japanese on certain islands within the next ten years if they increase at the rate they have during the past six or seven years.

A great variety of apparatus is in use in the fisheries, the principal forms being gill nets, seines, bag nets, cast nets, dip nets, lines, baskets, and spears. No effort is made to work the deep-sea fisheries except with hook and line, the greater part of the fishing being done on the reefs or close inshore. It is probable that the beam trawl could be used to advantage in the deeper waters. This apparatus, which is an immense bag, with wide flaring mouth, the bag running to a [page 26] point at the end, could be worked from the deck of a sailor steam vessel. In working it, long cables are attached to the sides of the mouth and the trawl dropped overboard while the vessel is in motion. The trawl sinks to



the bottom, and as the vessel moves forward it is drawn along the bottom and scoops up everything in its path. When it has been down a sufficient length of time the vessel is brought up into the wind, the trawl raised to the deck, where it is emptied, and then dropped overboard for another try.

Sharks are very destructive to nets used in the deeper waters, and also eat the fish out of them; but with the beam trawl it would be impossible for them to do any harm.

Pound nets made of fine wire could be used to advantage on the leeward side of the islands and in the bays. Netting could not be used, as the sharks and larger fishes would tear it to shreds while struggling to get in or out.

Fyke or hoop nets would probably prove profitable in the bays and rivers. They could be set and left without further attention until it was convenient for the fisherman to raise them.

The high prices prevailing for many species forms a very noticeable feature of the industry. In the Honolulu market 25 cents per pound is not an uncommon price for some, while on certain of the other islands even higher prices are realized. Judging solely by this feature, many persons jump to the conclusion that fish are becoming scarce, but this apparently is not borne out by a close investigation of the industry as a whole. It is but rarely that there is a scarcity of fish in the markets, the principal complaint in this regard coming from those places which are rather inaccessible and where the fishermen are few in number, such as on Kauai. The most plausible reason for the high prices is that fishery products have gone up in correspondence with the other necessities of life, which are unusually high as compared with the rest of the country. The great development of the sugar industry in the last fifteen years, and the profitable prices realized for the product, have caused a great boom in everything, particularly in the wages paid to labor, and the cost of the necessities of life has been raised to correspond. It is very probable that as things settle down to a more normal condition the cost of fishery products will be lowered to more nearly their proper level. The Chinese and Japanese have organized companies at several places to monopolize the business, and these have also been important factors in causing the high prices.

The methods of transportation between points on the same island are rather crude in many instances, while in others the cost of transportation is practically prohibitive so far as fishery products are concerned, as a result of which the supply of each place must be drawn largely from its own immediate neighborhood, especially as ice is so expensive that it can not be used to preserve shipments for any length [page 27] of time. The building of railroads on Oahu and Hawaii has aided very materially in the matter of the transportation of fishery products at reasonable rates. The steamer rates between the various islands of the group are prohibitive at present, and as the distances are too far for small boats there is no opportunity for the fishermen on one island who have an excess to ship to another island where there is a temporary scarcity. These problems will all work themselves out as the means of transportation increase.

Immense quantities of canned, salted, smoked, and dried fishery products, such as salmon, cod, skipjack, mackerel, herring, sardines, shrimps, lobsters, oysters, clams, mullet, etc. , are imported and consumed by the people, particularly on the sugar plantations. As these are in many instances located in rather inaccessible regions where fresh fishery products can not be obtained at any price, they are perforce compelled to depend on the prepared goods for their supply.



The bubonic plague broke out in Honolulu in December, 1899, and lasted several months. This proved a serious detriment to the sale of fresh fishery products, as it was thought by many persons that the disease might be transmitted in this way.

The three tables [*Table 1*] below show in condensed form, by islands, the persons employed, the boats, apparatus, fish ponds, shore and accessory property, and cash capital used in the business, and the catch by species, together with the value of same.

The island of Oahu leads all the others in almost every phase of the industry, followed by Hawaii, Maui, Kauai, Molokai, Lanai, and Niihau in the order enumerated.

The Hawaiians predominate in the fisheries, followed in the order named by the Japanese, Chinese, South Sea Islanders (people from the Gilbert and Marquesas Islands), Americans, Portuguese, and Germans. The shoresmen shown were employed principally in the fish markets. The total number of persons employed was 2,492. This does not include those engaged in carrying on the wholesale fish trade of Honolulu and Hilo.

The total investment in the industry, including the wholesale trade, was \$739,741. The shore and accessory property and cash capital employed in the wholesale trade of Honolulu and Hilo are included in this table.

So far as quantity is concerned, the catch of *akule* was the most important, but *malolo* leads in the value of catch. Other leading species were *amaama*, *ulua*, *aku*, *oio*, *awa*, *moano*, *kawakawa*, *opelu*, *opihi*, and *ula*. The total catch amounted to 6,222,455 pounds, valued at \$1,083,646. [page 28]

Table 1 (see pages 432-436). Table showing, by nationality and islands, the persons engaged in the fisheries of the Hawaiian Islands in 1900; Table showing, by islands, the boats, apparatus, fishponds, property, and cash capital employed in the fisheries in 1900. Table showing, by islands and species, the yield of the fisheries in 1900 (Jordan and Evermann, 1902).



THE FISHERIES AND FISHING LAWS OF HAWAII.

Table showing, by nationality and islands, the persons engaged in the fisheries of the Hawaiian Islands in 1900.

	Hawaii.	Kauai.	Lanai.	Maui.	Molokai.	Niihau.	Oahu.	Total.
Fishermen:								
Americans	2	3		1				6
Chinese	8	34		3	20		173	238
Hawaiians	405	120	46	231	103	12	654	1,571
Japanese	134	50		37	5		259	485
Portuguese							2	2
South Sea Islanders				25			18	43
Total	549	207	46	297	128	12	1,106	2,345
Shoresmen:								
Americans				1				1
Chinese	22			6			40	68
Germans							1	1
Hawaiians	14			13			14	41
Japanese	18			12			6	36
Total	54			32			61	147
Grand total	603	207	46	329	128	12	1,167	2,492

Table showing, by islands, the boats, apparatus, fish ponds, property, and cash capital employed in the fisheries in 1900.

Designation.	Hawaii.		Kauai.		Lanai.		Maui.	
	No.	Value.	No.	Value.	No.	Value.	No.	Value.
Boats	198	\$16,945	51	\$3,215	25	\$2,875	80	\$7,675
Apparatus:								
Seines	16	780	1	75	21	435	43	1,550
Gill nets	96	2,585	14	103			23	700
Bag nets	4	120	5	820			49	2,103
Cast nets	100	570	16	160			27	270
Dip nets	25	125	28	28			25	63
Scoop nets			10	10			6	6
Lines		568		94		48		124
Spears	67	63	12	12			29	35
Baskets (fish)	30	300					39	390
Baskets (opai)	52	26	6	3				
Snares	8	3						
Fish ponds	4	1,200	6	5,100				
Shore and accessory property		113,887		1,144		120		2,255
Cash capital		37,300						
Total		174,472		10,764		3,478		15,171

Designation.	Molokai.		Nūhau.		Oahu.		Total.	
	No.	Value.	No.	Value.	No.	Value.	No.	Value.
Boats	39	\$2,950	4	\$300	348	\$30,980	745	\$64,940
Apparatus:								
Seines	9	250			19	1,195	109	4,285
Gill nets	14	134			441	8,871	593	12,393
Bag nets	9	1,250			29	1,955	96	6,248
Cast nets	43	430			83	1,245	269	2,675
Dip nets					68	304	146	520
Scoop nets					69	45	85	61
Lines		78		12		225		1,149
Spears	5	3			51	53	164	166
Baskets (fish)					54	540	123	1,230
Baskets (opai)					47	21	105	50
Snares							8	3
Fish traps or pens					3	1,500	3	1,500
Fish ponds	15	11,425			75	149,050	100	166,775
Shore and accessory property		620		10		211,410		329,446
Cash capital						111,000		148,300
Total		17,140		322		518,394		739,741



Table showing, by islands and species, the yield of the fisheries in 1900.

Species.	Hawaii.		Kauai.		Lanai.		Maui.	
	Lbs.	Value.	Lbs.	Value.	Lbs.	Value.	Lbs.	Value.
Aalaihi	14,430	\$746					6,270	\$1,568
Aawa	900	125			180	\$54	1,516	439
Aha					110	11	1,697	170
Ahi	27,484	1,280			735	234	1,000	199
Aholehole	1,424	212					3,498	1,049
Aku, fresh	179,492	19,171	10,892	\$2,724	38,000	2,111	82,400	7,009
Aku, dried	21,000	840						
Akule, fresh	293,759	33,952	73,614	7,361	33,000	3,300	138,400	13,840
Akule, dried	10,340	620						
Amaama (mullet)	8,593	2,573	60,760	9,115	12,000	4,800	24,000	7,000
Awa	275	26	5,109	511	345	35	1,210	517
Awaawa, fresh	400	39			365	182	2,850	1,225
Awela	1,840	138						
Aweoweo	25	6			200	50	12,590	3,208
Carp			1,500	150				
Enenue, or Nenue	400	40			1,200	300	71,200	17,800
Hapupu	441	27			213	21	2,623	263
Hauliuli, fresh	26,020	2,586			3,800	760	6,100	305
Hauliuli, dried	8,200	656						
Hibimau	1,462	96			300	15	513	27
Hilu	45	5					7,296	876
Hinalea	1,194	119					12,713	2,543
Humuhumu	14,410	967			1,400	112	6,200	496
Iheihe	8,400	530			5,300	1,590	10,343	3,384
Ii							2,546	256
Iias	1,500	150			10,625	170	10,700	172
Kahala	40,776	5,907			5,300	824	9,686	1,359
Kaku	500	50			125	13	4,050	507
Kala	4,399	440			1,300	52	11,809	472
Kalekale	300	30			500	50	1,145	115
Kaualea	1,600	128			700	70	600	60
Kawakawa	47,323	2,837			12,000	1,200	40,300	3,330
Kole	12	1			1,600	400	48,300	9,660
Kuapaa	600	30			1,219	122	3,200	320
Kumu	6,300	588			2,714	1,357	14,400	4,275
Kupoupou	148	15					2,125	850
Laenihi	1,200	118			313	78	3,424	856
Lai	2,522	136					13,266	1,659
Laipala	10	1					3,415	854
Lauhau	3,331	158					2,008	402
Lolohau	50	5						
Mahimahi	9,390	723			1,300	78	2,705	163
Mahii	100	10			460	92	2,887	577
Maikoiko	146	15					4,900	490
Makaa	146	15						
Malamalama	29	3						
Malolo (flying fish)	1,280	112						
Mamamo	50	4					2,129	532
Manini	5,039	382					6,417	1,478
Mano (shark)	2,186	83			961	80	3,600	274
Maumau					82	8	780	78
Mikiawa	275	23					493	49
Moano, fresh	143,460	25,163			5,800	1,450	40,200	10,075
Moano, dried	6,100	305						
Moi-lii	2,000	300	12,400	2,480	400	20	6,077	303
Mu	25	3			244	61	200	50
Nanihu	10	1			70	7	150	2
Nehu	2,200	220			12,500	200	77,500	1,270
Nihipali	12	1					603	125
Nohu	24	2						
Nohupinao	300	30						
Nunu	385	19					1,675	163
Oio	64,509	9,775	51,974	13,017	3,241	810	118,377	29,594
Okuhekuhe	180	18						
Olale	1,177	83					1,960	294
Omakaka	2,100	210						
Omlu	200	20						
Ono	1,888	134			300	90	260	6
Oopu	350	53						
Oopuhue	709	69						
Oopukai	1,139	93					1,192	478
Opakapaka	412	41						
Opelu, fresh	51,336	1,636					41,156	10,289
Opelu, dried	23,100	805						
Opule	32	3			747	149	4,596	645
Paka	400	32					2,062	206
Pakaikawale							1,800	180
Pakalakala	61	5			665	67	542	54
Pakiki	1,745	175			182	18	300	30
Pakii	10,869	560			845	127	11,633	1,745
Palani	5,000	391			1,500	225	8,492	1,274
Paopao							950	95



Table showing, by islands and species, the yield of fisheries in 1900—Continued.

Species.	Hawaii.		Kauai.		Lanai.		Maui.	
	Lbs.	Value.	Lbs.	Value.	Lbs.	Value.	Lbs.	Value.
Piha	945	\$95			3,500	\$56	5,585	\$88
Pilikoa	10	1					444	111
Poou	300	30			200	20	260	26
Poupou	60	6			200	20	12,500	200
Pua-ii					8,750	140	2,065	516
Pualu	5,595	428			2,182	546	35,519	10,109
Puhi	19,710	1,386			5,200	1,300	4,700	470
Puwalu								
Puuli			5,100	\$153				
Uhu	809	81					875	88
Uku	13,372	928	45,722	25,408	1,800	90	11,715	702
Ulae	714	47			216	43	2,015	403
Ulaula	615	61	26,552	14,341	590	148	800	200
Ulua, fresh	88,675	8,564	88,162	10,016	12,100	3,025	90,725	14,334
Ulua, dried	8,214	246					1,100	110
Umaumalei	220	20						
Uouoa	40	3						
Upapalu	1,524	68			114	11	1,543	154
Uu	34,061	2,136			1,111	167	4,735	908
Uwau	210	17						
Walu					700	70	1,200	300
Wauwau	15	1						
Weke	1,000	100	11,950	2,820			2,400	360
Welea	600	60			2,854	286	18,412	1,841
Wolu	400	40					700	175
Conchs								
Frogs	380	190						
Haukeuke	10	1						
Hee (octopus)	17,416	3,031	3,000	750	2,200	550	4,198	1,050
Honu (turtle)	800	64					975	49
Ina (sea eggs)	620	62			300	75	2,870	718
Leho (cowrie)	200	10					1,736	435
Limu (algæ)	2,150	188	397	81	720	180	2,680	268
Loli (bêche-de-mer)							1,158	116
Miscellaneous shellfish							150	23
Muhee (squid)					200	20	3,675	368
Naia (porpoise)	300	30						
Olepa (clam)								
Ounauna alealee	720	72						
Opai (shrimp)	1,118	280	400	200			2,500	625
Opihi (limpet)	16,150	484					1,327	289
Pa	300	30						
Papai (crabs)	800	200	4,567	550	150	38	1,500	375
Pupu (sea snail)							515	52
Ula (crawfish)	15,295	1,758	622	156	6,100	1,525	22,631	5,657
Wana (sea egg)	1,514	151	800	160	600	150	8,880	2,220
Total	1,304,311	137,734	403,521	89,993	212,628	29,853	1,159,117	190,929

	Molokai.		Nūhau.		Oahu.		Total.	
	Lbs.	Value.	Lbs.	Value.	Lbs.	Value.	Lbs.	Value.
Aalaihī	2,875	\$575			3,876	\$969	27,451	\$3,858
Aawa	1,205	181			5,921	1,481	9,722	2,280
Aha					2,544	283	4,351	464
Ahi	603	60			1,909	241	31,731	2,014
Aholehole	1,834	275			12,612	3,155	19,368	4,691
Aku, fresh	33,300	3,996	380	\$95	56,589	6,277	401,053	41,383
Aku, dried							21,000	840
Akule, fresh	33,912	3,391			266,643	19,828	839,328	81,672
Akule, dried							10,340	620
Aloloi	323	65					323	65
Amaaina (mullet)	112,514	28,154			503,794	125,920	721,661	177,562
Awa	2,219	555			233,877	58,139	243,035	59,783
Awaawa, fresh					2,083	522	5,698	1,968
Awaawa, dried			3,100	465			3,100	465
Awelea					26	6	1,866	144
Aweoweo	1,275	446			1,375	590	15,465	4,300
Carp							1,500	150
China fish					3,988	1,396	3,988	1,396
Ea, fresh					193	48	193	48
Ea, dried			800	120			800	120
Enenuē, or nenuē					2,260	339	75,060	18,479
Goldfish					4,854	607	4,854	607
Hapūnūnū	502	50			1,890	237	5,669	598
Hauliuli, fresh							35,920	3,651
Hauliuli, dried							8,200	656
Hihimanu					1,790	179	4,065	317
Hīlu					995	124	8,336	1,005
Hīnalea	1,696	170			3,143	472	18,746	3,304



Table showing, by islands and species, the yield of fisheries in 1900—Continued.

	Molokai.		Nūhau.		Oahu.		Total.	
	Lbs.	Value.	Lbs.	Value.	Lbs.	Value.	Lbs.	Value.
Humuhumu	7,191	\$575			14,876	\$893	44,077	\$3,043
Iheihe	3,240	810			2,017	404	29,300	6,718
Ii							2,546	256
Iiao							22,825	492
Kahala	2,143	215			3,915	781	61,825	9,086
Kaku					1,067	215	5,742	785
Kala	7,421	594			13,766	688	38,695	2,246
Kalekale							1,945	195
Kaunalea							2,900	258
Kawakawa	13,674	1,367			78,135	15,627	191,432	24,361
Koae	643	96					643	96
Kole					6	1	49,918	10,062
Kuapaa							5,019	472
Kumu	11,631	1,744			20,925	5,207	55,970	13,171
Kupoupou	851	213			219	55	3,343	1,133
Kupipi					139	16	139	16
Laenihi					1,680	421	6,617	1,473
Lai	1,634	163			368	37	17,790	1,995
Laiipala							3,425	855
Lauhau	2,065	310			110	11	7,514	881
Lolohau							50	5
Mahimahi	1,895	114			3,344	502	18,634	1,580
Mauii					131	20	3,578	699
Maikoiko	429	43			122	13	5,597	561
Makaa					195	49	341	64
Malamalama					3	1	32	4
Malolo (flying fish)	800	200			571,002	142,773	573,082	143,085
Mamamo					309	78	2,488	614
Manini	4,067	767			10,005	2,484	25,528	5,111
Mano (shark)	596	30			11,490	219	18,833	686
Maumau							862	86
Mikiawa	391	39			842	211	2,001	322
Moano, fresh	5,497	825			18,042	4,510	212,999	42,023
Moano, dried							6,100	305
Moilū					12,642	1,265	33,519	4,368
Mu					32	9	501	123
Nanihu							230	10
Nehu	300	6					92,500	1,696
Nihipali					42	11	54	12
Nohu	1,006	151			195	47	1,828	325
Nohupinao							300	30
Nunu	2,051	206			1,021	102	5,132	495
Oau					319	80	319	80
Oio	36,000	9,000	7,200	\$1,800	40,322	10,080	321,623	74,076
Okuhekuhe							180	18
Olale	1,612	161			11	3	4,760	541
Omakaka					3,627	906	5,727	1,116
Omilu					12,276	1,841	12,476	1,861
Ono	1,171	176			560	56	4,179	462
Oopu					3,843	577	4,193	630
Oopuhue					130	20	839	89
Oopakai	694	139			1,948	486	4,973	1,196
Opakapaka					6,056	606	6,468	647
Opelu, fresh	13,842	2,768			9,361	2,340	115,695	17,033
Opelu, dried							23,100	805
Opule	1,739	174			969	243	8,083	1,214
Paka	1,303	130					3,765	368
Pakaikawale							1,800	180
Pakalakala					10	1	1,278	127
Pakiki							2,227	223
Pakii	4,129	413			4,372	1,530	31,848	4,375
Pala	9,700	1,455					9,700	1,455
Palani	2,540	881			2,604	551	20,136	2,822
Paopao	745	75					1,695	170
Piha							10,030	239
Pilikoa					212	32	222	33
Poou					206	31	1,150	192
Poupou					26	2	546	54
Pua-ii							21,250	340
Pualu					1,876	402	11,718	1,892
Puhi	8,064	968			6,582	658	75,075	14,421
Puwalu							4,700	470
Puuli							5,100	153
Uhu	5,674	567			10,505	2,101	17,863	2,837
Uku	2,617	131	4,400	1,100	14,605	1,459	94,231	29,818
Ulae	616	123			97	10	3,658	626
Ulaula	775	116	1,200	480	11,236	2,809	41,768	18,155
Ulua, fresh	16,692	3,338	4,900	490	324,272	67,630	625,526	107,397
Ulua, dried			5,100	510			13,314	756
Umaumalei					40	4	1,340	134
Uouoa					8	2	48	5
Upapalu	314	31			1,983	297	5,478	661



Table showing, by islands and species, the yield of fisheries in 1900—Continued.

	Molokai.		Nūhau.		Oahu.		Total.	
	Lbs.	Value.	Lbs.	Value.	Lbs.	Value.	Lbs.	Value.
Uu.....	1,090	\$131			33,154	\$8,288	74,151	\$11,630
Uwau.....					185	46	395	63
Walu.....							1,900	370
Wauwau.....					24	4	39	5
Weke.....	2,878	345	600	\$120	70,713	17,675	89,541	21,420
Welea.....	2,422	242			316	64	24,604	2,493
Wolu.....							400	40
Conchs.....							700	175
Frogs.....							380	190
Haukeuke.....					50	13	60	14
Hee (octopus).....	1,700	340			26,085	6,521	54,499	12,242
Honu (turtle).....	150	9			2,745	357	4,670	479
Ina (sea eggs).....							3,790	855
Leho (cowrie).....							1,936	445
Limu (algæ).....			145	15	36,672	4,584	42,764	5,316
Loli (bêche-de-mer).....							1,158	116
Miscellaneous shellfish.....							150	23
Muhee (squid).....					24	4	3,899	392
Naiā (porpoise).....					60	2	360	32
Olepa (clam).....					327	49	327	49
Ounauna alealee.....							720	72
Opai (shrimp).....					3,694	797	7,712	1,902
Opihi (limpet).....			250	65	129,500	19,425	147,227	20,263
Pa.....							300	30
Papai (crabs).....					8,670	2,168	15,687	3,331
Pupu (sea snail).....							515	52
Ula (crawfish).....			1,200	300	85,334	8,551	131,182	17,947
Wana (sea eggs).....			250	63	4,587	1,147	16,631	3,891
	376,255	67,599	29,525	5,623	2,737,198	561,915	6,222,455	1,083,646

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Preliminary Report On An Investigation Of The Fishes And Fisheries Of The Hawaiian Islands.

By David Starr Jordan and Barton Warren Evermann. (1901)

Commercial Fisheries Of The Hawaiian Islands.

Fish Ponds.

The most interesting of the fishery resources of the islands are the fish-ponds. This is the only place within the limits of the United States where they are found on such an immense scale and put to such general and beneficent use. The time of the building of many of these ponds goes back into the age of fable, the Hawaiians, for instance, attributing the construction of one of the most ancient, the deep-water fish-pond wall at the Huleia River on Kauai, to the Menehunes, a fabled race of dwarfs, distinguished for cunning industry and mechanical and engineering skill and intelligence. Many of very old ponds are still in practical use and look as though they would last for centuries yet. As the ponds were originally owned by the kings and chiefs, it is very probable that most of them were built by the forced labor of the common people. There is a tradition amongst the natives that *Loko Wekolo* (Wekolo pond) [i.e., Weloko], on Pearl Harbor, Oahu, was built about 250 years ago, and that the natives formed a line from the shore to the mountain and passed the lava rock from hand to hand till it reached the shore where the building was going on without once touching the ground in transit. As the distance is considerably over a mile, this speaks well for the density of the population at that time.



The ponds are found principally in the bays indenting the shores of the islands, the common method of construction having been to build a wall of lava rocks the narrowest part of the entrance to a small bay or bight of land and use the enclosed space for the pond. They were also built on the seashore itself, the wall in this case being run out from two points on the shore, some distance apart, in the shape of a half-circle. Most of the Molokai fish ponds were built in the same manner. A few were constructed somewhat interior and these are filled by the fresh-water streams from the mountains or by tidal water from the sea carried to them by means of ditches. Most of the latter are on Oahu, near Honolulu. The Nomilo fish pond at Lawai, on Kauai is formed from an old volcanic crater with an opening toward the sea, across which a wall has been built, and as the opening is below the surface of the sea the tide pays in and out when the gates are opened.

In the sea ponds the walls are about 5 feet in width and are built somewhat loosely in order that the water can percolate freely. The interior ponds have dirt sides generally, although a few have rock walls covered with dirt, while others have rock walls backed with dirt. The sea ponds generally have sluice gates which can be raised or lowered, or else which open and close like a door. In the interior ponds there are usually two small bulkheads with a space about 8 feet square between them. Each of these has a small door which usually slides up or down. When the tide is coming in both doors are opened and the fish are allowed to go in freely. When the tide turns the doors are closed. When the owner wishes to remove any of the fish he generally opens the inner door when the tide is ebbing. The fish rush [page 427] into the narrow space between the bulkheads, from which they are dipped out by means of hand dip nets. In the sea ponds the gate is opened when the tide is coming in and when it turns it is closed.

There is usually a small runway, built of two parallel rows of loosely piled stones from the gate to about 10 feet into the pond. As the fish congregate in this runway when the tide is going out, it is very easy to dip out the supply needed for market. Seines and gill nets are also swept around the inside of the ponds at times in taking fish from them, and as they are quite shallow this is done easily.

The sea ponds usually contain only the *amaama*, or mullet, and the *awa*. In the fresh and the brackish water ponds gold-fish, china-fish, *oopu*, *opai*, carp, *aholehoe*, and *okuhekuhe* are kept. Practically no attempt at fish-culture is made with these ponds. Besides the fish which come in through the open gates, the owner usually has men engaged at certain seasons of the year in catching young *amaama* and *awa* in the open sea and bays, and transporting them alive to the fish ponds. They are kept in the ponds until they attain a marketable size, and longer frequently if the prices quoted in the market are not satisfactory. They cost almost nothing to keep as the fish find their own food in the sea ponds. It is supposed that they eat a fine moss which is quite common in the ponds.

There are probably not more than one-half the number of ponds in use today that there were thirty years ago. There are numerous reasons for this, the principle ones being as follows:

1. The native population is dying off rapidly and where there were prosperous and populous villages in the early years of the last century there is practically a wilderness now. Owing to this depopulation there would be no sale for fish in the immediate neighborhood of the ponds there, the only place where it could be sold owing to the difficulty in transporting fish any distance without the use of ice, and the ponds would naturally be allowed to go to decay, the walls breaking down from the action of storms, and the



sea filling them with sand when they are located on the immediate shore, this condition of affairs is especially prevalent on Molokai.

2. Two of the important crops of the islands are rice and taro. As both must be grown in a few inches of water, and are very profitable crops, a number of the interior ponds were turned into rice fields and taro patches. Oahu has shown the greatest changes in this regard.
3. On Hawaii ponds were filled up by the volcanic lava flows of 1801 and 1859. The Kamehameha fish pond, which was filled up in this manner in 1859, was said to have been the largest on the islands. Only traces of it are now to be found on the beach.
4. At Hilo, on Hawaii, some ponds, mostly quite small, are so filled with the water hyacinth that it is impossible to work them anymore. This year a few of the best of these were cleaned out, but as there is [page 428] very little money to be made out of them, and their ownership is in dispute, there is but little desire to do much to build them up.
5. Other ponds have been filled up to make way for building operations and for other purposes. This is especially true of ponds in and around Honolulu and Lahaina. There used to be a number of fish ponds of Lanai, but they have all been allowed to fall into decay.

A number of ponds are kept up by their owners merely as private preserves, as it were, the fish taken from them being either consumed by the owner's household or given to friends. These are scattered all over the islands.

The following is a rough list of the fish ponds still in existence, or traces of which remain, together with their area and a statement so far as possible of their present condition. There is no great claim to accuracy in this list, as many of the ponds are inaccessible regions of the islands, and in such cases the writer was obliged to depend upon others for reports as to their present condition:

Island of Oahu:

<u>Koolau Bay:</u>	Area in Acres
* Heeia Pond, near Heeia	88
* Halekou, near Mokapu	92
* Nuupia, near Mokapu	215
* Kaluapuhi, near Mokapu	21
* Name not known, in Keaalau	3
* Name not known, in Mahinui	11
* Mikiola pond, Adjoining Mikiola	1.3
* Loko Keana, at Waikalua	1.1
* Punaluu Loko	12.5
* Pond adjoining Jim Olds	2
* Waikapoki (Alapai), wall broken	4
* Kanohuluiwi	2.5
* Kalokohanahou, at land of same	7
* Kikiwelawela, in Kikiwelawela	4.5
* Mokolii Pond, iadjoining Kualoa	124.5
* Name not known, in Kahana	14
* Kaelepulu, fresh-water pond, in Kailua	216
* Maunalua, in land of same name, partly filled	523
* Wailupe, in land of same name	41.5

* *Used commercially.*



Pearl Lochs:

* Puhala, in Waikele, remnant leased	22
* Kaaukuu, in Waikele	41
* Maaha, in Waikele	48
* Mokuola, in Waikele	23
* Eo, in Waipio, partly filled	137
* Name not known, in Waipio	5.7
* Hanaloa, in Waipio	195
* Moo, in Waiawa	13
* Kuhialoko, in Waiawa	133
Nameless pond	28
* Apala, in Waiawa	76
* Paaauu, in Waiawa, partly filled	320
* Weloko, in Waimano	21
* Kukona, in Waimano	27
* Luakahaole, in Waiiau	1
* Paakea, in Waimalu	12
* Opu, in Kalauao	10.5
* Puniau, in Kalauao	2.3
* Kunana, in Halawa, partly filled	25
* Loko Muliwai	4
* Kahakupohaku, in Halawa	3
Amana, in Halawa, filled up	
Pohaku, in Halawa, partly filled	2.5
* Name not known, in Halawa, partly filled	5
* Okiokiolepe, in Puuloa	6
* Kapamuku, in Puuloa	3
* Waiaho, Halawa	32

Moanalua and Kahauiki:

Lelepaua, in Moanalua, mostly filled up	332
* Kaihikapu, in Moanalua	258
* Kaloalua, in Moanalua	36
* Awaawalua, in Moanalua	8.8
* Mapunapuna, in Moanalua	40
* Kaikikapu, in Moanalua	20
* Weli, in Kahauiki	30

Kalihi and Kapalama:

* Apili, in Kalihi	28
* Pahou nui, in Kalihi	26
* Pahou iki, in Kalihi	14
* Auiki, in Kalihi, partly filled	12
* Ananoho, in Kalihi	52
* Kuwili I, in Kapalama	10.5
* Kuwili II, in Kapalama	17.7

Kewalo and Waikiki:

Ponds, in Kewalo proper, all being filled up.	
Opu, in Miki, now used as rice field	1.31
* Kuwili, in Kalia	9.7
* Name not known, in Kalia	2.5
* Name not known, in Kalia	1.4
* Name not known, in Kalia	1.5
* Kaipuni Pond, in Kalia	1.5



* Kaipuni Pond 2, in Kalia	1.3
* Paweo 1, in Kalia	13.1
* Paweo 2, in Kalia	2.9
* Kapuuiki, in Kalia	1.5
* Kalihikapu, in Kalia	12.2
* Pau Pond	1.45
* Maalahia, fresh water, Waikiki	2.1
* Opukaaia, fresh water, Waikiki	1.7
* Kapaakea, Waikiki, fresh water	6.0

Waialua:

* Ea Pond, in Kamananui	2.48
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Island of Molokai:

Nameless pond at Waiakane, in Kaluakoi, about	15
Nameless pond near Waiakane in Kaluakoi, about	16
Pakanaka, in Iloili	43
Nameless extensive pond in Hoolehua filled with mud.	
Nameless extensive pond, in Palaau, filled with mud.	
* Punalau, in Naiwa	20
Ooia, in Naiwa	15
Kaluaapuhi, in Naiwa	22
Kahokai, in Kalamaula	20
Ohaipilo, in Kalamaula	39
Nameless pond in Kalamaula	2
Nameless small pond inland, in Kalamaula	9
Kalokoeli, in Kamiloloa	27.6
Nameless pond, in Makakupaia 1	46
Kaoaini, in Makapupaia 2	9.3
Kanoa, in Kawela	50
Hokahaia, in Kawela, partly filled up	31
Uluanui, in Makolelau, partly filled up	6.5
Kawiu, in Makolelau, partly filled up	15 [page 429]
Panahahā, in Makolelau, walls broken	36
Kanukuawa, In Kapuaokoolau, walls broken	30
Pahiomu, in Keonekuino	20
Nameless pond, in Keonekuino	10.5
* Kamahuehue, in Kamalō	37
Nameless old pond, in Wawaia wall broken	40
Kalokoiki, in Wawaia, partly filled	6
Palaloa, In Puaahala	35
* Kainaohe, in Kaamola, wall partly broken, but used	17
Papaliili, in Kaamola, walls broken	6.5
* Hinai, in Keawanui	54.5
Nameless old pond, in Keawanui, walls broken	85
Nameless old pond, in Keawanui	13
Nameless old pond, in Ohia 1	8
* Puhaloa, in Manawai	6
* Nameless old pond, in Ualapue	3
* Nameless old pond, in Ualapue	19
* Nameless old pond, in Kaluaaha	11
* Nameless old pond, in Kaluaaha	9
* Kaopeahina, in Kaluaaha	20.5
* Niaupala, in Kaluaaha	33.5
* Piopio, Mapulehu	14



Panahahà, in Pukoo, wall broken	15
* Hae's Pond, in Pukoo	25
* Nameless pond, in Kupeke	30
* Nahiole, in Ahaino 1	1
* Kihaloko, in Ahaino 2	5
* Waihilahila, in Kailiula	3.5
* Kulaalamihi, in Honomuni	6
Ipukaiole, partly filled up	1.7
Nameless old pond in Kainalu, walls broken	19
Kahinapohaku, in Moanui walls broken	4
Ohalahala, in Kumimi, wall broken	1.5
Nameless old pond, in Honouliwai, wall broken	.5

Island of Kauai:

* Nomilo pond, in Kalaheo	19.5
* Nameless fish pond, in Waimea	
* Nameless fish pond, in Lihue.	
* Nameless fish pond, in Lihue.	
* Nameless fish pond, in Lihue.	
* Nameless fish pond, in Hanalei.	
* Nameless fishpond, in Hanamaulu, area small.	

Island of Maui:

Kanahà Pond, near Kahului, not used	37
Mokuhinia, Lahaina, mostly filled up, not used	11.4
Nameless pond, in Waiokama, near the last, not used	1
Puuolu, in Pauwalu, Koolau, used as rice field	1.5

Island of Hawaii:

In Hilo:

Nameless pond, in lower part of Kukuau	.5
Waiolama Pond, in lower part of Kukuau	.10
Nameless pond, in lower part of Kukuau, filled water hyacinth.	
* Hoakimau, in Waiakea	1.9
* Waiakea, in Waiakea	25.5
* Mohouli, in Waiakea	4.5
* Kalepolepo, in Waiakea	1.5
* Waihole, in Waiakea	.5
* Kanakea, in Waiakea, sea pond	2
* Lokowaka, in Waiakea, seapond, almost as large as Waiakea.	

In Puna:

Name not known at Waiakolea	13
Ponds at Kapoho sunk by subsidence of the coast in 1868.	
Ihukapu, in Kula	3.5

In North Kona:

Paaiea Pond, in Hamanamana, filled up by lava flow of 1801.	
Pond in Kiholo, filled up by lava flow of 1859.	
Kaloko Pond, near Kailua, partly filled with lava	50

NOTE. — I am especially indebted to Prof. W.D. Alexander, superintendent of the coast survey, Honolulu, for valuable assistance in preparing this list.



Owners of ponds rarely have much to do, with the practical working of them, as they usually lease them to Chinese who attend to everything. Most of the ponds on Oahu are controlled by two Chinese merchant firms in Honolulu, who work in close harmony. They take particular care that the Honolulu market never becomes overstocked with *amaama* and *awa*, and are thus enabled to command almost any price they please during certain seasons of the year when *amaama* are not to be had. This falls quite heavily on the white population, as they are the principle consumers of the *amaama*.

The maintenance of these ponds should be encouraged as much as possible, as they are of great assistance in keeping up a regular supply of certain species at all seasons of the year.

The tables following show, by islands and districts, the numbers and nationality of the persons employed, the number and value of the fish ponds and boats, the number, kind, and value of apparatus employed in the ponds, the catch by species, and the catch by apparatus and species, together with the value of same.

The island of Oahu leads in every particular, having 74 fish ponds valued at \$148,850, and employing 142 persons. The total investment [page 430] for the island is \$150,761. Molokai is second, with 15 ponds valued at \$11,425, 27 persons employed, and a total investment of \$11,709. Kauai and Hawaii follow in the order named. The total investment in the pond fisheries for all of the islands is \$168,943.

The total catch for Oahu is 560,283 pounds, valued at \$139,714; Molokai is second, with 91,919 pounds, valued at \$22,980. The total catch for all the islands is 682,464 pounds, valued at \$167,041, of which 485,531 pounds, worth \$119,202, are *amaama*.

The gill net is the leading form of apparatus used, 404,537 pounds, valued at \$97,819, being taken in these. Dip nets, seines, and scoop nets follow in the order named.

Table showing, by islands and districts, the persons employed, the number and value of fish ponds, boats, and apparatus used in the pond fisheries of the Hawaiian Islands in 1900.

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See Table showing, by islands and districts, and species, the yield of the pond fisheries of the Hawaiian Islands in 1900.

See Table showing, by islands, districts, apparatus, and species the yield of the fisheries of the Hawaiian Islands in 1900.

See Table showing, by islands, districts, apparatus, and species the yield of the fisheries of the Hawaiian Islands in 1900. – Continued.

Preparation Of Fishery Products.

With the exception of a small quantity dried for their home use, and, on several islands, for market, the fishermen sell everything in a fresh condition. The Chinese and Japanese, however, buy considerable quantities of fish from the fishermen and prepare these, usually in a dried condition. Most of this work is done on Hawaii, the district of Kona being especially noted for its dried fish.

The *nehu*, while one of the smallest of the many species found around the islands, is the one usually dried by the dealers. Large pieces of bagging are spread on ground and



exposed to the full rays of the sun, and the *nehu*, in round condition, are laid on these to dry. When prepared they are placed in tubs and carried around the islands on carts, and are generally sold to the Chinese and Japanese for about 25 cents per pound.

The *piha*, a fish about the same size as the *nehu*, is frequently prepared in the same way on Hawaii... [page 433]

Private Fishery Rights.

Probably the most peculiar feature of the Hawaiian fisheries is the well-developed principle of the private ownership of the fishes found in the open sea and bays to within a certain prescribed distance from shore. In order to clearly understand this condition of affairs it will be necessary to revert to the early history of land tenures in the islands.

Although we know practically nothing of the history of the people for some time after they first settled on the islands, it is probable, reasoning from analogy, that they lived in a patriarchal manner, followed later by a tribal or communal system. In the meantime certain men by force of character and natural talents had become recognized as chiefs, these men gradually usurped the rights of the common people and in time came to own everything. When a king or chief died his successor claimed the right, and exercised it in most cases, of redistributing the land amongst his own friends and adherence. This continued during the reigns of many petty chiefs and kings until at last all the islands fell under the sway of Kamehameha I, through conquest. The King at once divided the lands among his principle warrior chief, retaining, however, a considerable portion for himself. Each chief divided his lands among his inferior chief, who subdivided them again and again to the lowest class of tenants. When Kamehameha II ascended the throne he wanted to redistribute the lands as of old, but matters had rested so long without change during the long reign of Kamehameha I, and the landed interests had become so strong, that he found it impossible to disturb the existing order of things, except in a few instances. Trading in lands now became common, but it was not until 1839 that the ownership of land became vested in others than the King. In the bill of rights which Kamehameha III issued on June 7 of that year occurs the following rather vague paragraph relating to land tenures:

Protection is hereby secured to the persons of all the people, together with their lands, their building lots, and all their property, while they conform to the laws of the kingdom, and nothing whatever shall be taken from any individual except by express provision of the laws. Whatever chief shall act perseveringly in violation of this declaration shall not longer remain a chief of the Hawaiian Islands, and the same shall be true of the governors, officers, and all land agents, but if anyone who is deposed should change his course and regulate his conduct by law, it shall then be in the power of the chiefs to reinstate him in the place he occupied previous to his being deposed.

It was not, however, until 1848 that land tenure was put upon a solid legal basis by the division of the lands between the King, the chiefs, and the tenants, investing the titles in each.

Each island was divided into "*moku*," or districts. The subdivisions of a "*moku*" were "*ahupuaa*," which is really a unit of land in the islands. The "*ahupuaas*" are generally long, narrow strips, running from the mountain to the sea, include mountain, the plateau, [page 455] the shore, and for a certain distance out to sea. The distance into the sea was to the reef, if there was one; if not, to one geographical mile from shore. The owner of this portion of the sea naturally had the right to control it, so far as the fishing was



concerned, the same as he did his land. When he placed a *tabu* on it, branches of the *hau* tree were planted it all along the shore. The people seeing this token of the *tabu* respected it. With the removal of the *hau* branches, indicating that the *tabu* was lifted, the people fished as they desired, subject only to the *tabu* days of the priest or *alii*, when no canoes were allowed to go out upon the water.

In accordance with the law which went into effect June 14, 1900, the fishery rights will cease on June 14, 1903. Some of these fishery rights are of considerable value. Close to Honolulu are two fisheries belonging to one person which bring in a yearly rental of \$1,375. The fisheries on Oahu are the most valuable, owing to the excellent market for the sale of fish at Honolulu. On Kauai only a few of the fisheries are of sufficient value to be rented, these being mainly around Waimea and Hanalei. One of these rents for \$200 a year, while another brings in only \$20 per year. A few owners allow the general use of their fisheries to the fishermen, reserving one species for themselves, as they are allowed by law to do. Practically no effort is made to collect rent for any of the fishery rights of Hawaii. This is largely owing to the sparseness of the population and the consequent lack of markets for the sale of the fish, also somewhat to the disinclination of the people to pay rent. Some years ago the Government leased the Waiakea lands (at Hilo), including the fishing rights, to private parties. The lessees tried to collect rent for the use of the fishery, but without much success, and, as the lease terminated in October, 1899, it became free to everybody, as the new lease exempted the fishing rights.

The principle fishery right on Maui is at Kahului. The rest of them are practically free now. Merely nominal rents are exacted for the use of the fisheries around Molokai. Numerous attempts have been made by the owners to collect rent from the fishermen who frequent the waters around Lanai, but without success.

No effort was made to secure complete data on the value of these fishery rights, as the whole matter would necessarily have to be passed upon by the courts in a short time and the owners did not care to go into the matter fully just now.

For a more complete exposition of the laws concerning private fishery rights, reference is made to the preliminary report Drs. Jordan and Evermann, pp. 355-380 of this volume. The same paper contains a discussion of the laws regulating the fisheries and of the measures recommended for the further protection and improvement of the industry... [page 456]

The Fisheries Of Hawaii.

This island is divided into the districts of Hamakua, Hilo, Kau, Kohala, Kona, and Puna. The districts of Kona and Kohala are also frequently subdivided into North and South Kona and North and South Kohala. The only places of importance on the coast are Hilo on the east, Kailua and Napoopoo on the west, and Kawaihae on the northwest. There have been more railroads completed and projected on the island than on any of the others. The Hilo Railroad Company was incorporated March 28, 1899, and so far has completed its railroad from Hilo to Puna plantation, 23 miles. The Olaa branch leaves the main line near Olaa mill and has been located a distance of 17 miles through Olaa toward the volcano of Kilauea. Work on the Kohala Railroad was begun in 1881 and completed in 1882. This road begins at Mahukona and runs along the shore to Niulii, a distance of 20 miles. Although constructed primarily for the benefit of the sugar plantations, the railroads have been of considerable aid to the fisheries, as they have furnished a regular and fairly cheap medium of transportation from the fisheries to the plantations, many of which were inaccessible to the fishermen before.



The Kohala and Hilo Railway Company was incorporated in June, 1899, and when completed will run from Hilo, through the districts of Hilo and Hamakua, to the port of Mahukona, in the Kohala district. This will tap an especially good fishing region, which is but slightly worked at present, owing to the lack of transportation facilities.

In August, 1901, the Kona and Kau Railway Company, limited, was incorporated. This company intends building in the districts of North and South Kona and Kau.

Along the coasts of the Puna and Kau districts sponges are frequently washed up during storms. It is said by persons who have seen them that, while not of as good quality as the Florida sponges, still they are thought to be suitable for some purposes. No attempt has been made as yet to utilize them commercially, although it is possible there would be considerable money in the business could the sponges be properly prepared for market.

The tables which follow (with those already given) show the general features of the fisheries of the island.

The Hawaiians predominate in the fisheries, 405, counting men and women, being employed. Although the Japanese have only engaged in fishing on this island about ten years, they already number 134, and are rapidly increasing from year to year. Only 8 Chinese and 2 Americans were engaged. The total number was 549. The line fisheries employ the largest number of persons, 408, followed by the cast-net fisheries with 105. The seine and spear fisheries employ the same number of persons, 67. [page 466]

Canoes, rowboats, sampans, and seine boats were the types of boats in use. The most important form of apparatus in use in the fisheries was the gill net. Lines were second so far as value was concerned. Only four fish ponds were used commercially. The total investment for the whole island amounted to \$25,172.

Hilo district was the most important fishing section, followed by Kona, Kohala, Hamakua, Puna, and Kau districts in the order named. Akule was the leading species, 304,099 pounds, valued at \$34,572, having been secured. Aku, moano, oio, ulua, and hee were the other leading species. The total catch for the island amounted to 1,304,311 pounds, valued at \$137,734.

See Table showing, by nationality, the number of persons using each form of apparatus in the fisheries of Hawaii in 1900.

The line fisheries occupy first position, with 98,916 pounds, valued at \$110,855, more than two-thirds of the total catch for the whole island. The principle species secured in this fishery were akule, aku, moano, oio, ulua, kahala, and kawakawa.

The seine fisheries were second so far as quantity was concerned, but third in the value of seine, the gill-net fisheries being second in value and third in catch. The principle species taken in the seine fisheries were akule, opelu, ulua, and iheihe, and in the gill-net fisheries akule, hauliuli, uu, and ulua.

The cast-net fisheries amounted to 61,531 pounds, valued at \$4,292. The principle species were akule, alaihi, ahia, and pakii.

Opelu alone were taken in the bag-net and dip-net fisheries.

In the basket fisheries manini, puhi, and opai were the principle species obtained.



Hee, kumu, and hihimanu were the leading species secured in the spear fisheries, while ulua alone were taken in the snare fisheries.

In the hand fisheries opihi, ula, hee, and papai were the leading species captured. [page 467]

See Table showing, by apparatus and species, the yield of the fisheries of Hawaii in 1900.

[page 468]

See Table showing, by apparatus and species, the yield of the fisheries of Hawaii in 1900. – Continued.

The fish ponds on Hawaii are of very little importance at present. While there are a number at various places around the island, only four were used commercially. Gill nets alone were used in the fish ponds, and there yield in 1900 was only 1,853 pounds, valued at \$416.

Commercial fishing was carried on in but two rivers, the Wailoa and Wailuku, both in the district of Hilo. In the Wailoa River baskets, spears, and lines were employed. The only commercial fishery for frogs on the islands was carried on in this river. This fishery began in 1900, the year under investigation. Lines alone were used in the Wailuku River, *amaama* being the species sought for.

The following table shows the yield and value of the river fisheries of Hilo in 1900:

Rivers.	Apparatus	Species	Lbs.	Value.
Wailoa	Baskets	<i>Opai</i>	300	\$ 75
Wailoa	Baskets	<i>Oopu</i>	351	\$ 53
Wailoa	Spear	Frogs	210	\$105
Wailoa	Lines	Frogs	170	\$ 85
Wailoa	Lines	<i>Amaama</i>	620	\$130
Wailuku	Lines	<i>Amaama</i>	800	\$200

Kahoolawe.

This is a small island 6 miles west of Maui. The raising of sheep is the only business of the island, 10 persons being employed. These people have a saying which they use in catching a supply of fish for their own consumption. Formerly they sent the surplus to Lahaina whenever an extra large catch was made, but during the past two years they have evidently done but little, as nothing has been received [page 469] there from them. There are said to be plenty of fish around the island, but the owner of it claims the fishery right and refuses to allow the fishermen from the other islands to fish there unless they pay him for the privilege.

The Fisheries Of Kauai.

There is little fishing prosecuted from this island, although the adjacent waters are said to teem with fish; but this is largely accounted for by the fact that the efforts of the islanders are devoted almost exclusively to sugar-cane growing, in which more money can be made than in fishing. The writer was informed by numerous white residents that during the greater part of the year it was impossible to purchase fresh fish at any price. Occasionally a few peddlers with horses and small carts make trips through the easily accessible portions of the island with the surplus catch of the fisheries. Those in the vicinity of the fisheries drive to them when they are in operation and thus secure a supply



of fish, but as they are operated but a few months of the year, and frequently encounter bad seasons, owing to weather, etc., they cannot be counted upon for a steady supply. Kauai is divided into five districts, Hanalei, Kawaihau, Lihue, Koloa, and Waimea. Waimea is the principle town.

The natives predominate in the fisheries, followed by the Japanese, Chinese, and Americans in the order named. The bag-net fisheries employ the greater number of persons with 72, followed by the line fisheries with 64 persons.

See Table showing, by nationality, the number of persons using each form of apparatus in the fisheries of Kauai in 1900.

The line fisheries yielded the largest returns of any of the forms of apparatus in use. The principle species taken in this fishery were *ulua*, *uku*, *oio*, and *ulaula*. The bag-net fisheries occupy second place, the leading species taken in them being *akule* and *amaama*. The seine, dip net, scoop net, gill net, spear, and hand fisheries follow in the order enumerated. [page 470]

See Table showing, by apparatus, the yield in the fisheries of Kauai in 1900.

The products of the pond fisheries are of but little importance, as the ponds were few in number and did not receive much attention. Gill nets were used exclusively in fishing them. A few German carp were captured in them, these were the only ones taken commercially in the fisheries of the islands. The catch aggregated 28,409 pounds and was valued at \$3,931.

The river fisheries of Kauai, like those of the other islands, are insignificant in extent. During 1900 fishing was carried on in the Hanapepe, Waialua and Waimea rivers, cast nets and *opai* baskets being used. *Amaama* and *opai* were the only species taken, the aggregate catch being 10,250 pounds of *amaama*, valued at \$1,538, and 400 pounds of *opai*, worth \$200.

The Fisheries Of Lanai.

Schools of fishes congregate around the shores of this island, and it is a favorite fishing ground for the fishermen from Lahaina and the eastern portion of Molokai. Only natives were engaged in the fisheries. Seines and lines were the only forms of apparatus in use, but a number of women and children engaged in fishing with their hands. The total investment in the fisheries of the island was \$3,478. The principle species taken in the fisheries were *akule*, *aku*, *amaama*, and *ulua*. The total catch amounted to 212,628 pounds, valued at \$29,853. The portion of the catch not consumed locally is usually carried to the markets at Lahaina, on Maui.

The products of the seine and line fisheries are almost the same, both in quantity and value. In the line fisheries the *aku*, *ulua*, *kawakawa*, and *puhi* were the leading species, while in the same fisheries *akule*, *amaama*, *kumu*, and *iheihe* were most prominent. [page 471]

See Table showing, by apparatus, the yield in the fisheries of Lanai in 1900.

The Fisheries Of Maui.

Maui is divided into five districts—Hana, Honuaula, Kaupo, Lahaina, and Wailuku. Kahului on Kahului Bay, on the north of the neck of the land joining the two parts of the island, and Lahaina are shipping ports with fairly safe harbors. The principle port is Lahaina, which was formerly a place of much greater importance than at present, having



been the favorite residents of the kings for many years. During the palmy days of the whale fishery Lahaina was a popular port of call for whalers who wanted supply, as Maui was noted for its potatoes and wheat. At one time the Pacific coast, during the early gold discoveries, drew most of its food supplies of these products from this island. The whalers in time ceased to visit the islands, and as the mainland furnished its own food supplies after a few years, Maui rapidly decreased in wealth and population. Sugar is now the principle crop of the island. Lahaina and Wailuku are the only towns of any size on the island.

A railroad now extends from Wailuku to Kahului, Sprecklesville, and Keia [Paia], and this has aided somewhat in extending the opportunities for the marketing of the fishery products taken at the Kahului fishery. [page 472]

The irrigation dams and ditches on Maui contain numbers of carp and gold-fish, but no commercial use is made of them as yet. The Japanese and Chinese take them in large numbers for home consumption.

The fresh-water streams contain gold-fish, oopu, uwau [owau], opai, but practically no commercial use is made of these, although large quantities are taken by the natives for home use.

See Table showing, by nationality, the number of persons using each forma of apparatus in the fisheries of Maui in 1900.

The table below shows by apparatus and species the yield of the fisheries.

The bag-net fisheries were first in importance, with 385,824 pounds, valued at \$68,308. Nenu, oio, opelu, kole, moano, and ulua were the principle species taken.

The line catch was second in importance, with 334,387 pounds, valued at \$56,481. The leading species taken were oio, aku, puhu, ulua, and moano.

See Table showing, by apparatus and species, the yield of the fisheries of Maui in 1900.

[page 473]

**See Table showing, by apparatus and species, the yield of the fisheries of Maui in 1900.
– Continued.**

[page 474]

The Fisheries Of Niihau.

This island is devoted almost exclusively to the raising of sheep, and fishing is carried on in a desultory fashion by the employees of the sheep ranch and their families. What they do not consume is carried across the strait to Waimea, on Kauai, and sold there. A small portion of the catch is also dried. Native men and women alone engage in the fisheries. The following table shows by apparatus the yield of the fisheries in 1900:

Species	Lbs.	Value	
Lines:			
Aku	380	\$ 95	
Awaawa, dried		3,100	465
Ea, dried		800	120
Oio	7,200	1,800	
Ulaula		1,200	480
Uku	4,000	1,100	



Species	Lbs.	Value
<i>Ulua</i> , fresh	4,900	490
<i>Ulua</i> , dried	5,100	510
<i>Weke</i> 600	120	
Total	27,680	5,180
Hands:		
<i>Limu</i>	145	15
<i>Opihi</i>	250	65
<i>Ula</i>	1,200	200
<i>Wana</i>	250	63
Total	1,845	413

The Fisheries Of Molokai.

Although one of the larger islands of the group, Molokai has but a very small part of the total population. It must have supported a considerable native population at one time, as there are a large number of fish ponds on the southern side of the island, many of which have been abandoned, as, owing to a lack of market consequent upon the rapid dying out of the native population, it did not pay to keep them up. The island at present is used mainly for grazing, as the lack of water makes it unsuitable for the growing of sugar cane. There are no harbors along the coast and no settlements of any size. Pukoo and Kaunakakai, the principle places, are very small villages.

About the center of the northern side of the island, on a point of land extending a considerable distance out into the ocean, are located two leper settlements, which contain more than half of the total population of the island. Fishing is carried on at these settlements by the lepers—3 bag nets, valued at \$450; 10 cast nets, worth \$100, and \$18 worth of lines, being used. The board of health for the territory, which has charge of the settlements, purchases all the fish that are caught, provided the fishermen care to dispose of them, at a uniform price of 7 cents per pound, and distribute these in lieu of meat ration. Should the fishermen wish to sell personally to the people of the settlements they are permitted to do so. The fishermen are all lepers. This fishing has been included in the tables. [page 475]

Near Kaunakakai large numbers of clams are found growing in the mud, but are not eaten because of a fine grit found in them.

During 1900 there were 20 Chinese (all in the fish-pond fisheries), 103 natives, and 5 Japanese engaged in the fisheries. The Chinese used gill nets exclusively, the Japanese cast nets, and the natives all forms of apparatus.

The canoe was almost exclusively used in the fisheries, 1 whaleboat alone having been employed. In numbers, the cast net leads all other forms of apparatus. The bag net is the most valuable. There were 15 fish ponds which were worked commercially in 1900, and these were valued at \$11,425. The total investment in the fisheries of the island amounted to \$17,140.

The *amaama* is the principle product of the fisheries, 112,514 pounds valued at \$28,154, being taken. *Oio* is second, with 36,000 pounds worth \$9,000. The total catch for the whole island amounted to 376,255 pounds, valued at \$67,599.

See Table showing, by apparatus and species, the yield of the fisheries of Molokai in 1900.



Amaama and awa were the only species taken in the fish ponds, by far the greater part being of the former. Gill nets took the principle portion, 83,919 pounds, valued at \$20,980. Seines were also used, their catch being 8,000 pounds of *amaama*, worth \$2,000. [page 476]

See Plate 27 – Island of Molokai

Notes of Former Fisheries Of Importance.

At different periods during the past century the islanders have prosecuted certain fisheries with varying success. While some of these proved very successful and were carried on for many years, others soon ceased, owing to the destruction of the object sought, or for other reasons. Among these may be mentioned the whale, seal, otter, shark, pearl, beche-de-mer fisheries.

The Hawaiian Whale Fishery.

Owing to the immense importance of the foreign fleet, especially the American, which made its headquarters at the islands, the feeble struggles of the domestic fleet are frequently swallowed up and lost sight of in those of its giant competitors. While the files of early Honolulu newspapers contain much which refers to the foreign fleet, there appears but little, and that very fragmentary, on the home fleet. Every effort possible was made to fill in the numerous gaps, but this was found impossible in many instances, and the following can be considered nearly as notes on the industry.

Vessel Whaling.

The first mentioned of a whaler being fitted out from the islands was in an early number of the *Polynesian*, of Honolulu, which stated that the first whaler fitted out was in 1832, in which H.A. Pierce, of Honolulu, was interested. Later and more thorough inquiries would seem to fix the period at 1834, when the brig *Waverly* was fitted out for whaling and searching among the islands to the westward for Captain Dowsett and others. While engaged in this search she herself was cut off and all her crew massacred at Strong's Island.

In the *Polynesian*, of Honolulu, under date of April 12, 1851, occurs the following:

We are happy to notice, in connection with the whaling business, that the ship *Chariot* has been purchased in this place by an enterprising company and will soon sail on a whaling voyage under the command of Captain Spencer. We wish them every success, and believe they will meet with it, as Capt. S. is well skilled in the business and has filled ships before. We know of no good reason why this lucrative branch of commerce cannot be prosecuted from this port, with many advantages over all others, as we have frequently suggested in the *Polynesian*. It is certainly worthy of the experiment, and we are glad to see it undertaken.

During the fall season of 1852 only one Honolulu vessel was engaged in whaling, the brig *Juno*.

On January 8, 1855, as the ship *Heroine*, owned by R. Coady & Co., of Honolulu, was being towed out of the harbor preparatory to starting on a cruise, the hawser parted and she was wrecked on the reef at the entrance to the harbor.

In the *Friend*, of Honolulu, on March 3, 1853, occurs the following list of vessels owned in and fitted from Honolulu during the spring season of 1858, with the amount of capital invested in each. [page 481]



See List of vessels owned in and fitted from Honolulu in the spring season of 1858.

In the *Polynesian*, under date of November 20, 1858, occurs the following article:

Hawaiian whalers in port November 19, 1858.

Barks Vernon, Gambia, Silver Cloud, Robert Morrison, Harmony, Frau Henrietta.

Brigs Antilla, Kauai, Hawaii, Wailua, Oahu, Agate. Herm. bg. Pfiel.

Ships Hudson, Adeline, Northern Light, Sharon, Brutus, Shellfield, Ben Morgan, Addison, Majestic.

In the spring fishing 17 left Honolulu for the northern grounds, of which 2 were simply tenders.

Thirteen have arrived, with 6,425 barrels of whale oil, 98,300 pounds bone, besides untold quantity of ivory and peltry obtained by trade. The other two vessels yet out of port, have been reported with 1,050 barrels between them.

These vessels did not all fly the Hawaiian flag, some being nearly owned by residents of the islands and flying the American and Bremen flags. Possibly several of them were really not whalers, but sealers.

At the annual meeting of the Royal Agricultural Society, in 1857, a resolution was passed to award "a silver cup to the master, silver medals to the officers, and bronze medals to the crew of the whaling vessel, fitted out from these islands which shall bring in the largest cargo of oil next year in proportion to her size." Although their attention was called to this matter the latter part of 1858, the society failed to live up to its promise.

In 1859 the fleet was composed of the following vessels [see Table in original]:

[page 482]

One of the new vessels to start in the business about 1860 was the schooner *Kalama*, of 85 tons. This vessel was built at Waterford, Conn., in 1846. She arrived at the islands in 1857 under the name *Queen of the West*, when "Capt. John Meek purchased her and named her after the dowager Queen Kalama, relict of Kamehameha III, and placed her in the coasting trade July 14, 1857, on the windward route. A short time afterwards J.I. Dowsett bought her and put her in the whaling service under command of L. Kelly. In the winter of 1861 she made a very successful season in company with the brig *Comet*, returning here April 11, 1862. Reporting 1,200 barrels. She was then sold and subsequently used as coaster, royal yacht, guano searcher, sperm whaler, and again as coaster."^{*}

On April 1, 1865, the Hawaiian vessels Pearl and Harvest were lined at Ascension in company with a number of American whalers, when the Confederate steamer *Shenandoah* destroyed the whole fleet, the Hawaiian vessels being burned so that they could not warn other vessels. Their owners were reimbursed by the American Government from the money paid by Great Britain as a result of the Alabama Claims Commission award.

In 1867 the fleet comprised the following vessels: Schooner *Pfiel*, brig *Kohola*, bark *Eagle*, bark *Oregon*, bark *Hae Hawaii*, brig *Comet*.

* *Hawaiian Maritime History, Part II. Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1891, pp. 130, 131.*



Three more were added to the fleet late in the year, the schooners *Wm. H. Allen* and *Emeline* and the bark *Julian*, but they did no whaling in 1867. Some of the Bremen whalers were also owned in Honolulu at this period.

In 1868 the schooner *Wm. H. Allen* sperm-whaled among the Bonin Islands and got 300 barrels of sperm oil. In 1870 she visited the coast of Peru, where she got 220 barrels of sperm oil. Sperm-whaling at this time was rather unusual among the whalers frequenting the islands, as most of them were engaged in right and humpback whaling in the North Pacific and the Arctic oceans. The *Wm. H. Allen* dropped out of the business in 1872...

In 1871 a terrible disaster happened to the whaling fleet in the Arctic Ocean by which 34 vessels were abandoned in the ice. Among these [page 483] were the following Hawaiian vessels: Bark *Comet*, bark *Paiva Kohola*, bark *Victoria 2d*, ship *Julian*. Early in the year the *Eagle* and *Comet Bismarck* had been withdrawn from the whaling fleet and thus escaped the fate of the others. This disaster almost wiped out the home fleet.

In 1876 the only Hawaiian vessels in the *Arctic*, the bark *Arctic*, valued at \$32,000, and the *Desmond*, valued at \$24,000 were abandoned in the ice. Eleven American vessels were abandoned at the same time.

After 1881, when there were 2 vessels in the business, there is practically no mention of Hawaiian whalers until 1894, when the last vessel, the steamer *Alexander*, 294 tons, gave up the business under the Hawaiian flag and is now in the San Francisco fleet.

After 1875 very few foreign whalers called at the islands, as it was found more profitable to refit and transship oil and bone from San Francisco, owing to the railroad connection with the Eastern seaboard, and as most of the Hawaiian whalers were owned by Americans they were transferred to San Francisco with the rest of the fleet or else withdrawn from the business... [page 484]

See Table showing exports from the Hawaiian Islands of products taken by the Hawaiian whaling fleet from 1857 to 1880.

Bay Whaling.

In addition to the vessel fishery for whales a number of persons engaged at various times in what was called "bay whaling." The small humpback whales in the winter time would resort to the region between Lahaina and Kalepolepo Bay for breeding purposes. The sperm whales would also do the same to the leeward side and of the southern point of Hawaii, and also off the other islands at times. When a whale was sighted close to the shore parties would go out in small boats and attempt to capture it. If successful, the whale would be towed ashore, cut up, and the blubber tried out in rude try works.

The first mention in the local newspapers of this fishery was the following, from the *Polynesian*, of Honolulu, May 20, 1848:

Sperm whales are frequently seen near these islands, and several projects have been set on foot at different times to capture them. Mr. James Hough, of Lahaina, obtained a few months since a charter for the exclusive right of fishing for whales at Honuaula, on the island of Maui, and at length succeeded in capturing a sperm whale. In consequence of the difficulty experienced in "cutting in" and getting the "blubber" on shore, only about 30 barrels of oil were secured. This is the current rate here is worth about \$800.



Maalaea Bay, on the north side of Maui, was frequently visited by sperm whales. According to several of the old inhabitants of Wailuku the natives used to kill whales in the bay quite often in the "forties."

Whales would sometimes get started upon the coast. In June, 1857, a young sperm whale, about 8 feet in length, was stranded on the beach at the mouth of the Waiole [Wai'oli] River, Hanalei Bay, Kauai. The natives secured him and floated him into the river, where he soon died, and his oil was then tried out. [page 485]

In the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, of Honolulu, under date of March 11, 1858, appeared the following:

The season for humpback whales these islands extend from January to April. The four or five whaling companies at or near Lahaina have not as yet succeeded in securing a whale, but a company of natives from Honolulu stationed at Lahaina killed a cow and a calf there on the 1st of March, while a boat from the *Sharon*, lying at anchor, captured the male which was in company. From Hilo our correspondent gives an account of the taking of a whale in that harbor by the boats of the *Dover*. A school of these whales were seen off the entrance of our harbor yesterday morning.

In 1859 three stations for bay whaling were opened in and around Kalepolepo Bay, on Maui. On April 8, 1862, Mr. O.J. Harris, of Lahaina, captured a large bowhead whale in this bay. When tried out it yielded about 50 barrels.

A small sloop, the *Laanui*, O.J. Harris, captain was engaged in the business in 1863 and met with considerable success, while Mr. Pat Shaw, of Lahaina, with a crew from the same place, was very successful in bay whaling during the "sixties."

In 1870 the *Anne*, Captain Roys, of Honolulu, engaged in bay whaling at Kalepolepo Bay. Try works were erected at Olowalu, some 4 or 5 miles beyond Lahaina. Captain Roys used an explosive gun of his own design and met with considerable success.

In March, 1870, a whale was caught off Hilo, Hawaii, by a shore party from that place. They obtained 75 barrels of oil from it.

The vessel *Henrietta*, of Honolulu, engaged in the fishery in 1872 around Lahaina and was quite successful. She got one whale in Maalaea Bay which tried out 50 barrels, worth about \$1,000. A shore party under O.J. Harris was also working in the same vicinity at that time and met with considerable success.

Whales are still seen quite frequently each year around the islands, but little attention is paid to them unless one should be stranded, when the natives gladly seize upon it.

The Foreign Whaling Fleet at the Islands.

One of the principle causes of the present material wealth of the islands was the rendezvousing of the Pacific whaling fleets from the United States and other countries at the various ports of the islands for many years, and the transshipment of oil and bone from these ports. An effort is made herewith to show the history and extent of this business so far as can be done from the data available.

The first whaler to enter the Pacific Ocean was the ship *Amelia*, Captain Shields, from London, in 1788. She was fitted out at vast expense by Mr. Enderby, a London merchant,



and carried a crew of Nantucket, Mass., whalers. She sailed on September 1, 1788, and returned March 12, 1790, with a cargo of 139 tons of sperm oil. She received a bounty of 800 pounds from the Government. Most of the whaling was done off the coasts of Chile and Peru. Capt. [page 486] Hammond, of Nantucket, Mass., was first officer of the ship and struck the first sperm whale ever known to be taken in that ocean.

The success of the *Amelia* stimulated other nations, and the United States was among the first to fit out vessels for this fishery. In 1791 Nantucket people built and sent three new ships, with three old ones, into the Pacific Ocean, the first from the United States. These were very successful, each ship obtaining up to 1,500 barrels of oil, mostly sperm. The first of the ships to enter the Pacific was one of the new vessels, the *Beaver*, Paul Worth. She was also the first to return.

In 1802 whaling was prosecuted first off New Zealand, and in 1803 the whalers were in the China seas about the Molucca Islands.

The first American whalers to visit the Hawaiian Islands were the ships *Balaena* and *Equator*, of New Bedford. They arrived at Kealakekua Bay, Hawaii, September 17, 1819, off which port they captured a large sperm whale which yielded 102 barrels. They sailed thence on October 1, for Lahaina to water, and touched off Oahu, to leave letters, October 10. At this same time Honolulu is described as a scattered, irregular village of thatched huts, of 3,000 or 4,000 inhabitants. By 1820 the calls of whalers at Honolulu were quite frequent. In 1823 there were four American mercantile houses established there, two of Boston, one of New York, one of Bristol R.I. The Americans were quick to see the superiority of the islands for recruiting and refitting over other stations in the Pacific, and very soon all the American vessels in the Pacific, and quite a few from other countries, were touching at the islands regularly.

The discovery of the sperm whaling-ground off the Japan coast in 1819 by the *Syren*, Captain Coffin, where she had great success, drew large numbers of the new vessels, particularly American, to the new grounds, and these fixed their headquarters at the islands. Capt. Joseph Allen, of the ship *Maro*, of Nantucket, also discovered these grounds independently in 1820.

Stimulated by the demand on the products of the islands created by the great influx of foreign whalers, strenuous efforts were put forth to furnish the supplies desired. The island of Maui was noted for its potatoes and wheat, and most of the whalers called at Lahaina specially for supplies of these articles. In 1828 potatoes were rather scarce and sold in Honolulu for \$2 per barrel, but were cheaper at Lahaina.

According to the *Daily Advertiser* (Boston, Mass.), of December 24, 1874, the first whaling in the Ochotsk Sea done by the American whalers in 1834. The whales were reported by the master of the American schooner *Unity*, of 60 tons, which was bound to the port of Ochotsk in Siberia, and thence to *Kamchatka*.

In August, 1820, Captain Meek, in the trading brig *Peddler*, of New York, visited the Arctic Ocean. He secured by trade some oil and bone from the natives. It was partly on his recommendation later that whaling was begun there. [page 487]

Captain Roys, of the bark *Superior*, of Sag Harbor, N.Y., was the first to go into the Arctic for whales. In the Honolulu *Friend* he gave the following account of the opening up of this profitable region:



I entered the Arctic Ocean almost the middle of July, and cruised from continent to continent, going as high as latitude 70, and saw whales wherever I went, cutting in my last whale on the 23rd of August and returning through Bering Strait on the 28th of the same month. On account of powerful currents, thick fogs, the near vicinity of land and ice, combined with the imperfection of charts and want of information respecting the region, I found it both difficult and dangerous to get oil, although there were plenty of whales. Hereafter, doubtless, many ships will go there, and I think there ought to be some provision to save the lives of those who go there should they be cast away.

The discovery of this new ground was of inestimable value, as sperm whaling was rapidly dying out, owing to the scarcity of these animals and the new grounds were soon visited yearly by a large fleet of vessels, principally American. The whales secured in this region were of the bowhead or Greenland variety.

From the very beginning American whalers predominated at the Hawaiian Islands. In the "twenties" Great Britain was somewhat serious competitor, but she was soon hopelessly distanced. The reasons for this are well set forth in the following quotation from one who was in a position to know, and who had no love for Americans**:

The number of vessels fitted out from England for the whale fishery of the Pacific was, in 1820, 140, while at present there are not more than 70, the Americans having at least 400 vessels profitably employed in this trade. Say about 24,500 tons British shipping and 2,100 seamen; ditto 130,000 tons of American shipping and 12,000 seamen. This disproportion is but slightly altered by the vessels fitted out from British colonies.

The protection to British fishing vessels was, up to July, 1843, no less than £25 12s. per ton on all oils, and is now £15 15s. on spermaceti oil and £6 6s. on black oil. Yet there is a falling off in their number of one-half during the last twenty years, while the American vessels have increased in a greater ratio.

It would be easy to detail the causes of the greater success of the Americans in conducting this profitable trade; among the more prominent of which are, the greater sobriety of the officers and the superior character of the crews, both which—recommendations in any trade—are indispensable in the prosecution of this one.

He was anxious for Great Britain to seize the islands and make Honolulu a depot for the British whaling interests, and created a great deal of trouble for the native government before he was recalled.

The first French whaler to call at the islands was the *Nancy*, in 1837, but French vessels called quite frequently after this. The first Prussian and Danish whalers to visit the islands was in 1842.

The native government was quick to realize the benefits of this trade and made every effort possible to attract the whalers to the islands. In 1844 the following regulations in regard to whalers were in force at the various ports of the islands:

** *The Sandwich Islands, etc. By Alexander Simpson, esq., late acting there as Her Majesty's sul. Pamphlet published in London.*



General regulations.—Whalers were permitted to sell goods to the amount of \$200 each without paying any duty whatever. Overall [page 488] above \$200 they paid an ad valorem duty of 3 per cent. Goods were allowed to be transshipped or reexported on payment of a duty.

Honolulu.—The harbor dues at this port were as follows: Six cents per ton on whale ships and merchant vessels entering for the purpose of obtaining refreshments only. For the use of the buoys, \$2. For certificate of clearance, \$1. Per foot pilotage for taking a vessel in or out, \$1.

Lahaina.—Regulations of port: Every captain requiring refreshments had to pay \$10 for the harbor dues, for which he was allowed 5 barrels of potatoes and the privilege of purchasing supplies for his ship. Every ship on arriving and making purchases had to pay \$1 for the support of two lights kept burning to mark the place where boats could land. The captain was compelled to secure a certificate showing that the port regulations had been complied with; charge for this, \$1.

Hilo.—Harbor dues for whalers: For anchorage, \$6; for pilotage, \$6.

Kealakekua.—Harbor dues for whalers: For anchorage, \$6; for pilotage, \$6.

In the general laws of 1846 no duty was charged on the transshipment of whale products at the ports of the islands.

In 1847 the following law to encourage the visits of whalers was passed by the Legislative Council of the islands:

Section I. *Be it resolved by the nobles and representatives of the Hawaiian Islands Legislative Council assembled*, That in order to encourage the visits of whale ships of all nations to the ports of entry for such vessels now open by the existing laws, or hereafter to be declared open, they and each of them, on and after the proclamation hereof in the Polynesian newspaper, be exempted from all anchorage fees and tonnage dues imposed by the existing tariff upon vessels exclusively engaged in the whale fishery; in all cases so long as said vessels shall not exceed in their trade or barter in foreign goods the amount of \$200 ad valorem allowed by law to be landed from them free of duty, provided brandy, wine, or other liquors which have an intoxicating effect to entirely exclude from that trade or barter, any vessel trading or bartering in which shall the wholly forfeit the advantage of this resolution.

Sec. II. *And be it further resolved*, That from and after the proclamation hereof as aforesaid, the harbor or roadstead of Kealakekua, on the island of Hawaii, shall be and is hereby created a port of entry and departure for whale ships in accordance with the existing laws applicable to such vessels at the other ports already opened to whale ships.

Sec. III. *And be it further resolved*, That the minister of finance be and he is hereby authorized to pay out of any moneys in the exchequer the drafts of the collector-general of customs in favor of any duly appointed pilot employed at the port of Honolulu the sum of \$25 for each whale ship which shall have been promptly and faithfully piloted by him in and out of the port of Honolulu in lieu of the \$1 per foot allowed by law to be changed for the pilotage of whale ships.

Sec. IV. *And be it further resolved*, That the minister of finance be and he is hereby authorized to pay to the pilots appointed for Lahaina, Hanalei, and Hilo



out of any moneys in the exchequer such gross sums per annum as may be recommended by the board of finance in lieu of the charge which they are authorized to make for the pilotage of whale ships. [page 489]

Sec. V. *And be it further resolved*, That the joint resolution of 3rd April, 1846, relative to brandies, wines, and other spirituous liquors shall be understood and is hereby interpreted to mean as follows: The permits to trade or barter, given to vessels engaged in the whale fishery, do not and shall not include the trade, sale, landing, or disposal of spirituous liquors, but all such traffic on the part of said vessels shall be and is hereby construed to constitute them merchantmen, and shall subject them, within the meaning of said joint resolution, to the payment of 20 cents per ton tonnage dues, as well at the anchorage of Lahaina and the roadstead of Honolulu as at anchor in the harbor of Honolulu, and to all other legal liabilities.

Sec. VI. Relates to fees for various kinds of general licenses.

Sec. VII. Relates to the breaking up of hulks.

Sec. VIII. *And be it further resolved*, That from and after the proclamation hereof as aforesaid no clearance shall be given by any collector of customs to any foreign vessels at any port in this Kingdom where there is or shall be a council, a vice-consul, or commercial agent, or vice commercial agent of the nation to which such vessel belongs until the master or commander of such vessel shall produce to said collector a certificate under the seal of his council that all legal charges and demands in his office against said vessel have been paid and that he knows of no reason why said vessel should not immediately depart; and that in ports where no such council, vice-council, or commercial agent, or vice commercial agent may exist the local collector shall otherwise satisfy himself that all proper and legal charges have been paid before granting a clearance to any foreign vessel.

Sec. IX. *And be it further resolved*, That from and after the proclamation hereof in manner aforesaid, all, each, and every, the provisions of the foregoing *eight* resolutions shall be considered, received, taken, and construed to be amendments to the existing laws of this Kingdom, and that they be substituted instead of any such laws at conflict therewith, which existing laws so far as the same are found to be so at conflict, are and shall be hereby repeated.

The effect of this law was to make all the ports free ports.

Section 8 of the above act was repealed on May 26, 1853.

The following act regulating the duties on the products of the whale fishery was approved July 27, 1852:

Section 1. All oil, bone, and other products of the sea taken by an Hawaiian vessel may be imported into this Kingdom free of duty, but the same shall be entered and permitted at the custom-house in the same manner as goods liable to 5 per cent ad valorem duty.

Section 2. All oil, bone, and other products of the whale fishery imported in this Kingdom in any foreign vessel, or being the product of any foreign vessel and sold or landed, shall be considered to have been imported for consumption, and shall be liable to the duty of 5 per cent ad valorem and not entitled to any draw back for reexporting unless the same shall have been stored in the custom-house stores or under the direction of the collector of customs.



Section 3. This act shall take effect on the thirtieth day after its passage.

As the remitting of the pilot dues was quite a serious drain on the financial resources of the Government, they were imposed in 1850. On August 16, 1854, however, all tonnage dues on whalers, foreign and domestic, were abolished.

The usual custom was for the whalers to make two cruises each year. The first, or spring season, was from January 1 to about June 14, the second, or fall season, beginning about July 27 and ending about October 10. The intervening time was employed in refitting for the [page 490] next season. During the spring season the vessels usually visited some of the southern grounds for sperm or right whales, or both, while during the fall season the North Pacific and Arctic grounds were visited.

American vessels, which hailed principally from New Bedford, New London, and Nantucket, engaging in the Pacific Arctic fishery, usually left their home port in the fall of they year so as to make the passage of the Horn or Cape of Good Hope in the southern summer. These ships would arrive at the islands in March or April, in time to refit for the fall cruise. An American vessel whaling in the Arctic usually remained out three and one-half or more years, including the time spent in coming from and returning to her home port.

It was quite common for the whalers to come to the islands on the outbound passage with only enough men to work the vessel. They would then engage young natives, called "Kanakas," to fill out the crew, bringing them back to the islands before starting on the homeward journey. From January 1 to December 31, 1843, 44 of the natives were serving in whalers, and from January 1, 1844 to June 1, 1844, there were 70 so employed, all engaged at Honolulu. Probably as many more were engaged by vessels calling at the other ports of the islands. In 1865, 400 shipped on American whalers alone. In 1869, 488 Kanakas were employed on whalers, their lay for the season amounting to \$45,700, while 388 were shipped in 1871 from Honolulu on the spring and fall whalers, and 378 returned to port, 10 having died during the year. The Kanakas were very popular with the captains, as they made good seamen and whalemens and were easily managed.

At first the Government took no particular interest in this part of the business, but in time the abuse of and cheating of the men by dishonest and brutal captains became so notorious that the Government was compelled to adopt regulations in regard to the matter. Under these the master of the vessel had to execute a bond that he would obey the laws, which were that he could not hire a Kanaka for more than two years, was to return him to the island at the expiration of his time, and was to pay him his proper lay of the products taken during the cruise.

From 1840 to 1860 were the palmy days of whaling in the North Pacific and Arctic. The number of vessels visiting Honolulu would be so great and the inner harbor so packed that it is said one could go all around the harbor by stepping from one vessel to another, while in the outer harbor would be almost as many more which had been unable to get in.

As the harbor at Lahaina is nothing but an open roadstead, protected from the prevailing winds by the high mountains of the island itself, there was more room. As many as 89 whalers were counted at anchor here at one time during the period above stated. [page 491]

The ship-chandlery business for whalers virtually began at Honolulu in 1843. From this time on a number of firms made it their regular business. The following summary of an article appearing in the *Polynesian*, Honolulu, April 20, 1861, gives a very good idea of the extent to which Honolulu was benefited by the visit of whalers:



For the twelve years from 1840 to 1860, both inclusive, it is slated that 4,929 callings at ports on the islands were made by whalers. Domestic supplies to the extent of \$1,382,413 were furnished to them. It is estimated that these 4,929 ships, averaging 30 men each (147,870), expended \$30 each at the islands, which would amount to \$4,436,100. It is also estimated that the repairs to the fleet amounted to \$180,000.

The following table shows for certain years between 1846 and 1875, both inclusive, the value of supplies furnished to foreign whalers at Honolulu, together with the number of vessels so supplied for certain years [see Table in original]:

The profits in this business were enormous for a time, and it has been well said that "Honolulu was built upon the whale business." No specific records were kept of these matters at Lahaina, but it is known that during 1849 the supplies furnished to whalers amounted to \$38,500, while in 1850 they amounted to \$24,640.

The first recorded transshipment of whaling products was in 1846, when some whalebone was so handled. The business practically began, however, in 1851, and was of immense benefit to Honolulu, as this harbor was the principal scene of operations. As wharves were practically nonexistent at this time, the hulks of old whalers and merchantmen were used as storage places for the oil and bone until vessels were ready to load for home ports. The whalers would usually store their catch here on their return from a cruise, then refit and start on another cruise. Regular clipper ships would call at the islands, bringing out supplies, and return with a cargo of bone and oil. On November 10, 1857, the clipper ship *John Land* sailed from Honolulu with a cargo of oil and bone for New Bedford valued at \$635,556. [page 492]

The following table shows the transshipments of oil and bone from 1851 to 1875 (the business practically ceased in the latter year) [see Table in original]:

The principal portion of the products were shipped to New Bedford either by clipper ships sailing around the Horn or to Panama by sailing vessel, thence by rail across the Isthmus to Colon, and from there by sailing vessel or steamer to Atlantic ports. A part also went to San Francisco and thence by rail to Eastern points after the Pacific Railroad was completed. A considerable portion went to Bremen, Germany, and for a few years some went to Havre, France. Great Britain and New South Wales also received a few shipments... [page 493]

The year 1875 was practically the last one in which oil and bone were transshipped at the islands. For some years San Francisco had been endeavoring to persuade the whalers to make that port their refitting and transshipping point. During the gold excitement a few vessels did call there, but they were put to such great expense and delays by the desertions of their men that they ceased calling except when absolutely necessary. During the late "sixties," however, a few resumed their calls, and these kept on increasing until in 1875 nearly all of the American fleet called there. In 1871 the Pacific Railroad provided tank cars and agreed to transport the oil to New Bedford at the rate of 7 cents per gallon, and this had a great deal to do with drawing the whalers to San Francisco. At present San Francisco is the port of call for all of the Pacific and Arctic fleet.

After 1860 the fleet rapidly declined in numbers. During the civil war in the United States a number of them were withdrawn by their owners, owing to the fear of Confederate cruisers. In 1860, 293 calls were made at ports in the islands by Americans, while in 1862 there were only 57. After this they increased somewhat in number until in 1865



there were 162. In this year the Confederate steamer *Shenandoah* destroyed 34 ships and barks of the Arctic fleet.

In 1871, 30 out of 37 vessels of the American Arctic fleet were caught in the ice off Point Belcher and the crews were compelled to abandon them to their fate. The fleet had hardly begun to recover from this crushing blow when, in 1876, half of the fleet of 16 American vessels were caught in the ice and destroyed. As the fleet practically ceased to visit the islands regularly after 1875, its subsequent history does not come within the province of this paper.

Vessels called at the islands occasionally, however, even after 1875. According to Capt. D. Taylor, of Lahaina, the *Nimrod*, of New Bedford, was the last whaler to call at Lahaina. This was March, 1886. The last visit of whalers at Honolulu was in 1896, when 2 American and 3 British vessels called. [page 494]

The Seal Fishery.

The Hawaiians early took up the seal fishery. It is not known when the first voyage was made, but the following is an interesting summary of several made early in the last century:

March 2, 1824, by order of Kalanimoku, sanctioned by the King, he [William Sumner] was given charge of the brig *Ainoa* for a sealing voyage, returning in October with 5,845 skins, a quantity of elephant oil and fish. On this and a similar voyage in the brig *Tamoralana* (*Kamahalolana*) in 1826, in which he obtained 3,160 seal skins, he reported that much better success would have resulted had they been properly provisioned.

On September 14, 1838, the schooner *Flibberty Gibbet*, 25 tons, Rogers, commander, owned at Oahu, returned from a twenty-one days' cruise to the island of Ceres, with a cargo of sealskins.

There are occasional notices of scalers in the maritime notes of the newspapers of the islands after this date, as in 1859, when the bark *Gambia*, 249 tons, is reported as having been scaling. She left Hono- [page 496] lulu on April 26, and cruised among the islands to the westward of this group, returning on August 7 with 240 barrels of seal oil, 1,500 skins, a quantity of sharks' fins and oil, etc.

Foreign sealers also touched at the islands occasionally, even as late as 1901, when a Russian and a Canadian vessel visited Waimea, on Kauai, to refit.

Sea-Otter Fishery.

Sea-otter skins were early traded in at Honolulu, as is shown by the following extract from the journal of one of her pioneer merchants: ***

1829, April 1.—* * * Sold French a lot of sea otter skins belonging to Dana & Temple: Primes, at \$35; small, at \$12; reds, at \$5; tail pcs., \$1 each.

Many of the otter skins were obtained by merchant and whaling vessels in the course of trade. At times vessels would be fitted out especially for the fishery, as mentioned in the following quotation referring to the year 1835:

*** Honolulu in Primitive Days. As seen by extracts from the journal of one of her pioneer merchants during the years 1826 to 1829. The Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1901.



Upward of 20 sail, chiefly British and American whale ships, anchored in the port of Honorum [Honolulu] while we continued there. One of them was a fine brig, the property of an American merchant, resident at this island. She was engaged in the fur trade on the northwest coast of America, was commanded by Captain Bancroft, an Englishman, and carried as part of her crew 23 Northwest Indians, who had been engaged to shoot the sea otter. The latter people are found to be traceable when on distant seas, although prone to treachery when on their own coast. They were paid by the owner of the vessel the market price of each fur skin they obtained, or, more commonly, to the same amount in such European commodities as they required, namely, blankets, knives, tobacco, and spirits.[§]

In 1837 sea-otter skins to the value of \$29,000 were exported from the islands.

There is no further mention of the industry in any of the available records, and it is probable that it was given up at an early date, as the islands were too far from the hunting-grounds.

Shark Fishery.

During the latter half of the last century particularly, considerable shark fishing was done among the chain of islands to the westward of the main group, and these islands in time came to achieve an unenviable notoriety from the number of wrecks which occurred upon their shores. The first record we have of this fishery was in 1859 when the bark *Gambia* returned from a three and one-half months cruise amongst these islands with, among other things, a quantity of sharks' fins and oil. In 1872 the *Henrietta* made a cruise among the islands for the same purpose. In 1886 the schooner *General Seigel*, while on a shark-fishing cruise, parted her cables and went ashore at Midway [page 497] Island, and the crew only reached safety in an open boat after great privations. Very little shark fishing has been done of late years owing to the lack of a profitable market for the products obtained.

Sharks teeth were highly prized by the natives, while the oil extracted was valuable and of a good quality. After an export trade had been opened with other countries considerable quantities of shark fins were dried and shipped to China and San Francisco.

The Pearl Fishery.

During the early years of the last century pearl oysters were first discovered in the locality now bearing the name of Pearl Harbor, about 9 miles from Honolulu—a magnificent sheet of water, running about 10 miles back into the interior, and about 4 miles across in the widest part. It is divided into two parts by an island and a narrow strip of the mainland running down about the center of it. The beds were located at the head of the harbor. As the value of the discovery soon became manifest the King declared it a royal monopoly, and he employed divers to bring up the oysters, which were found in great plenty.

Speaking of the marine fauna, James Jackson Jarves, the historian of the islands, says:

Edible shell-fish are also abundant, of which the pearl oyster is very palatable. Pearls are common, but of no great size or beauty. They formerly constituted a profitable branch of trade and were monopolized by the king.[†]

[§] Narrative of a Whaling Voyage round the Globe, from the Year 1838 to 1836, etc. By Frederick Debell Bennett, vol. 1, p. 402. 2 vols., London, 1810.

[†] A history of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands, etc. By James Jackson Jarves. p. 13. Boston 1848.



The shell or mother-of-pearl, formed the more valuable part of the product and was usually shipped to China, where it found a ready sale, but the business was so vigorously prosecuted that before 1850 it had ceased to exist, owing to the exhaustion of the bed.

Pearls have been found on the Puna coast, on Hawaii, inclosed in a large mollusk, shaped like a pearl oyster, and called "pa" by the natives. The pearls are of but little value, owing to dark streaks in the center of them. The natives use the portion of the shell around the valve in making fishhooks, as this part has the rough outline of a hook already and is easily worked. This mollusk is quite rare now and is highly prized by the natives when found.

Loli (Beche-De-Mer) Fishery.

This is an edible *Holothurian* much esteemed by the Chinese for its supposed medicinal qualities, and is prepared by them in the form of a soup. It is a gelatinous slug, found in the sea from low-water mark to a depth of several fathoms, and grows from 3 to 10 inches in length. When taken from the rocks, to which it is generally found adhering, it is cut open, the entrails removed, and the body is then dried in the sun. After being thus prepared it is of a dark or black color. Vari- [page 498] ous species of these *Holothurians* are quite generally distributed in the Pacific Ocean, and the traffic in them was started among the South Sea Islands in the early years of last century, China and Manila being the principal markets. Up to 1861 no attempt was made to take up the industry on these islands. In that year Messrs. Utai & Ahee, a Chinese firm in Honolulu, advertised in the local papers that they would purchase cured *beche-de-mer* from the natives if it could be found. This stimulated the natives and they soon found it in large numbers. Since then the custom-house reports show...exports for certain years...

As a commercial fishery the industry did not last very long for some reason or other. It is still quite abundant, however, especially around Oahu and Maui. The only island where any were sold in 1900 was Maui. It is frequently eaten by the natives, who half boil the large ones to make them soft, while the small ones are eaten fresh. The boiled ones are chopped up in slices and mixed with the meat of the *wana* (sea egg)... [page 499]

Bulletin Of The United States Fish Commission.

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The Aquatic Resources Of The Hawaiian Islands.

BY DAVID STARR JORDAN AND BARTON WARREN EVERMANN.

III. The Commercial Fisheries Of The Hawaiian Islands.

(By John N. Cobb, Agent of the United States Fish Commission.)

INTRODUCTION.

On May 1, 1901, the writer was detailed to accompany the party which was to make an investigation of the fishes and fisheries of the Hawaiian Islands under the direction of Dr. David Starr Jordan and Dr. Barton Warren Evermann, in order to make a thorough canvass of not only the present condition of the commercial fisheries of the islands, but also of their past history and "the changes in the methods, extent, and character of the fisheries in historic times, as shown by records or traditions, particularly since the coming of Americans, Europeans, and Asiatics." The history of fishery legislation and the possibility of improvements in the present laws were among the questions which received careful consideration.

These inquiries occupied a period of three months, during which all of the larger inhabited islands were visited. All available official and private documents, newspapers,



and publications relating to the islands were perused, and oral statements were gathered from the older fishermen and others conversant with the subjects in question.

Commercial fishing is prosecuted on the islands of Oahu, Hawaii, Maui, Molokai, Kauai, Lanai, and Niihau. It is also carried on about some of the smaller islands of the group, but by fishermen from those above named. The fisheries are of considerable importance now, and could easily be expanded if the proper efforts and attention were given to them.

At present but little deep-sea fishing is done, although this could be made a very profitable industry. Some of the best grounds are off the coasts of Molokai, and quite a fleet of Japanese boats from Honolulu resort thither. They usually leave on Monday and return on Friday or Saturday.

At various places around the islands sponges of a fair quality have been picked up on the beaches, where they had been cast up by storms. The writer secured a few specimens at Oahu and Hawaii and found them of an inferior grade, but still marketable. It is probable that but few of the better quality of sponges would be washed ashore, as they would be too firmly attached to the bottom.

The bubonic plague broke out in Honolulu in December, 1899, and lasted several months, proving a serious detriment to the sale of fresh fishery products while it lasted, as many persons thought that the disease might be transmitted in this way. [page 717]

Fishermen.

Owing to their location between the continents of Asia and America, the islands have been securing recruits from each direction as well as from the numerous islands to the south. Europe, too, has furnished immigrants, until at present the islands present quite a cosmopolitan appearance. An idea of the extent of this admixture may be gained from the fact that public notices in the fish markets and other places are usually printed in five languages—English, Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese.

In numbers the native Hawaiian fishermen surpass all the others combined, but this is partly because so many women and children engage in the hand fishery for octopus, algae, etc., and these have been counted in the total. Some of the natives are at the head of quite important fisheries, and for many years held a monopoly of the industry, but more recently the Japanese have been engaging in it in large numbers and now occupy second place. The natives fish spasmodically, as a rule, while the Japanese give to it their whole time and attention, and as a result are profiting much more. They are especially numerous on Oahu and Hawaii, most of them being engaged in deep-sea line fishing, which they virtually monopolize. They have several companies at Honolulu, Lahaina, and Hilo, and in this way control certain features of the fishing industry, thus enhancing the cost of the products to the general public.

Only six Americans have a direct connection with the fisheries, and they principally as managers of the large fishery rights on Kauai and Maui. The few Chinese fishermen confine themselves to the fisheries immediately along the shores. A few years ago they began leasing the fish ponds still in use on most of the islands, and now have practically a monopoly of this part of the industry. They also quite generally control the selling of fish in the markets. A number of South Sea Islanders, mainly from the Gilbert, Caroline, and Marquesas islands, are engaged in fishing, principally at Honolulu and Lahaina. They are more industrious in this business than the natives and are quite expert. They are the principal users of fish baskets. The Portuguese are not largely engaged in fishing. The Italians have made some efforts in this pursuit, but none are now thus employed.



Lay Of The Fishermen.

The native fishermen usually make an equal division of the fish taken, or of the proceeds, among all engaged in it. In a few instances they are hired and paid regular wages.

At Hilo, on Hawaii, in the gill-net and line fisheries the Japanese work on the following basis: The owner of the boat furnishes the lines, nets, etc., and takes 22 per cent of the gross proceeds. The balance is then divided equally among the owner and others who participate in the fishery. Should the owner not go out in the boat he does not get anything in the final division.

In the seine fishery at Hilo the owner of the boat and net receives from 30 to 35 per cent of the gross proceeds, this being regulated by the size of the net and boat, while the balance is divided equally among the fishermen, the owner, if he accompanies them, receiving his share with the rest. When the fishermen work on salary they receive \$15 per month, with their board and lodging. [page 718]

At Honolulu, among the Japanese fishermen, the owner of a boat used in the fisheries takes 15 per cent of the gross proceeds, the rest being divided equally among the fishermen. The owner of the boat supplies everything except food, and generally accompanies the boat and gets his regular share with the others.

Boats.

Canoes—The native Hawaiians in fishing use canoes exclusively. Some of these, particularly the older ones, are very handsome in design and workmanship, the old-time native boat builders having been especially expert. The present generation has sadly deteriorated, however, and the canoes made now by natives rarely show very much skill.

The body of the canoe is usually hollowed out of the trunk of a *koa* tree (*Acacia koa*), which averages from 50 to 60 feet in height. This tree, formerly quite common, is now rather scarce, owing to the excessive demands made upon the supply for canoe building and other purposes. After the tree has been cut down and the branches stripped off, the trunk is cut to the desired length and roughly hewn into shape, then brought down to the shore, where the final touches are given. After the body of the canoe is finished a rim about 6 inches in height is fastened to the upper part by means of wooden nails. The *holei* (*Ochrosia sandwicensis*), a tree from 6 to 12 feet in height, is preferred for this purpose, but the *ahakea* (*Bohea elatior*), a tree 20 to 30 feet in height, is sometimes used.

Each canoe is fitted with an outrigger, made by laying two long, slender poles, slightly curved at one end, across the canoe about one-fourth way from each end of the latter, and so arranged that on one side they extend a few inches over the side, while on the other, where they are curved, they run out from 6 to 8 feet. These poles are firmly lashed to the body of the canoe where they cross it, with stout twine. A sapling about 12 feet long and 6 inches in diameter is then lashed to the under side of these poles near the extreme ends, lying parallel to the body of the canoe and extending slightly beyond the cross poles at each end. The *wiliwili* (*Erythrina monosperma*), a tree 20 to 25 feet in height, is generally employed in constructing the outrigger, the object of which is to balance the canoe, which is very narrow. With ordinary care it is almost impossible to capsize a canoe fitted with an outrigger. The natives make long journeys in them, frequently in quite stormy weather.

An ordinary canoe for one person would be about 18 feet long and about 17 inches wide, while a three-seated canoe would average 33 feet in length and 21 inches in width.



The paddle has a long, slender handle, usually about 46 inches in length, with an oblong blade about 23 inches long by 13 ½ inches wide. The wood of the *paihi* tree is frequently used, especially on Hawaii, in making the ordinary paddles, while the wood of the *koaia* (*Acacia koaia*) is generally used in the manufacture of the fancy ones.

The South Sea Islanders on the Hawaiian Islands use a slightly different arrangement of the outrigger. At the ends of the cross poles short forked sticks are lashed with the closed part of the fork upward. The long sapling is then lashed to the lower ends of the forks, but does not enter the V-shaped openings. It does not appear to be as effective an arrangement as the one previously described.

Some of the canoes use sails, but most of them depend upon their paddles for motive power. [page 719]

During the *aku* (ocean bonito) fishing season two canoe owners frequently combine forces. In that event the outriggers are removed from the canoes, which are placed parallel to each other at a distance of about 6 feet, and held in position by two crosspieces running from canoe to canoe at about one-third of the length from each end and firmly lashed. The sail is operated in only one of the canoes. At Kona, Hawaii, is a canoe in the bottom of which is inserted a square piece of thick glass, so that the fisherman can locate the bottom fishes and *hee* (octopus) as he slowly paddles along.

Sampans.—The Japanese use the sampan, a style of boat in general vogue in Japan. It is clumsy and awkward-looking, and a poor sailor, although very sea-worthy. Such a boat to be operated by two men is usually about 20 feet in length over all, with about 6 feet on the keel. The beam is usually about 4 feet 5 inches, while the depth averages 20 inches. The sampans are made of pine. Their most peculiar feature is an overhanging, partly enclosed stern, about 3 feet wide, in which the rudder is worked. The gunwale, from the bow for about two-thirds of the length on each side, overhangs nearly 12 inches, and there is a plank about 6 inches in height extending above it. In the bow is a large cubby-hole raised even with the top, in which fishing lines, sails, etc., are stored when not in use. In the center are about 8 compartments—4 on a side—12 to 15 inches deep, with plugs which can be pulled out in order to allow the entrance of water, thus making live wells. These small holes—about 6 inches long by 3 inches wide—are crossed with small twigs or wire netting to keep the fish from escaping.

Sculling from the stern is the method invariably used by the Japanese. The oar, which is about 13 feet long, is lashed to a handle about 6 feet in length. This gives the oar a slight angle, which makes sculling much easier than with one solid piece. On the handle is a pin, over which a rope is slipped, holding the scull down to a uniform height while it is being worked. The sweep of the stock at the hand end is nearly 2 feet. The fisherman, planting his left foot on an inclined board, sways his arms and body at right angles to the boat.

The small sampans cost about \$75 to \$80, without sails; the largest cost about \$150. The sails for the smaller ones average about \$7 per boat, and for the largest ones about \$15. Quite large sampans, with crews of from 4 to 6 men, are employed in the deep-sea line fishing off Molokai.

Whaleboats.—A few whaleboats are used in the fisheries of certain of the islands, principally by the Chinese. These are of the regulation whaleboat pattern, and have evidently been modeled after boats left behind by the whalers who used to frequent the islands. They average about 25 feet in length, 5 ½ feet in width, 26 inches deep, and are sharp at both ends. They cost about \$125 each.



Rowboats.—These are of all sizes and shapes, from a small, rectangular pine-board boat, worth \$2 or \$3, to a handsome, well-built boat costing \$25. They are used principally in the rivers, fish ponds, and small bays, where the water is smooth.

Scows.—A few scows are employed in the *seine fisheries* on Oahu, and are of a rough, cheap character which requires no description.

Seineboats.—These are of very much the same pattern as the best rowboats, only larger and more valuable. [page 720]

Apparatus and Methods of Fishing.

Owing to the proximity of the sea to all of the habitable portions of the islands, and the natural dependence of the people upon the products obtained from it for a considerable part of their sustenance, the natives early developed into expert fishermen and fisherwomen, and as time went on gradually evolved newer and more effective forms of apparatus to take the place of or to aid the more primitive forms. The advent of foreigners hastened this development by the introduction of appliances in use in their own countries and heretofore unknown in the islands. The earlier American settlers, coming as they did principally from New England, where fishing had been brought to a higher state of perfection than elsewhere in the United States, were especially helpful in this regard.

It has been the endeavor to give as complete a list as possible of the forms of apparatus in use, together with the methods of operating them. Since many forms bear native names, while others have names different from those by which they are commonly known on the mainland, every possible effort was made to see each form and witness the methods of operation. Where this could not be done the statements of reliable fishermen and others were taken.

Seines.

At Hilo the large seines used on the beach average 250 feet in length, with bag 7 feet deep, and mesh of one-half inch. The wings average 4 feet in depth and have a mesh of 1 inch. They are usually made from No. 9 to No. 8 cotton twine.

On Maui seines 150 feet long, 8 to 12 feet deep, with 1 ¼ inch mesh, are used. They have no bag, and several of them are often laced together and used as one net. They are usually hauled up on the shore.

At Pearl Harbor, Oahu, the Chinese use what is practically a purse seine, 50 fathoms long and 20 fathoms deep, with a mesh of 1 inch in the center and 1 ½ inches in the wings. The bottom of the net has rings, with a rope running through them. After the fish are surrounded the lower line is pulled up by the fishermen. The bottom comes up together, thus forming a bag or purse on each side, and this is pulled in until the fish are all in a small bag on each side of the boat, whence they are dipped out by means of small scoop nets.

The bait seines average from 10 to 60 yards in length, with one-half inch mesh or less. They are quite generally used by all classes of line fishermen in securing their bait. No. 3 cotton twine is generally used in the manufacture of these seines.

Gill Nets.

Gill nets are a popular form of apparatus in the fisheries at the present time. They are either set or hauled; rarely, if ever, drifted. When set they are generally stretched, at high tide, across the shallow openings in the coral reefs. As the tide goes out the fish rush for these openings and become enmeshed in the net. The fishermen are on the seaward



side of the net and pass to and fro, removing the fish as fast as caught. This fishing is carried on at night, and the nets are of varying lengths and depth, according to the locality. [page 721]

In fishing around clusters of rocks the natives generally surround the rocks with a gill net, which is held to the bottom by means of leads or pebbles attached to the lower line, while the upper line is supported at the surface by pieces of wood of the *hau* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*) and *kukui* (*Aleurites triloba*), which are very light. The fishermen dive down to the bottom, inside of the net, and drive the fishes from the crevices of the rocks, to be enmeshed as they dart away in all directions. In this kind of fishing nets about 55 feet in length and 7 feet deep are used, two or more nets being laced together if greater length is desired.

Gill nets are also used at times along the beaches on the leeward side of the islands, where the surf is not heavy, the same as seines. Two men take hold of one end of a long net and wade out from the shore in a straight line for a considerable distance. The land end of the net is held by a man on the beach. After they have gone out a sufficient distance, the two men make a big sweep to one side and then pull their end of the net to shore a short distance from the other man. The net is then carefully drawn in, like a haul-seine, until it comes out on the beach, fish and all. These nets are usually 20 fathoms in length, 9 feet deep, with 2-inch mesh, and are fitted with leads and corks. Several of them are usually joined together. No boats are employed in this mode of fishing.

In fishing for *ula* (crawfish) the same style of net, with a 7-inch mesh, is frequently set around a rock or cluster of rocks in the early evening and allowed to remain there all night. As the *ula* come out to feed during the night they become entangled in the meshes of the net. Another method is to join a number of nets together, putting in the center the net with the smallest mesh. These are then placed on two canoes, which are rowed to the usual fishing ground, which is generally not far from the shore. One man stands upright in order to see the schools of fish more clearly. As soon as a school has been sighted the boats are paddled to seaward of it and then in opposite directions, the nets being paid out as they go. After thus sweeping some distance the boats return to shore, when the net is hauled in and the various sections removed, like a seine, until the fine-meshed part is about 50 feet from the beach. The fishermen then spring into the water and draw the two ends together, making a circle, which is further contracted by removing more sections from the ends of the net, until the fish are inclosed in the fine-meshed portion. At certain fisheries the net is then anchored and the fish allowed to remain in it until they are wanted for shipment, when they are removed by means of a small seine, swept around inside of this improvised pound; and when the fish have been bagged in this they are removed by small dip nets. The principal species taken are the *oio* (lady fish), *kala* (hog-fish), *nenu* (rudder-fish), and large *awa-kalamoho* (milk-fish).

In a variation of this method the boats carry the nets in a circle, one boat passing within the course of the other when they meet, and continuing until there is a coil of netting around the fish. The purpose of this is to insure the capture of the fish in outer rings of the coil if they escape the inner ones, and when the trap has been thus set the fishermen jump into the inner circle, and, by beating the water with their canoe poles, frighten the fish into the nets, where they are enmeshed.

Sometimes the net is dropped in a half circle, with a man at each end to hold it thus. Other fishermen then make a wide sweep to the opposite side of the opening, from whence they advance, beating the water violently with their arms to drive the [page 722] fish toward the net. When the beaters have approached sufficiently near, the men holding the ends of the net advance toward each other, and when they meet, with the help of all



the fishermen, the circle is gradually reduced as the net is hauled in and section after section removed. The fish which have become enmeshed are taken out of each section as it comes in, and when the inner circle is small enough the fishermen remove with dip nets those which are not enmeshed. This method is practiced by either day or night.

In fishing for *akule* unusually long nets are frequently employed, some used at Hilo being 208 fathoms long, 4 fathoms deep, with mesh of four inches. These are made of No. 12 linen twine and are worth about \$100 each. Most of the nets, however, are of about one-half the above dimensions and are worth about \$50 each.

On Hawaii a man is posted on a high bank to watch the movements of the school of *akule* (*goggler*), which, owing to the color of the fish, looks like a red bank, and is more plainly visible from this elevated position than from the canoes. This lookout is provided with a flag in each hand, with which he directs the movements of the fishermen in handling the net.

Nearly all the seine and gill nets are barked before being used, to prevent rotting. For this purpose the bark of the *koa* tree is used, being pounded up somewhat fine and put in a tank of water to remain for two weeks, after which the water is drawn off and the nets slowly run through it.

In drying the nets a method introduced from China is employed at several places, particularly Hilo. Throughout an open field are planted a number of slender poles about 12 feet in height, and at the top of each is nailed a crosspiece of wood about 3 feet in length, which is supported by two short pieces running from the pole to the outer ends of the crosspiece. Large hooks are attached to the ends of the crosspieces. A short piece of rope is slung over each of the hooks, and when the net is ready for drying it is attached to one end of this rope, pulled up sufficiently to clear the ground, and held in this position by tying the free end of the rope to the pole close to the ground. This procedure also facilitates the repairing of nets.

Bag Nets.

Bag nets are used on all of the islands, and are the most common form of apparatus. They are of all sizes and styles, according to the particular species the fishermen are seeking and the condition of the fishing ground.

Several of the more important fisheries are conducted with bag nets. At Kahului, Maui, there is in use a net 180 fathoms long, with ropes 250 fathoms long on each side. It is made of cotton twine, and the wings have a mesh of 4 inches, the center 1 inch. The net is operated from the shore by means of two windlasses. When drawn near the shore a bag 15 feet wide, 17 feet high, and 35 feet long, with meshes 1 to 1 ¼ inches, is attached to the center of the net, and the latter unlaced at this point and the ends drawn back to the sides of the bag, this work being done by divers. If there is only a small haul the bag is drawn directly up on the beach. If many fish have been taken, the bag is placed in a canoe, the rope at the bottom of the bag unlaced, and the fish allowed to fall into the boat.

The bag net in general use is about 20 feet in depth in the bag, 12 feet wide at the mouth, and runs to a point. Wings about 30 feet in length and about 5 feet [page 723] deep, with meshes of three-fourths to 1 inch, are attached to each side of the mouth of the bag. Floats made from wood of the *hau* tree, which is very light, are strung along the upper line of the wings and the bag, and leads are attached to the bottom line. The end of the bag is generally open when on shore, but is tied with a piece of twine before being put overboard; the fish are removed from the bag at this end. The nets are made of



manila hemp, which costs \$1.25 per pound, and 9 pounds are required to make a net of the above dimensions. Cotton twine also is used at times. Sections of rope from 15 to 20 fathoms in length, fastened together with hook and loop, and having the dried leaves of the *ki* plant braided on them by the stems, the blade ends of the leaves hanging loose and free, are taken out along with the net. The sections of rope are joined together, and men taking hold of each end and moving in opposite directions begin to make a sweeping circle. Others follow to keep the rope near the bottom, and when it catches on rocks or coral dive down and release it. When the men holding the ends of the line meet, one steps over the line of the other, and so they keep on going round and round, gradually narrowing the circle until it has become sufficiently small. In the meantime the various sections of rope not needed are unhooked piece by piece and allowed to float on the surface. The bag net is then taken out of the canoe and attached to the ends of two of the sections. The men continue narrowing the circle until the fish are all driven into the bag, which is then closed up, lifted into a canoe brought up for the purpose, the string holding the point of the bag untied, and the fish allowed to drop into the bottom of the boat.

A variation of the above net, but on a larger scale, has been invented by Mr. E. H. Bailey, of Kahului, Maui. A smooth spot of bottom, inside of the reef, in a fairly shallow place, is selected for placing the net, which is the same as described above, except that it has a net platform in front, attached to the mouth of the bag and also to the wings. Two lines of *ki* leaves are put together so as to make them thicker and thus more effective. Buoys are attached to the rope by means of short lines, and the ropes sunk by leads until the tips of the leaves just scrape the reef. The ropes are run out in a half circle and then pulled over the reef, after which the ends are swung around until they encircle the bag. The ropes are then carried round and round until all of the fish are over the platform, when the latter is raised up and the fish forced back into the bag. As soon as the platform reaches the surface the ropes are withdrawn. The canoes then form a triangle and the mouth of the bag is drawn up between them and the fish taken out with dip nets.

Opelu nets (*upena aai-opelu*) are arranged on two half-hoops connected at each end; the hoops lap over each other and are tied together so as to keep the bag open when in the water. A rope runs from each of these and meets a short distance above the bag, from which junction there is only one rope. The bag itself is very deep, usually about 40 feet, with a diameter of about 12 feet at the mouth and tapering slightly at the bottom, and is made of imported flax, so as to be as light as possible. When operated the bag is taken out in a canoe and lowered into about 8 fathoms of water. Bait, composed of cooked squash or pumpkin, small ground-up fish mixed with sand, and cooked *papaia* and bananas mashed up fine, is dropped into or over the bag. When the fish are gathered over and in the bag it is carefully and rapidly drawn up, and when it reaches the surface the ropes on the side are unloosed and the [page 724] mouth closed up. It is then emptied into the canoe and the operation repeated until the fish become shy. The *opelu*, when eaten raw, is said to prevent seasickness.

The natives sometimes construct the above net from twine made from the bark of the *olona* (*Touchardia latifolia*) bush or shrub, which grows in large shoots. These are cut down and the bark stripped off in bundles and put into running water, to prevent fermentation and in order that the pulpy matter, etc., may decompose. After four or five days, or when it becomes thoroughly clean, the bark is taken out and spread on hardwood boards 6 feet long and 8 or 10 inches wide. The wood used for these boards—*kauwila*—is very scarce and valuable now. When the bark has been thus spread the inside of it is carefully scraped by means of a bone 2 ½ inches wide and 10 inches long, with one side beveled to an edge, and the perfectly clean fiber is dried. It is then stripped into fine threads and twisted together by women, who roll the strands on their bare thighs with their hands, making a cord that is stronger than linen and will last for generations.



For catching *nehu* (anchovies and silversides), very small fish much used for bait and for food when dried, a bag net (*upena nehu*) is made from a piece of netting about a fathom square, attached on two sides to sticks about 3 feet in length and pulled in at the bottom on a rope shorter than the upper one and forming an irregular square opening to a shallow bag, which is supplemented by a long, narrow bag about 6 feet deep. Ropes hung with dried *ki* leaves are attached to each side of the net, and these ropes are run around the school to drive the fish into the net. *Nehu* fishing is generally carried on in deep water.

A bag net (*upena pua*), made in the same manner, is used for catching very young *ama-ama* (mullet). Instead of ropes with *ki* leaves, the “sea *Convolvulus*, generally found growing on the beach, is twisted—leaves, branchlets, and all—into two thick bushy ropes some 15 to 26 feet in length, and these are attached on each side of the net to the *kuku* (side sticks). These lines are then drawn forward in a semicircle, sweeping the shoals of fry before them till enough are partly inclosed, when the two free ends are rapidly drawn together in a circle, which is gradually reduced till the fry are all driven into the bag.”

A bag net very similar to the above is used in fishing for *ohua*, a small fish very highly prized by the natives, which lives in and on the *limu kala*, a coarse alga that grows on coral in shallow water. Long ropes with dried *ki* leaves are employed, and the method of operation is the same as already described.

A bag net called *kapuni nehu* is also used in catching *nehu*. This bag is about 6 feet deep and 3 feet wide at the mouth, and two parallel sticks are used to keep the mouth open. When a school of *nehu* is seen working its way along close inshore, two men go out with the net, each holding one of the sticks. Others get in the rear of and on the sides of the school and frighten the fish into the bag, after which the sticks are brought together, thus closing the bag, which is then hauled ashore or put into a canoe and emptied. These bags are of very fine mesh and are made of a certain kind of Chinese netting, which is said to be exceedingly strong.

A bag net called *upena uhu* is employed in catching the *uhu*, some highly prized *labroid* fishes, chiefly species of *Calotomus*. This is made of a square piece of netting which has been gathered slightly on the ropes and attached at the four corners to slender, strong sticks tied together at the middle in such way that they will cross [page 725] each other at this spot and can be brought together when wanted. A string is tied at the crossing place of the sticks and the net is manipulated by this string. When these sticks are crossed they spread the net open in the form of a shallow bag. The fisherman first catches an *uhu* of the variety to be fished for by means of hook and line. He secures this to a line run through its gills and mouth and then lowers it at a spot where the *uhu* congregate and gently works it back and forth. The *uhu* in the vicinity are attracted and angered by the strange antics of the decoy and swim up close to observe it. The net is gently lowered to a little distance from the decoy, and the latter is then slowly drawn into the net. The others rush into the net after the decoy, when, by a peculiar twitch and pull on the string, the fisherman causes the sticks to swing around and lie parallel, closing the mouth of the bag, which is then drawn to the surface and emptied into the canoe. The operation is then repeated with a fresh decoy.

There are two varieties of *uhu*, one of a reddish color and the other green. The red variety is preferred by the natives, who eat it raw. This same net is used for other species of rock-fish, the decoy being of the species sought.

A similar bag net (*upena opule*), about a fathom in length and with an oval mouth about 2 or 3 feet in width, is used for catching the *opule*, a decoy *opule* being used in the same manner as described above.



Another kind of decoy fishing is with the *lau [laau] melomelo*, a billet of *kauwila* wood, one of the hardest varieties in the islands. This decoy is something like a club, being rounded at the ends, with one end smaller than the other, and a little ringed knob on the smaller end to tie a string to. It varies in length from 13 inches to 3 feet. After the proper incantations have been performed over it by a sorcerer, or *kahuna*, it is charred slightly over a regulation fire. Having once attained its power great care must be taken by the fisherman that it does not lose it. If a woman should step over it or enter the canoe in which it is placed the magic influence would be lost. Further preparation is made by baking equal quantities of *kukui* nut (candle nut) and cocoanut meat, pounding it up and tying it in a wrapping of cocoanut fiber (the sheath around the stems of the cocoanut leaf). On arrival at the fishing-ground the stick is covered with the oily juice of this preparation and allowed to hang suspended a few feet from the bottom. The scent of the baked nut meat, in the opinion of the fishermen, has an attraction for certain kinds of fish, which soon surround the stick and smell or nibble at it. In a short time a small bag net is dropped overboard, and maneuvered until its mouth is toward the suspended stick. The latter is then moved slowly into the bag, the fish following it. Two of the natives dive and, approaching the net gently, quickly close its mouth and give the signal to those in the canoe to haul it up. Should the fishing prove poor it is ascribed to the imperfect performance of the incantations. This manner of fishing was formerly quite common on the west coast of Hawaii, but is not often practiced now.

One of the common species around the island of Oahu is the *malolo*, or flying-fish, although but few of these are found around the other islands. There are two species, the large *malolo* and the small *puhikii*. A large bag net with a flaring mouth and very fine mesh is employed in this fishery, being carried to the fishing ground piled on a large single canoe, or sometimes a double one. The start is always [page 726] made early in the morning, and a number of canoes usually go out together, many of the occupants being women, as no particular skill is required on the part of the general hands. The work is directed by the *kilo*, or spy, who is generally in a light canoe manned by two or three hands. He stands up on the cross-ties of his canoe, and shading his eyes with his hand, watches for signs of the school. As soon as he discerns a strong ripple, which appears to indicate the presence of the school, he signals to the rest of the canoes, which at once surround it. The *kilo* points out the best place for dropping the net, and as soon as it is in place the canoes approach quickly, the men splashing the water with their hands and poles, and driving the school before them into the open bag. The *malolo* will not dive to any depth, and are always found swimming very near the surface, so that, when completely surrounded by the canoes, they can be driven wherever wanted. This fishing is called *lawaiia-o-kaiuli*, "blue-sea fishing," by the natives, as they frequently have to go several miles out to sea after the fish. A favorite spot is off Waikiki beach on Oahu. The *malolo* is frequently pounded up fine by the natives and eaten raw, mixed with other substances.

The *iheihe* (a species of halfbeak, *Euleptorhamphus*), a long, thin fish, usually a foot and a half in length, with a very sharp-pointed snout, generally arrives at the islands about the same time as the *malolo* and the *akule*, and is sometimes captured in a similar net and in the manner already described.

The largest bag net in use is the *upena kolo*, and owing to its size it can be used at only a few places around the islands, Honolulu harbor being the principal one. The bag is fine meshed, so that small fishes can not escape, and is 16 to 24 fathoms in depth, very narrow at the extreme end, but widening into an immense flaring mouth. Attached to the mouth on each side are wings 16 to 20 fathoms deep. This net is swept around the harbor by natives in canoes, who pull the net with ropes, scooping up everything in its path, the principal species taken being the *hahalalu*, the young of the *akule*, and the *amaama*, or mullet.



Upena poo is a small bag net, with a light supple pole cut from the *pohuehue* (*Ipomoea pescaprae*) vine for the mouth. This pole forms three-fourths of a circle when not in use. When in operation the fisherman draws the two ends together, crosses them, and holds them tight in his hand. A small stick, with pieces of rag or *lau hala* leaves attached to the end, is also a part of his equipment. The canoe is paddled immediately over a rocky bottom where holes are numerous, then the fisherman takes the bag in his left hand and the small stick in his right, and dives. He pushes the bag close up to one of the holes and with the stick brushes the fish into it. He then allows the two ends of the pole to slide down in his hand until they lie parallel, and this nearly closes the mouth of the bag, after which he ascends to the surface and empties the bag into his boat.

Another style of net is arranged upon two sticks parallel to each other, about 6 inches apart, the bag being about 2 ½ feet in depth and width. One stick is supple, while the other is rigid. The fisherman pushes the pliable stick along the other until its end is about the middle of the latter, and holds it thus bowed out and making an opening for the fish. When he wants to close it he merely lets the stick slide back until it is even with the other, when he holds both tight. [page 727]

Mr. J. S. Emerson, of Honolulu, furnishes the following account of a fishing expedition he made with a native, when he used a bag net somewhat similar to the two just described:

We started at sunrise from the shore in a little canoe capable of holding two persons. The native had only a *malo* (breach clout) for his dress. He had with him some of the candle nut (*kukui*). This he chewed up in his mouth and spat the chewed material on the surface of the water. This produced a film so that he could look down from the now calm surface of the water to a depth of 6 fathoms or more and locate the little caves and holes in the coral where the fish were. When he had discovered the proper location of these fish holes, he laid his paddle down in the boat and took a hand net in one hand. The bag of this hand net was like a purse. There were two sticks to hold it open and these were upon two sides of a triangle; the mouth of the net was tied to the sticks. In the other hand he had a fish brush—a rude fly brush about 3 feet long—composed of a stick to which were tied bits of bark, etc., to make a brush to drive the fish. He sprang into the water—in one hand the net and in the other the fish brush. I noticed sometimes he had it in one hand and sometimes in the other, it apparently did not matter which. He dove down, propelling and guiding himself entirely with his feet, with his eyes wide open, and approached the spot at the bottom, 6 or 8 fathoms deep, with the brush in one hand and the net in the other, ready for work. Then with the one hand he stirred up the fish from their resting places and drove them into the net as one would drive little chickens. Having secured all the fish from that particular spot he closed his net, held the net and brush in the same hand and used the other hand to paw his way to the surface. On arriving there he blew the water out of his mouth and nose, threw his head back and got into the canoe. He remained below the surface about two minutes. There were in the net 3 or 5 fishes about 6 or 7 inches in length. He then chewed up some more of the nut and proceeded for a few rods ahead, spat out the nut on the water, looked down, and went through the same operations again, finding a few more fish there. This he did for several times, say, possibly, at a dozen places.

Certain methods of bag-net fishing which were in vogue years ago have been entirely abandoned, or at most are but rarely used. Among these is *lau kapalili*, which was called the “fishing of kings,” as they only could command a sufficient number of canoes, men,



and *lau*. The late Kamehameha V, whose favorite residence was at Waikiki, frequently ordered it...[page 728]

Dip And Scoop Nets.

It is frequently difficult to distinguish between a dip net and a bag *net*, as certain forms of each are very similar in construction and methods of operation. In some cases an arbitrary line has been drawn.

In fishing for *maikoiko* (surgeon-fish), a dip net about 6 feet deep and 4 feet in diameter is used. A bag of bait tied to the end of a stick is pushed into the water near the holes in which the fish live, and when they are lured out by the scent of the bait the dip net is carefully slipped under both bait and fishes and then raised slowly until it reaches the surface, when it is lifted or drawn ashore.

Another method is to chew up bread fruit and taro and spit these upon the surface of the water. As this slowly sinks below the surface the fish are attracted in large numbers and fall easy victims when the dip net is slipped below them and then quickly raised to the surface.

A common form of dip or scoop net, which is generally used in removing fish from seines and bag nets, is made by bending a flexible piece of wood into an oval shape and tying the ends together at the junction. To this is attached the net, which has a bag about 2 feet deep, much narrower at the bottom than at the top. When not in use the lower end of the bag is left open, but when used it is gathered together and tied with a piece of twine.

On Kauai a dip net with a bag about 2 feet deep, attached to an iron ring 2 feet in diameter, is used in catching *papai* (crabs). This net is attached to a long pole by means of four ropes running from the ring to a common center about 2 feet above the ring, and thence by a single rope. The bait is either tied to a rope attached to and hanging down a short distance below the junction of the four ropes, or else weighted down in the bottom of the net. April, May, and June are the principal months for this style of fishing. It is usually done at night. Somewhat similar dip nets are occasionally employed in fishing for *ula* (crawfish).

On the Waiawa River, near Pearl City, Oahu, the Chinese use a form of dip net which was probably introduced by themselves, as it does not appear elsewhere on the islands. The river is narrow, about 40 feet in width. Four poles are planted, two on the edge of the bank, and the other two about two-thirds of the distance across the river, thus forming a square. All of these poles are slanted outward, so much so that the tips of the outer ones extend almost to the opposite bank, and a large, square, fine-meshed net is attached to them by ropes. On the shore is a wind-lass connected with the net by a rope, and used in raising and lowering it. Bait is thrown into the net, which is then lowered into the water until it almost touches the bottom, where it is allowed to remain until a number of fish have congregated over it eating the bait. It then is raised above the surface and the fish removed.

A scoop net is made by tying a square fine-meshed net to two slender sticks, laid parallel to each other and about 5 feet apart. One side of the net is then gathered together until the ends of the sticks on that side are within about a foot of [page 729] each other, when it is secured in this position. A rude sort of bag is thus formed at the gathered end. In operating the net the two ends of the sticks at the bag end are held in one hand and the flaring end is pushed around stones, etc., in shallow water, thus scooping up the fish, *papai*, and *opae*. By lifting the flaring end out of the water the catch falls back into the bag, from whence it is easily removed with the hand. This net is quite generally used around the leeward side of Oahu.



Cast Nets.

The cast net (*upena poepoe*) is a comparatively recent introduction in the islands, having been brought in by the Japanese about ten years ago, so it is reported, although this is somewhat doubtful. The nets, which are circular, average about 25 feet in circumference and have 1 ½ inch mesh. They have leads all around the sides and are made generally of No. 10 cotton twine. They are worked from the shore. Unlike the fishermen in the United States, the Japanese hold no part of the net in the mouth, but manipulate it entirely with the hands. About two-thirds of the outer edge is gathered up and the net is thrown with a sort of twirling motion, which causes it to open wide before it touches the water. The leads draw the outer edges down very rapidly, and as they come together at the bottom the fish are inclosed in a sort of bag. The net is then hauled in by means of a rope attached to its center, the weight of the leads causing them to hang close together, thus preventing the fish from falling out as the net is hauled in. The fish are shaken out of the net by merely lifting the lead line on one side.

Baskets.

With the exception of those for catching *opae* (shrimp), the Hawaiians use few baskets (*hinai*), this form of apparatus belonging principally to the South Sea Islanders.

In *opae* fishing two varieties of baskets are used. One, the *hinai opae*, sometimes called *apua opae*, looks somewhat like the coal-scuttle bonnets in vogue some yeas ago. It is woven from the air roots of the *ieie* (*Freycinetia arborea*). This basket is employed for catching shrimp in the mountain streams, and the work is generally done by women, who hold the basket in one hand, a short stick in the other, and, moving in a crouching position through the water, drive the *opae* from under the rocks, etc., to some place where the grass, ferns, or branches of trees droop over on the water. The *opae* take refuge in or under this vegetation, and the fisherwoman, placing her basket under the leaves, lifts the latter out of the water, when the *opae* drop off into the basket, from whence they are removed to a small-mouth gourd, which the woman has been dragging behind her in the water by a string tied to her waist.

Another method of fishing in the streams is to take a fairly deep basket with a large mouth, and, putting this in a favorable spot in the water, build a mud wall on both sides of it extending out a short distance. The fisherwoman then goes a little way upstream, and by beating the water drives the *opae* into the basket, which she removes and empties, then going on to another place and repeating the operation. [page 730]

The basket used in fishing for *opae* in salt and brackish water has a wide flaring mouth, gradually sloping toward the center, a few inches from which it suddenly branches off into what looks like a long circular spout inclosed at the extreme end. The size of the baskets varies. Holding the basket in the left hand the women wade out in an almost nude condition to a suitable spot, where they sink down until only the head is visible, and pushing the right hand under the rocks, drive the *opae* into the basket, which is so manipulated as partly to envelop one side of the stone. The mouth of the basket is closed by drawing the sides together and holding them in this position. The *opae* are then transferred to a gourd floating alongside, which the fisherwoman keeps attached to her by a rope tied around her neck. The women are expert in this method of fishing and rarely fail to make good catches.

The *hinai hooluuluu* is used in *hinalea* fishing, and is a small basket made from the vines of the *awikiwiki*, a *Convolvulus*. After a light framework of twigs has been tied together, the vines, twigs and all, are wound in and out, round and round, until of the requisite size, 3 or 4 feet in circumference and about 1 ½ feet deep. Pounded *opae* inclosed in cocoanut fiber is occasionally placed at the bottom of the basket for bait, but usually the



scent of the bruised and withering leaves seems to be sufficient. Women always attend to this kind of fishing. They wade out generally to small sandy openings in coral ground or reef, and let down the baskets, properly weighted to keep them in position, the weights attached in such a way as to be easily removed.

See Fig. 231.—Basket for catching opae (shrimp).

Each woman moves some distance away from her basket, but to a point from which she can watch the fish enter it. When all the fish that are in sight have entered, the basket is taken up, the fish transferred to a large small-mouthed gourd, and fishing resumed in another place. This method can be used only on a calm sunny day and at low tide.

Baskets made from the *awikiwiki* must be renewed from day to day. Some are made from the *ieie* vine, while still others have been made from the weeping willow since its introduction some years ago. These latter can be used over and over again.

Sometimes these baskets are placed in fairly deep water, where stones are piled around them to keep them in position. For bait the *wana* (sea egg), with the shell broken to expose the meat, is put in it. The basket is left for a day or two before being taken up.

The *hinai uiui* is used when fishing for the *uiui* (*Platophrys pantherinus*), a small flat-fish, said to make its appearance at intervals of from ten, fifteen, to twenty [page 731] years...

...The South Sea Islanders living at Honolulu and Lahaina have introduced two new types of baskets. The larger has a flat bottom, and is otherwise the shape of a half cylinder, the top gradually sloping to the rear end. These baskets are about 3 feet long, 2 feet high in front, and 1 ½ feet in height in the rear. The outer framework projects about 2 inches beyond the front and back. The baskets are made of flexible twigs lashed together with twine. A cone or funnel, 6 to 8 inches in diameter and about 12 inches long, with the end cut off, is inserted at the larger end, the body of the cone being inside of and opening into the basket. At the end of the cone a trap-door of wickerwork, about 4 inches square, is fixed in such a manner that it will open at a touch from the outside, but can not be pushed open from the inside. The basket is weighted down with stones or two pieces of old iron run lengthwise of the basket on the bottom and lashed there. In the rear of the basket is a small trap-door [page 732] for removing the fish. When used the basket is taken to a sandy place in 2 to 4 fathoms of water, where there is plenty of coral or stones. The fisherman dives and places it in a good spot, then takes pieces of coral rock and builds them up and around the basket until it is completely inclosed, so as to form an artificial dark retreat for the fish. The opening to the funnel is left exposed, however, and the fish, seeing the inviting entrance, go into the trap. The basket is left for from two days to a week, when the stones are displaced, the basket hauled up into the canoe and emptied by means of the back door, and then replaced in its former position.

Hinai puhī is the other form of basket used by the South Sea Islanders. It is oblong, about 25 inches wide, 18 inches high in front, and 3 feet long. The top gradually slopes to the rear, where it is only about 12 inches high. A funnel, or cone, about 8 inches in diameter and 10 inches in depth, extends into the basket in an upward direction, and has an opening on its underside which leads down into a square space about one-half the width of the basket. This space, which begins about halfway of the length of the funnel, runs about 5 inches farther into the basket. From this space another funnel, with a narrow slit opening, leads into the body of the basket, the mouth held taut by lines run from it to the sides. Both funnels are constructed of netting, while the rest of the basket is made from the branches of the guava tree. Bamboo, owing to its lightness, is sometimes used for the top. The branches are lashed together with stout twine, no nails being employed. It



takes about a week to make one of these baskets, but they will last a long time. They are used for the capture of the puhi, or moray, which is quite common around the islands.

Fish Traps Or Pens.

On Pearl Harbor, Oahu, two fish traps are used for catching sharks and large akule (goggler), opelu (mackerel scad), weke (goat-fish), and kawakawa (bonito). The larger, near Puuloa, has two walls which, for a short distance, run out from the shore in parallel lines. Then one of them sweeps out and around, forming a large and almost oval space. A wall is built parallel to the shore and the outer portions of the oval meets it close to one end. The other line from the shore comes out almost to this parallel line and then turns sharply inward for a few feet, and the space between the two, about 4 feet, forms the entrance into the trap. The walls are built of coral. The end of the oval farthest from the entrance is almost bare at low water, while the side next to the gate has about 5 feet of water. At high tide the whole trap is under water. Fish enter it at high water and are caught as the water recedes. They are taken out at low water by means of a small seine.

Spearing.

The natives are very expert in fishing with the spear, and use it with equal facility either below or above the surface of the water. The spear is usually a slender pole 6 to 7 feet in length, made of very hard wood, and tipped with a thin piece of iron 1 ½ to 2 feet in length. Most of the tips are perfectly smooth, but a few have a very slight barb. The spearing of fish is called “*ia o*” by the natives.

The spearing of the species inhabiting the rocks in shallow water is carried on under water. Diving to a favorable spot among the rocks, the fisherman braces himself in a half-crouching position and waits for the fish to come. He notices only [page 733] fish passing before and parallel to him and those coming straight toward him. For the former he aims a little in advance of the fish, since by the time it is struck its motion has carried it so far forward that it will receive the blow on the gills or middle of the body and thus be secured, whereas if the spear were aimed at the body it would be apt to hit the tail or entirely miss the fish. The spear is generally sent with such force that it goes entirely through the fish, thus bringing the latter up to the upper part of the spear, where it remains while the fisherman strikes rapidly at other fish in succession, should they come in single file, as they usually do.

The above-water spearing is generally for *Makimaki* [*oopuhue*] (the swell-fish, *Tetraodonhispidus*), which is said to be poisonous; for *hee* (octopus); and for *honu* (turtle). The *oopuhue* is either speared from the walls of the fish ponds or in the open sea.

In the deep-sea line-fishing spears with short poles are frequently employed in killing certain species brought to the surface on the lines.

In fishing for puhi (eels) the latter are attracted out of their holes with bait and are then speared.

Spears are frequently used in fishing for the hee (octopus), principally by women. This animal generally makes its home in small circular holes in the rocks on the reefs. When the fisherwoman finds a hole that she thinks is occupied she runs the spear into it gently. Should a hee be there it comes out to see what is the matter, the spear is run through it, and it is brought to the surface. The woman usually carries a smaller spear also, and with this she pricks or hits the animal in the head until it is stunned or killed, otherwise it might twine around her arms or legs and cause serious difficulty.

Honu (turtle) are generally captured by means of spearing from the rocks along the shore where they congregate.



Dynamiting.

Probably one of the most destructive methods of fishing is with dynamite, or giant powder, as it is generally called in the islands. This explosive was first used for this purpose in 1870. A stick of dynamite weighing about a quarter of a pound is capped and arranged with a fuse about 10 inches long. The fisherman usually selects a deep hole, and paddling to within a short distance of it, lights the fuse and when it has burned almost to the cap throws it from him into the hole. When it explodes every living thing within a considerable radius of where it struck is either killed or stunned by the shock. Many fish rise to the surface and are picked up by the fisherman. An especially objectionable feature of this practice is the number of young fishes killed. The method is prohibited by law, but very little attention is paid to this enactment, as no effort is made to enforce it.

Poisoning.

The law also prohibits the catching of fish by means of stupefying drugs and plants placed in the water, but the practice is still followed in many places. It is called by the natives "hola hola." The *ahuhu* [i.e., 'auhuhu] (*Cracca purpurea*), a poisonous weed which grows on the mountain side, is the plant generally employed. It is gathered and pounded up with sand, the latter to make it heavier so that it will sink in water. All over the reefs, running a short distance from and generally parallel to the shore, [page 734] are numerous caves, holes, etc., which are the habitat of many species of fishes. The fishermen carry a small seine and a quantity of the poisonous mixture in one of their canoes, and when they arrive at the fishing ground set the seine around an isolated rock or the mouth of a cave. The escape of the fish from these retreats being thus prevented, the fishermen place some of the mixture in a small bag, and, diving to the bottom, shake some of it in the holes. In about ten or fifteen minutes the fish seem to become stupefied and rise to the surface, whence they are taken into the canoe by means of small scoop nets. They soon recover from the effects of the drug if allowed to remain in water.

The seeds and leaves of the shrub *akia* (*Diplomorpha sandwicensis*) are also used for this purpose.

Weirs.

While weirs are not of commercial importance in these islands, some are used in the mountain streams during the rainy season for taking the *oopu*, a small fresh-water goby found mostly in these streams, and consumed principally by the fishermen and their families. During the dry season a platform of large logs, placed side by side, is built and placed in the stream at about or just above high-water mark. During the rainy season the streams rise very high and the water becomes so muddy with the wash from the sloping ground adjoining the banks that the *oopus*, who make their homes in water holes, under large rocks, etc., are driven out and carried downstream by the hurrying waters. As these fish do not like muddy water, they endeavor to keep near the surface, which is comparatively clear, and are thus swept in immense quantities onto the platform, and from there into a ditch leading out to a plain, where they are gathered up in large quantities. At this season of the year the *oopus* are highly prized by the natives, on account of their very delicate flavor. This method of fishing is practiced mainly on the islands of Oahu and Kauai.

Torching.

Considerable fishing is done with torches at night. The torches are usually made of split bamboos secured at regular intervals with *ki* leaves or twigs of the *naio* (*Myoporum sandwicensis*). They are sometimes made of a number of *kukui* nuts strung on rushes, or the stems of coconut leaves, which are then wrapped with *ki* leaves so as to make the torch round like a candle. This latter kind will burn in almost any kind of weather. The natives have a notion that if the torch burns with a pale flame the fishing will be poor, but if it burns with a bright red flame it will be very good.



In shallow water the fish are frequently speared or taken in a small scoop net, the fisherman wading around with the lighted torch in one hand and the spear or net in the other.

Sometimes, while the fish is blinded or dazzled by the light, a scoop net is slipped in front of it by one of the fishermen; a companion then gently tosses a stone just back of the fish, which causes it to dart forward into the net, and it is captured. This manner of fishing is called by the natives "*lamalama*."

Another popular method is stunning or killing the fish after they have been attracted to the surface by the light of a fire in the bow of a boat. It is the practice [page 735] to put in the boat a can filled with inflammable material and covered with oil, row to a desirable place, and set fire to the fuel. The fish are fascinated or dazzled by the light and may easily be struck with a stick.

Snaring.

The use of the snare in fishing seems to be confined to Hawaii, its use on the other islands not being reported. *Puhi* (eels) and *ula* (crawfish) are the species usually taken in this manner.

In snare fishing for *puhi* (*ahele puhi*) the apparatus is a long stick with a noose arranged at the end, the string which works the noose reaching to the end of the pole. A bait made of almost any kind of pounded fish or crab is thrown into the water, especially around rocks, where the *puhi* lives in holes and crevices. The noose is slipped up close to one of these holes and when the *puhi* thrusts its head through in order to reach the bait, the line in the hand is pulled, drawing the noose tight to the end of the pole and choking the fish to death, after which it is drawn to the surface.

In fishing for *ula* (*ahele ula*), a long pole, to which dead bait has been tied about 3 inches from the bottom, is put down in the water in front of a hole in the rocks. As the *ula* comes out of its hole, to get the bait another pole, with a crotch or fork at the end to both arms of which a noose is fastened, is slipped under its tail and suddenly jerked, tightening the noose, so that the animal can be brought to the surface.

Fishing With The Hands.

The native men, women, and children are perfectly at home in the water, spending a good portion of their time there, and they are exceedingly expert in diving and swimming. Frequently they catch various inhabitants of the water with their hands, and in some places this method of fishing has become quite an important source of revenue to them. It is a common sight, in the less densely inhabited regions, to see a stark-naked native man or woman crouching down in the shallow water and feeling around the coral and lava rocks for fish, *papai* (crabs), and *opae* (shrimp). Some of the fishermen dive to the haunts of certain species, and, thrusting their arms into holes or under rocks, bring out the fish one by one and put them into a bag attached, for the purpose, to the *malo*, or loin cloth. *Opae*, *oopu* (gobies), and gold-fish are frequently taken by women fishing with their hands in the fresh-water streams and taro patches, and form a considerable part of the food supply.

In fishing for *hee* (octopus) the native dives to the bottom, and, with a stick, pokes around in the small holes in which the animal lives. When he touches one it seizes the stick and allows him to draw it out of the hole. On reaching the surface the native seizes his captive with his hands and bites into its head, thus killing it.

The *ula* also is frequently taken by the diver with his hands. The fisherman first provides himself with a small bag, which he attaches to his *malo*. His right hand he carefully wraps



up in a bag or a long piece of cloth, to prevent the *ula* from biting him, and, diving to the bottom, he feels around in the crevices and holes among the rocks, pulling out the *ulas* he finds and putting them in the bag, returning to the surface whenever necessary. Frequently he will bring up two or three [page 736] crawfish at a time. Occasionally the fishermen are severely bitten by *puhis*, which at times make their homes in the *ula* holes.

Nearly all the mollusks are gathered by hand. The *opihi* (limpet), which attaches itself to rocks, is detached by knives. The *beche-demer* (sea slug), *wana* and *ina* (sea eggs) are also taken by hand.

The varieties of *limu* (algae) which are eaten by the natives are all gathered by hand, and this forms quite a profitable business for a number of women and children on the various islands.

Line-Fishing.

Fishing with rod, hook, and line (called by the natives "*paeaea*") is not practiced to any considerable extent commercially, except for *aku* (bonito). In this fishery, mother-of-pearl hooks, made from the shell of a mollusk, now quite rare, are used. These hooks are called *pa*, and as they glisten with an iridescence like the shimmer from the scales of the smaller kinds of fish on which the *aku* lives, no bait is needed.

The shell portion of the hook is barbed on the inner side with bone, and two tufts of hog's bristles are attached to the barbed end at right angles to it, for the purpose of keeping the inner side up, so that the shell will lie flat on the surface of the sea. The bone portion of the hook is usually a dog tusk, but sometimes it is a piece of human bone, ivory, or tortoise shell. An iron hook, with the curved portion bent over so far that the point runs almost parallel with the shank, is sometimes used. Brass hooks also are employed at times. In line fishing double canoes are generally found more convenient and much safer, as the fishing is done a considerable distance from shore.

See FIG. 232.—Bone hooks used in fishing.

On reaching the fishing-ground the fishermen locate the fish by watching the sea gulls, which will be seen hovering over the schools. It is the habit of the fish to run against the tide, and as soon as the school has been sighted the canoes are worked around in front of it, and the fish are attracted toward the boat by means of a handful or two of the small live bait thrown into the water. These small fish are usually the *nehu*, *ii*ao, and the young of various species. There are three men in each canoe, but only one man in each engages directly in fishing, the others managing the canoe. These two men stand up in the stern of the boat, holding in their hands a bamboo pole about 12 feet long with a line of the same length attached, and the pearl hook tied to the end of this line. By a quick movement the line and hook are slapped violently on the surface of the water and then drawn toward the boat. The *aku* are attracted by the noise, and seeing the glittering hook, which looks like a young fish, [page 737] make a spring for it. As soon as the fish is hooked the line is swung up over the fisherman's head so as to make almost a complete revolution. It is very necessary that the line should be kept taut, as, owing to the fact that the hook has but a slight barb, the fish would shake itself loose should the line slacken in the least. As the hooked fish is describing this revolution the fisherman swings around to meet it as it nears him, bowing out his right arm. When the fish comes between his arm and side he closes them up and the fish is caught, unhooked, and dropped into the boat. If he perceives that the fish is coming toward him in such a way that it will be difficult to hold it in the manner described, he moves out of range and allows it to make another revolution, catching it on its return. The fishing must be done in from ten to fifteen minutes' time, as the school soon gets frightened and disappears.



In line-fishing for other species besides the *aku*, *opae*, earthworms, and live fry of fish are used as bait. Hooks of varying sizes and kinds, made from ivory, tortoise shell, and human and animal bones, are used. Frequently the fisherman, after baiting his hook from a handful of *opae*, bruises the remainder, and, wrapping it up in cocoanut fiber, ties it with a pebble on the line close to the hooks. The bruised matter spreads through the water when the line is dropped and serves to attract the fish to the vicinity of the hook.

See FIG. 233.—Tortoise-shell hook.

See FIG. 234.—Ivory hook.

For bait in *uhu* fishing the gall bladder of the *hee* is dried and then cooked until it becomes a jelly, which is placed in a small calabash or bowl and tied to the hook as bait. A pole is used in this method of fishing.

In fishing for *aama* (crabs) from cliffs or high rocks, a long bamboo pole with line, to the end of which is tied an *opihī*, is used. The fisherman dangles this bait in front of the crab as it looks out from its home in the rocks, and the animal at once seizes it. By a quick jerk the line is swung up and the *aama* caught.

In the deep-sea fishing hooks and lines are used without rods, except for the *aku*. Fishing is carried on here to depths as great as 600 feet. The older native fishermen are familiar with all the reefs and rocky elevations for miles in every direction from the shore, and know well the different species of fishes to be found in each place. Frequently they go entirely out of sight of the lowlands and mountain slopes and take their bearings, for the purpose of determining from the relative positions of the different mountain peaks the reef or rock which is the habitat of the fish they are seeking.

On Hawaii an ingenious method of fishing for *ulua* is practiced. A long pole is planted on the shore in such a position as to lean decidedly toward the water. On the top of this a bell is arranged so that it will swing clear of the top of the pole. [page 738] In olden times a calabash with shells inclosed took the place now occupied by the bell. A block and fall is also attached to the pole close to the top, and a long line, with a hook at the end, is run through the block and allowed to float out to sea, the land end being tied in a slipknot to the bottom of the pole and the surplus coiled at the foot. A small dead fish is used as bait. In order to attract the fish, *puhi* are mashed up with sand and thrown into the ocean. As soon as a fish is hooked his struggles cause the bell to ring, thus warning the fisherman, who at once runs to the pole and, loosening the slipknot, begins to play the fish. As the fish is too large and strong to haul in alive, it must be played until drowned.

In hand-line fishing from canoes in deep water, a line of about 2/8 inch cord, with a lava stone weighing several pounds as a sinker, is used by the natives. A little above the sinker, and for a distance of about 6 feet, there run out from the line little bamboo canes about a foot in length, in a horizontal position, and from the outer ends of these canes dangles a short piece of line, with a hook at the end. The bait is put over the point of the hook and the upper portion of it tied to the shank by means of two small threads hanging from the line and tied just above the hook. This line is used in water as deep as 200 fathoms. As soon as the sinker reaches the bottom the native, by a peculiar jerk, disengages the stone and draws the line about a fathom from the bottom, where it is allowed to remain until a certain number of bites have been felt, when it is drawn to the surface, the fish removed, the hooks rebaited, a new sinker put on, and the line run overboard again. *Ulaula* is the principal species captured thus.

In *deep-sea fishing* the Japanese generally use but one *hook* on a line, attached to the end of it.



In fishing for *mahimahi* (dolphin) the Japanese use a rope about 2,000 feet in length. At intervals of 60 feet are attached branch lines about 60 feet in length, with a hook on each. *Akule* are used as bait. The line is paid out from the boat, the main line being kept on the surface by buoys made from the cotton tree, while the branch lines hang downward. The line is set in the morning and taken up at noon, the fishermen lying off in their boats in the meanwhile. This fishing is carried on about 10 miles offshore.

See FIG. 235.—Deep-sea fishing line.

A line used principally for catching *kole* has at the end a piece of lead, at each end of which is attached a short line with a hook. The gall of the *hee*, prepared in one of the numerous ways given under the section headed "Bait," is used for bait. This manner of fishing is called by the natives "*okilo hee*." [page 739]

The native is a great lover of the *hee*, and has a number of methods of capturing it, one of the most interesting of which is with the *cowrie shell*. One or more *cowrie shells* of the *Mauritiana* or Tiger varieties are attached to a string. When only one is used, an oblong pebble about the size of the shell is tied to the face of it, a hole is pierced in one end of the back of the shell, a line is passed through, and after being fastened here, allowed to hang a few inches below the shell, to which a hook, whose point stands almost perpendicular to the shaft or shank, is attached. Only shells with small red spots breaking through a reddish-brown ground have an attraction for the *hee*, and it will not rise to any other kind. Shells which have suitable spots but unsuitable background are given the desired *hue* by steaming them over a fire of sugar-cane husks.

On arriving at the fishing ground the fisherman in pursuit of *hee* either chews up and spits upon the water a mouthful of candlenut meat, to render the surface glassy and clear, or he uses the water glass, which is described below. He drops the shell into the water, and by means of the line swings it back and forth over a place likely to be occupied by a *hee*. The greedy animal perceives the shell, shoots out an arm, and seizes it. If the bait is attractive, after a few moments' hesitation another arm is placed around it, and then another, until at last the animal withdraws itself entirely from its hole and hugs the shell closely to its body, oblivious of everything else. The fisherman then draws it rapidly up through the water, and when it raises its head at the surface, pulls it over against the edge of the canoe and delivers a blow between the eyes with a club which is generally fatal. Owing to the *hee*'s quickness with its eight tentacles or arms, the fisherman has to be very rapid in his movements, as the animal would be no mean antagonist should it have an opportunity to seize him with its arms. The natives say that a number of persons have lost their lives in struggles with the octopus. This method of fishing is called by the natives "*Lawaia hee me ke leho*" (squid-catching with cowrie).

See FIG. 236.—Hook made from iron nail.

See FIG. 237.—Cowrie hook with shell for catching hee.

A *cowrie shell*, with a metal hook laid across the mouth of the shell and fixed in position with melted lead, is sometimes used in fishing for *hee*; and, again, a line with a piece of lead attached to the end in a horizontal position, a hook with the point up being lashed to one of the ends of the lead, is employed.

Water glasses are frequently used along the Hawaiian coast. An oblong, square box, with a piece of glass fixed in the bottom, is put on the water, with the glass end downward, and the fisherman, by placing his face in the open end, can distinctly see the bottom, although the surface may be broken with ripples outside of the water [page 740] glass. The water glasses now in use could be much improved if the box were made wide enough to allow the entrance of the whole head instead of merely the face, it being easier to see when the



sunlight is completely cut off from the glass. A water glass similar to that used in the sponge fisheries of Florida would be very effective—an ordinary bucket with the bottom removed and a pane of glass substituted.

In fishing for *honu* (turtle) a flat stone is used, with two hooks lashed to the upper part and running out in opposite directions. This is attached to a long line. *Hee* also are occasionally caught with this style of apparatus.

See FIG. 238.—Hooks used in catching turtle and squid.

See FIG. 239.—Hook with ivory barb and wooden shank.

In fishing for *papai* (crabs) the younger natives frequently use short lines with a small wooden buoy at the top and a piece of bait (meat, fish head, or any other dead bait) at the end. These are set in shallow water close to the shore, and are frequently lifted by children, who wade out to them and grasp with their hands the crabs clinging to the bait before they become frightened and let go.

Shark-Catching.

The shark has always occupied a unique position in not only the religious but in the daily life of the native. This, however, is treated elsewhere in this report, and only the methods of fishing for sharks will be considered here.

The natives distinguish five species of sharks frequenting Hawaiian waters. The *mano kihikihi* (hammer-headed shark) and the *lalakea* (white-fin) are considered edible. The hammer-headed shark is the one most frequently seen in the markets. The others are the *mano kanaka* (man shark), the shark god of the ancient Hawaiians; the *mano*, a large white shark, and the *niuhi*, the largest and fiercest of all. The last two are but rarely seen in Hawaiian waters. The *niuhi* is said to be seen a long way off at night by the bright greenish light of its eyeballs. It is much feared by the natives.

The *mano kihikihi* and the smaller *lalakeas* are generally taken with other fishes in gill nets, seines, or bag nets. The larger *lalakea* and the other species are taken [page 741] with hook and line, as no net would be strong enough to hold them. Shark hooks are generally carved from a piece of hard wood, with a piece of sharp-pointed bone lashed to the end of the hook to form the tip. But few of the hooks seem to have a barb, and it speaks well for the dexterity of the fishermen that they succeed so well in fishing with these.

Sometimes the native seeks the shark in coves and caves below the surface after the fish has gorged itself and is sleeping with its head forced into the sides of its resting place. The diver gently slips a noose around the tail of the shark, which is then hauled up and dispatched. Experts have been known to capture six or eight sharks in one day in this manner.

See FIG. 240.—Wooden shark hooks, with bone points.

In the olden times the catching of the *niuhi* was made a great event, but there has been no regular fishery for it for nearly one hundred years... [page 742]

...The use of human flesh as bait was in great vogue among the Hawaiian chiefs. It was cheaper than pig, was equally acceptable to the shark, and gave the chief an opportunity to kill anyone whom he disliked. The victim was cut up and left in a receptacle to decompose for two or three days. Kamehameha I was a great shark hunter and kept his victims penned up near the great *heiau* (temple) of Mookini [Mailekini and Pu'u Koholā], near Kawaihae, Hawaii.



New Forms Of Apparatus Proposed.

It is probable that the beam trawl could be used to advantage in the deeper waters around the islands. This apparatus, which is an immense bag, with wide flaring mouth, the bag running to a point at the end, is worked from the deck of a sail or steam vessel. Long cables are attached to the sides of the mouth of the bag, and the trawl is dropped overboard while the vessel is in motion. It sinks to the bottom, and as the vessel moves forward is drawn along the bottom, scooping up everything in its path. When it has been down a sufficient length of time the vessel is brought up into the wind, the trawl raised to the deck, where it is emptied, and then dropped overboard for another trial. Sharks are very destructive to nets used in the deeper waters, and also eat the fish out of them; with the beam trawl this would be obviated.

Pound nets made of fine wire could be used to advantage on the leeward side of the islands and in the bays. Netting could not be used, as the sharks and larger fishes would tear it to shreds while struggling to get in or out.

Fyke or hoop nets would probably prove profitable in the bays and rivers. They could be set and left without further attention until it was convenient for the fisherman to raise them.

Bait.

Catching of bait.—The natives generally use live bait in the line fisheries, and their method of catching it is rather interesting. In the morning a medium-length fine-mesh seine is loaded in the canoe or canoes, each of which contains two or three men, and is paddled about 40 or 50 feet from the shore. One man is left on the land, and he runs along the rough, rocky shore with a small pail of dried *opae*, of which he takes out a few at intervals, and, after chewing in his mouth a few moments, spits them into his hand and throws them on to the surface of the water a short distance from the shore. If no fish rise to the bait thrown out it is quite certain none is there, and he runs on a little farther and repeats the operation. When fish rise to the surface and nibble at the bait he signals to the canoe men, who immediately paddle in close to the spot, and all but one, who is left in the boat to maneuver it, drop overboard with the seine and sweep it around the spot, inclosing the fish.

On most of the islands the *nehu* is the principal species of bait fish taken, while on Hawaii the *piha* is also used for the same purpose. The young of many other species are taken in these seines and used as bait, to the great havoc of the general fisheries.

Bait used.—Live *opae* are very frequently used for bait in the line fisheries.

All species of young fish are used as bait, both alive and dead, though the former are preferred. In fishing for *mahimahi* (dolphin) young *akule* (called *agi* by the Japanese) are used. [page 743]

The natives are very expert in the preparation of *palu*, or baits, from various substances. In making these a small section of the sharp end of a cocoanut shell, about 1 ½ inches in height, and a small stick of hard wood are used, in the same manner as a mortar and pestle.

A number of methods of preparing such baits, with the ink bag of the *hee* as the principal ingredient, were given to me by Mr. Joseph Swift Emerson, of Honolulu, who has made a thorough study of the native customs. *Alaala hehe* [i.e., 'ala'ala he'e] (the ink bag of the common octopus) is roasted on the coals in the leaves of a ki plant, and when well cooked is ground into a paste in the mortar. Usually it is flavored with something that is supposed to attract the fish. Great care is taken in compounding the mixture, and every



fisherman has his favorite recipe. The following are some of the more common mixtures used, *alaala hee* forming the base in every case:

1. Pound up a little *alaala puloa* root in the mortar, throw away the fiber, leaving only a few drops of juice in the mortar, then mix in the *alaala hehe*, working it thoroughly with the pestle.
2. Mash up a red pepper and throw seeds and pulp away, leaving only a few drops of juice adhering to the mortar.
3. Obtain juice from *puakala* (the prickly plant, the thistle) seeds. Mix in a little salt and proceed as in No. 1.
4. The same with *ilima* flowers and salt, always using an exact number of flowers, say 4 or 8. The fishermen have a superstitious idea that if an odd number is used it will have no force.
5. The same with salt and young *noni* leaves slightly roasted.
6. The same with salt and *maile kaluhea*.
7. The same with salt and leaves of the *paina* (*poha*—cape gooseberry).
8. The same with salt and very young leaves of *koko*.
9. The same with the bark from the root of *pilo* (plant growing near the seashore with beautiful flower of foul smell).
10. The same with salt and the bark from root of *naunau*.
11. Mix with *kukui* (candle nut) nuts, well roasted, the *kukui* nuts to be well ground first and then the *alaala hehe* to be worked in.
12. Mix with old hard cocoanut burnt to a crisp, a little *kukui* nut rarely done and salt.
13. Mix with a little cinnamon.
14. Mix with fruit of *mokihana*, which grows on Kauai.
15. Mix with a few drops of brandy or other intoxicating liquors.
16. The same with Perry Davis pain killer.
17. The same with kerosene oil.
18. The same with tobacco juice.
19. The same with juice from *ahuhu* [i.e., 'auhuhu] seeds.
20. Mix with salt and coal from burning a little *mahuna kapa*.
21. Mix with salt and coal from the sugar cane of the variety known as *ainako*.
22. Salt the *alaala hehe* before roasting.

The bait, when prepared, is applied to the tip of the hook and is very attractive to fish. Those caught with it are usually small ones found near shore.

In fishing for *opelu*, cooked squash, pumpkin, *papaia*, and bananas, also fish ground up fine and mixed with sand, are employed.

The following additional varieties of bait are used in fishing for different species: *Kukui* and cocoanut meat baked together in equal quantities, chewed bread fruit and taro, *opae* dried and pounded, *wana* with shell broken to expose the meat, half-roasted sweet potatoes, raw ripe *papaia*, pounded *papai*, fresh and dried *opae*, earthworms, *opihi*, the gall of the *hee*, *puhi* pounded up fine with sand, *nehu*, *iiao*, *akule*, scraps of meat, fish heads, etc.



Bait boxes.—As live bait is generally used in the fisheries, suitable boxes for keeping it are necessary. The following are the styles in general vogue:

When two canoes are joined together for *aku* (bonito) fishing, the bait box is swung beneath the cross trees and lashed there. It is about 20 feet long, 2 feet high [page 744] the whole length, and about 16 inches wide in the center, running to a sharp point at each end. On the outward trip about two-thirds of the box is submerged, and as the sides are perforated, water is admitted freely. On the return, however, as the box is empty, it is unlashd and placed on top of the cross pieces, in order not to impede the progress of the canoe. After the *aku* fishing is over the box is either hauled out on the land until the next season, or moored close to shore in a sheltered position and used for keeping bait temporarily, but is not taken out to the grounds, as it is too big and unwieldy for one canoe to handle. Much smaller boxes of the same general style are frequently employed, also square and oblong boxes of varying sizes, perforated, or with slats set close together.

The Japanese frequently use small boxes about a foot long by 8 inches wide by 8 inches deep, perforated on the sides and ends with small holes. These are attached to the boat by a short piece of twine and allowed to tow alongside.

Some of the Japanese also carry bait in one of the smaller of the wells in the bottom of their sampans.

Vessel Fishing.

In view of the fine fishing grounds in deep water and on the reefs and shoals within reasonable distance from the islands, it is surprising that there are no vessels engaged in fishing. Several attempts have been made to establish vessel fisheries, but for various reasons they have met with failure.

The last attempt was in 1898, when a number of persons in Honolulu formed a company and, at a cost of \$6,600, had the gasoline schooner *Malolo* built to engage in this business. She was fitted out with six seines and one bag net, at a cost of \$1,000, and carried a crew of four men. The fishermen were Japanese, who were hired at Honolulu. They had their own boats and lines, and the schooner towed them to the fishing grounds. A station was established at Palaau district, on Molokai, and an old fish pond there was purchased with the purpose of cleaning it out and using it for catching fish which came in through the entrance. It was the intention of the company to hire fishermen on the islands to work the nets, while the Japanese would engage in line-fishing, and the schooner would make regular trips to Honolulu with the catch. The fishing was to be done on the reefs about the west and south sides of the island of Molokai.

Difficulty was at once encountered in the unreliability of the Japanese crew, who would go to Lahaina and other places and sell their catch. Another crew was collected, composed largely of white men, mostly beach combers, and they were taken to the fishing grounds, to work the nets principally. This plan also failed, owing to ignorance of the business on the part of the crew, and a third effort was made, this time with a crew of native Hawaiians and South Sea islanders secured at Lahaina. Twelve of these men were put on the island of Lanai and supplied with boats, nets, lines, and provisions. After a few hauls the vessel left for Honolulu with the catch, the understanding with the fishermen being that they were to continue fishing to secure a second cargo during her absence. When the vessel returned, however, half of the fishermen had deserted and the few remaining were carried to Lahaina. The whole business was abandoned in August, 1899, after the failure of an effort to get another gang on Maui. [page 745]

The captain of the vessel says there was no lack of fish at any time, and if the fishermen could have been properly trained to the work the experiment would have been a brilliant



success. Most of the fishing was done with trolling and hand lines, as the nets would not work well on the coral reefs, frequently tearing, and the numerous sharks about the reefs also did much damage to them.

Fish Ponds.

The most interesting of the fishery resources of the islands are the fish ponds. This is the only place in United States territory where fish ponds are found on such an immense scale and put to such general and beneficent use. The time of the building of many of them goes back into the age of fable, the Hawaiians, for instance, attributing the construction of one of the most ancient, the deep-water fish pond wall at the Huleia River on Kauai, to the Menehunes, a mythical race of dwarfs, distinguished for cunning industry and mechanical and engineering skill and intelligence. Many of the very old ponds are still in practical use and look as though they would last for centuries. As the ponds were originally owned by the kings and chiefs, it is very probable that most of them were built by the forced labor of the common people. There is a tradition among the natives that *Loko Wekolo* (Wekolo pond) [i.e., Weloko at Waimano], on Pearl Harbor, Oahu, was built about two hundred and fifty years ago, and that the natives formed a line from the shore to the mountain and passed the lava rock from hand to hand till it reached the shore where the building was going on without once touching the ground in transit. As the distance is considerably over a mile, this is significant of the density of the population at that time.

The ponds are found principally in the bays indenting the shores of the islands, the common method of construction having been to build a wall of lava rock across the narrowest part of the entrance to a small bay or bight of land and use the inclosed space for the pond. Ponds were also built on the seashore itself, the wall in this case being run out from two points on the shore, some distance apart, in the shape of a half circle. Most of the Molokai fish ponds were built in this manner. A few were constructed somewhat interior, and these are filled by the fresh water streams from the mountains or by tidal water from the sea carried to them by means of ditches. Most of the interior ponds are on Oahu, near Honolulu. The Nomilo fish pond at Lawai, on Kauai, is formed from an old volcanic crater with an opening toward the sea across which a wall has been built, and as the opening is below the surface of the sea the tide plays in and out when the gates are opened.

In the sea ponds the walls are about 5 feet in width and are built somewhat loosely, in order that the water may percolate freely. The interior ponds have dirt sides generally, although a few have rock walls covered with dirt, while others have rock walls backed with dirt. The sea ponds generally have sluice gates which can be raised or lowered, or else which open and close like a door. In the interior ponds there are usually two small bulkheads with a space about 8 feet square between them. Each of these has a small door which usually slides up or down. When the tide is coming in both doors are opened and the fish are allowed to go in freely. At the turn of the tide the doors are closed. When the owner wishes to remove any of the fish he generally opens the inner door when the tide is ebbing. The fish rush into the narrow space between the bulkheads, from which they are dipped out by [page 746] means of hand dip nets. In the sea ponds the gate is opened when the tide is coming in and closed when it turns.

There is usually a small runway, built of two parallel rows of loosely piled stones, from the gate to about 10 feet into the pond. As the fish congregate in this runway when the tide is going out, it is very easy to dip out the supply needed for market. Seines and gill nets are also used in taking fish from the ponds, a method which is easy, owing to the shallowness of the ponds.



The sea ponds usually contain only the *amaama*, or mullet, and the *awa*. In the fresh and the brackish water ponds gold-fish, china-fish, *oopu*, *opae*, carp, *aholehole*, and *okuhekuhe* are kept. Practically no attempt at fish-culture is made with these ponds. Besides the fish which come in through the open gates at certain seasons of the year, the owner usually has men engaged in catching young *amaama* and *awa* in the open sea and bays, and transporting them alive to these enclosures, where they are kept until they attain a marketable size, and longer, frequently, if the prices quoted in the market are not satisfactory. It costs almost nothing to keep them, as they find their own food in the sea ponds. It is supposed that they eat a fine moss which is quite common there.

There are probably not more than one-half the number of ponds in use today that there were thirty years ago. There are numerous reasons for this, the principal ones being the following:

1. The native population is rapidly disappearing, and where there were prosperous and populous villages in the early years of the last century there is practically a wilderness now. Owing to this depopulation there is no sale for fish in the immediate neighborhood of the ponds, the only market possible owing to the difficulty in transporting any distance without the use of ice. The ponds have thus naturally been allowed to go to decay, the walls breaking down from the action of storms, and the sea filling them with sand if they are located on the immediate shore. This condition of affairs is especially prevalent on Molokai.
2. Two of the important crops of the islands are rice and taro. As both must be grown in a few inches of water, and are very profitable crops, a number of the interior ponds were turned into rice fields and taro patches. Oahu has shown the greatest changes in this respect.
3. On Hawaii ponds were filled up by the volcanic lava flows of 1801 and 1859. The Kamehameha fish pond, which was filled up in this manner in 1859, was said to have been the largest on the islands. Only traces of it are now to be found on the beach.
4. At Hilo, on Hawaii, some ponds, mostly quite small, are so filled with the water hyacinth that it is no longer possible to use them for fish. This year a few of the best of these were cleaned out, but as there is very little profit to be made from them, and their ownership is in dispute, there is but little desire to do much to build them up.
5. Other ponds have been filled up to make way for building operations and for other purposes. This is especially true of ponds in and around Honolulu and Lahaina. There used to be a number of fish ponds on Lanai, but they have all been allowed to fall into decay. [page 747]

A number of ponds are kept up by their owners merely as private preserves, as it were, the fish taken from them being either consumed by the owner's household or given to friends. Such ponds are scattered all over the islands... [page 748]

[see list of fish ponds given on pages 436-439 of this study]

Preparation Of Fishery Products.

...The general method of preparing the larger species is as follows:

The fish are split open from the back, except in the case of the *opelu*, which is opened from the belly, and the entrails removed. The fish are not washed before



salting, as it softens them and they are apt to spoil. The larger fishes are scored along the side. They are then lightly salted and put in a container, where they are allowed to remain overnight. In the morning they are taken out, the salt shaken off of them, and they are put in a pan of fresh water, where the salt is thoroughly washed off, after which they are placed upon rude racks or boards, covered with cocoanut leaves, and allowed to remain until the sun thoroughly dries them. They are put under cover at night. When thus prepared, they will keep for some time. Opelu, amaama, akule, and aku are the species usually preserved in this manner.

In preparing the ahi (albacore) the fish is cut up in squares of about a pound each, which, except in localities where blow-flies are troublesome, are scored. The pieces are kneaded in salt until almost as round as a baseball and are then put out to dry.

A considerable quantity of amaama was dried in Kauai during 1901, but it was all condemned when it reached the Honolulu market, owing to the alleged careless manner in which it had been prepared. It is very probable that with proper care a considerable trade could be built up by the fishermen who live in localities from whence fresh fish can not be shipped.

Limu (alga).—The natives are great lovers of limu, and the gathering of it for market forms quite a profitable business for numbers of women and children. It is prepared by rolling it into balls 2 or 3 inches in diameter, squeezing the water out, and sprinkling lightly with salt. Many varieties of algae are found around the islands, but only a few are used for food. Among these are limu lipoa, limu eleele, limu pakaeleawaa, limu manauea, limu lipeepee, limu lipaakai.

Fish Markets and the Handling of Fishery Products.

There are six fish-market houses on the islands, one each at Honolulu (Oahu), Hilo (Hawaii), and Wailuku (Maui), and three at Lahaina (Maui). In addition, peddlers with small carts and on the backs of jackasses retail fish throughout the sections of inhabited country which are not convenient to the markets or to the fisheries. There is great room for development in this phase of the business, however, as the inhabitants of some of the more inaccessible villages rarely have an opportunity to purchase fresh fish. [page 751]

Honolulu.

Previous to 1851 the only market place for fish, vegetables, etc., was an open space in the vicinity of the present location of the Honolulu Iron Works. In 1851 the first regular market house for the sale of fishery products was erected on the wharf, and a law passed May 12 of the same year provided that this building and the adjacent grounds seaward of Pulaholaho, belonging to the Government, should be the public market. By a later act, under date of June 25, 1855, the space between the old flour mill and the water, at the west end of Queen street, was reserved for a market.

In 1890 the present market house was erected on the square bounded by Alakea, Richards, Halekauwila, and Allen streets, at a cost, including the value of the land, of \$155,000. It is built almost entirely of iron, and is open on all sides except one, where there are a number of closed booths for the sale of fruit, vegetables, meat, etc. In design and workmanship this building is one of the best in the United States. The stalls all have wooden sides with marble tops. There is always plenty of fresh water, and the drainage facilities are of the very best. Its location, about 100 yards from the wharf where the Japanese fishermen land, also is convenient. The market is owned by the territorial government, which pays the salaries of the officials in charge of it. The market keeper, who is also the fish inspector, receives a salary of \$30 per month as keeper and \$60 per month as inspector. There are also an assistant market keeper at \$25 per month, an



assistant fish inspector at \$40 per month, and one laborer at \$1.25 per day. All fishery products must be sold in the market house, as hawking through the streets of the city is not permitted. All fish must be inspected before they go upon the stalls, and the market is open every week day and up to 9 a. m. on Sunday.

There are 20 stalls for the sale of fresh fishery products, with rents varying from \$15 to \$30 per month, according to the location. Only 15 of these stalls were occupied in 1900. Of this number 11 were run by Chinese, 3 by Japanese, and 1 by natives, the total number of persons employed, exclusive of the market officials, being 40 Chinese, 6 Japanese, and 2 natives. The usual wage of the help is \$12 to \$15 per month, including food and lodging. In addition, 6 stalls were occupied by 6 native women on Saturday, and sometimes Sunday morning, for the sale of *limu* (algae). The charge for these tables is 50 cents on Saturday and 25 cents on Sunday. Three stalls also were devoted to the sale of dried fish from the island of Hawaii during most of the week, and were run by three native women. On a few days in the week when fish are scarce certain of the dealers sell also pickled California salmon, for which they pay an additional license fee of \$10 per year.

The fishermen bring their catch to the market at whatever hour is convenient to them, and the dealers sell for them on a basis of 10 per cent commission. Fish brought in prior to noon must be sold before the market closes the same evening, but if brought in after noon and not sold before night they can be kept in a cold-storage house close by, at a cost to the owner of 2 cents per pound, and be placed on the stalls again the next morning; in that event, however, they must be distinguished by a small placard bearing the words "iced fish." The inspector is directed [page 752] by law to pass upon all fish before they are placed upon the stalls, and can condemn any tainted fish either then or afterward. It is the custom to make frequent inspections of the fish after they go upon the stalls, as they soon become tainted in that trying climate. Owing to the cost of ice, none is used around the market house...

In addition to the fresh fish sold in 1900, about 72,000 pounds of pickled salmon, with a selling value of \$9,000; 9,125 pounds of dried fish, with a selling value of \$1,141, and about 18,000 pounds of *limu*, worth \$2,340, were marketed.

The leaves of the *ki* plant (*Taetsia terminalis*), which are 10 to 15 inches long and oblong in shape, and are cut with a part of the stem left on, are used for wrapping fish in the markets. The fish is laid across the narrow part of the leaf, the end of which is turned tightly over it and wound around the stem, and then tucked in, the stem forming a handle by which to carry the package. The wrapping is done so skillfully that it rarely works loose. With the larger packages two or three leaves are used. The *ki* plant grows on the mountain side near Honolulu, and is cut and brought to town by natives. The dealers pay about 25 cents for a package of 100 of the leaves.

The market at Honolulu is the principal one on the islands and has the largest population tributary to it. Quite complete weekly reports of the fish sold are made to the board of health by the inspector.

The most noticeable feature in this market is the extremely high price charged for fishery products, exceeding any other retail market of the United States, and possibly of the world. But few of the better grade of fishes sell for less than 25 cents per pound, some selling for as much as 35 cents per pound. All fish are sold by number, but they have been reduced to pounds in the general statistical tables presented herewith, and the prices computed accordingly, so as to conform to data collected in other sections of the United States. *Amaama*, the commonest species, sell for an average of 25 cents per pound, or 8 1/3 cents each, and *ula* (crawfish) for 20 cents each, or 10 cents per pound. In The Polynesian, of Honolulu, under date of September 7, 1844, *amaama* are quoted at



37 to 50 cents per dozen, other fish 3 to 6 cents per pound, and ula at 6 1/4 cents each, showing quite a difference between the prices then and now.

There are a number of reasons given for this condition of affairs, the principal ones being as follows:

1. Owing to the impossibility of keeping the catch in a fresh condition more than 24 to 48 hours, the fishermen try not to take more than can easily be sold, and, because of this, gluts—the principal causes of low prices—rarely occur.
2. Owing to the insufficient transportation facilities there is but little opportunity to bring to a market where there is a scarcity the overplus of another. The island of Oahu has advantages over the others in this respect, as there is a railroad which skirts the western and northern shores for nearly one-half the circumference of the island. This permits of the rapid and cheap transportation of fish from the various places along the railroad to Honolulu, and has been of great assistance in [page 753] developing the fisheries of these places. The fishermen on the eastern and southern sides of the island, however, are still compelled to bring their catch to the market in carts and as a result bring in only the higher-priced species.
3. The fish ponds are principally in the hands of two Chinese firms of Honolulu, and these firms, by working in harmony and having control of the principal source of supply of the amaama and awa for a considerable part of the year, are enabled to keep up the prices for these species.
4. The Japanese now do the greater part of the line fishing for the Honolulu market, and they have organized a company, including most of the fishermen of that nationality, with the object, among other things, of securing as high prices as possible for their catch.
5. The indiscriminate use of fine-meshed seines has undoubtedly caused a falling off in the catch, although to what extent is a rather difficult problem to solve, owing to the lack of statistical data for previous years.
6. Shortly after the fall of the monarchy a boom in the islands, especially in Honolulu, caused the prices of everything to rise. The price of sugar has largely controlled everything on the islands, and as this has been quite high for some years it has accordingly affected the prices of other commodities. This boom is on the wane now, and it is probable that conditions will become more normal in the course of a few years.

Hilo.

The market house at Hilo, which is owned by private interests, was opened for business on April 1, 1899. During 1900 the number of stalls occupied was 27, the rents of which varied from \$5 to \$15 per month. These stalls were not occupied continuously, however, dealers frequently giving up their business after a week or a month. There are 32 stalls in all. The persons employed around the market numbered 22 Chinese, 18 Japanese, and 14 natives. During the summer of 1901 a syndicate of Chinese and Japanese bought up the stalls and began to take advantage of their position by shutting out the other dealers and compelling the fishermen to sell to them at a low price. There was of course no limit to what they could charge the townspeople, as fish could not be sold on the streets. As a result, a number of fishermen carried their catch by carts to Oloo, about 11 miles away, and established a temporary market there.

The territorial government leased the market in August, 1901, and this broke up the combination. An inspector was appointed also, who will have complete charge of



everything about the market. Previously there was no inspection, and large quantities of tainted fish were foisted upon the people.

As at Honolulu, every effort is made to dispose of the catch the same day that it comes in, as no ice is used. Owing to the heavy surf close to the market house the fishing boats can not land there, and are compelled to go to Waiakea, a suburb of Hilo, about a mile away. The fishing boats usually land here during the morning and are immediately boarded by the dealers, who begin to dicker for the catch. When a boat with a large catch comes the confusion is excessive, as Japanese, Chinese, Portuguese, Hawaiian, English, and variations of these languages are hurled back and forth, each man trying to outdo every other in the amount of noise made. [page 754]

Everything is on a cash basis, the successful buyer counting down the money at once and removing the fish, which are taken to the market by carriers with baskets slung over their shoulders on poles, and by carts. The principal selling time at the market is in the afternoon, after the dealers have returned from Waiakea.

Wailuku.

The market house at Wailuku is a small building with only 5 stalls, which are run by 2 Chinese and 5 natives, and is owned by a private individual. The market house, with land, is valued at about \$1,500. Most of the fish sold here are brought from Kahului, a few miles away, while some *amaama* come from the island of Molokai. The market has no government supervision, which it needs.

Lahaina.

The principal market house at Lahaina is owned by the government and is valued at about \$6,000, including the land. It contains 6 stalls, which rent at \$3 per month. These were run in 1900 by 1 American, 4 Japanese, and 4 natives. Close by are 2 private stalls, which were operated by 4 Japanese. In addition, in 1900, there were 2 private fish markets in town, with a total valuation of \$650. These contained 6 stalls, which were run by 4 Chinese, 4 Japanese, and 4 natives. The greater portion of one of these was destroyed by fire in the early part of 1901 and has not since been rebuilt.

There is no inspector at Lahaina, although one is very much needed, as the sale of tainted fish, particularly by the Japanese, is quite common. Lahaina is the principal market for the disposal of the fish taken by the fishermen on Molokai and Lanai.

The number of persons employed at these markets has not been shown in the general statistical tables in this report.

The Wholesale Trade.

The wholesale trade in fishery products is carried on in two cities—Honolulu and Hilo—and, owing to the constant demand for such articles from the sugar plantations, is very profitable. A few of the plantations purchase their supplies direct, and these are not included in the following table. None of the firms is engaged exclusively in this business, all being principally wholesale grocery firms.

Honolulu leads in the wholesale trade in every particular. In 1900 she had 9 firms, employing 73 persons, and a total investment, including wages paid, of \$348,380 in 1900, while Hilo had 5 firms, with 30 employees, and a total investment of \$161,745, including wages.

Salmon is the principal product handled, followed by sardines, cod, oysters, lobsters, mullets, and shrimp, in the order named. The total value of all products handled amounted to \$359,965. [page 755] 1876 they amounted to only \$17,891.81. Under



reciprocity the imports rapidly increased, until in 1899 they amounted to \$120,374.83, the greater part of which came from the United States...

Fishery Exports.

Owing to the large home demand, the islands have exported but little. The *beche-de-mer* and sharks' fins have usually been shipped to China or to the Chinese residents in California, while the gold-fish were sent to California, where they were probably used for ornamental purposes. The exporting was carried on in a small way during the period from 1853 to 1876, though in some years nothing was shipped... [page 758]

General Statistics.

...The island of Oahu leads all the others in almost every phase of the industry, followed by Hawaii, Maui, Kauai, Molokai, Lanai, and Niihau in the order enumerated.

The Hawaiians predominate in the fisheries, followed in the order named by the Japanese, Chinese, South Sea Islanders (people from the Gilbert and Marquesas islands), Americans, and Portuguese. The total number of persons employed in 1900 was 2,345. This does not include the persons engaged in the wholesale trade of Honolulu and Hilo, or the persons engaged in the various fish markets, as these have been shown elsewhere.

Oahu led in total investment, with \$200,544. Hawaii was a poor second, with \$25,172 of total investment. The total investment for all the islands was \$272,591.

So far as quantity of catch is concerned, *akule* led, but in value *amaama* was first. Other leading species were *malolo, ulua, aku, oio, awa, moano, kawakawa, opelu, opihi, and ula.* Oahu leads all the other islands in quantity and value of catch, followed by, Hawaii, Maui, Kauai, Molokai, Lanai, and Niihau, in the order named. The total catch for all the islands amounted to 6,222,455 pounds, valued at \$1,083,646. [page 760]

The *malolo* catch was confined almost entirely to Oahu, only 3,080 pounds being secured on Hawaii and Molokai. *Oau* and *olepa* were taken only in the fisheries of the island of Oahu. *Lolohau, nohupinao, okuhekuhe, wolu, frogs, ounauna alealea* and *pa* were taken only on Hawaii, while the carp and *puuili* catch was confined solely to Kauai. *li, pakaikawale, puwalu, and loli* were taken only on Maui.

A remarkable feature of the fisheries was that but five species—*aku, oio, uku, ulaula, and ulua*—were taken commercially on all of the islands. It is possible that some of the others are also to be found around all of the islands, but are not sought for commercially... [page 761]

The Fish Situation in Hawaii (1930)

In 1930, H. L. Kelly, Chief Warden of the Territorial Fish and Game Commission, presented a paper before the Pan-Pacific Research Association, titled, "The Fish Situation in Hawaii." A condensed form of the paper was published in the Hawaiian Annual of 1931. Kelly, who came to take the position with the Fish and Game Commission in 1920, highlighted many issues associated with commercial fishing—looking at it from the perspective of economics. Importantly, he also discussed the tradition and practices of fishing in Hawaiian culture, and observed that Hawaiian were perhaps the greatest fishermen on earth, and that their management system was a "*very proper method and suited their times perfectly*" (Kelly 1931:45). In the same sentence, Kelly also observed that in the evolving economic venue of management, that the Hawaiian system was not capable of "*keeping the modern markets supplied*" (ibid.). Kelly wrote:



Possibly there is no other place in the world where commercial fishing is burdened with so many problems as right here in Hawaii. I believe we have most all that are common to the work in other places, besides a number of special problems that are strictly a local product.

Among the latter probably the most important is the bait problem. In most places the price of bait is fairly reasonable, and as a rule a simple matter to get, and having gotten his bait the fisherman proceeds to his fishing. Not so in Hawaii. Here bait must be caught to catch other bait in order to catch fish; also it costs four or five times as much as in most other places.

First it is necessary to catch several thousand *nehu* or *iao*. These fish when full grown are about three inches long and are usually [page 39] found in the little bays and inlets close inshore. They have to be caught alive, and very fine-meshed nets are required for this work. The fish must be handled very carefully when transferred from the seine to water compartments in the row boat. They are then taken to the sampan, where they are placed in bait-wells which are constructed purposely for carrying them alive. Sometimes it requires half a day or more to catch enough of these little fish to make it worth while to start for the *aku* grounds.

Grounds, however, is rather misleading, as *aku*, the ocean bonito, are pelagic fish which roam the ocean lanes at their own free will. They are found one place today, and tomorrow no place at all, or many miles from it.

Once I was out with an *aku* boat for three days and nights. The crew, consisting of eight men and the captain, spent fully half the time catching bait, much of it being caught at night, while the other half of the time was spent in searching the wide ocean for schools of *aku*. Figure for yourselves how much time that left the men for eating, sleeping, or recreation.

In the three days they succeeded in catching 1200 pounds of *aku*. They received five cents a pound, \$60.00. It is a little awkward to divide this by nine, and three, to find out that each man's share was a few cents over \$2.00 per day. However, the men did not have to go to this trouble, as food, gas, oil and other expenses amounted to more than \$60, so each man's share was nothing for his three day's work.

You can judge from this that *aku* catching is no sinecure, or that any great fortunes are made in this work. In order to make it pay the fishermen must average approximately five cents a pound, and that is a high price for bait.

The *aku* is used by the deep-sea fishermen to catch *ulua*, *opakapaka*, and other fishes commonly found in the markets. From this you will see the bait question is not only a problem, but rather an expensive one for our fishermen.

Another local problem and one that is entitled to serious consideration is the fact that commercial fishing plays a more important part in the welfare of the territory than most people seem to think—also that it is hanging by a pretty small thread.

If the fishermen of Oregon were to go on a strike, or anything happened to prevent their bringing in fish, the markets could be [page 40] easily supplied from California or Washington waters. Or if for any reason the fishermen of California, Oregon and Washington all refused to continue operations, the markets could be supplied with fish from British Columbia, Mexico, or the East Coast. But if our fishermen should go on a strike there would be no fresh fish for our markets. Fish shipped from the coast and which has been on ice eight or ten days is better than no fish at all; at the same time we do not relish the thought nor the flavor so well as when it is only a day or two out of the



water. Another thought in this connection is the fact that fresh fish is a more important item of diet in our climate than it is on the coast, considering the greater abundance of fruits and vegetables they have to draw on.

Not only are we depending on aliens to supply us with fresh fish, but we are doing nothing to replace the fishermen who, because of old age or death, are lost to the work. Each year the number grows less. No more of these men are allowed to be brought into the country, and few of the men born here will engage in the work. Why? In the first place because the pay is too poor; second, because the work is so hard and dangerous; and third, because the people and the government show no real sympathy for fishermen as a class—that is, no real effort has been made to help improve conditions for them, or train our own nationals for the work. We have schools where students can learn the various phases of land farming, but we have neglected to do the same for water farming. We need schools to train men in fisheries work. Before this can be done you, and the other influential people of the territory, must wake to a realization of the importance of the work and petition the legislature for necessary aid.

Undoubtedly the biggest problem, and one which is met with every place, is the consumer's belief that fish should sell at a very low price. People, generally speaking, who pay high prices for fruits, meats, vegetables and other commodities without complaint, will haggle over the price of fish.

My work as special agent for the Bureau of Fisheries during the war, took me pretty much all over the United States. Wherever I went, east, west, north or south, people and papers criticized fishermen and dealers, and not infrequently charged them with profiteering. [page 41]

People continually complain to me about the high prices, but never once have I heard any credit given dealers for some of the low prices. I think you will rarely find roe selling for less than fifty cents on the mainland, yet I frequently buy it here for fifteen or twenty, and never remember an instance where a dealer asked over thirty cents. You must admit that is pretty cheap for anything as rich and delicious as roe. And some of the roe found here I prefer to any shad roe I have ever eaten.

Another thing: practically all the complaints I have heard came from haoles, or Hawaiians, who could really afford to pay the prices asked, 40c or 50c a pound, 75c at most. I have seen Chinese and Japanese pay \$1.00, \$1.50, and even \$3.50 for fish without any grouching, unless it was because there were so few pounds to buy.

I am not sure what the average retail price is, but I believe it does not exceed 30c—certainly not over 35c. I'm not talking about mullet, or the particular kind of fish some individual prefers to buy. I'm giving you the average for all kinds.

How many ever stop to consider that fish is an unusually high grade food, comparable to game? That it is a delicacy as well as a health food. It is rare that we have a chance to buy game, but when we can, we usually consider ourselves in big luck if it does not cost over \$1.00 per pound.

Why is it that so many people seem to feel that to buy fish cheaply is virtually an inalienable right?

My answer to this question is, that prior to the development of cold storage facilities fishermen had to get rid of their catch with the least possible delay. Dealers took advantage of this, the reason for which was not always dictated by greed. Fish is a perishable product which the dealer must dispose of quickly. Fish also frequently run in



large schools, and one load may follow another so shortly that a dealer may find that he, after buying fish at 20c, has to compete against others who have paid 10c or less.

In illustration: A few years ago a fisherman made a big haul of *akule*, about 6,000 pounds. He knew this was more than the market could handle, and that if he tried to sell it all at one time, he would get but a low price. He therefore first sent in about 2,000 pounds, which the dealers bid up to 36 cents. Half an hour later he sold a second lot for 20 cents, and a little later he sold the re- [page 42] mainder at 16 cents. The last dealer was able to sell his fish at .20 cents, or nearly half what the first dealer had paid. The first dealer lost a hundred or more dollars, the second also lost considerable, whereas the third broke about even. The first two had sold considerable fish before the third got his; the demand fell off, and he, too, had to carry over a large portion two or three days before he was able to sell it all.

We thus see that the dealers occasionally get their fingers burnt, and this makes them cautious in buying. In turn they have to set a price to insure their goods moving quickly.

This gives a fairly clear picture why fish sold at such low prices prior to our modern cold storage plants.

The fact that the fishermen had to sell, and because fish so frequently run in such large schools that fishermen were able to earn a living by selling for a few cents a pound pretty well established the idea that fish were and always would be cheap. During the war, the food administration advertised: "Eat fish, they're cheap, they feed themselves." Never were truer words spoken than "They feed themselves."

Game birds and animals also feed themselves, and by the same token, they, too, should be cheap. But we know they are not. Why? Because game is hard to get. Even when plentiful, it costs time and money to get and deliver to the markets.

The same is true of fish, here and elsewhere. Here in Hawaii it costs more to catch fish than any other place I know about. One reason for this is that whereas we have over 700 species, there is no great abundance of anyone kind. You can readily see that it would cost less to harvest a thousand acres all in wheat than if the land was divided into fifty-acre lots, each with a different crop. The same principle applies to fishing.

Another reason is that we do not have a large supply when all varieties are included. This is due to low fertility of the water, or poor pasturage, we may say.

The animal life of the waters depends on vegetation, the same as animal life of the land. Vegetation requires sunlight. Sunlight sufficiently strong to stimulate vegetable growth does not extend to any great depth in the water. Shoals, therefore, are necessary for a luxuriant growth of marine vegetation.

A chart of these islands shows that shoals in these waters are [page 43] conspicuous by their non-existence. In fact the depths are so great that we realize that the islands are merely the peaks of some very high mountains extending many thousands of feet above the floor of the ocean. A few miles off shore from Oahu, except towards Molokai, the chart shows soundings from 6,000 to 18,000 feet.

Doubtless there are fish down there, quantities of them, but fish so strangely hideous in appearance that we would hesitate eating them should the fishermen catch them. But even if plentiful and good to eat, they could not be cheap, owing to the great cost to catch them, as it would take quite a few minutes to lower a baited line down and haul fish up from a depth of six or seven thousand feet.



Fish caught at any great depth become perfectly helpless, or actually die long before reaching the surface, to become an easy prey for sharks, as frequently happens, before the fishermen can bring them to gaff.

Still another reason for the higher prices here is the fact that in the comparatively little shoal water found about the islands there are so many coral heads and lava outcroppings that nets or seines can be used in but few places, making it necessary to catch practically all our fish with hook and line; a slow, expensive process, comparatively.

Another problem to be considered in connection with the work here is the fact that practically all the fishing is done and controlled by Japanese. This is not pleasing to either the Hawaiian or the *haole*, who make up the legislature. They dislike to pass laws which will benefit aliens.

In my opinion no people ever lived who had a more intimate knowledge of fish and their habits, and knew so well how to catch them as the Hawaiians. I am speaking of the older generation, and who were undoubtedly the greatest fishermen in the world. They knew their habits, waited until they would school, or they would induce them to do this by feeding them up for days or even weeks. When the time was ripe a great haul would be made, and enough taken for everybody to have fish for many days. To have made another haul the following day would have been a waste of time and food, so they did not bring in more until the fish were needed. [page 44]

It thus became a custom to fish only when actually necessary, and in the course of centuries it became inherent in the Hawaiians to do the work in this way, a very proper method and suited their times perfectly, but not so for keeping the modern markets supplied, therefore the Japanese, already trained for the work, soon got control of the commercial fishing. Naturally the Hawaiians resented this, and the Japanese have been criticized and charged with the high price of fish prevailing here.

The Hawaiians are entitled to sympathy, but it is unfair to blame the Japanese for doing a necessary work no one else would do, nor is it fair to blame them for the price of fish. But people have done so, and because of this it has been hard to get laws enacted. Any measure designed to help increase the supply of fish, of necessity benefits the fishermen. Therefore some of the legislators have fought measures they believed were framed to help the Japanese fishermen. I do not blame the legislature, nor the Hawaiians, nor should the Japanese fishermen be blamed either. Nevertheless, it does make a problem the like of which I doubt exists any other place.

Statistics gathered by the Fish and Game Division of the Board of Agriculture and Forestry during the last five years, indicate that fishermen are not averaging more than \$50 a month. These figures are not off more than \$10 or \$15, at most, yet for the sake of argument, say the average income is \$75.00 per month. But ordinary laborers working on the road average close to \$100. They work only eight hours a day, have no investment, there is no particular risk attached to their work, nor does it require any special training or intelligence.

Commercial fishing, on the contrary, requires intelligence and years of training for success. The hours are long, and the work dangerous to life and property to a high degree (three men and seven boats were lost last winter). Money invested by fishermen in some instances does not amount to a great deal, but in many cases it runs into thousands of dollars: one of the boats recently built cost \$20,000. How many people do you know willing to invest such an amount where the risk is so great?



Much has been said about the fish trust and how it boosts the price of fish here. Does it seem logical that there can be a trust [page 45] of any commodity to which everyone is free to help himself, and free to sell wherever he wishes at whatever price he chooses?

I have been here in fisheries work for over ten years, and whereas I have heard much about the fish trust, I have never yet seen anything to convince me there is one. But possibly I am standing in with the fish trust, so let us look at the figures and hear a higher authority on the subject.

I quote from a report by David Starr Jordan; Warren B. Evermann and John N. Cobb, printed in the U. S. Fish Commission Bulletin of 1903. These men made a thorough investigation of the fisheries here in 1900. "The most noticeable feature in this market (Honolulu) is the extremely high price charged for fishery products, exceeding any other retail market in the United States, and possibly in the world." Again: "But few of the better grades of fish sell for less than 25 cents, some selling for as much as 34 cents per pound." This was thirty years ago. I saw no mention of a fish trust to account for these high prices, nor could it be charged to the Japanese, as at that time Hawaiians outnumbered, the Japanese 3 to 1.

According to the above report, the fishermen averaged about 17 cents a pound for their fish. Today, according to the best figures obtainable, the fishermen are not getting over 15 cents. The retail prices in 1900 averaged 25 cents; today, I believe it is about 30 cents, or not over 35 cents. Taking the latter as the correct figure, would mean an increase of 40 per cent in 30 years, whereas milk, which 25 to 30 years ago was 10 and 15 cents per quart, is today quoted at 20 and 30, or 100 per cent increase.

In the same report I noted the fish inspector was paid a salary of \$60 a month, and the assistants \$40; today inspectors are paid \$125 to \$150. Had there been the same advance in fishery work as in other things, the fishermen would be getting not less than 30, cents, and the retail price would average not less than 50 cents pound. That they have not done so is conclusive evidence that there is no trust, or it has done a very poor job of boosting prices in proportion to other commodities and work. [Kelly 1931:46]

Konohiki Fishing Rights (1954)

As Hawai'i drew near statehood, the matters regarding fisheries and the noticeable decline of fisheries remained unresolved. In 1954, the territorial legislature requested a study be made (Request No. 3642), and Richard H. Kosaki, Research Assistant, prepared Report No. 1, titled "*Konohiki Fishing Rights*" (Kosaki 1954). Kosaki report summary is cited below, as it raises several important points that remain pertinent in the present-day.

Konohiki fishing rights—private ownership rights over ocean fisheries—are unique in the eyes of English common law. However anomolous these rights may appear, they are recognized as property rights by the United States Supreme Court, and the Hawaiian Organic Act contains provisions for the registration of these rights by the territorial government.

In attempting to carry out the intent of Congress for the orderly condemnation of *konohiki* fishing rights, numerous problems have arisen: (1) It is estimated that only 100 of the 300 or 400 *konohiki* fisheries have been registered in accordance with the provisions of the Organic Act [1900]. Requirement for registration on penalty of losing the fishing right was itself challenged as a deprivation of due process but this provision has been held to be constitutional. (2) The uniqueness of and lack of precedents for *konohiki* condemnation have confronted the courts with difficulties of establishing methods of appraisal and of determining what "contents" are to be included in the valuation. (3) In



konohiki fishing, not only owners but certain tenants of their lands also have rights of piscary. The questions of just compensation, if any, for tenants remains.

In the past there have been spurts of interest—both in the legislative and executive branches—in *konohiki* condemnation. The major obstacle to most of these condemnation campaigns seems to have been inadequate financing, often accompanied by doubts on whether such expenditure of public funds will yield benefits commensurate with the cost.

An argument often used against *konohiki* condemnation runs to the effect that private fisheries serves as much needed conservation areas for a rapidly declining inshore marine food supply. A contraargument is that *konohiki* condemnation is only part of the entire problem of the conservation and beneficial utilization of natural resources, and that this may best be met when all ocean fisheries are under public control. [Kosaki 1954:Executive Summary]

“I ha‘aheo no ka lawai‘a i ka lako i ka ‘upena!”

The fisherman may well be proud when well supplied with nets?

(Good tools help the worker to succeed.)

(Pukui 1983:125 No. 1152)



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