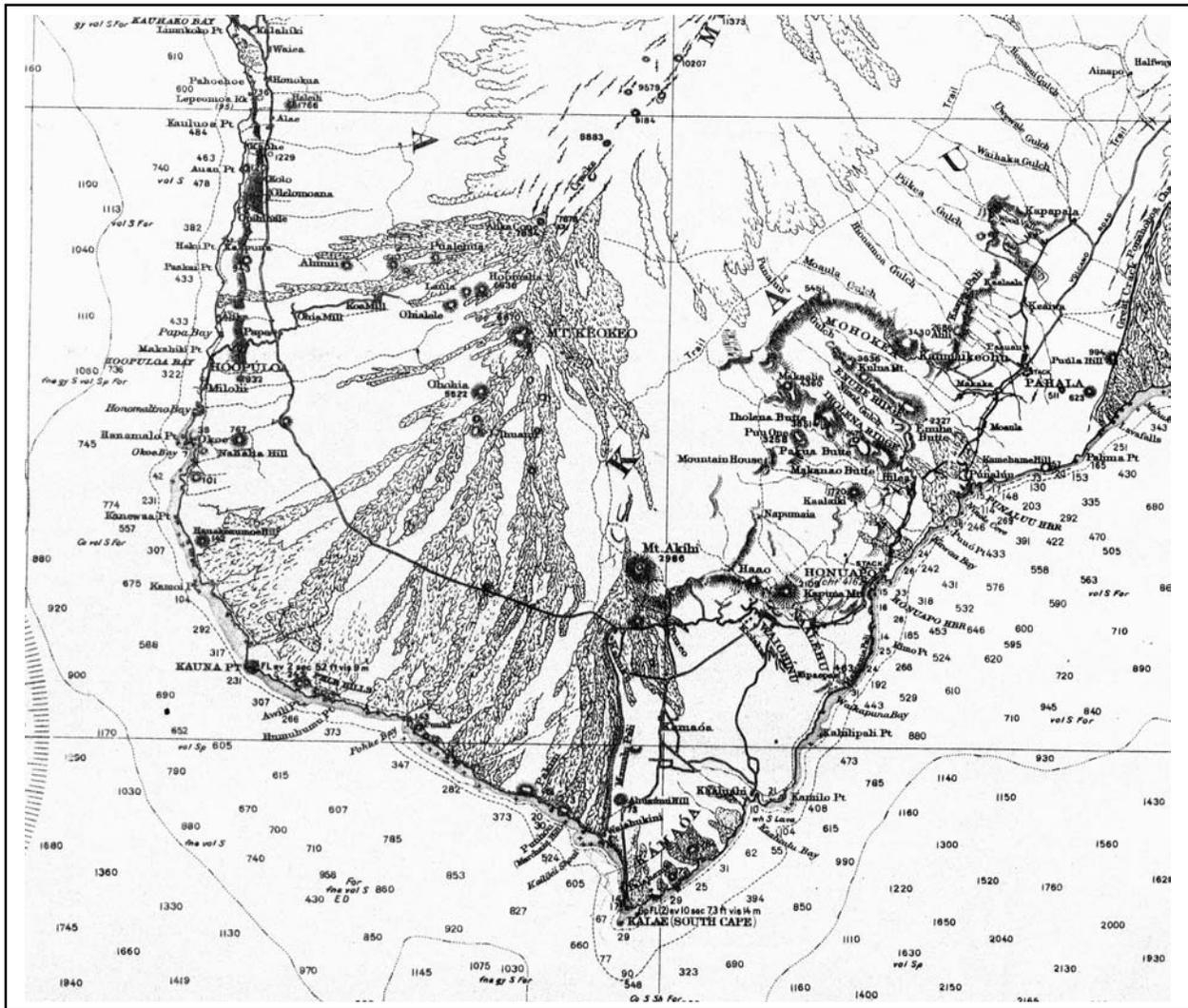


# HE WAHI MO'OLELO NO NĀ LAWAI'A MA KAPALILUA, KONA HEMA, HAWAI'I

A COLLECTION OF HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS AND ORAL  
HISTORY INTERVIEWS WITH ELDER KAMA'ĀINA  
FISHER-PEOPLE FROM THE KAPALILUA REGION OF  
SOUTH KONA, ISLAND OF HAWAI'I



Western and Southern Regions of the Island of Hawai'i (U.S. Army Map, Surveys to 1932)  
Detail of Kapalilua Region between Kauhakō to Kaunā



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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By

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Prepared for

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*The Nature Conservancy  
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**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*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The voices of *kūpuna* (elders) and *kama'āina* (those who are of the land) give life to the history of the land and acknowledge those who have come before us. Their *mo'olelo* (histories) helps us understand the value placed on the *wahi pana* (storied and sacred places), *kai lawai'a* (fisheries), traditional practices, and document changes in the condition of the resources over their lifetimes. For a detailed summary of the historical observations and recommendations of the *kūpuna-kama'āina*, pertaining to the care and management of the Hawaiian fisheries, see the section of the study titled, "*Ka Hana Lawai'a: Kama'āina Observations (ca. 1905 to 2003)*" on pages 42-43.

To each of the *kūpuna*, *kama'āina*, and others who have shared some aspect of their history, recollections, and expressions of *aloha* for the land and ocean as a part of this collection, we offer our sincerest appreciation (in alphabetical order) — Samuel Waha Pōhaku Grace; Hannah Waha Pōhaku Grace Kawa'auhau-Acia, and her *mo'opuna*, Cynthia Galieto (and family); the late Louis Kānoa Hao, Sr.; Edward T. Kananā (Ka'anā'anā); Gilbert Kahele (and *Pa'a Pono Miloli'i*); Eugene "Gino" Keawaiki Kaupiko; Walter Keli'iokekai Paulo; the late Mary Tom-Ahuna, and Glenn Ahuna (and family); Amoi Sam Choy-Yee and Norman Yee; also to The Nature Conservancy (its' patrons and dedicated staff); and The University of Hawai'i-Hawaii Conservation Alliance, all of whom helped to make development of this study possible — we say, ***Mahalo a nui!***

*Māua no ke ka ha'aha'a a me ke aloha kau palena 'ole — Kepā me Onaona.*

***O ka mea maika'i mālama, o ka mea maika'i 'ole, kāpae 'ia!***  
*(Keep the good, set the bad aside!)*

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



# CONTENTS

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<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>• 1</b>
<i>Background and Approach to Conducting the Study</i>	• 1
<i>Interview Methodology</i>	• 1
<i>Release of Oral History Interview Records</i>	• 3
<i>Contributors to the Oral History Interviews</i>	• 3
<b>KAPALILUA LANDS AND FISHERIES: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW</b>	<b>• 5</b>
<i>An Overview of Hawaiian Settlement</i>	• 5
<i>An Account of the Naming of Kolo and 'Ōlelomoana     (Human Bone Used to Make Fishhooks)</i>	• 6
<i>The Journal of Chester S. Lyman     (A Journey along the Coast of Kapalilua in 1846)</i>	• 7
<i>Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki – The Heart Stirring Story     of Ka-Miki (recorded in 1914-1917)</i>	• 9
<i>Kapalilua: Places, Features, Fisheries and Practices         Described in Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki</i>	• 10
<i>Accounts of Niuhi Shark Hunting in – “He Moolelo Kaa no     Kekuhapio, Ke Koa Kaulana o ke Au o Kamehameha ka Nui”</i>	• 20
<i>H.W. Kinney’s “Visitor’s Guide” (1913)</i>	• 24
<b>KAPALILUA – FISHERY RIGHTS AND LAND TENURE DEFINED</b>	<b>• 26</b>
<i>Māhele 'Āina: Development of Fee-Simple Property     and Fishery Rights (ca. 1846-1855)</i>	• 31
<i>Kapalilua–Boundary Commission Testimonies (ca. 1873-1882)</i>	• 36
<i>Kapalilua in Hawaiian Kingdom Survey Records</i>	• 38
<b>FAMILIES OF KAPALILUA IN THE PRESENT-DAY</b>	<b>• 41</b>
<b>KA HANA LAWAI'A:</b>	
<b>KAMA'ĀINA OBSERVATIONS (CA. 1905 TO 2003)</b>	<b>• 42</b>
<i>Ka 'Āina me ke Kai Lawai'a – Lands and Fisheries         of Kapalilua Described in Oral History Interviews</i>	• 43
<i>Louis Kānoa Hao, Sr. (1996)</i>	• 44
<i>Mary Tom-Ahuna (1999),             with Amoi Yee (and family members)</i>	• 74
<i>Hannah Grace Kawa'auhau-Acia &amp; 'Ohana (1999)             (Interview 1)</i>	• 90
<i>Hannah Grace Kawa'auhau-Acia (2000),             and 'Ohana, makai at 'Ōlelomoana (Interview 2)</i>	• 109
<i>Hannah Grace Kawa'auhau-Acia (2000),             and 'Ohana, makai at Ho'opūloa (Interview 3)</i>	• 114



<i>Walter Keli'iokekai Paulo (2002) (Interview 1)</i>	• 137
<i>Walter Keli'iokekai Paulo (2003) (Interview 2)</i>	• 165
<i>Edward T. Ka'anā'anā (2002)</i>	• 216
<i>Eugene "Gino" Keawaiki Kaupiko (2003)</i>	• 247
<i>Samuel Kamuela Waha Pōhaku Grace (2003)</i>	• 282

<b>REFERENCES CITED</b>	• <b>309</b>
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## **ILLUSTRATIONS**

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<i>Figure 1. The Kapalilua Region, South Kona, Island of Hawai'i (U.S. Army Map, 1941; Surveys to 1932). Also Showing Ocean Depths (Source, DLNR-DOFAW)</i>	• 2
<i>Figure 2. The Lands of Waiea to Okoe, Kapalilua Region, South Kona, Island of Hawai'i (Compiled by G. Wright, 1909) Tracing of Register Map No. 2468</i>	• at end

*Unnumbered Figures—*

*Photos of interviewees and selected sites or resources described during interviews included in text.*

## **TABLES**

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<i>Table 1. Primary Interview Participants</i>	• 3
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## **INTRODUCTION**

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### ***Background and Approach to Conducting the Study***

This volume, compiled at the request of Scott Atkinson on behalf of The Nature Conservancy, includes excerpts from selected historical records and oral history interviews with elder *kama'āina* of the Kapalilua region of South Kona on the island of Hawai'i. The area traditionally identified as Kapalilua extends from the Keālia-Ho'okena section of Kona to Kaulanamauna, situated on the Kona boundary of Ka'ū, and includes the lands of Pāpā, Ho'opūloa, and Miloli'i (*Figure 1*).

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 such 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 for cultural impact assessment studies, 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).

The selected historical documentary research cited in this volume represents the findings of 15 years of research by Kepā Maly, and provides readers with access to several important sources of documentation pertaining to native Hawaiian use and management of land and fishery resources. Documentation from — traditional lore (some translated herein by Maly); native land records of the *Māhele 'Āina*, including documentation covering the period from ca. 1819 to 1855; the Boundary Commission Testimonies of native witnesses ca. 1870 to 1880; Kingdom and Government communications (ca. 1850-1900); and historical journals are cited.

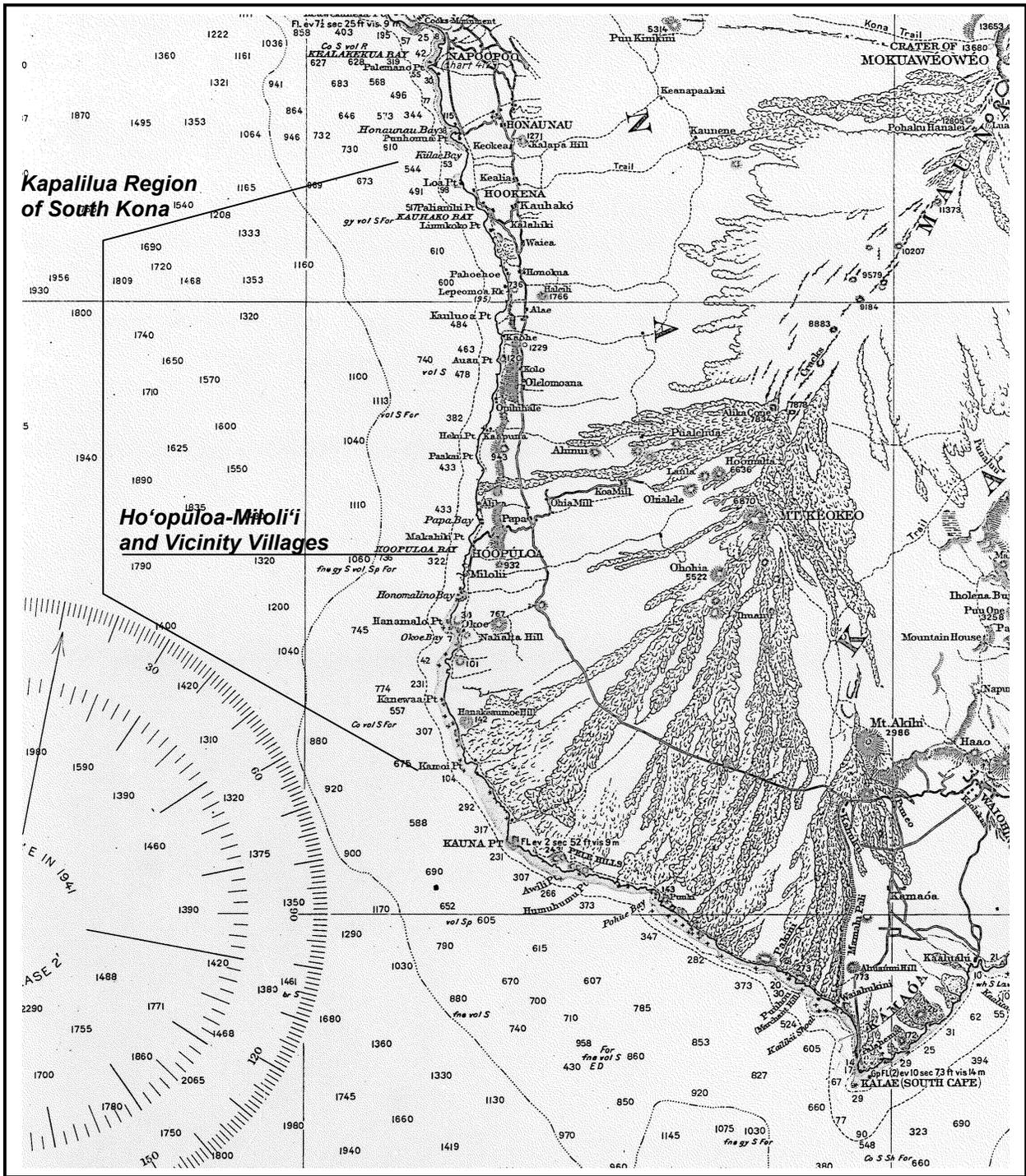
The primary interviewees were born between 1899 to 1931, and are, or were all native residents of the Kapalilua lands, and are descended from families with generations of residency on their lands. All of the interviewees were brought up in families that fished in the traditional system, observing ancient customs and beliefs, and fished as a means of survival and sustaining their families. Their recollections and descriptions of practices, span their own life-times, and draw in the knowledge and expertise of their own elders, dating back to the 1840s.

Six of the primary interviews were conducted between 1996 to 2002, prior to initiation of the Nature Conservancy study. Both follow-up and new interviews were conducted with four interviewees as a part of the present study. All of the interviewees shared personal knowledge—either in native beliefs, traditions, customs and practices; the locations of, and types of fish caught; or about the changing conditions of the resources—in Hawaiian fisheries.

### ***Interview Methodology***

All of the oral history interviews cited in this volume were performed in a manner consistent with Federal and State laws and guidelines for such work. 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 they describe at given areas around the Hawaiian Islands; (2) identified the time and/or place of specific events being described (when appropriate, locational information was recorded on one or more historic maps); (3) recorded interviews were transcribed and returned to interviewees for





**Figure 1. The Kapalilua Region, South Kona, Island of Hawai'i (U.S. Army Map, 1941; Surveys to 1932). Also Showing Ocean Depths (Source, DLNR-DOFAW)**

review, correction, and release; and (4) copies of the final oral history study, will be provided to each primary interviewee or their families.

Each of the interviewees in the primary study were given a packet of historic maps (dating from the 1850s to the early 1900s), and during the interviews, selected maps were also referenced. When appropriate, the general location of sites referenced were marked on the maps. During the process of review and release of the interviews, further 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); and further site specific information was recorded (either electronically or through detailed notes). Thus, the final released transcripts supercede the original recorded documentation.

In selecting interviewees, the authors followed several standard criteria for selection of those who might be most knowledgeable about the study area. Among the criteria were:

1. The interviewee's genealogical ties to early residents of lands within or adjoining the interview area;
2. The interviewee's genealogical ties to early residents of lands within or adjoining the interview area;
3. Age. The older the informant, the greater the likelihood that the individual had personal communications or first-hand experiences with even older, now deceased Hawaiians and area residents; and
4. An individuals' identity in the community as being someone possessing specific knowledge of lore or historical wisdom pertaining to the lands, families, practices, land use, and subsistence activities in the study area.

Readers are asked to keep in mind that while this component of the study records a depth of cultural and historical knowledge of the lore, traditional and customary practices associated with fisheries; and the changing conditions of the aquatic resources; the documentation is incomplete. In the process of conducting oral history interviews, it is impossible to record all the knowledge or information that the interviewees possess. Thus, the records provide readers with only glimpses into the stories being told, and of the lives of the interview participants. The author/interviewer has made every effort to accurately relay the recollections, thoughts and recommendations of the people who shared their personal histories in this study.

### ***Release of Oral History Interview Records***

All of the formal recorded interviews were transcribed<sup>1</sup> and the draft transcripts returned (with the recordings) to the interviewees. Follow up discussions were also conducted in review of the draft-transcripts, and the review process sometimes resulted in the recording of additional narratives with the interviewees, and modifications to the interview transcripts. Following completion of the interview process, all of the participants in the tape recorded interviews gave Maly their permission to include the interviews in this study, and for future reference of the documentation by Maly—some releases were given by signature, and others by verbal agreement.

In addition to copies of the complete study being given to each participant in the primary interviews, copies will be curated for reference in the collections of The Nature Conservancy, community libraries, and with appropriate review agencies.

### ***Contributors to the Oral History Interviews***

Participants in the oral history interviews cited in this collection shared personal recollections dating back to ca. 1910. They also benefited from the words of their own elders and extended family members, whose personal recollections dated back to the middle 1800s. *Table 1* below, introduces readers to the interviewees (organized by island and alphabetical order).

---

<sup>1</sup> When discernable (based on pronunciation by the speakers), diacritical marks (the glottal and macron) have been used with Hawaiian words spoken in the interview narratives. While elder native speakers do not use such marks in the written word (as they understand the context of words being used, and thus the appropriate or emphasis of pronunciation), this is not always the case with those less familiar with the Hawaiian language. Because pronunciation of place names and other Hawaiian words is integral to the traditions and perpetuation of practices, we have chosen to use the diacritical marks in this study.



**Table 1. Primary Interview Participants**

<b>Name of Interviewee</b>	<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>Year Born</b>	<b>Island and Areas Described</b>
Samuel Waha Pohaku Grace	Hawaiian	1927	Hawai'i – Miloli'i and larger Kapalilua (South Kona) region.
Hannah Waha Pōhaku Grace Kawa'auhau-Acia (and family)	Hawaiian	1917	Hawai'i – Ka'ohe-'Ōpihale ('Ōpihali) and larger Kapalilua (South Kona) region.
Edward T. Kaanaana	Hawaiian	1925	Hawai'i – Miloli'i and larger Kapalilua (South Kona) region
Eugene "Gino" Kaupiko	Hawaiian	1931	Hawai'i – Miloli'i and larger Kapalilua (South Kona) region.
Walter Keli'iokekai Paulo,	Hawaiian	1923	Hawai'i – Miloli'i and larger Kapalilua (South Kona) region.
Mary Tom-Ahuna (with son, Glenn Ahuna)	Chinese Hawaiian	1899	Hawai'i – Kukuiopa'e and larger Kapalilua (South Kona) region.
Amoi Sam Choy Yee (with son, Norman Yee)	Chinese	1913	Hawai'i – Pāpā-Miloli'i, South Kona.

It is requested here that all who read these interviews please respect the interviewees. Please reference the oral history narratives in their context as spoken—not selectively so as to make a point that was not the interviewee's intention. *E 'olu'olu 'oukou e nā mea e heluhelu ai i kēia mau mo'olelo 'ohana — e hana pono, a e mau ke aloha!*

Your respect of the wishes of the families and the information they have shared, will be greatly appreciated.



## **KAPALILUA LANDS AND FISHERIES: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW**

This section of the study provides readers with a collection of historical accounts documenting the nature of residency in the Kapalilua region of South Kona, citing early historical accounts, native traditions, and government land records. Among the records are those documenting fishing customs and practices. The documentation is generally presented in sub-categories and in chronological order by date of publication.

### ***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 A.D. 300, with long distance voyages occurring fairly regularly through at least the thirteenth century. It has been generally reported that the sources of the early Hawaiian population—the Hawaiian Kahiki—were the Marquesas and Society Islands (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, 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. Also, 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 and Handy 1972:287).

Over the period of several centuries, areas with the richest natural resources became populated and perhaps crowded, and by ca. 900 to 1100 A.D., the population began expanding to the *kona* (leeward side) and more remote regions of the island (Cordy 2000:130). In Kona, communities were initially established along sheltered bays with access to fresh water and rich marine fisheries. The primary “chiefly” centers of Kona were established at several locations—these being in the Kailua (Kaiakeakua) vicinity, Kahalu'u-Keauhou, Ka'awaloa-Kealakekua, and at Hōnaunau. Smaller outlying communities were established further south, in the region traditionally known as Kapalilua, at areas such as Kauhakō-Ho'okena, Ka'ohe, Pāpā, Miloli'i, Kalihi, Honomalino, and Kapu'a, with even smaller communities at areas in between the large *kulana kauhale* (village communities).

Each of the communities shared extended familial relations, and there was an occupational focus on collection of marine resources. By the fourteenth century, inland elevations to around the 4,000 foot level were being turned into a complex and rich system of dryland agricultural fields (contemporarily called the “Kona Field System” – in reality a complex of dryland cultivating grounds, developed extensively over a wide region of Kona, and used by residents of various *ahupua'a* to supply their own needs and support the larger royal communities). By the fifteenth century, residency in the uplands was becoming permanent, and there was an increasing separation of chiefly class from commoners. In the sixteenth century the population stabilized and the *ahupua'a* land management system was established as a socio-economic unit (see Kamakau 1961; Ellis 1963; Handy, Handy & Pukui 1972; Kelly 1983; and Tomonari-Tuggle 1985).

In Kona, where no streams flowed regularly to the coast, access to potable water (*wai*), was of great importance and played a role in determining the areas of settlement. The waters of Kona were found in springs and water caves (found from shore to the mountain lands), or procured from rain catchment and dewfall. Traditional and historic narratives abound with descriptions and names of water sources, and also record that the forests were more extensive and extended much further seaward than they do today. These forests not only attracted rains from the clouds and provided



shelter for cultivated crops, but also in dry times, drew the *kēhau* and *kēwai* (mists and dew) from the upper mountain slopes to the low lands (see also traditional-historical narratives and oral history interviews in this study).

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

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

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

### ***An Account of the Naming of Kolo and 'Ōlelomoana (Human Bone Used to Make Fishhooks)***

One of the earliest written accounts describing fishing customs in the Kapalilua region was recorded in 1836, by resident South Kona missionary, Cochran Forbes (this account is still told by *kūpuna* of the Kapalilua region – see oral history interview with *kupuna* Hannah Grace Kawa'auhau-Acia). In October 1836, Forbes traveled by canoe from Keālia along the coast of Kapalilua to Kapu'a. He then traveled north by foot and canoe along the coast to various villages back towards Keālia. His letter, describing the journey (in the collection of Hawaiian Mission Children's Library) provides readers with descriptions of the region, and nature of the scattered settlements along the coast:

...This morning we left Kealia before daylight in order to avail ourselves of the land breeze. Had a pleasant sail a fair wind to Kapua, some 20 miles, where we have just arrived. Perhaps there are 40 souls in all in this village, almost as dark as 20 years ago. Their children of 3 to five years old are running as stark naked as they were born...

I came by foot to the next village (Okoe) where I got together about 30 souls and I have just closed my meeting. They are civil but alas do not seem to feel their need of Christ... I have two more villages to visit & preach at tonight... Left for this place (Milolii) where a few collected in the teacher's house... Oct. 13th Left Milolii this morning by daylight and came on here to Hoopuloa the nearest village. The residents are all absent – gone up in the country for food. But found some forty here from a distant village. They have come here to get kukuis to pay their tax, laid by Gov. Adams, to finish the Kailua church. Collected them & preached to them and have just distributed tracts, there were careful to ask tracts for all their absent friends who are gone back into the country for food...

After preaching and breaking our fast on a roast fish & piece of bread we pursued our course to the next village, but the sea was so rough we could not get ashore and were



obliged to pass by that and three other villages when we came to Opihali, where with much difficulty I got ashore and preached Christ to them and distributed tracts... Leaving Opihali we came on to Olelomoana and Kolo, two villages close together but could not get ashore for the surf.

The origin of the names of these villages is worthy of notice. The first is called "Olelo moana" ie. "word of the ocean." Some fishermen of that village, a number of years ago consulted while out fishing, how they might take two helpless old men who lived along on the same land, but up back from the seashore, and make fish hooks of their bones! Thence the village was called "word or consultation of the ocean." The two old men got intelligence however before hand of the designs of their neighbors and left their dwelling, and not being able to walk, from age, they crawled to the next houses upon another land. That land received the present name ("Kolo" ie to "crawl") from that circumstance. One land is therefore called "word of the ocean" and the other "crawl." And it was the custom to make fishhooks of human bones in old times, especially of the bones of those offered in sacrifice, whose flesh was also taken for bait! ... We next came to Kaohe a small village as inaccessible as Opihali... [Forbes October 1836, in the collection of Hawaiian Mission Children's Library]

### ***The Journal of Chester S. Lyman (A Journey along the Coast of Kapalilua in 1846)***

In 1846, Chester S. Lyman, "a sometime professor" at Yale University visited the island of Hawai'i. His narratives provide readers with important documentation pertaining to the native villages and landscape in Kona, and decline of the native population in the region. The original type-written manuscript, was viewed in the collection of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library (919.69 L 98). The following excerpts penned by Lyman, describe his journey by a foot path near the shore, from Kapu'a to Kīpāhoehoe. At Kīpāhoehoe Lyman hired a canoe from the residents and continued his journey by sea to Kealakekua. Lyman's notes describe the unique method of landing canoes on the cliff-lined shore, and document that canoe making was still actively pursued in the region (oral history interviews cited in this study provide further descriptions of these activities as well). Departing from Ka'ū, Lyman descended from the upper *kula* lands to the shore of Kapalilua:

September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1846. ...The road most of the way was no road at all, but an exceedingly blind foot path, winding in various directions among the grass and lava, and utterly impossible to follow by any but a native eye. It seemed to grow rougher and rougher, and the path was very little if any "worked" or improved by leveling and laying flat stones to step on. The country generally seemed to be formed of flows of the roughest kind of clinkery lava, the irregularities being of all sizes from pebbles to up to hillocks. The way seemed long and weary, and when the sun had disappeared behind the ocean, and the shades of night were thickening around, we had but just attained a rough eminence from which Kapua was visible still some 3 or 4 miles distant...The great advantage of traveling over clinkery lava by night is that the darkness makes the path all appear smooth and even, and you are saved the trouble of selecting places for your feet... At 8 o'clock I reached Kapua, which is rather pleasantly situated on a cove of the sea. It is on one of the clinkery flows, and the region around is very rough. I proceeded at once to the beach, and enjoyed the luxury of a bath, after which I went to the house where I was to stop near the beach, and took my supper and made preparations for sleeping... I here for a real (12 ½ cents) bought a fine watermelon, which was delicious and refreshing...

September 4<sup>th</sup>. ...A mile from Kapua we passed the little village of Koa and mile or two further on, passing Honomalino, we came to Milolii, where there is an extensive and beautiful sand beach covered by a fine grove of cocoanuts. Here I took breakfast under their shade.



Starting on at 7:30 I passed the village of Kalihi, and at 8:30 reached Hoopuloa, where I purchased some cocoanuts and found their water very refreshing, as the sun shone hot and the morning was sultry.

In one of the villages of this region I noticed a neat Catholic church, built in the native style, with a small cross erected on the front corner of the roof... After two hours and a half of laborious and hot walking, I reached at 11:30 Kipahoehoe, a small village in a rough lava region about 9 or 10 miles from Kapua.

At this place there are three columns of lava [Napohakuloloa] separated from the shore, close together, and two of them leaning on each other – the rest of the bed of lava of which they doubtless once formed a part being washed away by the action of the sea. The height of these was I should judge over 50 feet. The strata of the original lava bed were distinctly marked. Here I found myself too lame to proceed with any comfort by land, and after taking a bath in the sea and eating dinner I hired a canoe and two men to take me to Kealakekua, about 25 miles distant.

At a quarter past one the canoe was ready, and we all embarked. The launching of the canoe in the surf is a difficult thing and one which the natives perform with great skill. Sticks of wood are laid down a few feet apart from the canoe house to the water, and over these the canoe is pushed till it reaches the surf, where luggage is put on board, and then at the right moment in relation to the rollers, which a native thoroughly understands, it is shoved off and the next moment is floating safely in deep water. The wife of my canoe-man, a short, fleshy woman, swam out several rods to see us off, and while the sail was got in order and preparations made for sailing, she was swimming around – till the light land breeze filling our white cotton sail, we shot out of the cove; and the last I saw of the woman, she was still in the water paddling towards the shore.

Our canoe was a nearly new one, finely made, about 20 or 30 feet long, and in the widest part about 12 or 15 inches broad. It has an outrigger, as is always the case with Sandwich Islands canoes, and one man was stationed on the stick joining this with the canoe to counterbalance the action of the wind on the sail and prevent the canoe's upsetting. My other Kau man, with the two belonging to the canoe, did the paddling, while a light land breeze shoved us through the water at the rate of 5 knots or so an hour. The water was nearly smooth, and the trip a pleasant one bating a little feeling of seasickness, which however was not sufficiently violent for the entertainment of the fishes... [Lyman Ms. 1846:19-21]

One additional observation by Lyman, that is of interest to the study, are his notes regarding the depopulating of the South Kona region, as a result of a severe drought:

One reason for the smallness of the congregation appears to have been the dispersion of the people in consequence of the great famine which prevailed on this side of the island for a year past. There has been a continual drought during that time, reducing every vegetable substance to tinder, in consequence of which the whole country was overrun by fire, presenting a most sublime spectacle by night and destroying many habitations.

The natives have suffered exceedingly for want of food and have been obliged to subsist on a species or two of roots, scarcely fit for food, and the few fish they could get from the sea... [Lyman Ms. 1846:23]

By 1855, the South Kona Mission Station was under the supervision of Reverend John D. Paris. One of his letters to the mission headquarters in 1855, documents the importance of fishing in the lives of the native residents of Kapalilua, and of conditions in the region:



Since our last Annual Report our Church in S. Kona has been reorganized or divided into six branches... This arrangement while it greatly augments the labors of the Pastor or Miss. Is nevertheless we think, as this people are scattered over a large extent of country, & can never all meet together, greatly beneficial to them.

The first of these Churches extends Geographically from Hokukano on the North to Onouli on the South... The other two Churches one at Kaohe & the other at Milolii. The former has 101 members the latter 140. Both these Chhs have comfortable houses to worship in. The one at Kaohe is of thatch, the one [at] Milolii is stone.

These Chhs are made up of the poor of this world & of the poor of Hawaii. Most of [the] people get a lively hood principally by fishing – their villages are mostly near the sea shore on the barren lava. Their food is cultivated back from the sea shore, the distance of from three to five miles, where the land is generally fertile & with proper culture would produce abundantly...

At Milolii. We have some good people & some of whom we stand in doubt. A few living epistles known & read of all men – some whose light shines more dimly & through many clouds & others whose light is darkness... The No. of Births in this District has been greater than in the two preceding (!) years & No. of deaths Smaller:

Births 81 — Deaths 57...

The health of the native population & foreign residents in South Kona has been during the past year unusually (!) good. We have had no Epidemics & but little sickness of any kind & comparatively but few deaths. It has been a year of peace & plenty. Our hills & valleys have been watered abundantly with the showers of heaven. The Earth has yielded its increase & the ocean abounded with fish. Some of our people we think are more diligent & industrious than in years past. More patches have been cultivated – more fields fenced – more trees planted more houses built & repaired, & more roads & paths made than in years past. In some of our Villages there is a very marked improvement about the houses & yards every thing wearing a more cheerful aspect.

We have no field waving with golden harvests (as on some other islands) but our people are multiplying their Coffee patches, & the number of Orange trees loaded with golden fruit, are rapidly increasing.

Some of the “thousand hills” are dotted over with cattle & horses; - and vast fields of barren lava, fertilized with streams of living goats... [Report of the Mission Station at Kealakekua – MHM Kealakekua 1839-1857; Mss 2a H31 Kealakekua. Paris 1855]

### ***Ka’ao Ho’oniua Pu’uwai no Ka-Miki – The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki (recorded in 1914-1917)***

It is not until the early 1900s, that we find detailed native traditions describing the lands of the Kapalilua region. In between 1914 to 1917, “*Ka’ao Ho’oniua Pu’uwai no Ka-Miki*” (The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki) was in the weekly Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Hōkū o Hawai’i*. This long and complex account was primarily recorded for the paper by Hawaiian historians John Wise and J.W.H.I. Kihe<sup>2</sup> (translators of the traditions and lore compiled by A. Fornander, 1916-1919), with contributions from others of their peers.

Through the tradition of Ka-Miki, readers learn about the origins of place names, areas of ceremonial significance, how resources were managed and accessed, and the practices of those native families

<sup>2</sup> J.W.H.I. Kihe was born in 1853, and John Wise was born in ca. 1865.



who made the lands of Kapalilua their home. While “Ka-Miki” is not entirely an “ancient” account, the authors used a mixture of local traditions, tales, and family histories in association with place names to tie together fragments of site-specific history that had been handed down among *kama’āina* (children of the land) over the generations. Also, while the personification of individuals and their associated place names (cited in this account) may not be entirely “ancient,” such place name-person accounts are common throughout Hawaiian traditions. The entire narrative includes documentation on approximately 800 named locations, and document site and community histories; describe local and regional practices both on land and on the ocean; and provide documentation on ceremonial observances and *mele* (chants).

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 Maka-’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 *alaloa* 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 Maka-’iole were empowered by their ancestress Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-u-ka (The great entangled growth of *uluhe* fern which spreads across the uplands), who was one of the myriad of body forms of the goddess Haumea, the “Earth-mother,” creative force of nature who was also called Papa or Hina. Among her many nature-form attributes were manifestations that caused her to be called upon as a goddess of priests and competitors.

The brothers traveled from North Kona, through the southern lands of the district, on their way to Ka’ū. In between October 29, 1914 to February 5, 1915, Kihe et al., provide us with important descriptions of *wahi pana* (storied and sacred places), fisheries, traditional practices, and events in the history of the lands of Kapalilua.

Readers of this *mo’olelo* and the oral history interviews cited later in this volume, will also find remarkable continuity in the accounts of native traditions and practices associated with fishing. Thus, we see that the knowledge and practices associated with them have time depth and have been carried on over the generations.

The English translations below (prepared by Maly), are a synopsis of the Hawaiian texts, with emphasis upon the main events, fisheries knowledge, and areas being discussed. The author has added diacritical marks, hyphenation, and underlining to selected names to help readers with pronunciation and identify locational references.

### ***Kapalilua: Places, Features, Fisheries and Practices Described in Ka’ao Ho’oniua Pu’uwai no Ka-Miki***

***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); he was a counselor to the *ali’i Kauhakō* and ***Pāhoehoe***, whose names are commemorated as places to this day.

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. When Ka-Miki and Maka-’iole approached the compound of the chief Kauhakō, Kahauwawaka discerned the supernatural nature of the brothers and warned the chief not to challenge them to a contest... Kauhakō did not heed the warnings of his priest, and he was killed as a result of his arrogance... Following their contest, the brothers traveled to the plantation of Kahauwawaka, and Kahauwawaka invited them to his home for a meal.



Now the house was built high atop a hillock, and it was completely surrounded by stones. The brothers understood that the reason for this was to protect the priest from attack. It was difficult to get to the house, and if someone should try to reach the priest, he would pelt them with sling stones.

While Kahauwawaka was preparing food, Ka-Miki went to fetch 'awa from the priests' garden, which was some distance upland, in the 'ōhi'a and 'ie'ie forest. Ka-Miki returned so swiftly with the 'awa that Kahauwawaka was startled and called out –

***Leina a ka manu hauli o Mākea***

The leaping of the birds startled Mākea

[This saying was used to caution one to be aware of occurrences around you, lest you be taken by surprise! (see S.M. Kamakau 1991:11-13).]

Because of Ka-Miki's startling speed, Kahauwawaka further understood the supernatural nature of his guests. Once the 'awa was prepared and the offerings made, they all ate together and drank the 'awa. The 'awa was so powerful that Maka'iole and Kahauwawaka were quickly embraced in sleep. Ka-Miki then descended 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, North Kona)." 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 'aumākua *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 'ōpelu, and in the wink of an eye, he disappeared to the uplands, arriving at a place called Pīnaonao.

The forest of **Pīnaonao** was filled with *lehua* trees, 'i'iwi and 'akakane ('apapane) birds — "moku lehua e hele ala a au i ke kai o Pīnaonao...e luhiehu ala i ka lehua mai uka lilo o ke kualono a hō'ea i nā lae kahakai kōpīpī mālie 'ia ana e nā huna kai mā'oki'oki o ka moana kai malino kupōlua i ka la'i a Ehu" (a *lehua* forest which reaches out to swim in the sea of Pīnaonao...a forest adorned with *lehua* blossoms from the upland ridges to the shore, where the *lehua* is sprinkled with the spray of the streaked ocean, the quiet dark sea in the calm of *Ehu*).

And from within the forest came the laughter of two young women, who were making *lehua* garlands. This forest region was protected and not open to anyone but these two girls, the sacred chiefesses, *Ka-lā-hiki-lani-ali'i* and *Waiea-nui-hāko'i-lani*, who were poetically referred to as "*Nā Lehua o Pīnaonao*" (The *lehua* blossoms of Pīnaonao [spoken in praise of great beauty]).



These two maidens, for whom the lands of **Kalāhiki** and **Waiea** were named, were the daughters of Pāhoehoe-nui-a-Lonohea (k) and Honokua-lau-a-lipo (w). As Ka-Miki drew near to the chiefesses he called to them, “*Eia na ‘olua kekāhi i‘a e nā kaikamāhine kui lei lehua*” (Here are some fish for the two of you maidens busily making *lehua* garlands.) The sisters were so impressed with Ka-Miki, that they urged him to stay with them in the forest. But Ka-Miki declined and departed, continuing on his way back to the house of Kahauwawaka. After preparing the ōpelu, Ka-Miki awakened Maka-‘iole and Kahauwawaka. Once again, the priest was surprised at Ka-Miki’s nature, and his ability to travel such great distances swiftly. They ate the ōpelu with *poi* made of lehua and naioea taros, and drank more ‘awa.

In the meantime, Kalāhiki and Waiea went to their parents and told them about Ka-Miki. **Honokua** sent Waiea to invite him to their compound, but when Waiea arrived at the house of Kahauwawaka she found everyone asleep. Ka-Miki heard the sweet call of Waiea, but pretended to sleep, so she returned home, and her mother Honokua went to the priests’ house. Ka-Miki awakened Kahauwawaka and Maka-‘iole and told them about meeting Kalāhiki and Waiea. Kahauwawaka told Ka-Miki about the two chiefesses, stating that few people had beheld their beauty.

Kahauwawaka discerned that Kalāhiki and Waiea wished to secure Ka-Miki as their husband, and asked that Ka-Miki allow him to act as his foster grandfather. Ka-Miki agreed. When Honokua arrived at the house of Kahauwawaka, he agreed to bring Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole to the compound of Honokua and Pāhoehoe.

The lands of **Honokua** were named for Honokua-lau-a-lipo, who was the wife of Pāhoehoe-nui-a-Lonohea. A portion of the lands known as **Pāhoehoe** were named, for this chief. Also, there is a great agricultural field in this part of Kona, known by the names of **Pāhoehoe-ku-‘ai-moku** (Pāhoehoe-who-stands-above-the-district) or **Ka-huli-a-pāhoehoe** (The-taro-top-planting-of-Pāhoehoe). And some of the *ahupua‘a* which bear the name **Pāhoehoe**, were named for the chiefess Pāhoehoe-wahine-iki-a-lani, sister of the Pāhoehoe-nui-a-Lonohea.

Pāhoehoe-wahine-iki-a-lani was married to the chief **‘Ala‘ē**, who was the *kaulana pa‘a ‘āina* (champion who secured, or maintained peace upon the land) for the chief Pāhoehoe. The great cultivated fields of Pāhoehoe-wahine-iki-a-lani were a sacred *kalo* plantation and ‘awa garden, situated in the uplands. This plantation extended from Haukālua to Ka‘ohe, where it joined the upland plantation of Pu‘epu‘e, and extended from Kukuiope‘e to Kapu‘a. The natives of Kapalilua could point out these sites to this day.

Now, when Ka-Miki, Maka-‘iole and Kahauwawaka arrived at the royal compound of Pāhoehoe and Honokua, they were warmly greeted by the chiefesses. Food was gathered from the chief’s gardens, and a feast was prepared. Ka-Miki mixed the ‘awa. Pāhoehoe was known as a chief who greatly loved, and frequently drank ‘awa. Because he drank so much ‘awa, he was also called Pāhoehoe-o-Lumilumi (Pāhoehoe of ‘awa intoxication).

Kahauwawaka presented the prayer chants, and all those gathered at the royal compound (*hālau ali‘i*), ate and drank the ‘awa prepared by Ka-Miki. Because the ‘awa was very potent, everyone fell asleep. Ka-Miki then left the royal compound and traveled upland to the *kō‘ele* (chief’s cultivated fields).

Looking about the land Ka-Miki called in a prayer chant to his ancestress (the goddess) Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka, asking her to further clear the land and prepare more *kalo* for planting —



<i>E o'u kūpuna wahine</i>	O my ancestress
<i>I ke kualono, i ke kuahiwi</i>	Upon on the mountain ridges, mountain peak
<i>I ke kuamauna</i>	And mountain tops
<i>I ka hei</i>	All knowledgeable
<i>I ka manomanowai</i>	[Ancestress] Of the multitudinous waters
<i>I ka waokele</i>	In the wet forests
<i>I ka waoakua</i>	In the region of the gods
<i>I ka 'ōhi'a lōloa</i>	The long 'ōhi'a
<i>I ka uluhe</i>	The uluhe fern
<i>I ke 'āma'uma'u</i>	The 'āma'uma'u fern
<i>I ka lā'au kala'ihī o'o i ka nahele</i>	The rigid woods of the forest
<i>Hihī a ka 'ie'ie la e</i>	The tangled 'ie'ie growth
<i>E iho e kanu i ka māla a kākou</i>	Descend and plant our garden
<i>lā Kahihī-'ie-i-ka-nahēle</i>	O deity, Tangled-growth-of-'ie'ie
<i>I ka māla 'ai a ke ali'i</i>	[Plant] the garden which the chief eats
<i>A Pāhoehoe-nui-a-Lonohea</i>	Garden of Great-Pāhoehoe-of-Lonohea
<i>A me ke ali'i wahine</i>	And the chiefess
<i>Me Honokua-lau-a-lipo</i>	Honokua-lau-a-lipo
<i>I ulu ke kalo</i>	Cause the taro to grow
<i>A pua ke kalo</i>	Let the taro bloom
<i>A o'o ke kalo</i>	Let the taro mature
<i>A i'o mākole</i>	Till the flesh reddens
<i>A pili wale mai</i>	Till the offspring (growth)
<i>Ka 'ohā o ke kalo a kākou</i>	Clings to our taro
<i>Mai kēlā kaikā a kēia kaikā</i>	From that patch and this patch
<i>Mai kēlā kuaīwi a kēia kuaīwi</i>	From that row to this row
<i>'Oia ho'i e, 'oia ho'i la</i>	Let it be, it is so
<i>A lele ka huli a kākou la</i>	Let our planting stalks leap to their place

Upon completing the chant, Ka-Miki called out to each variety of *kalo*, instructing it to leap into its' planting pit —

*A lele Ka'ohē a kona mākālua...*

Let the *Ka'ohē* taro leap to its whole.

Ka-Miki then called out to the all the varieties of *kalo* to be planted, and they too leapt into their *mākālua* planting pits. Besides the *kalo ka'ohē*, the other taro planted were:

*Palakea, Lauoa, Uia, Kanohu, Manini, O'opukai, Pāpākolekoa'e, 'Ōpelu, Lehua, 'Elepaio, Pa'akai, Moi (also called Ne'ene'e), Kumu, Wehiwa, Pala'i'i, Mākoko (also called Nohu), Naioea, Pi'iali'i, Mana ('ele'ele, kea, and lauoa), Uahi-a-Pele, Ha'akea (also called Haokea), 'A'apu (also called 'Apu wai), 'Akilolo, 'Apowale, Helemauna (also called Piko 'ele'ele), Ipu-o-Lono, Hāpu'u (also called Hāpu'upu'u), Papapueo, Kahalu'u-kea, Hīnālea, 'Ie'ie, 'Āpi'i, Hina-pū, and Lehua-ku-i-ka-wao.*

Ka-Miki then called upon his ancestress Ka-'ohu-kolo-mai-iluna-o-ka-lā'au (The mist which crawls atop the forest) to cause the young taro to grow so that the food would be abundant —

*Hānau ka lā, o Naele*

The sun is born of *Naele*  
(a soft light)

*O Naele ka lā o Kupanole  
at Kupanole*

The sun of *Naele* is now



*Kupa-nole ka lā o Kōhia  
Kōhia ka lā iā Hina  
O ke kukuna o ka lā, pa'a  
O ka pa'a o Hilina, o Hilinehu*

The sun of *Kupanole*, now at *Kōhia*  
The sun at *Kōhia* is with *Hina*  
The rays of the sun are held back  
Secured at the time of *Hilina*[na]  
and *Hilinehu* (December and  
November)

*O ka lā o ke Kamani  
O ka hui o Kamani-'ula*

The day of the *Kamani*  
The cluster [constellation] of  
*Kamani-'ula*

*O ka 'ēheu o Halulu  
Ke hā'ina mai la o Ha'i  
Ke hakina mai la e ka lā  
O ke keiki holo lani a Wākea  
O Wākea kai lalo  
O ka lā kai luna  
O ke keiki lā kēia a Wākea  
i ho'okahua ai  
'Oia ho'i o ka lā  
Hānau ka lā  
O ka lā ho'i auane'i ko lalo nei?  
O wai la? O ka Moana  
Aia! Aia ho'i hā!*

[at] The wing of *Halulu*  
*Ha'i* has spoken  
The sun breaks forth  
It is the sky traveling child of *Wākea*  
*Wākea* is the one below  
The sun is the one above  
This is the sun child which  
*Wākea* founded  
It is the sun  
Born is the sun  
What is there below the sun?  
Who is it? It is the ocean  
There it is! So it is given the  
breath of life!

A mist settled upon the forest garden as if it were in the calm of night and Ka-Miki saw the *kalo* buds shoot forth and leaf. He then returned to the chiefs' *hālau*, where more 'awa was prepared.

A short while later, ***Haukālua nui*** and ***Haukālua iki*** (father and son), the two *konohiki* (overseers) who managed the plantation of ***Ka-huli-a-Pāhoehoe*** arrived at the plantation, where they were startled to see the greatly increased size of the cultivated fields, and increased varieties of *kalo* planted therein. It was for the *konohiki*, *Haukālua nui* and *Haukālua iki*, that the lands of *Haukālua* were named.

*Haukālua nui* brought word of the mysterious developments at *Ka-huli-a-Pāhoehoe* to *Pāhoehoe*. And immediately, the chief knew that it had been the work of *Ka-Miki*... *Pāhoehoe* and *Honokua* invited *Ka-Miki* and *Maka-'iole* to stay and become the husband of their daughters, but they declined, explaining the nature of their journey around the island... Bidding *aloha* to *Pāhoehoe mā* (and companions), *Ka-Miki* and *Maka-'iole* then departed, passing through the lands of ***Kukuiope'e***, ***Kolo***, ***'Ōlelomoana***, ***'Ōpihiali***, ***Ka'apuna***, ***Kipāhoehoe*** 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-hī-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 *Kalino*<sup>3</sup>, 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*,

<sup>3</sup> See the account of *Ka-uma-'ili-'ula* (in S.M. Kamakau 1991:102-103).



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 '*ōlohe*, **Omoka'a** and **Okoe mā**, who dwelt along the path and waylaid travelers. It was in this way, that Ka-Miki and Maka'iole learned that those '*ōlohe* 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. Pūpuhi also told them about **Manukā** of **Nāpu'uapele**, who was a master in fighting with sling stones, and in all manner of fighting.

Pūpuhi further explained to Ka-Miki that the people who lived in this region, were so afraid of the '*ōlohe* that they traveled bunched up, together in groups, rather than to travel alone. Ka-Miki told Pūpuhi that the purpose of their journey was to meet with '*ōlohe* practitioners of that nature, and make right the ways of such practitioners. The brothers then departed and passed through the lands of **Ho'opūloa** (To cluster together), which were named for a chief who had taken that name.

Likewise, the neighboring lands of **Omoka'a** and **Okoe** were named residents of those places. Omoka'a (k), Okoe (w), and their five children lived along the main trail which passed through the region. The children lived on the *makai* side of the trail, and the parents lived on the *mauka* side of the trail. It was the practice of this family to waylay travelers and bake them in their *imu*, which was kept in the middle of the trail. People of the surrounding communities feared these '*ōlohe* and never traveled individually, they stuck together (*ho'opū*) in groups, and went great distances to avoid using the land trails as long as Omoka'a *mā* continued their evil ways. Most people of this region traveled by canoe whenever they could.

While people feared Omoka'a, Okoe and their children, the land of the Ho'opūloa area was celebrated in the saying —

*Ka 'āina i ka wai pū'olo i ka maka o ka 'ōpua hiwahiwa i ke ao lewa i ka lani papanu'u a Haunu'u* (The land of water laden horizon clouds, cherished by the banks of clouds which line the sky foundation of *Haunu'u*).

While all the warnings had been given, Ka-Miki and Maka'iole passed through the Ho'opūloa vicinity uneventfully, and continued their journey until they arrived in the uplands of **Kapu'a**. The area was well populated and there were many houses. There, they met with Nā-niu-a-'ō'ū (The-coconut grove of 'Ō'ū), a farmer and *kāula Pele* (priest of the *Pele* class). A section of land at Kapu'a, known as **Niu-'ō'ū** was named for this priest.

Nā-niu-a-'ō'ū tended an agricultural field in the uplands, but his efforts were often thwarted because of the dry nature of the land... Having finished their visit with Nā-niu-'ō'ū, Ka-Miki and Maka'iole prepared to depart, the priest warned them about the feared '*ōlohe*; Omoka'a, Okoe, their children, and Manukā...But the brothers told Nā-niu-a-'ō'ū that they had come in search of those people who dishonored their gods and practices.



They described the depth of their own *‘ōlohe* training and sling fighting practices, including the techniques of *Kaueleau*, and *Ki‘ilenalena*. They then departed and sought out **Okoe** and **Omoka‘a**.

*Okoe* was the *‘ōlohe* wife of Omoka‘a, and mother of ‘Ōpu‘u-ka-honua, ‘Ōmu‘o-ka-honua, ‘Ōlau-ka-honua, ‘Ōlika-ka-honua, and ‘Ōmole-ka-honua, all of whom were notorious *‘ōlohe*.

Ka-Miki and Maka-‘iole 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*. Okoe started the riddle contest using a form of riddle chants (*mele nanenane*):

<i>O hānau ka honua</i>	The earth was born
<i>A mole ka honua</i>	The earth's foundation set
<i>O kokolo ke ‘a‘ā</i>	The ‘a‘ā lava creeps along
<i>ka weli o ka honua...</i>	Causing the earth to be afraid...

The riddle contained the names of Okoe’s children, and as the chant ended, Okoe called out, “‘O wai? ‘O wai lā? ‘O wai ho‘i lā?” (Who? Who is this? Who indeed is this?) Ka-Miki chanted in response answering correctly, stating that the riddle described the creation of the earth in the account of *Wākea* and *Papa*; The layering of sky and earth strata; and the genealogy of Okoe, Omoka‘a and their family. He chanted —

<i>O hānau ka moku, a kupu, a lau,</i>	The island was born, sprouting,
<i>A loa, a mu‘o, a ‘ike,</i>	spreading,
<i>Ka moku iluna o Hawai‘i,</i>	Lengthening, budding, and seen,
<i>He pūlewa ka ‘āina, naka Hawai‘i</i>	Hawai‘i is the island which is above
<i>E lewa wale ana no i ka lani lewa,</i>	The land sways, Hawai‘i shakes
<i>Hono-ā mai, e Wākea pāhono ‘ia,</i>	Floating above in the heavens,
<i>Mali o ke a‘a o ka moku me</i>	Bound together, bound by <i>Wākea</i>
<i>ka honua,</i>	The root of the island was tied to
<i>Pa‘a ‘ia lewa e lani, i ka lima akau</i>	the earth
<i>o Hawai‘i,</i>	And held fast in the heavens by
<i>A pa‘a Hawai‘i la, a la‘a Hawai‘i la,</i>	he right hand of Hawai‘i
<i>‘ikea he moku</i>	Hawai‘i was set firm and consecrated,
<i>O ka moku la ho‘i auane‘i.</i>	the island is seen
<i>ko lalo nei..</i>	Indeed it is the island which
	is below...

Surprised that Ka-Miki answered their riddle, Okoe and Omoka‘a told the brothers that they were indeed clever. Omoka‘a and Okoe then called upon their riddling god *Kāne-iki-pa‘ina* (*Kāne* who assumes the form of a click bug) to assist them.

As the competition continued, comparisons were made to the casting of a net to ensnare one’s catch. Ka-Miki warned Okoe *mā* that if they were not careful, they would end up like *Luanu‘u-a-nu‘u-pō‘ele-ka-pō* of the nine fold cliffs of Waipi‘o – caught in the supernatural net *Ku‘uku‘u* which belongs to *Ka-uluhe*. Ka-Miki then chanted a *mele pule kānaenae ho‘oūlu mana ‘e‘ehia* (Prayer chant supplication to increase his supernatural power):



*Iā Ku'uku'u ka 'upena  
Hei mai ka i'a*

*O ka pulelehua  
O ka pokipoki  
O ka nananana  
O kini o ke akua  
O ka mano o ke akua  
O ka lehu o ke akua  
O ka puku'i o ke akua...*

*Ku'uku'u is the net,  
A snare which catches the fish,  
Binding it like —  
The butterfly,  
The sow bug,  
The spider,  
The 40,000 gods  
The 4,000 gods  
The 400,000 gods,  
The assembly of gods...*

Understanding the power of the prayer which Ka-Miki chanted, Okoe *mā* began another form of riddling and 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 ti 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. Okoe then presented a riddle about the name of the plantation of Pu'epu'e. The full name of this plantation is *Pu'epu'e-ku'u-kalo-i-amo-'ia-kiola-'āina-'ia-a-koekoena-kiola-ia-i-ka- mauna-a-me-ka-moana* (My taro planted in mounds was carried and spread [thrown] across the land, and what remained was spread [planted] from mountain to sea). She called out —

<sup>[1]</sup> <sup>4</sup> *He kalo ku i ka mauna, i pu'epu'e 'ia;* <sup>[2]</sup> *i amo 'ia a* <sup>[3]</sup> *koe,* <sup>[4]</sup> *lino 'ia a pa'a,* <sup>[5]</sup> *ho'ō'ia apau,* <sup>[6]</sup> *kiola 'ia i ka* <sup>[7]</sup> *mauna,* <sup>[8]</sup> *hali 'ia i ka* <sup>[9]</sup> *moana,* <sup>[10]</sup> *ku ka puna i uka,* <sup>[11]</sup> *ua kolo a* <sup>[12]</sup> *pae he kukui ka 'āina.* (The taro placed upon the mountain, planted in mounds, carried to where it remains, securely bound (*lino*), all set in place, thrown to the mountain (by Haumea); carried and spread to the ocean, [reaching] to where the spring is in the uplands, and where the *kukui* cling upon the land.)

Okoe then told Ka-Miki, “Answer the riddle or your eyes shall become the food of our riddling god *Kāne-iki-pa'ina*.” Ka-Miki answered in a riddle of his own, describing many of the lands of the Kapalilua region —

*Aia la, aia la, aia la! O ke kalo a ku'u mau kūpunawahine i kanu ai i ka hei, i ka manomano wai, i ka lā'au kala'ihī o'o i kanahēle o Mahiki, i ka mauna anuanu ko'ūa, he ahi ke kapa e mehāna ai, e lala ai mākou i uka o 'Ōma'olālā e - 'oia — <sup>[1]</sup> He Helemauna ke kalo i pu'epu'e 'ia; O <sup>[2]</sup> Kapu'a ia - I amo 'ia a koe; O <sup>[3]</sup> Omoka'a ia me <sup>[4]</sup> Okoe - He mau 'okana i pili ana me Kapu'a, 'oia no ho'i ko 'olua mau inoa; Lino 'ia a pa'a; o <sup>[5]</sup> Honomalino ia; Ho'ō'ia apau; o <sup>[6]</sup> Ho'opūloa ia; Kiola 'ia i ka mauna; o <sup>[7]</sup> Kiolaka'a a me <sup>[8]</sup> Kaulana mauna; Hali 'ia i ka moana; o nā <sup>[9]</sup> Ōpihihali a me nā <sup>[10]</sup> Ōlelomoana; Ku ka puna i uka; o <sup>[11]</sup> Ka'apuna ia. O kolo a pae he kukui ka 'āina; o <sup>[12]</sup> Kolo ia a me <sup>[13]</sup> Kukuiopa'e; he mau ali'i 'ai ahupua'a lākou apau...*

<sup>4</sup> Note: numbers in the narrative have been inserted at key points by the translator, to indicate where points in the riddle correspond with the answer.



Behold! It is the taro which my ancestresses planted with exceptional skill (*heī*), with the multitudinous waters (deep knowledge), at the forest of Mahiki with the rigid trees on the cold damp mountain – where the fire is the only blanket which warms one, indeed we were warmed at ‘Ōma’olālā.

<sup>[1]</sup> *Helemauna* is the taro which was planted in mounds at <sup>[2]</sup> Kapu’ā, so the plantation became called Pu’epu’e; *amo* (carried) is <sup>[3]</sup> Omoka’ā; to where it *koe* (remains) is <sup>[4]</sup> Okoe, these are ‘*okana* (land districts) which are near Kapu’ā; *lino ‘ia* (securely bound) is <sup>[5]</sup> Honomalino (cf. *linoa*); *ho’ō’ia* (set in place) is <sup>[6]</sup> Ho’opūloa; *kiola* (tossed or thrown) is <sup>[7]</sup> Kiolaka’ā; to the *mauna* (mountain) is <sup>[8]</sup> Kaulanamauna; *hali ‘ia* (carried) is <sup>[9]</sup> ‘Ōpihihali); to the *moana* (sea) is <sup>[10]</sup> ‘Ōlelomoana; [reaching] to where (*ku ka puna i uka*) the spring in the uplands) is <sup>[11]</sup> Ka’apuna; the *kukui* is <sup>[12]</sup> Kukuiopa’e; and *kolo* (cling upon the land) is <sup>[13]</sup> Kolo; and all of these lands are named for the chiefs who control the district resources.

Thus Ka-Miki answered the riddle of Okoe and told her that if she denied the accuracy of his answers; her eyes would be pierced by coconut mid-ribs, and the juices would be used to fill sacred cups *Laukapalili* and *Hikiaupe’a* of *Ka-uluhe*, and be served as the *pūpū ‘awa* (‘awa drink condiment) for Ka-Miki, *Kahuelo-ku*, and their riddling gods.

Omoka’ā told Ka-Miki that he was indeed correct. Ka-Miki then asked Okoe and Omoka’ā if they were finished, and stated that if they were, “only their children remained to be bound in the mesh of *Kanikawī* and *Kanikawā*; the mysterious net of our ancestress *Lani-nui-ku’i-a-mamao-loa*, from which there was no escape.” Ka-Miki then chanted about the nature of their riddling god and knowledge – *mele*:

*I Tahiti ka pō e Niho’eleki*  
*I hana ka pō e Niho’eleki*  
*Mākaukau ka pō e Niho’eleki*  
*Lawalawa ka pō a Niho’eleki*

Niho’eleki – is in the antiquity of *Tahiti*  
 – was formed in antiquity  
 – is prepared in all antiquity  
 Niho’eleki’s understanding is more than enough

*lā ‘akāhi ka pō e Niho’eleki*

*Niho’eleki* – understands the first level of meanings,

*lā ‘alua ka pō e Niho’eleki*

– understands the second level of meanings,

*lā ‘akolu ka pō e Niho’eleki*

– understands the third level of meanings,

*lā ‘ahā ka pō e Niho’eleki*

– understands the fourth level of meanings,

*lā ‘alima ka pō e Niho’eleki*

– understands the fifth level of meanings,

*lā ‘aōno ka pō e Niho’eleki*

– understands the sixth level of meanings,

*Pa’i wale ka pō e Niho’eleki*

– understands all levels of meanings,

*Pono, a’o wale e Niho’eleki*

It is correct, taught only by *Niho’eleki*

*Aia! Aia ho’i! Aia la!*

Behold! It is so! It is so!

Okoe, Omoka’ā and Ka-Miki *mā* then exchanged taunts about the depth and nature of their knowledge. Seeing that they could not win, Okoe and Omoka’ā agreed to stop the riddling contest, lest they ended up in their own *imu*. Now this couple kept many weapons in waiting, and they expected their children to return from fishing at Honomalino soon. With their help, they planned to kill Ka-Miki and Maka’iole with other forms of competition, for Omoka’ā and Okoe *mā* were knowledgeable in all manner of fighting and were compared to the lofty peaks of Hā’upu, Kaua’i, and the distant leeward islands of Nī’ihau, Ka’ula, and on to *Kahiki*.

Omoka’ā met with Ka-Miki in hand to hand combat but his leg was broken, and he was nearly thrown into his own *imu*, but Ka-Miki laid him to the *imu* side waiting till the contest



was finished. Okoe covered her body with *kukui* and coconut oil, and wore a *pā'ū* of the 'eokahaloa variety, worn in a tightly twisted form. This *pā'ū* was tied so as to entangle her opponents. Maka-'iole called to Okoe that she should take heed lest her *pā'ū* be shredded by the fierce *uhu* (parrot fish; himself) the cherished *uhu* of *Ka-uluhe*. Maka-'iole then offered a name chant for *Ka-uluhe* – *mele*:

<i>O Kaulua ka lā</i>	The assembly of gods... [the season of <i>Kaulua</i> when the star Sirius is above]
<i>Kaulua ka ua</i>	O <i>Kaulua</i> of the rains
<i>Kaulua ka makani</i>	O <i>Kaulua</i> of the winds
<i>Kaulua ke kai</i>	O <i>Kaulua</i> of the [rough] seas
<i>Kaulua ka 'ino</i>	O <i>Kaulua</i> of the storms
<i>Kaulua ka hōkū e kau nei</i>	O <i>Kaulua</i> [when] the star is set above
<i>E Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka-e</i>	O <i>Ka-uluhe-nui</i> ...
<i>Eō mai ana i ko inoa</i>	Answering to your names

*Ka-uluhe* responded from *Kalama'ula* with a greeting chant – *Mele*:

<i>A'u kama iluna o ka 'Ōhi'a-moe-awakea</i>	My child who is there upon the deity, 'Ōhi'a which reclines in the midday sun
<i>Lehua 'ula i ka wī a ka manu</i>	The red <i>lehua</i> blossoms around which the birds sing
<i>Manu hulu weoweo i ka uka o Kalama'ula</i>	The birds with the red glowing feathers in the uplands of <i>Kalama'ula</i>
<i>He 'ula leo kēia e hōlio nei</i>	This is a voice offering to you, the one who is always in my thoughts
<i>'Ano'ai no a, 'Ano'ai wale ho'i!</i>	Greetings, greetings indeed!

Upon completing the chant, the wind roared breaking the forest, and Okoe leapt to attack Maka-'iole, though she was exceedingly skilled, she was beaten. Omoka'a leapt to assist Okoe, but both 'ōlohe were bound in the net *Halekumuka'aha* (also called *Ku'uku'u*). Seeing their complete defeat, both Omoka'a and Okoe surrendered to Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole. 'Ka-Miki and Maka-'iole agreed not to bake them in their own *imu* after the couple promised that they would no longer attack people traveling along the *ala hele*. Omoka'a went to fetch 'awa and food items with which to serve Ka-Miki *mā*.

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* (*Thalassoma*) 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, 'Ōlika, 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 *Kowea* 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... (Kihe et al., In *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, October 29, 1914-February 5, 1915; Maly, translator)



## **Accounts of Niuhi Shark Fishing in — “He Moololo Kaa o Kekuhaupio, Ke Koa Kaulana o ke Au o Kamehameha ka Nui”**

In another native account, “He Moololo Kaa o Kekuhaupio, Ke Koa Kaulana o ke Au o Kamehameha ka Nui” (A Tradition of Kekuhaupio, the Famous Warrior in the time of Kamehameha the Great), published in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai‘i* between December 16, 1920 to September 11, 1924, the tradition of *‘ōlohe lua* (experts in Hawaiian martial arts) is further described (Frazier, translator, 2000). This *mo‘olelo* commemorates Kekūhaupio, perhaps the most famous of the warriors who mentored and stood beside Kamehameha I, and the subsequent rise of Kamehameha to power.

Reverend Steven L. Desha, editor of the paper, along with several of his peers (such as J.W.H.I. Kihe, John Wise and Julia Keonaona), prepared the rich native text, embellished by many localized accounts, not available elsewhere. Of importance to the present study, are the descriptions of shark fishing in the sea fronting Kapalilua. Kekūhaupio and his teacher returned to their residence close to the land of Kapu‘a, and his teacher said to him:

My young chiefly pupil, the blessing of the gods is upon the sea battle—the heavenly arch approves our work, and when I arouse you later this night we shall sail upon this journey to seek your opponent... It is true that some who learn *lua* fighting and become adepts can overcome a man—however your instruction was not thus—you shall be confirmed as an adept by your conflict with the *niuhi* shark of the terrifying eye. Therefore act with great strength and without fear on this day.

When the morning star arose, Kekūhaupio was awakened by Koaia and he quickly prepared himself, girding on his red *malo*, tightening it for his coming fight with the shark. They boarded the double canoe and the mat sail was spread. The canoe sailed before the touch of the “famous cool breeze of the lands fragrant in the calm.” Kekūhaupio noticed that their canoe was headed due south for a place offshore of Nāpu‘uapele, close to the district of Ka‘ū. They sailed the remainder of the night until the dawn opened up and the skin of man could be seen. Then the canoe turned downwind on the deep sea just outside of that place mentioned. [page 8]

### **Luring the Niuhi Shark January 6, 1921**

At this time Kekūhaupio noticed the bundles of pig flesh being suspended between the hulls of the double canoe, fastened in a line to a long piece of wood. Not one, but three men were piercing the bundles with sharp *‘ūlei-wood* sticks so that the stinking contents of the bundles dripped into the ocean and the grease floated on the water. They continued to sail about while the beauty of the light dawned on Mauna Loa. Before the sun appeared, one of the men noticed the arrival of something black on the surface of the sea not far off from where they sailed.

“E Koaia ē, I see something black following just behind our canoe. Perhaps it is a fish but it is running on the surface of the sea.”

On hearing this man they all turned their eyes to the place of which this man had spoken. In a short time they saw the back of the fish appear on the surface, and as the sun rose the black-bodied shark appeared between their canoe hulls snapping at the grease from the bundles of pig flesh. The people on the canoe, gazing at that great *niuhi* shark, guessed that it was nearly twenty feet long.

When Kekūhaupio saw this large-mouthed fish he mentally prepared himself for an immediate leap, but his teacher spoke:



*E Kekūhaupi'o ē*, don't hasten to leap into the fight with your opponent, but let us play with him. Let him gobble the floating grease from the bundles until his stomach is full of sea water which will make him sluggish. When he has swallowed enough, then my chiefly pupil, the fight will be more equitable. This is something good for you to learn: in the future when you fight an opponent, don't hasten to leap forward, but first study his nature to enable you to learn his weakness, then it will be easy for you to secure him by one of the methods you have learned. However, prepare yourself and look well at the place where you can kill him. I only ask of you that you act fearlessly. Do not pierce him in the eye—the place where he can be killed is very close behind his gills. Make your thrust straight at that place and pierce his liver and he will immediately weaken. You men on the canoe, be ready with the ropes to fasten the fish when you see that the young chief has killed him. [page 9]

On hearing this the people on board hastily prepared the *hau*-bark ropes and the men piercing the flesh bundles continued their efforts, sprinkling the sea with the juices. As Kekūhaupi'o again prepared to leap his teacher again said:

*E Kekūhaupi'o ē*, don't be too hasty—listen well to me—when I tell you to leap, attempt to dive under this fish which is following our canoe, but not just at this moment as the sea has not cleared. Wait a little and let the shark swallow the grease from the flesh bundles.

Kekūhaupi'o was impatient with these words for he greatly wished to leap into the fight with this demonic creature, so greatly feared by fishermen. The men on the canoe with Kekūhaupi'o were filled with terror of that great shark and not one of them was daring enough to leap into the sea for a fight with it... .When he saw that the time was right he ordered the men to drop the sail and the order was quickly carried out. When the canoe was free of entanglements and everything was ready for the combat Koaia said:

*E Kekūhaupi'o ē*, your instructor has taught you all—perhaps my further instructions may be of no use, but by my understanding of the signs of this day, victory is on your side as the heavenly omens bode well for your fight. Have great strength and bravery, my chiefly pupil, and the name of your teacher will live—he who taught you this ancient way of fighting. In this *'ailolo* ceremony of completion, the important thing is to be alert. The watchful eye precedes victory on your side. Leap forth, Kekūhaupi'o and fight with this famous fish of the ocean. [page 10]

### ***The Niuhi Shark: Methods of Capture*** ***January 13, 1921***

If you please, readers of this story of a famous warrior of the past, let us set aside the story of his leap into battle with the burning-eyed *niuhi* of the deep blue ocean, and allow the writer to describe the means of fighting this shark, whereas many of us at this time do not know how our ancestors fished for the *niuhi*. This explanation will show the methods employed by our ancestors. It is a true story which this writer tells, from his conversations with his wife's grandfather who was one of those who fished for *niuhi* on the purplish-blue seas of Kāne, and his story is as follows:

Fishing for the *niuhi* shark was *kapu* for the benefit of the chiefs of ancient times and there were persons who were set apart for this by heredity. My foster father was Kawahapaka who married my own mother's sister. He was a great fisherman for the chiefs of Nāpo'opo'o, and the one who taught me various fishing methods, save only



fishing for whales which the foreigners do. In the days of my youth and strength, when I was fifteen or sixteen years old, as the great fisherman for the chief, he took me and the men who worked under him fishing for *niuhi* as follows:

First of all a sow which had produced many young was killed and its flesh made into bundles as though being prepared for an *imu*. The flesh was parceled out and wrapped first in large tough *kalo* leaves and sprinkled with water, but no salt, and then wrapped in *ki* leaves as though for a food bundle. Those bundles were set apart from the people's homes and kept from being eaten by the dogs and allowed to putrefy.

The fishing paraphernalia was prepared and on the dawn of the fifth day we boarded the large double canoe, seven or eight fathoms in length, and there were also some deep-bottomed canoes which had been used in the war waged on Maui by Chief Kamehameha. Between the outrigger booms which joined the double hulls was laid a long piece of wood projecting almost to the front of the canoe, and along the wood the stinking bundles of flesh were tightly bound in a line as far as the bow. At the same time large *hau*-bark ropes were readied and large *olonā* cord and also some Y-shaped branches of wood with a loop or snare fastened to them, one at the bow and one at the stern. [page 11]

Cutting tools had also been placed on board. In very ancient times the canoe was furnished with a sharp dagger to cut the flesh of the shark. After the sharp things of the foreigner became available there were also harpoons, gotten from whaling ships which arrived at Kealakekua.

In the early dawn at the rising of the morning star all was placed aboard the canoe and the large mat sail spread out, and the canoe sailed out to the open sea. In the red dawning my foster father ordered two men to immerse the bait, then some men with sharpened sticks of *'ūlei* or *koai'a* [very hard woods] began to pierce the putrid bundles, releasing the stinking juices and grease to spread over the surface of the sea. At this time the cool breeze began to blow and as the canoe sailed the men continued their work.

As the day grew and the canoe continued to sail it was seen that a fish was following us. Then the sailing speed was slowed while the men hastened their work of sprinkling the stinking juices. A short time later the shark appeared behind our canoe and I saw it voraciously gulping the greasy sea water, while my foster father keenly observed it. At this time the shark was in a frenzy and had come between the hulls close to the dripping bundles.<sup>3</sup>

When Kawahapaka saw the right moment he ordered the men holding the loops to ensnare the shark, and the men dipped their loops simultaneously in front of the head and behind the tail, and when it was seen that their loops were in the right position they immediately lifted up their arms, and the men both forward and aft pulled on the ends of the ropes at the same time. The men at the bow of the canoe pulled on the rope of the men at the stern [who had caught the tail] and so also, the men at the stern pulled on the rope which had ensnared the head of the shark. The idea behind this was to bend its body and immobilize the shark. At this moment the men with the sharp *kaui*-wood weapons struck the shark at a vulnerable spot.

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<sup>3</sup> This translation simplifies Desha's detailed description of how the shark was caught. See the Hawaiian text for a more complex and technical account.



When the shark was dead it was drawn alongside and cut up into pieces and loaded on board. If it was still desired to fish for sharks the sail was hoisted again and they resumed their search for another one. Sharks would become sluggish when they had gulped a stomach full of the greasy sea water. [page 12]

In those ancient days this was a very enjoyable pursuit for the young chiefs. Sometimes the bait was the body of a captured man. As the ancients said: "The corpse of a man placed on the altar sometimes becomes bait for the *niuhi* shark."

### ***Battling the Niuhi Shark*** ***January 20, 1921***

My wife's grandfather also told me that fishing for *niuhi* sharks furnished food for the chiefs, as in ancient times it was an offense punishable by death for a commoner to secrete some of it as food for himself. The only persons entitled to fish for the *niuhi* were the chiefs' fishermen... Let us return to the story of Kekūhaupi'o and learn the result of his battle with the fiery-eyed *niuhi* of the wide ocean. The reader will remember that we were right at the point where the *niuhi* had come between the hulls of the double canoe and was gulping the baited sea water, which caused it to become somewhat sluggish.

When Kekūhaupi'o heard Koaia's order he sprang into action. He sank very gently over the outer side of the hull, and before the people on board realized it they saw the shark's tail splashing mightily but were unable to see what was going on. However, Koaia's sharp eye was watching. Kekūhaupi'o had watched the shark gulping the baited sea water knowing very well the place to thrust his short spear and that if his thrust should be awkward his opponent would have time to turn quickly on him, with unknown results. Therefore on hearing his teacher's order he dove straight to the shark's side giving it no time to turn. All that was seen by the people on board was the strong flick of the shark's tail when it received the thrust behind its gills. Kekūhaupi'o withdrew his spear and thrust again near the first thrust and the shark was weakened near to death—it only thrashed and Kekūhaupi'o clung to its side. [page 13]

It was fortunate for Kekūhaupi'o, perhaps with the help of the guardian spirit of the art of *lua*, that the shark did not flee to the depths. The shark only thrashed because of the hurt done to it and did not go far from the canoe, giving Kekūhaupi'o time to breathe and rest a little. When Koaia saw the shark weakening he commanded those on board to prepare to seize the shark lest it descend to the depths and be lost to them. The canoes were quite close to Kekūhaupi'o who still held the shark with the spear fast in its side. A man was ordered to leap in and ensnare the tail since the shark was weakened and wallowing on the surface as a result of the second thrust of the spear.

Shortly the tail was secured and the shark pulled alongside and lifted on board one of the canoes. Then Kekūhaupi'o climbed on board with a demeanor which inspired fear in the people. Then Koaia called to his pupil:

*E Kekūhaupi'o ē!* the guardian spirits of our profession of *lua* have gathered together at this sudden good fortune in our expedition to seek an offering for them. They have all seen your genuine alertness in this fight, which is the best I ever saw. This is a sign of your success in this ancestral profession, and I sympathize with the opponents with whom you will meet in the future. I made only one error this day, which was to send another man to help you. If I had waited quietly you alone could have returned successfully. In this action there was no lack on your part, but on the part of your teacher. A sudden misfortune may meet you in the future, but before this time arrives the famous name of my topmost student shall be heard. Let us return to land and make offering to the god of this warlike profession of our ancestors of old.



Koaia then ordered the paddlers to make for land, straight inshore to Kapu'a, close to the *heiau* of Lono which stood there, and this command was carried out... [page 14]

After they arrived at the canoe landing at Kapu'a and lifted their canoes ashore, the *niuhi* was taken to a large canoe shed. Koaia commanded all the men of their canoe to keep away from that place, not one of them was allowed to pass by that canoe shed. Koaia's command was carried out by the men for he held power over the people and was feared because of his skill at *lua*...

### **'Ailolo Offering and a Lua Contest January 27, 1921**

When the paddlers had left the canoe shed Koaia immediately ordered Kekūhaupi'o to remove the eyes of the *niuhi*, and prepare to go to the *heiau* to offer the right eye of the shark to Kāne [Lono], the god in whom Kekūhaupi'o had complete faith. Kekūhaupi'o listened well to these instructions by Koaia, the bold hero of the land of Kapalilua. They went together to the *heiau* of Lono, nearby in Kapu'a.

Taking a black pig and many other black things to be offered at the altar of Lono, they recited prayers to their god Lono. The service of worship went well, and then they returned to the newly prepared shelter which had been built for the *'ailolo* ceremony of Koaia's chiefly pupil.

On their arrival at the *heiau* Koaia had said:

*'Auhea 'oe*, my chiefly pupil: our actions at the *heiau* of Lono have progressed well and I think the god has heard you and your prayer for help. Now prepare yourself to eat the left eye of your opponent of the wide ocean. Eat without thought of rejection, and it will bring success in your *'ailolo* ceremony on this day. When you have eaten the eye of [page 15] the shark we shall attempt the successful completion of our work...

In a little while following these words, Kekūhaupi'o prepared to eat the left eye of the shark. He took it but before eating it he raised his voice in prayer to his guardian spirit of *lua*, the god Lono. On completion of his prayer, without disgust he ate the eye, accompanying it with a bit of broiled breadfruit. This accompaniment of breadfruit, whose name *ulu* means growth, would bring the growth of strength, fearlessness, and skill to him... [Frazier, translator, 2000:16]

### **H.W. Kinney's "Visitor's Guide" (1913)**

In 1913, H.W. Kinney published a visitor's guide to the island of Hawai'i. In it, he included descriptions of the land at the time, historical accounts of events, and descriptions of sites and practices that might be observed by the visitor. Writing about the journey through the Kapalilua, region of Kona, Kinney described the coastal villages, the continuing reliance of native residents on fishery resources; he also observed that places of worship for *Kū'ula* (the fishermen's god) were still respected and offerings placed up on the shrines:

A fair trail leads through Kealia, a pretty village which is practically a suburb of Hookena, a steamer landing place, [page 63] which was once a village of much importance, but which is now being abandoned by the population, which is Hawaiian. Near the wharf was a place famous in ancient days of the playing of a game with *pupu* shells. In the great cliff south of the village are several caves, some of them still floored with sand, where *tapa* makers plied their trade. A very poor trail leads *makai* of this cliff to the Kalahiki Village, a small settlement on the south side of the bay, which may also be reached by a better trail



on top of the bluff. Here are traces of a four terrace *heiau*. Beyond this there is no practicable trail leading south. There are a few very small fishing villages, Alae, Alike and Papa, which are reached by poor trails from the *mauka* road. It is necessary to travel from Hookena *mauka* to the main road, to Papa, and thence by either road or trail to Hoopuloa, the last steamship landing in Kona. This is another village which is dwindling in population, only a few Hawaiians and a couple of Chinese storekeepers remaining. A fair road leads across a barren *a-a* flow to Milolii, the largest and best specimen of an exclusively Hawaiian village on the Island, which is seldom visited. It is splendidly situated by a sand beach, the sea coming right up to the yard walls, and is inhabited by a rather large population of Hawaiians, who prosper through the fishing which is almost phenomenally good. A fair trail leads south to Honomalino, where there are no houses, but a splendid sand beach, where turtle abound. The trail leads south, along the beach, to the Okoe landing, where there is only one house, and to Kapua, used as a cattle shipping point, where there are two houses. Just south of this is Ahole, where there is a perfect *papa holua*, about 400 to 500 feet long, appearing as if it had been built but yesterday. A few hundred yards south is Kaupo, where there are a few grass houses, and south of this, until Kau is reached, there are only a few widely scattered houses, used only occasionally for fishing.

This region is seldom visited. Its chief points of interest are the remains of a *heiau*, *mauka* of the Catholic church at Milolii, some fine *papa konane* at the south end of the same village, a well preserved *kuula* (still used) where fishermen offer offerings of fruit to insure a good catch, by the beach south of Milolii, where the Honomalino Ranch fence crosses the trail; while all along the trail are smaller *kuulas*, and at many points the foundations of villages, where old implements may still be found. [W.H. Kinney, 1913:65]



## **KAPALILUA – FISHERY RIGHTS AND LAND TENURE DEFINED**

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 *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 Kingdom Laws, the Māhele 'Āina, the Boundary Commission, and Government Survey records, describing customs associated with land and ocean resources. 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.

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 Laws 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)***

##### ***I. —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 31<sup>st</sup>, 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 37<sup>th</sup>, 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 PISCARY<sup>5</sup> (1846)**

SECTION I. The entire marine space, without and seaward of the reefs, upon the coasts

<sup>5</sup> *Piscary: "The right of fishing; the right of fishing in waters belonging to another person."* (MacKenzie et al., 1991:308)



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.

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, Pahih.

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)***

By the middle 1840s, the Hawaiian system of land tenure was undergoing radical alteration. Not only were fishery 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 *hoā'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 10<sup>th</sup>, 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 21<sup>st</sup> 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 21<sup>st</sup> 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 6<sup>th</sup> day of August 1850. [copied from original hand written “Enabling Act”<sup>6</sup> – 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.

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

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<sup>6</sup> See also *Kanawai Hoopai Karaima no ko Hawaii Pae Aina* (Penal Code) 1850.



residency and land use practices. As a result, records of the *Māhele ʻĀina* present readers with first-hand accounts from native tenants generally spanning the period from ca. 1819 to 1855.

The lands awarded to the *hoʻāina* 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 Hawaiʻi.

The work of the Land Commission was brought to a close on March 31, 1855 (HSA– Minister of Interior Report, 1856:10-17). As described by native writers in traditional accounts, and by foreign visitors and residents (cited in the preceding sections of the study), we know that the native tenants who made their homes and sustained themselves upon the lands of Miloliʻi, Hoʻopūloa, Pāpā and the larger Kapalilua region, were fisher people. Unfortunately, the *Māhele ʻĀina*, which provides us with some of the most important documentation pertaining to land and fisheries from the middle 1800s, offers us only a few references to marine resources in the Kapalilua region. From those records, we find that some fifty-one (51) *ahupuaʻa* are identified within the Kapalilua region. Of those records, only one, Honomalino, was retained as an *ʻĀina Lei Aliʻi* or Crown Land by the King (Indices of Awards, 1929). Of the remaining *ahupuaʻa*:

Thirteen were retained by *Konohiki*—  
Haukālua, Honokua, Hoʻokena, Kaʻapuna, Kalahiki, Kalihi, Kaʻohe, Kapuʻa, Keālia, Keōkea, ʻŌlelomoana 1-2, and Pāpā 2<sup>nd</sup> (Indices of Awards, 1929).

Thirty-seven were given up by the King and *Konohiki* Claimants, and surrendered to the Government Land inventory. They included—  
Alaʻē, ʻAlikā, Anapuka, Haleili, Haukālua 1-2, Hoʻopūloa, Kaʻohe 1-4, Kauhakō, Kaulanamauna, Kīpāhoehoe, Kolo, Kukuiopaʻe, Maunaoui 1-6, Miloliʻi, Okoe 1-2, Omokaʻa, ʻŌpihihale, Pāhoehoe 1-4, Pāpā 1, Waiea 1-2, and Waikakuʻu (Indices of Awards, 1929).

Native tenants who identified an interest in fishery resources as a part of their claims before the Land Commission included:

<i>Helu</i>	<i>Awardee</i>	<i>Land and Type of Claim</i>
3480	Kauwe	<u>Kauhako, Kapalilua</u> , Kona, Hawaii. A <i>kupono</i> ocean fishery, like a pond.
6235	Kapaakea	<u>Kaapuna</u> , Kona, Hawaii. <u>Some protected fish</u> .
7702	Kooka	<u>Kealia</u> , Kona, Hawaii. <u>An umu ohua</u> (stone mound fry fishery).

In addition to the native claims, the *Konohiki* (chiefly) awardees, were required to publish notices identifying their *iʻa hoʻomalua* (protected or restricted fish). Among the records found, were the following notices for fish associated with lands of the Kapalilua region:

**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*...  
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... [HSA Int. Dept. – Lands]

**March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 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:

...Kalahiki, Kona, Hawaii. *Opelu* is the prohibited fish....

These are the lands belonging to me where the fish is forbidden... [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.

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]

***Olelo Hoolaha***

***Ka Hae Hawaii, Feberuari 18, 1857***

*Konohiki*

*Ili Aina*

*Ia Kapu*

...Akahi

Kealia, Hawaii

*Opelu...*

Many of the Government Lands, including the Crown Land of Honomalino were subsequently sold as Royal Patent Grants. As a general practice of the Kingdom, rights of fisheries were not sold to individuals with the Royal Patents, but held in common by the people of the land (see “*An Act Granting the People the Rights of Piscary, Now Belonging to the Government*”;1851:24; HSA collection KFH 25. A24. 1851). Thus, little further government documentation was recorded in the area of fisheries for Kapalilua as a part of the *Māhele ʻĀina*.



## ***Kapalilua–Boundary Commission Testimonies (ca. 1873-1882)***

Following the *Māhele*, there arose a need to define the boundaries and rights of *ahupua'a* awarded or sold to large private owners. As a result, a Commission of Boundaries was formed, and testimonies from native residents taken. A thorough review of all records of the Boundary Commission was made as a part of this study and the following references to fisheries associated with *Konohiki* lands of the Kapalilua region were located. The selected records identify lands which claimed traditional fisheries, and the types of resources that were *kapu* (protected) on the lands and sea.

### ***Haukalua 2<sup>nd</sup>, South Kona District***

Hoolau, sworn: ...Bounded on the *makai* side by the sea. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea... [Volume B:214]

### ***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]

### ***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]

### ***Kaohe 4<sup>th</sup>, 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]

***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]

***Olelomoana Iki (1<sup>st</sup>), 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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 (2<sup>nd</sup>), 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 1<sup>st</sup> bounds it on the South side. The boundary at shore between Olelomoana 2d nui and Olelomoana 1<sup>st</sup> 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 Kukulu; 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 2<sup>nd</sup>, 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 2<sup>nd</sup>, 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]

***Kapalilua in Hawaiian Kingdom Survey Records***

Among the historic Government records for lands of the Kapalilua study area are the communications and field notebooks of Kingdom Surveyor, Joseph S. Emerson. Born on O'ahu, J.S. Emerson (like his brother, Nathaniel Emerson, a compiler of Hawaiian history) had the ability to converse in Hawaiian, and he was greatly interested in Hawaiian beliefs, traditions, and customs. As a result of this interest, his letters and field books record more than coordinates for developing maps. While in the field, Emerson also sought out knowledgeable native residents of the lands he surveyed as guides and informants. Thus, while he was in the field he often recorded traditions of place names, residences, trails, and documented traditions and practices associated with Hawaiian fisheries. The following letters and descriptive notes are excerpted from Emerson's Field Books (in the collection of the State Survey Division), and communications found in the collection of the Hawai'i State Archives (HAS).

***April 9, 1884***

***Puu Nahaha, Kona***

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

...It is with pleasure that I report the safe return of my runaway whale boat, none the worse for a thirty hours excursion out to sea. About 7 or 8 A.M. on Monday Mar. 31 a fisherman named Kaleimoku, living in Kaulanamauna, the last hamlet in S. Kona, was sitting down to his dish of fish & *poi*, when he noticed a white speck upon the horizon, rising & falling with the waves. Thinking it may be a canoe drifting with the tide, he quickly launched his own canoe, and with his wife & boy started in pursuit. When they had gone so far out to sea that they could no longer see the surf beating against the shore, his wife became very much afraid and tried to turn him back.

But he would hear no such timid proposal & pushed boldly on. As at length they neared what now they saw to be a whale boat, the woman's fears again arose, that there was a corpse on board and that they would be "tapu'd." But the prize was too great even for her superstitious fear, and soon they all sprang aboard & drew in the anchor which was still hanging from the bow and dragging by a long chain...

As I had finished up Napohakuloloa station [the *ko'a* marker on the boundary of Kīpāhoehoe and 'Alikā] on the day previous we at once started after breakfast, for Hanamalo reaching there before noon on Friday... [HSA – DAGS 6, Hawaiian Govt. Survey]



**Kona, Hawaii**  
**Primary Triangulation**  
**J.S. Emerson 1883-4**  
**Vol. VI Reg. No. 256**

**Kapukawaa**  
**Feb. 20, 1884**

s5 Lae o Kamimi

Alika...

w5 Kakakohola Rocks about 200 feet from coast

Hoopuloa

Two natives chased by a whale fled towards the shore. Their canoe striking upon this sunken rock, it was mistaken for the whale & they pummeled it lustily with their paddles until they were broken into pieces ere their mistake was discovered.

x5 Lae o Kapukawaa

Hoopuloa

This place so called because of a passage for canoes between it & shore... [page 39]

**Primary Triangulation**

**Kona, Hawaii Vol. VII – Reg. No. 257; J.S. Emerson 1884**

**April 16, 1884**

Walia's North h.

Hoopuloa.

Walia, son of Keliikuli, one of the richest natives in Kona, owns the *ahupuaa* of Hoopuloa & Anapuka abounding in *awa* and *ohia* firewood. The steamer Planter touches regularly at this port. This is the great *awa* district of this island...

Kakakohola rock in sea. Boundary between Hoopuloa and Milolii. About 12 fathoms from shore. In the reign of Kamehameha II 2 natives fishing for *Hauliuli* in a canoe saw a whale near this place & in fear paddled for the shore. Reaching this rock they pounded it with their paddles until they broke them, before they saw it was not the whale... [page 57]

Milolii Boat Landing

Milolii

Coasters touch here, bringing *paiai* [thick poi], carrying away dried fish, viz. *haululi*, *ahi*, *aku*, *hee*, *pauau*, *ulua*, *kahala*, *ulaula*, *uhu*, *moano*, *humuhumu*, *oopu*, *kala* etc... [page 59]

Kahapaakai rock in sea (about 5 fathoms from shore).

Kipahoehoe

Ka Lae Humuhumu. Rock in sea.

Kipahoehoe

Ka Lae Pipi Kipahoehoe

*Pipi* is the mode of fishing for *Ulua*. Towards evening the line is attached to a large pole, fastened in the rocks and is watched by the fisherman.

Makaihuwaa rock, about 6 fathoms from shore

Kipahoehoe

This is a "*pohaku akua*" [god stone]. From the remotest times Up to the death of Kamehameha 1<sup>st</sup>, this rock is said to have glowed with volcanic light in the night time.



## Nopohakuloloa Island

Kipahoehoe

Kahoolewalewa notch. Boundary per D.H.H. of Kipahoehoe & Alika... [page 87]

...Huahuai Pt. of rocks in sea. Div. between Alika & Papa. Just south of Alika boat landing in the reign of Kaleiopuu & Keawemauhili, there lived just above Puu Eleele (*Makai* of Govt. Road), the woman Kihapea, her husband Alika, and paramour Pohakuekaha. They vowed to eat their potatoes with Pele, but failed to do so. Pele enraged, pursued them. Alika was slain just above Puu Eleele, where his body still lies, face up, a mass of *pahoehoe*. Kihapea and her lover were overtaken at the shore. She was turned into rock and became the cave mentioned on page 54. Her lover was turned into the rock "Pohakuekaha" just *mauka* of Huahuai Pt.

The entire coast, from Kipahoehoe to Manuka is the terminus of one continuous lava flow, mostly *aa*, which poured down from Mauna Loa in the reign of the two kings above mentioned... [page 89<sup>7</sup>]

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<sup>7</sup> Emerson records that the source of this flow is Waha Pele; the Station Mark being in the *ahupuaa* of Alika, and commanding a fine view of the country in all directions" (Emerson, Reg. No. 257:103).



## **FAMILIES OF KAPALILUA IN THE PRESENT-DAY**

Many of the native families of the Kapalilua region continue to practice fishing and working the land as their *kūpuna* did before them. The *kūpuna* in the community today, see that many changes in the health and well-being of the land, ocean, and their families have occurred. This concerns the *kūpuna* and some of their family members. One area in which change is most notable is in the handing down of knowledge of the fisheries, native techniques of stewardship for them, and the practices of sustaining one's family through a healthy relationship with the ocean and land.

As a result, a number of families with ties to the "Miloli'i Fishing Village" have formed an organization—*Pa'a Pono Miloli'i*—whose purpose is to perpetuate these forms of knowledge, through programs aimed at sharing the history and practices with the youth of the land. Among the activities undertaken as a part of the



***Preparation for the dedication and launching of Wa'a Ho'omau, and exhibit of 'ōpelu fishing Practices (KPA Photo S-137)***



***Gino Kaupiko, Gilbert Kahele, Walter Paulo, and Alika Apō – returning from the first voyage of Wa'a Ho'omau (KPA Photo S-148)***

community efforts under *Pa'a Pono Miloli'i*, was the dedication and launching of a new canoe, "Wa'a Ho'omau," on January 24, 2003. This canoe is to be used in an educational program in which youth will be taught about canoeing, travel to and identifying the *ko'a* (sea fisheries), the practice of *hānai ko'a* (feeding the fish of the *ko'a*), and how to take fish in a manner that will ensure the sustainability of the resources through future generations.



## **KA HANA LAWAI‘A: KAMA‘ĀINA OBSERVATIONS (ca. 1905 TO 2003)**

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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.

This section of the study includes detailed narratives, describing the fisheries of the Kapalilua region, and also provide documentation pertaining to native customs, practices and beliefs associated with the livelihood of the *po‘e lawai‘a* (fisher-people). The interviews also describe changes in the nature of the Hawaiian fisheries and manner in which fishing is done, as observed by the *kūpuna* over the last ninety years.

Interestingly, nearly all of the interviewees 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 near-shore to the deep sea. The interviewees attribute the changes to many factors, among the most notable are:

- Loss of the old Hawaiian system of *konohiki* 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.
- 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.

Interviewee recommendations included, but are not limited to:

- Return to a system patterned after the old Hawaiian *ahupua‘a*, *kapu* and *konohiki* management practices.
- Designate one day a week—historically, it was Lāpule (Sunday)—when no fishing would occur, to allow the fish to rest and regenerate.

Many of the Miloli‘i vicinity fisher-people (particularly those associated with Pa‘a Pono Miloli‘i), are working to have the state designate the primary *ko‘a ‘ōpelu* (‘*ōpelu* fishing stations) at Ka‘akuli Miloli‘i and Ho‘opūloa (all fronting the extended community of Miloli‘i), set aside as subsistence fishery management units (*ko‘a*). These *ko‘a* are based on the traditional fishing grounds of the native families of the land, and tied to generations of care and fishing by the same families who would manage them.



- A significant problem for the native fishermen of these *ko'a* is that outsiders, and some local residents who have focused on economic fishing, use foreign baits, which change the character of the *ko'a*; and fish in a manner that leads to depletion of the fishery.
- Enforce existing laws and *kapu*; ensure that penalties for infractions are paid.  
Take only what is needed, leaving the rest for tomorrow and the future.

Readers will find that selected topics discussed in the interviews are indexed at the beginning of each interview, with topics and page numbers referenced. Also, *Figure 2*, at the end of this study is a reduced copy of Register Map No. 2468 (Wright, 1909), depicting the Waiea-Okoe lands of the Kapalilua region.

## ***Ka 'Āina me ke Kai Lawai'a – Lands and Fisheries of Kapalilua Described in Oral History Interviews***

The following interviews share with readers a glimpse into the history and values of the *po'e lawai'a* of Kapalilua. While much more could be said, the interviews shared by the *kūpuna*, share with us important values, beliefs, and traditions, and also instruct us in ways of being better stewards of the resources. The interviews are presented chronologically, from earliest date of recording to most recent (except for cases where multiple interviews were conducted with one or more interviewees).

Readers are again asked to respect the *kūpuna* and *kama'āina* who graciously shared some of their histories. Do not cite the interviews out of context, or without the permission of the interviewees, or for those of the *kūpuna* who have passed away, without the permission of their families.

***“Maika'i ka hana o ka lima, 'ono no ka 'ai a ka waha!”***  
*When the hands do good work, the mouth eats good food!*  
 ('Ōlelo a'o mai kupuna Daniel Kaōpūiki Sr.)

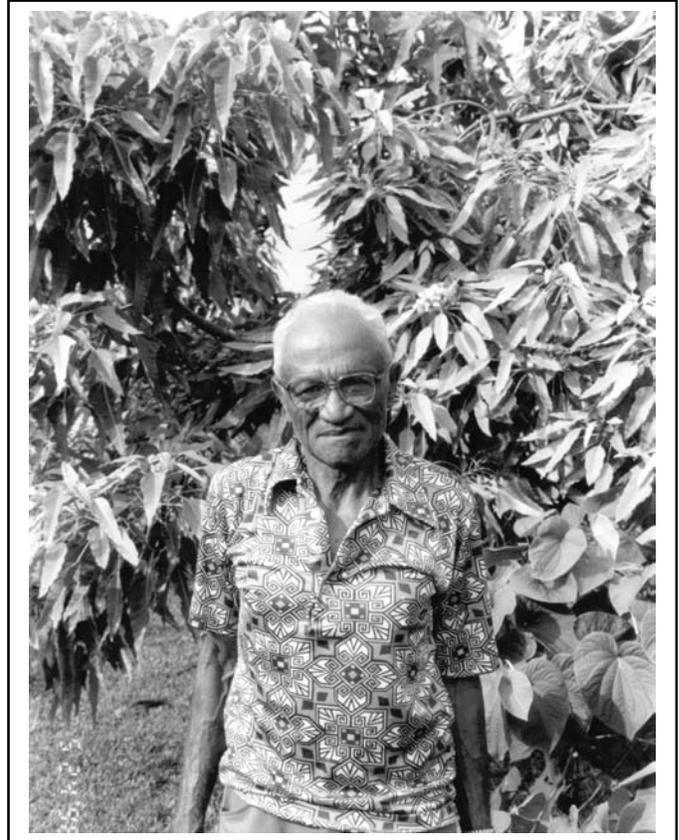


**Louis Kānoa Hao, Sr.  
Kapalilua Oral History  
Interviews April 13, 1996 (and  
follow-up discussions on May  
24, and June 15, 1996–  
personal release on June 15<sup>th</sup>  
1996) with Kepā Maly**

The late Louis Kānoa Hao, was born in 1907<sup>8</sup> at Ka'ōhe, South Kona (on the family land of Royal Patent Grant No. 2368). *Kupuna* Hao was raised with his elders as a fisherman and farmer, and during the interviews, he shared detailed descriptions of the Hawaiian customs and practices associated with fishing, cultivating the land, and caring for the resources.

*Kupuna* Hao was a gifted story teller, and well known for his knowledge of the fisheries and Hawaiian customs associated with them.

During the interviews, Register Map No. 1282 (J.S. Emerson, Surveyor, 1891) was referred to, and locational information cited. *Ko'a* described during the interviews are identified in association with the place names referenced.



The following list identifies selected topics and descriptions of fisheries described by *Kupuna* Hao:

<b>Topic:</b>	<b>Page</b>
• Speaks of family background, attachment to the Kapalilua lands, and how he became a fisherman.	45
• Describes cultivation of <i>kalo</i> , <i>'uala</i> and other crops in the uplands.	48
• During the dry seasons, the families moved to the shore and fished.	54
• Describes <i>'ōpelu</i> fishing from canoe.	56
• Many <i>ko'a</i> were known and used by the fishermen; and were regularly visited and cared for (the fish fed and trained to take the bait).	57
• Different types of fish caught by the <i>kūkaula</i> – hand line method of fishing.	58
• Names <i>ko'a</i> in the Honokua-Ōpīhali (Ōpīhali) region.	59
• Flow of currents observed for use of <i>ko'a</i> .	59
• Families would <i>hānai</i> the <i>ko'a</i> and take turns fishing the <i>ko'a</i> , respecting one another's fishery.	60
• They only used plants as bait, and never used meat because the <i>pōwā</i> (thieves – predatory fish) would come in and attack the <i>ko'a</i> .	63
• <i>Imu</i> , stone mounds used to trap fish in certain areas near-shore.	65
• The fishermen respected one another's <i>ko'a</i> . Describes fishing and how the fish were numbered and distributed.	65
• <i>Kawele'ā</i> fishing described.	67

<sup>8</sup> *Kupuna* Hao passed away April 25, 1999.



<b>Topic:</b>	<b>Page</b>
• Entered into the commercial fishing business.	68
• Reflects on experiences in his lifetime, the relationship between families and the practices of fishing and working the land.	71

KM: ...I'm here with uncle Louis Hao. And we're going to do this oral history interview to help record some of your recollections, stories of your life, and how you lived with your *tūtū* them, as you grew up. And some of the things that you did, like planting *kalo* and *'uala*, and fishing. Things that you would like to talk about, so that you can share with your children. So that we can remember some of the past.

LH: Uh-hmm.

KM: So, *mahalo nui iā 'oe ē*. If you want to speak in Hawaiian when you feel *ma'a*, *kama'āina*, you speak, and we just talk story okay.

[Speaks of family background, attachment to the Kapalilua lands, and how he became a fisherman.]

LH: Yes, uh-hmm.

KM: *'O wai kou inoa, kou inoa piha?*

LH: *Ko'u inoa piha* is Louis Kānoa Hao.

KM: *Makahiki 'ehia 'oe i hānau ai?*

LH: *Makahiki* 1907.

KM: Nineteen-o-seven, *o pōmaika'i!*

LH: June 1st.

KM: Oh, such a blessing. And you're still so strong.

LH: Good health, still yet.

KM: *Mahalo ke Akua!*

LH: Yes, *mahalo*.

KM: Where were you born?

LH: I was born in Ka'ohe, South Kona. Between Minoli'i [as pronounced] and Ho'okena, in between there.

KM: *'Ae*. Were you *mauka* or *makai*?

LH: *Mauka* and *makai*, 'cause my grandmother Mikala owned the *'āina* over there. They have the *'āina* over there, *mauka*, go down to the sea.

KM: A long stretch of land?

LH: Yes.

KM: Ahh, was this grandma Mikala?

LH: Yes, Mikala, Mikala married to Ka'iawe.

KM: Oh, Ka'iawe...So Mikala is your *tūtū*?

LH: Yes, that's my grandma. Then my mama is named after her.

KM: Oh, so she was?

LH: Mikala li'ili'i, they called her.

KM: Oh yeah, oh. Now was Mikala Hao, or was she a different last name?



LH: Well them they, Kuahine family.

KM: Kuahine, oh.

LH: Mikala is Kuahine family, they married to Ka'iawe, Ka'iawehao, it's supposed to be.

KM: Oh, Ka'iawehao?

LH: Yes. But they went on their first name, Ka'iawe is Ka'iawe and then they leave the Hao, no more the Hao.

KM: 'Ae, so you folks are actually *pili* then to Ka'iawe?

LH: Yes.

KM: And you said supposed to be Ka'iawehao.

LH: Yes.

KM: You shared with me the other day, the difference because today some people say Ha'o, and others... Well, you say Hao. The other day you told men "*Hao mai ka 'ai...*" [gestures, scooping up the food]

LH: 'Ae, that's our *inoa*, that. Hao not Ha'o.

KM: 'Ae [yes]. What did you say Hao means?

LH: Hao means, you scoop up.

KM: Scoop up?

LH: You scoop up, yeah, and then meaning of Ha'o, that means sometimes they come and then they don't come and then use that word *ha'oha'o* means you wandering, how come, you know.

KM: Think about like?

LH: Yes, think about, they not coming. That's their name.

KM: Ahh, oh.

LH: *Ha'o*, that, you better say it two times, *ha'oha'o*, means you stay thinking that they not coming.

KM: Hmm. So you folks as a young child, you were born at Ka'ohe?

LH: Yes...

KM: ...Now did Mikala nui marry a Ka'iawe?

LH: Married Ka'iawe.

KM: I see, oh.

LH: Then get my mama, and get plenty *kamali'i*, too, after that.

KM: 'Ae, you had plenty, so your mama had plenty brothers and sisters, then?

LH: Yes, yes.

KM: How about you?

LH: Me no more, just only me.

KM: Only you? Oh.

LH: Then my mama passed away, so my grandma took care me.

KM: Oh.

LH: Until 1915, then she passed away, and then from there on my Uncle Obed Ka'iawe.



KM: 'Ae, Obed.

LH: Obed Ka'iawe, he took care of me. Then he get married and had his own *kamali'i*, so we grew up together.

KM: Hmm. Now when you were living with *tūtū*, your *tūtū papa* had passed away already?

LH: No I was there, but I don't remember. Even my mama, I don't remember too.

KM: Oh.

LH: Yes.

KM: Hmm. Did you live mostly *mauka*?

LH: *Mauka, makai* we lived, yeah.

KM: Oh, so you folks would walk trail go down?

LH: Yes.

KM: Now your house, you had a...? You know Māmalahoa? I have a map, let me just see if this map goes to Ka'ohe.

LH: Ka'ohe 5, yeah?

KM: [opening map] This one may not go all the way...no this only goes to Keālia. Let me turn this off, and I'm going to get a map that goes to Ka'ohe... [tape turns off – back on]

KM: [reference Register Map No. 1282] So this is Ka'ohe 5?

LH: Yes, Ka'ohe 5.

KM: Now, Māmalahoa, the road...

LH: The *alanui*, yeah.

KM: Yes, was there, did you folks, was your house close to the *mauka* road, or more above or below, your *mauka* house?

LH: No, not too far from the road.

KM: Not too far from the road, now when you were a child, though, that was just a rock, rough road, eh?

LH: Yes, yes.

KM: No more pavement?

LH: No, no more.

KM: Was just almost, *ala hele*, just like the trail?

LH: The main *alanui*?

KM: Horse trail like that, the *mauka* road?

LH: The main *alanui*?

KM: 'Ae.

LH: No they have *alanui* at that time.

KM: Oh, had *alanui*, *Alanui Aupuni*.

LH: Yes, at that time they have wagon.

KM: Wagons in your time, oh.

LH: Maybe they have cars too, like the Magoons.



KM: Oh yeah?  
 LH: They had car, see.  
 KM: Oh yeah.  
 LH: And then, like the Yee Hop.  
 KM: Yes, Yee Hop.  
 LH: The McWaynes, Bob McWayne.  
 KM: Oh Bob McWayne.  
 LH: At Honomalino.  
 KM: Oh, he was Honomalino side, okay...  
 KM: ...Now, your house, your *mauka* house, was close to the road?  
 LH: Yes, it's close, not too far.  
 KM: A little more above?  
 LH: *Mauka*, yeah.  
 KM: Ah, did you folks grow *'uala* or *kalo* and things like that *mauka*?  
 LH: Yes, yes *mauka*.

[Describes cultivation of *kalo*, *'uala* and other crops in the uplands.]

KM: Can you talk about, how, how did you grow *kalo* when you were a child? 'Cause no more river, no more *lo'i*, yeah?  
 LH: No more. All dry land.  
 KM: Dry land.  
 LH: Mostly *mauka* get the kind *hāpu'u* eh. The *hāpu'u*, they get the kind *'āma'u* eh.  
 KM: 'Ae.  
 LH: And then they go cut maybe, five, six months before, and they come kind of *palahū* eh.  
 KM: 'Ae.  
 LH: Then they start planting.  
 KM: So you mean they go cut the *'āma'u*...?  
 LH: All the fern, *hāpu'u* first.  
 KM: All the *hāpu'u* like that.  
 LH: The *hāpu'u* down, maybe about maybe half acre, quarter acre, whatever.  
 KM: Oh, oh and so they cut down...?  
 LH: And then so they leave 'em, yeah.  
 KM: Oh, so *kīpulu*, mulch like?  
 LH: Make 'em come *palahū* like.  
 KM: *Palahū*, soft, broken up, it starts to break up.  
 LH: Then they plant.  
 KM: Oh. What time of year did you plant your *kalo*?  
 LH: The *kalo*, we plant anytime.



KM: Anytime?

LH: Anytime.

KM: Oh, so you could just go clear a field.

LH: Yes, anytime.

KM: Five or six months let it wait?

LH: Yes, yes.

KM: And then *kanu* the *huli*.

LH: Yes.

KM: What kind of *kalo* did you plant?

LH: At that time they had these...they call that 'ohe.

KM: 'Ohe, oh, so like the *ka'ohe*?

LH: Yes, and they get *pala'i'i*.

KM: 'Ae.

LH: They get *makoko*, another type, 'ele'ele, they call it, and uh, they get *lehua* too.

KM: 'Ae, *lehua*. Did they, did you ever hear them talk about *lehua ku i ka wao*?

LH: No.

KM: Just *lehua*?

LH: Just *lehua*, yeah. And they get one more other taro, that 'a'ala, smell. You know that?

KM: Oh.

LH: 'O'opu *kai*.

KM: 'O'opu *kai*. Oh, I have one *huli*, just coming up over here now.

LH: 'O'opu *kai*, they get 'ula'ula, that's all table kind taro.

KM: Yes... So you would clear like a half acre at a time?

LH: Half acre, quarter acre, yeah.

KM: And this, and so you put all *kīpulu*, did you make mounds or did you dig holes?

LH: No, no, dig holes, dig holes.

KM: Dig holes, so.

LH: Cause plenty *pōhaku* eh.

KM: 'Ae, 'ae.

LH: All rocky land over here.

KM: Yes, so you?

LH: *Hemo* the stone, yeah. And get this little bit dirt.

KM: And put the mulch inside the 'āma'u and the *hāpu'u*, like that?

LH: Yes, yes.

KM: Oh.

LH: Over there, no, not too much *lepo*.

KM: 'Ae. Now how did it get wet, water?



LH: Well, rain.

KM: Rain.

LH: It depend on the kind, that's why they moved way *mauka*. See they come down close to the *alanui*, over here more dry.

KM: Oh I see, so you go more *mauka*.

LH: Yes, yes, more *mauka*, and the *ōhi'a* trees, they keep, they don't cut everything down. No, no they keep some trees here and there.

KM: So they keep the *ōhi'a*, make shade?

LH: Yes, make shade.

KM: And then the cloud comes and *uhiwai*, or what?

LH: Make rain, yeah.

KM: Get *uhiwai*?

LH: Yes, get, get. Most *mauka* they always raining too. *Makai* dry.

KM: So you had *ala hele* go *mauka* above the house?

LH: We get our own *alanui* for go up.

KM: 'Ae.

LH: And get some other people, they lease the land too, over there only few people own *āina* over there, most no more.

KM: So your family owned the *āina*. Who else, who were some of the people lived around you, when you were young?

LH: Get plenty.

KM: Kaleohano?

LH: Kaleohano was there, and Peke Bob, Bill Bob.

KM: Bill Bob, Peke Bob, ah.

LH: Yes, Peke Bob.

KM: But he's Hawaiian?

LH: Yes, Hawaiian, something.

KM: *Hapa*?

LH: *Hapa*, yeah. And they get this ah, Akana family over there, they get the Grace.

KM: The Akanas and Graces were there?

LH: Yes, they all family, they marry one of the Grace girls married Akana had the store.

KM: Oh I see, oh.

LH: Get a couple Japanese was there too.

KM: Oh yeah?

LH: They get Nishimura, they get Miyaraki.

KM: Hmm. How about, so was anyone growing...you grew *kalo*.

LH: Everybody.

KM: And how about, did you grow *u'ala*?



LH: Yes.

KM: Up there or more *maka'i*?

LH: Well *'uala*, no matter where, it's alright, yeah.

KM: How about, what kind of *'uala*, do you remember?

LH: I don't know, but... [thinking]

KM: *Huamoa*?

LH: Yes, *huamoa*, get yeah.

KM: *Hi'iaka*, perhaps?

LH: I think *hi'iaka*, get.

KM: Ah.

LH: And then another *'uala* they call that *lima*, the kind you get five kind. [gestures the shape of a hand]

KM: Oh.

LH: Yes, yes.

KM: How about you folks had *mai'a* too?

LH: Banana, yes.

KM: Oh, Hawaiian?

LH: Yes.

KM: Hawaiian?

LH: See that banana? Like my uncle and them they plant plenty banana, and they send that banana to Honolulu.

KM: Oh yeah, oh, so they were kind of making like...?

LH: Making like commercial, yeah.

KM: Commercial kind, oh good.

LH: See the guys was planting bananas over there is this guy, Kuaimoku... Not Kuaimoku... [thinking] That's why I should write down. [The name was Kalaweaumoku, as discussed later.]

KM: Well, we can try come back to it too, you know. When I write this out for you, you'll see, then you can, if you don't remember the name.

LH: Yes, yes, you see the guys who get land over there I tell you who, who get land over there. It's the Kama'u family, *'āina konohiki* they call that, Baker.

KM: So William Kama'u?

LH: Yes, this Kama'u here, that's a Baker Estate

KM: Aunty Jojo's?

LH: Yes.

KM: Oh, okay.

LH: See, them. You see the Kama'u family [under the line of Kaihenui] is over there, they bought the *konohiki* rights. The Baker Estate. I don't know this guy come over there maybe he was scooping land from people or what I don't know.



KM: Who, William?  
LH: No, no, David Baker... When I was small, young. I don't know *haole*, Samoan something, I don't know.  
KM: Oh yeah, *hapa*?  
LH: Yes, then the Kama'u bought that place, that *'āina* over there.  
KM: Yes.  
LH: And they get another people... Then along side us, they get this Ma'ele family.  
KM: Oh.  
LH: And all this, Ahuna family over here [on the north of them].  
KM: Yes.  
LH: They get big place. And the Ma'ele Estate.  
KM: Oh.  
LH: Then I think the mama married to Kalaweaumoku or what, I don't know. Something like that. Kalaweaumoku, that's the one's that planted banana.  
KM: Kalaweaumoku, so not Kuaimoku. So it was Kalaweaumoku who planted the bananas?  
LH: Yes  
KM: Okay.  
LH: Then another family by Kuaimoku too, but they stay on the 'Ala'ē side.  
KM: Oh.  
LH: They have property. That's the property the Magoons got now. The Magoons.  
KM: Yes.  
LH: That belongs...some of the property belonged to Kuaimoku [Grant No. 2024, in Ka'ohe 1-3].  
KM: Oh.  
LH: That's where Magoon now.  
KM: So had families living around you yeah?  
LH: Plenty, plenty. Plenty people.  
KM: And all *kanu* like that?  
LH: Yes, they get their own house, and some of them they're not fishermen, they just stay *mauka*. And then maybe they work for somebody, like Magoons, sometime they hire people to work.  
KM: Oh you mean ranch like that?  
LH: Yes ranch, or clean land.  
KM: Oh, I see.  
LH: And the Yee Hop, C.Q. Yee Hop.  
KM: Uh-hmm.  
LH: So the 'Ōpihali (as pronounced) people, some of them they work for Yee Hop.  
KM: So, 'Ōpihihali.



LH: 'Ōpihali. You see Ka'ohē, come to Waikaku'u... You know we going to Ka'ū side. [pointing to lands on map]

KM: 'Ae.

LH: See, Ka'ohē, that's us, then Waikaku'u, then come Kukuiopa'e.

KM: O-pa'e?

LH: Kukuiopa'e.

KM: Pa'e, okay.

LH: Yes, then, then come Kolo, 'Olelomoana, then come 'Ōpihali.

KM: 'Ae.

LH: So that's how, and I come to 'Ōpihali. 'Ōpihali people, at that time they get that kind homestead.

KM: Yes.

LH: See that's where the Ontais was, there.

KM: Ontai, oh.

LH: Then maybe Ontai sold their interest to Yee Hop. So Yee Hop own all that place up there. 'Ōhi'a Mill right up to Koa Camp at 'Alikā.

KM: Yes, Oh so that 'Ōhi'a Mill, still has the remnants of the...?

LH: Yes, yes, yes, way up *mauka*, the 'Ōhi'a Mill.

KM: Yes.

LH: The lava flow came way up, by the Koa Camp, way *mauka*.

KM: Way *mauka*.

LH: Yes. Us too, Hao had a charcoal kiln, and mill 'ōhi'a, at Ka'apuna side.

KM: So the family used to make charcoal from 'ōhi'a?

LH: Yes, for home and sell.

KM: Hmm... Now you though, your mama, your *tūtū* them took care of their 'āina, *mauka*?

LH: Yes, yes, *mauka* and *makai*.

KM: Did *tūtū*, you know when...how did you folks plant? Did *tūtū* still 'oli, did she go out...did you hear the *tūtū* them kind of 'oli?

LH: Like me [chuckles], only my grandmother, yeah, when I was...when she died I was eight years old.

KM: You were eight yeah?

LH: So I don't remember too much.

KM: She would chant, 'oli or something when she go out?

LH: No, no.

KM: Did you folks have church out there?

LH: Yes...

KM: ...Now, you folks live up there, you get house *mauka*?

LH: We have house *mauka*, way up by the farm, you know sometimes a little bit too far walking up ah, so we, we stay *mauka*, way up *mauka* where the, where we plant *kalo*.



KM: How far *mauka* is that from your house up the road?

LH: I think maybe, over a mile, way up. Maybe one, two miles, I think.

KM: A mile or more, oh. And you folks walk all the time, yeah?

LH: Yes, yesh, we walk. And then we stay up, see, maybe two, three weeks, one month, then we... But every Sunday we come down.

KM: Go church?

LH: Yes... But my uncle and them they don't go to that church, they go to the Catholic [laughing]...

KM: Katolika.

LH: They Katolika [laughing]. The church right there, but they don't go. Even me same thing... Obed and them, they were Catholic, and then the Ka'awa family, the Kalāuli family.

KM: Kalāuli and Ka'awa?

LH: Yes, they're supposed to be Ka'awa the last name.

KM: Ka'awa?

LH: Yes, but they went on the first name, just like Ka'iawe, same thing.

KM: Oh.

LH: So Kalāuli is Kalāuli, but Ka'awa supposed to be...some went Ka'awa some went Kalāuli.

KM: Oh, so *pili*.

LH: Get plenty in here...

KM: ...Interesting. How did you get *mauka*, if you stay your house in the farm, at the *māla 'ai*?

LH: *Māla 'ai*, yeah.

KM: How did you get your water, only catch rain, or had, no more *punawai*?

LH: No, no more.

KM: No more?

LH: All rain.

KM: No more spring anywhere *mauka* that you remember?

LH: No, no, no more.

KM: Oh.

[During the dry seasons, the families moved to the shore and fished.]

LH: And then if come too dry, no more water, we move down the beach.

KM: *Ho'i i kai*?

LH: *Kahakai*, because down there get brackish water, eh.

KM: Hmm. So all your water was catchment then?

LH: Catchment.

KM: I wonder how the *kūpuna* them lived a long time before, because no more *piula*. How do you think they catch water?

LH: This I remember, my time we had *piula* already.

KM: Yes, that's right yeah?



LH: Yes, but before that, I don't know.

KM: When you went *makai* from your house, you walked trail, had a...?

LH: Yes, had a trail, everybody used the same trail.

KM: Same trail?

LH: Everybody there used the same trail.

KM: Was it just a foot trail?

LH: Yes.

KM: On the ground, or did it have stepping stones going down...?

LH: No more.

KM: No more.

LH: They just make trail.

KM: Make trail.

LH: They get the donkey you know, that's their transportation [laughing]. Up and down, so every house must get one.

KM: One eh? So if you and *tūtū* went down, *tūtū* ride donkey and you walk or...?

LH: At that time, I no remember. When my *tūtū* time was living, I don't remember too good yeah. My uncle time, yeah, I was growing up and big boy, then fourteen years old I left school to help him...

KM: ...So you folks when no more water, when *malo'o mauka*...?

LH: Yes.

KM: You folks go down, live in a house down on the ocean?

LH: Yes, we get house. We get house *mahi 'ai* place. We get house below, in the middle, on the main road, and then we get house down the beach.

KM: Hmm. All wood house?

LH: No.

KM: No?

LH: *Mauka, mauka* side, the center house [near Māmalahoa Highway], we get wood house. *Mauka* house we get the kind *pili*.

KM: *Pili*?

LH: You know by the side yeah, thatched with *pili*.

KM: So at the *mahina 'ai*, it was *pili* house?

LH: Yes.

KM: How about *makai*?

LH: *Makai* same thing. We get *pili* house too.

KM: *Pili*. Oh, did you help to *aho*, and take that...?

LH: No, was old already.

KM: No. So was an old family house? How amazing.

LH: The house was there.



KM: So it was *kīpapa*, all stone *kahua*?

LH: All nice, all nice.

KM: And what, had *'ili'ili* on the floor?

LH: *'ili'ili*, yes.

KM: Where did you cook?

LH: Well they make stove.

KM: Make stove but had *kapuahi* inside the house?

LH: Outside, outside.

KM: Outside, oh.

LH: On the verandah side, or something.

KM: 'Ae...

KM: Did you folks make your own *pa'i 'ai*, pound *poi*, *ku'i pōhaku*?

LH: Yes, every...maybe once a week, twice a week, something like that.

KM: So you, you get the *papa* and *pōhaku ku'i*?

LH: Get the *papa*, get the *pōhaku*.

KM: 'Ae.

LH: They teach me how to pound. I was big, big boy already so I do that.

KM: Hard work?

LH: No, not that hard, but like us *kamali'i*, they when they give you work little bit more, that's hard work already, but it's not [laughing].

KM: Yes... ..You know, when you folks would go *makai*, who goes fishing?

[Describes *ōpelu* fishing from canoe.]

LH: Well that time I grew up, I was a big boy already. My uncle, me and my uncle we go fishing.

KM: Ah, what kind fish?

LH: We catch *ōpelu*.

KM: Oh, so you get *wa'a*, down there.

LH: Had *wa'a*.

KM: So has *paena wa'a*?

LH: Yes, get.

KM: The canoe landing down there?

LH: Canoe landing, yeah, they get everything there.

KM: What kind nets you folks used?

LH: *Ōpelu* net.

KM: And was *olonā* or cloth net?

LH: No was all the kind...somebody made thread and some get the kind real line, regular 'aho kind.

KM: And did you use *pōhaku* or did you use lead weights by then? You know like the *pākā*,



when you make your ōpelu net like that, what kind of weight did you use?

LH: They get...at that time, lead.

KM: Lead, so you no use stone?

LH: They melt the lead and they made so much. They know what they're doing. But like me, I don't know, they know. And they get the *kuku* on top, they get this *'ūlei* they call that.

KM: *'Ūlei?*

LH: The stick.

KM: The stick, oh, what was that for?

LH: That's for the on top, for you to make round eh [gestures, making the hoop to close the net], *poepoe*.

KM: Round eh.

LH: Yes, and they call that *'ūlei*.

KM: *'Ūlei*, 'cause that was the wood they used too, eh?

LH: Yes, they used it at that time, that kind of wood.

KM: Hmm. Can you tell me about how you go out from your canoe, and you go out and you had *ko'a* ōpelu?

LH: Get.

KM: Can you tell us, share with us about that?

[Many *ko'a* were known and used by the fishermen; and were regularly visited and cared for (the fish fed and trained to take the bait).]

LH: Yes, yes, get *ko'a*. Get plenty *ko'a* out there, they all get names, all the *ko'a*. And then like them, they go out there but they not going tell you, up to you to...you think for yourself. But that's how the Hawaiians do. They go out they fish they no tell you, but you got to think, you got to look for yourself.

KM: *'Ae, nānā ka maka.*

LH: *Nānā ka maka!* But like my uncle, sometimes he tell me see. They get names for the *ko'a*.

KM: So what was it like, can you tell, how did you go fish for ōpelu.

LH: Over there, ōpelu at that time, they feed the ōpelu, they keep them, they *mālama*.

KM: Oh so they *hānai*, *mālama ke ko'a*.

LH: *Mālama*, they *hānai*, they feed maybe two months or maybe almost three months or what. Maybe they start maybe February, March... [thinking] March maybe, then they start to feed see, feed the ōpelu, March, April, May.

KM: They *pa'i* the side of the canoe, draw the fish to come?

LH: Yes, yes.

KM: What was your *maunu*, what did you use?

LH: Well they get *kalo*, you know they grate the *kalo*.

KM: Grate the *kalo*, 'ae.

LH: Grate the *kalo*, pumpkin. That's why like us, we plant pumpkin, we plant Chinese taro, *kalo Pākē*, they call that, and regular taro. For ōpelu that, feed for the ōpelu.

KM: So the ōpelu 'ono for that?



LH: Yes.

KM: No, 'ōpae?

LH: No, no.

KM: You no need 'ōpae, nothing?

LH: Us no more 'ōpae, other place maybe get the kind *poho kai*, yeah?

KM: 'Ae, 'ae.

LH: Us no more.

KM: The *kāheka* with the 'ōpae 'ula inside. So you no more?

LH: No, no, us no more. From Ho'okena, I think Ho'okena maybe get 'ōpae. But from Honokua all the way to Minoli'i no more.

KM: No more.

LH: All feed taro, pumpkin.

KM: So uncle would go out, you would go on canoe?

LH: Me and him.

KM: You folks paddle and when he mālama the 'ōpelu like that.

LH: Yes, he feed first. You feed, and when you see the 'ōpelu coming, you feed, then you put your net down.

KM: Oh, and you drop the net.

LH: You drop the net and then catch some of them, not all, but some [laughing].

KM: Yes, and you were sharing earlier that you know, *ko'a*, you get your *ko'a* in the ocean but sometimes you look one place or another place on the land, and that's how you know where?

[Different types of fish caught by the *kūkaula* – hand line method of fishing.]

LH: Yes, yes, that's for hand line when you go catch maybe *'opaka*, *'ula'ula*, you know that kind, then you go. 'Ōpelu, that's all right you get mark too, but the mark no trouble, you can find 'ōpelu. 'Ōpelu ground is easy. Only the kind hand line kind then that's when you need mark.

KM: Oh, so *ku'u kaula* like, or *kūkaula*.

LH: Yes, *ku'u kaula*, all that kind, yeah. All land mark, you gotta get the right place, if not, you no can get. And the current, the *'au*, that's the main one.

KM: Current.



[Names *ko'a* in the Honokua-Ōpihali region.]

- LH: Even for the 'ōpelu same thing. So we get plenty *ko'a*, I can tell, I can name you the *ko'a*, and we start from Magoon place, yeah. They call that Kauluoa. [on the boundary of 'Ala'ē and Pāhoehoe]
- KM: Kauluoa.
- LH: That's a good *ko'a*, that. And then you come down, then you come down to our place and get one place named Kanahā.
- KM: Kanahā.
- LH: That's where Pebble Beach is now [at Ka'ohē].
- KM: Oh, 'ae.
- LH: You went down there?
- KM: No.
- LH: Well, right outside there, that's Kanahā. Then come past that, is Kawai.
- KM: Kawai.
- LH: That's the main *ko'a* that. There's three main *ko'a*, that.
- KM: And those fish for?
- LH: We catch fish for dry and sell, that's how they make the living.
- KM: So 'ōpelu, so that's your *ko'a* 'ōpelu?
- LH: Yes, people make the living, the fisherman, by catching 'ōpelu, dry and send Honolulu, or whoever the people over there, they buy eh.
- KM: 'Ae.
- LH: So, that's how, this the main three good *ko'a*, right there.
- KM: 'Ae.
- LH: And when you pass over there you go down 'Ōpihali side, they get 'Ōlelomoana, they call that. Get one *ko'a* there, 'Ōlelomoana. And then they get one, another *ko'a*, they call that Kūkulu. [Kūkulu Rock, on the Boundary of 'Ōlelomoana and 'Ōpihali.]
- KM: Kūkulu.

[Flow of currents observed for use of *ko'a*.]

- LH: Right next to 'Ōpihali, close. That's the *ko'a*, I know. And all these *ko'a* they get current, their own current.
- KM: You get the mark, you know, yeah?
- LH: Yes.
- KM: How wonderful yeah? The *tūtū* were so smart yeah?
- LH: You see like my uncle Obed, like me now, first we go out Kawai [fronting Ka'ohē 5], we paddle out there, then we drift little bit then we look where the current go.
- KM: So which way the current ran out there?
- LH: Yes.
- KM: Where did you?
- LH: Kawai, the current got to go Ka'ū side.



KM: So you go Ka'ū side, drift.

LH: Yes you drift. And if the current drift up Kona side, the fish not going be there. The fish move to another place. Then we know the current of that *ko'a*, we go to that *ko'a*. The Kona current, they stay over there already.

KM: Hmm, interesting. Smart yeah?

LH: Yes.

KM: So you watch the season like that, and where the fish go?

LH: Yes. And even you take somebody with you, out there fishing, maybe they catch fish today tonight the current change then you go there, the fish not there. See, *malihini* yeah. They don't know the current. The important thing, don't tell anybody about the current of the spot, but these people down there like the Smith Kaleohano them, they know.

KM: Hmm. You also mentioned earlier, Magoon's *ko'a*. What *'āina* was Magoon in?

LH: Magoon owns Pāhoehoe Ranch?

KM: Pāhoehoe?

LH: Hale'ili, they call that. The big name, Magoon Ranch, Pāhoehoe.

KM: 'Ae.

LH: See, you start from Pāhoehoe, too, way down eh.

KM: Oh, so that's all Magoon's *'āina*?

LH: Yes.

KM: So that's where that other *ko'a* you mentioned was in, that *'āina*?

LH: Yes, Kauluoa.

KM: Kauluoa.

LH: And then go Honokua side, they get name for the *ko'a* too. They get one name Kalepe... [laughing]

KM: Kalepe.

LH: Kalepe, that's good *ko'a* too.

KM: All for ōpelu?

LH: All ōpelu.

KM: Hmm.

LH: Over there get some *ko'a*, get two currents.

KM: 'Oia?

LH: Two. Some, some place get only one.

KM: Hmm. So these currents in the ocean are important to know for the *kama'āina* fishermen?

LH: Yes, yes, the water, the ocean, *'au kai*.

KM: So all these currents, like, Kawai, Kauluoa, those are all *'au kai* and you followed those, and that take you to the fishing spot, to the *ko'a*?

LH: You know already, what current. You gotta go to that spot, the place name, where get the current.

KM: Oh, so amazing.



LH: See, if the current change you don't go over there, because no more fish over there now, they move. They not going be there. So you gotta know the current of the *ko'a* too.

KM: Hmm, they're so observant yeah?

LH: That's smart, those buggas.

[Families would *hānai* the *ko'a* and take turns fishing the *ko'a*, respecting one another's fishery.]

KM: So you would *hānai*, go...?

LH: Yes, first you *hānai*.

KM: You go early morning or late?

LH: Everybody take turns. Maybe there about seven or eight canoes, the families, they fishing. Maybe three families this week, bumbye you go next week. Change, yeah, not only one person go there.

KM: Yes.

LH: Until the time come, then they catch.

KM: But how, when you were fishing, did people respect if someone is fishing?

LH: They respect, yeah.

KM: They no go make trouble, go for somebody else.

LH: No, no more, not like today, no nobody respect, no. No respect, today.

KM: Sad yeah?

LH: Yes, today no more, you cannot feed, somebody else going take 'em, cause you no own the ocean, they tell you that.

KM: Yes, that's right. So you cannot go feed 'em like before?

LH: No can, no can.

KM: Oh.

LH: Minoli'i, all feed, before. Then come down to us, 'Ōpihali, Ka'ohe, Honokua. But I don't know about Ho'okena. We all feed, keep the *'ōpelu*. Today, cannot.

KM: Hmm. How deep did you have to drop your net?

LH: Well we say maybe about eighty fathoms deep you know, from on top, down to the bottom, yeah. The *ko'a*, the *'ōpelu* is way out you know, not shallow.

KM: Yes, deep yeah. So eighty fathoms?

LH: Maybe, around there, you go out, you look with your glass box, until you cannot see the bottom, so I don't know how deep, see.

KM: 'Ae.

LH: See we look by the glass box, if you see the bottom, hey, you shallow already. Then move out in the deep, that's how we fish, *'ōpelu*. So I don't know how deep, but to my guess, I think around there.

KM: Ah, how big is your *'ōpelu* net?

LH: Our *'ōpelu* net is twenty-four feet, twenty feet on top yeah.

KM: Uh-hmm.

LH: Maybe, diameter, I don't know if get what, twelve feet?

KM: Oh. So the big circle?



LH: Yes, the big circle, yeah, well when you circle the net.

KM: How do you go on the canoe, you make it, you make two ends come together or, is it already round?

LH: No, no, when you throw the net...you throw the net down, then the *kuku*, then you start, bending it.

KM: I see, so the *'ūlei kuku*, and you bend it *poepoe*?

LH: *'Ūlei*, bend it till you, take it, take it [gestures bring the two ends of the *kuku* together]. Then the thing stay round.

KM: Together, and then you lock it together.

LH: Lock 'em together, and net stay round, eh.

KM: 'Ae.

LH: Then you drop 'em down, see the depth of the fish, that's where your net going down.

KM: Ah.

LH: And the way you feed, yeah, maybe we say fifteen feet from the on top down, or twenty feet, that's where you feeding your *'ōpelu*. Your net gotta go below that.

KM: And so when you close the net, it's all *pa'a*, closed?

LH: *Pa'a* underneath, and get bag.

KM: No more *puka*, get bag.

LH: Get bag.

KM: And so then, you pull it up?

LH: Yes.

KM: Oh.

LH: Then you gotta know how to catch them, I get net.

KM: You still get *'ōpelu* net?

LH: I think I got the biggest net in the state.

KM: Wow.

LH: I got 'em.

KM: Oh.

LH: I get 'em home, yeah.

KM: Good, good.

LH: I know everybody who get net.

KM: Hmm.

LH: My cousin down there in Ho'okena, Alani, the Alani family.

KM: Oh.

LH: They're fisherman.

KM: Oh yeah?

LH: Alani married into Kaleohano, plenty of them.

KM: 'Ae, plenty family, yeah? What other kind of fish you folks would go for?



LH: We, we catch *'ōpelu* and then we catch, *'ū'ū*. They call that *mempahci*. And then we get market too, people come, Japanese market.

KM: Oh.

LH: We have. We go catch *mempachi*, whatever fish you get, then you put on the donkey early in the morning you come up, 'cause the guy waiting for you up there.

KM: Ah yes.

LH: Maybe ten, twelve of us fisherman.

KM: Put in basket, *lauhala* or...?

LH: Yes, yes, put in *lauhala*, or you put in the cracker can, whatever.

KM: Cracker can, oh, oh? And so then you take on the donkey go up.

LH: Yes, or you get box, the kind cracker box, the kind, on the side. You put them, so they no come like that [gesture with hand, no good].

KM: Yes.

LH: Then when you reach up there, the guy up there with the scale.

KM: Wow. And you folks had *luawai* down there for water, for brackish water, *wai kai*, like?

LH: Yes, yes, we get.

KM: So you folks could live down there, drink the water from the *luawai*?

LH: Plenty, plenty water, plenty.

KM: Oh, and had old trail go there to the other villages, like that?

LH: Had trail, had trail.

KM: How about *manō*, *niuhi*?

LH: The *manō* [chuckles], get plenty, but they no bother.

KM: Did uncle them...like did they kind of respect that, *manō*? Or did they no bother?

LH: They no bother.

KM: They no bother, so not like *'aumakua*, or something?

LH: No, no, no.

KM: Yes, yes.

[They only used plants as bait, and never used meat because the *pōwā* (thieves – predatory fish) would come in and attack the *ko'a*.]

LH: That's why like us, before my, our days, way back, and then they feed the *'ōpelu* all that kind taro, pumpkin, sweet potato whatever, but no put fish meat inside, like today.

KM: Oh, how come?

LH: No bumbye the, the *pōwā* they call it.

KM: *Pōwā*?

LH: Yes, *pōwā*. You know the kind, maybe *uluu* stay there, maybe *kawakawa*, all the kind, no good kind fish.

KM: Yes, yes, the kind more vicious fish.



LH: Yes, he going attack the 'ōpelu. That's why you, when those buggas come around there the 'ōpelu, take off.

KM: How smart.

LH: Like today, they use no good kind bait.

KM: So if you use meat, the more aggressive fish, even the *manō*...

LH: Yes, yes, they going hang around the *ko'a*.

KM: They going catch the *hanu*?

LH: Yes, and then they going to stay over there. And that kind fish like that you try and catch them. Otherwise they going to chase the 'ōpelu and you going get hard time.

KM: Oh.

LH: That's why, people in those days, they no feed other kind stuff, that fish meat or can salmon, or sardine you know.

KM: Hmm, 'ae.

LH: That now, hey, they feed any kind [shaking his head].

KM: Yes.

LH: And all kinds of no good kind fish stay over there, now.

KM: Oh, so the *ko'a* jam up then?

LH: The *ko'a* yeah, spoiled.

KM: *Aloha no!*

LH: Every place now.

KM: Hmm, amazing... [thinking] Was there a fishpond, down somewhere down there, had a fishpond?

LH: In Ka'ohē no more. There is no such thing as a fishpond from...I think from Honokua all the way to Minoli'i. Maybe Minoli'i, get though.

KM: Ah.

LH: Fishpond, I think they get, but us no more.

KM: And you didn't hear if 'Alikā get...no more?

LH: No more.

KM: No more nothing.

LH: No more. 'Alikā, Pāpā, no more. Maybe Miloli'i get.

KM: Yes, little pond?

LH: Yes, little pond, yeah, yeah.

KM: But you folks, what happened, if you go down, and rough water?

LH: Well rough water, no can go.

KM: No can go fish, yeah? Did you folks make *umu* or *imu*, or anything close by the shore?

LH: No, no. No need.

KM: Hmm. So you dried the fish, keep some stored like that?



LH: Ho'okena, maybe yeah, they put stone in the kind... Where they get plenty sand, yeah, and they put stone eh.

[Imu, stone mounds used to trap fish in certain areas near-shore.]

KM: Yes, *imu* or *umu*?

LH: *Imu*, and then the fish go in there.

KM: 'Ae.

LH: So, us no more sand, all *pōhaku*.

KM: All *pōhaku*.

LH: All *pōhaku*.

KM: So how did, was it hard to land your canoe?

LH: No, we get good landing.

KM: You had a good landing.

LH: Oh yes, those people way back, they clean the place.

KM: So they took care.

LH: Took care, 'Ōpihali get good landing too. Even Ka'ohē. Only when rough sea come, then *huli* the stone eh. Then come little bit rough, but everybody help, make the place good.

KM: Oh, what a wonderful story.

LH: Kukuiopa'e get nice landing.

KM: 'Oia?

LH: Nice, good.

KM: And so still had families *makai* in some of those areas, Kukuiopa'e?

LH: Yes, but not now.

KM: No more now, yeah?

LH: Before had.

KM: So your time as a child, still had?

LH: Yes, my time, the Kukuiopa'e families, they go down Kukuiopa'e. The Ka'ohē family go down Ka'ohē Beach, they get name for the place.

[The fishermen respected one another's *ko'a*. Describes fishing and how the fish were numbered and distributed.]

KM: So each person, or each group in the *ahupua'a*, they only fish and live in their *ahupua'a*? They no go *maha'oi*, or take from other places?

LH: Oh they go.

KM: They go?

LH: They go.

KM: Hmm, so there was cross over?

LH: Yes, no, no trouble, yeah.

KM: No trouble?

LH: No, no, see like us, we stay Ka'ohē, we can go 'Ōpihali side.



KM: 'Oia?

LH: And they can come too, if they like.

KM: I see.

LH: Up to them, but they no can paddle too far, eh.

KM: Ah.

LH: Then us, we cross over too, go Honokua side. And the Honokua people same thing.

KM: Come your side?

LH: When, when we get plenty 'ōpēlu in our place, ah they going come, yeah.

KM: So they going share?

LH: Yes.

KM: But if someone...if your uncle them, set your net down...?

LH: Yes.

KM: No one else is going come try to feed or something on top you, yeah?

LH: No, no, you cannot feed, but you can come and drop your net.

KM: 'Oia?

LH: You can.

KM: And how many, hundreds of fish one time, plenty?

LH: When you drop your net?

KM: Yes.

LH: Yes, yes.

KM: Hundreds?

LH: Yes, yes, hundreds. They go by the *lau*, four or five, *ka'au* one time, that's forty. Forty fish to one *ka'au* yeah.

KM: 'Ae.

LH: Then we say, five *ka'au*. That was forty times five.

KM: 'Ae.

LH: And that's the amount of fish you catch.

KM: So *ka'au*. What's the description, four, four fish is what? *Kāuna*, four. And *ka'au* is?

LH: Forty.

KM: Forty.

LH: You count forty.

KM: 'Ae.

LH: That's one *ka'au*. Then you put one count eh.

KM: 'Ae.

LH: So you know, so you forty *pau*. Then you put one over there, then forty so you know how much, the count over there.

KM: What is a *lau*?



LH: *Lau* means ten, you get ten, forties.  
 KM: Ten forties, so four hundred all together.  
 LH: Yes. Then, you get ten fish over there.  
 KM: Ahh.  
 LH: If you no do that, you don't know how much you giving to the person, they like four *ka'au*, well okay you county forty. Forty, then you put one, the count is right there.  
 KM: I see, oh.  
 LH: Yes, and those days the fish cheap.  
 KM: Cheap yeah?  
 LH: Yes, forty cents one. That's just like one cent one fish.  
 KM: One cent one fish. So one *ka'au*, forty cents?  
 LH: One, forty cents. Some fifty cents, it all depends yeah.  
 KM: [sighs – shaking head]  
 LH: Those days [shaking his head].  
 KM: Hard yeah?  
 LH: Yes, I tell you.  
 KM: Hmmm, amazing.  
 LH: Yes.  
 KM: Now *tūtū* Mikala nui passed away in 1915?  
 LH: 1915, yeah.  
 KM: And so you stayed with uncle Obed?  
 LH: Uncle Obed, yeah, that's how I been learn from him.

[Kawele'ā fishing described.]

LH: ...And *tūtū* Uhai is the one who taught my uncle Obed about fishing the *ko'a* for *kawele'ā*, *hāuliuli*. That *ko'a* is about 80 or 90 fathoms deep. We sometimes stay out all night for that fish. It was certain nights of the moon that we go for that. There were also other old people like Kealohapau'ole and Lapa'uila, who had been fishermen that my uncle learned from. They were are part of a *hui* at one time [see footnote below].  
 KM: Ah, so fishermen of the region?  
 LH: Yes.  
 KM: And you folks still used some of the old methods, moon like that?  
 LH: Yes.  
 KM: ...And when did you leave Ka'ohe?  
 LH: I left Ka'ohe, I think 19...wait now [thinking]. I think 1926, 27, I think.  
 KM: So 1926, 1927.  
 LH: I think regular, when I actually left over there I think in 1929.  
 KM: 'Oia.  
 LH: When I left.



KM: When you actually left, *pau*?  
LH: Yes, yes. So when 19, when I made 19 years old, 20, I went on my own, see.  
KM: I see.  
LH: Then I work for Magoon.  
KM: Oh so down Pāhoehoe side?  
LH: Pāhoehoe. I used to drive truck, take care the truck.  
KM: I see...

[Entered into the commercial fishing business.]

LH: ...After the war, I bought a fishing boat, I went fishing.  
KM: Oh, out of Hilo, or Kona?  
LH: No, no, Kona, that's when I went Minoli'i.  
KM: Oh, so you lived out Miloli'i then?  
LH: I lived at Minoli'i, then we opened that Ho'okena port.  
KM: So you and your wife?  
LH: Me and my wife.  
KM: And you had children at that time?  
LH: Yes... So I was fishing... I was making good money that time, fishing, and then I had the three fishing boats.  
KM: So *ōpelu* fisherman mostly, or you go out...?  
LH: *Ōpelu*. Ho'okena people was fishing, catching *ōpelu*, I buy, buy all, all their fish. I had three fishing boats, sampan over there, yeah, I take ten percent, on every dollar they make, on the boat.  
KM: Yes. Oh. So you would haul the fish, go market?  
LH: Market, we have our own fish market too.  
KM: Oh.  
LH: We had two fish markets.  
KM: Miloli'i?  
LH: No, no, over here in Hilo.  
KM: Oh, here in Hilo.  
LH: One in Hilo, one in Kea'au.  
KM: Oh yes, Kea'au?  
LH: Before had the theater over there before.  
KM: Oh.  
LH: Way back, way back, I talking eh, way back now.  
KM: Forties, eh?



LH: Yes. Forty, forty-five, forty-six, yeah, forty-seven, forty-seven, I left Ho'okena, I moved to Hilo, *pau*. I stay fish out in Hilo. Then 1950, when I lost the boat, I closed up the fish market everything shut down.

KM: How'd you loose the boat?

LH: Caught fire.

KM: 'Auwē.

LH: In Kawaihae.

KM: 'Oia?

LH: Yes. We was coming to Hilo that time, but we been park in Kawaihae for that night. In the morning, I like start coming back yeah, the big diesel boat, caterpillar diesel with the D-6 caterpillar, forty-two foot, big one.

KM: Oh boy.

LH: But that, that time when I start the boat, it backfired, you know the small engine.

KM: Yes, yes.

LH: Caterpillar get small engine, yeah. It backfired, then caught fire see.

KM: Oh.

LH: The muffler, right there, boom eh, start burning. Then, then I go for the fire extinguisher, but you know, that that thing you supposed to check all the time that thing not, not working. So I went dip water, bucket water, throw on that a small engine was burning, I figure going explode, but never explode. So when I throw the water on top then that's when the you know the gas...

KM: Oh, spread?

LH: On the water, then...

KM: Spread out.

LH: Spread out and went underneath.

KM: 'Auwē!

LH: Then over there get diesel oil get all kind, then we start big fire. Cannot stop no more, *pau*, gone. That's where. Then when we do we bail, jump in the water, swim.

KM: Yes.

LH: But we was in the pier already.

KM: Kawaihae?

LH: Kawaihae.

KM: Hmm, 1950?

LH: Nineteen-fifty.

KM: Hmm.

LH: Then I close everything, because I cannot, some of this other business people was against me that time. They was trying to get rid of me 'eh, 'cause I get rid of them too, at first, beginning I was attacking them. 'Cause, they, they not doing the right thing too.

KM: Well you had plenty fish...

LH: Plenty.



KM: Access to the fish like that...

LH: Yes.

KM: And you were fair.

LH: And my fish goes to Sui San auction, my wife go there and auction too, with the fish, see.

KM: Uh-hmm.

LH: So, we no pay no fee, the rest of the guys they pay fee, \$15.00 a month, to, to go in auction block. But like me, they was so afraid of me, so I was free, I had two fish peddling cars.

KM: Oh peddling cars? So you go around Hilo, drive peddle fish?

LH: Yes, my wife stays in the market, sometimes she goes out, we let somebody in the market and we get one Japanese, Nishikawa, from Mountain View, take care the 'Ōla'a Fish Market up there.

KM: Ahh!

LH: The one in Hilo, right by Yogi's Fish Market before Pi'opi'o Street, one over there.

KM: Oh.

LH: So we when get two.

KM: Amazing.

LH: Then my wife go down, bid...

KM: Amazing, gosh.

LH: We make good money at that time when the boat burn, our mortgage all *pau*, paid...

KM: So how long did you live down Miloli'i?

LH: Ah, I think maybe a couple of months, then we opened up that Ho'okena Port.

KM: Oh I see.

LH: So I was making good with the... See down here they get this kind port captain over here, in the war time yeah.

KM: Yes, yes.

LH: And then Captain Lang I think, or something...

KM: Lang?

LH: Lang, yeah, the name. So I made good with him 'eh, talk story, talk story, then I ask him for that port, 'cause they close the port see...

KM: Oh, I see.

LH: Only, only the port open that time, Kailua, Nāpo'opo'o, and Minoli'i, only three.

KM: Oh, on that whole side, that was all?

LH: Yes. That's all. But I like open Ho'okena, see, but cannot, so I make good with him, I keep going, keep going [laughing], until I got 'em. Yes, he tell me "Okay, Louis, we go open the port." Then I bring my sampan over there in Ho'okena and Charlie Moku'ōhai.

KM: Oh you remember the old man Moku'ōhai?

LH: Yes. Charlie Moku'ōhai, the old man, married to my aunty.

KM: Oh, I see. I understand he was a canoe maker yeah?



LH: Yes, yes, the old man and his son too.  
 KM: 'Ae, oh.  
 LH: The son is Charlie.  
 KM: I see.  
 LH: Now, the old man, named John, John Moku'ōhai  
 KM: Moku'ōhai.  
 LH: Yes, the old man, but the boy Charlie, and he had his other boy by the name of Charlie too.  
 KM: Oh I see.  
 LH: But he passed away.  
 KM: Yes.  
 LH: But Charlie Moku'ōhai that one making canoes, at Ke'ei.  
 KM: 'Ae, Ke'ei. I heard about him.  
 LH: He had shop, he had everything there...

[Reflects on experiences in his life time, the relationship between families and the practices of fishing and working the land.]

KM: 'Ae... ..So you really, as you grew up, your *tūtū* them, you were brought up to live *pono* and truth, yeah?  
 LH: Yes.  
 KM: You know, like you said, "*Maika'i ka hana o ka lima, 'ono no ka 'ai a ka waha!*"  
 LH: Yes, yes... My wife like that, my wife's strict. She *Kalawina*, everything all in line. Shake up the *kamali'i*, "be in line, go, go."  
 KM: Hmm. So after your boat burned 'eh in fifty?  
 LH: Then I went overseas.  
 KM: Oh you went overseas.  
 LH: I went to, I went to Anowitok till 1959...  
 KM: It's so amazing, so you've gone from a young child living in *pili* house, *kanu 'uala*...  
 LH: *Kanu kalo, lawai'a*, that's how I been learn.  
 KM: 'Ae.  
 LH: Until today.  
 KM: And then all the way up to, working overseas like that, and all the things here.  
 LH: Yes...  
 KM: Before, did you folks trade food with the people you know, someone get taro, someone get fish or like that, at Ka'ohe or...?  
 LH: No, no, like us, my time, we sell.  
 KM: You were selling already?  
 LH: We buy their things for us, they buy fish from us...  
 KM: Yes.



LH: Nothing free, and you give me this...

KM: Yes, yes, so that was *pau* in your time?

LH: Yes. I know my uncle, they worked that way, until me, until today, I do the same thing.

KM: Yes.

LH: I no like you give me something, I give you something, no, no...

KM: Yes, yes.

LH: If you buy from me, I buy from you, see, that way better.

KM: Yes.

LH: Sometime I give you too much, you give me little [chuckles].

KM: And *mahope 'ohumu*.

LH: [laughing] '*Ohumu*, that's the truth!

KM: Yes, yes. Well see was a different time yeah?

LH: Even your own friend, good friend, he put you down too.

KM: Hmm.

LH: But you got to watch.

KM: Yes.

LH: See who.

KM: How do you feel, do you have fond memories of your childhood in remembering with your *tūtū* them?

LH: Yes with my uncle, my *tūtū*.

KM: Hard worker?

LH: I mean, I can place her looks today, I think.

KM: 'Ah yes.

LH: I can, yeah... See like us, like my uncle and all them, they don't depend most on the fishing, we get land *mauka*, we plant. Fishing time we go fishing, bumbye *pau* fishing we all go *mauka*.

KM: *Mauka* again?

LH: Plant bananas, oh plenty.

KM: What type of *mai'a*, do you remember?

LH: Hawaiian.

KM: Hawaiian.

LH: Cooking bananas.

KM: Cooking, like a...?

LH: And then the *pōpō'ulu*.

KM: *Pōpō'ulu*?

LH: Yes, but mostly get the kind, cooking kind, big kind banana. Today I no see that kind.

KM: *Mai'a 'ele'ele*?

LH: No.



KM: No? No different, no.

LH: They no plant that kind. The *mai'a*, *'ele'ele*, they plant two but most, outside kind yeah and they use that *hā* you know. That *hā* there, all black, eh?

KM: Yes.

LH: And they use for make the kind, trimming...

KM: Yes, yes for weave the trimming, yeah...

LH: For weave yeah, the trimming. They keep that, but the seed. Even the *pōpō'ulu* that they plant. *Iholena* is another one, and *kaualau*, I think that's the name Hawaiian

KM: *Kaualau*?

LH: Yes, *kaualau*. I no see that kind now... Yes, I get good life. But the way you said in all that time I was working, I tell you I was lucky. I never one time hire as a labor or pick and shovel or that, you know.

KM: Yes, well you...

LH: Always either truck driver, or I know somebody over there they pull me in see.

KM: Yes.

LH: You gotta know somebody, you don't know nobody, you never be there. You would never get there, you gotta know somebody. That's how, that's how I went like that...

KM: Hmm. *Mahalo*, thank you so much. It's so important to share, you know. So do you think it's important to take care of the past and to remember.

LH: Yes, that's right no.

KM: And to know about things you know, yeah.

LH: That's why these thing here, I was going go home and think and write down for when you say something, you start from the beginning. Without writing you going jump here, bumbye you jump there, you jump here and there.

KM: But you know, you did very good. And we tried to go from where you started, and it's so interesting you know, the stories. That's life yeah.

LH: Yes. Like my two boys though.

KM: Well this will be good, I think they will appreciate this.

LH: Oh yeah, Louis especially.

KM: Yes, it's so important to do oral history...



**Mary Tom-Ahuna  
with Flora Ahuna-Chun, Henry Ahuna, Glenn Ahuna,  
Amoi Sam Choy-Yee and Norman Yee,  
and Joann Ho'okano (caregiver for Mrs. Ahuna)  
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly  
March 3, 1999**

Mrs. Mary Tom-Ahuna was born at Ka'alāea, O'ahu on April 1st, 1899<sup>9</sup>. She was of pure Chinese ancestry, but by ca. 1914, she married Loo Fat Kung Ahuna, who was Hawaiian-Chinese, and a native of Kukuioipa'e, South Kona. Mrs. Ahuna moved to Kukuioipa'e, and it was there that she learned to speak Hawaiian and that most of her children were born.

In the interview, Mrs. Ahuna, her children and a couple of close friends (Amoi and Norman Yee), and her caregiver (JoAnn Ho'okano), discuss some of the events and activities of Mrs. Ahuna's life.



**Glenn Ahuna, Amoi Yee and Norman Yee at the 'Ōhi'a Mill in 'Alikā, South Kona. (KPA Photo No 3407)**

Among the recollections shared by Mrs. Ahuna, Mrs. Yee, and family, are stories of fishpond care; dryland agriculture —planting taro, 'awa, and bananas— shoreline fishing in South Kona; making charcoal; exporting the goods from Ho'okena; and about *lauhala* weaving.

On March 11<sup>th</sup>, Mrs. Amoi Sam Choy-Yee and her son, Norman, also participated in an interview. The interview added further details to the relationship shared between the Ahuna and Yee families, and the history of ranching and milling operations in South Kona. Subsequently, on May 18, 2002, Mrs. Yee, her son, Norman, and Glenn and Diane Ahuna participated in a field trip and site interview on the lands of Pāpā, 'Alikā and Kīpāhoehoe, further describing life upon the land.

The following list identifies selected topics and descriptions of fisheries described by Mrs. Ahuna, Mrs. Yee and family:

<b>Topic:</b>	<b>Page</b>
• Describes life at Ka'alāea, and use of the Ka'alāea Fishpond.	75
• Married around 1915, and moved to Kukuioipa'e, her husband's family home.	77
• Family cultivated taro, bananas, and 'awa for home use and export.	78
• Fished for shore fish— <i>humuhumu</i> , <i>maiko</i> and other fish—along the coast of Kukuioipa'e and vicinity; and the men fished for 'ōpelu and other fish from canoes.	80

<sup>9</sup> Mrs. Ahuna passed away in October 1999.



- | <b>Topic:</b>  | <b>Page</b> |
|--|-------------|
| • Amoi Sam Choy-Yee describes the 1950 lava flow; and C.Q. Yee Hop operations in South Kona described. | 86          |
| • Discusses method of fishing along the shore, using the <i>'ala'ala</i> ( <i>he'e</i> liver) as bait. | 87          |

[Describes life at Ka'alaea, and use of the Ka'alaea Fishpond.]

KM: Thank you for being willing to talk story, a little bit. Could you please tell me your full name?

MA: Mary Ahuna.

KM: *'Ehia kou mau makahiki?* [How old are you?]

MA: *Poina* [forget] already [chuckles].

KM: *Poina*. [looking at Glenn] When was mama born?

GA: April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1899.

KM: April 1, 1899, oh little more 100 year old birthday coming up.

GA: Yes, next month.

KM: Where were you born?

MA: Ka'alaea.

KM: On O'ahu?

MA: Uh-hmm.

KM: What did your family do?

MA: My family had one fishpond.

KM: Now, if we think about Ka'alaea, just *makai* of Ka'alaea, the shoreline, get the ocean right there. Was your fishpond at Ka'alaea or by Waiāhole side?

MA: Ka'alaea.

KM: Ka'alaea so right *makai*, there. So papa make fish, mullet like that?

MA: Yes. They catch mullet, for sell.

KM: Where did he sell his fish?

MA: People would come, and then he would take to the market.

KM: Market, Honolulu or...?

MA: Honolulu.

KM: So downtown, like China Town side fish market?

MA: I don't know where. I know he goes downtown.

KM: Hmm. Now, you're pure Chinese?

MA: Uh-hmm.

KM: But, *maopopo oe ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i* [you understand the Hawaiian language], eh?

MA: Little bit.

KM: Did papa speak Hawaiian?

MA: Yes, yes.



KM: Do you know when your papa came to Hawai'i?  
MA: Forget [chuckles].  
KM: Long time, though, don't know. How about mama?  
MA: Mama from China.  
KM: Came from China. What was mama's name?  
MA: I forget, already.  
KM: How about papa?  
MA: Tom I-kan.  
KM: Tom I-kan. So that's your maiden name?  
MA: Tom.  
FC: Tom is her maiden name.  
KM: Tom, your maiden name...  
KM: Now when you were born in Ka'alaea, as you got older did you go work fishpond too?  
MA: Yes.  
KM: What did you do in the fishpond?  
MA: Open the gate. High tide, low tide.  
KM: What happened when you opened the gate high tide, low tide?  
MA: The fish come in, go out.  
KM: The fish come in. High tide the fish come in and then low tide?  
MA: The fish come in, shut the gate. Low tide, we open the gate again.  
KM: Oh, and more fish come in?  
MA: [nods head]  
KM: So you go out get pua [mullet fry] bring 'em in too, or they just come in by themselves?  
MA: They come.  
KM: *Tūtū*, do you remember the name of that fishpond, or they just call Ka'alaea?  
MA: I don't remember.  
KM: If you were born in 1899 were there other Hawaiian families living around by you?  
MA: [nods head]  
KM: Anyone grow taro, or anything, upland, *mauka*?  
MA: Yes, in those days they grow taro.  
KM: How about you folks, did you grow taro too?  
MA: Rice.  
KM: Rice, oh. About how big of an area you think you had? Plenty rice?  
MA: Oh yes.  
KM: Big rice. Did you sell and harvest the rice?  
MA: Yes, put in the bag they come pick up.



KM: They come pick up the rice. Did Waiāhole Poi Factory do anything with you folks?

MA: About two miles over.

KM: Oh, two miles over. That's the *poi* factory?

MA: There's a school, Waiāhole School.

KM: Yes. Did you go to school up there?

MA: Not too much. Because I'm the oldest got to work.

KM: Oh, so you were the oldest. How many brothers and sisters did you have?

MA: Three brothers and five sisters.

KM: Five sisters? Oh, big family. So there were nine of you?

FC: I think she has an older, the number one, he's a boy.

KM: Oh number one, he's a boy. You get one older brother than you?

MA: [nods head]

KM: So ten, ten children all together, you think with mama?

MA: I don't know.

KM: Long time ago, yeah?

FC: The boys...

MA: I cannot tell lie, I forget. [smiling]

KM: No, that's okay. When you were a little girl living at Ka'alaea did you ever go to Honolulu?

MA: I hardly go Honolulu.

KM: You hardly go.

MA: Stay home work rice field...

KM: ...Now later on you came to Kona?

[Married around 1915, and moved to Kukuioapa'e, her husband's family home.]

MA: When I get married, I stayed Honolulu little while then moved to Kona, and then later to Hilo.

KM: Oh. About how old were you, when you got married?

MA: I forget, I don't know.

KM: Pretty young?

HA: Fifteen.

KM: What was your husband's name? *O wai ka inoa o kāu kāne?*

MA: Ahuna.

HA: Loo Fat Kung Ahuna.

KM: Loo Fat Kung Ahuna.

FC: Usually Chinese...the Loo is supposed to be our surname, but they do it the Hawaiian way so we all became Ahuna.

KM: I see. Do you know about what year you came to Kona?

MA: I don't know.



KM: [looking at Flora and Henry] If your mom was 15 when she got married and shortly after that?

GA: If she was 15 must have been 1914, maybe.

KM: Yes.

GA: [looking at Flora] You were born, 1918?

FC: Nineteen-fifteen.

KM: Nineteen-fifteen, you were the first born?

FC: Yes, I'm the first born, the oldest.

GA: Not Raymond?

FC: Raymond is under me.

Group: [laughing]

KM: How many children did you have?

MA: I never count, I forget. [smiling]

GA: Four boys and two girls.

KM: So about 1914-1915 you came to Kona?

MA: I don't know, I forget.

KM: Where did you live in Kona?

MA: Kukuioipa'e.

[Family cultivated taro, bananas, and 'awa for home use and export.]

KM: Kukuioipa'e. What did you do there?

MA: We plant taro and banana for sell, and 'awa.

KM: Now you know the old road, the highway?

MA: [nods head]

KM: Where was your house, *mauka* or *makai*?

MA: *Makai*.

KM: *Makai* of the highway? When you plant taro no more water over there?

FC: Dryland taro.

MA: There's no water over there.

KM: No need? How did you plant, when you plant your taro you make *puka*?

MA: Make *puka*. With little bit dirt.

KM: Hmm. How about over, had forest over or is it out in the open sun?

MA: Only the sun.

KM: Only the sun no more trees, shade growing up on top?

MA: Around get plenty trees.

KM: Hmm. What kind of taro did you plant?

MA: The Hawaiian taro.

KM: Hawaiian taro.



HA: To make *poi*.  
KM: Ah, you folks make *poi*, too?  
MA: Yes, sometimes. Most times we pull it, put 'em in the bag, go sell.  
KM: Do you remember any name of taro that you planted?  
MA: No, I forget. I cannot tell lie, I forget.  
Group: [chuckling]  
KM: 'Ae... You know I have a copy of a map from 1909 here. [opening map] It's a portion of South Kona and I was just going to try to look to see if by chance if we could find maybe the area. This is Kukuioapa'e and did you hear the name Kukuioapae or Kukuioapa'e?  
MA: Kukuioapa'e.  
FC: Pa'e. That's how we say it.  
KM: Yes, Kukuioapa'e. This is Kukuioapa'e here, now here's the old road around the time when you moved there, this is 1909 so you came a few years later. Unfortunately all I see up here, it has some homestead lots up here.  
FC: What's the name?  
KM: It just has the lot numbers on these, but there's an Albert Hu.  
FC: Yes, he's above.  
KM: So he was above you folks?  
FC: Yes.  
HA: He married...Albert Hu's wife...  
KM: Oh yeah, look at this.  
FC: My grandfather married.  
KM: I wonder if that's Ahuna, was someone from the family there before mama went?  
FC: Yes, my grandfather.  
KM: And carried the name, Ahuna?  
FC: Yes.  
KM: This must be your place right there, because that says Ahuna.  
FC: Below the road.  
KM: Just *makai* of the road.  
HA: Yes.  
KM: So your husband's family was from Kukuioapa'e, before?  
MA: I don't know he come from China, I don't know.  
HA: My father's grandfather married a Hawaiian lady, in fact that's...  
FC: The second wife. Her grandmother in-law was the second wife...  
KM: ...Now you'd said you grow banana, *mai'a* too?  
MA: Banana and 'awa.  
KM: What did you do with the 'awa?  
MA: The people come buy.



HA: Germany.

KM: They come buy. Ohh, was Germany?

FC: Germany.

KM: When you pick 'awa, you go pick 'awa too?

MA: Oh yes, not pick you dig.

KM: You dig and get the root, big root?

MA: Yes.

KM: And what, you got to dry that or...?

MA: No. Just put 'em in the bag like that.

KM: You cut up make in chunks?

MA: No.

KM: Just big root?

FC: Sometimes yeah mama, you folks used to dry?

MA: Yes, little bit.

KM: So the whole big root. And what was this old 'awa or were you folks planting the 'awa also?

MA: We have the old one, and the old ones get the baby plant some more.

KM: Hmm. And what, they'd come pick up the 'awa, and then took it down to Ho'okena?

MA: Yes.

KM: Go down, Ho'okena and ship to Germany?

MA: I don't know where they ship.

FC: I think when you folks shipped that, eh Norman.

NY: Yes. They used to take it down, the 'awa to Ho'okena and ship it out

KM: Oh. Good money or hard work [chuckles]?

MA: Work hard, of course [chuckles]...

KM: Do you remember any of the Hawaiian families that were around you folks, your 'ohana?

MA: No.

KM: Ahuna you folks, there was...

MA: I don't know.

FC: Moses Wentworth, the fisherman.

[Fished for shore fish—*humuhumu*, *maiko* and other fish—along the coast of Kukiopa'e and vicinity; and the men fished for 'ōpelu and other fish from canoes.]

KM: Oh, Moses Wentworth yes. So that's family with Uhaihao, Wentworth... [thinking] Let's see.

NY: Kema.

FC: Kema.

HA: Kema family, Pi family.



FC: And he's the fisherman that catches 'ōpelu and dry them to sell to my mother.

KM: Mr. Wentworth?

FC: Yes. Him or the wife, one of them.

KM: His wife was 'Ilima?

HA: Annie.

KM: So you folks plant 'awa you collect. You go down ocean to go fish too?

FC: Oh yes.

KM: What kind of fish you get?

FC: Any kind.

MA: Humuhumu, maiko. Most fish, the maiko, I use the 'ala'ala [the octopus liver]. [smiling]

KM: And what, you catch fish you sell some and for home use or...?

MA: Yes, home use.

KM: You folks made pa'akai [salt] anywhere, or you buy pa'akai?

MA: Pa'akai, I buy.

KM: Oh, no more place to make salt down there?

MA: We get but we gotta get at the time.

FC: 'Cause we live far from the beach.

KM: Yes, you were way mauka. Did you folks walk feet go down?

MA: On the horse.

KM: On the horse you go down, oh. Did Moses Wentworth live by you folks?

FC: No they lived down the beach.

KM: They lived makai, oh at Kukuioapa'e or further over?

NY: Ka'ohe.

FC: Ka'ohe

KM: Ka'ohe.

FC: The families lived there...[Notes that after sixth grade, she had to go live in Nāpo'opo'o with her aunt, in order to finish school.]

FC: Because we have to go to school. The school over there was only till the 6<sup>th</sup> grade and we never finished that school there because we never had lessons in school. My mother didn't like the idea of the clock turning from 2 to 3 o'clock when she comes for us at 2 o'clock. We don't come out till 3 o'clock the clock says 3 o'clock she says no this says 2 o'clock, past already. So we went to the Nāpo'opo'o school, I my sister and three of us went to Nāpo'opo'o School little over a year.

KM: How did you get all the way to Nāpo'opo'o?

FC: My aunt was over there, Mrs. Awai.

KM: Awai, oh? You folks stayed out there in Nāpo'opo'o or did you go everyday?

FC: We went every Monday and stayed until Friday. So she goes fishing every Monday, catch the fish, clean the fish when she comes home. She fries the fish, the truck comes and she sends it on the truck so we had fish.



KM: Hmm. Did you like living out at Kukuiopa'e, was it okay?

MA: Like, no like, gotta stay. [smiling]

KM: [chuckles] No choice.

MA: As the leader goes, you gotta go.

KM: That was how, yeah? Were there several families living out there though, or mostly only one?

MA: Get few Hawaiians down the beach.

FC: In the families, my grandfather's children stayed with us. We stayed in the same house with them...

GA: Tell 'em about the charcoal, used to make charcoal. Try tell him.

MA: The charcoal, you cut around one cord or two cord, I think 2 ½ or 1 ½, put in the *imu*.

FC: Big *imu*.

MA: Big *imu*, then you put the fire by the door. I forget how many days when the fire comes blue, we check 'em.

KM: Yes.

MA: When it comes blue, then they close the door. About one week I think. When they touch [gestures], no hot, then you can open. When you...if hot you open, the thing catch fire. So you gotta wait till the thing not hot then you can open the door. Then you put the charcoal in the bag.

JH: She said she had to watch it day and night. Yes, Apō.

MA: Hmm.

JH: The charcoal you had to watch the *imu* day and night huh, the charcoal *imu*?

MA: Yes.

FC: Yes, the fire.

JH: She said it was as big as the kitchen, it was big.

FC: It's still there. If you go over there, Kona side that oven is still up.

KM: The oven?

FC: Yes. Only the top is broken.

JH: She took care of that. She sacked it and then sold it.

KM: Hmm. What kind of wood did you use?

MA: 'Ōhi'a.

KM: 'Ōhi'a, so you make all 'ōhi'a charcoal. Was it *mauka*, by the house side, then?

FC: Yes, the store was there and the charcoal house was right next.

KM: Oh so, Ahuna had a store also?

FC: Yes.

KM: What kind of things did you sell at your store?

MA: Groceries.

KM: Groceries, take care of the needs of the families. The truck come from Kona, Kailua side bring things out?



MA: Ho'okena.

KM: Ho'okena, from the harbor then. So all your supplies came in from Ho'okena. Did you ship charcoal go out also?

MA: Yes, somebody come buy too.

FC: And they usually wait till summer time, as soon as school is out my brother right under me...

KM: ...So you make charcoal, you plant the 'awa, taro and things like that. That's how you lived out there? And then you'd go *makai* fish?

MA: Oh yes.

KM: And *humuhumu* you said, *maiko*, you folks go out for '*ōpelu*?

MA: [shakes head] I don't go out for '*ōpelu*. You need net.

KM: Oh you no more net?

MA: No.

KM: But some of the other guys went out '*ōpelu*?

MA: Oh yes, yes.

KM: Did you ever see them catch '*ōpelu*?

MA: Yes.

KM: How, they use '*ōpae ula*, or they use...what's the bait?

MA: They grate the taro.

KM: Oh. So the taro that's the *maunu* for them.

MA: Yes, *maunu*.

KM: So no more, now a days they call chop-chop and stuff like that you make taro for your bait no meat, no fish.

MA: [shakes head, no]

KM: Was the '*ōpelu* an important business for the families down there?

FC: At that time.

KM: At that time, yeah.

FC: They had special people who did that.

KM: I see. And like you'd mentioned that Moses Wentworth was...?

FC: One of the fisherman. He never drank anything before, liquor, he drank only water. And he used to razz my father because he used to drink. But now, you can't say that, he changed...

JH: ...Apō, tell him about how you used to cut banana and take the babies with you and make one place for them to sit; in Kona.

MA: Yes. I go cut banana and I cut dry leaves and make a nest, put them sit down on it then I go around.

JH: And then put 'em on the wagon?

MA: Hmm?



JH: And then put the banana on the wagon.  
MA: Yes.  
JH: She said some of them weighed 100 pounds.  
KM: Wow!  
JH: And then put the babies on the wagon and with the mule and take it wherever.  
MA: Yes.  
HA: Ho'okena.  
KM: So you used to drive the mule down to Ho'okena too, the horse like that?  
MA: No.  
FC: Yes, she drive the horse wagon. And we used to go cut grass, and they had mountain apple trees, and she would let us get and go home.  
KM: So you drive the wagon go down Ho'okena with banana, 'awa?  
MA: Whatever.  
JH: And the babies.  
KM: And the babies, go with you?  
JH: [looking at Mrs. Ahuna] You know you won't see this generation again, never.  
KM: No.  
MA: Hard life. But I still living, lucky.  
KM: Look at you.  
JH: How strong.  
KM: I know it's wonderful. It's important to talk story you know and I know it takes time but it's important.  
GA: Talk about when you drive taxi.  
MA: Yes, I drive taxi.  
KM: Where?  
MA: Kona.  
KM: Kona.  
FC: They were one of the few that had a car.  
HA: Tell him about your new tire.  
FC: [laughing]  
HA: Put grass inside the tire. When you get flat tire, what did you do?  
MA: We make...I forget already, I don't remember.  
FC: What do you do with the grass?  
MA: I put 'em in the tire.  
KM: Put grass inside to fill 'em up?  
GA: To get home.



KM: So where did you take people on your taxi, far?

FC: Miloli'i.

KM: You go down to Miloli'i?

MA: Sometimes Miloli'i, I don't want to go, too far.

KM: And the road not too good, eh?

FC: No, bad.

KM: Bad. Were you in Kona when Ho'opūloa lava flow went down [1926]?

FC: Yes, we used to go look at it.

KM: Do you remember Mrs. Kaupiko, I want to say Sarah but I don't know if that's right.

FC: Hannah.

MA: Hannah.

KM: Hannah, she's almost mama's age.

MA: Kaupiko.

HA: The Mayor's wife?

KM: Yes. She's almost your mama's age, maybe 92 or something like that. So you go down Miloli'i once in a while?

MA: Once in a while. I don't care to go.

KM: You don't like? You drive the car go down there?

MA: Yes.

FC: If my father goes as the taxi driver, she goes she has to drive too.

MA: Hard life, but I don't like anybody work hard like me [chuckles].

KM: Hmm. Did you hear you know when Ho'opūloa when the lava flow came down 1926?

MA: I don't know.

KM: I think it was 1926 that lava flow did you hear anyone talk about Pele...? You know Pele come down, if Pele went to somebody's house or something and if people were kind to her, the house no burn but if they were mean the house burn up or anything?

MA: I forget already.

GA: Tell him about the donkey gate, the lava flow came by.

MA: I forget how to talk.

Group: [chuckling]

GA: When the lava flow came by the donkey and the donkey was trapped.

FC: That was with the lava flow, but we lived a little further over on the other [north] side.

KM: But you went to go watch that lava flow?

FC: Oh yes, we'd go all the time.

KM: Was it a big thing?

FC: Big thing.



[Amoi Sam Choy-Yee describes the 1950 lava flow; C.Q. Yee Hop operations in South Kona described.]

GA: Tell him about Ah Sook, he got trapped.  
FC: She has a good story.  
AY: He got trapped between the lava flow.  
NY: The two fingers.  
KM: Who was that?  
GA: Her husband.  
AY: You know that mill, the *koa* mill and the '*ōhi'a* mill? Over there that's where we stayed.  
KM: Oh, you stayed right by the mill?  
AY: We lived over there. Somebody called and told him that the lava flow is coming down and you better leave the house. But it didn't come to our house, but it took the corner of the mill and it went straight down. So he went down, instead of wait a little while before he go, but he was caught between the lava. We were worrying about what happened.  
KM: Yes.  
AY: And then he went straight down the ocean and the Coast Guard was going back and forth and he had a lantern he waved it to the Coast Guard. And the Coast Guard has a light that goes on and off tell him wait over there and they going to come. But he didn't understand what the Coast Guard said. And then as the Coast Guard was coming with the boat, they had to row the boat and then, no, he jumped in the water and he tried to swim to them. But they told him wait, but no, he couldn't. He had to jump down so the Coast Guard came just pick him up.  
KM: This is your husband?  
AY: Yes.  
KM: And that's Ah Sook?  
GA: We called him Ah Sook.  
NY: Mr. Yee.  
AY: Yee Chee.  
KM: But goes by Yee.  
FC: You folks were living in Hilo, already?  
AY: No, still up the house. By '*Ōhi'a* mill.  
FC: How come you were in Hilo that time?  
AY: We came to visit her, your mother. Your mother them were up the house, up that house not here.  
KM: This was 1926, or later or was this the 1950...?  
NY: I think was '50.  
KM: The big one, 1950, came down that's the one?  
AY: Yes, that's the one he was caught.  
FC: That came down and he got caught in the middle.  
AY: He tried to open the gate for the cattle to run.



KM: That's right yes, I heard. Magoon had one place out there too.

AY: Yes...

KM: So what you were saying, just like that they were trying to open up some of the fences, the paddocks so the *pipi*...

AY: Yes, so they can go, not get caught by the lava. He knows Clarence them. The father used to come up weekends. Because most of the weekend we get all the working boys together and he likes to cook... They catch the pig and they raise 'em up and they barbecue the pig. That's why weekend most time they all come up and he tell them "come, we go cook the pig." That's the kind they like, the pig, 'cause it's charcoal. They don't have charcoal stove so they barbecue the charcoal.

KM: And they *huli*?

AY: Yes. So get the Chinese seasoning, put 'em all inside the pig and they charcoal the pig.

KM: So you were, you lived out there to...are you folks 'ohana? Or you're just close friends.

AY: Close friends.

KM: So you folks knew one another when you were children?

FC: Yes. They lived up in the mountains, we lived down.

AY: They lived down, we live up.

KM: So you live more *mauka* and you said Pāpā?

AY: Yes, Pāpā.

GA: He was the manager of C.Q. Yee Hop Ranch.

KM: Oh, yes... When you folks were out there, one of the things that's come up is about the 'ala'ala, you know the native crow that lives way up in the forest there. Did you ever hear about that native, black Hawaiian crow, 'ala'ala they call that? You never hear about that?

AY: I never seen, not that we never hear but we didn't see.

KM: Ahh... So Apō, you've seen plenty of changes in your time, yeah? When's the last time you went back to Kona, go *holoholo*?

MA: Yes, long time ago...

[Discusses method of fishing along the shore, using the 'ala'ala (*he'e* liver) as bait.]

JH: What kind of hook did you use? She said it drives the fish crazy makes the fish come. She said it takes steel wire, and make hook, but don't make it too curve and have a little ball here. Have you heard that before?

KM: Yes.

JH: See I've never heard that before.

KM: So, *kūkū*. That's how you go fishing, you make the 'ala'ala like that and you make your own hooks?

MA: Yes.

KM: You make little bait on top of the hook? How did you go fishing?

MA: Go on the horse.

KM: You go down the horse. But when you go down fish you use pole?

MA: Pole.

KM: And what kind of bait did you use?



MA: Either shrimp or fish bait, more they like ōpae.

KM: They like ōpae. Where your ōpae came from?

MA: Store.

KM: You go store, no more *lua wai* [water holes] down there? You don't get ōpae down the ocean side?

MA: Get, but different kind ōpae, small.

GA: How about when you catch the kole or maiko, what the bait you use?

MA: Kole, you use the 'ala'ala.

KM: How did you make the 'ala'ala?

MA: 'Ala'ala, you dry 'em cut the head put in the ti leaf close 'em.

KM: Kō'ala [broil them] eh?

MA: Kō'ala, yeah. Kō'ala you can hear when it cooks eh. Then you put 'em inside the fish, you mix 'em put little bit salt. Mix 'em up.

KM: And then you rub the hook on the bait or?

MA: The end, you put 'em on the end.

FC: She make two hooks.

KM: Two hooks on one line. And what the fish *ono* for that?

MA: Hmm [chuckles], the fish like that.

KM: Maiko?

MA: Maiko, kole.

KM: Kole?

MA: Hmm.

KM: What other kinds of fish you would go get?

MA: Most that kind, and hīnālea.

KM: Hīnālea, oh. You wahine stay on the shoreline fish and the men go out make ōpelu?

MA: Yes, they go on the boat.

KM: They no let you go out for ōpelu?

MA: I have my own bait, I don't go with them.

KM: I see, and what you dry fish down there too?

MA: Sometimes if too much, bring 'em home put 'em in the icebox, fry 'em.

KM: You get icebox? You get the blocks of ice?

MA: No, I have ice now.

KM: How about before days? You dry fish or fresh?

MA: Dry.

KM: Eat fresh. [pauses] And you were saying your 'awa, sometimes you cut up the 'awa did you have a drying house for the 'awa or did you just set it out?

MA: Dry on the land.



KM: Dry on the land.

FC: We have a platform, big platform with a cover.

KM: So was it like rolling back and forth?

FC: Yes.

KM: Did you folks grow coffee out there too?

FC: We had coffee, that's why we had the shed.

GA: They had coffee, that's mostly why we had the shed.

KM: Oh, so the shed was mostly for coffee drying, but you would use it for the...?

FC: Use it for fish and what.

KM: For the 'awa or fish like that. How come you had the roof and the roof rolled?

MA: Yes.

FC: The dryer rolled 'em keep 'em dry.

KM: So in case the rain come you can cover it up? Did it rain much out there?

MA: Sometimes.

KM: Sometimes, not too much though?

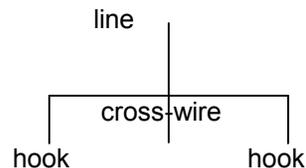
MA: Uh-hmm.

KM: Interesting, yeah. The 'ala'ala, did you ever use like a bait stick sometimes they say you put the 'ala'ala scent the stick throw it out and the fish will just follow it in.

MA: Two hook line.

KM: Two hook.

MA: With the iron bar [gestures a wire tied in the center with a line; the hooks attached with line at the outer ends of the wire]. At both side of the wire, and the string hold up here.



KM: Ah yes, so the string in the middle of the iron wire and one hook on each side? And can you get two fish at one time?

MA: Sometimes.

KM: [chuckles] When you're lucky.

FC: Happy.

KM: Good...



**Hannah Waha Pōhaku Grace Kawa‘auhau-Acia<sup>10</sup>  
 Recollections of the Lands and Fisheries of the  
 Ka‘ohe-Miloli‘i section of Kapalilua  
 Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly  
 December 11, 1999 (Interview 1 of 3)**

Hannah Waha Pōhaku Grace Kawa‘auhau-Acia was born at Ka‘ohe, in 1917. She is descended from families with generations of residency in the Kapalilua region. Her grandfather Waha Pōhaku, who raised her, was a noted *kahuna kālaiwa‘a* (canoe making master), and fisherman. As a youth, *kupuna* Hannah, learned of and participated in fishing practices. She also worked the *ko‘a ‘ōpelu* fisheries, and with her family continues to fish along the coast of Kapalilua.



**Hannah Waha Pōhaku Grace Kawa‘auhau-Acia  
 (KPA Photo No. 4065)**

In her interviews, *kupuna* shared detailed descriptions of the lands of Kapalilua, speaking of the naming of certain lands, the nature of residency, land use, fisheries, and customs and practices of the families on the land.

*Kupuna* is also a master *lauhala* weaver, an art handed down from her *kūpuna*, and by her, to her children.

*Kupuna* Acia gave her personal release of the interview records to Maly on June 5, 2003. The following list identifies selected topics and descriptions of fisheries described by *kupuna* Hannah:

<b>Topic:</b>	<b>Page</b>
• Discussing a tradition of the naming of ‘Ōlelomoana and Kolo – human bones formerly used to make fish hooks.	91
• Discusses family background, and residency in Kapalilua during the 1920s.	92
• Discusses travel to the uplands to cultivate <i>kalo</i> , <i>manioka</i> and other crops.	93
• Discusses travel to the sea shore to fish and make <i>pa‘akai</i> (salt).	96
• Describes methods of fishing, including shoreline fishing, pole fishing, and ‘ <i>ōpelu</i> fishing.	96
• <i>Pala‘ai</i> used for bait to feed and catch the ‘ <i>ōpelu</i> – they never used meat baits.	97
• Describes preparation and drying of ‘ <i>ōpelu</i> .	98
• Various fish, such as ‘ <i>ōpelu</i> , ‘ <i>ū‘ū</i> , and ‘ <i>āweoweo</i> sold to local markets.	99

<sup>10</sup> Joined by children and granddaughter – Hannah Kawā‘auhau-Shimsaki, Donald K. Kawā‘auhau, Ellen Kawā‘auhau-Cullen, and Cynthia Whitworth-Galieta



<b>Topic:</b>	<b>Page</b>
• Fishermen respected one another's <i>ko'a</i> ; did not cross boundaries.	99
• Taro and pumpkin used as bait for <i>'ōpelu</i> . <i>Kupuna</i> was a canoe paddler in her youth.	101
• Discusses the makers of canoes during her youth, and practices associated with the <i>kālai wa'a</i> .	101
• Discusses the use of <i>lā'au lapa'au</i> for healing.	103
• <i>Kupuna Waha</i> and <i>Hana Pōhaku mā</i> chanted before fishing, canoe making, and planting.	103
• Canoe making practices described.	104
• Describes <i>'ōpelu</i> fishing.	105
• The catch was shared with families from the area; also, the <i>au'a</i> was trained and kept the school at the <i>ko'a</i> .	106
• Never used meat or dirty bait for fishing – feed the fish foul food, you eat foul food.	107

[Discussing the tradition of the naming of 'Ōlelomoana and Kolo – human bones formerly used to make fish hooks.]

- HG-A: ...These two couples, they go *lawai'a*. The husbands.
- KM: 'Ae.
- HG-A: *Nā kāne, lawai'a, nā wahine i ka hale.*
- KM: 'Ae.
- HG-A: *Kēlā mau makahiki, kēlā 'ano po'e, they like the iwi, makau ē!*
- KM: 'Ae, *hana makau.*
- HG-A: [chuckling] 'Ae.
- KM: *Hele lawai'a.*
- HG-A: 'Ae, 'ae. *I wahi i ka moana kēia mau kāne wala'au nei, nā wahine ai i ka hale. Kēlā mau lā lo'a kēlā 'ano po'e ē, you know.*
- KM: 'Ae, *mea ho'opunipuni.*
- HG-A: 'Ae, 'ae, 'ae. *A lohe kēia mau wahine, "E hele kāua, make 'ana kāua i ke kāne a kāua. Mamake lāua iā māua i ka makau!"* So they were going to *pepehi* them.
- KM: 'Ae.
- HG-A: So that's how they went *kokolo* and go to 'Ōlelomoana and *wala'au* the *mo'olelo*.
- KM: 'Ae, 'Ōlelo-moana.
- HG-A: 'Ōlelo-moana.
- KM: And even Kolo then, *ua kolo paha...?*
- HG-A: 'Ae, *kokolo hele, mahape 'ike mai ke kāne i waho.*
- KM: 'Ae, *ua pe'e lāua. Holo a pe'e!*
- HG-A: 'Ae *pe'e, kokolo a hiki kēlā wahi, 'Ōlelomoana, a wala'au ka mo'olelo.*
- KM: 'Ae. *A ua lohe 'oe i kēlā mo'olelo mai kou po'e kūpuna?*
- HG-A: 'Ae, *ka'u kahu hānai.*
- KM: *Kūkū?*
- HG-A: 'Ae.



[Discusses family background, and residency in Kapalilua during the 1920s.]

- KM: *Mahalo nui iā 'oe no kou wehe 'ana i kēia mo'olelo. Hiki paha iā 'oe ke wehe mai kou inoa piha, me ka lā a makahiki i hānau?*
- HG-A: *Ku'u inoa piha, Hannah Grace... Lawe 'ia hānai no wau i kēia kahu hānai, Waha Pōhaku. Waha Pōhaku kona inoa<sup>11</sup>. Ku'u mākuā ponoī, Akoni Lono Gracias. Kēlā manawa, kākau 'oko'a ē.*
- KM: 'Ae...
- HG-A: *...Ko'u mama, no Ka'ohe no i kēlā manawa. Kona manawa no noho 'ana i laila, a mahape male, ne'e i Nāpo'opo'o.*
- KM: Nāpo'opo'o?
- HG-A: 'Ae. *Ma leila a hā'ule lāua. Ko'u papa, ka mea hā'ule mua.*
- KM: 'Oia?
- HG-A: 'Ae.
- KM: *Lā a makahiki 'oe i hānau ai?*
- HG-A: *'Umi kūmāiwa-'umi kūmāhiku, 1917. Malaki 'umi kūmāhā.*
- KM: So March 14, 1917, *pōmaika'i!* And you *hānau*, where?
- HG-A: Ka'ohe.
- KM: So where mama and papa were living at that time?
- HG-A: 'Ae.
- KM: And your *kahu hānai*, Waha Pōhaku?
- HG-A: 'Ae.
- KM: Were they at Ka'ohe also?
- HG-A: 'Ae. *Hānau wau a lawe 'ia. Hemo a hā'awi 'ia* [chuckling]...
- KM: ...And so daddy's full name was?
- HG-A: Antone Lono Gracias Grace...
- KM: ...'Ae. And do you carry a Hawaiian name also?
- HG-A: *A'ole. Hannah wale nō. Ku'u kahu hānai, mama, Hana nō ho'i kona inoa.* In Hawaiian they call Hana, *haole*, Hannah [chuckles].
- KM: 'Ae.
- HG-A: *A'ohe inoa Hawai'i, kēlā wale no.*
- KM: 'Ae...
- KM: You look out here, Kapalilua, all the families have to be *pili* somehow.
- HG-A: 'Ae...
- KM: [opens Register Map No. 2468] This is Ka'ohe here.
- HG-A: Uh-hmm.

<sup>11</sup> Waha Pōhaku, was the original grantee of Royal Patent Grant 9135 at 'Ōlelomoana; and a member of the native Hui that purchased a portion of the ahupua'a of Honokua in 1887.



KM: Here's Pāhoehoe. The family is Pumealani [Grant No. 2025]. Here's Kuaimoku [Grant No. 2024], where Magoon lived later, yeah.

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: Pahu or Pahu'a [Grant 1973].

HG-A: Pahu'a, they come from Honokua side.

KM: [looking at various grantee names, going south] Here's Nahua, Ohua, and Kekaula. I'm trying to see if there are some names that are familiar to you. Here's Waikaku'u, and Lazarus or *Lakalo*.

HG-A: Yes, yes, *Lakalo*.

KM: And now, Kukuiopa'e. Do you remember Mary Ahuna?

HG-A: Yes, they had the store.

KM: Yes. I was with her not too long ago, she was 100.

HG-A: Oh yeah?

KM: And she just passed away a few weeks ago.

HG-A: Hmm. That was our store [chuckling].

KM: Here, has a name, Kaniu. Oh, here's Pōhaku at 'Ōlelomoana [Grant No. 9135].

HG-A: Yes, that's my *kahu hānai*.

KM: 'Ae. Where was your house, you think, in relationship to the Government road? Were you on the *mauka* side?

HG-A: *Mauka*, about a half mile above.

HK-S: Yes, about half a mile...

Group: [continues discussion of families and areas where they lived]

KM: ...So what kinds of things did you do when you were young?

HG-A: Well, I stayed with my parents, we moved up here at Ka'ohē, and I got to the age where I went to school. I walked from where we lived to the 'Ala'ē School. And that school is still there yet.

KM: Yes.

HG-A: So that's where I went from first grade to ninth. Afterwards I was supposed to go to Kona Waena...

KM: Oh, so far yeah?

HG-A: [chuckling] I went, two weeks, I was so tired [shaking her head]. I went two weeks stay with my real parents at Nāpo'opo'o, Antone Grace. I stayed with them, but after two weeks, I came back, I missed my step-parents, my *kahu hānai*. So I never go to high school, only to ninth grade [chuckling].

[Discusses travel to the uplands to cultivate *kalo*, *manioka* and other crops.]

KM: That's good, *lawā!* Now, as a child did you go with your *kahu hānai mā*, did they have *māla 'ai*?

HG-A: Oh yes! 'Ae, 'ae.

KM: What was it like? And you folks had to walk?

HG-A: Oh yes walk, and get *kēkake*. *Kau ke kēkake, pi'i i uka. Hana ka mea 'ai no ka hale. Pi'i i uka, mahi 'ai, kanu.*



KM: *He 'aha ka mea kanu?*

HG-A: *Kalo, 'uala nō ho'i.*

HK-S: *'Aka'akai.*

HG-A: *Yes. But kalo.*

KM: *About how far mauka was it, you think, one mile, two miles?*

HG-A: *About a mile from the hale [a mile and a half from the Alanu].*

KM: *Was there ulu 'ōhi'a around?*

HG-A: *'Ae, 'ōhi'a, kuawa, nahelehele. Where the mahi'ai, was ma'u and hāpu'u.*

KM: *'Ae, ferns?*

HG-A: *Yes.*

KM: *So you folks would open up an area?*

HG-A: *'Ae, hana pāpa'i (hale), noho i laila, i uka.*

KM: *'Ae. A he 'aha ke 'ano o ke kalo?*

HG-A: *Mana, mana ke'oke'o, mana 'ula'ula, mana melemele. And 'ohe, pala'i'i, palakea. Nui ke kalo.*

KM: *Nui! A pehea kēlā mau 'āina kalo, maika'i?*

HG-A: *Maika'i!*

KM: *Ulu ā nui?*

HG-A: *'Ae! Hele wau i loko, pā'ani, wā li'ili'i, pe'e, a'ale wau mamake hana [chuckling]*

KM: *No ka nunui o ke kalo?*

HG-A: *'Ae, hiki iā 'oe ke pe'e ma lalo. [chuckling] Nānā mai ku'u kahu hānai, "Auhea 'oe?" A ai mane'i [laughing]. 'Ae.*

KM: *Hmm. Maika'i. Nui nā kalo. A he 'aha, he kalo no ka 'ohana wale nō?*

HG-A: *'Ae, no ka home wale nō.*

KM: *A'ale lākou kanu a kū'ai aku?*

HG-A: *A'ale, a'ale, no ka hale wale nō.*

HK-S: *Kanu no ka mea 'ai.*

HG-A: *'Ae. Nā Pō'alima a pau, ku'i. Huki i uka, a ho'i. I ka hale kakahiaka, Pō'alima, ala. kuke. 'Elua kini, you know the old kerosene kini?*

KM: *'Ae.*

HG-A: *Piha! Pau, ku'i me ka pōhaku. 'Auwē, nui ka hana!*

KM: *Hmm. 'O 'oe me kūkū?*

HG-A: *'Ae. Molowā wau, akā, a'ole hiki ke 'alo a'e [chuckling].*

KM: *[laughing] Ō!*

HG-A: *But maika'i.*

HK-S: *Hiki ke 'ai.*



KM: That's right. *‘Ōlelo mai nā kūkū, “Maika’i ka hana a ka lima, ‘ono no ka ‘ai a ka waha!”*

HG-A: *‘Ae, ‘ae, pololoi! Wehe ka lima i luna, nele, a’ole lo’a ka mea ‘ai. I lalo, lo’a ka mea ‘ai.*

KM: *‘Ae. A pehea, i kou wā li’ili’i, ua hele ‘oe i uka, ho’omākaukau i ka ‘āina...*

HG-A: *‘Ae.*

KM: *Kanu i ka mea ‘ai.*

HG-A: *‘Ae.*

KM: *Pehea kou mana’o, kou kahu hānai, ‘ai’ole kekāhi o nā kūpuna, ua kahea, ua ‘oli mua paha lākou?*

HG-A: *‘Ae, ‘oli. ‘Ae.*

KM: *‘Oia ke ‘ano o nā kūpuna.*

HG-A: *Kēlā manawa, li’ili’i wau, he ‘aha ka hana ‘ana ala?*

KM: *‘Oli ho’ōulu ‘ana paha?*

HG-A: *‘Ae, ‘ae.*

KM: *Nui ko lākou aloha ē?*

HG-A: *‘Ae.*

KM: *A he ‘aha ke ‘ano o ka ‘uala, maopopo ‘oe i kekāhi inoa?*

HG-A: *[thinking] Ka’u inoa maopopo wale nō, kēlā manioka.*

KM: *Manioka?*

HG-A: *‘Ae. Thick, white outside and inside, purple.*

KM: *Okay.*

HG-A: *And that yellow, huamoa.*

KM: *‘Ae. And how about...so you folks go mauka, ho’omākaukau i ka māla ‘ai?*

HG-A: *‘Ae.*

KM: *Was there a planting season, a certain time that you...?*

HG-A: *‘Ae, ‘ae.*

KM: *When did you go up?*

HG-A: *The time for kanu was Malaki, March and April. So mamua o kēlā mau mahina, ho’omākaukau ‘oe i ka ‘āina. ‘Okī ka mau’u i ka māla ‘ai.*

KM: *Ho’oma’ema’e ka ‘āina.*

HG-A: *‘Ae. Hana ka mākālua.*

KM: *‘Ae, ka mākālua. Hana kīpulu (mulch) nō ho’i’?*

HG-A: *‘Ae. Then when ulu ā nahelehele come, ho’oma’ema’e. Pau uhi kāpo’i, ka ‘āma’u.*

KM: *‘Ae, ka lau a ka ‘āma’u.*

HG-A: *Uhi me ka lau, a’ole malo’o.*

KM: *‘Ae.*

HG-A: *Pulu, a a’ole ulu ka nahelehele.*

KM: *‘Ae. A pehea, i ka wā mamua, ua iho mai paha ka hau? Kēhau paha?*



HG-A: 'Ae, uhiwai.  
 KM: 'Oia ka wai?  
 HG-A: 'Ae.  
 KM: So March, April like that, you go *ho'omākaukau*?  
 HG-A: 'Ae.  
 KM: And what was the growing cycle for your *kalo*, nine months, one year?  
 HG-A: [thinking] It all depends on the kind of *kalo* you *kanu*. Some early, some *lō'ihī*.  
 KM: *Lehua paha?*  
 HG-A: *Lehua*, and *mō'ī*, hoo!  
 KM: 'Ono ē? A 'ai 'oe i ka pua o ka lehua?  
 HG-A: *Pua kalo, 'ono me ka lū'au*. The *pua kalo 'ono*.  
 KM: Wonderful. *I kou mana'o, ua hele 'o Waha Pōhaku a me kekāhi kūpuna a kahea lākou, ua 'oli paha?*  
 HG-A: 'Ae.  
 KM: *Eia ka māla'ai, e ho'oulu i ka mea 'ai...*  
 HG-A: 'Ae.

[Discusses travel to the sea shore to fish and make *pa'akai* (salt).]

KM: *A pehea, i kekāhi manawa, ua hele paha 'oe i kai?*  
 HG-A: *I kahakai, 'ae. Ka wā, mai luanuali, Pepluali, Malaki, Apelila, hana ke kalo. Kanu, ho'oma'ema'e.*  
 KM: 'Ae.  
 HG-A: *Mei, lune, lulai i kahakai. Mālie ke kai, kēlā manawa. Iho i kahakai, noho ho'okāhi pule paha, 'elua pule. Kaula'i ka i'a. Kēlā manawa, a'ole lo'a pahu hau ē.*  
 KM: 'Ae.  
 HG-A: *Kāpī, kaula'i.*  
 KM: 'Ae. No hea mai ka *pa'akai*?  
 HG-A: *Kahakai, nā poho.*  
 KM: 'Ae, *kāheka, mau kāheka?*  
 HG-A: 'Ae.  
 KM: *Ua halihali paha a kau ka wai?*  
 HG-A: 'Ae, 'ae. Nui ka hana but *maika'i*.  
 KM: 'Ae miko *kēlā pa'akai*.  
 HG-A: 'Ae.

[Describes methods of fishing, including shoreline fishing, pole fishing, and 'ōpelu fishing.]

KM: *Ua hele 'oukou i ka Mei, paha, lune, lulai, Aukake paha? Hele 'oe i kai, lawai'a?*  
 HG-A: 'Ae.  
 KM: *Nā wahine wale nō, ai'ole kāne pū?*



HG-A: *Kāne, wahine.*  
 KM: *‘Oukou, nā wahine, lawai‘a ma ka lihi kai?*  
 HG-A: *Ma kahakai, me kā mākoi.*  
 KM: *‘Ae. A pehea nā kāne, hele me ka wa‘a?*  
 HG-A: *Hele me ka wa‘a ma waho, lawai‘a ‘ōpelu, hele kā‘ili, a nānā he‘e.*  
 KM: *I hea?*  
 HG-A: *Ka‘ohe, ma kai.*  
 KM: *Hoihoi nō!*  
 HG-A: *‘Ae.*

[Pala‘ai used for bait to feed and catch the ‘ōpelu – they never used meat baits.]

KM: *Kēia ‘ōpelu, ua hele lākou lawai‘a, he ‘aha ka maunu?*  
 HG-A: *Kalo me pala‘ai.*  
 KM: *‘Ae. A no hea mai ka pala‘ai?*  
 HG-A: *Kanu no ko‘u kahu hānai.*  
 KM: *Mauka, makai?*  
 HG-A: *‘Ae, ‘ae, kanu mauka. Maopopo no ‘oia ka manawa ho‘i ka ‘ōpelu.*  
 KM: *‘Ae. Pehea, ‘ono ka i‘a i ka pala‘ai?*  
 HG-A: *‘Ae, ‘ono!*  
 KM: *Laki. Kēia manawa hana nei kekāhi i mea hauna...*  
 HG-A: *‘Ae [shaking her head].*  
 KM: *A‘ale maika‘i.*  
 HG-A: *Kēlā manawa, ku‘u kahu hānai, mālama ka palu, ka ḍpū o ka ‘ōpelu, ‘ono [chuckling].*  
 KM: *‘Ae. Ka mahamaha?*  
 HG-A: *Ka mahamaha, kiloī, akā ka ḍpū.*  
 KM: *‘Ae, ka mahamaha, mea ho‘o‘ula‘ula.*  
 HG-A: *‘Ae, ‘ono!*  
 KM: *So you kāpī?*  
 HG-A: *‘Ae.*  
 Group: [chuckling]  
 HG-A: *Real ‘ono, we come home mix ‘um with the inamona [chuckling].*  
 HK-S: *Broke the mouth!*  
 HG-A: *More worse with the poi, broke the mouth.*  
 KM: *And your poi, what color was your poi?*  
 HG-A: *Purple.*  
 KM: *So nice lehua kind?*  
 HG-A: *Yes.*



KM: And some, like the *mana*, not *ke'oke'o*?

HG-A: *Ke'oke'o* some, but we only 'ai for *inu* with the *kope*. *A'ole lo'a palaoa*... Well *lo'a nō*, but the *kalo* more 'ono.

HK-S: 'Ai *pa'a*.

HG-A: 'Ai *pa'a*, yeah.

KM: Did your *kahu hānai mā* have a house down there?

[Describes preparation and drying of 'ōpelu.]

HG-A: 'Ae, *pāpa'i*. *Kāhi manawa hele lawai'a 'ōpelu, ho'i mai, kāpī*. *A kakahiaka, ala, hele i ka punawai, he wai-kai. Kākā ka 'ōpelu*.

KM: 'Ae.

HG-A: *Kaula'i*.

KM: *Na'auao nā kūpuna i kēia mau hana*.

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: *A pehe, ua kaula'i ka i'a ma ka pāhoehoe paha?*

HG-A: *A'ole, lau niu. Hana 'oe small shelf like this [gestures an area about 8 or 10 feet across]*.

KM: *Lānai*.

HG-A: 'Ae, *lānai, kau ka lau niu a kaula'i. Kēlā mau lā, a'ole lo'a ka nalo like me kēia manawa*.

KM: Hmm. *Ua lohe wau kēlā mai kekāhi po'e kūpuna*.

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: So *hana lānai kaula'i i'a?*

HG-A: *Lānai, 'ae*.

KM: *Ho'okāhi lā paha?*

HG-A: *Kekāhi manawa, nei maika'i ka lā, ho'okāhi, 'elua lā. Ho'ohulihuli nō ho'i. 'Oia ka'u hana [chuckling]*.

KM: 'Oia *kāu hana, ho'ohuli*. [chuckling] *Makemake 'oe hele pā'ani, 'au'au paha...*

HG-A: [laughing] 'Ae. 'O *wau wale nō, a'ole lo'a kōko'olua. 'Auwē, akā hele no wau*.

HK-S: *A kāhi manawa, 'ai no 'oe ē?*

HG-A: Oh yes, 'ono when you *kaula'i*.

KM: 'Ehia *mau wa'a ko kēlā wahi?*

HG-A: 'E*kolu. Ko'u kahu hānai, our neighbor, Moke Wentworth and Apela. 'E*kolu lākou*.*

KM: Hmm. And they all share the *i'a?*

HG-A: Oh yes, they all share. And Wentworth, he take some to market. *Kēlā manawa ola nei ka wahine, kaula'i*.

KM: 'O 'Ilima?

HG-A: *A'ole, Annie, his second wife, from Wai'ōhinu*.

KM: Hmm.

HG-A: His first one *hā'u*le and then he *male hou iā Annie*.

KM: Hmm. Now Waha Pōhaku, his wife's maiden name was?



HG-A: [thinking] Uhai.  
 KM: Oh that's right, Uhai Hao.  
 HG-A: Uhai, that's their parents.  
 KM: 'Cause Wentworth *mā*, Uhai, Amalu, and Pōhaku *mā*, had interest in the land at Honokua.  
 HG-A: 'Ae.  
 KM: So *Hana Uhai*, *male iā Pōhaku*?  
 HG-A: 'Ae.  
 KM: So you folks are all *kama'āina* to that place?  
 HG-A: 'Ae...  
 KM: So some of the families, they *kālewa* that *i'a*?  
 HG-A: 'Ae.

[Various fish, such as 'ōpelu, 'ū'ū, and 'āweoweo sold to local markets.]

KM: Did they take it up to Ahuna, or where?  
 HG-A: They have market come from down Hōnaunau side.  
 KM: A truck came out?  
 HG-A: Yes, a truck. And Moke usually take the fish for *kū'ai*. Night fish, day fish.  
 KM: What kind?  
 HG-A: 'Ū'ū, 'āweoweo.  
 KM: What, walu, anyone go after walu?  
 HG-A: Oh, they get [shaking her head]. 'Ono that fish, but you got to watch out.  
 KM: You got to know how to prepare 'em.  
 HG-A: How to drain all that oil. Fat, 'ono. You dry that, *pūlehu*.  
 KM: 'Ono.  
 HK-S: More worse than *inamona*.  
 KM: You like that walu?  
 HG-A: I like it.  
 KM: Long time you've never had that?  
 HG-A: Yes, since their father died. I don't know if they catch that anymore.  
 HK-S: I don't hear people talk about walu.  
 KM: Yes, things have changed so much too.  
 HG-A: Yes.  
 KM: You know, when you folks would go down here, like going to Ka'ohe. Like *ahupua'a*?  
 HG-A: 'Ae.

[Fishermen respected one another's ko'a; did not cross boundaries.]

KM: In the *ahupua'a*, before days, we hear stories that people knew the boundaries. This was where they fished, and someone from this side, wouldn't come fish...



HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: Is that how it was when you were a child?

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: Like the fishermen from Minoli'i don't take from your *ko'a*?

HG-A: 'Ae, *pololoi*.

KM: Did your *kahu hānai*, Waha Pōhaku *mā* go out and *hānai* the *ko'a*?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: They call the *'ōpelu*?

HG-A: 'Ae, they only go *hānai*, they don't take.

KM: So certain times they just feed?

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: Did you ever hear if *kūkū* ever went out with *manō* or anything?

HG-A: [thinking] Not that I heard of.

KM: Hmm.

HG-A: I know that's my *kahu hānai's 'aumakua*.

KM: Hmm.

HG-A: But I never heard them *kahea*. But I *lohe* that's their *'aumakua*. And once in a while you see them *'au 'ana*, the *manō*, they go. You know that *kamali'i* time, you like throw rock at 'um, and of course they're way out. The old folks get mad.

KM: 'Ae.

HG-A: *A'ole kolohe, ai no 'oia ma kona wahi*. Yes.

KM: So interesting. [pauses] So you folks walk trail to go down?

HG-A: *Kēkake*.

KM: Hmm. [pointing to location on map] Here's Ka'ohe and Magoons house. So your house was just little south of there. And here's a trail that goes down.

HG-A: Yes.

KM: And then there was an *ala lihi kai*?

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: A trail along the shore?

HG-A: All the way, going from out here, all the way to Kailua.

KM: 'Ae. Did your *kahu hānai* them ever talk about *heiau* or anything down there?

HG-A: Oh yes. And they tell certain nights you stay away.

KM: Hmm, *pō Kāne*?

HG-A: 'Ae *pō Kāne*. Yes, they talk about that.

KM: You know, on the moon nights, like *mauka*, did you notice if they planted or didn't plant on certain nights?

HG-A: By the *mahina*, yes. *Hōkū, Hōkū kāhi, Hōkū lua*, they name 'um. I used to know all of that, but I forget [chuckling].



KM: Hmm. So your *kūkū* them, that's how they count each day?  
 HG-A: That's right. And they know, they always tell "*Maika'i kēia pō.*"  
 KM: So *hele 'ana mākou*...  
 HG-A: 'Ae.  
 KM: *Like me ka i'a, kekāhi mahina maika'i, kekāhi maika'i 'ole.*  
 HG-A: 'Ae, 'ae.  
 KM: So all of things were still being done while you were a young girl, growing up?  
 HG-A: Yes.  
 KM: Did you watch your *kahu hānai* them when they prepare their *maunu* or *palu* for the 'ōpelu?

[Taro and pumpkin used as bait for 'ōpelu. Kupuna was a canoe paddler in her youth.]

HG-A: Yes, I used to help grate it. You got to grate the *kalo*. Cut it, in the cracker can. That's what they use, just the taro and pumpkin.  
 KM: Hmm.  
 HG-A: I used to go out with them.  
 KM: *Hoe wa'a* too?  
 HK-S: Oh yes, she was champion.  
 Group: [laughing]  
 HG-A: My young days [chuckling] first prize in Honolulu.  
 KM: You were with the club?  
 HG-A: Kona, Minoli'i.  
 KM: *Ho'oheihei wa'a*?  
 HG-A: 'Ae, *heihei*. We used to be Minoli'i, our club.  
 KM: 'O *wai ka inoa o ka wa'a*?  
 HG-A: *Malolo*.

[Discusses the makers of canoes during her youth, and practices associated with the *kālai wa'a*.]

KM: *Maopopo 'oe, na wai i kālai kēlā wa'a*?  
 HG-A: *Kawa'auhau*.  
 HK-S: My dad's dad.  
 KM: *Moku'ōhai* too, yeah?  
 HG-A: Yes.  
 HK-S: Her father too.  
 HG-A: Yes [Antone Lono Grace was a noted canoe maker in Kona]. And my *kahu hānai* too.  
 KM: *Ua hele 'oe i uka me ia*?  
 HG-A: *A'ole wau hele, akā ua lohe*.  
 KM: *He 'aha ka hana*?



HG-A: *Pī'i 'oia me 'elua, 'ekolu kanaka. Lākou pī'i i uka. Noho i uka, kekāhi manawa 'elima lā, nānā ke koa, kumu maika'i.* I hear the story, my *kahu hānai* said. They look at the tree, figure '*maika'i kēia kumu.*' So they 'oki the *koa, huli*. When that *koa huli* down, that *manu*, 'elepaio...

KM: 'Ae.

HG-A: The *manu* goes straight, no go side ways, fly away, that's good luck. *Maika'i kēlā lā'au no ka wa'a. Ina hele kēia mana a lele, a'ale hō'ea ma'ō, a'ole maika'i.*

KM: 'Oia ka hō'ailona?

HG-A: 'Ae, ka hō'ailona.

KM: *Na'auao nā kūpuna.*

HG-A: 'Ae. A kālai 'oia i ka wa'a i uka. A'ole hana pau loa.

KM: 'Ae, hana māku'u kekāhi?

HG-A: 'Ae, 'cause they going *huki*. *Kanaka huki, a'ole lo'a holoholona.*

KM: Hmm.

HG-A: And my *kahu hānai* is the one that guides the canoe, he rides in the front. [gestures] "*Ka'ū, Kona, lana mai, ku,*" you know. All the directions they know where to go.

KM: *A pehea ua kaula'i i ka lau lā'paha, 'āma'u?*

HG-A: *A'ole.*

KM: *Lepo wale nō?*

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: *Kēlā 'āina mauka, maika'i, he lepo?*

HG-A: 'Ae, *lepo.*

HK-S: *Nahелеhele.*

HG-A: *Nahелеhele* [chuckling]. And what surprised me, you know, we knew, *ho'i mai 'ana me ka wa'a mai ke kuahiwi mai.* We see this fog follow. The fog coming, coming down with them. You look at that fog coming, then they just about come out, where no more trees like that, and it just stays there. You hear the people calling.

KM: Hmm.

HG-A: Like my *kahu hānai*, he's the *kahea*, "*Pa'a Ka'ū, pa'a Kona, lana mālie,*" that means go straight [chuckling].

KM: Wow!

HG-A: All by hand.

KM: *No'ono'o 'ana wau, kou kahu hānai, ua 'oli paha 'oia?*

HG-A: 'Ae. He was the kind *lā'au kahea*, for healing. My step-mother, *lā'au kahea* too.

KM: 'Oia!

HG-A: We learned that too, so when I had these *kamali'i*, '*eha ka po'o*, I get the *pōpolo, kahea*. My *kahu hānai*, they call *Kū me Hina*. You pick one hand [gestures with right hand], *Kū*. The other hand, *hema, Hina*.

KM: 'Ae. *Ka hema 'o Hina?*

HG-A: 'Ae.



KM: *Ka 'akau, Kū?*

HG-A: *'Ae.*

[Discusses the use of *lā'au lapa'au* for healing.]

KM: Hmm. *Pehea, kēia lā'au i 'ohi 'ia me ka lima 'akau, no loko?*

HG-A: *'Ae. Lo'a anu, piwa nō ho'i, kēlā manawa, a'ole lo'a kauka lā'au. Kēlā manawa 'o Hawai'i wale nō.*

KM: *'Ae.*

HG-A: *A hānau wau ka pēpē, pa'a ka manawa...* They call that *manawa* [pointing to the top of her head – where the soft spot on a baby's head would be]. They *pa'a ka manawa*, that's why *'ōwelawela*, that *pēpē 'ōma'ima'i*.

KM: *'Ae.*

HG-A: They go get the *pōpolo*, but *kahea*. Before the *lā* come up, you got to go outside *ma mua o ka puka 'ana mai o ka lā*.

KM: *'Ae.*

HG-A: *Ke 'oe ke ku'iku'i, ai 'ole hiki iā 'oe ke māmā* [chuckling].

KM: *'Ae, māmā.*

HG-A: *Māmā a kau i ka welu, ke kau ma luna o ka manawa.*

KM: *E 'uwī paha?*

HG-A: *'Uwī. Palupalu ē, ka manawa.*

KM: *'Ae, palupalu. Wow! Nui nō kou mau mea e 'ike ai.*

HG-A: *'Ae. Laki, ko'u mau kahu hānai i hana kēia mau mea.*

KM: *'Ae...*

HG-A: I get so excited to tell the story!

Group: [chuckling – agreeing]

KM: So amazing, all of these things...

[*Kupuna Waha* and *Hana Pōhaku mā* chanted before fishing, canoe making, and planting.]

HK-S: ...Everything, they call they *'oli*. Now, coming to the Lord, but before, the people, everything that you see, they *'oli*.

KM: Everything was God.

HK-S: Everything was God. Even if had a name. They had a name for the forest, it was God. They had a name for the ocean, it was God. Everything is God.

HG-A: Yes.

HK-S: We don't just look at the wood and say this is God, no. I'm just fascinated, sitting here and listening to all of these things.

KM: *'Ae, hau'oli kēia hui 'ana. Mahalo!*

HG-A: *'Ae!*

KM: *E hui hou paha kāua?*

HG-A: *'Ae hui hou, ke lo'a 'oe ka manawa, hui hou.*

Group: [chuckling]



[Canoe making practices described.]

- DK: So mom, when they were bringing out the logs, it was like they were getting a blessing.
- HG-A: Yes, yes. That fog following them all the way down. You know, all the *wahine*, *mamao*, watching. We see that fog come, come, come, almost reach home, and then we can hear them calling.
- KM: 'Ae. And you know, what your mama was saying, here is the right hand, Kū and the left hand is Hina.
- HG-A: Yes.
- KM: This is the male and female in all of us. And Kūmukuhāli'i is one of the forest deity. His mist spreads out across the forest while they go down. It's so awesome. *Kūkū*, your *kahu hānai* was calling. And this Kū is who was called upon to make the canoe as the *kālai wa'a*.
- HG-A: Uh-hmm.
- KM: So all of this comes *pili* together. Here is this 'ohu that follows them down.
- HG-A: 'Ae.
- KM: *Mana!* They believed.
- HG-A: Yes.
- KM: *Hoihoi loa!*
- HK-S: Most of them were canoe makers out that side.
- HG-A: Oh yes.
- HK-S: Even grandpa Antone.
- DK: That grandpa is the one that was at Nāpo'opo'o?
- HG-A: Yes. But the one for this story, is my *kahu hānai*.
- KM: *I hea 'oia i kanu ai?*
- HG-A: Pāhoehoe.
- KM: *Ma ka pā ilina?*
- HG-A: 'Ae, *ma ka pā ilina. Akā, ua lawe 'ia e ka pele. Uhi 'ia e ka tūtū.*
- HK-S: Pele went cover all that.
- HG-A: The Pāhoehoe one.
- KM: So at least no one will mess around then.
- HG-A: Yes.
- KM: Good.
- HG-A: That's where my *kahu hānai kāne*, *wahine*.
- HK-S: They have the Catholic church over there.
- KM: Oh. [pauses] *Hoihoi loa!* So you folks, that was your living, you go *mauka*, you go...?
- HG-A: 'Ae, *makai*.
- KM: *Lawai'a*.
- HG-A: Uh-hmm.



KM: We were talking earlier, and you started to share, they would *wa'u ke kalo, ka pala'ai*?

HG-A: 'Ae.

[Describes *'ōpelu* fishing.]

KM: Can you describe how you went *'ōpelu* fishing?

HG-A: Oh, get your canoe, put your *upena* on the canoe. Your *pakeke* with your *palu*, the *pala'ai* or *kalo*. And then get your one big flat cloth... [thinking]

KM: *Pākā*?

HG-A: 'Ae [chuckles], thanks for helping me.

Group: [chuckling]

HG-A: And we go outside there, you put your *pale* down, put your *palu* inside, *uhi, uhi, uhi* [gestures folding the *pākā* corners into a square], *a kilo*.

KM: *Pelu, a pelu, a pelu*?

HG-A: 'Ae, *a pelu hou, pa'a*.

KM: *Me ka pōhaku*?

HG-A: 'Ae, *me ka pōhaku 'alā. Kilo*. Then my *kahu hānai nānā me ka pahu aniani*, "Okay, *huki*." So I stay over there *huki, huki*. You got to *huki* then slack, *huki a hō'alu*. [gesture pulling the line with the bait bag and then letting it loose, and pulling again]

KM: 'Ae.

HG-A: *A hemo ka welu, wehe 'ia ka palu*. My *kahu hānai* is looking with the *pahu aniani*. I think the *'ōpelu* all coming up. "Okay, *hana hou*." So I make one more flap with the *palu*, I give it to him, and then we *ku'u* the net first.

KM: 'Ae, now the net, when you went out in the canoe, was open?

HG-A: The net is all closed on the canoe. Then the time *mākaukau*, my *kahu hānai* see the *'ōpelu* all *ku*, stay together. Then we start to lower the *upena*. "*Ku'u ka upena*." I'm in the middle, my *kahu hānai wahine* in the back, my *kahu hānai kāne, i mua 'oia*. Then I tell my mama, "Papa said *ku'u* the *upena*." So she stand up and they join the two ends.

KM: Was a wooden *'apo, 'ūlei*?

HG-A: Yes, *'ūlei*. All *'ūlei*. So then they let it go down.

KM: About how wide was it?

HG-A: Oh pretty wide [thinking], about 20 feet.

HK-S: About like the canoe?

HG-A: Almost.

KM: *Poepoe*?

HG-A: 'Ae, 'ae.

KM: *Ka waha o ka upena, he iwakālua paha*?

HG-A: 'Ae, I think so. So we *ku'u* the *upena*.

KM: *He pōhaku ma loko*?

HG-A: 'Ae, by the *'eke*. Get the *'eke upena* like lead for make the *upena* go down. Then he look with the *pahu*, and my *kahu hānai wahine* make one more time with the *palu* and give to my papa. And he *ho'okomo ka palu i loko o ka upena*. Then you see the *'ōpelu* all go



inside, then he call “*Huki!*” [chuckling] Then my mother behind, and him in the front, *huki*. Oh come up, *piha!* By the time you *hāpai* two time for unload, too big.

KM: *‘Elua ka’au paha?*

HG-A: *O ‘ehā, ‘elima.*

HK-S: Yes.

HG-A: *‘Ike iāia, ‘elua hapa hapa...* [gestures *‘ōpelu* poured into two partitions of canoe]

KM: *So piha ka wa’a?*

HG-A: *‘Ae. “Piha, lawa, ho’i.”* [chuckling]

CG: Who made the sticks for the net?

HG-A: My step-father.

CG: And what about the net?

HG-A: Him.

CG: What was it made with?

HG-A: I think it was the regular cotton kind.

CG: And did he dye the net?

HG-A: Yes, he had to dye with the *kukui* bark.

CG: Oh, the bark?

HG-A: Yes, the bark. You soak your net, *kukui*.

CG: You used to do that too, grandma?

HG-A: Yes, hard work, but I enjoy. Now I enjoy, that time I got no choice, only me [chuckling].

HK-S: And if you don’t make, you don’t eat.

HG-A: No, they were good. My step-folks were good.

KM: So when you come, *kahea i ka po’e?*

[The catch was shared with families from the area; also the *au’a* was trained and kept the school at the *ko’a*.]

HG-A: Yes, get the *po’e kōkua*.

KM: And what, *māhele ‘ia ka i’a?*

HG-A: Oh yes. My papa always *māhele*. *E’a kāu, e’a, e’a* [gestures handing out fish to those on the shore]. The *po’e* over there, all *lo’a*.

KM: And you said, that sometimes they don’t fish?

HG-A: Certain times, *mahina*, they *hānai* the *ko’a*.

KM: So the fish are trained to come?

HG-A: *‘Ae.*

KM: Did you hear of the *‘ōpelu ‘au’a?*

HG-A: Yes, they had. You can see when the *‘au’a hele*, all the water bubbles. All bubble the water.

KM: *Ho’olili ē?*

HG-A: Yes, *ho’olili*. The old folks see that, “*A ho’olili.*” They go fish. But sometimes, they no go.



KM: So many fish, yeah?

HG-A: Yes.

[Never used meat or dirty bait for fishing – feed the fish foul food, you eat foul food.]

KM: And when they use that *pala'ai* and the *kalo* like that, the *i'a* are clean.

HG-A: Clean, yes.

KM: Now the guys go with what they call *hauna* and chop-chop, it's polluting all the fish.

HG-A: Yes.

KM: So if we make stink bait, what are we going to eat?

HG-A: Yes, you eat that.

KM: Then people wonder, "how come *ma'i*?"

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: Your folks side...some people get '*ōpae 'ula*, but you folks no more?

HG-A: No more. No more *kahawai*.

KM: 'Ae. A *pehea*, *i loko o ke kāheka*, *a'ole*?

HG-A: *A'ole*. No more, *a'ole lo'a*.

KM: But the *pala'ai*, *kalo*, *lawa*?

HG-A: 'Ae. *Maika'i kēlā manawa*, now, *pau...*

KM: *Kūkū*, e '*olu'olu 'oe*, e *wehe hou mai 'oe i ka mo'olelo e pili 'ana ka inoa o kou 'āina*, 'o '*Ōpihali*, ai '*ole 'Ōpihali*?

HG-A: Well inside my deed, the *palapala 'āina*, it has '*Ōpihali*, not '*Ōpihi*.

HK-S: So how do you folks call it, the people who live there?

HG-A: Well I still call '*Ōpihali*.

HK-S: And yours actually is '*Ōlelomoana*.

HG-A: Yes, '*Ōlelomoana*. '*Ōpihali*, '*Ōlelomoana*.

KM: *A ua lohe 'oe i kēlā mo'olelo mamua*, *he 'ōlohe paha kēlā wahi*?

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: *A makemake 'ia ka iwi*, *hana makau*?

HG-A: 'Ae. *Kēlā manawa hana lākou i ka makau me ka iwi kanaka ē*.

KM: 'Ae... A *pehe kou mana'o*, *Kukuiovae*, ai '*ole Kukuiova'e*?

HG-A: *Kukuiova'e...*

Group: [looking at map]

KM: When your *kahu hānai* went up to get the *koa* for canoes, did he go up Honokua or Ka'ohē side?

HG-A: He went up Ka'ohē.

KM: Do you think it was far up?

HG-A: I think far up. They would go and stay days up there.



KM: Hmm. And when they prepared the canoes, did they have some in different stages of preparation?

HG-A: Yes, they had.

KM: So some *liu*, hulls were left *mauka*?

HG-A: Yes, yes, and then they come back.

KM: I guess they have to season for a while?

HG-A: 'Ae.

CG: How did they cut it down, grandma?

HG-A: They had axe. They make their own. *Ko'i kālai, ko'i.*

KM: 'Ae. By papa's time, was *hao*, metal?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: But same basic style, *kālai wa'a*.

HG-A: The thing all bend in like that [gestures the shape of an adze on haft].

KM: Big job.

HG-A: Oh yes.

KM: [pointing to locations on map] So Kukuiopa'e, 'Ōlelomoana...

HG-A: Kukuiopa'e, Kolo, then 'Ōlelomoana, 'Ōpihali. And what else you get over there? Ka'apuna?

KM: 'Ae, *Ka'apuna*.

HG-A: Kīpāhoehoe, 'Alikā, Pāpā and Ho'opūloa.

KM: Oh, amazing.

HG-A: Ho'opūloa, where the lava came.

KM: The 1926 one?

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: *Pehea kou mana'o, ua lohe paha 'oe i kekāhi mo'olelo no kēlā pele i 1926? Ua ho'okipa mai ka wahine me kekāhi 'ohana?*

HG-A: [thinking] Not that I remember. [See further discussion in interview of May 28, 2000]

KM: Was there a family living out there?

HG-A: Ho'opūloa, the Ka'anā'anā family was there.

KM: Hmm...



**Hannah Waha Pōhaku Grace Kawa'auhau-Acia and 'Ohana,  
Makai at 'Ōlelomoana, May 13, 2000  
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly  
(Interview 2 of 3 – transcript excerpts from video recording)**

The following list identifies selected topics and descriptions of fisheries described by *kupuna* Hannah:

<b>Topic:</b>	<b>Page</b>
• <i>Kupuna</i> Waha Pōhaku was a canoe maker.	109
• Canoes launched from the cliffs with <i>lona</i> (rollers).	110
• Describes cultivation of <i>kalo</i> in the uplands.	111
• Discusses the seasonal variations, and when the families returned to the coast to fish.	111
• When the <i>kolomona</i> blooms, the <i>hā'uke'uke</i> is fat.	112
• Her <i>kūpuna</i> always taught her to take what was needed only, and not to waste the fish.	113

[Register map 2468 referenced at points during interview]

KM: *Mahalo nui i kou ho'okipa 'ana mai ia'u.*

HG-A: *Mahalo iā 'oe...*

KM: Here is Grant Number 9135, awarded to Pohaku.

VW: Yes that's Waha Pohaku.

HG-A: Yes, that's my *kahu hānai*.

KM: Okay, so this is where we are. Evidently, on the Ka'ū side of the boundary, it's Kūkulu Rock?

HG-A: Uh-hmm...

[*Kupuna* Waha Pōhaku was a canoe maker.]

KM: *...Pehea, i kou wā li'ilii'ua hele paha o tūtū i uka, i ka nahele koa paha?*

HG-A: *'Ae, kālai wa'a.*

KM: *'Oia, kou tūtū, he kālai wa'a, 'o Waha Pōhaku?*

HG-A: *'Ae, ku'u kahu hānai, he kālai wa'a 'oia. Ka po'e mamake wa'a, hele mai iāia, a pi'i lākou... Kekāhi manawa, noho ho'okāhi pule i uka, hele 'oki i ke koa a kālai. But kālai li'ilii', because huki mai 'ana, huki lima, a'ole holoholona kēlā mau lā.*

KM: *'Ae. Ua hele lākou a hana i kekāhi?*

HG-A: *'Ae.*

KM: *'Eli ka loko?*

HG-A: *'Ae, 'ae.*

KM: *Ua hele paha 'oe me ia?*

HG-A: *A'ale wau hele. Ua lohe wau, iāia. A'ole wau hele, akā nei lākou pau, hana ka wa'a, huki mai ka wa'a i kai. Lohe 'oe kou lākou kahea. But they tell you go away, huki mai ka wa'a, he alanui kēke'e, he inoa kēlā.*

KM: *'Ae, Kealakōwa'a.*

HG-A: *'Ae. And my kahu hānai, 'oia no ka mea mamua.*

KM: *Mamua 'oia o ka wa'a?*

HG-A: *'Ae, a ka po'e huki, mahape. Nāna i alaka'i iā lākou...*



KM: 'Ae... A kou kupuna, hele a 'ohi koa i uka o Ka'ohē?

HG-A: 'Ae. A nui ka wa'a ia hana 'ia.

KM: Hmm... Ua hānau 'oe i 1917, a i ka 1920s, paha, ua 'ike 'oe iāia i ka hana wa'a?

HG-A: 'Ae, 'ae. Ua hele wau i ke kula, pēlā wau i maopopo a lohe wau.

KM: 'Ae...

HG-A: Kēlā mau lā, lākou huki mai ka wa'a mai ke kuahiwi mai, nānā 'oe i ka uhi, ka 'ohu, hāhai mai 'ana ka wa'a. Hāhai a hala mawaho o ka ulu 'ōhi'a o ke kuahiwi, a pau. A Maopopo 'oe lākou, kokoke i ka hale, a lohe lākou wala'au 'ana.

KM: He uhiwai?

HG-A: 'Ae, he uhiwai hāhai 'ana lākou.

KM: Kupaianaha!

HG-A: Kupaianaha! (E like me ka mo'olelo mua, e wehe 'ana o kupuna i ka mo'olelo o ka manu 'elepaio a me ka hana kālai wa'a.)

KM: ...Na wai kēlā mau wa'a, na kekāhi kanaka o kai nei?

HG-A: 'Ae, po'e 'ohana, nō ho'i. Hele mai lākou kōkua.

KM: 'Ae. Pehea, i kēia 'āina pali nei, a'ole hiki iā 'oe ke kau ka wa'a i kai, ē, ma'ane'i?

[Canoes launched from the cliffs with lona (rollers).]

HG-A: Hiki! Well, ka pali (i 'Ōlelomoana) me ka hale pāpa'i mamua, malalo, lo'a ka pōhaku i ke kai.

KM: Hiki?

HG-A: Hana lākou i ka lona, ka hau, 'oki i ka hau, a ho'omoemoe ma ka pōhaku a kau 'oe ka wa'a maluna.

KM: So you folks could launch your canoes from the cliffs here along the shore?

HG-A: Yes, along the small cliff. They set lona, made of hau laid across the stone.

KM: And a part of the lona float?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: So that way, they could launch the canoe into the water, or back up on shore?

HG-A: Yes. When they landed, they would pull it back up.

KM: Was the lona perhaps attached to the stones with ropes?

HG-A: Yes, yes.

KM: Were there some stones with hole through them, paena wa'a?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: [speaking to Vickie] Did you folks see that, where they used to launch the canoes?

HG-A: By their time, there weren't any canoes down here.

KM: Hmm. The kūpuna were so intelligent!

HG-A: Yes.

KM: Now-a-days, this generation would look and say "oh, you can't launch a canoe here." But the kūpuna were smart, and they figured it out.



VW: But we did, when we used to live... well on weekends, at 'Alikā. Then we used to come by Kīpāhoehoe, and the *lona*, I remember.

HG-A: Yes.

VW: We used to swim on the *lona*.

KM: 'Oia!

HG-A: Just need one or two *lona*.

KM: It's the perfect thing for this '*āina pali* here.

HG-A: Yes ...

KM: ...You know, when you folks would go *mauka* here into your *māla'ai*, were there walls and planting areas? Or was it just wide open?

[Describes cultivation of *kalo* in the uplands.]

HG-A: No, that's why they get that *Konohiki*, I think. They marked the boundaries.

KM: were you folks growing '*awa*, by chance?

HG-A: No not at Ka'ohe, Kukuiope'e, yeah.

KM: Hmm. So there were walled areas? And was it a all *pu'e* kind plantings or did you make '*umokī* like?

HG-A: Pu'e.

KM: And that *kalo* was for '*ohana*, or...?

HG-A: Only for the *hale*.

KM: You'd shared with us when we spoke in December, that your *kahu hānai mā* even staggered the planting times?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: So you always had *kalo*?

HG-A: 'Ae. They know the *huli*, you know the *kalo* that you can use, maybe six months, eight months, one year.

KM: 'Ae, amazing. I guess there's one *kalo*, like the land name, *ka'ohe*?

HG-A: The '*ohe*.

KM: Did you plant that too?

HG-A: 'Ae, '*ohe*, we had that too.

KM: What other kinds of *kalo* did you plant?

HG-A: '*Ohe, mana, pala'i'i, palakea*, lots of them. '*Ele'ele, lehua*.

KM: 'Ae.

HG-A: *Lehua* is the good *kalo*, the *poi* is '*ula'ula*, nice color. And you pound your own, tastes better [chuckling].

[Discusses the seasonal variations, and when the families returned to the coast to fish.]

KM: 'Ae. So part of the year, *kūkū* was *mauka*. And then, at the time of year that he would go *makai*, did you folks all go *makai* too?

HG-A: 'Ae. From January until April, the water was not too good. But from May to July, the water *mālie*. That's why, *mauka* that time '*ōkai, kanu kalo, 'uala, a mālie ke kai, ho'i*.



KM: 'Ae... Pehea, i kou wā li'ili'i, pehea ka ua o kēia 'āina, lo'a?

HG-A: 'Ae. A'ole mākou pilikia like me kēia manawa. 'Auwē!

KM: Hmm, ua loli ka 'ea?

HG-A: Loli, nui ka loli! Mamua, nui ka ua.

KM: A'ole pilikia me ka wai?

HG-A: A'ole.

KM: Even i kai nei?

HG-A: 'Ae i kahakai...

VW: ...I know when we were kids, and used to come down here, they would tell us not to go up on the *pali*. Because we would walk on the trail and go fishing.

KM: The *alaloa*, the old trail here?

VW: We'd walk on the trail, go over to 'Ōpihali... You know, when we were growing up, we never came to where this hale is now. We went over there [pointing to the sheltered section of coast, a few hundred yards north].

KM: Well, that's logical, because it's sheltered, and where the old people could bring the canoes up.

VW: And there was a cave where there was a brackish water pond.

KM: Ohh.

VW: They made a house, but it was rock wall on the side, and the top was just covered with leaves.

HG-A: 'Ae.

VW: The floor was *'ili'ili*.

HG-A: Yes.

VW: And they'd put the canoes in the cave.

HG-A: When they go *mauka*. *Pau lawai'a, hāpai ka wa'a i uka*.

VW: We would come from *mauka* and go down the *pali*, we never did come this side.

HG-A: No.

VW: Although this was my mom's, we went over to that side.

KM: Hmm.

VW: We always went over to that side to fish. My mom would make torches and we would go.

KM: What were your torches made of?

HG-A: Bamboo, with bottles inside [chuckling].

KM: Oh!

[When the *kolomona* blooms, the *hā'uke'uke* is fat.]

KM: ...Pehea, ua lohe paha 'oe i kekāhi 'ōlelo e pili 'ana ka wana, ai'ole ka hā'uke'uke?

HG-A: Ke *kolomona*. Pua ke *kolomona* a momona ka hā'uke'uke, ka wana. Mamua, ka po'e *kūpuna*, "A hele ki'i ka hā'uke'uke, momona. Pua mai nei ke *kolomona*." Pololoi, hele 'oe ki'i ka hā'uke'uke, piha!

KM: Hmm, 'ono!



HG-A: *Momona!*...

KM: [Noted that *‘ākia* was growing on the way down to the shore at ‘Ōlelomoana; asks if aunty Hannah had used the *‘ākia* as a fish stunner.] *Mamua, ua hana nā kūpuna i pōpō ‘awa no ka i‘a ē?*

HG-A: ‘Ae, and get the other one too.

KM: ‘Auhuhu.

HG-A: ‘Ae. *Hele wau ho‘okāhi manawa, hana* [chuckling].

KM: *Pehea?*

HG-A: *Lana ka i‘a* [laughing]. *Ua ku‘iku‘i kēlā ‘auhuhu, pau a kiloi iloko o ke kāheka. A‘ole nui loa ke kāheka, li‘ili‘i. Mamake wau ‘ike. Ō make ka i‘a, lana.*

KM: ‘Ae... I’ve been told that the fish, if you don’t like certain ones, and you leave them, they wake up and swim away.

HG-A: Yes, it knocks them out.

KM: But not *make* die dead kind, not *pohō*.

Group: [chuckling]

HG-A: Yes, when *pau* they swim away.

[Her *kūpuna* always taught her to take what was needed only, and not to waste the fish.]

KM: Yes. Like your *kūpuna* said too, if you take everything today, tomorrow, no more nothing.”

HG-A: My *kahu hānai* always tell, “A‘ale ‘uwē ‘ana ka mea ‘ai iā ‘oe, ‘o ‘oe ka mea e ‘uwē ‘ana!”

KM: *Pololei, na‘auao nā kūpuna!*

HG-A: *Pololei!*...

KM: If only we could bring these kinds of values back for our children.

HG-A: ‘Ae.

KM: So it’s important that you pass some of this history along.

HG-A: Yes... [discusses preparation of *‘ōpelu*; *kaha*, *kāpī*, *kaka*, a *kaula‘i*.]

KM: Mahalo, you’ve been on this land for so long. From your *kūpuna*, and now to your own *mo‘opuna*, *mo‘opuna kuakāhi*, *kualua*. What a wonderful history! *Mahalo nui!*

HG-A: *Mahalo iā ‘oe*... [end of recording]



**Hannah Waha Pōhaku Grace Kawa’auhau-Acia  
(and daughters, Vicky Kawa’auhau-Whitworth and Ellen Kawa’auhau-Cullen;  
and son-in-law Bernard Whitworth)  
Interview with Kepā & Onaona Maly at Ho’opūloa, South Kona  
May 28, 2000 (Interview 3 of 3)**

The following list identifies selected topics and descriptions of fisheries described by *kupuna* Hannah:

<b>Topic:</b>	<b>Page</b>
• Describes canoe making practices of her adoptive father; when making canoes, the <i>‘elepaio</i> guided him to the right <i>koa</i> tree for the desired canoe.	114
• First catch was offered to <i>Kū’ula</i> .	119
• Describes seasons when cultivation and fishing was done.	120
• Family cared for and used various <i>ko’a</i> , like at Kūkulu, and Kolo as fish stations; and describes <i>‘ōpelu</i> fishing.	121
• Use of meat and <i>hauna</i> baits is not good for the <i>ko’a</i> .	123
• Made <i>pa’akai</i> (salt) on the lava flats.	125
• <i>‘Ala’ala</i> used as bait for pole and hook fishing.	127
• Canoe making discussed.	130
• Launching canoes from the <i>pali</i> .	132
• Discusses native plants— <i>‘auhuhu</i> , and <i>hāuhiuhi</i> ( <i>kolomona</i> )—associated with fishing lore; fishing for <i>‘ōhua</i> and other fish in the <i>kāheka</i> (tidal pools).	133

KM: It’s May 28th, 2000 and it’s 1:10 p.m... Are we in Pāpā?

HG-A: Ho’opūloa.

KM: I have the Register Map. 2468 [opening map]. Here’s the Pāpā Homestead Road *mauka*. Here’s the Miloli’i Road which actually comes down. Isn’t that interesting? You’re right because look at here, we’re right down here so you’re right *kūkū*, you said Ho’opūloa.

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: We’re right in this section right over here now by Ho’opūloa. You can see the landing, is the landing a little further down? The old Ho’opūloa landing?

VW: Yes, where the new houses are.

KM: ‘Ae, that’s right there’s the landing area there. And then the road continues and actually ended in the *ahupua’a* of Miloli’i. Looks like?

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

VW: Right.

KM: Then the trail continues on out.

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: We have your daughters also with us, Vicky and Ellen. We’re going to just be talking story about your recollections of growing up. Your *kūkū*, your *kahu hānai* as you’d shared with us before.

HG-A: Uh-hmm...

Group: [discusses travel to the uplands and practices and beliefs associated with cultivating the land.]



[Describes canoe making practices of her adoptive father: when making canoes, the *'elepaio* guided him to the right *koa* tree for the desired canoe.]

- KM: Now, one of the other wonderful things that you shared with us of course was that your *kahu hānai* was a *mea kālai wa'a*?
- HG-A: Yes.
- KM: *'Ae. He 'aha kāna hana i kēlā mau lā? Ua hele 'oia i kuahiwi, a i uka nei?*
- HG-A: *'Ae. Hele 'oia 'oki ka lā'au no ka wa'a. Koa, a kālai, me ka māmā so they can huki. Before, no more holoholona, huki lima.*
- KM: *'Ae.*
- HG-A: *Ho'okāhi pule paha, noho i uka. Pau, a mākaukau, iho mai, huki mai.*
- KM: *'Ae, a kou kahu hānai, ka mea o mua?*
- HG-A: *'Ae.*
- KM: *A ua 'ohu paha i ka lei?*
- HG-A: *'Ae, maile.*
- KM: *Hmm, maile. Ua hele 'oia... Ua wehe mai 'oe i kēia mo'olelo e pili 'ana kāna hele 'ana me kekāhi mau hoaloha...*
- HG-A: *'Ae.*
- KM: *...Ka mea nōna ka wa'a, paha?*
- HG-A: *'Ae.*
- KM: *...Hele i uka kahea, nānā, 'imi pono i ke kumu maika'i?*
- HG-A: *'Ae.*
- KM: *A pehea ua maopopo 'oe i kēlā manu li'i'i'i?*
- HG-A: *'Elepaio.*
- KM: *Ka 'elepaio. He'aha ka hana a ka 'elepaio?*
- HG-A: [chuckling] *When they 'oki that koa... They pi'i nānā, "o kēia koa, maika'i." Huli kēia manu 'elepaio, lele, kau ma ke kumu. Inā hele a lele aku, a lele, a'ohē maika'i. A hele kēia manu a hele a i ka loa o kēia lā'au, a lele, maika'i.*
- KM: *'Ae.*
- HG-A: *I ask, "Pehea maopopo iā 'oe e kēia manu lele, a'ale hele hapa, lele?" 'Ōlelo 'oia, "Puka, a'ale maika'i. Nānā 'oe lā'au, kākou a'ole maopopo. Lākou ka mea maopopo."*
- KM: *'Ae.*
- HG-A: *A hele 'oia, 'oki.*
- KM: *'Ae.*
- HG-A: *Nānā mai 'oia, he nalo iloko o ka lā'au.*
- KM: *'Ae. Hoihoi, na'auao nā kūpuna.*
- HG-A: *'Ae, ō!*
- KM: *Kahea i kēlā manu 'elepaio?*
- HG-A: *'Elepaio.*



KM: *E 'oki lākou i ke kumu?*

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: *Kahea i ka manu?*

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: *A holo ka manu?*

HG-A: *'Ae. Kahu hānai, 'oki 'oia i kēia kumu, huli, a kau koke ka manu, holo. Holo a lele, maika'i. Nei holo hapa, lele, a'ole maika'i.*

KM: Hmm. Now in those days about how far *mauka* did your *tūtū* go you think? If you compare it to where your *māla'ai* were, much further *mauka*?

HG-A: [thinking] Maybe another four miles, I think, four or five.

KM: Four or five miles. This is the *ulu nui, kēlā...* big forest?

HG-A: Yes. *Ulu 'ōhi'a, koa* yeah. I don't know what kind *nahele*, but *'ōhi'a* you can see from the *māla'ai*.

KM: *Hoihoi!* Now, *ua wehe mai 'oe, ua hana lākou i ka wa'a, ka wa'a o loko, ka hull nō ho'i.*

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: *Ka liu wa'a.*

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: *Hana i ka liu, but rough cut nō ho'i.*

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: *Lo'a ka māku'u?*

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: *Kēlā po'o, a hiki iā lākou ke nāki'i?*

HG-A: *Nāki'i, 'ae, a huki.*

KM: *A he 'aha ka mea hāhai iā lākou?*

HG-A: *Ka uhiwai.*

KM: *Kahea o tūtū a holo lākou?*

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: *Pehea, ua uhi paha lākou i ka 'āma'u paha ma lepo?*

HG-A: *A'ole.*

KM: *He lepo, a hiki iā lākou ke holo?*

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: Hmm. *A kēia uhiwai, hāhai 'ana iā lākou?*

HG-A: 'Ae. *You know us, makai, we kali iā lākou e iho mai.* 'Cause going get *pā'ina* [chuckling]

KM: Ah, that's right.

HG-A: So everybody look, you hear the *mākua*, "A *kokoke hiki mai ka wa'a.*" So I ask, "*Pehea maopopo iā 'oe, kokoke?*" "*Nānā 'oe i kēlā uhiwai.*" Hey, that fog coming more out and out, and out of the forest. Then you hear the voice, the *leo* of the *po'e huki 'ana i ka wa'a.* You listen, and that fog follows them till they're out the forest.

KM: And then *ho'i i ke kuahiwi?*



HG-A: 'Ae, pau. Kokoke i ka hale, nalowale kēlā 'ohu.

KM: Kupaianaha!

HG-A: Kupaianaha.

KM: Mana lākou.

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: And so kūkū, when he calls to them he's directing them?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: Huki this side, that side?

HG-A: 'Ae. They get all...I wished I had remembered all the Hawaiian words they kahea. The only word I remember is "ho'olana mai," hold on. The alanui all kēke'e not straight. When the alanui pololoj, they tell "ho'olana mai." So no huki just follow.

KM: Oh, 'cause it'll slip on it's own?

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: Amazing!

HG-A: My step-father and he so small too, he jump from one side to the other side [chuckling]... from one corner to the other corner (balancing the canoe hull).

KM: They would 'ohu i ka lei and things like that?

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: Come down. And then you said when they brought this wa'a o loko, the roughed out hull, come down, and them, they make pā'ina?

HG-A: Oh yes, pā'ina. Po'e ma ka hale, mākaukau i ka pā'ina.

KM: Hmm. Did you hear by chance, did they sometimes go to the mountain and leave... You know, they cut certain trees, and then they leave some so they could cure or did they go up one time cut one come down? So were there some trees that were left?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: So that next time they could come back?

HG-A: They come back, yeah.

KM: Would be dry pono, malo'o pono?

HG-A: Malo'o maika'i. That's what they did.

KM: And so your kahu hānai he would make the canoe?

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: Then for the mo'o and the manu like that, they have to make other kinds of wood?

HG-A: Yes. They usually use the... [thinking] mango, manako and kukui.

KM: Oh yeah, for the manu?

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: Have you heard of kōpiko or ahakea?

HG-A: A'ole. I know my kahu hānai, that's what he used.

KM: What he used. Was he using metal chisels by that time when you were a child?

HG-A: Only one, I remember the rest was all wood kind. I don't know what was that thing, but



mostly he had his own.

KM: Imagine *mamua* when your *tūtū* in the old days was *ko'i*, the stone adze?

HG-A: Yes, yes that's the kind he had.

KM: Stone kind?

HG-A: Yes, the stone the piece get the *luau* all wood yeah, and that piece only [gestures the haft of the adze]. That's what he had.

KM: Amazing! So your *kahu hānai* and then the old man Moku'ōhai, John I think Moku'ōhai.

HG-A: Yes.

KM: His son, Leihulu's brother Charlie, followed up after him too?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: Imagine the work that they got to go in to do that?

HG-A: A lot of work. And then you bring them down that's another job too, for make 'um ready.

KM: Yes. Did you see when they were finishing? How did they polish or smooth the canoe? Rub stone or what?

HG-A: *Kukui* nut.

KM: *Kukui*, oh must have been beautiful.

HG-A: Shine, nice. Oil too the *kukui*.

KM: When the owner when they went to take the canoe *makai*. They must have to *hāpai* nice, they don't want to make 'em all jam up.

HG-A: They *hāpai*.

KM: Do you think if we look at your porch here, the average length of your canoe that he would make. One or two man kind you think?

HG-A: Usually two man.

KM: Would it be like from the...?

HG-A: The corner here till this post.

KM: Till about where we are?

HG-A: Yes, that post.

KM: What is this four feet maybe sixteen foot kind?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: Sixteen feet kind about?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: What did they make the *'iako* out of? Do you remember?

HG-A: [thinking] Not the kind... [thinking] *hau*.

KM: The *ama*?

HG-A: *Ama*.

KM: Is the *hau*?

HG-A: Yes. The *ama* is the *hau*.

KM: 'Ae, big *hau* then must be?



HG-A: Oh yes, but those days plenty *hau*.  
 KM: Was your *hau mauka* or was it *makai*?  
 HG-A: *Mauka*.  
 KM: Near the road or?  
 HG-A: No, more *mauka*.  
 KM: Had *pūnāwai* or anything, or no more?  
 HG-A: *Punawai* get the kind, but way *mauka*.  
 KM: The *‘iako* not *hau* also, you don't think?  
 HG-A: No, I don't know what they use.  
 KM: Not *‘ōhi‘a* though you think?  
 HG-A: I'm not sure though, maybe.  
 KM: Hmm. Did *kūkū*, how about their *kaula* when they make the lashing? Did they make their own *kaula* or you think they went *kū‘ai* already?  
 HG-A: They went *kū‘ai* already, by that time was *kū‘ai* already.  
 KM: Did *kūkū* still go anywhere *mauka* gather *olonā* or anything to make nets when you were young?  
 HG-A: No, not that I know.  
 KM: Cotton already like that kind?  
 HG-A: Yes.  
 KM: When they took the canoe *makai* must have been one big thing too when the first time they launch the canoe?

[First catch offered to *Kū‘ula*.]

HG-A: Yes, oh *piha*, all family, friends.  
 KM: And what the first catch, you heard what they do first catch?  
 HG-A: I don't know they stay way out the ocean [chuckling]. They bring home they get *kū‘ula*.  
 KM: The place where they would go take the *i‘a mua*.  
 HG-A: Yes. That's all I remember and they come home I see them take 'em to that certain place where they get the *kū‘ula*.  
 KM: This *pōhaku* stand up?  
 HG-A: Yes, they leave the fish there.  
 KM: This was at Ka'ohē?  
 HG-A: Ka'ohē.  
 KM: How about your *‘āina* by where you are at 'Ōlelomoana?  
 HG-A: No, I don't remember. But I remember when I was the other side.  
 KM: A child at Ka'ohē?  
 HG-A: Yes.  
 KM: Were there seasons that they...like we had talked you had shared you know that certain seasons they knew when the rains were going to come *mauka*. That's when they would go prepare the garden?



HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: How about when *nā lā malo'o*, or kai mālie?

HG-A: *Kai mālia*, they know all that time.

KM: When did you folks go *maka'i*?

[Describes seasons when cultivation and fishing was done.]

HG-A: Summertime, June, July, August and then October, November, December rough; then January, February, March rough then April start to calm. April, May, June all that.

KM: Rough time, *'ōkaikai*?

HG-A: *'Ae, mauka, mahi'ai, kanu kalo, kanu 'uala, pala'ai.*

KM: *A mālia ke kai, ho'i?*

HG-A: *Mālia ho'i i kai noho, 'ōpelu, kā'ili po'e hāuliuli*, you know.

KM: *'Ae, kēlā mau i'a. A he'aha kāu i'a puni?*

HG-A: *'O wau, mamake kawele'ā* [chuckling], *ō!*

KM: What was that *i'a* before *maiko*? What was the fish you were *'ono* for the other day?

HG-A: *'Ae, 'ae that, maiko.*

KM: Was the *maiko* [chuckling]?

HG-A: *Maiko*, that's my favorite I like *maiko*.

VK-W: That's her favorite.

HG-A: They like *kole*, I say "no, I no like *kole* I like *maiko*." When the *mo'opuna* go spear, "don't forget grandma's *maiko*." [chuckling]

Group: [chuckling]

KM: *Hoihoi loa...* In your youth now you were sharing with us too, beautiful stories when we were *makai* the other week. You folks, even as a child you still came over to this side and went down with the *'ohana* sometimes?

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: We were talking, you remembered the point Kūkulu?

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: That name you remembered. You showed me where Kolo Rock is?

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: Right on the boundary between Kolo and the 'Ōlelomoana?

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: It was beautiful because when we walked out there that day, where your little *hale pāpa'i* is now. That's not where you folks stayed?

HG-A: No.

KM: You folks stayed further below?

HG-A: Below, yes.

KM: The *pali*?

HG-A: But the *pali* broke, so I can't go down now.



KM: Yes... So from there your *'ohana* and you would go out *lawai'a*?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: Hmm, did they *kanu* anything in around there too?

HG-A: *Pala'ai*, for when they like make *palu* for the *i'a*. Get the *pala'ai* right there. *Kahakai* you *kanu* the *pala'ai*, fast grow.

KM: Fast grow?

HG-A: Yes and *pua*.

KM: Where you folks lived actually, and we went to see it because you had shared this beautiful story you know. Where the *pali* is, here's Kūkulu Point...

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: And this is still 'Ōlelomoana, but it's let me see who's. If I can see under who's *'āina*... [looking at map] Well, you see there's the *pali*, the little cliff there. There was a house in there and you said you even had the *hala* and the *loulu* down there?

HG-A: And the *loulu*, and *hau*.

KM: The *kou* trees were still there?

HG-A: Yes, the *kou*.

KM: In your folks time when you were young your *kūkū* your *kahu hānai* mama, her main work was *ulana*?

HG-A: *Ulana*, 'ae.

KM: She *ulana lauhala*?

HG-A: *Pāpale, moena*.

KM: 'Oia *kāna hana*?

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: How about the *loulu*, *kūkū* also weave *loulu*?

HG-A: *Ulana pāpale*, yes...

[Family cared for and used various *ko'a*, like at Kūkulu, and Kolo as fish stations; describes *'ōpelu* fishing.]

KM: ...Now, *i kou noho 'ana i kai i 'Ōlelomoana, ua hele lākou lawai'a*?

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: *A ua 'ōlelo 'oe he mau ko'a a 'oukou*?

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: *Maopopo lākou i hea ka 'ōpelu paha...?*

HG-A: 'Ae *'ōpelu*.

KM: *Ehu paha? Mea like 'ole*.

HG-A: 'Ae, our *ko'a* was right *mamua pono o ka awa*, and then *ho'okāhi* by Kūkulu.

KM: One by Kūkulu?

HG-A: Yes. And the other one by Kolo.

KM: By Kolo, rock side?

HG-A: 'Ae.



KM: You said, maybe half a mile out?

HG-A: About that, yeah. They don't go way *i waho*. About a half mile.

KM: They go, they *lawai'a*...?

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: And one of the other interesting things you were saying was...what was their *upena* 'ōpelu like? You said they make the *'ūlei* around and stuff like that?

HG-A: Yes, they have to have *'ūlei*. Like the *wa'a* like that, you put the *'ūlei*, your *upena* right by the side of the *wa'a*. When you go outside then papa, my *kahu hānai* look with the *maka, pahu*. Then you make the *palu* they get one cloth about that wide [12 inches], put the *palu* inside. Then *pelu, pelu* [gestures folding] and then *kiloi*.

KM: 'Oia ka *pākā*?

HG-A: *Pākā*, 'ae. The *pala'ai*, the *kalo* the *palu o mākou*.

KM: 'Ae.

HG-A: Then out the *pōhaku* the lead in and you *kiloi*. It goes right down. Then *he nānā i ka pahu aniani*. And you the one *kiloi* that. And I don't know if down halfway or what, but call "Okay *lawa, huki*." Then you *huki* two times, *hō'alu a wehe*. All the *palu* goes out, and then you *huki* all the way up. The you make ready again in case he like you *kiloi* again. And then I guess then the 'ōpelu come in.

KM: 'Cause they come eat?

HG-A: Yes, they eat the *palu*. Then when *mākaukau* for the *upena*, he call's "*ku'u*." That's when you...like my *kahu hānai* in the front and I behind so I gotta run behind and open the net, and him in the front open and we join 'em together. [gestures bringing the two end of the *'ūlei* together]

KM: You bring the *'ūlei*?

HG-A: Yes, the two *'ūlei* together.

KM: 'Apo?

HG-A: Yes, you *'apo* your side at the back, and he *'apo* his side in the front, then you let 'em go. That thing go round, go down.

KM: You said was maybe like twenty feet or more long, deep?

HG-A: Yes, maybe about twenty.

KM: He watch with the *pahu aniani*?

HG-A: Oh yes, he watch.

KM: And he watch and *pi'i mai ka 'ōpelu*?

HG-A: 'Ae, *pi'i mai*, and then you *kiloi* again the *palu*. And this time you *kiloi* inside.

KM: In the net?

HG-A: In the net, then see the 'ōpelu go inside. He look and when ready, he tell "*huki, huki*."

KM: *Huki mai*.

HG-A: I go run behind again pull my back side up and it come up, the net get bag under.

KM: The *'eke* underneath?

HG-A: Yes. One *ku'u lawa, ho'i*. [chuckling]

KM: *Ka'au paha*?



HG-A: *Ka'au*, oh more than *ka'au*. *Elua*, *ekolu ka'au* one *ku'u*.

KM: All *ōpelu*?

HG-A: All *ōpelu*, yeah.

KM: How come your *kūkū* used the *pala'ai* or the *kalo* for the bait?

HG-A: That's what we used.

KM: The fish *'ono* for that?

HG-A: I guess so.

[Use of meat and *hauna* baits is not good for the *ko'a*.]

KM: Nowadays you hear people they use *pilau* kind, "*hauna*" and "*make dog*" any kind, "chop-chop." Junk yeah?

HG-A: Yes, no good.

KM: *Pehea kou mana'o inā hānai 'oe i ka i'a i ka mea hauna, 'ai 'an 'oe i ka...?*

HG-A: *A'ole wau mamake 'ai kēlā mea* [chuckling].

Group: [laughing]

KM: That's what *kūkū mā* say yeah. Why would you feed what you going eat *pilau*?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: Now, *loli* the *ko'a* all change? Sad...

HG-A: All *pau*.

KM: I bet if you feed one, try to draw the *ōpelu* with the *pala'ai*, they say "what's that?".

HG-A: *'Ae, he 'aha kēlā?*

KM: But, get the *ōpelu māmā* or something like that?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: When you go out if you throw blood meat kind into your *ko'a* what's going to come into your *ko'a*?

HG-A: All that big kind *i'a*.

KM: The big kind *i'a*, *manō paha*.

HG-A: *Manō*.

KM: So what they eat your *ko'a*, *pau*?

HG-A: Yes, *pau*. *Pololei oe. Kēia manawa, pau*.

KM: *Na'auao nā kūpuna*.

HG-A: *'Ae, mamua*.

VK-W: So ma, when you pull the net up and it's round when do you take it out and make it?

HG-A: When come up close to the canoe that's why you got to go back again. Where you stay you go in the front *huki, huki*...

VK-W: *Huki* to shore?

HG-A: No, as soon as come right by the side canoe then you open and then you put 'em inside the canoe like that. Then you start to *huki* the net slowly. Gather the net...

VK-W: So you take that whole net in?



HG-A: Yes.

KM: The fish are pouring into the canoe?

HG-A: Yes, you *huki huki* until come to the bag, the *'upena*.

KM: There down in the *'eke* they get stuck down there?

HG-A: Yes.

VK-W: I always saw them going *'ōpelu*...

HG-A: You see them running back and forth?

VK-W: But I see them only with this long... I thought how in the world are they going to put the fish in there because it's just long stick.

KM: Yes, straight.

HG-A: Yes, yes.

VK-W: Unless they put it on two side of the canoe?

KM: No, but that's what's amazing.

VK-W: Then how are they going to pull it up?

KM: That's what's amazing, the *'ūlei* was so pliable.

HG-A: Yes.

KM: I look on your *'āina* where we went down.

HG-A: Yes.

KM: Your *'ūlei* has beautiful runners. And you get these nice long runners you could make it *'apo*?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: When you pull it back up then you open it but the fish are all going down into the *'eke*.

HG-A: All inside, yeah. They like try go out but half of the net you *huki* you throw in the canoe until you get to the bag.

KM: That's amazing! But you folks never used anything but *pala'ai*, *kalo*?

HG-A: Just *pala'ai* and taro.

KM: *Kalo* like that.

VK-W: What about pear?

HG-A: No.

KM: You folks never?

HG-A: No, just taro and pumpkin. Hard job though, got to grate [chuckling].

VK-W: Oh, you don't cook it first and then?

HG-A: No, you got to grate it.

VK-W: All raw?

HG-A: Yes, you grate it and then you get your *wai wela* going?

KM: 'Ae.

HG-A: Hot water. Then you grate your taro, pumpkin and then you throw inside it.

VK-W: And then you cook it?



HG-A: Yes, you make like how you make *palaoa lūlū* [chuckling]. Until that thing cook then all *pau*.

VK-W: Oh, I thought you cook it first, then you smash it?

HG-A: No, you got to grate 'em. That's the hard part, the grating [chuckling].

VK-W: I don't mind the pumpkin but I don't want the taro.

HG-A: Sometime the taro itchy, yeah.

KM: Was there a better taro than not, that you used that you remember?

HG-A: [thinking] Before we used to use the good one's, we eat like '*ula'ula* you know, the kind table taro. That's what they used for... Now, I don't know. But before days that's all they used. So all clean, and we used to keep the *ōpū* make *palu* [chuckling]

KM: 'Ae, that's right.

HG-A: Clean, you just clean the taro and pumpkin, *hemo* all that.

KM: That's right, so clean inside?

HG-A: Clean, yeah.

KM: Amazing, so changed now. And people they don't realize yeah?

HG-A: No.

KM: And so obvious you *hana 'ino*...you going get it back?

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

[Made *pa'akai* (salt) on the lava flats.]

KM: *Hoihoi loa*. So you would go out, you *lawai'a*? *Kūkū ua hele 'oukou a 'ohi pa'akai*?

HG-A: Oh yeah we *poho*.

KM: *Hana poho*?

HG-A: Yes, 'ae.

KM: Chisel in the rock?

HG-A: 'Ae, no more, so you make your own.

KM: *A halihali i ka wai*?

HG-A: Uh-hmm. *Nini i loko o ka poho. Nui ka hana*.

KM: So all of your salt, you folks you *kaula'i*?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: *Kāpī 'ia*?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: Down at your house at 'Ōlelomoana, had one little spring? Had a little bit of water down by the house that you remember or not?

HG-A: The pond. But the pali went *hā'ule* on the *pūnāwai*.

KM: So that's what happened. The earthquake or something, the *pali* went...?

HG-A: Yes, the *pali* went...*pa'a*.

KM: Now closed?

HG-A: Uh-hmm.



KM: Because before you folks...?

HG-A: That's our *wai*.

KM: Then when you *kāpī* then you got to *kākā i'a*?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: Then you *kaula'i*?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: You said you 'oki your *i'a*, *kaha ma ke kua paha, ōpū*?

HG-A: Mine by the *kua*. And if *nui loa ka i'a*, you 'oki the *iwi*.

KM: 'Ae.

HG-A: *A miko maika'i. Inā a'ole miko, 'auwē!* [chuckling]

KM: 'Ae. *Ho'okāhi lā?*

HG-A: *Nei wela, ho'okāhi lā lawa.*

KM: *Inā māmalu, 'elua, 'ekolu lā?*

HG-A: 'Ae, *lawa.*

KM: *A na kou kahu hānai ua hele 'oia a kū'ai paha?*

HG-A: 'Ae, ka *ōpelu*, *kū'ai, po'e kauoha.*

KM: Oh, make order *nō ho'i*?

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: 'Oia *kona hana ma'a mau*, his livelihood?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: *Pehea 'oukou hana i ka poi, ku'iku'i?*

HG-A: *Ku'i lima.*

KM: Do you folks still have your *poi* pounders?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: Good, *mālama kēlā.*

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: That's very important.

HG-A: Yes.

KM: [thinking] You shared with us too that, in fact your *poho pa'akai*, 'cause you said some of this...you would go off on the *papa*, there's the *papa*?

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: Pass the house towards Kolo?

HG-A: Yes, going that way.

KM: That's where the *kāheka* or the *poho pa'akai* were out there?

HG-A: Yes, *mawaho.*

KM: Did you folks, when the dry season you go down *mālie ke kai*?

HG-A: 'Ae.



KM: That's when you go, you make *pa'akai*?

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: Did you save some? Take home *mauka*?

HG-A: Yes, *inā mamake 'oe pa'akai i ka hale*.

[*'Ala'ala* used as bait for pole and hook fishing.]

KM: How about...it was so fun you were talking to us a little bit about your *'ala'ala* [chuckling]... I know and your *mo'opuna nui* was asking "what you doing with *'ala'ala, tūtū*?" [chuckling]

Group: [chuckling]

KM: *He'aha ka hana me ka 'ala'ala, kēlā maunu?*

HG-A: The *'ala'ala*, we *lāwalu* and then take one *poho*, like the *'ōpihi nui*. Cook that *'ala'ala a mo'a*, make one *lā'au* for *ku'iku'i* inside. Some, they put *nioi* inside, but *wela ai ka i'a, wela!* [chuckling] I tell my *kahu hānai* "No put *nioi, wela*, put the *inamona*." [chuckling] The *inamona* good. *Ku'iku'i hui ai* everything in the *'ōpihi*, and then ready for *kā mākoi*. And those days, the *makau* no more [gestures a barb].

KM: Barb?

HG-A: Yes, just plain [rounded]. They make on barb like that, and you get two hooks hanging by the side. Then you get your *palu*, the *'ala'ala* you made you get the *lā'i*, the *kumu*... [pauses]

KM: The *iwi*?

HG-A: 'Ae, the *iwi*. Then you put your *'ala'ala* on top that then you put in your, that's how we hold it [chuckling]. You go *kā mākoi*, and the *i'a* take the *palu*, so you bring the hook up dab a little more on top, *kiloi* again. And this thing, just like you smoking [chuckling].

Group: [laughing]

HG-A: If your *palu* good, every time fall down, you get two fish....

KM: Every time you go down you get to two?

HG-A: Yes, *pālua*. Ho! You so excited, yelling to one another. [chuckling] I look at my mother, no more and I get Hoo! [laughing]

Group: [laughing]

HG-A: Was good fun though. Yes, that's what they use, the *'ala'ala* for the *palu*.

KM: Amazing!

HG-A: My *kahu hānai*, she used ginger to moisten.

KM: That's what you said, yes, *'awapuhi kuahiwi* kind?

HG-A: Yes the *kuahiwi* one not the wild big one...they get two kinds you know?

KM: Yes, *'awapuhi kuahiwi*?

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: *'Ūwī ho'i ka 'a'a, a 'oia ka wai?*

HG-A: 'Ae. *'A'ala* too, that. My *kahu hānai* say, "you no smell, you smell that the fish going smell, no like bite." [chuckling]

KM: [chuckling]

HG-A: And me, I was thinking how can the fish smell?



KM: Yes. [pauses] So that was how you folks made your livelihood though, you live like that?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: Your *kahu hānai* she taught you how to *'ulana* like that?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: Now you are one of these *mea loea*.

HG-A: That's why I thought no more, I'm going back to weave.

KM: Isn't that funny?

HG-A: Look what I'm doing now [chuckling].

KM: *Kupuna, he waiwai 'oe!*

HG-A: *'Ae, kēia manawa, mahalo wau i ku'u kahu hānai* [chuckling].

KM: *'Ae. Where were your lauhala trees growing mostly? That you folks would gather from, your kahu hānai?*

HG-A: When we used to stay Ka'ohē, before we moved, we had a place below the house. Where we go fish.

KM: Near the ocean?

HG-A: Yes, like this kind, up.

KM: On the edge of the *pali*?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: Overlooking?

HG-A: *'Ae.*

KM: How the *lau, maika'i*...long?

HG-A: Yes, *lawa* for *pāpale*...

KM: ...Vicky, your papa's family also had *'āina* this side is that right?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: Where did you dad's family live?

HG-A: Over there, see that *kiawe* trees that's where their father's place. But now I don't know who owns...

KM: That *'āina* is?

HG-A: Pāpā.

KM: Pāpā, that's right. I see this is *'Alikā Bay*?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: You were telling me about one *pōhaku* Pōhakuōloa, you folks would go on canoe?

VK-W: The arch

HG-A: The arch...no more now?

VK-W: No, only one side.

HG-A: Before was nice, the arch.

VK-W: What is the name of that rock?

HG-A: Kīpāhoehoe.



KM: So at Kīpāhoehoe?

HG-A: I forget, I only know Kīpāhoehoe.

KM: Yes that's it *kūkū*. [pointing to location on map] Where it says arched rock, right below Kīpāhoehoe on this old map it says "Napohakuloloa."

HG-A: Yes that's right, that's the name of that *pōhaku*.

KM: This map was made in 1909, some of the map names might be pretty accurate.

Group: Yes.

KM: So you folks would go down there?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: And that's Pāpā down there [pointing north of interview location]?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: Where that *ulu kiawe* is?

VK-W: The first *kiawe*.

KM: The first one here?

HG-A: Yes, the first one.

VK-W: The next one is 'Alikā, that's where my dad used to live.

HG-A: 'Alikā.

KM: You folks would still go down 'ohana?

VK-W: Yes, we would walk from someplace up on the highway.

HG-A: Yes, that road come down the *pali*.

KM: The old trail?

HG-A: Yes.

VK-W: On the trail.

KM: Let me see...[looking at the map] I was just trying to see.

VK-W: There was no road.

KM: Unfortunately they didn't mark the trail on this one here. They already had the road down through Pāpā and Minoli'i like that. You folks would walk down, go all the way down?

VK-W: All the way down to 'Alikā.

HG-A: To that beach, 'Alikā, where the *kiawe* is.

KM: Nice. So you folks would go out *holoholo* with the 'ohana you *lawai'a* and stuff like that?

VK-W: Yes..

KM: ...Were you folks still cultivating *kalo* or anything in the mountain? Was this at 'Ōlelomoana you folks? Did you folks go *mauka* of the road? Was that 'ohana land up there too?

HG-A: Yes, was 'ohana.

VK-W: We went up there to plant taro, we had our taro patches there.

HG-A: Uncle Pū'ou.

KM: Pū'ou *mā*?



HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: I see some other names here. There's, this is 'Ōpihali already, but Kaho'ohuli Pahinui...

HG-A: Yes Pahinui, Keli'ikuli.

KM: Keli'ikuli was an old one too, they had 'āina in Ku'aimoku's time too their name was mentioned.

VK-W: What was the kupuna's name?

HG-A: Noa Papa.

KM: Oh...

VK-W: Kuahiwinui and Keli'ikuli.

KM: And you said Kuahuia?

VK-W: Yes, but Kuahuia was down here. Kuahuia is my grandmother's maiden name. On my father's side.

KM: You guys all *pili*?

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: When the Ho'opūloa flow came down in 1926, you were not quite ten years old yet.

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: Did you ever hear your *kūkū mā* or *kahu hānai* talk about Pele? Were there *mo'olelo* that they would tell you about the volcano or...?

HG-A: That they see people?

KM: Yes.

HG-A: Well, my *kahu hānai* used to tell...they don't know, but they see the lady. They know it's *malihini* you know, they don't know who she is. But she always come like either *paka* or *'awa*, that old things. My *kahu hānai* say "We *puhi paka*, but no more *'awa*." So they share. I don't know how they know, I hear the two guys talking "*kahe 'ana ka pele*." Me, I thinking what they talking about but I listen. Eh, a couple weeks after that she come down. So I go *niele* to my *kahu hānai*, "Ma what you guys was talking..." You know in Hawaiian. She tell me "*A'ole 'oe 'ike kēlā luahine, ke hele mai i kēlā ahiahi aku nei?*" I tell, "Yes." "*O tūtū Pele kēlā!*" [chuckling] I tell, "how you know?" in Hawaiian. "*A mahope 'oe 'ike*." Then when she came down, "*Nānā 'oe kahe mai nei o tūtū, ke iho mai nei...*" [chuckling]

[Canoe making discussed.]

VK-W: ...Ma, when they build the canoe, who makes the party? The one they're building the canoe for?

HG-A: Yes.

VK-W: So, if somebody wanted him to build a canoe and then he went up to the mountains, got it and bought it back, they make the party?

HG-A: Uh-hmm, yeah.

KM: Uncle Louis told me to that just what you're describing that's right who ever the canoe was for that was their *hai*, *uku* for these things. Because that's *kūkū*'s livelihood too. Even when they *pau kālua* the pig all the *iwi* they don't just *kāpae*.

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: It goes out with them is what uncle Louis said.

VK-W: Go on the boat when it goes out?



KM: Yes, they take it out.

HG-A: Take out the ocean.

KM: For the first time when they dedicate, like that.

VK-W: And then after grandpa finished building the boat, who takes it out? The people who bought it, who ordered it?

HG-A: Yes, they take. If they no get enough help then you *kōkua*.

KM: How did they take the canoe from the *mauka* road? Where you folks were, down to the ocean? *Hāpai*?

HG-A: No, they take Ho'okena.

KM: They go down Ho'okena. So you could put it haul with the horse or something, with the trailer go down?

HG-A: The trailer, yeah.

KM: Oh, that was easier.

HG-A: Yes.

KM: Not like before days you got to *ala hele* right down, hard yeah.

HG-A: Yes.

KM: So go down to Ho'okena.

HG-A: From there, they come *makai*.

KM: So they come home. You were talking about how you folks, even at 'Ōlelomoana, in that nice little area where the houses were when you were young. It's *pali*?

HG-A: Uh-Hmm.

KM: They would put *lona*, lay down make *paena wa'a*?

HG-A: Yes they go on the *lona*.

KM: Amazing, so they get these log runners? Float, with the rise and fall of the water?

HG-A: Yes, the *hau*.

KM: They would run the canoe, down?

HG-A: Down, uh-hmm.

KM: And then when they come the guys they watch.

HG-A: The people, *mauka*.

KM: And they *huki*?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: So amazing, no need sand, no need flat place!

HG-A: No need.

[Launching canoes from the *pali*.]

KM: How you can just launch your canoe right off the *pali*.

VK-W: They would just take these logs.

KM: You said you did that yeah?

VK-W: Yes.



KM: Even when you folks were young?

VK-W: Put it so many feet away and it goes all the way up to the big boulders.

BW: They still move things like that today, but they use pipe.

VK-W: If you forget one and it's close to the water, you forgot to bring it just floats so you have to swim out there and get it. Like my dad folks, they would go around the turn, and they don't take but maybe two or three *lona* with them. So when you get there you have to keep moving them up.

KM: Yes, replacing them because that's how you roll your canoe in.

HG-A: Yes.

VK-W: But if they're stationary like over there, they just had the *lona* sitting there when they come home they just line it up.

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: It's really amazing! Good life, hard life you folks had.

HG-A: Hard life, but was good.

KM: You look at all these things, no one will experience that again. Even what you folks as children experienced. Like you said now it's pipe or now forget it go store buy your fish.

Group: [chuckling]

HG-A: Yes, that's right.

VK-W: Now it's all boat ramp, it's all the tires and trailer and everything. They don't bring it up anymore.

KM: That's right. Even at that, you look at it...how you use the land now. Now, we leave all of our *ōpala* behind.

HG-A: Hmm.

VK-W: Right.

KM: At least when it was the *lona*, the *hau* like that, if it got left behind, *pau* it rots, goes back to the earth, *pau*.

HG-A: *Pau*.

KM: You don't know you were ever there, like your *hale pāpa'i mauka* except for where the stone alignment were?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: You know. You folks you said, you mentioned 'awa earlier that sometimes they give Pele, *tūtū 'awa* or *puhi paka*.

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: You folks grew 'awa or not when you were young?

HG-A: No, no more...

[Discusses native plants — 'auhuhu, and hāuhiuhi (kolomona) — associated with fishing lore; fishing for 'ōhua and other fish in the kāheka (tidal pools).]

KM: We saw the 'ākia...

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: Now *kūkū, ua lohe 'oe ka mo'olelo e pili 'ana ka 'ākia?*

HG-A: *A'ole.*



KM: *Pehea ka 'auhuhu?*

HG-A: *'Ae, ka 'auhuhu.*

KM: *He'aha ka hana?*

HG-A: *Lohe ku'u kahu hānai, wala'au.* So I went try, I did try, and yeah it worked.

KM: It worked.

HG-A: Kill all the *i'a*.

KM: So you go *'ohi* that *'auhuhu?*

HG-A: I go *huki* the *'auhuhu*, and go near the *kāheka* where I like put that inside, one small *poho*. Put inside, *ku'i, ku'i, ku'i*, tie inside and put inside one *pākeke*. I go try put these things in, hoo, bumby you look, all the fish floating [laughing].

Group: [laughing]

KM: *Lana ka i'a!*

HG-A: I look the good kind, like the small *manini* and you know good kind, I pick up, I take home. My *kahu hānai* tell me "*No hea mai nei kou i'a?*" She know we no more the net, the kind scooping net.

KM: *'Ae.*

HG-A: I tell "from over there in the *kāheka*." "*Ō pehea 'oe lo'a kēia i'a li'ilii'?*" [chuckling] So I told her, she laugh, she knew. She tell me, "How I know?" "I hear you folks *wala'au* so I go try." [chuckling]

KM: Wonderful!

HG-A: It works you know.

KM: If you don't take the certain fish, they going come back again?

HG-A: That I don't know, I never watch. I don't know, maybe because not that strong.

KM: That's so wonderful so *'auhuhu?* Also you'd said that you folks used to make *kā'e'e*, *'ūlei* you made nets? You folks made nets?

HG-A: Yes, for the small fish *'ōhua*. *'Ōhua* season get that go in the *kāheka*.

KM: You go gather the *'ūlei*, nice, thin?

HG-A: Yes, the nice soft, easy for bend with your *upena*.

KM: Did you folks make your own *'upena?*

HG-A: Yes, my *kahu hānai* make.

KM: You make this scoop net like this and?

HG-A: Yes, and go in the *kāheka*. One go with the net, the other one come *hō'oni'oni ka i'a*. The *manini* go inside that *'upena*. *'Ōhua* mostly.

KM: *'Ōhua, 'ae. Kakahiaka nui?*

HG-A: *'Ae.*

KM: *Inā pā mai ka lā, lo'a ka iwi?*

HG-A: *'Ae kakahiaka, just ma'ama'a ka 'ike.* Nice and *ke'oke'o*.

KM: Hmm. Was the *'ōhua* in the they call that...they call it *koholā?*

HG-A: Yes, sometime you find like that, sometime just when *pau*, open still in there but they all out in the water. Certain time you get the whole thing, that is *maika'i* if you get the whole



thing.

KM: Do you see *‘ōhua* now? Have you seen *‘ōhua* recently?

HG-A: I don't see hardly any nowadays, no more.

KM: You wonder what's going to happen maybe someday us no more *manini* and stuff?

HG-A: 'Ae. Because that's what we get our *manini* and stuff.

VK-W: No more *aku* and *'ahi* either.

KM: For real, because they take so much yeah?

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: Before when you folks, and we had this conversation last time. In your *'āina*, in your *ahupua'a* just like you said *konohiki* you told me last week. Certain place they knew this is *kūkū* Pōhaku's fishing place, so outsiders don't go there.

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: The other guys know that's their fishing place where they go, so you didn't intrude on one another's...

HG-A: Yes.

KM: So if you take too much today, *pau* you going get nothing tomorrow.

HG-A: *Pau*, uh-hmm.

KM: You *mālama*.

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: Hmm. [thinking] So you would make *'ūlei* like that.

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: Now one of the other plants that I saw, we saw *lama*...you said you made *kukui* with the kerosene you make *lama kukui*.

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: *Kukui* nut *paha*?

HG-A: *Kukui* nut.

KM: *Kukui* nut, okay. Still yet, you make *kukui*?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: When you folks go *lamalama*?

HG-A: Yes.

VK-W: I remember *lamalama*.

KM: There's a plant, a tree that grows on your *'āina* I saw it when we were going *makai*. The tree has beautiful yellow flowers on it when it blooms. Do you know which one I'm talking about?

HG-A: Big bush?

KM: Big bush, yes. Do you remember the name of that tree?

HG-A: [thinking] Let me see, one name to that...not *'ākia*?

KM: Do you remember, do you know which tree I'm talking about?

VK-W: No.



KM: It's a bush with the beautiful yellow flowers on it. It blooms like *māmane*, but the *māmane* is more *mauka*. This has blossoms like that?

VK-W: No I don't. Yellow?

KM: Yellow blossoms, feathery, light. *Kūkū*, I'm going to say a name to you, but I'm curious if you remember that name or even a different name. Did you hear *kolomona*?

HG-A: *Kolomona*, yeah.

VK-W: *Kolomona*, the plant *kolomona* but...

HG-A: That's the only one you think?

VK-W: *Kolomona* to us grows like a grape, it's like a bunch like this has lots of yellow flowers.

KM: On a tree, on your land right? Is it on your land?

HG-A: Yes, we have some but not much.

VK-W: The leaves is round looking, smooth. Is that the same?

KM: Is it like a legume, like a pea leaves?

VK-W: Yes, yes they're little clusters like.

KM: Yes. Is that what you called *kolomona*?

HG-A: Yes, get that yellow flower...

VK-W: Yellow, looks like a pod, those Chinese.

KM: Yes, and it's a legume it's the pea family. This is the thing, Onaona's aunty and I were with this botanist yesterday, we were talking about this. That's why I wanted to ask you. Before I never knew it was a native, but it's a unique Hawaiian tree. There's another one that they call *pua kolomona* or *pua māmane* that's a *haole* one, introduced.



***Hāuhiuhi or Kolomona (Cassia chudii).***  
**(KPA Photo 4081)**



You folks, on your *'āina* going down have *kolomona*.

VK-W: You said *kolomona* too, which is *kolomona*?

KM: The one on your *'āina*?

HG-A: With the round leaf.

VK-W: The same thing, what we call?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: Automatically, I thought *kolomona* meant Solomon. But in the old books, turn of the century, last century, around your birth time like that. That's what they were already calling it. It's got some botanical name, I don't remember what the name is [*Cassia chaudi*]. I was wondering if you ever heard a different name before it or...You don't remember another name?

HG-A: No.

KM: We were trying to figure out well, if it really is a Hawaiian name so happens to be that *kolomona* is also become Solomon...*kolo* is to creep or to crawl like?

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

KM: *Mona* can be *inamona* like fragrant, there is a light fragrance to the blossom evidently. But that's the name you're *kama'āina* to is *kolomona*?

HG-A: Uh-hmm.

VK-W: And my mama always said that they went according to the *kolomona* blossom as for the fat...whether it was okay to harvest the *wana* or the *hā'uke'uke*.

KM: That's what you told me last time. So *Kūkū, pua ke kolomona*?

HG-A: 'Ae, *momona*.

KM: *Momona ka*?

HG-A: ...*ka wana, ka hā'uke'uke*.

KM: 'Oia kou mea i 'ike ai?

HG-A: 'Ae.

KM: "Pua ke *kolomona, momona ka hā'uke'uke*"?

HG-A: Yes.

KM: Interesting. It is an old native, through me off is I don't understand how come the name unless it is *kolo*, crawls...

VK-W: Maybe it had a longer name, they always cut like you say something we say 'ē*lama* and somebody else says *lama*.

KM: 'Ae, that's right, that's what you called it here?

HG-A: Yes.

VK-W: So it could be another name that they just left off and continued on, I don't know.

KM: 'Ae... Oh *mahalo nui!*

HG-A: *Mahalo iā 'oe...*



**Walter Keli'iokekai Paulo**  
**July 14, 2002 at Miloli'i**

**Oral History**  
**Interview with**  
**Kepā Maly**  
**(Interview 1 of 2)**

Walter Keli'iokekai Paulo was born at Nāpo'opo'o in 1923. He is descended from a line of fisher-people and canoe makers, and known throughout Hawai'i as a master fisherman.

*Kupuna* Paulo began fishing in the native style to help sustain his family when he was seven years old, from the *ko'a* of Ho'opūloa and Miloli'i. He continued fishing with *kūpuna* and *kama'āina* in the larger Kapalilua region until 1941, when he moved to Honolulu. His work in Honolulu, included commercial fishing, until 1951 when he began working on a DLNR research vessel, investigating Hawaiian and Pacific area fisheries.



**Walter Keli'iokekai Paulo (KPA Photo 4112)**

*Kupuna* is a gifted story teller, and shares detailed descriptions of Hawaiian customs and practices associated with fisheries, and also shares important insights into the development of commercial fisheries in the Hawaiian Islands.

*Kupuna* gave his personal release of the interview records to Maly on August 21, 2003. The following list identifies selected topics and descriptions of fisheries described by *kupuna* Paulo:

*Kupuna* gave his personal release of the interview records to Maly on August 21, 2003. The following list identifies selected topics and descriptions of fisheries described by *kupuna* Paulo:

<b>Topic:</b>	<b>Page</b>
• Discusses family background and relationships to lands of Kapalilua.	138
• Began to fish from Ho'opūloa-Miloli'i when he was seven years old (1930).	139
• 'Ōpelu, 'ū'ū, 'āweoweo, hāuliuli, kawele'ā and other fish caught; fish also sold.	140
• Describes types and size of fish caught in the 1930s.	141
• <i>Kā'ili</i> fishing described.	142
• Long line fishing introduced; (ca. 1930) the arrival of Japanese fishermen, <i>aku</i> , 'ahi and fishing in Kapalilua region.	142
• Discusses 'au (currents), and types of fish caught on the long line.	144
• Long line catch has diminished from the 1930s to the present-day.	144
• Fishing at Kaulanamauna.	144
• Fishing was livelihood of native residents; 'ōpelu fishing described – a family practice.	144
• Describes preparation of the <i>palu</i> (bait), made from <i>kalo</i> and <i>pala'ai</i> .	146



<b>Topic:</b>	<b>Page</b>
• Discusses <i>ko'a 'ōpelu</i> , they are found all around the island; in the Kapalilua region, the currents, <i>'au Ka'ū</i> and <i>'au Kona</i> , determine the <i>ko'a</i> to be used; and discusses the importance of the <i>'ōpelu kala</i> to the <i>ko'a</i> .	146
• The fishermen would go out to <i>hānai</i> (feed) the <i>ko'a</i> by about the month of May.	147
• <i>Ko'a</i> of Minoli'i, Ka'akuli, Ho'opūloa, 'Alikā and Kapu'a described; <i>ko'a</i> were situated about a quarter of a mile apart, all along the coast.	147
• The <i>au'a</i> is the fish that trains the young <i>'ōpelu</i> .	148
• Ceremonial observances occurred at the beginning of the <i>'ōpelu</i> season.	148
• <i>Kupuna</i> Paulo went to Niue to teach the Hawaiian method of <i>'ōpelu</i> fishing to the natives there.	149
• Making the <i>'ōpelu</i> nets.	150
• Clean <i>palu</i> (like <i>kalo</i> and <i>pala'ai</i> ) used as bait, so the fish would be clean; describes differences from his youth to present-day, in methods of <i>'ōpelu</i> fishing.	153
• <i>Hili kukui</i> used to dye the nets.	154
• How use of <i>palu</i> began to change.	155
• Have to leave fish for another day; also released the first two fish from the catch.	155
• There is a conflict between the old fishermen and those who use meat <i>palu</i> ; meat <i>palu</i> causes the predators ( <i>pōwā</i> ) to attack the <i>ko'a</i> , and increase the likelihood of the fish spoiling once caught.	155
• Discusses long line and other methods of fishing.	156
• In the old days you had to ask permission before going into someone's fishing ground; and <i>Lāpule</i> (Sundays), were a day to let the <i>ko'a</i> rest; there was no fishing.	157
• Names the fisher-families from his youth.	157
• Speaks of canoe making, and the canoe, <i>Mālolo</i> .	158
• Discusses fishing for <i>he'e</i> and other fishes.	159
• Describes traditional <i>aku</i> fishing with different types of <i>pā</i> (mother of pearl lures).	159
• Discusses differences in the abundance of fish – before compared to the present-day.	160
• The catch was always shared among the families, and the <i>kūpuna</i> were always given the fish they wanted.	161
• Discusses the 1919 and 1926 lava flows.	162
• Discusses the problems with people from outside coming to fish in the Minoli'i vicinity fisheries; areas of <i>kapu</i> fisheries; and community efforts to stop the taking of "tropical" fish.	163

[Discusses family background and relationships to lands of Kapalilua.]

KM: *Mahalo nui iā 'oe! Kupuna, 'o wai kou inoa piha?*

WP: *Ko'u inoa mamua, Walter Isamura Paulo. He inoa Hawai'i no wau, 'o Keli'iokekai Paulo.*

KM: Keli'iokekai Paulo?

WP: 'Ae... And the other name is Kanakaokekai... [discusses background on how the names were given to him].

...Some how, my name was given, there were four of us nominated. I was the first one they picked. The other was Isabell Abbot, and Kalā Kekua, and Dr... he's a professor at the university, Crane...

KM: 'Ae...

WP: But *ku'u papa pono'i*, o John Henriques.

KM: A Henriques, *no...*?

WP: *No Kona mai.*



KM: *No Kealakekua, Nāpo'opo'o?*

WP: Nāpo'opo'o...

KM: 'Ae. And mama was *pili* to the Paulo line?

WP: 'Ohana nō, but Paulo, *kona papa o Moses Hulama, a kona mama, o Kalae Pa'ahao. Kona mama*, which is my grandmother.

KM: I see.

WP: And her grandmother was Kauka.

KM: Oh, that Kauka comes in under the Makia and Kawa'auhau line?

WP: Yes, Kawa'auhau.

KM: So that's how you come *pili* to these 'āina out here?

WP: Right.

KM: And Paulo was one of the names of the children under the Makia- Kawa'auhau line?

WP: Yes, Paulo Kawa'auhau.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: But his *inoa* went change to Peter Paulo.

KM: So dropped the Kawa'auhau.

WP: Yes. So *ku'u mama me Peter Paulo, 'ohana no lāua*. They were related, second cousins or whatever. I don't know.

KM: Hmm... Now may I ask you what year and date you were *hānau*?

WP: Oh, I was born October 27, 1923.

KM: *Ō, pōmaika'i nō!* Now uncle, your papa actually was Henriques?

WP: Henriques.

KM: Now was the Henriques that also had an interest in canoe making?

WP: Yes, that's my uncle, and his wife was Puhipau's mama.

KM: Ahh, I see... And who was grandpa?

WP: Moses Hulama, and my great grandpa was Thomas Hulama.

KM: Yes, and that Hulama is a big name too...

WP: Then when mama went *pili* with Peter Paulo, we moved to Ho'opūloa nei.

KM: I see.

[Began to fish from Ho'opūloa-Miloli'i when he was seven years old.]

WP: That was in 1930, and I was seven years old at that time. So this is where I started to be a fisherman.

KM: 'Ae, wonderful.

WP: And we had a *hale* over there [indicating to land area north of present location]. That *hale* belonged to Keli'ikuli Ka'anā'anā, who owned all of this 'āina.

KM: Ah, so Ho'opūloa?

WP: Ho'opūloa.

KM: A large grant land?



WP: Yes.

KM: And it ran from *mauka* to *makai*?

WP: *Mauka* to *makai*.

KM: So where you lived at Ho'opūloa, was it *makai*?

WP: *Makai*. But, the lava [1926] never ate that area. And Ka'anā'anā had houses over there.

KM: 'Ae. So is that with Eddie Ka'anā'anā also?

WP: Yes, that's his grandfather.

KM: I see.

WP: And he was a *kahuna pule*. He was also a canoe builder.

KM: Oh, Ka'anā'anā?

WP: Yes.

KM: And he lived at Ho'opūloa?

WP: *Mamua loa*, before the 1926...April the 18<sup>th</sup> I think, the lava destroyed the village. His *hale* was *mauka*, *pili* to the Catholic Church, *mauka*, by the *Alanui* (Government Road). And *makai* too, with the *hale makai*. So that *hale* was not eaten by Pele.

KM: That *makai* house?

WP: Yes.

KM: But the *mauka* house, *pau i ke ahi*?

WP: Gone.

KM: Did Ka'anā'anā still go *mauka*, when you were young, to *kālai wa'a*?

['Ōpelu, 'ū'ū, 'āweoweo, hāuliuli, kawele'ā and other fish caught; fish also sold.]

WP: *A'ole, a'ole*. But I, as a fisherman, mostly 'ōpelu at that time, I was a young boy. And then we used to...it was really interesting. Because this Peter Paulo, he would muster up, put all the *po'e lawai'a*, the fishermen. During the end of the month. They would all go out, *'umi lākou, wa'a*.

KM: *'Umi wa'a*?

WP: Yes. And he would *kū'ai* all the *i'a*, he would buy all.

KM: I see. So all of them would go out, they would *lawai'a* 'ōpelu...?

WP: No.

KM: Any kind?

WP: Night time, 'ū'ū.

KM: Oh!

WP: So you catch 'āweoweo, kawele'ā, whatever. *Upapalu*, sometimes *walu*, *hāuliuli*.

KM: Yes.

WP: He would take these *i'a*...he had a big open type car, a Buick. And he would put all these... They would *kui* all these *i'a*, twenty *i'a* inside.

KM: On one line?

WP: One line. Maybe ten 'ū'ū, three 'āweoweo, two kawele'ā, and so make out twenty. *Hapahā*, twenty-five cents per string.



[Describes the size of the fish caught in the 1930s.]

KM: Hmm. And the size of the *i'a*?

WP: *Nunui*.

KM: *Mea nunui?*

WP: Yes. *'Ū'ū*, almost one pound.

KM: The *hāuliuli*?

WP: About two, three pounds, four pounds like that.

KM: Hmm.

WP: So we would go to Ka'ū, and we had one *pū* shell, a *kani ka pū*.

KM: Oh! [chuckling]

WP: When we reached Kamā'oa, we would *kani ka pū*, and everybody would come to the *alanui*.

KM: So by where the road cuts down?

WP: Yes. And they know, *'ike nō lākou*.

KM: Paulo?

WP: Yes. *Eia mai o Paulo me ka i'a*. So *hapalua kēia manawa*. He would sell it for fifty cents. So he made a hundred per cent.

KM: Yes.

WP: Then we go up, Wai'ōhinu, *kani ka pū*. *Nui ka po'e hele mai*. They come to the gate with the *hapalua*.

KM: Wonderful. So that was how you folks lived and sustained yourselves?

WP: Yes. This was during the first week of the month. Because pay day is the end of the month.

KM: Ah, smart, yeah? No more credit fish, right? [chuckling]

WP: No. And then we would go to Shirakawa store, *kū'ai* some. Then we would go to Shimizu in Nā'ālehu. They *kū'ai* some. And we get *hau* over there. We would buy the *hau*. And then we *kalaiwa*, go Honu'apo, Hīlea, Nīnole...

KM: *Kani ka pū* all these places?

WP: Yes, yes, when we reached close to the village, I would blow the *pū*. And then to Pāhala. There's a bakery over there. Chong Store, which is *'ohana* of ours. We'd sell some fish there. Then we end up Mo'a'ula, the *'ohana* of Kahele *mā*.

KM: Oh, so Mo'a'ula, *makai* or you go...?

WP: *Mauka*.

KM: Oh, up the camp?

WP: The camp. If mama and Paulo were tired, we'd *ho'omaha* one night.

KM: Hmm. About how fish, how many lines of fish do you think you folks took?

WP: I would say about 200.

KM: Wow! And each line had twenty fish of various kinds on top?

WP: Twenty, uh-hmm.



[Kā'ili fishing described.]

- KM: And these all by hook?
- WP: Yes, *kā'ili*. And they're all hooked with one *makau* with the *pōhaku*. You *ho'oku'u* the *pōhaku*. You *nāki'i*, tie the *pōhaku* and you have a slip knot, you drop it down to the bottom, you pull it up. You get *maunu* on the hook.
- KM: 'Ae. And so *huki*, the *pōhaku* is gone?
- WP: Yes, *huki a hemo ka pōhaku*. Then the *i'a nahu*.
- KM: 'Ae. And how many fathoms deep, do think the lines were going?
- WP: About twenty or less, ten. And so that's how we used to sell fish in those days.
- KM: Now from Ho'opūloa to Pāhala, Mo'a'ula, the *alanui* in the '30s had been paved yet or not?
- WP: *A'ole*.
- KM: So it was gravel?
- WP: Yes.
- KM: You can still see some old section of the walls from the old road, and has cinders on top?
- WP: Yes, yes. It was a long trip. So when you reach Mo'a'ula, you're tired. But that was my job, to blow the *pū*.
- KM: Wonderful.
- WP: And then after...well, at the time that we moved to Ho'opūloa, *a'ole hale kula*. Well, *hale kula no*, we had a school, but somehow, no more teacher. So we had a new teacher come in 1934, '33.
- KM: Was still *makai* at Ho'opūloa?
- WP: No, at Minoli'i. And in the mean time, we moved to Minoli'i. Paulo had a *hale* right next to where the Catholic *Hale Pule* is.
- KM: Oh, St. Peter's?
- WP: Yes, St. Peter's. Right next. And where Diane Aki stays, the *hale* was...had a big *pūnāwai*, we were *pili* to the *pūnāwai*. North side of the *pūnāwai*, towards the *hale pule*, St. Peter's.
- KM: Oh.

[Long line fishing introduced; the arrival of Japanese fishermen, *aku*, 'ahi and fishing in Kapalilua region.]

- WP: So from there on, I worked gradually, I came to be more of a bigger fisherman [chuckling]. Then you go out for *kaka* fish, like bottom fish like that. And then afterwards...I think I was 14 years old, and during the summer, I would go on the long line boats.
- KM: Out of here?
- WP: Yes, we had one *wa'apā*. In fact later on, we had two. And long line fishing is Japanese method. That was introduced to Hawai'i. I'd just like to emphasize a little bit about that method. Why they brought in the Japanese fishermen. They all came from Japan. Like for instance, long line fishing, *aku* fishing, from one area, they call Wakayama Ken Prefecture. Because the Hawaiians couldn't supply the Japanese population. The Japanese were increasing fast, more than the Hawaiians. So this going out to the *ko'a* fishing for *'ahi* was not enough. So that's why they brought those fishermen.



KM: Hmm. So they brought the Japanese fishermen in, and on the long line you have hundreds of hooks?

WP: At that time, at least one hundred to maybe the most is one hundred fifty.

KM: On one long line, hauled behind the boat, and they drag...?

WP: No, you would just drop it with floaters. They're all connected. So it's in the basket, and per basket, it has four hooks. And you have five main long lines. So between every hook is about 30 fathoms, 180 feet.

KM: Wow!

WP: So you have lines going across. The float line goes down to ten fathoms, sixty feet. And the hook line is adjustable. Because during the summer months, it would be ten fathoms with a wire leader and the hook. So total, maybe about thirteen to fourteen fathoms, for the hook line. And four hooks per basket. Like for instance, two hooks, you would have one float line. In those days, you don't have plastic, you have like this balsa wood. And if it *piholo*, it sinks down, and it would get water logged sometimes.

KM: Yes.

WP: But anyway, I worked on one boat called *Kanani*, the first long line boat. Then I worked *Miyojen*. Then I worked on...that all belonged to one person.

KM: In Minoli'i?

WP: Yes, his name was Frank Manalili. You hear about the Manalili boys, they work for the County, the State, or the school today.

KM: Uh-hmm.

WP: That's their papa.

KM: And you use *maunu*, *palu* on these?

WP: Yes, on the *makau*, the hooks, *ōpelu*.

KM: Hmm.

WP: So we have to go out and catch *ōpelu*. Maybe have enough for three or four days. We would actually salt the *ōpelu* in the box. Put it in the box over the ice. In this big ice box that they had. And for the day, maybe would take about 120. We would try to keep the one that's not been eaten, or not eaten by small fish too. So if the bait is still in good condition, we would use it again once more. So it was quite an interesting process.

KM: 'Ae. So you would lay out this series of floaters with lines?

WP: Yes.

KM: How long about, would the long line be. If you go from where you drop it... and then you have to go back to the beginning and just *huki*, pull up?

WP: Uh-hmm, pull it up with the hand. And the distance per basket is like... [thinking] four hooks per basket, you have a main line, five of them. So that's 150 fathoms, about 750 feet per basket. So you have twenty-five baskets time one hundred fifty-five fathoms.

KM: Wow!

WP: So I think it's about seven or eight miles.

KM: Wow! And that was out here?

WP: Yes, from here.

KM: You would go from Kalae, or...?



[Discusses 'au (currents) and types of fish caught on the long line.]

WP: No. We would go just *mauka*...if we know the 'au (current) going come from Ka'ū, then we would go up towards Ho'opūloa, 'Alikā, and about seven or eight mile outside and lay the line. It would drift, if the 'au was going to Ka'ū. And if the 'au was going to Kona, then we would go, maybe outside of Kapu'a.

KM: 'Ae, and then it would drift...?

WP: Drift to Kona. And naturally we have twenty-five baskets and one hundred twenty hooks... Actually after we laid the line early in the morning, then we would, after the end, we would have breakfast, and then patrol the line. Up towards the shore. Then you *ho'omaha*, rest maybe one hour, then you patrol the line again. As you patrol, if you see the floater is missing, you can tell. And you can see the other flag going down and up, so you take that flag up and pull. But those days, we would catch... Today we would count per hundred hooks, how many fish you would catch. Those days, we would catch fish, twenty fish to, I would say forty fish, 'ahi. I'm only counting 'ahi. Not counting *mahimahi*, you don't count the 'ono, you don't count the marlins. Only 'ahi, whether it's big eye or yellow fin, you count. Okay, twenty fish per hundred hooks per day, like that. Up to about forty fish.

KM: Wow!

[Long line catch has diminished from the 1930s to the present-day.]

WP: So you can see every fish usually about 150 to 200 pounds. If it's big eye you probably have about 225 to 300 pounds. That was really good fishing. Today, the long line fisherman might go out, like the ones from Japan, the ones down at Kewalo at present. They would use maybe 2- or 3,000 hooks and their per hundred hook catch now is about two fish per hundred hooks.

KM: [shaking head] Amazing!

[Fishing at Kaulanamauna.]

WP: Compared to those days. But anyway, we end up later on, as we do long line, fishing night time for 'ū'ū and things like that. We would go down to Kaulanamauna with the *wa'apā*, sampan, that we fished for long line. And drag maybe six canoes to Kaulanamauna. And Kaulanamauna was our base. We would go *lawai'a* 'ū'ū in the night. And with all this canoes.

KM: So you didn't go out from the *pali kai*, you would go out canoe, and what *kā'ili*?

WP: Most times *kā'ili* or *mākoī* with the bamboo.

KM: So that's good 'ū'ū grounds out there?

WP: Yes. And two persons per canoe. So you would have twelve persons fishing per night. And then during the mid night, we would come back to the *wa'apā*, the boat, unload the fish, have coffee, ice it down, and then go out again. So we would stay about two nights.

KM: Hmm.

[Fishing was livelihood of native residents: 'ōpelu fishing described – a family practice.]

WP: So everybody would catch about one hundred, one hundred fifty pounds per person.

KM: And this was because the families here at Minoli'i, this was their livelihood?

WP: Right. Now, I want to go back a little bit about 'ōpelu fishing. 'Ōpelu fishing actually consists of family. You don't hire anybody. So you have your father, the main fisherman. Your sister or brother would be the *ka'a'ai*. Like I was the *ka'a'ai* man all the time.

KM: 'Ae, for bait?



WP: Yes. And my mama would be the steers person.

KM: *Kāohi.*

WP: 'Ae. Like I said, it's a family affair, and it's always three persons. You can do it with two persons, and I can do it with one person, if it's not adverse conditions. Then you have to know where the *ko'a* is, the *palu* generally is *kalo*. You would *ku'olo* the *kalo* and you get *wai wela*. You know, five gallon kerosene can in those days. And you would *mākaukau* that. That's the first thing when you make the *palu*.

KM: So you grate, cook...?

WP: Yes. That's my job also. I should start from the beginning. That was my job, five 'o clock in the morning, *ku'u hana kēlā*. So I would make it. If I would fish for Kaupiko, or we would fish when Paulo was fishing *'ōpelu*, I would do that. With Kaupiko, I would go to the house, make the *palu* and afterwards have breakfast with them, tea and crackers, then *hele i ke kula*. Go to school.

KM: Hmm.

WP: Then when after school... Well, the ones who go fishing *'ōpelu* at that time, they were let out of school half an hour earlier. For you to go home and *mākaukau* before you *lawe mai ka 'upena*. Bring the net, set it up, make sure the *pōhaku 'ōmole* is there. The *pahu aniani* is there, the *kō wa'a* is there also. And the *kō wa'a* is also made from that *'umeke*.

KM: Oh, like this kind [pointing to a gourd container on the patio]?

WP: A *'oia*. Because *lana. Inā hā'ule i loko o ke kai*, it floats.

KM: 'Ae. May I ask, you say the primary bait that you use, the *palu*, was *kalo*?

WP: *Kalo*.

KM: From where did your *kalo* come?

WP: From the *'ohana, mauka*.

KM: So families living *makai* here, *lawai'a*, families living *mauka*...?

WP: Right, *mahi'ai*, farm.

KM: And did you folks *kuapo*?

WP: Yes.

KM: So exchange goods back and forth?

WP: Yes, we have maybe Kawa'auhau up there, Kekumu Kawa'auhau. Then we have Ha'aheo Kawa'auhau. And then you to Honokua, have our *'ohana*, the Pa'ahao. And then you go to Kalahiki, you get my grand aunty *māi*

KM: Yes, Ka'ai Makalupa *mā*.

WP: Yes.

KM: So they had these *'āina* where they could *mahi'ai*?

WP: Yes.

KM: *'Uala paha, kalo*?

WP: *Kalo, pala'ai, mai'a*. we got all of that from *mauka*.

KM: *'Awa paha, mauka* too?

WP: No, not too much in my time.

KM: Hmm.



WP: So we have all these things from *mauka*, from the *'ohana*. We *kaula'i i'a* also. Then we *kuapo*, exchange.

[Describes preparation of the *palu* (bait), made from *kalo* and *pala'ai*.]

KM: 'Ae. So your first job, early morning, you said about five 'o clock, you would go *ho'omākaukau ka palu*?

WP: Yes.

KM: And how would you prepare it, you grate...?

WP: Yes, I would *ku'olo*, grate it, and *wai wela*, you make already the five gallon container, the kerosene can.

KM: Yes, pearl oil.

WP: Yes, during our time, we had this kind of equipment to work with. So you make *wai wela*, maybe three quarters full with *wai kai*. Then you *pau ku'olo*, you *ho'okomo i loko o* container. Now it's boiling, so you would get one *lā'au*. You would continue *ho'owali aku*, stir it. If not, it's going to be *pāpa'a*. When *mo'a*, then you leave it on the charcoal fire a little while, then *pau*. So we would *ku'olo* maybe about thirty pounds of taro.

KM: Wow!

WP: Yes. And *pala'ai*. But *pala'ai*, there are two things why we use *kalo*. *Kalo* is much heavier, *pala'ai*, the pumpkin is light. So if you have this *'au*, this current that is strong, when you *kiloi* this *ka'a'ai*, and *hānai* the fish, if you're going to put inside the *'upena*. If you get *pala'ai*, it's light so with all the hundreds of *'ōpelu* in there stirring up this area, while they are eating, it moves away faster. If you get *kalo*, the *kalo* is heavy.

KM: So it doesn't get drawn out of the *'upena* as quickly?

WP: Yes, drawn out by these hundreds of *'ōpelu*. I have a video on that.

KM: Yes, it's a beautiful video. Uncle, it's important to talk about, so you would go, make ready in the morning?

WP: Uh-hmm.

KM: And did you make it into *pōpō*, balls?

WP: A'ole, no. It's just... [thinking] not soft, but kind of on the hard side.

KM: Sort of like *'ai pa'a*, *pa'i 'ai* kind of consistency?

WP: It comes out kind of like...when you *ku'olo*, you have like a noodle. The finished product is just like a noodle, short ones. So the *'ōpelu* when they *'ai*, they can just swallow it easily.

KM: Hmm.

WP: So that was my job. And I made sure that everything was on the *wa'a*. And then papa and mama would come.

KM: So afternoon, or morning?

[Discusses *ko'a 'ōpelu*, they are found all around the island; in the Kapalilua region, the currents, *'au Ka'ū* and *'au Kona*, determine the *ko'a* to be used; and discusses the importance of the *'ōpelu kala* to the *ko'a*.]

WP: When I say we were let out of school early, it was afternoon, early evening. we would go out to the *ko'a*. There are *ko'a* around this whole island.

KM: 'Ae.



WP: Everywhere has *ko'a*. So we know that Hoopla has a *ko'a*. And a *ko'a* has two areas to fish. Two areas because of the two different currents.

KM: So one to Ka'ū...?

WP: Ka'ū and one to Kona. So we call it "*au Ka'ū*," and "*au Kona*." And *'au Ka'ū* is the better current. Why, I don't know. So we know where to go at the depth of about 150 feet. That's where the *ko'a* is. So right outside of Minoli'i, you have one *'au Ka'ū ko'a* where the current is going to Ka'ū. And then we have another are for *'au Kona*. So if the *'au Ka'ū* current, that's going almost due south, so you fish on the head of that *ko'a*, the upper part of that whole *ko'a*. Because that *'ōpelu* is always going towards the current. So it swims up, all the way up from the beginning. So if you go way in the back of the *ko'a*, *nalowale*, it's gone. Because they're back up again. That's their area. So we understand what current, we know. And if you happen, the current make, generally you will find...or even if the current is slow. You would find or look for the *'ōpelu kala*.

KM: Ahh.

WP: Well most times you would go according to the moon or what ever, and you know the daily fishing, *'au Ka'ū* and what. So when it changes, it might catch you off balance, but the thing is, you look for the *'ōpelu kala*. It's like the *kala*, the *ihu* is short, it's not like the *kala* near the reef.

KM: I see.

[The fishermen would go out to *hānai* (feed) the *ko'a* by about the month of May.]

WP: It's known as the *'ōpelu kala*. And where the *'ōpelu kala* is, you can determine what *'au*. If you in the *'au Kona* area, over there has *'ōpelu kala*, you know it's *'au Kona*. And when you see the *kala* around, there's *'ōpelu* around during the season. And *'ōpelu* is a seasonal fish. It comes in generally, some time in May with the *ho'olili*, breezing school. The call that *ho'olili*, they're all close to the surface.

KM: Yes, and you see the *ho'olili* on top?

WP: Yes, the rippling. Sometimes it's a big area.

KM: Like boiling.

WP: Boil, yeah. And I recall one time with Mr. Kaupiko, one *ho'olili* school, we caught about 40 *ka'au*.

KM: Wow!

WP: Which is...you know?

KM: One *ka'au* is forty fish.

WP: Yes, so about two thousand fish.

KM: Oh my goodness.

WP: So anyway, like I said, it depends on the *'au*.

KM: 'Ae.

[*Ko'a* of Minoli'i, Ka'akuli, Ho'opūloa, 'Alikā and Kapu'a described; *ko'a* were situated about a quarter of a mile apart, all along the coast.]

WP: So anyway, I got to go back now, I never start from the front. Prior to the season, we *hānai* the *ko'a*. One *'ohana* would take care the Minoli'i *ko'a*, they might take care of two *ko'a*. And we have one Minoli'i *ko'a*, and then a bit south of the Minoli'i, we have the Ka'akuli *ko'a*, that's outside of Kalihi.



KM: Hmm.

WP: That's another *ko'a*, and on down the line, every maybe a quarter of a mile, there is a *ko'a*.

KM: Hmm.

WP: And it's the same outside of Ho'opūloa. There is one *ko'a* over there, right outside where the houses are on the lava. And if 'au *Kona*, it's out here [pointing in front of his house].

KM: So in front of your place?

WP: Yes. So we would *hānai*, every family, maybe four families. Take care of two *ko'a*. And Kapu'a also, the Kaheles maybe would maintain, *hānai* that *ko'a*. Us, the Paulos, we would *hānai* this Ho'opūloa and 'Alikā, because our '*ohana*, in the past, is from 'Alikā.

KM: Yes.

WP: 'Alikā-Pāpā. See would *hānai* that *ko'a* too. So in a week, we would make maybe about four times, three times.

KM: So in a week go out *hānai* three, four times?

WP: Yes, for about a month or so.

KM: Did you go out early morning or...?

[The *au'a* is the fish that trains the young '*ōpelu*.]

WP: Afternoon. So as you go out to feed, like say early...say the middle of Junior July, you start off. You work it right for about a month and a half. Six weeks, seven weeks. At first, you might only find *au'a*. *Au'a* is an old timer who always remains at the *ko'a*. He's *pa'a*, the *au'a*. He's *ma'a*. We call it [smiling], "graduate from the university." They all went to university, school.

KM: [chuckling]

WP: But you need the *au'a*, because these new '*ōpelu* coming in, they're not *ma'a* to the *mea 'ai*. They're not used to the food. So when they come in, and join with the *au'a*, and they see the *au'a* going.

KM: Ah, how he acts?

[Ceremonial observances occurred at the beginning of the '*ōpelu* season.]

WP: Yes, how he acts and he's feeding on something, so they join. And naturally, '*ōpelu* all go in a big school. Once they start feeding, maybe you get ten *ka'au* in it, maybe more. So you do that all of the time, and by the time six weeks, seven weeks... The *kūpuna* would decide, "A *manawa lawai'a*." Now is the time to go out and fish. So they would actually... Every '*ohana* would *kālua* one *pu'a*, *pu'a 'ele'ele*, a black pig, a small one. A small little black pig, 25 pounds or whatever. *Pu'a wale nō me ka poi*. Only *pu'a* and the *poi*. They take all the *iwi*, then *hele i waho*, go out.

KM: *He pū'olo?*

WP: Yes, in a *pū'olo*. Sometimes we would put what ever leaf available, even the *noni* leaf, put it in one package with that leaf inside. Take this *iwi* out to the *ko'a a kilo i ka iwi i loko o ke kai*, and then with the *pule*.

KM: 'Ae. So you would hear the *lawai'a nui* or the *kupuna pule*?

WP: Yes. All the time, it's the main fisherman. And then you take your '*upena* also, and you fish. Then after you can go to any *ko'a*.

KM: So the families respected different *ko'a*? "This is Paulo's *ko'a*," so they wouldn't go over there mess with it?



WP: No, you could fish in any *ko'a*. So like Ka'akuli, 'cause Ka'akuli was a big *ko'a*, strong *ko'a*, plenty of fish. You can fish five, six canoes one time.

KM: Wow!

WP: And then when they do that, they all take a chance, their turn to *ku'u* the '*upena*. *Huki* their '*upena*, the next one goes.

KM: I see. You mentioned the *au'a*, if I could. The *au'a*, if you see it in your net, you let it go, or it won't go in the net?

WP: It's smart [chuckling].

KM: It' escapes?

WP: See the *au'a*, he's going, but the other *ōpelu* are just *nanea*. But the big one, the *au'a*, he gently swims away [chuckling].

KM: I see. So when you went out to feed the *ko'a*, to *hānai* like that, did you folks tap the canoe?

WP: 'Ae, *poina aku nei wau*. I forgot to mention that. We actually used the *hoe*.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: On the *wa'a*. Tap maybe six, seven, eight times [demonstrates].

KM: Just a steady one, two, three...?

WP: Yes, it's just like the *kahea*. If the *ōpelu* is maybe 100 feet away, and he hears this *pahu 'ana o ka wa'a*, he's inquisitive.

KM: Hmm.

WP: Maybe they know, 'cause they hear that sign.

KM: 'Ai 'ana *paha*?

WP: Yes, this is McDonald's or what [chuckling]. So by the time, the end of the feeding, you will have maybe 10,000. So you can, with that method, you will have enough. If you take 1,000 now, and you replenish it the next night or the following night.

KM: Yes.

[Kupuna Paulo went to Niue to teach the Hawaiian method of '*ōpelu* fishing to the natives there.]

WP: So now I'm getting into going to Niue, Island of Niue. It's a Polynesian island.... They have a method of fishing for '*ōpelu*, and why I mention that now, is that we went there. I was hired by the United Nations because of Puna Bradley. He was here and went to school in Honolulu, and when he heard about this '*ōpelu* fishing method over here, he asked the United Nations for... Well, I'm not an expert, but one fisherman to come and teach them. They have their own method, which is — they go out to the *ko'a* in the evening all together. They *hui*. If you get six *wa'a*, six, seven canoes, they're all going out. Some would go to this *ko'a*, some would go to another *ko'a*, but they would not intrude into the other *ko'a*. And if they no more '*ōpelu*, the other ones give him, if they have the '*ōpelu*, they give to him. But generally they know where to go. And they go out, just about two hours, or an hour and a half before sunset. And nobody goes ten minutes or fifteen minutes ahead of time. *Hui like lākou*. And it's usually one man on one canoe. They go with the *mākoī*. They would use *niu*, soft coconut, spoon meat, they call that.

KM: 'Ae. For bait?

WP: *Palu*. They would *naunau* all that, chew it up *puhipuhi*, spit it out, and the '*ōpelu* come up. They use short *mākoī*, bamboo.



KM: Oh, so one fish at a time?

WP: One at a time. *Pehea lā*, if they have one *ka'au*, which is 40 fish, that's a big catch.

KM: Yes.

WP: So when we came, that first day, just right outside the main village, we caught 12 *ka'au*.

KM: *Pū'iwa maoli nō lākou!*

WP: *Pū'iwa!* The chief went and saw the director of Land and Natural Resources, "*Kapu, pau*, you folks don't go out there fishing no more." Never mind about the government. *So pau*, we couldn't fish. "Ah *mamake 'oe lawai'a*, you go down, way, away where *hūhū ke kai*."

KM: So they don't use a net like you do?

WP: Yes, *makau*. So what they did is call a meeting in the church, we had a big function, and then I had to explain to them. And this is what I had to say, "It's a seasonal fish..." *Wala'au haole nō lākou*.

KM: Yes.

WP: So I tell them it's seasonal, it comes in during a certain time. Because of the water temperature, or they come in to spawn. And when they come in to spawn, there's millions of them. All around the island, there's millions of them. And there's thousands of them eaten by the predators. So now when they come into spawn or whatever, thousands are eaten every day. Because you have so much predators in the water. So if you don't catch, then *hoka 'oe*. You're out of luck, you know.

KM: [chuckling] Yes.

WP: So after the explanation, and we had big *pā'ina*, oh they said, "How many *'upena* you folks get now? Only one?" And it belonged to the United Nations for the fishery project. Then they understood.

KM: Amazing.

WP: Amazing.

[Making the *'ōpelu* nets.]

KM: You know here, you would go out *lawai'a*. Can you describe...someone made your nets? *Kupuna*, they taught you folks?

WP: Well you know generally, they don't teach you, you have to *maka'ala*. *Nānā*, observe what's going on everyday.

KM: They don't come say, "Here boy, let me teach you how to *kā 'upena*."

WP: That's right, you watch. So it takes about two years for make one *'upena*.

KM: Hmm. The length of an *'upena* for *'ōpelu* is about how long?

WP: Okay, one *'upena*, if it's a small *'upena*, maybe six feet deep, and the *kuku* would be about twenty-four feet.

KM: So the top, the *kuku* where the...?

WP: Yes, where the rod goes. And the *kuku* in olden days was made from *'ūlei* sticks.

KM: Yes, it's pliable.

WP: Right. And you have six to eight lines, we call that *hānai*. Stop the recording... [goes to get a diagram, which we reference in the following discussion]

One *haole* girl made this for me... [points out photos of various participants in Wai'anae program]



KM: So you taught them how to *ku'olo* the *kalo* like that?

WP: Yes ...

KM: So you folks modified and old style canoe, and made it into like this, the '*ōpelu* canoes?

WP: Yes. I think this one here [in photo] is Ka'awaloa. It was from Ka'awaloa, over here, from one of the Leslie boys.

KM: Ah, Fred or...?

WP: No, he was in Honolulu. Paidi boy, Sonny.

KM: Oh, okay.

WP: [referring to the diagram, see figure on next page] And you see the '*upena*, the depth of this one is 46 feet.

KM: Okay so from the '*apo* or *kuku*, down to the '*eke*?

WP: Uh-hmm, *pōhaku* '*ōmole*. So it gives you a good idea.

KM: Yes, yes. So you have the line, the *hānai*...?

WP: Yes, and the *kāula huki*. They're 26 or 24 feet, and then the *kāula huki* is another...well depends on how deep. Naturally, you have to fish in an area where maybe it's 100 feet deep. Because total here, it shows maybe about 85 feet.

KM: Yes, the '*upena* is 42 feet...

WP: Yes.

KM: Now the '*apo* for the *kuku*, before was '*ūlei*. Did you folks used to go up and get your own '*ūlei*?

WP: We had Lohi'au from 'Okoe, aunty Hannah Kaupiko's grand uncle, I think.

KM: So Lohi'au, he would go gather at 'Okoe?

WP: 'Okoe, get the '*ūlei*. It was small, maybe about a half inch in diameter.

KM: So he would make these...?

WP: *Ho'okāhi ka'au*, for every family.

KM: Oh!

WP: They would give him maybe three, four *ka'au*. So he would do that, he would prepare them before the season. He would make all these and he would come down on the *lio*. And that's why Sam Kumukāhi used to come and also with the *tūtū*. Me and him would *pā'ani*, and when they *ho'i*, he *uwē* because he was going home to isolation.

KM: Hmm. 'Okoe is more remote, yeah?

WP: Remote.

KM: So when you take your '*upena* out on the canoe, all the canoe is laid out nicely in the canoe?

WP: On the canoe, parallel to the canoe. And on the end, you have these rings, two small rings where you insert one end of the *kuku* in to the other end. This is a moveable ring. It's inside of the *kuku*. You just put over here, close to the end, you make a little *maka* like.

KM: Yes. So it's open?

WP: Yes.



KM: And when you're ready to fish, after you hānai...?

WP: Well, you go out. Naturally, you go to the ko'a, and then pound hoe to the canoe, and then you throw your ka'a'ai and hānai, look. As soon as there's ōpelu, you figure it's time to ku'u the upena. So he kilo'i the net. He put the net in the water first, then the end part is the kuku, the two kuku. We would just kilo'i one kuku a little bit out, it's attached, and then you would just hou aku into one puka. And then bend the kuku like this, and the other one like this, so the two kuku come together.

KM: Yes.

WP: And when you like open, you just hold 'um, squeeze 'um, take out the ring and open.

KM: Yes. So is it really in one long piece?

WP: Like this [referring to diagram] two pieces, 12 feet long, so it's 24 feet. But in the old days it was maybe five, six feet. And we would ho'opa'a, join.

KM: Yes.

WP: All joined together and you would shape it down on the ends.

KM: So make wāwae or what?

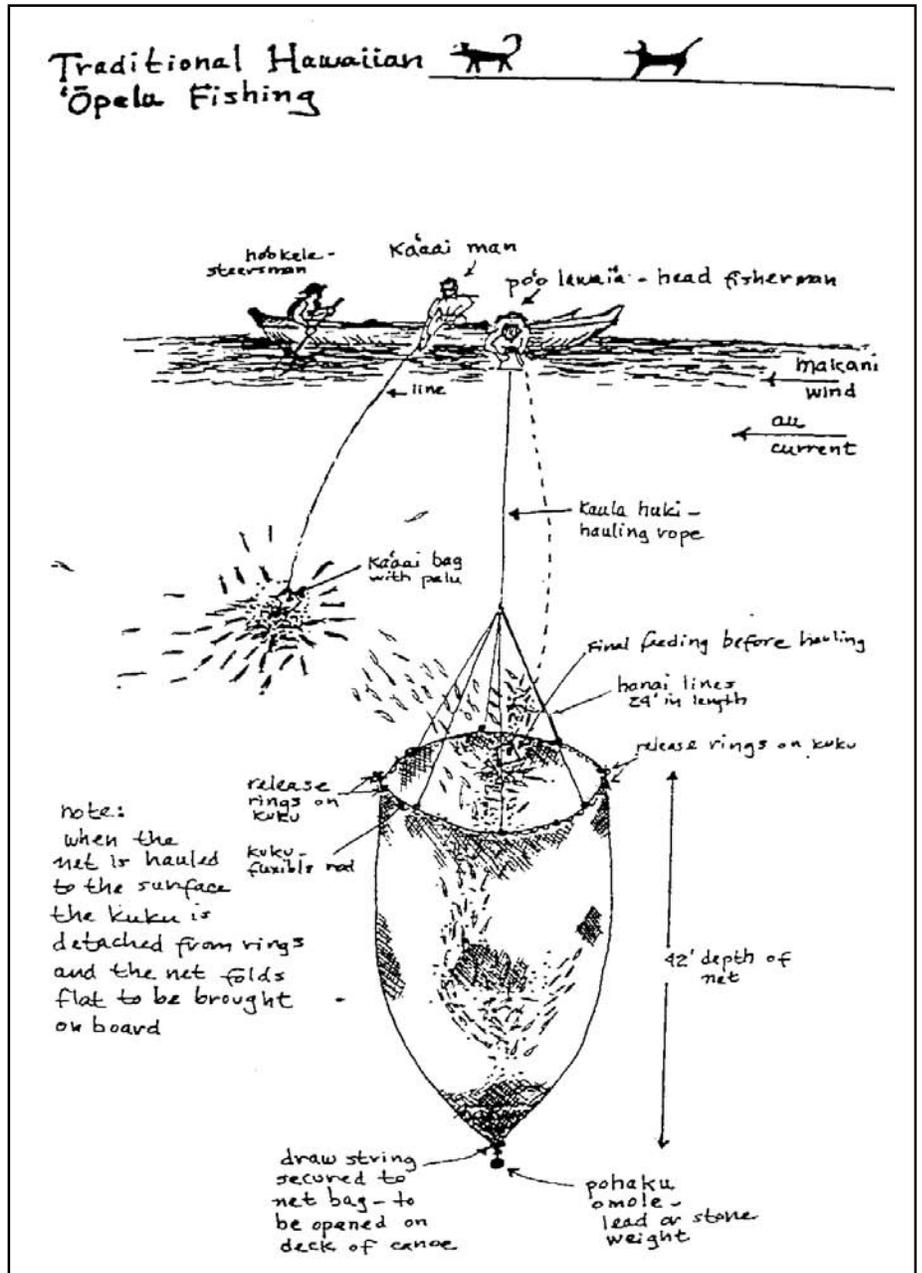


Diagram of Ōpelu Fishing Net (courtesy of Kupuna Paulo).



WP: Yes, they 'oki over here, 'oki over there, and put the two pieces together, flat. And then the top, they would actually shave it down, so it wouldn't hold on to anything.

KM: Yes.

WP: So unbelievable that method.

[Clean palu (like kalo and pala'ai) used as bait, so the fish would be clean; describes differences from his youth to present-day, in methods of 'opelu fishing.]

KM: Yes, it is. And it's wonderful, as you said, you folks would you kalo, that's your palu. So when you eat this fish, it's clean too, right?

WP: Right.

KM: Tell me, is there a difference today from when you fished when you were young, like for 'opelu? And what are the changes that are occurring out here in Minoli'i?

WP: Well, the system is about the same.

KM: The method?

WP: Yes.

KM: The net, the 'apo, the kuku...?

WP: Yes, it's about the same, it's just the material is different. And now they are using monofilament, making it lighter.

KM: Oh, that was another thing when you talk about that. Your net, you folks treated your nets...someone would kā 'upena?

WP: Okay. Well, kāia manawa, at present, we would buy sections. One section, maybe seven feet depth... Anyway, you can make the 'upena, diameter on the top there, it's about fourteen feet across. And you would probably get two sections of seven feet. And you would kui. So in other words, this 'upena here, on the top by the kuku, you would have heavier material for about three feet. We get sections of three feet and you would start out there. You would kui the seven feet.

I have that all written down on the book.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: About seven feet, you would kui. And as you kui down, you would add more eyes to the second section so that the net won't pili. You know so it would kind of bag out.

KM: Yes.

WP: Like the shape. And you have led so naturally you huki down a little bit if too heavy. But we go down maybe seven feet, we get maybe about four sections of seven feet, so that's 28 feet. But when we come down...first we have the three feet, then we attach the six feet under. I'd say we would add 100 more eyes. On the top is 800 eyes, the next seven foot section, you might add another 100 eyes. The you would get 900. Then you go down with 900. Then you come back with the fourth section, you would come back to the 800, and as you come back you would 'emi, 'emi, 'emi. So les and less eyes.

KM: Hmm. Until you make it into an 'eke area?

WP: 'Eke, right. And that 'eke, naturally the material is bigger. Same eye, but heavier material. And generally, Hawaiian name we get kūaiū, we would attach it on the side. You have four kūaiū, led which are about one pound each. And you would attach them. They are removable, in the four divided areas. and this pōhaku 'ōmole, old times it used to be pōhaku, but now they use kēpau, usually about four to six pounds. It depends on the 'au.

KM: Hmm. And kūaiū?



WP: *Kūaiū*, yes.

KM: And I see it's about mid way along the depth or length of the net?

WP: Yes, the net, around the four sides. And they are removable. You have an eye on the net and eye, *maka* on the *kūaiū*. It used to be *pōhaku*, but now is lead.

KM: Yes. And then you would let one *ka'a'ai* down in a bag?

WP: Yes. The *ka'a'ai*, you have about 70 feet of line on it, and it's about three pounds. When get plenty 'au, strong 'au, you use three pounds. If no more 'au, you use two pounds. When you *kū* the 'upena, and it would be in this form, just in the center. At this angle, so you can control. You don't want it underneath the canoe. That's why it is good to have three persons. You can tell *hoe*, or what ever, to 'akau, *hema*, right and left. And when this is going down, when we *ku'u*, you *kiloi iwaho*, you throw the *ka'a'ai* outside. And then when the net is up and down (extended) like this, you would *kiloi* the next *ka'a'ai* here, right in the center. It also depends if the 'au is going one direction. If there is no more too much 'au, you would put it right in the center. And naturally, the *ka'a'ai* person has to make sure he pulls it up fast, and no *ho'oku'i i ka wa'a*, bang the canoe. And then when he pulls it up, it detaches, and he also detaches the *pōhaku 'ōmole*.

KM: So you *huki*?

WP: Yes, one time you *huki*, and pull up.

KM: So the *pōhaku* goes down?

WP: No, the *pōhaku*, you pull out. Well some people would just leave the *pōhaku* in there, you just *kui* to the 'upena.

KM: Hmm, interesting. So when you put your *palu* down, the fish follow it into the net?

WP: Yes, that's why you *kiloi* and make sure it's above the rod, and *iwaho*, maybe about ten, fifteen feet. By the time this *palu* is going down, this *palu* over here will all be *pau*. So they all follow the next one. Usually they finish that one and they follow the *ka'a'ai*.

KM: 'Ae, amazing.

WP: Yes.

[*Hili kukui* used to dye the nets.]

KM: And then you bring your net up. You'd mentioned too that before, you folks took *kukui*, and...?

WP: Oh, for the *hili*, that's the dye. So we would go up, and we have one place over here, it's the *kukui*, the *hili*, when you pound the *hili kukui*, 'ula'ula.

KM: In Minoli'i?

WP: Yes, when you're going up or coming down, and you see two *pipi* on the side of the road, inside the bushes get one tree in there. But that *haole*, he don't let anybody go inside there now.

KM: Oh no. But that's the good *kukui*?

WP: Oh, that's the best. And it went *hā'ule*, that *kukui*, but no make.

KM: Ohh!

WP: Still get the trunk in the lepo.

KM: Good.

WP: Wai'anae, big *kukui* trees *mauka*, but still yet, the *hili* not strong, 'ula'ula loa. Now we buy, \$2.00-something dye [chuckles], the one you dye your *lole*.



KM: Yes. Did you hear that in the north section of Kona, they use *kokio*, a native hibiscus?

WP: No. I guess we just used what we had.

[How use of *palu* began to change.]

KM: Yes... This is so important to talk story, and these recollections. Are the people using the same *palu* today, that you used before?

WP: A'ole. When the *Kepanī* came from Japan, they observed. They needed *maunu*, so I think at the time, they would use sardines, frozen sardines. But later on they observed the Hawaiian method, because this method is not known in Japan. It's only in Hawai'i. Everywhere in the world, the United Nations didn't know anything about this method until I showed them how, like how we recorded.

KM: Yes.

WP: Even the Rarotonga, Niue, no. They hug me, *honi* me for that. Especially for Rarotonga, from Atiu, they think they were the best fishermen [chuckling]. They always claimed, the minister and Director of Fisheries from Atiu. They always said they were better fishermen than the Rarotongans. So I taught them this method, I would *huki* twice and they would observe. I would have three other persons. They would take the chance, one time, one time one other person. One guy hug me, he tell "How stupid we were." They would dive down into the water to about 30 feet, and they would *naunau* and *puhipuhi* this spoon meat, and that was how they would bring the fish up. *Lana*. Then when *lana*, they would *lawai'a*, hold onto the canoe with the *kā mākoī*, a short one, and one by one take the fish...

KM: Amazing!

[Have to leave fish for another day; also released the first two fish from the catch.]

WP: So when he did that method [shaking his head in disbelief], oh I clean 'um up [laughing]. But I told him, no, you can't clean 'um up, you have to leave some back.

KM: Yes. That's an important thing, you can't take all today.

WP: Yes.

KM: And you said before, there might be 10,000 *ōpelu* at your *ko'a*, you take one day, a thousand, maybe, right?

WP: Right.

KM: Today, if someone comes in and takes everything, *pau*. right?

WP: Right. And I forgot to say, I used to take my *mo'opuna* with me, and I release two, the first pull, even the second pull. But it is customary, the first pull, you let it go, *'elua*. So my *mo'opuna*, he was about ten years old, he said "Grandpa, how you know, it's a female and male by letting out two?" I said "Well, we don't know, it could be two males, two females. But it's not only me, there's maybe six, seven other *wa'a*, fishermen, and they throw too." So definitely they will swim back and follow the rest of the *ōpelu*.

KM: So it was a way of perpetuating...?

WP: Perpetuating, yeah. That's customary.

[There is a conflict between the old fishermen and those who use meat *palu*; meat *palu* causes the predators (*pōwā*) to attack the *ko'a*, and increase the likelihood of the fish spoiling once caught.]

KM: Do you feel that there is a conflict between the way people fish with different kinds of *palu* today, for you...?



WP: Very much, very much. That's why I was going to talk about the Japanese who first came. So the Hawaiians were *hūhū* when they started to learn how to fish *'ōpelu*. And they have their own *wa'a*, we call *'oni'oni* style, which I know how to row. They would have it in the stern with the long piece, well secured. They would attach it and they can hoe.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: So they made a law in 1925. I think Julian Yates, who was the Representative at that time. And he introduced a Bill to *kapu* from using...what the Japanese fishermen were using was ground up *aku*, *'ahi*, that's been hit by the *manō*, the sharks. So they would use all that, save it and use it for *palu*. And then what happens is that brings the *pōwā*, predators.

KM: 'Ae, *pōwā*.

WP: And then, we didn't have ice too. Bacteria generally deteriorates fast in the stomach with fish bait. So that's why the law was made. And they amended that law in 1950. when they made that law, it was for the Territory.

KM: 'Ae.

[Discussed long line and other methods of fishing.]

WP: But you could go to Wai'ahukini...Well in 1925, there were fishermen in Wai'ahukini for *'ōpelu*. But like Ni'ihau or Kaho'olawe and Molokini, Lāna'i, hardly any fishermen fishing *'ōpelu* there. So they could go there. But a lot of the Japanese fishermen respected that law. More so than our *po'e kanaka*. They would come here... I used to fish in Honolulu on the *'ahi* boat, with the people who used to fish over here. The old timers. They would say...naturally me, I'm Hawaiian with all these Japanese fisherman, I'm the only Hawaiian... I fished during the war, I was one of the first ones to go up, long line, *'ōpelu* fishing, and later on, I was in the *aku* boat. So I got to know all the Kepanī, the old timers that used to fish this whole coast here. They would come to Kapu'a, and they would get the Kaheles to do the fishing for them. And they would exchange, maybe give them sugar, 'ai, coffee, whatever. Some tin beef, corned beef or something. They knew when they would come, and they would go to Kapu'a and get maybe 1,000 or 1,200 pieces of *'ōpelu*. That would be enough for ten days, because they always reused some of the bait.

So this old Japanese man says "Oh, you Minoli'i, eh?" "Yes." "Me Minoli'i go, Kapu'a go. Me catch a *kanaka wahine*." [chuckling]

KM: [chuckling] 'Auwē nō ho'i.

WP: And then I put two and two together, "Oh yes?" "Yes." "What time you come?" "Oh 1930..." all that time. He tell me in the 30s like that, so I know who, 'cause he was the only half Japanese in there, and his name was Kepanī. He was John Kahele.

KM: Amazing...

WP: But anyway, they amended that law in 1950, and everybody could go, except from Kaunā to Kī'īlae, which is about 20 miles. So it's still kapu till today.

KM: So people can't come into Minoli'i and use what they call "chop-chop, pilau...?"

WP: Chop-chop, yeah. No can, you cannot. But the thing is, we had these Senators, a friend of mine, Mike Crozier, Peter Apo them, some years ago. Maybe 15 years ago. And they talked about this chop-chop. So when they came back, they told me, "You know what we found out, the Minoli'i people were the biggest violators.

KM: Hmm. You know, you brought up something interesting about the bacteria. Like your *kūpuna* have these sayings, "*Hana 'ino ka lima, 'ai 'ino ka waha*."

WP: Yes, yes.



KM: If you're going to feed pilau meat to your fish, what are you going to eat? The *pilau*, right?

WP: That's right.

KM: Then people wonder "how come *ma'i*?"

[In the old days you had to ask permission before going into someone's fishing ground; and *Lāpule* (Sundays), were a day to let the *ko'a* rest; there was no fishing.]

WP: But this attitude, intruding...and another thing that I have to mention, you cannot intrude into another fishing village without *kahea*, or asking.

KM: *Noi mua*.

WP: Yes, *noi mua*. And they going ask you "*No ke 'aha*?"

KM: 'Ae.

WP: Then if you going *hana kolohe*, "*A'ole!*" And that's why I'm trying to emphasize strongly about Sunday, *Lāpule*.

KM: *Ho'omaha*?

WP: *Ho'omaha*.

KM: So no go fish?

WP: Yes. Like today, you never hear the *kamali'i* go play, they always play volley ball or basket ball. From morning...and when the *ka'a* come burn rubber, *pā'ani kinipōpō*, whatever in that court. So I went and saw a group of people, and they agreed. Some tell me know, "My Sabbath is *Pō'aono*." So I said well. "Respect."

KM: Yes. It's interesting, even like you folks when you were young, did you go *lawai'a* seven days a week?

WP: *A'ole*, no! And I said, "I didn't make the law. It's our *kūpuna*, it's your *kūpuna*."

OM/KM: 'Ae.

KM: And you're all family down here, right?

WP: Right. So now, already, I noticed, these last three, four Sundays, I tried to *wala'au* with everybody. Now, I'd like to try and make a petition, see how the other people feel... I'm going to try and introduce this idea through the Legislature. Maybe I'll be the bad guy.

KM: Well, it's good to introduce these values back into our community, in our children. Because now, it's like *'auwana*, *ki'ihēle*, it doesn't matter, but it wasn't always like that. And there was consequence for action.

WP: Yes ... These things are very important, we cannot forget our customs.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: I went away, I learned a lot from away.

KM: Yes, but I think you taught a lot too.

WP: Yes.

[Names the fisher-families from his youth.]

KM: May I ask real quickly, who were the fishermen when you were young?

WP: John Aiona, Leon Siu is the grandson. The mama is from Ho'opūloa, Aiona. At the time over there was Ka'imi Kaupiko, Kapela's father; John Aiona and us Peter Paulo.

KM: And then over this side?



WP: Then you had uncle Kūkulu Kuahuia; you had old man Paulo Kawa'auhau; you had Kaupiko. In the Kaupiko family, you had maybe two or three Kaupikos. Eugene, Junior, Martin, that family.

KM: Was the old man David still fishing when you were young?

WP: *A'ole*, he was *kumu kula* and *Kahuna Pule*.

[Speaks of canoe making, and the canoe, *Mālolo*.]

KM: Did you hear that he was a *kālai wa'a* too?

WP: No, I didn't hear. Then go down the line, Apo *mā*, John Apo; and then Kalihi, that was Kawa'auhau also. But the most ones that really go, was the Kaupikos, two families; and old man Keli'i, Apela; which is aunty Abby Paulo, she married my step-brother, my *'ohana*, anyway. That *'ohana* also.

KM: So Apela?

WP: Apela, Keli'ikaua. Mahina retired; Kamaka *mā* also too, *ua pau*. Kamaka is aunty Hannah's uncle. So there was more than half a dozen, and *nui ka wa'a kēia wahi*.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: Yes, we had a lot of canoes. I myself helped Peter Paulo build four canoes.

KM: 'Oia, you folks went *mauka*?

WP: *Mauka*, I only went *ho'okāhi manawa*, only once.

KM: Where did you go?

WP: We went to Kāināliu.

KM: Oh, that far out, Kāināliu?

WP: Yes, because the log was free, I think. I don't know who's *'āina*. But we went out one time, when I myself went. And they were looking for *kumu* and then we found, right away, we found the trees. And so kind of went *mākaukau* an area for *hiamoe* and stuff, then we *ho'i mai* to get food and stuff like that. We took some of our *'īlio* out there to hunt for *pu'a*. And we were up there, like a couple of weeks.

KM: So you folks *kālai*, bring the tree down? So they knocked the tree down, then they *kā'ele*, rough shape the hull?

WP: Yes. and then we bring it down on a truck. It's not like the olden time where they would *huki* it down and have *kāula* hold it back, and on the *lona* like to slide down.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: Like Honokua side would be like that, our *'ohana* used to do that.

KM: 'Ae, Moku'ōhai *mā*.

WP: Yes, Moku'ōhai *mā*. So anyway, they went bring two, one big and one small *lā'au koa*, and then they went *mauka* again...I think second time, they went *'oki*. And we went *kālai* the *wa'a* all over here.

KM: 'Oia?

WP: By where Diana lives, we had one *hale*, we went *kūkulu* one *hale niu*. And in maybe two years we finished it.

KM: Hmm. Did you hear, if I may for a moment... You know the interesting thing with Kawa'auhau and Makia. Above Kawa'auhau comes Makia, who got that *'āina* at 'Alikā. Did you hear about the family...where there *ko'a*, or did they go up into Kīpāhoehoe at all, in your recollection?



WP: No, that part, I never got...at that time, there were a lot of things that they don't tell you. What I know, is that this canoe, *Mālololo*, in Honolulu, everybody asked me, "Who built the *Mālololo*?" Because it was in the hand of John D. Kaupiko. And everybody assumed that it was a Kaupiko.

KM: Hmm, that made that canoe.

WP: And when Wally Forsythe, who is also a canoe man, and with Tommy Holmes them; and even my uncle Henriques, who went *kālai wa'a*, he had canoes also. I said, "The only thing I know, from what I hear from Peter Paulo is that their *'ohana* made that canoe." And when he said *'ohana*, he meant Kekumu Kawa'auhau. We all knew. That's why, Kekumu's style, the *ihu* of the canoe, is short. And Peter Paulo's canoe, the *ihu*, is almost the same, not big like how you see, now.

KM: Yes, it's kind of *pokole*, short, stubby?

WP: Yes, short, stubby. Nicely made, not like this high ones.

KM: Yes, I noticed that today when we were down at the *Hale Pule*.

WP: So when I came back, I wanted to... See, I donated some of these pictures here to Tommy Holmes. [pointing to a couple of photographs] That was in 1935, Herman Apo; myself; Kema, from 'Ōpihali, *'ohana* of Apo; Eddie Paulo, he make already; and John Apo, he make also; Frank Paulo in the back. So 1935. But when I came back, I made sure that I went to see Kapela Kaupiko, and I asked Kapela, because I knew that I would get the right answer. That's Sarah's mama.

KM: Oh yes, yes.

WP: I asked her, "Who made the *Mālololo*?" She said, "The Kawa'auhau family." But we all knew.

KM: Yes, because of the style.

[Discusses fishing for *he'e* and other fishes.]

WP: Yes. I know because Peter Paulo told me. I was always kind of close to him...He was the best fisherman I've seen in Minoli'i. *Lawai'a*, for *he'e*, also *lawai'a* on the *wa'a* with the *'ala'ala*. That's the only man I've seen bring in buckets and tubs of fish every time he'd go out.

KM: Hmm. Was there a custom, by the way, when the bring home these fish, did the *māhele*, *hā'awi i'a*?

[Describes traditional *aku* fishing with different types of *pā* (mother of pearl lures).]

WP: Yes. The same as when we go *aku* fishing with the *pā*. In Tahiti it's *pārau*. And there are hardly any pearl shells in Hawai'i, but he knew where had some. And he would go *lawai'a he'e*, so when he would see these young ones, he would know where the spot was. So he went *lawe aku*, he tell me, and I would dive down, with a big string, go down, break it out, *'oki* (could get about three *pā* from each shell). And he would take it and make his *pā*. So we would go fishing for *aku*. He'd get the *pulapula*, he had *ino* of all his good hooks, *pulapula hakalau*. And then when we went out, and saw the *aku* breaking surface, over here. At times, we would go out, looking for them. We *hoe* down to Kapu'a (by Kaupō), and then *hoe* back. And prior to my time, they used to go with the *pe'a*, they would sail down, out to Wai'ahukini and over to Kaunā. And the wind line, if not too much *makani*, they would go down further. But they would come back outside of Kapu'a and come back.

And during our time, we would go out, usually four men to a canoe. And as soon as we get into the school of *aku*, at that time, you would know if it was *mālololo* that they were eating, or *mūhe'e*, or whatever. Generally they know, like if the *mūhe'e*, it lets out the ink,



*weka*, so you know. So you use the *pā* that's reddish. You get three *makau* on that pole. It's a long pole, *'ohe*. One hook you let out. So if it's *mūhe'e*, you get the right *pā* for that. If it's silvery, you have that for the *mālolo*. So I think we came home, the most I recall one time, with *aku*, a little bigger than medium size, ten pounds, fourteen pounds. I think we caught about 26.

KM: Hmm, all with the *pā*?

WP: With the *pā*.

KM: So one is *'ula'ula*, one is *'ano hāhinahina*?

WP: *Hāhinahina*.

KM: So *mālolo*, you use the silver one?

WP: Yes.

KM: *Mūhe'e* you use a reddish one?

WP: Yes. And had one, another bluish one, but I don't know the *inoa* of that *i'a*, but Japanese call *uchigi*. But I'm about the only that's left, that goes out, that did that type of fishing.

KM; Yes, so you still remember going out with the *pā*?

WP: Yes.

KM: And that was big fishing for your *kūpuna*. There are many stories about them, *hele lawai'a*, *pā hī aku*, *pā hī 'ahi*.

WP: 'Ae. And I did that when I went to the Marquesas and when I went to Tahiti. Instead of go *inu*, I would go out with them.

[Discusses differences in the abundance of fish – before compared to the present-day.]

KM: Wonderful... Uncle, you know, earlier this week, I was talking with uncle Val's older brother, Kinoulu Kahananui. He's in North Kona. He's like your age. He observed, "There were so many fish, it's like you walk on the fish before." And he said, the method of taking fish, "We took what we could get and use. But today the method of taking, the technology has increased, that they can come and take it all one time." So the abundance of fish today, in your experience, different than the abundance before, when you were young?

WP: Well, you take like *ōpelu*, it's under fished.

KM: It's under fished?

WP: Under fished. In a country like China, Hunan Island, generally catches 5 million pounds annually. You can go 100 years in Hawai'i and you wouldn't catch that much.

KM: Can the ocean sustain that?

WP: I guess it can. But for *ōpelu* at present, it's under fished. *Aku* is under fished. That's the two fishes that underused. Not the *'ahi*, the marlin, the *a'u*.

KM: I hear... [phone rings, recorder off – back on] Mahalo! You said there was something that you wanted...

WP: In the evening, after going out, and now you coming home. And generally during the season, you there's quite a few canoes out there. And you know definitely, you're going to get fish. During that time, we had quite a few *kūpuna* that retired from fishing, like Kamaka Smith, Mahina, Keli'ikaua, and even the teacher, *kumu*. When we come back to the *awa*, to the beach...

KM: It was always down there, where it is now?



WP: Yes. There's four areas, Kalihi also. On the southern side of Minoli'i Village. Then you have Omoka'a, which is next to the church, just a little south. Omoka'a is like a pond, an open bay. And there is also a landing there. The Apos land there. Further south, Kawa'auhau lands there. And then right in front, Kalanilahale, where the ramp is, used to be the fish market, just opposite of the road.

KM: And is that actually Minoli'i?

WP: Yes, Kalanilahale, where the ramp is, that's actually Minoli'i. Further south, I just mentioned Omoka'a, that's the land of Omoka'a. And then a little further south, the next lot, or property, that's an *ahupua'a*, Kalihi. Kalihi, Omoka'a in the middle and Minoli'i, then you come above by the wharf, that's already Waikini. And then where I live here, is Wai'ea.

[The catch was always shared among the families, and the *kūpuna* were always given the fish they wanted.]

So anyway after the day's fishing, you're coming home, the *po'e kahiko*, the *kūpuna*, would come down to the *awa* where we land, and we put out these *lona*. They were usually *hau*, about four or five inch diameter, maybe five feet long. That's to prevent the *wa'a* from scraping the *'ili'ili* or the *pōhaku*. They are known as *lona*.

KM: *Lona no ke kō wa'a 'ana?*

WP: Up forty, fifty feet, above the high water mark. And the *kūpuna* would come and set the *lona* all in place for pull the canoe up. And that is one thing, it's known, you never ask the *kūpuna* "*Mamake 'oe kekāhi i'a?*" (You want some fish?)

KM: So you never ask?

WP: Never! They help themselves. And they would take maybe just enough for *mea 'ai*, just for the day. And if they want a little bit more for dry, they would take ten, fifteen, whatever. Also, the *kumu kula* like that, we would deliver the fish. Most times, the *ka'a'ai* man. *Ku'u hana kēlā*, that's my job.

KM: *Hā'awi i'a i ke kumu?*

WP: Yes, and to all these *kūpuna*. And if you haven't caught too much, they say, "*Pehea o mea mā?*" "*Kau.*" They wait for the other canoe. But that never happened most times. During the season, *ōpelu* was plentiful. So I try to emphasize in my presentation about *ōpelu* fishing, I try to make sure that the young people, put it in their head, "Don't ever ask a *kūpuna* if they want some fish."

KM: *Hā'awi aloha?*

WP: Yes, you *hā'awi* with *aloha*.

KM: Hmm. I've heard stories like what you're saying from other *kūpuna*. Before, the *kūpuna*, get *'aumakua lawai'a?*

WP: Right.

KM: And it was always, if you gave, the *'aumakua lawai'a* would *ho'olako i ke kai* (enrich the sea).

WP: Yes, increase.

KM: Increase your abundance. Is that something like what you heard?

WP: Well we were always told, the more you give, not *kū'ai*, sell or what, that was not proper. We're told that many times and it ingrains in you.



[Discusses the 1919 and 1926 lava flows.]

KM: Well it's interesting even here, like this *pele* that came down in 1926. There are stories that the *luahine* came around *paha*, *noi i'a*, and maybe someone was a little bit *pī*. And what, *kahe mai ka pele!*

WP: Some stories that I got was from a young woman, from the A'i family, who now resides in Honolulu. She came up to Ka'ala Farm Learning Center, and I made a presentation, and she told me who she was. Her name was Miulan, she was named after her aunty or something. That's Ha'akoi family, married to Ching and A'i.

KM: South Kona people, yeah?

WP: 'Alikā and Pāpā.

KM: Yes, they descend from the Kaliuna family, a grantee there.

WP: Hmm. She told me about the problems that had come in the story she was told by her *kupuna*. That Minoli'i, at the beginning, when they learned to make 'ōkolehao, the people were bootlegging, sending their *ukana*, *mea inu* to Honolulu from Kailua. As time went by, the *maka'i* started arresting people. So this time, they found out that the *maka'i* is there all the time, so they went to Nāpō'opō'o. The same thing happened, *maka'i* catch them. In fact, some *maka'i* too, were shipping out 'ōkolehao. So they ended up down at Ho'okena. And that happened, the same thing, because had *alanui*. But to come to Ho'opūloa was a rough road, all gravel. All the roads in Kona gravel, but Minoli'i to come, was hard. So the *moku* coming from where, Kailua, the ships come to Kailua, then you have to come on a *ka'a*, pretty rough. In 1926, I don't know if had *ka'a* around here.

So they have a buggy trail that they would come for the *ukana*, for the *hale kū'ai*. So they started shipping it out from Ho'opūloa. Well, Ho'opūloa was doing very well, the *maka'i* never show up because it was not easy. But I myself had worked for Mr. Kinney, who owned the boat that I was working on, called *Momi*. And he was with these *maka'i*. So he had arrested quite a few people from Kona, some were his 'ohana too, from Kaua'i. Oliver Kinney, and Ray Kinney is his brother. So I worked for him, and he was my lawyer too. But the story comes from him.

But this girl here, who is an A'i, telling me about this. They continue on, the *maka'i* wouldn't show up because it was quite a distance. Also, there was a lot of *inu lama* going on, so maybe Tūtū Pele was *hūhū* with all this *kapulu* going on. Well, it took Pele from up there, some 48 hours from the main road. It was very slow, she gave them a lot of chance. So everybody was with their *mea inu*, waiting for her to come down, their *pu'a* too, whatever. But she came and destroyed the village.

And for 'Alikā lava flow, it was a fast one, very fast. The story that I got for that is that these two *kūpuna* was *mahi'ai* up that *ahupua'a*, close to 'Alikā. I think the wahine went ask the *kāne*, "I'o kou kalo, na wai e 'ai aku i mua?" So the *kāne* went say, "Who would be the first one to eat your kalo?" The *kāne* went tell her the same thing too, and they said "Na Pele e 'ai aku." But, they went *poina*, they forgot. And all the sudden they could hear all the tumbling, the noise.

KM: Hmm, so *ua 'ai mua lāua?*

WP: Yes. And so these two, the *kāne* and the wahine decided, "*holo i lalo.*" Run for the beach. So they *holo i lalo*, 'Alikā. And that's the reason why the 'Alikā lava flow was very fast, it was chasing after them.

KM: Hmm. Now did you hear when was this lava flow?

WP: Nineteen-nineteen.

KM: Hmm.



- WP: Some seven years before the Ho'opūloa lava flow. So they went *lele i loko o ke kai*, they jumped in the ocean. At that time there wasn't the two rocks there.
- KM: Ah, Nāpōhakuololoa?
- WP: Yes. At that time, it didn't exist. So that's why one is higher than the other one. One is the *kāne*, one is the *wahine*. It's quite a ways off the shore.
- KM: Yes, right near the boundary of Kīpāhoehoe and 'Alikā?
- WP: Yes, right.
- KM: Wonderful! Uncle, you'll be amazed, I'm preparing a little *mo'olelo*, because of the Forest Reserve for the State. But I have an old story from the 1880s about that similar kind of account, there.
- WP: Yes.
- KM: So how the *mo'olelo* have been passed down, or how the stories repeat themselves.
- WP: Hardly anybody talks about it. But this fella told me that plus a few more stories. But that story for 'Alikā, I heard from one *kupuna*, and he was from 'Ōpihali. And this story from Ho'opūloa was from this young girl, A'i.
- KM: But their *'ohana* is *kama'āina*?
- WP: Yes, *po'e kahiko*.
- KM: 'Ae... [Discusses tie between Makia and Kaliuna, and relationship to the Paulo Kawa'auhau line.] It's very interesting how your families all *pili*.
- WP: Yes ...
- [Discusses childhood memories – walking *mauka*, going to family homes as far as the Pāhoehoe area; Christmas gatherings at the churches; and riding in the old cars.]
- KM: ...This is wonderful to sit down and just talk story, and there are so many other things. But by and by what we'll do is try and sit down and look at the old maps, and point out some areas. And importantly, let's save this for next time — what do we do to try and re-instill some of the traditional knowledge, to perpetuate, and use of and care of the fisheries. And another important thing, *ko'a o kai*, how about on the land, the markings like that. And are these places on the landscape important?
- WP: Yes, right. That's why I mentioned that today, you've got to get the old system back. If you do...so we try now. I don't know, like this *pā'ani kinipōpō*, that's the first one...
- KM: 'Ae.
- WP: ...Now, people come from all over and launch their boats at Kalanihale. Everybody will pile in.
- [Discusses the problems with people from outside coming to fish in the Minoli'i vicinity fisheries; areas of *kapu* fisheries; and community efforts to stop the taking of "tropical" fish.]
- KM: That's a part of the *haole* law system, that gave people who were from other places, the right to come take fish from your place.
- WP: Yes, take fish. And that's why at present, Wayne Leslie comes here once a month, to get input and take it back to the fishery council. Because we *namunamu* about everything. It's always some place else, Waikōloa, Kāināliu.
- KM: Yes, why talk about a Minoli'i house at Hale Hālāwai, or your fish somewhere else?
- WP: [chuckling] So now the council got some money from Sea Grant or something, and they hired Leslie to come. Good, he's *'olu'olu*, and *akamai* too.



KM: Good.

WP: What we want to do is stop the tropical... We have an area now, it's *kapu*. And when we first started out, I attended the meetings all the time. We would go Kāināliu, we would work with Dr. Kimberly Low. But somehow, like that big meeting we went to at Kapolei, in the cafeteria, where we had about 400, 500 people, concerning fisheries. We had a lot of people, but maybe 90% was haoles. Kelly Greenwell made a speech and he said, "*Kapu* everything, stop it. From 'Upolu to Kalae, 147 miles. Too much fish are being taken away. Especially to export it. these fishes, especially for food, that's for the..." So I told Kimberly, "Okay, we *kapu* the *ko'a 'ōpelu* areas, from Ki'ilae to Kaunā." Well, these guys are pretty powerful, they attend the meeting all the time, and they disagree. Then by the time we get to know, it's already made out. So then I said, "Okay, from Kīpāhoehoe to Kaulanamauna." Then they said "We still have to keep within the 30% area. Thirty percent of the 147 miles. So now it came to Namakahiki, where the subdivision it to the *hōlua* slide at Kapoho, just past Kapu'a. So it's a six mile district. But we find even our own neighbors have been caught in that area... [Discusses problems with lack of respect for fisheries, customs, and stewardship; and economics in community.] Our people here, depend on this resource.

KM: It's the way of sustaining your life.

WP: Right, right!

While serving as captain of the research vessel, Cromwell, *kupuna* Paulo spoke with a Pacific Island native who observed:

"You have ice box, you have freezer?"

"Yes, I have."

"Lagoon is my ice box, why you come here...?"

KM: ...*Aloha*. The native system of sustainable resources, you can only take so much. And we need to carry this conversation on next time, about the comparison of catch before, to today, and how do we ensure success for your mo'opuna and all those who will follow?

WP: Right. ...But I use that too, for Hawai'i, why do they all come over here and destroy the areas?

KM: Hmm... *Mahalo* – thank you so much, this has been wonderful. And there are so many other things to talk about. *Mahalo nui*...



**Walter Keli'iokekai Paulo**  
**Lands and Fisheries of Kapalilua, South Kona**  
**Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly**  
**March 5, 2003 – at Miloli'i, South Kona (Interview 2 of 2)**

The following list identifies selected topics and descriptions of fisheries described by *kupuna* Paulo:

<b>Topic:</b>	<b>Page</b>
• Discusses his early life as a fisherman, and leaving Minoli'i in 1941.	167
• Discusses flag line fishing for 'ahi off of O'ahu in the 1940s.	168
• Discusses 'ōpelu fishing off of O'ahu.	172
• Discusses quantities of catch — 'ahi, aku, 'ōpelu — prior to war, and in the post war era.	174
• Flag line fishing in the Kapalilua region of South Kona in the 1930s.	175
• Discusses currents and fish traveling inter-island.	177
• Discusses places of origin, and influence of Japanese fishermen in Hawaiian waters.	177
• Discusses the 'au Ka'ū and 'au Kona of the Minoli'i vicinity fisheries; and locations of ko'a 'ōpelu.	178
• 'Ōpelu kala help to establish and maintain the ko'a 'ōpelu.	180
• Discusses use of fish aggregation devices.	181
• Fishermen did not intrude into other lands and ko'a, there was no need to. Care for the ko'a and the fish, and they will care for you.	182
• Discusses the Ho'opūloa, Wai'ea, Minoli'i, Waikini, Laeloa, Ka'akuli, 'Ili'ilikou ko'a.	182
• Discusses seasonal variations of fishing; kapu with strict penalties observed in the old days.	183
• Discusses kapu on types of palu, and problems with those who intrude into the Minoli'i fisheries.	185
• Discusses the practice of going to hānai the ko'a.	185
• Ceremonial observances associated with hānai ko'a.	186
• Kū'ula for akule was kept at Honomalino (Holomalino); describes akule fishing, and disagreement between Kapalilua fishermen, and outsiders who tried to take the school.	187
• Use of the wrong palu, like "chop-chop," destroys the old system of hānai ko'a used by Kapalilua fishermen.	192
• Discusses deep sea fisheries around the Hawaiian Islands.	193
• Aku fishing and making pā in the Kapalilua region.	193
• Aku fishing from canoe, outside of Kapalilua.	195
• Water sprinkled on the ocean by old Hawaiian fishermen, while aku fishing.	196
• Japanese fishermen modified the Hawaiian practice of sprinkling water on the sea when fishing for aku, and later developed a sprinkler system for that purpose.	196
• Use of 'īao, nehū, and later tilapia and mosquito fish as bait for aku fishing.	197
• Discusses fishing at various locations around Lāna'i, Moloka'i, and O'ahu, and at French Frigate Shoals, Laysan, Pearle, Hermes, and down to Midway; and thoughts on management and restoration of main-island fisheries.	199
• Thoughts on how to protect and ensure the well-being of fisheries in the Hawaiian Islands — Return to the traditional Hawaiian system of fisheries management.	202
• The American system disregarded the Hawaiian subsistence practices in favor of economic and commercial uses of the fisheries.	203
• Fishing is important to the well-being of the Hawaiian people.	206
• Discusses the 'ōhua manini.	209
• Observed that 'ōhua and other fishes, and limu have declined over the years; pollution from boats perhaps to blame in part.	211



**Topic:**

- Went to Maldive Islands and taught the fishermen how to care for the live *nehu* bait.
- Discusses methods of *aku* fishing.

**Page**

212

213

KM: Today is March 5<sup>th</sup>, 2003, and we are out in Miloli'i.

WP: Yes.

KM: *Kupuna*, we are talking story again with you. *Mahalo nui iā 'oe i kou ho'okipa hou 'ana ia'u, no kou ho'omanawanui. Niele 'ana wau, akā, he mea nui kēia.*

WP: Yes, *hiki no*.

KM: *Mahalo, mahalo nui.* Uncle Walter Paulo, Keli'iokekai, Kanakaokekai.

WP: *Kanaka o ke kai.*

KM: 'Ae. *Aloha 'oe.*

WP: *Aloha mai...*

[Recalls how he first met Woody Brown about 1936, while he was biking from Kailua to Puna... Uncle mā went and got him in a rain storm and brought him home.]

WP: He came home with us. First thing we had was tea and some *palena*, cracker and jelly. Then we *kūkā* and talked story. He no *ho'okano*, he ate whatever we had, 'ai ka mea lo'a! He slept over that night. Then we said, "We go *kahakai*, lets go down the beach." And Kawa'auhau, Kuahu'ias, where tūtū Ka'aloloa lived. We brought him down. Our *hale* was over here at the time. Paulo's *hale* was right in what we now call the First Phase, it's right up when you go up this *pali* here that's the beginning of First Phase. At that area, now you see maybe about fifteen houses, at that time there were no houses, just our house.

KM: Is that Wai'ea?

WP: Yes, Waiea, right here [pointing on map] and then Waikini.

KM: Waikini?

WP: Yes. *Hele makou 'ai niu*, we go eat coconut. We went to Kalihi for that.

KM: Oh yeah?

WP: Yes, Kalihi where tūtū Ka'aloloa lived.

KM: Tūtū Ka'aloloa was living Kalihi, by where Waha Pōhaku mā are?

WP: *I 'ō, makai. Ka 'āina o Kuahuia mā.*

KM: 'Ae.

WP: So we went. I'm a coconut tree climber, so I just went up the tree. We asked tūtū, every time, she said main thing is to clean the tree, always clean the tree. When we like eat *niu*, we ask "Mamake mākou e 'ai niu." "Hele 'oukou, ho'oma'ema'e ke kumu." Clean it. We enjoyed it, oh boy the coconut was, that's something that people don't realize. When you go down the beach there's coconut trees<sup>12</sup>.

KM: How wonderful to have?

WP: Yes... ..Then in the 1940s, I'm in Honolulu and I'm at Kewalo also.

<sup>12</sup> Kupuna later recalled that this place at Kalihi, "Was just like a sacred ground too. Because has plenty iwi, not plenty, but graves. Uncle Kūkulu is there, William Kahele, and some of the old Kaheles are buried up on that little pali, *mauka* side, *makai* side. But tūtū Ka'aloloa is at 'Alae Cemetery."



KM: Kewalo?

WP: Yes. This was in the early '40s. Everybody I know that I worked with on the vessels with the fisheries in Honolulu. I worked with fisheries since 1951. Then Woody made a catamaran I think, and competed with the Trans-Pacific sailboats and he beat all those guys. Left them way in the back. He came to be famous. Like I said, everybody knew him...

...Woody's brother-in-law, Kalā Kukea, was one of the four people that received the award as *Kanaka o Ke Kai*. Him, myself, Dr. Craig, who's an oceanographer at the University of Hawaii and... [thinking] a botanist at the University of Hawai'i.

KM: Isabella Abbott?

WP: Isabella Abbott. *Mahalo*. The four of us received this award by an organization in Honolulu called TORCH, The Ocean Recreational Council of Hawaii. It was the first time that they made that award, I was the first one.

KM: 'Ae, aloha.

WP: In fact the four at the same time received that award and it was about fifteen years ago. Our names were submitted by somebody, I still don't know who the person was who submitted our names. There were about eighty names I think, best of Hawai'i ocean people. Even if they were deceased or whatever. I'm not sure, but I think the president of that organization is Bill Woolsey who was the Olympic gold and silver medal winner some twenty years ago or more. I think he's still alive, still around.

KM: Hmm... You know *kupuna*, you were talking earlier about your life on O'ahu. When did you leave home here?

[Discusses early life as a fisherman, and leaving Miloli'i in 1941.]

WP: I left home here in early January, 1941... I left with twenty-eight dollars. That twenty-eight dollars I received after the fish buyer, who was Frank Manalili at the time. We *ho'oponopono* our 'aiē, what we owe, and the balance... When I say what we owed is what we made, and the balance was twenty eight dollars every six months. I had big 'aiē too. In six months time maybe three hundred dollars or something like that. After the *ho'oponopono* I get twenty eight dollars. So I gave that to my mother. But then when I told her that I wanted to leave, and I think I can do better in Honolulu then staying back here. She gave me back my twenty eight dollars, she didn't spend it. My intention was to go to work, and I think I told you in the last time we recorded our conversation... Unfortunately I had to come back to go back *lawai'a* because my step-father, which is my 'ohana actually who is just like my uncle, was really sick.

KM: 'Ae. Paulo?

WP: Paulo. I have to go fishing now with my mama for 'ōpelu, and then go back on the 'ahi boat.

KM: From out here?

WP: Yes.

KM: With Manalili?

WP: Yes. So, anyway I ended up in Honolulu... [discusses how he went to work at Palmyra, and the Japanese attack on Pearly Harbor and outlying islands.]

KM: ...Uncle, I was going to ask you about the story you were sharing about fishing around O'ahu and how the currents were. As you said though you came back home from Palmyra in late '42?

WP: In late '42.



KM: When you settled on O'ahu you said already by '43 or something you began fishing on O'ahu?

WP: Late part of '43 and '44.

KM: Okay. Where were you fishing and what were you doing?

WP: Like I mentioned a while ago, I had met Bull Haynes who had purchased these vessels, at the time they still maintained the names. The boats were confiscated so...

KM: From the Japanese owners?

WP: Yes, from the Japanese owners. I worked at Pearl Harbor, I got a job as a rigger helper at the shipyard. That was quite an experience they were all Hawaiians in my... My foreman his name was Joe Ka'anā'anā, a very sort of a strict person. I worked for him, and then afterwards I got to meet Bull Haynes. How, I don't know, but I think I was in a bar on Kukui and Fort Street [chuckles].

KM: Yes [chuckling].

WP: That's where I hung around.

KM: Okay.

[Discusses flag line fishing for 'ahi off of O'ahu in the 1940s.]

WP: Here this guy was in the bar, this big *haole* and he talked just like a *kanaka*. And somehow we just ran into each other and sat down together and talked story. To his surprise and my surprise, this guy had a boat, he brought a boat. I think he was running around looking for some Hawaiians. He lived in Mānoa near Punahou School. We talked story and he said, "I got a flag line boat but I don't know how to put the lines together, it's all scattered up." The old man who owned the boat was Iwasaki.

KM: Iwasaki.

WP: Old man Iwasaki. I thought well, I was working Pearl Harbor, you get Pearl Harbor badge, everybody knew you were working, you cannot be unemployed. If you were unemployed they put you in jail, round you up.

KM: Yes.

WP: Sounds very interesting. He took me to his house and showed me all the lines and it was all scattered. He brought the lines from some warehouse they had it. I said, "I can put it together," I already did that work over here.

KM: Right.

WP: We put together what is called twenty-five baskets of line, the whole gear in one basket. We looked at it. From there on I was sure that I'm going fishing. This is what I wanted to do. I'll just let my supervisor know and he said, "What are you going to do now? You cannot be loafing." "No," I said, "I'm going to go fishing." Already had the Coast Guard at that time and the Coast Guard was stationed in the front of Kewalo Basin in the channel. Every boat that goes out has to check in. I got to see that, and then seen the boat, the first boat he had I didn't meet the other person who owned the other boat. But most of this line came from Iwasaki's boat. And that boat wasn't...it needed some repair or something, the *Kasuga Maru*.

KM: *Kasuga Maru*.

WP: He had another boat he also bought, the *Tengi Maru*.

KM: *Tengi Maru*.

WP: He had that kind of set up and kind of cleaned up. And then he had to put on big signs on the sides by the cabin. This thing didn't have a regular enclosed cabin it's just a cabin for



the engine room. It's an old fashioned type. In order to keep off the weather when it rains and stuff like that, you have a pole in midship that runs from aft from the stern to the front, and you put a canvas over it.

KM: Yes.

WP: There's no cabin.

KM: It's just a tarp over it?

WP: Yes. It's an open boat and it's a long line boat. I put the lines together, and the boat seemed like it was ready to go. We already had the information of the area that we could go and fish. It was limited, the distance.

KM: Yes.

WP: You could go to Wai'anae and fish for long lining from Ka'ena Point to Kawailoa.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: That area out five miles, but we always exceeded the five miles because the line is quite long. So if you have twenty-five baskets you had five main lines times, three hundred feet per main line. You have five main lines, three hundred feet, five that's fifteen hundred feet. So about four baskets equals one line, one mile. If you run it straight. If it sags by maybe two and a half miles maybe that's five baskets, anyway you can figure out, not more than seven miles distance with twenty-five baskets. Because you have the currents, sometimes either it stretches out or it kind of pulls it in. We loaded and we got the crew and I got to know some old-timers that fished from one guy, Ed Iona who was from... [thinking] Kona, actually uncle Fred Iona was his uncle. Fred Iona.

KM: Iona?

WP: Iona yes, from Pāhoehoe, Honokua.

KM: Yes.

WP: First lava. Uncle Fred Iona was Magoon's main worker, cowboy or whatever. We got Ed Iona as a crew, he worked for the Leslies one time in Kona, so he had some experience. Then I got to know, picked up some Kaka'ako boys. I think there was five of us. We had to check in at the Coast Guard Station at Kewalo Basin, the boat was actually secured in Ala Wai Harbor. If you know, if you look at Ala Wai Park today, you cannot travel in the inland side in that channel because you got that area all built up.

KM: Built in, but before it was a channel going straight out?

WP: Channel straight through to Ala Wai and Kewalo.

KM: Yes. So almost along the shore kind of, you would come out that way?

WP: Yes. Just before the end of the channel towards the 'Ilikai, which was not 'Ilikai at the time.

KM: Right.

WP: Turn left and then you have the bridge, the Ala Moana bridge you know.

KM: Yes.

WP: Went over to 'Ilikai, then you get the Ala Moana on the right. That's where we docked, everything was just, the mouth of that bridge further outside and then there were some piers. On the opposite sides it was dry dock, small dry docks for small boats, and P.Y. Chong, that well-known chop suey house was just about there. P.Y. Chong. Everybody knows that area, that P.Y. Chong. And then you had the yachts and then you had the Halekulani a little further.

KM: Yes.



WP: And the other name is the popular restaurant... [thinking] I think when the Massey Case, there's Fort DeRussey, and the 'Ilikai is. That area was all for the yachts, they had dug that. We operated from there.

KM: You would go and check out with the Coast Guard?

WP: Check out with the Coast Guard. Then we head for Wai'anae and like I said you have five miles.

KM: The extent that you can go out?

WP: To go out, yes. But we always exceeded that, that was okay. Main thing you get in before sunset. Anyway, with our first trip we figured this out. We can fish for about five days and then we come back. We would catch about three or four thousand pounds.

KM: In five days?

WP: In five days time, yes.

KM: Three thousand, four thousand pounds.

WP: Our bait at the time wasn't ōpelu, it was sardines, frozen sardines.

KM: Yes.

WP: We'd take that, that was all imported from the mainland. We used sardines for bait. We would lay twenty-five baskets of lines, in those days it was all hand pulled in, all hand work. No machine like today.

KM: How big was the boat?

WP: The *Tangi Maru* was about forty two feet, I think. She had a good capacity, she could take about six wells that she can store fish in. And we could take maybe ten blocks of ice, maybe more. Ten blocks, three hundred pounds per bag. We would split the ice, one third, one third, one third, hundred pounds each.

KM: Yes.

WP: We'd load up, and like I said, we would load up ice and fill up all the boxes. One, two, three we had one in the back we'd keep that open. Besides three, six, seven storage spaces for the fish. You can put four or five 'ahi in one hole. Wasn't too good a catch because we used sardines for bait and sardines don't hold out well. Later on we tried, the old man showed us if we wanted to catch ōpelu.

KM: Iona?

WP: Not old man Iona, but the old man Iwasaki.

KM: Iwasaki.

WP: Yes. He was the one that showed us all about his lines that was confiscated. I knew how, but anyway he gave us a lot of information about the area. Where to fish. He would tell us about the currents going to Kalaeloa or to Ka'ena like that.

KM: Different current, you would fish at different locations?

WP: Yes. If the current was going Kalaeloa you would go outside Mākaha and set your line out there because you would drift.

KM: It would take the line towards Kalaeloa?

WP: Kalaeloa. Or sometimes the current is strong. Starting out after you get provisions like that, make sure your wooden stove work, you got to buy wood.

KM: Right.



WP: We used to go to Ebesusaki Store on Ward Street and buy or put together *kiawe* wood. That was our stove the *kiawe* wood.

KM: Amazing!

WP: When we all *mākaukau*, get the food and stuff like that, bait, and we would go towards Ka'ena. We usually anchor at Wai'anae, a lot of activity down there. Lots of landing crafts that were stationed right in the Wai'anae area. At times there were these amphibious ships that was coming in from the mainland, sometimes there was miles of them.

KM: You're kidding!

WP: When you get out of Kewalo and if you see them coming you either try to get past or you get stuck because these guys are all maybe about five hundred feet apart and you don't want to cross in the front of them. That was *kapu* like, this is military bringing in. Sometimes we have to wait about half an hour or more or an hour just if you get caught into this convoy coming in.

KM: Ship convoy?

WP: Yes, ship convoy coming in. Once we get to Wai'anae, there's a Coast Guard also down there checking. After laying the lines it was very exciting to see what type of fish or catch. The people, more so the Japanese people, like for instance we get our ice from Pauoa, an ice house at Pauoa, that's who makes ice, and also Tuna Packers. I forgot now the two places that we get ice. And everybody is all excited. Especially the old Japanese people, excited when we catch fish..."make sure we sell you the ice and make sure we get fish."

KM: Yes.

WP: "We buy the fish okay." That's how we got the ice. We promised them because the ice was all mostly for the military. We made sure we would sell them an *'ahi* or two, that's the bosses' *kuleana* so we were in good terms with them. And we made sure...

KM: Guarantee you get ice. [chuckling]

WP: Yes [chuckling]. And all these things happened. Selling the fish, we'd go out and we'd catch marlin, you have the striped marlin, you have the black marlin and things like that. You catch marlin mostly yellow fin and if it's during the winter months, at that time I think in '43 it was close to the winter months. We'd catch big eye which is just like blue fin .

KM: What type of *'ahi* is that?

WP: It's a more round, and blue fin is much more expensive then the yellow fin. It has a darker color, it has more fat, as far as the texture. That's why you go down to the auction company today and you see them feeling the back part of the tail they cut that area off. All the buyers sticking their hands in and pulling out the meat and checking that notch, you seen the auction companies?

KM: Yes.

WP: They like the ones, the big eye which has more oil in it. You had prices already all set, all the prices they call it OPA, I don't know what that indicates the name OPA, I forget. Everything was the OPA price.

KM: It was all a set price.

WP: Yes, set price.

KM: That was a government standard?



[Discusses ōpelu fishing off of O‘ahu.]

- WP: Government standard. We would come home, most times four or five thousand pounds, four days. More or less we'd catch about a thousand pounds a day. Our catch wasn't too good because of this sardine bait. Then I got to learn, the old man would show me how to use the Japanese oar, *uneune*, a small skiff, twelve, fourteen feet. We can put it on the side, the *wa'a pā*, the sampan. Had the *'upena* they still had their nets, the ōpelu nets.
- KM: Was it the Hawaiian kind of nets, the kind you were *ma'a* too?
- WP: Yes. The only thing is the *kuku*, the rod, today, we have fiber glass. But they had it made by spring steel. Spring steel wrapped in split bamboos. They split the bamboo up into a small maybe lets say about three-eighths of an inch wide, and long strips, and they would *nāki'i*. They would tie it up right around a quarter inch spring steel rods and they would cover it up with bamboo.
- KM: Yes, the bamboo, with the *'ohe* like that.
- WP: Yes. With the *aho* they would tie it.
- KM: *Nāki'i*?
- WP: *Nāki'i*, yes that's how.
- KM: That's the *kāwaha*, that's the *kuku*?
- WP: The *kuku*.
- KM: Wow!
- WP: We didn't use *'ūlei* like we used here. There were no problems, and they had *'upena*.
- KM: That's how you first started fishing for ōpelu in the Wai'anae area?
- WP: Ōpelu in the Wai'anae area.
- KM: Did this old Japanese man show you or did you figure out places?
- WP: He showed me.
- KM: He showed you some areas?
- WP: Yes.
- KM: He knew some *ko'a*?
- WP: Yes. Kahe Point, right by Kahe Point. That's a good *ko'a* over there.
- KM: Wow!
- WP: Or right outside of Mā'ili in Wai'anae.
- KM: 'Ae.
- WP: The thing is, while you anchor, at times you come in everyday, and if you dare, like Ka'ena or anywhere we park, you throw your *mea 'ai* in the water. The waste or whatever, the ōpelu is all around.
- KM: Hmm.
- WP: That made it easy too.
- KM: Yes.
- WP: When we started catching ōpelu our catch almost doubled.
- KM: Wow!



WP: Because the ōpelu bait is hardy, and we would salt it down. In one compartment, we would have just special for bait and we would take out maybe close to thousand bait, I mean we would fish.

KM: Yes.

WP: You roll it up all in the salt. You carry plenty *pa'akai*, bags of salt. Then you salt it all down with the *ōpū* and set it on the canvas in the wells where you can store the fish. It keeps it cool too so it lasts. That's how we... Like I said when we used ōpelu for bait then, it doubled our catch. We would come back five, six days like that. We get six, seven thousand pounds of fish or more.

KM: Was it only you folks or were there other people going out fishing?

WP: Only us.

KM: Only you folks. You were the only ones with Bull Hayne's taking fish at that time?

WP: Yes, the only one's.

KM: Two boats or one?

WP: Only one boat.

KM: The one boat.

WP: And later on the engine of the *Miyojima* wasn't good, so we already got the *Kasuga Maru*, which is a bigger boat.

KM: The *Kasuga Maru* was more then forty feet then?

WP: Yes, the *Kasuga Maru* was about fifty two I think. I forget the horse power, it's gasoline.

KM: Gasoline not diesel then?

WP: Not diesel, gasoline. It's a fast boat, has a good power, had a Hal Scott engine. From there on afterwards I continued fishing and made good money too. But we spent it all too. Then I got indicted in the army. But before, in the later part of '43, '44 there was another boat that wanted to go long line. The person, he was an ōpelu fisherman from Maui. That was Simeon Ka'anā'anā. He came around the dockside all the time. I think he went ōpelu fishing with Spinney in Honolulu.

KM: Yes.

WP: But then somehow he was also trying to figure out how to long line, so I gave him the information about long line. Then they somehow put together one boat, and I forget who was the owner the Ruis brothers, they were Pukīkī, Portuguese people. He ran one boat, and I forgot the name just before I left for the army in the later part of '44. I showed him and we went to Wai'anae also and gave him some ideas as to where we set and stuff like that. Before I left he already started fishing, and he was catching fish also. He came to be one of them. When I left and when I came back out of the army in 1947. I went in the army in February of '45, and when I got out, I was figuring whether I go back to Miloli'i or whether I stay here or what. I already knew Honolulu well, was very familiar. I thought that I would go back and fish. When I came back naturally I already checked out Kewalo and seen all the boats.

KM: Right.

WP: In '47 all the Japanese fishermen all could go fishing. Now with all the old boats, some of them got their boats back that was in the mothball or they bought it from auction. Some of the old-timers were dead, lost, deceased. The old-timers. But there were plenty old-timers left so they all came back out.

KM: About how many boats you think were fishing in '47 from Kewalo?



WP: New boats were just coming out. I would say in '47 maybe get twenty five 'ahi boats.

KM: Wow!

WP: And maybe about fifteen or more aku boats. All the Japanese people came back to fish, and all the aliens all came back.

KM: Right.

WP: Everybody showed up. It was a big thing at Kewalo Basin at the time. Aku boats at the time had permit to go in Kaneohe Bay for bait fish for the *nehu*. And can go in Pearl Harbor.

KM: Oh yeah?

WP: Yes. Because Mr. Kananui who had retired from the Navy, was the president of the Tuna Boats Association in Kewalo. So he had a lot of connections.

KM: Yes, that helps.

WP: With the officials at Pearl Harbor so they opened up Pearl Harbor.

KM: They were able to go in. Now Pearl Harbor is an interesting complex as far as the marine, the fisheries things. It seems like a spawning ground, just a source of a lot of fish.

WP: A lot fish, yes. At the time if you were an alien and still a Japanese citizen you couldn't go.

KM: Right. Had to be mostly Hawaiians?

WP: No, mostly the young Japanese boys.

KM: Oh!

WP: They came to be the citizen captain. Although the captains was mostly all the old-timers. Like the captain, and if they had a young fellow who could take the boat in and catch the bait and come back. They would be waiting for us at the waterfront. There is a saying in Japanese, "*ere kata no, kata no!*" Because the young guys liked to make a little fun out of the old guys, for sitting down you're tired [chuckling]. They kind of put it like that. A joke, waiting for us is kind of tired. Trying to make a little fun... From then on or prior, in fact I think if all could go back fishing after the end of the war, as soon as that happened in August, 25<sup>th</sup> or 26<sup>th</sup>, something like that the war ended. And by September I think everybody could.

KM: Wow, amazing!

WP: When I came back fishing the whole waterfront was all the old-timers.

[Discusses quantities of catch — 'ahi, aku, 'ōpelu — prior to war, and in the post war era.]

KM: I wonder, did you hear, did people comment on because since there had been such limited fishing during the war. It was almost like the fish had time to *ho'omaha*, just like in the old days, *kapu* you know certain times you go, like six months 'ōpelu, no aku, six months aku no 'ōpelu. Did you hear, did people comment on the fish abundance after the war for a short while. Was there more fish then they remembered before or not, or didn't you hear?

WP: You don't take notice. I took notice, only when I joined National Marine Fishery, that was because of the statistics.

KM: Yes.



WP: Then you have these systems, hundred hooks per caught fish. And when you say caught fish they don't count the marlins, they don't count the *mahimahi*, they don't count the *ono*, they count the big eye. There were more hooks in the water. I would say maybe thirty, forty baskets or more. Five hooks per basket.

KM: Right.

WP: Until the National Marine Fisheries came and started in 1949 I think. In the very beginning or 1950. Naturally they recorded, like say six hooks per basket, and then they do other techniques, like we say eleven hooks per basket or twenty one hooks per basket. They are increasing.

KM: Right.

WP: At the time I recall just like if you had a hundred hooks in the water your average catch is twelve fish per hundred.

KM: Twelve per hundred?

WP: Per hundred or maybe more. because during my time over here if we go out with lets say hundred and twenty five baskets, lets say full baskets. [thinking] Four hooks per basket, four, ten baskets that would be forty hooks. Ten, twenty, forty, eighty, I think twenty five baskets was a hundred hooks.

KM: If twenty five hooks, four baskets?

WP: Would be one hundred two. We have a hundred and two hooks, why the two hooks, the two end baskets you have a longer line because you don't continue on your flotation, the flag doesn't sit up well, they use a float with a bamboo pole and a flag attached to it to the top so you can observe your lines easily. By having a bamboo pole. So every basket you have one pole so on the end you have just like five hooks instead of four. Because you add this other hook sort of buoyancy of the pole.

KM: Over here you would catch, you were saying in your time?

[Flag line fishing in the Kapalilua region of South Kona.]

WP: Here, we would catch maybe lets say forty fish per hundred hooks. We go fishing way out here lets say Ho'opūloa or 'Alikā, and the current is going to Ka'ū. At times it seems when you lay your line and then you stop and drift and have breakfast. After breakfast you patrol your line.

KM: I see. You just leave the line out there?

WP: Yes. But you patrol the line. You patrol go in, and if any fish are caught at the time you had wooden floats, it's a certain, something like balsa wood. When you attach your line on the float you usually put it not right in the center I would say about just off center so that if you have a fish you're going see the float *'imo'imo* going up and down. Sometimes it just takes it down.

KM: Yes.

WP: That's why you know you got a fish on it so you pick up the other float and just bring it up. When you are patrolling, you're always checking whether there's fish on it by seeing the floats either disappear or it's going up and down.

KM: Yes.

WP: And we get on the other end. If there's fish we just put it on ice. Then we patrol back again that's another patrol. We patrol on the end we just finish. I think we made four patrols, because they find out there were a lot of sharks. And if you leave the fish too long the fish will get eaten by the sharks.

KM: Right, right.



WP: You patrol, you make four trips back and forth. And when you come the last trip back on the outer side when you setting the net, the end that you set, then you retrieve the lines and you start retrieving the lines maybe, lets say at three o'clock.

KM: The basket stays up and the hook line drops down?

WP: Yes. In the morning the first thing when you start fishing you have the baskets all set up, all joined together because every end underneath the basket the end of the basket you're going to have one heavy set line to attach the other basket which is on the top. You have an eye like so you *nāki'i*, you tie on to that line. When you're finished with the first basket, when you set the basket the vessel is traveling, the boat is traveling slow. maybe about three knots or something like that or you can go full speed. We're not geared or we go a little faster maybe four knots. As the main line goes out, then there's a person who just grabs the hook line, the hook line is attached to the main line. And then he flings out the bait and whatever line out, makes sure he flings the bait out and make sure the line spreads out so you continue on doing that until the end. So when you start pulling up, you pull up from the end that you finish setting.

KM: Right.

WP: In the morning, then you retrieve that line back and then when the... You see in one basket you get four hooks and one floater line in the center. You get two between the floater, you get a floater flag two hooks, a fish line, then there's a floater and then two hooks, and there's a floater and flag. And that identifies one basket.

KM: Amazing!

WP: It takes us about three hours to bring it in.

KM: Bring it in.

WP: Setting it out, maybe a good forty-five minutes. Maybe one hour.

KM: About forty fish per line here?

WP: At the time. I know we go out here we're just loaded with fish now. As soon as we finish breakfast the first patrol, there's three or four fish on the line. We pull that out and we come back we get another two, three fish on the line. Then we coming back again another two, three fish. End up we get about twenty fish. Unless we get one marlin that's fighting and all that it takes us a little time.

KM: Longer.

WP: What we do is, we did that I think twice. Come back in and unload the fish up until mid-day the second or third patrol or whatever. Sometimes we make the second patrol and that's it. We have maybe ten, fifteen, twenty fish and we would run back home. They are aware that we get lot of fishes, the trucks are right there. Mr. Manalili at the time is well organized, he has a lot of ice at Kalanihale. Kalanihale is right across of the ramp today.

KM: Yes the cement ramp. Kalanihale is right behind there.

WP: All his facilities Were there. Maybe he has two big ice boxes. We would unload the fish, come in by the wharf they picked it up, unload it and put it on the fish there and out we go again. Now we know the current is going down there maybe we end up seeing the line, we find the line right away. And there's another maybe twenty fish.

KM: Wow!

WP: By the time we come back it's just like a half night, just icing down fish and he has two trucks to haul his fish. Average, I would say at least fifteen fish per day. Which is every fish is at least hundred fifty to two hundred fifty pounds. Especially if you catch a big marlin maybe it's four, five, six, seven, eight hundred pounds. I think the biggest fish that was caught out here was a thousand two hundred and eighty pounds.



KM: Gee! Marlin?

WP: Marlin, yes. I recall that as the big one.

[Discusses currents and fish traveling inter-island.]

KM: You were talking about currents. Do the large fish travel even between the islands? Is there a relationship between?

WP: The migration like?

KM: Yes.

WP: The path. I think they do, yes. I think it depends on the area where you have smaller fish congregate. Lets say squid, *mūhe'e*, cuttlefish like that?

WP: Yes, cuttlefish or '*ōpelu* maybe. Where you find there's more because of contour maybe, of the area. Where you have uprising of more bait.

KM: Yes.

WP: More feed for the small fish so you find more planktons, small fish then you're going to have more big fish.

KM: That's right the feed fish. Yes, it's a system all related.

WP: Yes.

KM: If you mess up one part everything is messed up right?

WP: [chuckles] Or if you *kolohe* like in '*ōpelu* fishing, they're using this known as chop-chop, grinding up the '*ahi* or grinding up the '*aku* fish, *palu* in other words.

KM: Yes.

WP: You kind of foul up the system. Because what it does is it brings in predators and during the olden days, why it was *kapu*.

KM: Yes...

WP: ...Talking about these Japanese fishermen. And we haven't talked much about our *kūpuna* over here too. Coming back a little bit about the Japanese fishermen, what I recall, and was told, because maybe I'm too *niele* maybe. I liked to know.

KM: That's good.

[Discusses places of origin, and influence of Japanese fishermen in Hawaiian waters.]

WP: I'm always, in fact even a stranger, I always liked it or whether he's a *haole* or wherever stranger, or Hawaiian where he is originally from, who is his '*ohana* especially if *po'e kanaka*, Hawai'i. I'm like that, and this is how lot of my knowledge, knowing about these people. I should have some knowledge about them. Going back to the Japanese fishermen. I inquired, I asked, because they have their own organization because where they come from. And I don't know how to put it, they are clannish, but like anybody else if you come from one area you always stick together. So if you come from Hiroshima, they have their own organization. Same if you come from Kumomoto. So most of these fishermen here, that had arrived in Hawai'i were... Well, the Japanese population was getting bigger than the Hawaiian population in the early 1900s. I think about 1905, they brought in these Japanese. The simple reason was, the Hawaiians couldn't provide the Japanese population with enough sashimi fish. There were less people going out fishing to the *ko'a* and stuff like that, and the Hawaiians were catching mostly smaller '*ahi* from the *ko'a*. Big one's too, but not often I guess. Like I say the population of the Japanese...

KM: Was growing?

WP: And they're all *sashimi* eaters.



KM: Yes.

WP: That's why they brought in these long liners from Wakayama ken.

KM: Early 1900s?

WP: Yes.

KM: And Waka...?

WP: Wakayama.

KM: Wakayama.

WP: Yes, Wakayama ken, that's the village. And from Hiroshima, Yamaguchi ken, Kumumoto ken. I would say a lot of them were from Hiroshima.

KM: Is that Hiroshima or?

WP: Hiroshima.

KM: Okay.

WP: And Wakayama. Plenty from Kumumoto too. So, in Honolulu... Let me come back again. Hawaiians couldn't provide enough *sashimi* fish so that's why they brought them, and they brought in the carpenters too. To build boats, that's why you see these sampan built boats as traditionally, the Japanese type of design.

KM: Yes.

WP: That's the reason why these people were brought in. I got to know anyway why they were brought here at the very beginning. My in-laws are from Kumumoto, my wife is Japanese but born in Honolulu, in the Wahiawā area. Their family resided here some thirty years and then went back and come back. They were not fishermen, they were farmers. I've been to Kumumoto twice to my in-law's place. Okay, we're to fishing, I already discussed how many fish...

[Discusses the 'au Ka'ū and 'au Kona of the Minoli'i vicinity fisheries; and locations of ko'a 'ōpelu.]

KM: May I ask you then, when you and I were talking on Saturday, you mentioned a couple of things and there were a couple things from our earlier interview in July last year. I wanted to ask you, you'd been talking about currents. You noted that if it was 'au Ka'ū or 'au Kona. There was an importance in that and in knowing, I guess where you were going to set.

WP: Set, yes where you're going to set. Your long line, mostly or 'ōpelu.

KM: Yes, lets talk for your 'ōpelu. These are your native subsistence kinds of practices. I have a small map here of portions of the coast line. This was put together by people with Scott Atkinson, this is Pāpā Bay, here's Makahiki Point, Ho'opūloa, here's Miloli'i over here. These little grids, sort of mark an area in the ocean, the lighter lines here.

WP: Depths.

KM: Were there ko'a known to you folks all along the coastline here?

WP: Yes, for this area, you can put this on that map here.

KM: You can draw right on here.

WP: No...

KM: Better if you draw on here.

WP: Okay. [marking locations on map] You see Miloli'i over here, Ho'opūloa right over here.

KM: Just mark on here.



WP: Here's the *awa* over here. You come out to the area, say Miloli'i we get Ka'akuli. This is Ka'akuli *ko'a*.

KM: Was that one of your main *ko'a* for Miloli'i?

WP: Yes. This *ko'a* out here now. If the '*au*' was going to Ka'ū, going in that direction [south], then Kona in this direction [north].

KM: Yes. The '*au Ka'ū*' comes from the north going to Ka'ū, and the '*au Kona*' goes from the south up towards into Kona.

WP: Kona. Yes. This depth maybe a hundred to hundred fifty feet.

KM: It's a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet deep?

WP: Yes.

KM: It's about a quarter mile, half a mile off shore or?

WP: I would say about a quarter mile off shore.

KM: Okay.

WP: Sometimes it's much less because of the depth. Like this area here if the contour goes out a little. So generally you would know if you were a fisherman, you would know. Now for instance, I don't know what the current is now. Sometimes you can look at the '*ale'ale*', if the wind and the current is going to Kona so you have this turbulence on the surface. You have more waves, little small chops, you see more often and little white water and at times you look and it's the same amount of wind going Ka'ū. And then because the wind is from the north and it's blowing towards Ka'ū area. You would have a surface. If you see a lot of '*ale'ale*' this counter action. Today, we have the buoy out here for aggregation.

KM: Aggregation?

WP: Aggregation buoy, yes out here. You can see, this has plenty '*alu*' on the line. If you're going to Kona you would see it out here.

KM: Oh.

WP: I cannot see. Everybody can see, like lukini, from his house, he can see if it was '*au Ka'ū*' he can see.

KM: It would be angling towards Ka'ū.

WP: Angling that way because get plenty '*alu*'. The fishermen here, if they look they can see the buoy, that buoy is visible. They see and it's '*au Ka'ū*', they see it going over there it's '*au Kona*'. If you go daily and you know the '*au*' is going Ka'ū, it's steady every time you going out the same time. And then if it should change and you haven't determined and you go there and there's no more '*ōpelu*', then you know the '*ōpelu*' has changed. There's no fish or if you don't see the '*ōpelu kala*'. That's why if '*au Ka'ū*' going Ka'ū so the '*ōpelu*' is going to be out here.

KM: The '*ōpelu*' would be on the north side of the *ko'a*.

WP: North side of the *ko'a* and then if on the south it's out here.

KM: 'Ae. If it's '*au Kona*' they're on the north?

WP: Yes. So 'Ili'ilikou, you have one stone wall fence, that's your marker, just like. Or 'Ili'ilikou, the *ulu kiawe* and whatever. I think that's Waha who put up that *ko'a* over there. He put it up with a white *pōhaku*....

KM: That's the marker basically, then you know?

WP: Yes.



KM: Where you are?  
 WP: About a quarter mile. It continues on all around.  
 KM: All around the island?  
 WP: The island, yes.  
 KM: You said it's because of the currents?  
 WP: The currents yes.  
 KM: You would really find *ko'a*...if you went to go search, you could find the *ko'a*?  
 WP: Find the *ko'a*.  
 KM: Based on current.  
 WP: Current. This is how when I go up to all the countries, even the Polynesian countries that's the first thing I teach them about the current.  
 KM: To watch their current?  
 WP: Watch their current.  
 KM: You need to know the depth?  
 WP: It's easy you can look with the *pahu aniani* then right away you know '*ano papa'u*. Then you look at your landmarks, then you know you're in the right area. And then like the area will identify itself with the '*ōpelu kala* if you're fishing '*ōpelu*.

['*ōpelu kala* mark the *ko'a* '*ōpelu*.]

KM: That's what you had said earlier today was that when you went someplace like Wai'anae or something like that you didn't know *ko'a*, where they were before but the moment you saw an '*ōpelu kala*.  
 WP: *Kala*.  
 KM: You knew there was?  
 WP: Then you knew that a *ko'a* '*ōpelu* would be in the area.  
 KM: The '*ōpelu kala* is like the main leader of the?  
 WP: The identification, you determine once you see the '*ōpelu kala* you know you're on the right spot, and naturally if you knew the area then you wouldn't know whether you're on the spot for, lets take for instance we use this term Kona-Ka'ū, because if you go someplace else the contour of the land is different so it must go east-west you know.  
 KM: On O'ahu you had said '*au Ka'ena* or '*au Kalaeloa* when you were fishing in Wai'anae.  
 WP: Yes.  
 KM: It's the landmarks of those places?  
 WP: Landmarks, yes. You use that for all the *ko'a*, there's about half a dozen *ko'a*, maybe more in areas. Only thing is when they put the underwater buoys, it's kind of an off shoot like, it's been put there by just estimating the distance. Lets say from Wai'anae or Point Lahilahi to Mākua, there's ten buoys under water, about seventy feet under water.  
 KM: For real!  
 WP: Yes. *Pau i ka moku* already, they all disappeared because they break loose and they haven't replaced it. They put it in a depth of two hundred and twenty fathoms, twelve hundred feet. You cannot actually identify the *ko'a* if you don't have a bearing or a marker.  
 KM: Right.



WP: When they put that buoy there. Although they have it on the paper, latitude so and so. The fishermen don't know whether you're in the right spot unless you find it. You're going to attract fish anyway whether it's on the *ko'a* or not on the *ko'a* that's what I'm trying to explain.

KM: Sure.

WP: Because they are maybe not off the *ko'a* naturally it's in the depth but 'ōpelu all migrate from the depth to the shallow to spawn.

KM: I see.

[Use of fish aggregation devices.]

WP: You going to attract if you have a buoy there and you attach a netting like on it, it's to attract the small fishes. You are going to find 'ōpelu over there.

KM: What do you think about these fish aggregation devices?

WP: It's very good provided you can find it. But they do attract, why they put it in that depth it attracts *ono*, it attracts *mahimahi*.

KM: They congregate around this because what, small fish or something? They try to?

WP: Hide, yes.

KM: Then the big fish are going to come and look to eat.

WP: Now, it makes no difference what *ko'a*, what current with this system.

KM: Because it's *pa'a* at that place?

WP: Yes, at one place.

KM: As long as the anchor holds?

WP: Yes. But you are going to find 'ōpelu. If you get there you can tell what the *'au* is because you're going to see their trailers or whatever is attached to the underwater buoy. Below the buoy they would have netting, maybe fifty feet depth they attach to the cable. Then maybe stringing out maybe about twenty five feet. You are going to attract a lot of small fish. Every buoy you go is going to have fish.

KM: And the buoy doesn't have a marker on the surface?

WP: No, no more.

KM: And you said it's what fifty feet or?

WP: Sixty feet, seventy feet yes.

KM: Wow!

WP: But, they haven't replaced those buoys. So that made it easier for the fisherman if he knew he has a landmark. And you also, it's not easy but if you go to that area and you know just about where it is, and you going see 'ōpelu away from the buoy, but you can see that they are always facing towards the current also. And then to identify, if you look at the underwater buoy you can see how this netting is trailing.

KM: Right. You'll see it fluttering with the current?

WP: Yes, with the current, so automatically you know what current. If you're *Ka'ena* or *Kalaeloa* you know. Like here we don't have anything like that underwater but we have all these buoys out there in the deep that also attracts 'ōpelu.

KM: These are floating buoys, up high and it's just markers?

WP: Yes. Markers. The floating buoys, have these trailing nets and stuff like that.



KM: Those are out here even, Miloli'i?  
WP: Yes. And they have further out at Ka'ohē side one buoy called T.T. buoy, I forget what they call this one down here and this buoy out here. Miloli'i buoy and Kapu'a buoy.  
KM: Along the different points here, you know if you go like from Kīpāhoehoe and Napōhaku loloa, you know the arch rock stones. All along got *ko'a 'ōpēlu* like that?  
WP: Yes.

[Fishermen did not intrude into other lands and *ko'a*, there was no need to. Care for the *ko'a* and the fish, and they will care for you.]

KM: You folks fished all of this *'āina* when you were young?  
WP: No. Because from Miloli'i, the custom is you don't intrude into other areas. That's the system *manawa kahiko*, because you don't have to.  
KM: 'Ae.  
WP: And then they have this concept of *mālama* the *ko'a*, *hānai* the *ko'a* during the early season.  
KM: 'Ae. When would you go out to *hānai* the *ko'a*?  
WP: Generally in June and July.  
KM: June and July.

[Discusses the Ho'opūloa, Wai'ea, Minoli'i, Waikini, Laeloa, Ka'akuli, 'Ili'ilikou *ko'a*.]

WP: We would go out maybe for instance for the Paulo, they would feed the Ho'opūloa *ko'a*.  
KM: 'Ae. Here's Ho'opūloa and this is the bay, here's the point right here.  
WP: Yes, you would feed that *ko'a*.  
KM: From the point?  
WP: Yes.  
KM: Or in the middle of the bay area?  
WP: It's just a small little bay area right here.  
KM: Cove.  
WP: Yes. Outside it's the beginning of the *'au Ka'ū ko'a*.  
KM: Okay.  
WP: And then it's the *'au Kona ko'a* is right here.  
KM: Okay. And this is Wai'ea where your house is?  
WP: Wai'ea, yes.  
KM: Ho'opūloa *ko'a*, Wai'ea?  
WP: Wai'ea, that's one *ko'a*.  
KM: That's one *ko'a*.  
WP: But two areas.  
KM: In the area between that, depending on which current going Kona or Ka'ū?  
WP: Right.  
KM: Waikini you said is the next one?



WP: No. This is the Waikini and then for the Miloli'i it's just like outside of the wharf. Out here is the 'au Kona for the Ho'opūloa-Wai'ea ko'a.

KM: Wai'ea ko'a.

WP: But it's one ko'a but two areas to fish.

KM: And again about a quarter of a mile out or so?

WP: Yes. Miloli'i outside of the wharf, out there is the Ka'ū current, and just by Laeloa... it seems like it's a small area.

KM: Laeloa would be the Kona side of the Miloli'i ko'a?

WP: Yes.

KM: And the wharf? What's the name of the wharf area, you know where we launched the canoe?

WP: They call that Waikini.

KM: That's the area?

WP: Where we launched the canoe is Minoli'i.

KM: That little awa by the wharf?

WP: By the wharf that's Minoli'i.

KM: Does it have another name or is it Minoli'i?

WP: Minoli'i.

KM: Minoli'i is that spot there.

WP: That spot. And then to Omoka'a by the church.

KM: 'Ae, by the church, that is where Ka'akuli is in front of that area?

WP: Ka'akuli is little bit more down.

KM: On the point?

WP: On the point, just off Laeloa, maybe like where Waha them are, if you look out straight maybe from the end of the stone wall like.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: Then from Laeloa on you get this Ka'akuli ko'a, and that's just between Omoka'a and Kalihi.

KM: 'Ae, just that area between there?

WP: Yes. And then the 'au Kona area is 'Ili'ilikou, by the stone wall fence. Just past 'Ili'ilikou, you have a stone wall where the gate used to have a gate, just outside there. This ko'a that produces more fish, or eats better, is the 'au Ka'ū, current.

KM: 'Au Ka'ū.

[Discusses seasonal variations of fishing; kapu with strict penalties observed in the old days.]

WP: Anytime, anything it's 'au Ka'ū, you have a good possibility. But 'au Kona generally is not a good 'au. Somehow, 'oki loa, sometimes you skunk, you don't catch much.

KM: For real!

WP: Yes. They are not eating. Why, I don't know. I know when they are spawning that goes for the aku also and 'ōpelu. They just don't eat.

KM: When do they spawn?



WP: Like now this is March, but already I hear from Raymond that plenty *ho'olili*, grazing schools, that are grazing near the surface. They don't *lele*, they only graze.

KM: Just skim the surface?

WP: Skimming the surface. Whether they are spawning, I know at times when you see the ōpelu all in a circle, around, in a depth of about from thirty feet down to deeper. You will see this area.

KM: It's a ball?

WP: It's like a ball at the beginning but it takes off like a cone to the back of it. You would see like for instance if going *'au Ka'ū* you will see the cone is going *Ka'ū* with this big circle of fish just going like that. And most likely they are spawning and they don't eat.

KM: Interesting!

WP: That's the same for the aku. The aku you would see it on the surface breaking water not splashing or jumping.

KM: *Ho'olili?*

WP: *Ho'olili*. They are just circling on the surface. You would see all these ripples on the surface of the water and they are traveling pretty fast. As the females are ahead of the male she would let go her eggs and then the male would come and automatically discharge to fertilize the egg.

KM: Yes.

WP: As soon as the female lays it's eggs, the male will fertilize it.

KM: Amazing!

WP: They won't eat. You can throw all the *nehu*, especially the aku and the ōpelu, all the *palu*.

KM: They won't eat?

WP: They don't eat.

KM: In the old *mo'olelo a nā kahiko, ma mua he manawa kapu kō ka aku me kō ka 'ōpelu*...six months.

WP: Six months.

KM: No can catch aku, can catch ōpelu.

WP: *Kapu*.

KM: *Kapu*. And then it switches around.

WP: Switches around.

KM: You folks, you're *kama'āina* with those kinds of *kapu* or?

WP: At the time, no.

KM: Later on?

WP: Because of my reading, I don't know if it was *Kamakau*.

KM: 'Ae, *Kamakau mā*. It's as if the *kūpuna*, because they put these *kapu* on these things they recognized the spawning time or something to let it rest and the population would, you know...

WP: Yes. You wonder why it's a good system like for the ōpelu.

KM: Yes.

WP: I make presentations, I make sure to bring that up.



KM: 'Ae. And you greatly admire the knowledge of your *kūpuna* and the system that they developed.

WP: Yes. That's why I said, like for instance take a friend of mine who dives for fish all the time. You don't intrude into another area unless you ask.

KM: 'Ae, ask.

WP: And most times if you *hana pono*, if you're doing things right, like not using these different types of bait.

KM: Junk bait and stuff?

WP: Yes. Other areas *i ke au kahiko*, use their own methods. Like for instance the *'ōpae 'ula*, and you find it's being used at all times.

KM: Right.

WP: Like the *'ohana* Pai, *ka lākou 'ohana*, still use that type of bait, which is not *kapu* in Kona, in the Kailua area. So they would mix it up with little bit *palu* and discard it. It's part of the chum they use.

[Discusses *kapu* on types of *palu*, and problems with those who intrude into the Minoli'i fisheries.]

KM: Their *ka'a'ai* people they use *'ōpae 'ula* and *lepo* like that.

WP: *Lepo*, yes.

KM: You folks, like you described last time, *kalo* or *pala'ai* kind stuff like that.

WP: Mostly *kalo* and *pala'ai*.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: We at present, are not happy with the system that they can come and use this outlawed type of *palu*.

KM: It's outlawed by your folks tradition?

WP: Tradition, yes. I had a little problem with the person that told me that system, the *kapu* that was brought about in 1925.

KM: Yes, Yates them.

WP: Yes. Like I told you before because the Japanese always used this type of *palu*, either *aku* or *'ahi* because they have been catching *'ahi* and *aku* or whatever. If shark eaten, or whatever, that's the *palu* they used. So the Hawaiians complained to the officials. They should make this area *kapu*. That's why the whole Territory was *kapu*.

KM: That early in the 1920s?

WP: In 1925.

KM: Wow!

WP: Then they revised that *kapu* in 1952, I think. I think it was still Julian Yates. I don't know when he went retired, but I think he was still in politics. They only made it from... Well, it used to be that the whole Territory was *kapu* in 1925, and then they revised the *kapu* and only made it Ki'ilae to Kaulanamauna.

[Discusses the practice of *hānai ko'a*.]

KM: You folks, you were saying too, you have your main sort of *ko'a*, Ho'opūloa section, Minoli'i and then Ka'akuli. Did I hear from Kilipaki that you folks are working on trying to establish these *ko'a* so that only the families of this place can use them?

WP: No. The families of this place would *hānai* the *ko'a* during the *hānai* time.



KM: Do you *hānai* all year round or was it just a certain time?

WP: During my time it was just June and July.

KM: June and July.

WP: You will find most of them, you see the fish around in April and May. Lucky if you can catch a good amount of *‘ōpelu* during the early period, if they are eating well. Because I experienced during one *ho‘olili* that I was fishing with Kaupiko. One pull, *piha*, about forty *ka‘au*.

KM: Wow!

WP: It's *‘ōpelu* that was *ho‘olili*. It was a *ho‘olili* school, and it took the *palu*, and this one pull. So we had the net just *hei* with *‘ōpelu li‘ili‘i*. That's the biggest catch.

KM: Forty *ka‘au*?

WP: Yes, forty *ka‘au*. Like I said that was the biggest catch I ever caught. But generally we feed in June up to July. We would actually feed these *ko‘a* about every other day, maybe three times a week. We would feed the two *ko‘a*, we would go one *ko‘a* Ho‘opūloa, and at the time we were residing in Ho‘opūloa.

KM: ‘Ae.

WP: And this is how I know about *mālama* the *ko‘a*. You don't find anyone today in Miloli‘i...

KM: That goes out?

WP: That knew about *mālama* the *ko‘a*. And that I think prior to World War II maybe before I left we stopped. Nut about the early ‘30s up to maybe I would say ‘37, ‘38 maybe, in that time. Things stopped.

KM: Was that a part of because your *kūpuna* or elder *mākua* were still going out and then as they stopped going out...?

WP: Yes, that's right.

KM: The younger people didn't perpetuate that?

WP: They didn't perpetuate, continue.

KM: And there's value in that because you're going out, you feed them, you strike the side of the canoe to let them know you are there or?

WP: Yes.

KM: Did you have a set time that you would go out and feed?

WP: Yes.

KM: You're training them right?

[Ceremonial observances associated with *hānai ko‘a*.]

WP: Right. What a system. And then by *hānai* this *ko‘a*, you cannot fish on that *ko‘a* until time. Everybody, they kind of all know that the end of the month, everybody...

KM: Yes.

WP: They would have a little ceremony among themselves, only family. Your *ko‘a*, you feed that *ko‘a*. Say Paulo, make a little *pā‘ina*, *pu‘a ‘ele‘ele*, a small one, twenty-five pound pig. Just *pu‘a* and *mea ‘ai*, whatever. *I‘a*, *poke* and *poi*. That's all, nothing fancy.

KM: Yes.

WP: Then you go out and you would take the *iwi* of the *pu‘a*, you *mālama* that *iwi* of the *pu‘a*. You go out to the *ko‘a* and you *pule*, and then *ho‘oku‘u*, drop all the *iwi* in the water.



KM: *Iwi*, in a *pū'olo* or loosely?  
 WP: No, you have it in a *pū'olo* but you know...  
 KM: Then you open it?  
 WP: Yes.  
 KM: Was it *pū'olo* like *law's* kind or do you remember or just *'eke lauhala*?  
 WP: It's just in a... [thinking] because no more *lāʻī* but just in most times...  
 KM: Cloth wrapped up or something like that by that time?  
 WP: Every time they put it in one *welu*.  
 KM: In the *welu*. This was every year basically?  
 WP: Yes.  
 KM: When they would go out, the *hānai* time. Then when *pau hānai*, before you go fishing?  
 WP: Yes, you have this *pā'ina*.  
 KM: This *pā'ina* and papa them you said or the *kūpuna* they would *pule* and *ho'oku'u ka iwi pu'a*?  
 WP: Yes. Naturally *pule* for *mea 'ai i ka hale nei* but when they get out there it's in this *pū'olo* and drop it and they say a *pule* and then *pau*.  
 KM: Do you know out of curiosity, do you have some recollection of what the *pule* was about? Was it to *akua* thank you for or to make the abundance to catch good or?  
 WP: I just assumed at the time you don't realize but you just *ho'olohe* to the *pule*. Naturally you hear the word *iwi* and normally thanking, that's about all I remember.  
 KM: Because you know in the old days from *mo'olelo* we know that your *kūpuna* had *pule aumakua lawai'a*, they went *pule ho'oulu i'a*, to cause the abundance of the fish to increase like that. So something of that practice was still...  
 WP: Yes. I think that practice was probably more... [thinking] had more to what was during our time.  
 KM: Yes.  
 WP: Because you can see how our people have faded away.  
 KM: Yes, the change, the transition.  
 WP: Change, yes. *Maka'u* of their system.  
 KM: Yes. Did you folks keep a *kū'ula*?

[*Kū'ula* for *akule* was kept at Honomalino (Holomalino); describes *akule* fishing.]

WP: The only *kū'ula* I remember, they only talked, but then it doesn't ingrain into us, like for instance Holomalino.  
 KM: Honomalino.  
 WP: Yes. For the *akule*, there was a *kū'ula*, a real *kū'ula* above the shoreline not too far from the *kahakai*. I was wondering all the time how come that *ko'a* has not been destroyed by the *kai*. But then I think some heavy seas during the later years wiped it out. Because the *kiawe* trees I know it's still over there.  
 KM: And you said Holomalino?  
 WP: Yes.



KM: Okay, Holomalino in the bay?

WP: Yes.

KM: Mid bay on one point or another?

WP: No it's 'ao'ao o Kona where the sand, the 'one going on makai.

KM: Yes, yes.

WP: Then it's going to be all pōhaku.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: That turn, 'ano i loko, the kiawe tree is right there.

KM: Yes. Paepae, had a kahua or something?

WP: Yes, paepae.

KM: The ko'a and as you said had a kū'ula?

WP: Kū'ula.

KM: Set up on top?

WP: Yes, set up, it's almost square. I know because when we kālua the pig, this is fishing for akule, and all the po'e kūpuna from over here would go.

KM: Holo wa'a, go out to Holomalino?

WP: Yes, Holomalino. Holo wa'a and then we hiamoe over there.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: And wait, prepare the wa'a all with the 'upena and only one person has this 'upena, Hattie, she's a wahine, Pohina.

KM: Pohina.

WP: 'Ohana Pohina.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: She has this 'upena for akule. So we would use this 'upena. The one that was in charge of this operation was the papa of Abby Paulo, her who was a school teacher I think, in Miloli'i one time.

KM: 'O wai kona inoa?

WP: David Kaupiko.

KM: David Kaupiko.

WP: He was actually the minister of Hau'oli ka Mana'o, until he was 'ano kahiko and then Eugene Kaupiko.

KM: His nephew right?

WP: Yes, his nephew took over.

KM: So, you folks as families went to Holomalino, and someone took care of this ko'a or kū'ula?

WP: Yes.

KM: Did it attract the fish, is that what they said?

WP: Had the wa'a on the beach, all the wa'a. They had plenty wa'a over there, like half a dozen wa'a. Everybody hiamoe over there, mostly the elders and the young one's that



don't go to school like that. Wait for the *akule* to come in. While waiting they would have this ceremony, *kālua* the *pu'a* and *i'a*. We would stay there and *'ai*, we all eat together. This is all the *'ohana* all mixed up, different *'ohana*. Because catching *akule* is for everybody. I remember we waited for a few days. I remember the time before me going to participate, I probably never go but they went. They caught *akule* and came back.

KM: It was every year, an annual?

WP: Yes, it's mostly an annual thing, but the one I recall where I was involved is this particular time when we were camping out there. We were diving for fish to *mea 'ai* and stuff like that, waiting for the *akule* to move in. In the mean time it's moving in because the net is *'ano papa'u*, shallow. I would say maybe twenty-five feet. You have to wait till it comes in closer. Then we have at the *heiau* on the south side of Holomalino where the *'one* is, just a little *mauka* side you have a *heiau* in the *kiawe*.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: You have a lookout.

KM: The *kilo*?

WP: Yes. To observe and watch all the time. This time when I was, this *po'e mai Nāpo'opo'o*, they have a big *wa'a*, would come with their *'upena*. They threw and *hana pilikia* which is not *pololo*.

KM: It was not a Hawaiian value?

WP: Yes. Because these people, that *'ohana* still exists today, but had *ho'opa'apa'a*, the *po'e kahiko*.

KM: Because they intruded into your fisheries?

WP: Yes. And their alibi is, this is what I recall because they always used this term in the later years over here, more so when I left, and you hear the talk is, "We spend big money or we made loan, so we got to pay our loan." So your custom doesn't mean anything. One time this boy mentioned it, the *'ōpelu kapu* was not *po'e* Hawai'i was this *po'e haole*, in other words this was made by the legislature. But the legislature got it from the *po'e* Hawai'i.

KM: That's right it is tradition.

WP: Tradition.

KM: Penalty of death in the old days, if you took *'ōpelu* out of time...

WP: That I know... [chuckling]

KM: Yes. When you were at Holomalino, the *akule* would come in near shore. You folks would surround, *lau*?

WP: Uh-hmm.

KM: And everyone would?

WP: We would have two canoes. The two canoes would go outside and estimate where's the center and watching in the person.

KM: The *kilo*?

WP: Yes. Signaling with his flag or whatever. If you are in the center of the school then one *wa'a* would go in one direction, the other *wa'a* goes the other direction, you *ho'opuni*.

KM: You feeding out the net?

WP: Yes. And then you *pili*.



KM: Come to the shore?

WP: No. The *wa'a* come together.

KM: They encircle it, out in the bay?

WP: Yes.

KM: You don't draw it up to the shore?

WP: No. And then afterwards maybe if you look the *'upena* is little bit in the deep, then you draw it.

KM: Closer?

WP: Yes. And the thing is you only *lu'u*, you no more aqua lung.

KM: You just diving into with the net and you're taking the *akule*?

WP: No. Actually you would *huki* the *'upena*. But trying to keep the leads down, you would *huki* the outside, and inside that's why you have plenty guys *lu'u*.

KM: Wow! To keep the net down?

WP: Yes, and then *huki* more in.

KM: Amazing!

WP: For us, you see if the *'upena* is like this, when we are catching *nehu* we *ho'opuni*. All the *nehu* is inside here, the skiff over here, we would *huki*. But we would have one person on the bottom side in the water and putting in his *wāwae* trying to pull the *kēpau* with his *wāwae* to bring it in.

KM: 'Ae. To keep it closed?

WP: Yes. Keep it closed all the time. And in the meantime the nets is coming in. That's for the *nehu*. But then later on the new technique where they would put one board, *nāki'i* to the canoe, to the skiff and then you would have the *kaula* come underneath and they had one lead way in the back about forty pounds. They would pull this thing down and the *'upena* would just roll on these two rollers.

KM: Right.

WP: We would pull and get four rollers.

KM: Amazing!

WP: We would pull it. That's on the *aku* boat, how to catch *nehu* that way. So that if not, you have to dive from *ilalo*, the fellow down on the bottom you would *huki* the net together. They do that with *akule* when they are in the deep water. But then for the *nehu* somebody thought about this weight with this board that goes down, with the two wheels over here and the two end of the rope going this way and you would *huki*.

KM: Going up?

WP: Yes.

KM: Amazing!

WP: You have this thing goes down because it's forty pound weight it hukis down to the bottom. If not you have to have somebody down there. For us over here, we had *pilikia* with these *po'e* from Nāpo'opo'o.

KM: 'Ohana from Nāpo'opo'o.



WP: They little more *hakākā*. They went *ho'opuni* but all the *akule* run away. So *ho'i aku nei lākou*, go home *nele*!

KM: *Hele nele lākou*. Maybe the *kū'ula* went make the *akule* run?

WP: Later on, another day *komo mai ka akule*, we caught maybe, I would just estimate... I was young at the time, but you know that everybody had *akule*. Everybody, *mauka* here, whoever going here with the *ka'a* would take it up.

KM: Amazing!

WP: I myself do that now, if I get, last time I had *akule* with Kanuha, we went surround and his nephew brought the *akule* net from Kona.

KM: Kona, Kailua side?

WP: Yes. We *ho'opuni*. Before we went, I wanted somebody to *pule* so I was looking for Meha but nobody was there. So I seen Ben at the *awa* where we launch the boats. I said, "Ben, you say the *pule* for us." We had a crowd, which is something that you never seen in the past.

KM: For a long time.

WP: For a long time. Going out for *akule* and you see this crowd of about thirty people over there.

KM: Wow! Was that still out at Holomalino or were you folks in this side?

WP: From Holomalino.

KM: Interesting.

WP: Then we went to Holomalino and the *akule* was there, right in one area, right in the corner, the southern part. We set the net and we *ho'opuni*, it was a small school. It was quite interesting because that was the first time that I recall from the last time in the '30s that *akule* was caught by the village people.

KM: Wow! What year was this, when was this?

WP: This I would say was about four years ago.

KM: Wow!

WP: Enough. We caught about two thousand pounds, over two thousand pounds.

KM: You folks went *māhele i'a* with everybody?

WP: Yes. We already called the market to come. That was already arranged by Junior Kanuha, and Shirokawa from Ka'ū Market came with the *hau*, and everything, stand by. So we caught so we made delivery back and forth. Naturally the *'upena*, he has a lot of that. The good part is before we left Holomalino, Junior dove down and *halihali* all the *make* one's, *hā'ule* the one's *hā'ule* from the *'upena*. Before we left to come back, we retrieved all the nets onto the boat. In the net was all about five hundred pounds maybe more.

KM: Wow!

WP: And then we picked up the one's on the bottom, we didn't want to see that *akule* waste or drift up shore and then people might complain. We did that, we came back. We had coolers, I would say about six, nine hundred pounds of *akule* for everybody, for the village. They took about eighteen hundred pounds.

KM: Wow, amazing! Some catch.



WP: Right there, I took up some fish for 'ohana up at Pāpā, and they were really surprised. I went up there with twenty big *akule*, *mea nunui*. I sent some to Ocean View to auntie's son and then my brother Julian, so we shared some.

KM: Wonderful!

WP: Everybody had plenty *akule* after that. So that was for *akule*. 'Ō*pelu* when you think about it when it's time for harvest, everyone can go. After the first day we harvest from Ho'opūloa, or Ka'akuli maybe Kaupiko *mā* would go. Then thereafter you can go any...

KM: I see, they would cross over.

WP: Yes, cross over.

KM: As long as no one was maybe out using...?

WP: Usually they don't because they still have to plan, now we have plenty 'ō*pelu* so you just go to your *ko'a*. That system is, what a system!

KM: It is, yes.

[Use of the wrong *palu*, like "chop-chop," destroys the old system.]

WP: This other way today, you 'ā*nunu*, you go over there then you use all this *palu pilikia* you know, this chop-chop. You're just destroying the system, you're destroying yourself.

KM: That's right, yes. Like you said too, when the *pōwā* come in like that.

WP: Yes. In the olden days the reason why too is your bacteria sets in faster with having meat and fish.

KM: 'Ae. *Ma'i* then?

WP: Yes. It makes sense.

KM: Of course it does.

WP: This is why today, hopefully we can get back this system, revive this system and make it official.

KM: 'Ae. That's your hope here?

WP: Yes. It's not that easy.

KM: You have to reintroduce your own youth to it also, like you said the difference from when you were young, 17, 18 years old. Look at what you were doing already, compared to our youth today. You have to bring, that's again why we are gathering this information, trying to help so that people can maybe read a little also and say, "Wow, it's a good thing!"

WP: Yes. It's been around for hundreds and hundreds of years

KM: Yes, hundreds of years.

WP: Why destroy it.

KM: Your people are very proficient at their stewardship and use of the ocean. You know it's when economics came in that things started getting a little messed up.

WP: That's right. It's like Eric Enos at Wai'anae says, "The Hawaiian economic is fish and *poi*."

KM: 'Ae.

WP: The system, you destroy the system, you destroy yourself.



[Discusses deep sea fisheries around the Hawaiian Islands.]

KM: That's right, yes. You know, some people say Hawaiians didn't go far away off shore to fish. In your experience and I'm not talking now about after all the economic fishing came in and stuff. Did Hawaiians travel far from the shore to fish in the old days? If they wanted to go and get *'ahi* far out, or *aku* or in your experience?

WP: Not really, but if you listen to Mauna Roy, that we fished in these banks that are out here that's far out here these deep banks. During my time with National Marine Fisheries, we found all these banks outside of Honolulu about two hundred twelve fathoms deep. In other words about fifteen hundred feet deep. If two hundred fathoms deep that's twelve hundred feet.

KM: Yes.

WP: That's the shallowest bank, it's about 152 miles south of O'ahu. Then south east of O'ahu, you would find these banks of eight hundred fathoms banks, seven hundred, I think some four hundred. We sort of, during my time with National Fisheries we would do research in this area here. We found that they are not there all the time.

KM: The fish?

WP: Yes. But most of the time they are there, it was plenty, plenty, plentiful. *'Ahi* and *aku*.

KM: You know, off of 'Īlio Point, Moloka'i section what do they call it Penguin Banks or something?

WP: Yes, Moloka'i at Penguin Bank, yes that's one of the best bottom fishing areas.

KM: How deep is that?

WP: That's from around twenty eight fathoms, thirty, hundred eighty feet, two hundred feet.

KM: Did your *kūpuna* know about that?

WP: That, I don't recall.

KM: You never heard.

WP: I recall Penguin Bank when I was going to school, I never heard of it. But as soon as you go fishing in Honolulu then, and I'm sure the Hawaiians knew.

KM: Yes.

[*Aku* fishing and making *pā* in the South Kona region.]

WP: Because for sailing and fishing for *aku* over here, during the olden days, from what they talked about, for *aku*, they used to sail from Minoli'i here down the coast into the wind line, and then go right around. If *'ano mālie*, they would go to Kaunā and swing out and then come back in.

KM: Past Ka Lae, Kaunā and out?

WP: Yes, and out Kaunā that's Kaulanamauna as she's going out. If no more *makani*, if get *makani* then you cannot because the wind is strong. They would take a swing out, and by hearing that from the *kūpuna* and more so is my...well, I no call him dad, I call him uncle because he is *'ohana* to my mama.

KM: 'Ae. Paulo?

WP: Yes. This *'ōlelo* is through him, because he was one of the best fisherman I saw during my time over here. He went for *kā'ili*, for *he'e*, *lawai'a palu* with the *'ala'ala*.

KM: 'Ae.



WP: When he was healthy, he was the more constant fisherman that brings in a lot of fish. This area in Kapu'a, I guess they knew about this *pā*, a *pā* for *aku* fishing that grows under the *pōhaku*.

KM: At Kapu'a?

WP: Kapu'a area. When he goes out fishing for *he'e* or *kā'ili* for *moana* and things like that, he would observe all the time this area. Nobody knows this area in Minoli'i so I would dive down with a metal whatever, so that I can break the *pā* that's attached to the *pōhaku*.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: He would take just maybe two or three I think then he would bring it home and *kaula'i*, open it then he would make the *pā*. Make his own *pā*. His cordage would take a lot of time, he would have to naturally get a hack saw so he can shape it out. From one *pā* he'd make maybe three *makau*.

KM: For real! How big, it's a clam like?

WP: Clam, yes. It's not *nui loa*, too big compared.

KM: Hand size or smaller?

WP: A little bigger than a hand size. Not like the Tuamotu shells, *mea nunui*. I get some, not on display but I should bring it out.

KM: The *pā* would be maybe hand or bigger like that?

WP: Yes.

KM: And two sides, so she still opened?

WP: Yes. You can get three maybe from one side, three from...

KM: You would have to dive down?

WP: To break it off.

KM: Twenty, thirty feet or?

WP: No, about twenty five, yes.

KM: Wow, amazing! He knew this place though?

WP: He knew that place.

KM: What kind of coloring did these *pā* have?

WP: The rainbow color.

KM: Rainbow, *mūhe'e* like or something?

WP: Yes.

KM: Glitter?

WP: Glitter like, not glitter but...

KM: Iridescence...

WP: Yes, some lighter. That's why when you *lawai'a* for *aku* if the *aku* is eating *mūhe'e* so you use the one that's the coloring.

KM: Of *mūhe'e*.

WP: That's why you have three *makau* on one pole. The pole is kind of big, the butt is lets say about two and a half inch. Or maybe little bigger.

KM: Yes. That's 'ohe?



WP: Yes, 'ohe. It's long, maybe about twenty feet.

KM: You get three *pā* on one pole?

WP: Pole.

KM: It depends on what they're eating.

WP: Eating. If they feeding on *mūhe'e*, then you let your *pā* kind of the one with colors, the reddish more and if it was silvery maybe eating small 'ōpelu silvery or another fish we call in Japanese, I don't know what is the name of the fish *uchigi*, but anyway it's the silvery type of fish. I don't know maybe that's 'ōpelu because besides the *mālolo*, oh the *mālolo*.

KM: *Mālolo* also, yes.

WP: Yes. It's silvery most.

KM: 'Ae. If the *aku* is feeding off of the 'ōpelu or *mālolo* like that there's another *pā* that's silver in color and then a third *pā*?

WP: Usually it's an off color a little bit.

KM: Some off color. Amazing!

WP: Yes. You have three on your pole attached. It's attached to the tip. You still have two and in case it breaks or something like that.

[Aku fishing from canoe, outside of Kapalilua.]

KM: You would go out aku fishing when you were young or your dad was telling you?

WP: No, I went fishing.

KM: You went, canoe?

WP: Canoe.

KM: Wow! How far out you had to go for aku? Close?

WP: Sometimes 'ano *pili*, can see all the aku breaking water out here.

KM: Near the shore. And other times a mile or?

WP: Yes. And I can tell you I think I'm the only one left that went fishing aku.

KM: In that old style.

WP: In the old style.

KM: Of the people out here yeah?

WP: Yes. There were other fishermen like Kaupiko, Ka'imi, Kapela's father.

KM: Yes.

WP: I don't know about Kaupiko, because they kind of already 'ano *kahiko*. Most times you see Kaupiko, Ka'imi Kaupiko and his family, uncle Kūkulu too, Kuahuia. But Paulo, he had the best *makau* because every time he goes, we catch. And interesting I think I mentioned this about the system of how. You have four people on the canoe, when you *hoe* out to the school, because you can see the school breaking, the birds flying. We approach the school from the side, trying to come alongside it. And going down wind with it, whatever. Most times it's going Kona maybe the 'au.

KM: Yes.

WP: They going but as they are going up, they all, 'ōpelu, aku it's just like mostly to me is, they always swim against the current.

KM: Against the current. Into the food right. [chuckling]



[Water sprinkled on the ocean by old Hawaiian fishermen, while *aku* fishing.]

WP: Into their food, yes. And when you get nearer to the school then the *po'o*, he's the main fisherman, would turn around and the three would paddle. He would turn around and then he would put the *makau* in the water. Then he would *kahea*, "*E aula mai, aula mai.*" And then he would use his right hand if he's left handed, he tried to *pīpī* the *wai*, scoop the water with your hand, your palm.

KM: Yes. Scoop?

WP: Yes, scooper [gestures]. And you *kiloi* this *wai* on to the *makau*. Quite a ways out in the back, the *makau* so your pole is about almost eighteen feet in length and with the hook, maybe it's about one or two foot shorter, the line that is attached to the *makau*. You got to catch this *i'a* right underneath your arm. You hold the *'ohe* with your left hand and you butt it right between your legs you make one *'eke* like that to protect yourself. And then your right hand you would *pīpī* the *wai ana* on the *makau*. He is always calling "*E aula mai, aula mai.*"

KM: *E aula mai.*

WP: Yes. I don't know what is the term of that the meaning of "*E aula mai, aula mai.*" And then when he bites because we are not supposed to look in the back, you *hoe* where the *aku* is going in the direction. Then we catch one he would say, "*Mau.*" And with his left hand he would pull that *'ohe* towards himself, then he would change his right hand a little higher of your left hand, then his left hand would prepare to catch the *aku* underneath his arm. Then you *hemo* the *makau* and you drop the *aku* into the canoe.

KM: Amazing!

WP: And we would do that same on the *aku* boat. That's the technique, at the time that system. Now the Japanese never knew about this sprinkling of the water on the hook trying to distract the area.

KM: Right.

[Japanese fishermen modified the Hawaiian practice of sprinkling water on the sea when fishing for *aku*, and later developed a sprinkler system for that purpose.]

WP: But the Japanese, *Kepanī* seen that so what they did is this can cream they would attach it to the bamboo and then attach it to their belt waist like, we have all *kimono* like that, to protect yourself. You always have a *pāpale* to protect your face if the *makau* opens. *Nāki'i*, you tie this long bamboo, the Japanese would attach this can cream in the back of the opening they would open it all up. In the back part attach it with ropes and stuff like that. And then they would drop it down to the surface of the water and attach to their *kimono* belt, and then they would sprinkle that water.

KM: Yes.

WP: Throw it out.

KM: They would scoop the water and sprinkle?

WP: Sprinkle it out.

KM: May I ask you an embarrassing question. This *makau*, the *pā* that you're talking about. It's actually not trailing in the water, it's above the water?

WP: On the surface.

KM: It's on the surface.

WP: It's trailing back.



KM: It's trailing on the surface of the water?

WP: On the surface.

KM: But still attached to the 'ohe?

WP: 'Ohe, yes.

KM: The 'ohe you said is eighteen feet long about or something. The line dangles off of the 'ohe.

WP: The line is about one foot shorter, the line to the *makau*. Maybe about fifteen inches away from the butt, from the bottom.

KM: Amazing!

WP: And we fished the same way. The *Kepanī* seen that method, and they invented their own method with the [empty] can cream.

KM: 'Ae. Interesting.

WP: Before then, they didn't do it, but when they seen the *po'e Hawai'i* sprinkling with their hand, cup their hand and sprinkle water on the *makau*, they thought about this. Then afterwards they thought about pump, that guy there, he was a lazy guy but he thought about the pump.

KM: They got the sprinkler going?

WP: Sprinkler going in the back. Now, that water just sprays out, there's a little pump. If you don't have the sprinkler going and your pump breaks down, if you had the sprinkler going lets say if you're going to catch ten thousand pounds of fish. You lucky you can catch a thousand pounds or two thousand pounds, at the most without the sprinkler.

KM: Yes.

WP: What they do is, right away they go home and make sure they get their mechanic or the repair man to fix that at all costs, "fix it tonight so that tomorrow we can go."

KM: Yes, interesting. This idea of sprinkling, is it like it makes the fish think that *nehu* are jumping or?

[Use of *ītao*, *nehu*, and later tilapia and mosquito fish as bait for *aku* fishing.]

WP: It agitates, a little bit of agitation because even if you no more with the *makau* with the pearl shell you don't need the sprinkler because they are going to attack that hook hard. Naturally you're paddling, you're moving but somehow this...because the bait the *maunu* usually they try certain bait, swim slow, certain one's swim fast, certain one's jump. If you use *ītao* and he *lele*, he jumps. He is active. So if you get *ītao* bait the *aku* would be after it real strong. if you use *nehu* they're little slower so when he bites the hook, he bites it slow, gentle. They are not fast swimming, if you use *tilapia*, we use the baby *tilapia* it moves very slow or mosquito fish they call it, that's in the ponds that we catch here.

KM: Right.

WP: I know the *haole* name but I forget now. They move slower so the *aku* are just gently attacking that hook. It's easy with this slow, swimming bait compared to the fast. When we introduced the Marquesas sardines from Tahiti, that one moves fast. When he attacks the bait he attacks strongly, fast. He can you're your *mākoī*, he can pull your bamboo in the water if you don't watch out. And they don't like that, it scares all the fish when this bamboo is pulled into the water.

KM: Yes, into the water. You get your hook off your line, off your bamboo just going. That's just amazing!

WP: Just imagine you can catch... [chuckling]



KM: And with the canoe, because you're paddling, you're only going to go as fast as the three guys can paddle.

WP: Paddle, so not too fast.

KM: Yes.

WP: The *pā* is very attractive.

KM: That's it just like *lūhe'e* when the fish *puni* those things right? Your papa them they studied that and knew?

WP: Yes.

KM: Amazing!

WP: Amazing, yes... [Discusses proper name of Keawa'ula, Wai'anae, erroneously called Yokohama.] There is a beautiful Hawaiian name, the rightful name.

KM: 'Ae, beautiful.

WP: Beautiful name, Red Bay. And the reason why is because when it rains all the red dirt comes off Ka'ena Point, Mākua Valley, and also when the *mūhe'e* is attacked by predators and when they all fly. You see them fly and you see them spreading all this *'ala'ala*, red ink.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: Into the water and the whole water just like an acre of them, it just turns red.

KM: Amazing...! I don't want to talk you out.

WP: No.

KM: There was a time in your life that you went and spent some time living down at Mokauea or Sand Island side just fishing. That led to eventually to your connection with Ka'ala Farms and the *'ōpelu* project.

WP: Yes.

KM: You also shared with me that you used to fish at 'Īlio Point, Kaumālapa'u like that.

WP: Yes.

KM: So you fished all over. Some history though, it's amazing! What was it like fishing off of Sand Island, Mokauea.

WP: It was mostly for *'ōpelu*.

KM: You folks knew and developed *ko'a* over there also?

WP: Yes. Actually we didn't stay at Mokauea, we all had our own homes. I think we took advantage of the area. We had one brother he was in the Merchant Marines, he joined somebody that was camping there. Afterwards Puhipau says, Frankie, he was in the Merchant Marines. He gets off and he doesn't go back to San Pedro, he gets off over here. So he met somebody and joined with them, and pretty soon, he says, "We have a bunch of guys down there." So Puhipau found out and Puhipau got to join them. Then my brother Julian them, then Bobby, then me. So that's how we got to establish a little village over there. There was a total of about a hundred and forty people. But all never resided at that area, they would just come down. Like aunty Pō'ahā and Sonny Pō'ahā, they lived up Pu'unui. But they had a place down there. We had Sonny Smith from Ho'okena, over here, and his was Marian Cho. They had a place too, down there. There was quite a few of us, all from Kona.



[Discusses fishing at various locations around Lānaʻi, Molokaʻi, and Oʻahu, and at French Frigate Shoals, Laysan, Pearle, Hermes, and down to Midway; and thoughts on management and restoration of main-island fisheries.]

KM: You folks spent time at Sand Island. Was it brother Tony or someone who built a house right on the water even?

WP: Yes.

KM: You folks would go off of Honolulu or that section? You would find the *koʻa*, you would go for *ʻōpelu* like that?

WP: Yes.

KM: Did you go out and feed them like how you were taught here, raised up here or?

WP: At the time we never, we just went and found the *koʻa* then we knew where the *koʻa* was.

KM: Yes.

WP: By our constant fishing generally the *ʻōpelu* are there all the time. I remember when Charlie Spinney used to, during the war time, we used to always go *ʻōpelu* fishing right outside of Kewalo, then outside of Honolulu. You get an idea where the *koʻa* is.

KM: Right. Amazing! Around Oʻahu your experience was from Honolulu and then you said Waiʻanae like that, there are *koʻa* all around?

WP: All around, yes.

KM: And the current they're going to follow?

WP: And I fished outside of Kāneʻohe, Mokumanu in that area, because from one side is kind of shady from the wind so we stayed on the opposite side. The depth was deep enough for setting the net and then in Lanikai also. There's an island out there.

KM: Yes.

WP: There's plenty *ʻōpelu* over there. And so is Hanauma Bay. The area in Hanauma Bay, the *waha* part, just outside.

KM: Yes.

WP: We fished outside of Waikiki.

KM: Do you think that fish like on Oʻahu there is actually a tradition about the certain types of fish starting at Puʻuloa and they travel around the island and go for part of the season on the windward side. Do the fish travel around or do they stay pretty *paʻa*?

WP: I don't think so that they traveled.

KM: You don't think so.

WP: The only one that travels is the *ʻanae*.

KM: *ʻAnae holo*?

WP: Yes. From Molokaʻi. At times they traveled from Molokaʻi to Oʻahu because as the Kepanī was telling me about schools. I never see, but that's what they told us, that they see schools traveling. Just like one *hoʻolili*, like.

KM: ʻAe. Do you have thoughts about the Leeward Islands, in the islands, the establishing of a preserve up above?

WP: Northwest?



KM: Northwest Hawaiian Islands? Do you have thoughts about that, is that, do you think that those Northwest Pacific Islands are a source of restocking for the lower islands in your experience?

WP: If you look again, I've been to all those islands and the French Frigate, Laysan, Pearl and Hermes, down to Midway. I've never been to Kure. There is fish like moj, fish like 'anae (mullet) very plentiful, akule also. We used to catch a lot of moj, in the French Frigate and places like that. Mostly French Frigate. And I noticed one thing, we don't see much eels in those areas like you see here. The reason is the seal likes to feed on eels too. That's why when you swim around you don't see, very few eels. Plenty of Hawaiian seals...

KM: When you were young did you ever see a seal out here?

WP: No. Someone mentioned something someplace. I've seen seals on Ni'ihau. The time I went with your papa, with the old man Dick Carpenter, we were there to relieve the other crew, he had his boat in Kāne'ohe, he had a good size fifty foot sampan type. We went there to relieve the first crew... Anyway, when you say re-propagate the area, that 'ōlelo was mentioned to me just the other day. I think it was Kanuha talking with the Hawaii Fishery Council people. One of the scientific personnel, why can't you go and introduce some of those fish over here.

KM: From up there to down here?

WP: Yes, bring it back here. When you look again today, they are raising moj off 'Ewa Beach.

KM: Right, in a fish farm?

WP: Yes, in a fish farm. In a depth of sixty feet. I seen the diagram.

KM: Yes.

WP: We're going to look into that area, it might be there during the off season too. They might not leave the area, the 'ōpelu. I'm talking about the 'ōpelu because they actually are feeding these fish that's in the traps.

KM: Right. And get the *koena* outside.

WP: The *koena* outside so they are feeding on that area. I got word from Eric, he said he got word from the guys who dive, there's a lot of 'ōpelu in there. It's just like a big buoy outside of Kalaeloa.

KM: That's right, sure.

WP: That big buoy, one buoy belongs to Pacific Refinery and at one time you couldn't fish around the buoy. I think it's still there, that's where we go 'ōpelu fishing, because that buoy is a big buoy it's just like this house big.

KM: Wow!

WP: Half I would say, or maybe bigger. And it's attached to eight long chains with an anchor.

KM: *Pa'a*?

WP: *Pa'a*. The chain goes out a thousand feet one way, the other one, there's eight legs just like the *he'e*. All this 'ōpelu, all this other fish had been attracted to that buoy, it attracts more fish than anywhere else that I seen. From *kāhala* to *kawakawa* and whatever. The Coast Guard has a big sign on it.

KM: [chuckling] No fishing?

WP: No fishing within thousand feet.

KM: *'Auwē!*



WP: I had an encounter with them. They tell us not to go there so I said, well, when they approached me one time, and good thing I had this one fisherman, this Pākē. A good friend of Hayden Burgess. He likes to go out every time, he is my *kōko'olua*. Somebody told us to leave the area. We says, "When we're ready."

KM: [chuckling]

WP: He says, "If you don't leave, we're calling the Coast Guard." I said, "Well, that's your prerogative, you want to call the Coast Guard you go ahead and call the Coast Guard." All of a sudden about half an hour later, we see a big white splash like something fast, a boat. You see the white water coming way off Pearl Harbor, I said, "That's the Coast Guard." I bet you they're coming and going to tell us to leave. I said, I tell you what we do, we go way out, it says over thousand feet, estimate over thousand feet and wait and see what happens. We waited and all of a sudden, they didn't see us on the radar because we're low. We were on his port, over a thousand feet. They turned around and had a big blue light and like a siren going on. He pulled along side and he said, "You guys are in a restricted area." I says, "How far are we from the buoy? We're not."

KM: [chuckling]

WP: He said, "You are, we got a report." He said, "You better leave." "I think I'll leave when I'm ready to leave." I said, "You know my ancestors had fished this area for hundreds of years. This is one of the best fishing areas." I just told them that." And I really want to fish. I fish for my family, my livelihood is fishing. My ancestors and now you have this big buoy here, what does it do, it attracts all the fish from everywhere. There's no fish on that side, no fish on this side it's all over here. Tons and tons of 'em." He was very good, he was listening to me and I said, "And you, Johnny come lately and tell me to move." He said, "You better leave." I said, "When I'm ready, I'll leave." He said, "You better leave now." I moved the boat slow, he just followed me. Then afterwards I got a warning.

KM: Amazing!

WP: I told Hayden about it. "That's okay we'll go to court," I go down and see. "It's just a warning now telling you not to go there." When we had the presentation at the University of Hawaii, I was asked to come. [goes to look for a newspaper article regarding the incident] Uncle Eddie Ka'anā'anā and I went, Alan Murakami, Napoleon, she was with Hui Na'auao at one time, Lynette Cruz too, and Thomas Field a *hapa-haole* boy with the Fish & Wildlife, responsible for fishing. He was the only one, the personnel in the Coast Guard that's dealing with the fishing areas and stuff like that. We all made a presentation, our *mana'o* about fishing. We also came out strong about over fishing. He brought up this subject about that incident in Kalaeloa. He said I don't know if I'm going to have a job after, but about our Hawaiian Rights. He came out strong, and that *kapu* of the thousand feet has been lifted. So I noticed after he told about our incident, that they made some changes because actually the buoy doesn't belong to the Government although it's for the private.

KM: Yes, it's a private sector. It's the oil refinery stuff right?

WP: Yes. Afterwards we went back again and we found a different sign now. Stay away from the buoy, I think a hundred feet away from the buoy and no smoking. And this was put up by Pacific Refinery and not by the Coast Guard.

KM: Good though. You brought up a really interesting point though, is that they've got this big thing out here now and the fish have left their other grounds and gone to it, right?

WP: Yes.

KM: It impacted the ability of a fisherman?

WP: To livelihood.



[Thoughts on how to protect and ensure the well-being of fisheries in the Hawaiian Island — Return to the traditional Hawaiian system of fisheries management.]

KM: Yes. Interesting. What do we do to insure that there will be fish in the future? You mentioned that you folks at the university spoke about the problem with over taking, or taking too much. What do we do to ensure that fish will, that you can still go fishing?

WP: I was also approached by one retired DLNR personnel, and he resides in Maui. I was coming home that day from fishing, I went out myself, I came back and I had about a three hundred pound ‘ōpēlu. Here was this Japanese person parked alongside the little pier at Kīhei Lagoon. He just came back from looking for *he‘e*. He had a good amount of *he‘e*, maybe ten or more. He said, “I see you went ‘ōpēlu fishing with your net,” because he said that he seen people fishing with net in Lāhainā. He gave me his name but I *poina*, but he has a Hawaiian *inoa*, *‘Īao*. He was born in the valley of *‘Īao* on Maui. His father gave him that name. He said, “I like diving for *he‘e*, today I’m lucky.” I said, “I’m lucky too, I got about three hundred pounds.” We talked and we exchanged, he gave me two big *he‘e* so I gave him one *ka‘au* ‘ōpēlu. He said, and I’ll never forget and I use this when I make presentations. “You know I work for DLNR in Maui and I know about fishing.” He said, “There are two things that went wrong, one is the State of Hawai‘i has done a poor job with the environment in the ocean, and the next is the Federal Government. What they should do is give it back to the Hawaiians.”

KM: ‘Ae.

WP: “And use the Hawaiian system.”

KM: Exactly. A Hawaiian system where you are monitoring, you know who’s catching what, there were times when you didn’t go like you said times that you feed. Sort of based on that *kapu* and *konohiki* right?

WP: Right.

KM: That’s a system that sustained thousands and thousands and thousands of your *kūpuna*, yes?

WP: Unbelievable. You see all of those things come to you in your life, you encounter people who has that *mana‘o*, that thinking about that system using that system. That’s why he said, “Give it back to the Hawaiians, they know what to do.”

KM: Yes. Which is again, part of this thing. If we can record some information and help, because now it’s not just Hawaiians right?

WP: Yes.

KM: We got to get everybody into it and realize that there’s value in the system. That you respected, if you were from Minoli‘i, Ho‘opūloa you didn’t go down to Ka‘ohe and go fish. You shouldn’t have been coming from Nāpo‘opo‘o to take the akule at Holomalino right?

WP: Or even coming here fishing for ‘ōpēlu if you *mālama* your area.

KM: ‘Ae. That’s right, if you *mālama* your area, you’re always going to have, right? But when you over take, over use, and because see today... The thing is, in 1900, Annexation in 1898, in 1900 with Territory, the Organic Act and they began breaking apart the private, the *konohiki* fisheries. Up to that time everyone had a responsibility, if you take fish you’ve got to be responsible. They broke that responsibility and so now you can go anywhere, if you come from Maui and you want to go fish over here, go. That’s just like, no one is responsible, take everything in your house, go take from everybody else’s then.

WP: That’s what is happening today.

KM: The system changed.



WP: And that change included people of different ethnicities.

KM: That's correct.

WP: It happens to this village too.

KM: 'Ae. Within our own native people.

WP: Yes.

KM: "I better take 'em before somebody else does," right?

WP: [chuckling] Yes, that's the *mana'o* now.

KM: *Aloha*.

WP: And you don't blame these people, the outsiders, different ethnic groups that migrated to the village and stuff like that, because our people too had this change of concept, *mana'o* or custom. I hold the people that's from here, I'm not blaming...

KM: No, it's a shared responsibility though.

WP: Yes.

KM: Everyone has a responsibility for the problem.

[The American system disregarded the Hawaiian subsistence practices in favor of economic and commercial uses of the fisheries.]

WP: Our *kūpuna* were...I look at when I left, sort of not disregard, but going with the time. So all this happening today is the change because of the war.

KM: The whole system though was set up. They were teaching you even in school, "You got to get ahead, you got to earn money, all these things, to get it." It was no longer like you said, "A fish and *poi* subsistence." It was, "Get the dollar so you could go out and buy it."

WP: You hear that too, right here. I hear that myself right here, since I came back. "Why learn Hawaiian, you aren't going to get nothing." Then I put up my argument, I going say, "If you look good, you don't see the respect." The young children have in general, they don't have that respect. You talk about education, I see, I can take your non-Hawaiians, or Hawaiians that don't speak Hawaiian and in education wise, and also this attitude, the kind of thinking. I'll compare, like this *Pūnana Leo*, learning Hawaiian. They say "you aren't going get nowhere." I tell, "That's what you said..." The respect that you get from the children at *Pūnana Leo*, and I see who are better...

KM: 'Ae. It's embraced in the language.

WP: Yes.

KM: And in the values that are taught there.

WP: They show you that.

KM: Yes.

WP: Those are the kinds of things that our people forget and like you just mentioned now it's the *kālā*, everything is the *kālā*. You come my house, "Uncle, you want to buy fish?" For us you know, in our days our *kumu kula* we don't forget we got to take over there. Ah, if Mahina doesn't show up, we go find out why he doesn't show up. Maybe *ma'i* or something like that. Or Keli'ikaua no show up, or Kamaka, because when we come home from *ōpeli* fishing, and they always come down, put the *lona*, and we already know. There's no such thing asking the person.

KM: That's right, you automatically...



WP: They automatically take just what they want. They like *kaula'i* a little bit, they take more. That was the system.

KM: It's a wonderful way that you folks...

WP: You *aloha* that system, it makes you think all the time.

KM: Yes. Keen observers of everything around them. Even people's attitudes and what.

WP: That's what we lose here.

KM: May I ask you, do you recognize these two plants?

WP: Yes. This is the branches...

KM: Two different ones, almost the same.

WP: Almost the same?

KM: Yes.

WP: One bigger leaf.

KM: Yes. When you talk about again and just observing and things like this the *kūpuna* had sometimes they said certain things blossoms, certain thing occurs.

WP: 'Ae.

KM: These I picked on the road coming down home here today to see you. This one is *māmane*. Do you remember hearing that name, *māmane*?

WP: *Māmane* or *māmani*?

KM: Yes, *māmane*, *māmani* depending. This one more commonly now is called *kolomona*.

WP: *Kolomona*.

KM: Or else *hāuhiuhi*.

WP: It grows like, it's not a tree.

KM: It's a bush. Doesn't grow big like a tree, no.

WP: *Kula nei* you see.

KM: On *kula* that's right. Did you ever hear something about these plants that they bloom?

WP: No. This is what now?

KM: The most common name is *kolomona*. *Hāuhiuhi* is an old name that was given for it and then *māmane*. They are both in the same family. I was curious if you'd heard anything about them.

WP: No. Just write it down for me.

KM: I'll leave these for you. The smaller leaf one is *māmane*.

WP: That's a tree.

KM: 'Ae, it's a tree. This grows from here your *kula* land all the way up to 10,000 feet on Mauna Kea and up on the slopes of Mauna Loa. The *kolomona* or *hāuhiuhi* grows *kula* and a couple of thousand feet up.

WP: Sort of like a vine but it's not a vine.

KM: Yes, long running branches.

WP: I know this one here all the time, if it bushes up into a...this is the *kolomona*. [discussing more of these plants]



KM: I've heard from aunty Hannah Grace Waha Pōhaku, say "*Pua ke kolomona kū ka 'ōpelu.*" Did you hear anything you think like that?

WP: No, I never did.

KM: Hmm. But you know that's what they say certain things, *pua ka hala momona ka he'e* or different things like that.

WP: Yes.

KM: Even after the *kope* was introduced a little further towards the Kealakekua side they say, "*Pua ke kope ku ka 'ōpelu.*" Different things, the seasons you know like that. Interesting how people observe things. I was just curious if you'd heard?

WP: No. As my growing up because I *pili* Ka'anā'anā and *tūtū* who was the grandfather, David Keli'ikuli Ka'anā'anā, *wala'au* Hawai'i. My mama was born over here but raised in Kaka'ako. Our grandfather and grandmother died, so she was a young girl, so she had to be brought back. I don't know maybe *hilahila* to *wala'au* Hawai'i, but every time kind of hold back, learned because of the system *a'ole wala'au* Hawai'i especially you see in Honolulu.

KM: Oh yes, they *ho'opa'i*!

WP: Yes, *ho'opa'i* that's right... Our grand uncle, Makahalupa, was a judge in Ho'okena, Keālia side. He was in Kalahiki, so we were raised up with our aunty too. So when she came home, she stayed with aunty Maggie Ka'ai. Her husband was already *kahiko loa*. He was the first judge they had in Ho'okena. They had the court house and *hale pa'ahao*, just south of Ho'okena school. There is a big area there, all open, a nice area. He was the first judge, then later on came to Thomas Ha'ae. That's my *'ohana* too. My mama spoke Hawaiian, but not around us.

KM: Yes, the school system was telling them, "Don't speak Hawaiian to your children." Even when you were going to school. Did you go to school down here or up Pāpā?

WP: Over here.

KM: Down here. You folks spoke English in school all the time? Even if you had Hawaiian teachers?

WP: We only had one time, Mrs. Esther Peters, *kāna kāne mai Kaua'i*.

KM: 'Ae, Kaua'i. Kalihi Wai side, Wanini.

WP: Wanini. What's that other area?

KM: Hanalei.

WP: Hanalei.

KM: They were from that side.

WP: That side. Here father was Woodward, *kahuna pule* for Kāhikolu. And she was *kumu kula* over here for a few years. I learned a lot more of the Hawaiian history. But you still didn't learn about the overthrow. That was not taught... Things like that, just something simple. Today, for me I look we sure missed out on a lot of things that we could have learned more about. When you look at the *puke*, and you look at the *po'e kahiko*, I feel sad. [discussing OHA video regarding overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy] ...And the *'ōpelu* fishing, everybody has seen that video at one time or another time.

KM: Yes, so wonderful!

WP: Yes. There was a gathering, a meeting at King Kamehameha, international people and officials from the government came. Kitty Simons is in charge of the Western Pacific Fishery Regional Council. I had the opportunity to show the *'ōpelu* fishing tape, and I said, "I'm going to show, 'We Are Who We Were.'" That tape. That was made for Keanu I think



by Puhipau. I tried to chicken out the last minute [chuckles]. I looked and saw all these government officials and all the Coast Guard people, officials from Washington. Kitty Simon's said, "Oh no, you show it." Ruby McDonald too said, "You show that video." "Okay, you folks sit down with me at the table, I can hold your hands" [chuckling]. I showed the ōpelu and had a big ovation, everybody clapped. Then I said, I've got something pertaining to the overthrow. So I showed them, "We Are Who We Were." And you know, a lot of people came up and said, "This is something that we've never known." Yes.

KM: *Mahalo!* It's so rich your history and that you are willing to share some of this, because people can be touched by your words and maybe we can plant some seeds of awareness.

WP: Hopefully, yes. I try to be more patient because you see. I'm happy I had the opportunity to be involved with *Ka'ala Farm 'Ōpelu Project*. At the very beginning we had nothing, 'Ōpelu Project and when Eric invited me so we went up to the farm. When you think about the connection between myself and him and the rest. Later on I got uncle Eddie involved, and today you see this project has been fruitful. It has served thousands and thousands of people, international too, national. You feel *'olu'olu*.

KM: 'Ae. You know you've done something that benefits, gives back. So many take, take, take, you've been giving back to your people and to your community. It's nice if people who aren't Hawaiian can learn also, because what they do has an impact on this place. It's better if they have some knowledge right.

WP: At least something, yes.

KM: *Mahalo*, thank you so much...

[Fishing is important to the well-being of the Hawaiian people.]

WP: I think I mentioned this about this one particular boy, he was a Moses boy. His father used to live in Kona. How he had turned around.

KM: Yes, by ōpelu fishing?

WP: By ōpelu fishing.

KM: Amazing! And that's what our youth needs something to connect with.

WP: Yes.

KM: Not everyone is going to be sitting at a desk or math, but you always need fisher people, you always need farming.

WP: He goes like this real strong, "You know uncle, that's my problem up at Wai'anae. This is the medication up here." He never forgot me from being a bad boy, today he's a leader in Wai'anae, Nānākuli. He has a Hawaiian homes, his papa had the *'āina*, so he gave it to him...

...My thinking was the first thing in Wai'anae. There is so much ōpelu in Wai'anae and you have all these people on the beach. Why can't you go out, it's right out there.

KM: Yes.

WP: All you need maybe it's not easy to get a net, but all these people have a little skiff, a boat. They can get out there. All of them work, they have regular jobs but maybe some don't, and then on the weekend, wow, look at all the ōpelu! [chuckles]

KM: And the fish is so important. Just the health resource of the fish.

WP: Yes.



KM: For your body, health.

WP: Diet, protein. When we shifted over to tilapia because of the insurance, it was no problem we could pay that no problem buying insurance. This came to be an issue, insurance.

KM: For the fishing, for you folks?

WP: Yes. For the kids to go out on the boat. That's something that defeats...

KM: *Aloha*. Yes, it's so sad!

WP: Sad that this defeats a good purpose.

KM: You had to switch to fishing in tanks?

WP: Tanks.

KM: Rather than taking them out to?

WP: Going out and taking them. Now, they kind of realize that it was not a mistake, but they better get back to...

KM: Yes. Because being on the ocean is totally different.

WP: Different, yes. Just imagine now we're talking about Wai'anae, they are going to make the same thing. Aila, who is the Harbor Master is a big supporter of the program.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: He can talk to the ones fishing *'ōpēlu* right outside, to lay off and let the *'ōpēlu* project do it's training and utilizing the *ko'a* that's out there. It would be a chain reaction, Wai'anae, Nānākuli.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: They have an intention of building a *hālau* at Mākua and have someone maintain that system of *'ōpēlu* fishing.

KM: That ocean out there at Mākua like that...

WP: It's rich.

KM: Beautiful!

WP: Yes. Used to be *aku*. We used to, before going just for the day, *aku* is a daily operation. Knowing the fact that time, you had this *aku ko'a* area, you just come outside of 'Ewa, the fifty-fifth fathom drop, you would troll over there, or fish with the *nehu*, blindly just cast the *nehu* out and they all of a sudden.

KM: The *aku* all up?

WP: All up.

KM: Amazing!

WP: If they are *ma'a* to the *makau*, you throw in the line where you know, that's all *aku* already. First thing, they throw the bait right away, right up.

KM: Amazing!

WP: Three, four thousand pounds. And then you *ha'alele* that area you go outside Mā'ili alongside that bank, you chum, they break surface catch two, three thousand pounds. You go Ka'ena it's the same thing.

KM: You said fifty-five fathom ledge areas?

WP: Yes. Hundred fathom ledge or fifty, this *aku* comes up. You do that and you get ten thousand pounds when you go home. Just alongside the coast line.



KM: Yes...

[Discusses efforts at trying bring members of Minoli'i community together, and problems from outside influences. Also discusses work with Bob Iverson, documenting knowledge of elder Hawaiian fisher-people (Iverson et al., 1990).]

It is very interesting, in the old Hawaiian laws that you see in the traditions, and the stories of traveling great distances to go out and fish. The large canoes, mostly *ali'i* kinds of things. By 1839 when you see the laws that Kamehameha III enacted, and as they carried through in subsequent laws. They always reference going out as far as the *malolo* fishery and into the high seas beyond. You'll find just that wording, they talk about the '*āpapa* fishery, the *kilo he'e*, *malolo* and the deep sea, the high seas. We know that there is a tradition of the *kūpuna* making great use of the resources near and far.

WP: Yes.

KM: But the farther you go the more power you had to have right? Because of the big, double canoes.

WP: Just like Mauna Roy was saying, they go out for the great white.

KM: Yes... [Describes the Kekūhaupi'o account of shark fishing from Kapalilua.]

WP: ...But it seems like it's hard for our people over here because basically they have no knowledge about the history, that's the reason I think you find. If you get back again I hate to use this term but it's here you can see today, you can see it, the problem is strictly drugs. That's what's holding back, stopping for the Hawaiian people or the Hawaiian youth today.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: That problem needs to be taken care of.

KM: Just for the well-being of our people. Otherwise *nalowale*.

WP: Yes. They're ruining themselves, and they get this what for kind of attitude! But if you *aloha* your system, yourself, how can you *kiloi* that away?

KM: *Pule mau...*

WP: *Mahalo!*

KM: [Gives *kupuna* a copy of a ethnographic study of the Kapalilua region (Maly 2002).] Things that are of pride, old stories from *ka wā kahiko*, *ka lawai'a 'ana*, *ka mahi'ai 'ana*... I love talking story with you folks, and then looking through the old records and seeing how things connect.

WP: *Mahalo...!*

KM: ...'Ae. There's Paulo that lived in 'Ōuli, Puakō and Kawaihae, is that *pili* to you folks somehow?

WP: I don't think so, Jack Paulo. *Lawai'a 'ōpelu*, and he also was *lawai'a aku* too. He had a *wa'a pā*. He also used *īao* for *maunu*. I remember seeing him send in one container about five hundred pounds. I don't know if it was from the *mokulele*, I guess they were carrying freight at that time. This was in the late '40s and this fish all came from Kawaihae.

KM: You don't think that's '*ohana* somehow?

WP: No, you don't hear, because on the Kawa'auhau, from Paulo Kawa'auhau and Kekumu Kawa'auhau, who made the *Malolo*. And Ha'aheo Kawa'auhau, there were thirteen children. Daniel Kawa'auhau... That's how we are related to the Paulo Kawa'auhau, then the name was changed to Paulo.



KM: 'Ae... Thank you so much for letting me take your whole day.

WP: It's a day I've enjoyed...

[Discusses the *'ōhua manini*.]

KM: Oh, uncle, what is your understanding of the *'ōhua*, it's comes up all together right inside of something?

WP: Yes. For our *kūpuna*, I think it was some mistake when they say it's the *hūpē koholā*. I've been on dives Maldives, during the summer, for that area there's a lot of whales. They see whales they get all excited because the whale attracts a lot of tuna, just like how the porpoise, they say a big school of *'ahi* would follow the porpoise. Same thing like now they call it, "drop stone," because they follow the porpoise. *Ai i lalo ka 'ahi*, the porpoise is ahead, so you drop just about that area, drop your *makau* using the stone weight to get your *makau* down to thirty-five fathoms whatever depth.

KM: Yes.

WP: So in the ocean, the *hūpē koholā* ambergris, it's worth big money. Like \$2,000.00 a kilo just like half a pound is thousand dollars just like that, fresh. If you catch one two hundred pounds *hūpē koholā* and it's all together, it's just like a chunk of jello-like.

KM: And they cough it up, is that what it is?

WP: Yes, they cough it up. This is when they see the *koholā* they make sure they keep an eye because if you catch two, three hundred *kilo* you set for the year.

KM: Wow!

WP: They would collect this ambergris and put it in a container and send it to Singapore. They have a broker or buyer, that's all set up. The finished product, they send it mostly to Saudi Arabia, aphrodisiac or perfume, things like that.

KM: What about here and the *'ōhua* then, they talk about the *'ōhua* washing up on shore in an *'eke*.

WP: Okay. Scientifically wise, this person that works with us, [thinking] I *poina* his name. He told me that when the *manini* is ready to spawn, it goes out in the deeper water. It goes out to about sixty feet, this is how he has observed, studied this particular fish. That's where he got his degree.

KM: His thesis or something.

WP: Yes. And watch the *manini*. The *nahu manini* goes to an area on the *pālaha*, flat, and *kikokiko* all this area, clean it up. Maybe like this table big, one area, round *paha*. They *kikokiko* everything. Then they lay their *hua*, eggs, they lay it right there. Here the male *manini* fertilizes it, and somehow some kind of excretion from their body, they cover it up like a gel, the whole area.

KM: Is it one *manini* or plenty all at one place? Plenty and you said *nahu manini*.

WP: *Nahu manini*. And he watched until the eggs are fertile. I never got how long, whether it takes a month or shorter. I think shorter. The *manini* would guard this area, any other fish come they, you see sometimes in the water how the small fish chase the big fish.

KM: Yes.

WP: It's protecting this little area.

KM: Nursery.

WP: Nursery. So this area, let's say half of this table...

KM: Two by three or something like that.



WP: Yes. Millions of them, whatever hatched maybe a few thousand.

KM: It forms this gelatinous...?

WP: Yes, around.

KM: And that's the nursery or protective area?

WP: The area protected until they actually hatch. When they hatch it's usually during the night or *ao*.

KM: Yes, early.

WP: They break from this covering and head to shore because there's a lot of predators out there.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: Ready to munch on them.

KM: Yes.

WP: It's one of the most attractive bait for *moana*, *moana kali*, *pāpi'o* and many other fish. But mostly *moana*, *moana kali*, if you get the *makau* in the water the bait...

KM: With the *'ōhua*?

WP: The *'ōhua*, yes.

KM: It's what an inch or so?

WP: About less.

KM: A little less than an inch.

WP: Yes. It's transparent, they will turn color about ten o'clock.

KM: After the sun rises up.

WP: If get strong sun. Now, I just figured out myself why that they say it comes from the *hūpē koholā*. I'm pretty sure what he tells me this is how the *manini* spawns, they rush to shore to some *poho* area where they can be safe. That makes sense, but in the mean time why I think our people say it's the *hūpē koholā*, is because when the *hūpē koholā* throws out this ambergris and this *i'a* going through this area where the ambergris is, and just happens to make contact, and all inside is the jello of the ambergris. Naturally they are all *hihia*, and then they see day time or you see them on top of the *pōhaku*.

KM: 'Ae. Washed up on the shore.

WP: On the shore and then they see the *manini*. Then they say, "Ō, *mai ka hūpē koholā*."

KM: Yes, *hūpē koholā*.

WP: *Hūpē koholā*.

KM: Interesting.

WP: Yes. I always thought it was *hūpē koholā* until this person, fish biologist.

KM: He actually observed the *manini* going down?

WP: Yes. Until spawns. He goes there every day.

KM: Interesting. There is a *limu* too they call *hūpē koholā* kind of a gelatinous kind of *limu*, broad leaf. I was always trying to figure out, what is it but that's interesting because so many *kūpuna* from Ni'ihau down through here talk about what you were saying the *'ōhua* and *hūpē koholā*.



WP: I hope I have time I can some day go, I can get his name and have a good talk with him.

KM: People haven't seen much of that lately?

WP: Yes. As today, no more 'ōhua. Now we are going to watch for this in April and May. I got to finish my 'upena.

KM: Was there a special place along here where you knew the 'ōhua?

WP: Yes. In the front by Kaupiko mā there's small little poho.

KM: The little kāheka all over there.

WP: Down at Minoli'i.

KM: By the lae.

WP: In the pond area Omoka'a, Kalihi, all the small little poho.

KM: Before the 'ōhua would always come up?

WP: Yes. That area right from the launching area to the park, you have these big poho all over there. When kai make still get water, piha!

KM: Amazing! When is the last time you saw that?

[Observed that 'ōhua and other fishes, and limu have declined over the years; pollution from boats perhaps to blame in part.]

WP: Since I came back, I've seen a little bit. It's a sad part that when the 'ōhua season comes and the people going 'ōhua, get some family call the maka'i, "They're violators they don't want, they can call, and they kapulu that area like the pond. It's not to clean.

KM: When it was just families taking some 'ōhua even the 'oama and halalū like that not bad right but when you get thousands. Then what, if you take all the babies no more adults right?

WP: Yes. Maybe it's good to make kapu. You have a kapu that Flora Ka'ai Hayes introduced a bill. You wipe out the 'ōhua, and then maybe it's pollution.

KM: 'Ae. I wonder, have even the amounts of limu on this coastline changed in your?

WP: Since I came back I hardly go out. Like they say, go Pōhue, there's plenty limu kohu or certain place there's plenty limu kohu. Limu kohu at Wai'anae, get plenty.

KM: And you brought up pollution, I think off land if there's runoff and dirty water, or the boats and the gasoline. I'm sure those all have an affect.

WP: All affect.

KM: If the limu no more, the fish can't eat and then the big fish no more...all affects.

WP: Yes, it goes right down that system. No doubt it's pollution. There's still manini, naturally they're in some poho that we don't go. That area like for instance going to Holomalino, before Honomalino makai side, you see some of the poho over there. Or other areas along side the coast, naturally you don't go there. Before there used to be plenty right inside Minoli'i area. And then you can go makai nei too, there's the poho over here too when mālie. You see them all inside there. Next month we will try to observe already, check. I think this runoff from golf courses and stuff like that. Too much pollution from your engines, you're going to have some of that.

KM: Sure.

WP: Because this mea is pilau, won't disappear it stays on the surface. That's just like you get a gallon of water with makika, you throw a little soap or Clorox just a little bit, all going make.



KM: 'Ae.

WP: ...There's lots of waste, toxic waste. You cannot can not see, but why, even this small little place produced gallons and gallons of 'ōhua, now you're lucky if you get a quart of 'ōhua.

KM: Gee!

WP: If you're going down the coast line.

KM: You figure if no more 'ōhua, no more manini.

WP: No more manini very simple...

KM: ...So you really traveled and fished all over in your life, and you're still fishing.

WP: Yes. [Talking of World Bank and United Nations work in fisheries.] That Maldives, the whole area.

KM: Was your purpose there to teach people different techniques?

WP: When Richard and I were there it was to introduce our method.

KM: Richard Kinney?

[Went to Maldives Islands and taught the fishermen how to care for the live *nehu* bait.]

WP: Yes, Richard Kinney. They had problems high mortality with the bait fish that they go out to catch aku. That's pole and line fishing they called it. That's when we first went out. We went there and increased that puka, they had a finger-type holes all drilled in the vessel. When they wanted to plug it up they have these little plugs and just plugged it up. In Honolulu we have self circulation water on the aku boat prior to the time, after the war, and then later on then the *Anela* came out, *Amberjack*, the *Buccaneer* came out, the steel hull boats. What they did was used a pump to circulate the water. When you used pump you have high sidings, the opening to go into the tank to clean the tank or to scoop the bait from the deck when you're fishing and throw out the fish. In Honolulu the boats naturally didn't have these holes in the vessel. Other boats, the old style and the new one's too have these two and a half inch puka right through. When this wai comes in, we have about twenty something holes on these local Honolulu boats. Also you would like to have water circulating in there constant.

KM: This is where your bait is?

WP: The bait has to be kept, this is in the Honolulu boat. You have about lets say twenty-four holes, and you open all the holes up. And then when you are going out fishing, everybody has to jump in that hole. Somehow they can feel with your leg and push this plugs off into the hole. And that's it, but you leave three holes open. The three holes circulate the water. In one hole and underneath you have screens so that the bait doesn't get away. You have these hardy brass screens underneath into the boat, screwed in. The Maldives boat had finger size holes so you don't have to have any screens they are so small. Once in a while they get sucked through. On the Honolulu boat you would have one hole without a screen. This is to drain and also to circulate the water. You use one bamboo the center part is taken out. You have this long sixteen inch bamboo pole that's cut in half at an angle. Cut this angle so you can *ho'okomo* in that puka; and you have *welu* around it, so it doesn't spin around, and you stick it in the puka. You stick it in the puka, this one without screen and you can face the cut side back. That's to drain. But if you face it front, while the boat is going, then it's going to push water into the well. So you have plenty water. And you don't get a full well when you have this self circulating. If you have a pump, you pump it right up, you have Coleman sidings so that you can protect the water from sloshing out. The aku boat that doesn't have that, you have water up to about three quarters part of that opening. You have covers on it but it's just a piece of lumber that goes all



across. The hole is usually about two and a half feet wide, and six feet long, one *puka*. Depth maybe five feet little bit more...

KM: Yes. Interesting system.

WP: And it doesn't cost you anything, only costs you one bamboo stick to pump it in and pump it out. You want to pump the whole thing out as you're going, you just put that *'ohe* down so the cut part you face it back. It has to protrude underneath the vessel maybe about six inch, naturally that angle there it just sucks it right out.

KM: Yes. So at Maldive, they had a high mortality of their bait fish.

WP: Yes, because of this small finger type. Naturally at times the fish doesn't surface up during the morning. When you are out there little rough, by the time it's noon half of your bait died because not enough oxygen.

KM: With the small pukas not enough water is getting in and circulating to refresh it.

WP: Not enough.

KM: And they did that for years and didn't know.

WP: No. They didn't want to they were scared, bumby you make big *puka*, *pīholo*. And the bait would all be sucked out but you put the screen, it's alright. That's the big advantage.

KM: You folks showed them how to do that?

[Discusses methods of *aku* fishing.]

WP: We had like a basket to scoop the bait. You have to go in the bait well and stand on something. So you're in the well you *ku'u* down and then this basket you start throwing the bait out of the vessel to attract the fish. It takes a little time, slow motion, you have to do it fast to continue to get the bait out there. Our method, which was the Kepanī method is the long bamboo, six feet you have your rim with the *'upena* on top. And all you do is dip down and you get. And you're out on the deck, you're looking, you can see what's happening.

KM: Exactly.

WP: You can throw out your bait you put little more inside the net and then throw the bait out. Very simple.

KM: You taught them how to be more proficient in their use?

WP: Yes.

KM: They were fishing *aku* like that?

WP: Yes. And they were eventually fishing *aku* when they were not mechanized but still yet the poundage never changed much, the only thing is they get back home much earlier because in the olden days they sailed, and when they got into the *nahu* of *aku*, school of *aku* they would have maybe four oars to keep them moving. Four people to keep them moving. End up the rest is all in the back fishing. Now you mechanize, so you only have one guy watching the engine when fishing time he can come and fish too. You save a lot of time that way, by being mechanized you can reach your distance, your bait area quicker and then you can get to the grounds quicker and get back. They don't carry ice so the quicker you get back. The boats, if they sail they get good speed, but it's faster and more sure to get your fish so you get better quality fish. When we say we come from Hawai'i, the Japanese who had the cannery's there, say our quality is the best, and maybe the quality here is third. Poor quality tuna, they send all their tuna to different third world countries. It's not like Hawai'i, more fresh, iced.

KM: Amazing!



WP: And we introduced the Japanese *makau*. This *makau* we can make ourselves. Their *makau* still catches, crude looking. The *i'a* when he wants to 'ai he doesn't care whatever. As long as has something a little bright and silvery.

KM: Yes. You mentioned *makau*, really earlier today you were saying that your uncle would still make *pā*. The hook on his *pā* was made out of metal?

WP: *A'ole. Kēia manawa* in Tahiti yes, the *pā* itself is made out of pearl shell but the hook is stainless steel.

KM: When you were young what was your uncle?

WP: It's *īlio*. I think when it was *manawa kahiko, iwi kanaka*.

KM: *Iwi kanaka*.

WP: *Iwi kanaka*, That's why they *hunā* your *iwi*.

KM: Right.

WP: The tibia.

KM: Uncle was using dog, *īlio* or?

WP: [thinking] *Pehea lā* now? This animal, either the *pipi* or what.

KM: Ah, some sort of animal, the *iwi*.

WP: Yes.

KM: Interesting. Did he put the boar bristles on it?

WP: Yes, he put the bristles and *pu'a 'ele'ele*, whatever color, because the *pu'a* is stiff so he stayed out. If you *kapakahi* the *makau*, he comes and he sees the *makau*.

KM: He won't take it.

WP: Right at the last section he changes course. But if the *makau* stays up straight.

KM: Amazing! I wonder was he making his own *kaula* still, the *aho*?

WP: The *aho*, he'd buy the linen, and then *ho'owiliwili*. Then you put, *ho'okāhi, 'elua, 'ekolu*, what.

KM: Yes. Did anyone save any of his *pā*?

WP: No one.

KM: *Aloha*. It's amazing though, how you would figure out how to take the 'ōlepe, the clam, to make the *pā* and to make the bristles of the boar, the *hulu pu'a*.

WP: And then the *nāki'i* the *iwi*, the *makau* part. It's an individual piece and then comes up attached to the *lepelepe*, get a *puka* then you make a strong attachment.

KM: That's right. Then that goes to your *kaula lawai'a*. Amazing!

WP: We make our own *kaula* like that for *kā mākoī* and the linen, strand to strand, for the main line.

KM: You folks did it all by hand?

WP: Yes. I have *kaula* downstairs from the *niu* about six hundred feet, one whole small piece for *lawai'a* and for *nāki'i* certain ones tightly wound. That's just for *nāki'i* the *wa'a* whatever part of the *wa'a*.

KM: Yes.



- WP: For instance the *'upena* to catch the *maunu* in the Maldive, part of the sections of the *lā'au*, you have to join it up. That's what you use this *kaula* for the sennit. Interesting, they can make six hundred feet, hundred fathoms.
- KM: Wow!
- WP: But you know, when you go to any country you try to learn their system, their custom, so you know their operation of fishing. I don't criticize their method but Hawaiians had about the best method of all Polynesian ways.
- KM: Amazing!
- WP: Like at Kapingi marangi, they do trapping too because they *lawai'a* and the *pūhi* too...
- KM: *Mahalo nui!*
- WP: *Maika'i kēia lā*, it's been a good day.
- KM: 'Ae...

While reviewing the interview on August 21, 2003, *kupuna* Paulo, recalled that another type of fishing he and his father did for the *uhu*. This style of fishing was called *kaka uhu* (fishing for *uhu* with a decoy fish). Peter Paulo would make cross of two pieces of *'ohe* (bamboo), about three to four feet across, and cover it with a net. He would then catch a *pauhuuhu*, and tie it to the net trap, which he would drop in an area known for the *uhu*. He would then shake it up and down, waiting for the territorial *uhu* to show up. The *uhu* would attack the *pauhuuhu*, and get so angry, that it would become unaware of the net and it's being pulled up to the canoe. Thus trapped, the *uhu* would end up in the canoe (pers comm. Walter K. Paulo, August 21, 2003).

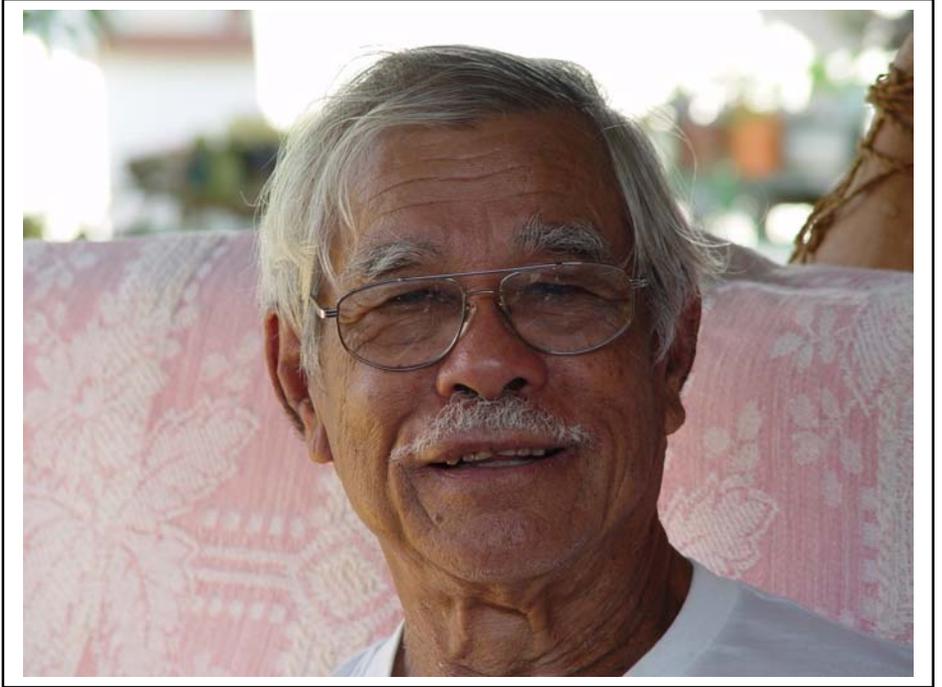
*Kupuna* Paulo also observed that:

"You have to *mālama* this *'āina*. Because it takes care of you. And it is the same with the ocean and the *ko'a i'a*. Take care of them because they take care of you." (pers comm. Walter K. Paulo, August 21, 2003)



**Edward T. Ka'anā'anā**  
**December 19, 2002**  
**Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly**  
**Fishing and Customs of Kapalilua, South Kona, Hawai'i**

Edward T. Ka'anā'anā was born in 1925, in Honolulu, but immediately after birth, was taken to Ho'opūloa to be raised by his *kūpuna*, Keli'ikuli Ka'anā'anā and Mālia Elemakule Paialua. *Kupuna* is well known throughout the Hawaiian Islands for his knowledge of the Hawaiian language, and a wide range of traditional practices.



**Edward T. Ka'anā'anā (KPA Photo S0021).**

*Kupuna* Ka'anā'anā's grandfather was a noted fisherman and canoe maker, and as a youth, he learned the customs and practices of his elders and relatives in the Ho'opūloa-Miloli'i area, and learned of fisheries in the larger Kapalilua region. As he grew up and left South

Kona, *kupuna* continued fishing, and is still teaching the native methods of 'ōpelu fishing and other customs to those interested in Hawaiian practices. *Kupuna* Ka'anā'anā is a gifted teacher, and during the interview he shared many recollections of the families, lands, and fisheries, of Kapalilua.

*Kupuna* gave his personal release of the interview records to Maly on July 3, 2003.

The following list identifies selected topics and descriptions of fisheries described by *kupuna* Ka'anā'anā:

<b>Topic:</b>	<b>Page</b>
• Discussing care of the land and ocean resources; knowing the seasons for certain practices.	218
• Discusses his family background, and tie to the land of Ho'opūloa and families of Kapalilua.	218
• Discusses the lava flow of 1926, and its' reference to the time of his birth.	220
• Discussing the families of the Ho'opūloa-Miloli'i vicinity, and their roles as fishermen and canoe makers.	221
• Kapalilua was a land noted for people who were trained in and proficient in Hawaiian forms of fight, one such form was called "lua."	221
• Describes the <i>hōlua</i> sled track at Kapu'a.	222
• Describes canoe making practices as learned from his <i>kūpuna</i> .	223



<b>Topic:</b>	<b>Page</b>
• Discusses the maker of the canoe, <i>Mālolo</i> .	224
• His <i>kūpuna</i> chanted to call the winds while sailing the canoes from Miloli'i to Kaulanamauna and other distant locations.	225
• Families lived both <i>mauka</i> and <i>makai</i> , and helped one another; cultivating in the uplands, and fishing on the ocean.	226
• Fishing was the mainstay of the families of Kapalilua; families also ranched, and hunted; salt was made at various locations along the shore.	227
• His <i>kūpuna</i> cared for the <i>ko'a 'ōpelu</i> and <i>akule</i> , and taught the younger people, uncle's age, to do so; fed the fish <i>kalo</i> and <i>pala'ai</i> .	228
• Discusses locations of <i>ko'a</i> and various types of fish caught in the Kīpāhoehoe-Kaulanamauna vicinity.	229
• People in various <i>ahupua'a</i> took care of their own <i>ko'a</i> , and others respected them.	230
• The <i>'au</i> (currents) were important to the locations of the <i>ko'a</i> ; and <i>au'a</i> (fish leaders) care for the younger fish of the <i>ko'a</i> .	230
• When the fish were schooling, families of the Miloli'i vicinity would share the main <i>ko'a</i> , one fisherman dropping the net, then another when the first one was done.	231
• Diving for <i>ula</i> (lobsters); and the role of <i>Kū</i> and <i>Hina</i> in caring for the <i>lua ula</i> (lobster holes).	233
• Practices associated with gathering <i>'ōpihi</i> along the shore from Miloli'i-Pāpā vicinity.	233
• During his youth, <i>Lāpule</i> (Sunday) was a day that all fishing activities stopped, you let them rest.	234
• <i>'Ahi</i> , <i>aku</i> and <i>'oe'oe</i> fishing seasons.	234
• Discusses use of <i>umu</i> and other near shore fishing customs.	235
• Discusses fishing for <i>'ahi</i> , <i>'ōpelu</i> and other fish; and the relationship of baits to the health of the <i>ko'a</i> . When young, never heard of "make dog" or other " <i>pilau</i> " baits.	236
• Discusses the <i>ko'a 'ahi</i> marked by Moku Nai'a.	237
• Use of baits changed when the flag line/long line fishing began (ca. 1930s); use of meat baits causes the <i>pōwā</i> (predators) to attack the <i>ko'a 'ōpelu</i> .	238
• Fish, <i>limu</i> and other aquatic resources today, not as plentiful as when he was young; over taking is in part to blame. In the old days, people fished from the lands where they belonged, and did not intrude in other localities.	240
• Feels that the old Hawaiian <i>Ahupua'a</i> and <i>Konohiki</i> system of managing fisheries should be reestablished.	240
• Discusses the 'source of the <i>'ōhua</i> fish.	241
• Gathering <i>limu</i> .	242
• Discusses the practice of families traveling between the uplands and the shore for fishing and cultivating the land; and of the exchange of goods between families.	242
• <i>'Ahele 'a'ama</i> (snaring crabs).	242
• Recalls <i>tūtū</i> Lohi'au and his <i>mo'opuna</i> , Kamuela Kumukāhi. Lohi'au made the <i>kuku</i> for the <i>'ōpelu</i> nets from <i>'ūlei</i> gathered at Okoe.	243
• Discusses sharks in the Kapalilua region; <i>manō</i> protected the fisheries and helped the fishermen.	244
• Discussing various <i>ko'a</i> and place names of the Miloli'i vicinity.	245
• Place names are important in history; discusses the meanings of certain place names.	245

Describing the relationship between the uplands and coastal lands of Kona — rains in the forests above, cause water to flow underground, and the *'ōpae 'ula* appear at the shore. As a result, more fish come shoreward from the ocean, and the catch is greater:

EK:           ...*Maika'i ke kahakai, a komo na i'a mai ka moana mai. A ma laila ho'ouna ka po'e kia'i mai na mea makai ē.* That's why they say we've got the *'ōpae* more when the water comes down, more it pushes that red *'ōpae* and then all the fish start coming in.



KM: 'Ae.

EK: And the ones who care for that, they send the message up, *ka 'ōpae, ua iho mai i kai*. And all the fish come in. Then they come down and pick all the fish they like. They come down and make *pa'akai* and stay a couple of days. That's how, and I remember that place, Kaloko, Kalaoa.

KM: 'Ae, 'ae. *Honokōhau me kēlā mau wahi*.

[Discussing care of the land and ocean resources; knowing the seasons for certain practices.]

EK: We hear those kinds of stories, yeah.

KM: Yes. *Kūkū, ua lohe 'oe ē? "Mālama 'oe i ka 'āina, a mālama ka 'āina iā 'oe."*

EK: 'Ae. Today, I think it is coming back with our younger generation. And sometimes when I think, when we group up, we had...we understood the time to go get this fish, the time to rest it, and when to go get the other fish.

KM: Yes. So there were times throughout your childhood that you heard...?

EK: Yes.

KM: And you were taught these things?

EK: That's right.

KM: And like you and uncle Kawika Kapahulehua were saying [at gathering on December 17, 2002], it was "*Nānā ka maka, ho'olohe ka pepeiao, a hana ka lima.*"

EK: Yes.

KM: And so by observing, your *kūpuna* taught you these things?

EK: 'Ae. That's why you've seen it, you know it's there. You've seen it, you touched it, you felt it, and you grasp it. And it all depends on how you thought about it. You grasp it to feed yourself, your family; and to prepare it and then to *ho'ōla, ho'oulu hou*, whatever.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: And today we don't see that. The first thing you're going to do is grasp it, without even thinking first.

KM: *Noi mua.*

EK: [chuckling] That's right.

[Discusses his family background, and tie to the land of Ho'opūloa and families of Kapalilua.]

KM: Hmm. Now, may I ask you some basic questions, just to introduce you?

EK: *Hiki.*

KM: So uncle please, your full name and date of birth.

EK: *O ku'u inoa, ka inoa haole, o Edward. Ka inoa waena o Toda, ka inoa kēlā o ku'u papa. A ka inoa o ko'u kupuna o Ka'anā'anā, Keli'ikuli Ka'anā'anā. Kekāhi manawa hele ka inoa o Keli'ikuli, kekāhi manawa o Ka'anā'anā.*

KM: Hmm, Ka'anā'anā?

EK: Ka'anā'anā.

KM: 'Oia ka inoa a'u i maopopo ai. Ma kēia palapala 'āina [pointing to Register Map] 2468, ua 'ike māua i ka Pō'alua i ka inoa o kou kupuna ē?

EK: Uh-hmm.

KM: O Ka'anā'anā.



EK: Ka'anā'anā.

KM: A hānau 'oe i...?

EK: Hānau wau i ka makahiki 'umi kūmāiwa-iwakālua kūmāono, mahina o Ianuali, ka lā iwakālua-kūmālima.

KM: O pōmaika'i! [opening register Map No. 2468]. By-and-by, as we're talking story, we may reference this map, Register Number 2468, from about 1909. It's a survey of the Kona Hema area. And that's where you are from, right?

EK: Uh-hmm.

KM: Did you hear the name Kapalilua?

EK: 'Ae [chuckles], i ku'u wā li'ili'i, kēlā ka inoa, o Kapalilua.

KM: 'Ae. A i hea 'oe i hānau ai?

EK: Ua hānau 'ia au i Honolulu nei. A hānau au a lawe 'ia au, lawe i hānai 'ia au e ku'u kūpuna.

KM: Keli'ikuli Ka'anā'anā mā?

EK: Keli'ikuli Ka'anā'anā lāua me Mālia Elemakule Paialua.

KM: Ō!

EK: O Elemakule kona po'e mākuā.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: Ma laila au i lawe 'ia.

KM: I Ho'opūloa?

EK: Ho'opūloa. Kēia o Ho'opūloa ma'ane'i [pointing to area on map].

KM: Eia ke alanui o uka, Māmalahoa. [pointing to locations on map]

EK: Uh-hmm.

KM: A eia ka hale o Ka'anā'anā.

EK: 'Ae.

KM: Kekāhi hale o uka ma ke Alanui Aupuni?

EK: Uh-hmm.

KM: He hale paha ko uka i ka nahelehele, he māla'ai paha o uka?

EK: Kēlā mau manawa, kūkulu ma laila he hale pule, ka hale pule Kakolilika.

KM: 'Oia, i Ho'opūloa?

EK: 'Ae.

KM: Mauka?

EK: He hale pule no ko makai, a he hale pule no mauka. Kēlā hale o tūtū Ka'anā'anā, mauka, he hale nui ma laila, a ka hale pule. 'Oia ka mea mālama ai kēlā hale pule, pēlā ka hale pule o makai. 'Oia ka mea, ku'u manawa i ho'ohana 'ia kēlā 'āina, ho'ohuli 'ia, 'o wai la ka mea mua i loa'a ai 'oukou... Pehea lā, ka hale pule e ku ai ma kēia 'ao'ao nei, a he 'ohana ma laila i moe, ua hala a moe laila.

KM: 'Ae.



[Discusses the lava flow of 1926, and its reference to the time of his birth.]

- EK: *A iho o tūtū Pele i kēlā makahiki, a pau ka uhi 'ia kēlā.*
- KM: *'Ae, 1926, ka makahiki 'oe i hānau ai ē?*
- EK: *'Ae, ku'u makahiki. Ua 'ōlelo mai lākou, ku'u hānau 'ana, lawe 'ia au ma laila. Kēia ka mea, pehea lā i pili 'ole...see, i ka pepa hānau o ka hale pule, hānau wau i ka makahiki 'umi kūmāiwa iwakālua-kūmālima.*
- KM: *'Oia?*
- EK: *Because lohe wau iā lākou, ku'u lawe 'ia ana mai, mai Honolulu mai i O'ahu, a mahape laila, ma mua ua piha paha mua makahiki a kahe mai mea, iho mai o tūtū Pele, you see.*
- KM: *Ahh.*
- EK: *So ma kēlā manawa, ka palapala hō'ike mai o ka hale pule, iwakālua-kūmālima [chuckling]. Akā i ka nānā i ka pepa hānau i Honolulu nei, 'umi kūmāiwa iwakālua-kūmāono.*
- KM: *Hmm.*
- EK: *But ho'ono'ono'o mai o aunty Kapeka me Kūkulu mā, "A'ole."*
- KM: *Pehea kou mana'o o ka pono?*
- EK: *'Ōlelo mai, 'umi kūmāiwa iwakālua-kūmālima, lawe 'ia wau ma laila. Piha au i ka makahiki, iho mai o tūtū Pele.*
- KM: *'Ae.*
- EK: *Ua iho mai i ka mahina luanuali, hānau mai au. A Apelila paha ka manawa i iho mai o tūtū Pele.*
- KM: *'Ae, mahalo! Hoihoi loa kēlā mo'olelo.*
- EK: *[chuckles] Ka palapala ho'opa'a 'ia i Honolulu nei, iwakālua-kūmāono.*
- KM: *Kuhihewa paha ke kauka, ai'ole ka po'e kākau i ka hale waihona?*
- EK: *Uh-hmm. Ku'u mana'o, inā a'ole hō'ike 'ia ka hale pule iwakālua-kūmālima, o ka 'ōlelo wale nō, ku'u wau i Miloli'i, i Ho'opūloa, piha au i ho'okāhi makahiki, a iho mai o tūtū Pele. A ua pa'a i a mea Katolika.*
- KM: *'Ae... Kūkū ma kēia palapala 'āina, 'ike 'oe i ka ahupua'a o Ho'opūloa.*
- EK: *Uh-hmm.*
- KM: *O ka mea i lo'a o kēia mau 'āina, o Keli'ikuli ma Grant 2738.*
- EK: *Uh-hmm.*
- KM: *O kēia Keli'ikuli i kēia palapala 'āina, Royal Patent 2738.*
- EK: *Helu 2738.*
- KM: *Ka makahiki o kēlā, kokoke i 1860, a mau makahiki a kou po'e kūpuna i noho ai ma kēlā 'āina.*
- EK: *Uh-hmm.*
- KM: *Kēia paha ke Keli'ikuli i hānai mai iā 'oe, ai'ole kona makuakāne?*
- EK: *Kēia ka pilikia i 'ōlelo 'ia mai, Keli'ikuli hānai ia'u paha, pau Keli'ikuli nui.*
- KM: *Hmm.*



EK: 'Oia ku'u mana'o. Kēlā Keli'ikuli nui, he 'aina malaila, i Kīpāhoehoe a i 'Ōpihali, a Keauhou a Kailua. O Keli'ikuli nui.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: 'Ōlelo 'ia o Keli'ikuli, kēia ka tūtū a'u, noho 'oia i kēia 'ao'ao, nāna kēlā wahi, 'oia ke konohiki mālama kēlā 'āina, a malaila no ua hā'awi 'āina lākou, māhele i nā 'ohana.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: Kēlā ka mo'olelo.

[Discussing the families of the Ho'opūloa-Miloli'i vicinity, and their roles as fishermen and canoe makers.]

KM: 'Ae. I kēlā papa hana, ua māhele 'oia i ka 'āina, a pehea, he lawai'a nui paha 'oia? Kuhikuhi 'oia i ka hele lawai'a?

EK: I ku'u manawa no ai malaila, kuhikuhi 'oia i ka hana lawai'a, pēlā pū me ku'u anakala Kūkulu Kuahuia.

KM: 'Ae, Kuahuia.

EK: Kēlā kanaka, a'ole hiki ia'u ke poina i kēlā kanaka.

KM: O Kūkulu Kuahuia, 'oia ke kumu e pili mai me Kawa'auhau mā?

EK: O lākou pili. O Moku'ōhai mā, mai lākou mai o Keli'ikuli nui, mamua aku. O Keli'ikuli, mai lalo mai, lo'a mai kēia mau po'e keiki. O lākou pau loa, inoa 'oko'a. He'aha lā no kō lākou ho'opa'a inoa 'oko'a? Kēlā inoa, 'elua wale nō Keli'ikuli, i pa'a ai kēlā inoa o Keli'ikuli nui. O ku'u tūtū kāne o Keli'ikuli. Lohe au ka inoa o Keli'ikuli a me Ka'anā'anā, a kekāhi manawa, kahea 'ia 'oia o Kepano.

KM: 'Oia kekāhi inoa o kou kupuna?

EK: 'Ae. A kekāhi o kēia Keli'ikuli pa'a kēlā inoa o Keli'ikuli nui, a o Keli'ikuli no Kona, poina wau i kona inoa mua, nui paha...kēlā maopopo ma ka 'ano o Keli'ikuli mumu'u. 'Elua lāua pa'a i kēlā inoa, Keli'ikuli. Lākou a pau, 'oko'a ka inoa, o Paulo, keiki kēlā o Keli'ikuli nui. O Kaho'opi'i mā, o Paulo mā, me Kawa'auhau, lākou kēlā mau po'e, 'oko'a ka inoa, 'umi kūmākolū paha o lākou, me ka inoa 'oko'a.

KM: Hmm.

EK: Ma kēlā 'āina, o Ho'opi'i mā, o Ho'ohuli mā, 'oia ka mea, lohe au i kekāhi o nā inoa, a mai tūtū mai kēlā. Hui kākou me kēlā po'e 'ohana, o Pānui mā, a kama'āina wau, Medeiros mā.

KM: 'Ae. Pehea kou mana'o, kēia 'āina o Kapalilua, ho'okāhi no 'ohana paha, pili lākou a pau?

EK: Pehea lā mali'u paha. Kekāhi o nā po'e kamali'i a mākou, kō mākou manawa e ulu ai ma laila, kekāhi, a'ole lākou i maopopo ai i kēia Kapalilua. O wau, i ku'u wā li'ilii'i, a lohe au i kēia, noho pū wau me ku'u kūpuna. Kekāhi manawa ke noho lākou ha'i mo'olelo me ka 'ohana i hui pū. Noho wau ma laila me lākou, a lohe.

[Kapalilua was a land noted for people who were trained in and proficient in Hawaiian forms of fight, one such form was called "lua."]

Kēlā wahi, he mo'olelo no, o Kapalilua, nui no ka po'e i lawe 'ia, mai Ka'ū mai, ma laila pū mai i ho'oma'ama'a i ke koa.

[The name Kapalilua is an old one that I learned from my grandparents. I used to enjoy listening to them when they would talk story among themselves, and at times point certain things out to me. My tūtū told me that Ka-pali-lua was a land of cliffs where experts in lua where taught the skills of fighting and competing, and that there were many lua experts in the region. Even when I was young, I remember there were still some men and women



skilled in the art of *lua*. One time when I was young there was a *pā'ina*, and someone got drunk and tried to start of fight. This *kupunahine* called out “stop.” The guy didn’t listen, and she grabbed him, holding him she told him, “*Mai 'oni 'oe, o ha'iha'i i kou iwi...*” (Don’t move or our bones will be broken). Everything calmed down, and she let him go. There were still those kinds of people when I was young.

Almost no one today knows the name *Kapalilua*. There a song “*Mele no Kapalilua*,” that was written by one of our families that lived out there (pers com. July 3, 2003).]

KM: 'Ae, 'oia ka mo'olelo?

[Describes the *hōlua* sled track at Kapu'a.]

EK: 'Ae. Ho'oma'ama'a 'ia lākou i ke koa. 'Oia ka mea, kēlā wahi, ka mea o Kapu'a, kēlā hōlua malaila.

KM: 'Ae. Pu'u Hinahina paha?

[EK: 'Ae, Pu'u Hinahina, malaila. Kekāhi manawa, kō mākou wā kamali'i ki'i mākou i nā lā'au papa, hele mākou i ka pali a holo hōlua mākou malaila. Mākou lohe i ka mo'olelo o ka wā kahiko, a holo, kau hōlua.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: A mahape pā'ani kekāhi o nā keiki, “Pehea lā kākou ke hana nei ke kahua i kekāhi wahi pali me ka papa a kau hōlua malaila.” Ai ma'ō paha no. Pi'i kākou malaila, hōlua kākou! [chuckles] 'Ōlelo mai nā kūpuna, “Mai 'oukou hele i uka, a'ole kēlā na 'oukou, he na 'oukou e pā'ani.

[At Kapu'a, there is an ancient *hōlua* track. My *tūtū* always told me “*mai hehi maluna*” (not to go on it), to stay away from the top. It was a place where the experts and chiefs, used to go for *hōlua* sledding contests, and was *kapu*. Some of us young kids would at times play on the lower part of the *hōlua*, and from there, dive into the water. That was the kind of fun that we used to seek out.

My *tūtū* Keli'ikuli Ka'anā'anā was very particular about respect of the old places, and that things found in caves, or at *heiau* and such should not be touched, “*mai lālama, waiho!*” Look, but don't touch (pers comm. July 3, 2003).]

KM: 'Ae.

EK: Ka hana a ka po'e mamua.

KM: Na ka po'e kahiko kēlā mea?

EK: 'Ae. Lohe wau i kēia mo'olelo. I heard that, *tūtū* told the *mo'olelo o ka hōlua*... Kēia manawa heihe i aku la, 'auwē, *tūtū* Pele mā kēia [chuckling].

KM: Aia no i Kīpāhoehoe, lo'a kekāhi mo'olelo e pili ana kēlā. 'Elua kanaka, kanu 'uala i uka, and ua kauoha lāua, na Pele ka 'ai mua.

EK: 'Ae.

KM: Poina lāua a 'ai ana lāua, 'ike iā lāua iā Pele, “Aia i hea ka 'ai?”

EK: Uh-hmm.

KM: A iho mai ka pele a 'ai iā lāua.

EK: Uh-hmm.

KM: Lilo lāua i kēlā mau moku li'i ai makai.



EK: 'Ae.

KM: *Nui kēlā mau mo'olelo.*

EK: 'Ae. Lohe au i kēlā mo'olelo i ku'u wā kamali'i.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: [discusses conversations with students at UH-Mānoa, about native lore] *Ma'a mau no ka 'olelo o ku'u tūtū mā, "Ka mea e puka mai mai loko mai, pono e puka pololei mai." Ai ka hope lohe 'oe ka 'olelo, "O ka 'olelo no ke ola, o ka 'olelo no ka make."*

KM: 'Ae, kēlā ka 'olelo a nā kūpuna.

EK: *Lohe e maopopo pono. Inā he pā'ani wale no kēia me keaka, a'ole pilikia. 'Oia ka'u mea i lohe ku'u tūtū 'olelo 'ana.*

KM: *Mahalo!*

EK: *'Eholu no 'ano mea e puka mai iā 'oe, ma ka wala'au wale no, kolekole ana kākou. A ke kama'ilio ana, kēlā ka manawa i hui kākou, hālāwai ana paha, he'aha lā, a kama'ilio aku a kama'ilio mai me ka no'ono'o.*

KM: 'Ae, me ka wehewehe ana o ka mo'olelo 'āina.

EK: *Me ka no'ono'o...*

KM: *So kūkū maopopo 'oe, hemahema wau, namu haole ana wau.*

EK: *Hiki.*

[Describes canoe making practices as learned from his kūpuna.]

KM: Your *kupuna*, who brought you up, was a *kālai wa'a* also?

EK: 'Ae.

KM: Did you go into the mountains with him, or lohe?

EK: Well, I didn't go into the mountains with him, but with uncle Kūkulu and those other people, went. They went first, and I didn't go with them, I saw them when they started bringing the canoe out.

KM: 'Ae, the *ka'ele*, the main hull.

EK: Yes, the *ka'ele*, they bring it out, and I saw where they *huki*. Of course, *kēlā manawa*, they had the mule and the horse, yeah.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: But to go with them, they said, "*Aia i ka manawa ku pono*. When it's ready, you come." When you're not ready, they're not just going to tell you to go over there look.

KM: Yes. Now your *kūkū* by that time, was quite old, right?

EK: Yes.

KM: The younger people Kūkulu Kuahuia, Moku'ōhai *mā*, and perhaps other people went to take care of the big work *mauka*.

EK: Yes.

KM: Do you know where, what *'āina* did they go into? Ho'opūloa, Kīpāhoehoe, Honokua?

EK: Well, the people, like the *'ohana* of Kalama *mā*, Moku'ōhai *mā*, outside of Honokua, all up there, all *koa*, *mauka* laila. *A po'e o Miloli'i*, *mauka* no Ho'opūloa, Pāpā *mauka*. Over there had the Koa Mill.



KM: Yes, C.Q. Yee Hop.

EK: C.Q. Yee Hop. And then *mauka no o Holomalino*, we got *koa*. And that's why I said, when I went *puka i Miloli'i*, I saw *tūtū* Ka'anā'anā at Ho'opūloa. They were there, and plenty of other people, *kālai wa'a*.

KM: Yes.

EK: And that is the *wa'a* I never did forget. And *tūtū* Ka'anā'anā named the *wa'a*, *Kina'u*. And then one more canoe he went *kālai*. And then after that Paulo *mā*, Peter Paulo, *kālai wa'a*. *A me Kawa'auhau no, Kawa'auhau, kālai*. And then when we were *kamali'i*, we *kālai*. And that's how we had [thinking], one, two, three, four *wa'a*. Four canoes we went *kālai*, the one man canoe, and they let us *kamali'i kālai* that.

KM: So that's how you folks learned too, how to *kālai*, shape, and...?

EK: Yes. That's why, when I see all these machines work, and my memory quick, goes back to how our *tūtū* folks did it.

KM: They were using *ko'i hao*?

EK: Yes, they were using *hao, ko'i hao*. And I remember helping them make the canoe.

KM: Were your canoes used primarily for fishing?

[Discusses the maker of the canoe, *Mālolo*.]

EK: That's what we were making them for, fishing. And then the *Mālolo*, that was made a long time already.

KM: Do you know who made the *Mālolo*?

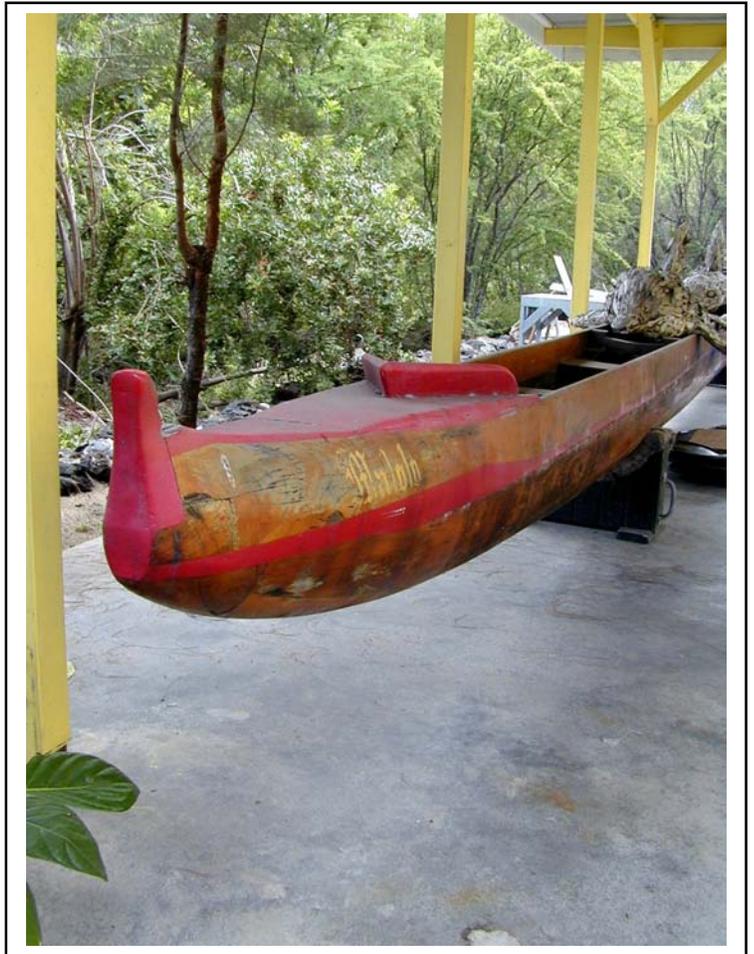
EK: That's the thing everybody was saying, "Ka'imi Kaupiko went *kālai* that *wa'a*." But I said "No, Kekumu Kawa'auhau went *kālai* that *wa'a*."

KM: 'Oia *kāu i lohe ai*?

EK: Kekumu Kawa'auhau. And when you talk to Snow, even Snow said Kekumu.

KM: I did speak with uncle Snow, Louis Hao. He was 93 when I interviewed him.

EK: From the beginning, everybody was believing that *tūtū* Ka'imi went *kālai* that *wa'a*, because between him and uncle Kūkulu, they were the caretakers of the *wa'a*. And then racing time, they took care. And us, we were small kids, we would go sand paper, and clean.



**The distinctive "manu mua" of *Mālolo* at Hau'oli ka Mana'o on the shore of Miloli'i (KPA Photo).**



- KM: 'Ae. But you heard that it was Kekumu Kawa'auhau?
- EK: Not only that we heard, but when you look at the shape of his *manu* that he made. That's why, every canoe maker, they have their own shape that they use.
- KM: Yes, it's a little stubby.
- EK: Yes. So everybody looks, those who know, *nānā ka po'e i kēia manu*, "That's Kekumu." And some you look by the *wae*, inside where they *nāki'i 'iako*, that's there trade, and their *'ohana*.
- [*Kūpuna* also feels very strongly that the canoe *Mālolo* is a treasure of Miloli'i's past. It needs to be cared for and respected. It hurts him to see it in the condition that it is in. Canoe making in those days, required a skill and knowledge that does not seem to be appreciated today. To *kālai wa'a*, was a work of love, respect and patience. Now, with the tools and racing to see who can complete their hull first, the relationship between nature and the canoe maker seems lost (pers comm. July 3, 2003).]
- KM: Yes, even like the *piko* of hats, each family has their own style.
- EK: Yes, their tradition, the style of the *'ohana*. That, we not only heard, but we saw, yeah.
- KM: 'Ae.
- KW: *Kekāhi manawa, ua 'ike 'oe i kēlā wa'a iloko o ka hokele.*
- EK: *Yes. Ho'okāhi wa'a mai Kona mai, mai Miloli'i.*
- KM: *'O wai kona inoa, Kai Malino?*
- EK: *A'ole. He wa'a nui* like those canoes that I told uncle [Kawika Kapahulehua], our days had plenty of canoes that were staying behind. Big canoes, and then why we were starting to *kālai wa'a*. And then I asked *tūtū*, "How come those *wa'a* are behind there, we don't use those *wa'a*?" We were young yet.
- KM: Uh-hmm.
- EK: Later on they tell, now, we don't use those canoes. Before, big canoes. They said, "That's the people over here, when they wanted to go to Kohala, Niuli'i and all that, to see their *'ohana* over there. When it was the right time to go, the get on the *wa'a*, put all their things, they *hoe* and put their sail, going over there. That's how. Same thing when they go home to South Point, going to Punalu'u, they go because they've got *'ohana* over there. And that's the story, that's when they used to use those kind. They would come home over here, go outside fishing. That was the time, all big canoes.
- KM: Hmm. Were you folks still using sails at all when you were young, *pe'a*?
- [*Kūpuna* chanted to call the winds while sailing the canoes from Miloli'i to Kaulanamauna and other distant locations.]
- EK: Very seldom. The early part was my *tūtū* Ka'anā'anā and Kūkulu and Kahele *mā* too. They had their sails and they went out. That's when I saw some of our *tūtū* they *hoe* all the way from Miloli'i out to Kaulanamauna, because they had *'ohana* over there, Kaulanamauna. They'd go sometimes. They getting tired, and you hear them talking, talking, and they call, they kind of *'oli* like. Bumbye they put the boom up, *kau ka pe'a*. The *pe'a* go up, they stand up, they *'oli*, bumby you see the *pe'a*, *ho'opohu aku ka pe'a*. Then going.
- KM: 'Ae. Hele i Kapu'a, Kaulanamauna, na Kahele *mā*...
- EK: 'Ae. That thing, when you talk about *pe'a*. I remember one these men, Itamura, he stayed down there, he went and stayed with the people in Kaulanamauna. And him too, he had his canoe, and he had a regular *hoe*. But when the Japanese go, they *uneune* like that [gestures a paddling style]. And he had a sail, and he'd come to Miloli'i. You'd see him



come sometimes outside of Miloli'i, out side of Kalihi, or outside of Laeloa. His sail would be coming up, and he'd be behind, *uneune*. And that's how, when his canoe would come up, we'd take his canoe, we wanted to learn how to *uneune* Japanese style. And when the Sampans would come in, we'd see, they'd get that kind of boat. So we'd go and we'd practice. But that was Itamura.

KM: Itamura.

EK: And there was another one Hariguchi. And there is a long story about that man, but I don't know how many heard the story about that man.

KM: Hmm.

EK: And we respected them, we call Itamura San [said with emphasis] ...Just the same like how we call our *tūtū* them, with that caring voice.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: Caring in the way you call old folks. Didn't have to only be Hawaiian, we did that.

KM: Yes. Respect, *aloha*, yeah?

EK: The children were taught to respect...

KM: 'Ae. So *kūkū*, when you were living here as child, were you folks living mostly *makai*, or were you living in the *mauka* house? Or both?

EK: Well, when I was small yet, I cannot remember, but they said I did live *mauka* and *makai*. And we did live on Pāpā and 'Alika with all those 'ohana. We lived even up at Honokua, that's where Kalama and all that family was. That's the way it was before. You go visit family, you're not going now, and come home the same day.

KM: 'Ae.

[Families lived both *mauka* and *makai*, and helped one another: cultivating in the uplands, and fishing on the ocean.]

EK: You stay, that way you can meet your 'ohana, you *kōkua*, and the same thing when they come. That's how it was, and we knew all our 'ohana.

KM: 'Ae. Did you folks keep *māla'ai* when you were young also?

EK: The *māla'ai* was all *mauka*.

KM: *Mauka*, above the highway?

EK: Yes. We planted *kalo*, 'uala, *mai'a* and *kāpiki* too, the cabbage.

KM: Hmm. Do you remember the kinds of *kalo* or sweet potatoes that you folks planted?

EK: Hmm, that I don't remember. There were all different kinds, and they had the *kalo 'ai pa'a*, the *mana* taros. All different kinds. So many different kinds.

KM: All dry land?

EK: All dry land. Which reminds me, one time one of our 'ohana passed away in Kāināliu, and we went for her funeral. And then after everything was *pau*, they fed us. And that taro was on the table, yellow, orange, purple, all kinds. My wife said, "ono this potato." "That's not potato, that's *kalo*." So many varieties.

KM: Yes, 'o'opu *kai*, *lehua*, *mana-ulu*...all different.

EK: Yes. When we were young, we never thought of remembering all the names.

KM: Yes. And it was an interesting style, the dry land planting.

EK: Uh-hmm.



KM: Do you remember if they made *mākālua* pits, or *pu'e*?

EK: Only for the *'uala*, they made *pu'e*. But the *kalo* was open.

KM: Open. What, the *'ama'u* fern area, and lay that around to keep things moist?

EK: Yes. But during those time, the *kēhau no ke kakahiaka*.

KM: *Iho mai ke kēhau?*

EK: Yes, that *kēhau*. Us kids go outside, go play, *'auwē*, just like ice on the grass, on the leaves. *Mea ma'a mau*, and now, *pau*.

KM: *Ō loli?*

EK: *Loli, 'ae.*

KM: *Loli ka 'āina.*

EK: The *pua*, the flowers grow. Rain, we never ran out of water.

KM: You didn't?

EK: Never. As soon as the time came for the rain to come, those who had water tanks and what *lā*, full up. Other poor people, they get their *pā kīni* or big salmon barrels. And like certain places, they made the cement tank.

KM: Yes, cistern, *luawai*.

EK: We lived like that. *Kēlā* by the *hale pule*. *Mauka, Paulo me Ka'anā'anā*, they had land over there, *a ma laila*, as soon as the old folk had *pahu wai*—some redwood tank—then you like water, you go, you could all go to that tank by the *hale pule* or Akana's place. You need water, you go up there. So they knew the water was important and they shared. If somebody wanted water, they were always welcome. Even if ours was almost empty, they didn't stop you. They would say "in due time, it will fill up." They wouldn't tell you, "Oh, I don't think you should take, because bumpy we won't have enough to feed our family." Never, never.

KM: Hmm. So you folks grew your foods, you had water on the land.

EK: Yes, we had.

[Fishing was the mainstay of the families of Kapalilua; families also ranched, and hunted; salt was made at various locations along the shore.]

KM: And was the fish your big activity?

EK: Fishing was the big thing. And also there were *holoholona*, *pua'a 'āhiu*, *mauka*. We would go get, and *kao*. We learned that how to go hunt, and *kōpī pa'akai*.

KM: Hmm, *nohea mai ka pa'akai?*

EK: Well, the *pa'akai* we had that time was coming from the boat, *Humuula*. But that never stopped our *tūtū* folks, when we went *kahakai* and we knew we had salt in the *poho*, we went and picked up that salt. And they liked that salt. [chuckles] To them it was good.

KM: Better tasting.

EK: Yes.

KM: So there were areas where there were *kāheka*, *poho pa'akai*...?

EK: There were *poho* and ponds that had.



KM: When you folks would go fishing, was there a system...? And you'd mentioned that your *kūkū*, or Kuahuia *mā* were sort of the overseers... Would they call the people together and say 'the *akule* or the *ōpelu* or something *ku* now, and we go out to *hānai*? Did they take care of *ko'a*?

[*Kūpuna* cared for the *ko'a* *ōpelu* and *akule*, and taught the younger people, uncle's age to do so; fed the fish *kalo* and *pala'ai*.]

EK: Oh yes. You heard that from Uncle Snow *mā* and Paulo them.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: You have to *mālama*. We went and *hānai* the *ko'a*.

KM: What did you feed your fish? Say if you are going for *ōpelu*, what did you feed your fish when you *hānai* the *ko'a*?

EK: *Kalo. Kalo wale no kō mākou mea hānai ka i'a ma laila.*

KM: 'Ae. And the fish would come to eat the *kalo*?

EK: [chuckles] Yes. And of course they had *pala'ai*, some time they use *pala'ai*. But *kalo* was plentiful that time. And all of our *kalo* we had from the *ohana*, *mauka*. And I know, when you bring home the *kalo makai*, then we had one big square box, had our *kalo* inside there, and when the *ohana* come from *mauka*, they bring taro by the bag. We put 'um all by the side. Then when we start using, we use the one that came in the earliest. And then we *pale lau* or *'eke mau'u*, damp yeah. *Kau maluna* so no *malo'o*.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: And then when we are going to use the *kalo* for *ōpelu*, we always used the one...not the fresh one that they just brought down. Us *kamali'i* when we set the *kalo*, that's how we had the *kalo*.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: Same thing with the *'umeke'ai*, the full *'umeke*, the fresh one, or the day old one, two three day old, the five day old, and the one I don't know *pōhā* all inside [chuckles]. All that kind *'umeke*, never throw away. Then sometimes, we have the new *kalo* and the one five days old, and they intermix that one. Comes good. And then when the two in between pau, and you take the one *'awa'awa loa* and mix with the fresh one, just right.

KM: Comes just right.

EK: We never did throw away.

KM: 'Ae... Good days, yeah?

EK: Good, and so much the *mo'olelo*, when they talk about those kinds of things. That's why when I went back, and I see these *ohana* get the *poi* from the store... Of course already *wali ka poi ē*.

KM: *Waliwali, hehe'e.*

EK: 'Ae... [Laments the change in quality of poi today, in comparison with before.] Our *tūtū* says "From the beginning you plant, you take care of the *'āina*, plant the *kalo* and wait until it comes out, you pound and put it on the table. The story is all connected." That's why I say, when you mix, put the hand inside, *kūpele aku*. Touch it, *aloha*.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: Then from there, put the *wai*, and then from there until you figure enough... And that's how, they tell you the story of that's how the connection of Hāloa and all that. Then you feel that, and everything goes on the table and it goes right through.



KM: 'Ae, all family too.  
EK: It's all together. Many things, everything. Like the making of the *lei* and all that kind, the *tūtū* tell us—aunty Kapeka *mā* they tell us, "When you make something, you make it with that feeling." *Kēia manawa, hana wale nō!*

[Discusses the locations of *ko'a* and various types of fish caught in the Kīpāhoehoe-Kaulanamauna vicinity.]

KM: 'Ae. [pauses] When you folks would go out like this, to the land and to go out to fish, were there certain locations that... Like on Tuesday when we spoke, there were *ko'a* that were named...

EK: Uh-hmm.

KM: ...and you knew what place to go to for what fish.

EK: Yes.

KM: Like looking at the map here [pointing out locations on Register Map No. 2468], there are some names, not all of them.

EK: Yes, I was looking at it here.

KM: Kapukawa'aiki.

EK: Uh-hmm.

KM: Miloli'i and Laeloa.

EK: Uh-hmm.

KM: And the big land names, Miloli'i, Omoka'a, Kalihi, Honomalino.

EK: Uh-hmm. That's why for me, from over here [pointing to area near Kīpāhoehoe boundary]

KM: Well here's Nāpōhaku loloa.

EK: Yes, from here out, we go fishing. But mostly over here, to 'Alika-Pāpā, and then go home down to Kaulanamauna. But most of our places are inside here [nearer the shore line], where we get *ōpelu*. Say Kapukawa'a, there is one place outside here, night time, we go for *kawale'ā*. And the *'uluā* too, certain time.

KM: Ahh.

EK: A *ko'a* for that. And then outside here too, you get *ōpelu ko'a*. One, two, three four *ko'a* out there.

KM: May I mark on the map?

EK: Yes.

KM: In fact, one of these is called Ko'anui Point.

EK: Yes.

KM: So *kawele'ā* at Kapukawa'a.

EK: We used to go there for *kawele'ā*.

KM: About how far out?

EK: Oh, over there, not too far out.

KM: Near the shore?

EK: Not too far out. And that's where sometimes, all the pole fishermen used to go fishing over there for *'uluā*.



KM: *Kā mākoī?*

EK: Yes, cast. Those places I remember fro going outside. And out *ko'a 'ōpelu* is outside here. And then if us are outside here at Miloli'i, we get our *ko'a* right outside over there.

KM: So not too far out?

EK: No.

KM: Half a mile or less?

EK: Less. And that's why, the 'ohana over here this side, when their time to go, they go out and feed their *ko'a*. And then these 'ohana over here, the same thing. Miloli'i 'ohana, same thing.

[People in various *ahupua'a* took care of their own *ko'a*, and others respected them.]

KM: So did people respect...like if you were in Miloli'i, going for '*ōpelu*, did they not go into your *ko'a*?

EK: During that time when I grew up, people of 'Alikā were just about leaving there, Kekumu *mā*, Kawa'auhau *mā*, a me Kupa Kealakahiwa. Then after a while, they all moved away. There was nobody over there. there were a few houses over there, but when they moved away, that was *pau*. Then of course, they had people down in Pāpā, but during my time, no more already. Had *kauhale* over there. But that's how it was. Outside here, they all *mālama* their *ko'a*.

KM: So different little points or markers on the land?

EK: Yes. There's points and marks, but it's been so long that I haven't seen.

KM: Yes, maybe some time we could go down?

EK: You go over there, like... You see now, like Willie them, they're all younger. Those *ko'a 'ōpelu* outside there, along that area, I hope that they went with their folks. Like with Waha Grace *mā*. And during our time, we went too. See, when we went outside Miloli'i, and when we went outside by Laeloa, I remember that big '*ōpelu ko'a* over there... [thinking] *He inoa ka ko'a ma laila*.

KM: At Laeloa?

EK: Oh, Kipikauna. Then when you go home behind... [thinking] I'm forgetting all of those names. There's names for all of those places. I have to think about this, and then I can mark it on the map.

KM: Yes.

[The '*au* (currents) were important to the locations of the *ko'a*; and *au'a* (fish leaders) care for the younger fish of the *ko'a*.]

EK: Then outside Miloli'i, you get one, the *ko'a iwaho loa o ka* wharf, and that's the *ko'a* over there. *A i ō Ka'ili'ili*, that's by the lava flow. And that's why when you have a *ko'a* over there, you have one up front and one behind. In that particular area. That's the name of that *ko'a*. It depends on the '*au*. If the current is running towards Kona, we say '*au Kona*. We are in Kona, South Kona. So when '*au Kona*, that's where you go. Then if the current is running Ka'ū, then you say '*au Ka'ū*, and then you have to drop back. And that's the point you have to pinpoint.

KM: Yes.

EK: So if anybody would come over there, and they just go any place, they no can find, unless they find some *au'a*.

KM: 'Ae.



- EK: You come as you follow the *kala*. The *kala* tells you when you go *ōpelu* fishing. So that's how, every section outside of Miloli'i the same, even Ho'opūloa. That's where you get those two *ko'a*. You come outside Laeloa, you get those two *ko'a*. And if the *'au* is running that way [gestures, Ka'ū], you have to fall back.
- KM: So one current, if it's come out of Kona, running towards Ka'ū?
- EK: *'Au Kona*, running towards Kona, so you come up front.
- KM: So you would drop one way or the other, depending on which way the current is running; you drop your bait, what?
- EK: See, that's the question that is asked. *'Au Ka'ū, 'au Kona?* We shortened all that, "*Ke 'au nei? Ke 'au mai Kona.*" Then we come *pili*, you don't have to ask me that question.
- KM: *'Ae*.
- EK: But we are so used to making it short. It's the same thing with our Hawaiian name. That's why, when you ask me, we're not complete, the way we're telling it. *Ke 'au nei? Ke 'au mai Ka'ū.* Then the current is coming from Ka'ū, so we go behind. That's the corner that's up in the north. *Ke 'au nei? Ke 'au mai Kona.* The current is coming from Kona, going to the front. Then we have to know where that point that you have to go is.
- KM: *'Ae*.
- EK: And that's why, sometimes when you go, you go outside there and you stay right there waiting, waiting, and you're not watching the *'au* going. If you're not watching, you stay only all the time, and there's nobody. Then after you look, you see the current. That's where you have to go, and that's where all the *au'a*, all the fish are over there. Then sometimes from that fish over there, you have to find, till the fish ball up, then more plenty, more plenty *ōpelu*, and you *ku'u* one time, two times, then *pau*, you go home.
- Then again, they always said, "*Ke pi'i nei ke 'au i loko.*" Or "*Ke pi'i nei ke 'au i waho.*" Then when you are going up front, but you've got to go inside because the current is pushing all the food inside. From the current, all the feed is moving on that side. And those are the kinds of things our *tūtū* taught us. As soon as you go right on the *ko'a*, you know you go the *ko'a*, you put your feed down and everything. Then a few *au'a* come. They call that *au'a*, that's the main ones that take care the *ko'a*. They come, but they are always moving. They come, stay over there, mingle and eat, and they keep coming, coming, and then you know you are on the right spot. But, if they don't pile up, they keep moving, you have to watch how they move, where they're going. And then you watch how the *'au*, how strong the current is. They're moving further up and you have to go up that side. That's why some people have a hard time to find *ōpelu*.

[When the fish were schooling, families of the Miloli'i vicinity would share the main *ko'a*, one dropping the net, then another when the first one was done.]

I remember one time I came home, I came home from the military. And all of our nephews and everything, they were all fishing, but they all had outboard motor and this wood canoe. I went out with one of my nephews. I went with them. They were looking for *ōpelu* and everything. And some, they would just pull in the *au'a*. Then the boy told me, "Uncle, you like come in front, look for the fish for us?" "Okay." I was good, like I was getting back to what I did. All the other canoes were over there. Gradually I followed the fish, move, move, move. Move front and move inside. I found the big pile over there. Two times we went *ku'u, huki*, we had seven tubs of *ōpelu*. And the other guys were still outside there, *nele*. And when we came home, the kids told the families, "I never knew uncle knew how to fish *ōpelu*." And Sarah Kaupiko was over there too. She said "'*Auwē*, that's *keiki o ka 'āina*, who came home." Seven tubs of *ōpelu*. But that's how you have to find. The same place, and you don't follow that fish... That fish is all balling over there, the whole school never came back to the *ko'a*, right where it's supposed to be.



So you have to be alert and what the movement of the fish and the current, and that's how the *ōpelu* fishing is. And there's always the tradition over there, sometimes when *holo mai ka 'au*, *ōpelu*, plenty *ōpelu*. All the *'ohana* go over there, sometimes they stay on the side, two, three canoes at one place feeding. As soon as you find the school, you come, and you see him *ku'u*, then you see good, and you can come along side here.

KM: Yes, so people would share the *ko'a*?

EK: Yes, they share the *ko'a*.

KM: So one drop and he *hāpai*, then someone else drops?

EK: Yes. And there's a rule over there, I don't know if the young generation knows that. In case we stay on this *ko'a* outside here, Miloli'i or where ever, outside of Laeloa. If us three are over there, and we're looking, looking, then you *ku'u* your net, then we come up to you, look. Then you see all...it all depends on what different kinds of school *ōpelu*. So when you come and you look at the net, ohh! Plenty *ōpelu*. So you go there wait until he put his net in, and then when he starts pulling already, then you can throw your feed and you put your net down. And then the other one, the same thing, this side. And same thing with you, when you throw your feed, you throw your feed, two of you can go down with your net. But you don't go over there while they're still down, or the net didn't go down yet and they're feeding. Then you come along on the side and throw your feed and your net... [shakes head, no]

KM: No.

EK: Then you hear the kinds of story where they paddle come along the side of your *ama* and lift your *ama* up [chuckling]. We hear stories like that, you know.

KM: Yes.

EK: But you have to know the rules.

KM: *Ka lula no lākou?*

EK: Yes. You come, then you wait, and as soon as they huki... But, if the *ōpelu* are plenty, you can come right over there on both sides. And if the net is still down and he's still feeding, you can drop your net, but you don't throw the *'ai*.

KM: Yes, the *palu*.

EK: You don't throw your *palu*. [indicating different fishermen] You drop yours, you drop yours, by the time the *ōpelu* go in his net, he's pulling up, and yours is down, then feed. When you feed, all them come to you. Half to him, half to you. And then you put inside your net and come up. That's the kind of rules. Better than just wait for you to come up, and then you feed, because the fish are already there. And when the current pushes you past the *ko'a*, you have to come back up and find the school again.

KM: Yes.

EK: You put it right down there again, the school is over there, and your net is down. But if sometimes you're waiting and the current is strong, you passed the *ko'a*. The fish, only a few stay, the rest went back up. And there's all kinds of rules, you know.

KM: Hmm. Was there a concept or thought about... Did they just take everything they could all the time, or when you fished, did they... [thinking] Was there a thought about, take some today, and leave some for tomorrow?

EK: Well, for the *ōpelu*, they never thought of that, because there was always *ōpelu*.

KM: So much.



EK: There was so much, so much. And the way they take, they take it in the way that, “Can we handle that when we take it home?” *Kaha* all the fish, and the next morning take it down and clean. So you and your *’ohana*. Sometimes they come and they get open the net, let some go. That’s the way it was.

KM: Yes. How about other kinds of fish? Did you get *’ū’ū*? You mentioned *kawele’ā*...

[Mrs. Ka’anā’anā shares refreshments with group]

[Diving for *ula* (lobsters); and the role of Kū and Hina in caring for the *lua ula*.]

EK: Like I said, I’m glad that you talked to Snow. He was an old *kama’āina* over there. And Paulo and us, Willie them, we fished. But our younger generation, they don’t abide by those kinds of rules that we had. Like the story I used to tell, when I went home several times. I went *’ō i’a*, spear fishing, to get fish to eat. Then when I was *pau* spear fish, we come home. And I know there’s a certain place where had the *lua ula* (lobster hole). So I said “stop here, I’m going to check the hole.” The boy comes up, he has one *ula*. Then he stops at another place, no more. Then another place, he went down, he got two. I said “enough, enough, we have three lobsters, we go home.” Then I asked the boy, “When you went down to the first hole, how many lobsters had down there?” “One.” “And the other one?” “Two.” Then I told him the story. When we were growing up, I used to go dive with Martin Kaupiko. Us, when we were growing up we spear, but Martin and others, they grab with the hand, and I learned from them. Our time, there was plenty lobster, and the saying from our *tūtū*, “When you go any place, and you see two inside there, leave them. If there are three, you take one and you leave two. You see only one, leave. You see two, leave. More than that you can take, but leave two.” “Why this always leave two?” You think about it, like anything else, there is Kū a me Hina. There’s our *kāne* and our *wahine*.

KM: *’Ae*.

EK: Go with that thought. If you are going to take one of them, how are they going to multiply?

KM: That’s right.

EK: So there’s that thought. Then some smart one say, “How do we know which is the *kāne* and which is the *wahine*?” “It doesn’t matter if you know which is the *kāne* or the *wahine*, the thought is inside there.” That’s what they tell you. “*No’ono’o!*”

KM: So *he mea ma’a mau*, that’s how it was?

EK: Yes, that’s how it was... [recorder of and back on]

[Practices associated with gathering *’ōpihi* along the shore from Miloli’i-Pāpā vicinity.]

KM: ...So *ua hele ’oe, ku’i ’ōpihi?*

EK: *’Ae, kekāhi manawa, ua kama’ilio au me nā haumāna e pili ana nā mea lawai’a*. That time *’ōpihi* over there, was plenty [pointing to shore line near Miloli’i]

KM: So all along the coast?

EK: Yes. We go from Miloli’i, walk to Ho’opūloa and go by Pāpā. Over there Pāpā Bay, by Paukuala, plenty of *’ōpihi* there.

KM: Keawemoku.

EK: Keawemoku, plenty over there. So you walk over there, and outside there, plenty. We like to take the good walk. I remember, we used to go sometimes, and we’d stay over there, there’d be plenty *’ōpihi* yet. We *ku’i* with our *hao*. And then you hear *tūtū* them or uncle them, look behind. They look at you, because you’re not walking. “*Ē, hele mai, a’ole no ma kāhi wahi*. (Don’t stay at one place, because get plenty more here, get plenty!) That’s how they talk, “Leave that, get somebody else coming yet, keep walking and we pound, then when enough, we’ll go home.” That’s how it was. Instead you come, plenty, you pick and then the other one going come on the stone, and no more already.



KM: So the idea was don't take all from one place?

[During his youth, *Lāpule* (Sunday) was a day that all fishing activities stopped, you let them rest.]

EK: Don't take it all from one place, you keep moving. Keep moving. And I don't know if Willie *mā*, Paulo *mā* told you the story from right outside of Miloli'i, I guess from... [thinking] With us, from right outside Kapukawa'a until Omoka'a, Kalihi, until outside Kalihi. So up here, Kapukawa'aiki. Over here, from this point to this point outside here by Kalihi, we have rule over there, when come Sunday, nobody works. And when people from away come down, they go over there *kā māko'i*, go fishing, and they would sent the *kamali'i*. They tell 'um "You go tell the people over there that we don't fish or what on Sunday. But if you folks want to fish, you go on that side, that point over there and that side."

KM: So to the north.

EK: "Or you pass down this side of Kalihi and there is one grass house over there, you go up on the hill on that side, you folks fish."

KM: So this was a practice of you folks there?

EK: That was the practice.

KM: Sunday was the day, *ho'omaha* (rest)?

EK: *Ho'omaha*.

KM: Even the fishery *ho'omaha*?

EK: Even the fish *ho'omaha*.

[*Ahi, aku* and *'oe'oe* fishing seasons.]

KM: Yes. Were there seasons to, or were there times that you would not go get *'ōpelu* or go out for *'ahi* or *aku*, like that?

EK: The *'ahi*, there were times when the *'oe'oe* come in, the small kind *aku* or small *'ahi* and everything, they don't bother to go get. They know already that it is still small. They don't go get. But now, they just take everything.

So they come in when already a little bit big, just when the *aku* start jumping, they go out. But when they know that season is small, they don't go out to get. That's why sometimes when they go outside, they come home, and they might get little ones like that [gestures with hands].

KM: Seven inches or so.

EK: [chuckling] Just happened to bite the hook. So *make* and they bring home. They just *kaha* that right there, like a small *'ōpelu*. The small little *aku*.

KM: 'Ae. And *kaula'i*?

EK: *Kaula'i*. That's the time they know when small like that, they don't go get.

KM: I understand in the old days, that there was a time, like six months, they get *'ōpelu*, and don't get *aku*.

EK: Yes, that was the old days.

KM: Then six months *aku* you take, and no *'ōpelu*.

EK: They had that rule.

KM: So the fish to *ho'omaha*, *ho'oulu hou*.



[Discusses use of *umu* and other near shore fishing customs.]

- EK: Yes. That was the time. And then again, from that point to [indicating Kapukawa'aiki], and this one right outside Miloli'i, right outside of Waikini. Right where that landing is, and go all the way to Kalihi, all in front of the houses. In front of there, they used to get piles of *pōhaku*, they called *umu*.
- KM: 'Ae.
- EK: And also, some places have *poho wai* like that. And then the *awāwa* in between, and then we make *pā pōhaku* outside by the channel-like, going out. And then when the tide comes up, all the *manini* and all kinds of fish all come in, feeding on top. Then when the tide goes down. Whatever comes in the ponds like that *pa'a*.
- KM: Yes, so in the small *awāwa* [little valleys or inlets on the lava flats] like that, they would block off the front end?
- EK: Block it off, and then that's where *tūtū* folks, the *wahine* them, or the little kids learning how to fish, they come down with their *'upena kā'e'e*. They go with that in the pond, and with the little *lau niu*, and that's where they get the fish. It's inside there, cannot go out. But when the tide comes in, if they go out, they go out. But more come in. And it's the same thing with the *umu* over there. And that one over there, nobody goes to get that fish over there. In other words, when you like to make a *lū'au pā'ina* like that, or *'ohana* coming down and you need plenty fish. We never go to those places, we go away from there to get the fish. See, those fish there, are for *tūtū* them and the *mo'opuna*, in case the *kāne* them went *mauka* to go work, go ranch or what, or go some place. And they want fish, they just go right there.
- KM: 'Ae.
- EK: And the *imu (umu)* is the same thing, they just *ho'opuni* the *imu* there, and *houhou* the stick underneath. The fish all run outside, *pa'a* in the net. *Hemo*, put in the bag.
- KM: 'Ae. So *imu* or *umu*?
- EK: *Umu*.
- KM: So fish house, you folks would make?
- EK: Fish house. And we never go get that for family, like big family coming. That was really for the *kūpuna* and the *keiki*. Teach the *keiki* how and how to go get, and to *mālama*.
- KM: 'Ae.
- EK: That's one thing, sometimes I hear, the hand too. People say about your hand, the cooks say about the hand.
- KM: 'Ae.
- EK: So somebody goes to start to *imu*. We used to go help make *imu*, and then sometimes, *komo ka pūhi* inside. They're always inside, and when you open 'um, "ah, the *pūhi* is inside." When you go poke, the *pūhi* comes up. Or when you poke and *hei* the fish in the net, the *pūhi* is going to grab 'um. They say, "Ah no good the hand. You have to break down the *umu*, *hemo* all the stones, let it rest. And then maybe when you go built again, move it slightly, not on the same place. That's why they say, "Some hands are no good, the *pūhi* goes inside."
- KM: 'Ae.
- EK: But, the *pūhi* comes, he sees fish, he like go over there eat. But he no scared, he bite. But when every time you go and he stay inside there, and the fish come to the net, he's coming outside there taking the fish *pa'a* in the net. Ah, the say "the hand no good." That I remember.



KM: Yes. So many stories, so many things... Now, you brought it up, the children sometimes today, they're not practicing these things or they don't follow the rules...

EK: Yes.

[Discusses fishing for 'ahi, 'ōpelu and other fish; and the relationship of baits to the health of the ko'a. When young never heard of "make dog" or other "pilau" baits.]

KM: One of the things that has happened in your 'āina out here, is that your folks *palu*, when you *ka'a'ai*, it's *kalo*, *pala'ai*...?

EK: Yes.

KM: Now people are coming in with...they started this thing they call *pilau*, *make dog*, chop-chop. What is your thought about that in your folks 'āina?

EK: [chuckling] When you talk about *make dog* [chuckling], that's another thing. When I heard that, when I came back, "*make dog!*" I asked, "What's that?" Oh, they go out for 'ahi. 'Ahi fishing. And they talk about "*make dog.*" "Yes, we put down our *make dog* in this and that." I never knew, what that is. But it's not the *palu*. When we go out 'ahi fishing... Well to begin first with the old folks, the way they fished before, they use *kēpau* and everything, it was all stone.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: Even night time and everything, they go with stone. That's what takes their things down, yeah.

KM: Yes.

EK: You get your line, you hook, your bait, and how you coil your line, with your 'aho on top. That's how you're going down. Then you drop 'um down, you *huki*, one, two times, you can feel that *pōhaku* rolling, *hemo*. And that is how you have to tie that with the bait on, or some you put the *palu* on top. That is how you tie [gesturing with hands], you get so many turns around, you tie, and you let it go. As soon as you [gestures jerking with hand], one, two times, you can feel the stone roll and roll. As soon as it's clear, you know your hook and bait is out waiting for the fish, but you have to hold it, you have to feel 'um. Sometimes roll and roll and then you feel heavy one time, ah, the line went *pa'a* with the hook, the stone never *hemo*. You got to bring 'um up.

KM: Hmm, and deep some, yeah?

EK: Sometimes deep if you're going for 'ahi. Shallow fishing not so bad, the small kinds of stones. But the 'ahi, you have to do that. So everything is on top, you *palu* and everything. You get your 'ōpelu, the whole 'ōpelu, you *kaha* one side, the meat. You *kaha* right down and drop down, then you hook the head. Then the other half of that, you chop 'um, and then you put it on top of the *pōhaku*. You *wili* your leader with the *makau*. the you make 'um like a little coil and you put all your meat inside there. Then you let it go, and you *hemo*, and that's how you *palu*.

And then later on, they started to use cloth, *welu*, like the 'ōpelu *ka'a'ai*. The *welu* and they still use stone. So naturally, when you put your *palu* in side, you *wili* the *welu*, you just tie one time, *pau*. You let 'um go. And that way, the *palu* all *pa'a*. But that way is good. Sometimes they say when some 'ahi fishermen go, and when they cut their chunks. You have to cut pieces not too small. You *wili*, you make sure you *pa'a*, so the pieces stay in. But if you make *kapulu*, when it's going down, then the *palu hemo* all over the place, and then the fish are running all around the place. And sometimes you're not catching because all the fish are concentrating on that area with the *palu* and you're not catching. But if you make it good, as soon as you make the place, everybody the same place, all catching the fish. And that's when they came with the *welu*, the *ka'a'ai*.

KM: 'Ae.



- EK: You put the *welu* and you wrap ‘um. And you know *pa’a*, the meat doesn’t *hemo* when you go down. That’s how it started.
- But actually, I don’t know if any of them know this, because before they had the *welu*, only the *pōhaku*. You know the *noni* leaf?
- KM: ‘Ae.
- EK: You pick up the *noni* leaf and then you wrap the *noni* leaf around that *pōhaku*, and then you *wili*. That way, *pa’a* all that meat inside there. And that was the idea that they wanted to *pa’a* that meat. Because once the fish run a certain depth, where the ‘*ahi*’ running, you go over there, hit that, every time, everybody is putting in. Sometimes I go, we go. Morning time is a certain depth, afternoon time a certain depth. Certain kind of ‘*ahi*’ run deep. So you have to know all of this.
- KM: Yes. Were you folks still using *pā* or were you using metal?
- EK: The *pā* is when you go *hī aku*.
- KM: So you use hook on your ‘*ahi*’.
- EK: *Makau*, the hook. That’s what we used to do. Then when I came home, they started to use that “*make dog*.” They get that rag and they put that lead, and then when they throw down and *hemo*, the *palu* bag is over there, and the lead is over there yet. Sometimes, if there’s plenty ‘*ahi*’ running, no *pilikia*, you use that. Good, no need worry about going to look for *pōhaku*. But sometimes, when the fish are not running, or really biting so good, it’s best to go with just the *pōhaku* and the bait and the line. If you get your line over there, and the *welu* is going like that [gestures, fluttering around], and the lead is hanging, that chances that the fish is going over there, he no like see this thing hanging and flapping around. So you catch and you pull in yours. Unless the fish are really excited and running, they’ll go with anything. So that’s the kind of thing you have to do.
- KM: About how far out would you folks go when you were fishing ‘*ahi*’? And canoe, you paddle eh?

[Discusses the *ko’a* ‘*ahi*’ marked by Moku Nai’a.]

- EK: Yes. Well, there is one *ko’a* ‘*ahi*’ right outside there, outside of Moku Nai’a. Before you hit Moku Nai’a, before Pōhaku Ke’oke’o. Between Holomalino and Okoe.
- KM: Here’s Okoe right here [pointing to location on map].
- EK: Right outside there somewhere.
- KM: Yes, there’s Moku Nai’a right there.
- EK: Yes, Moku Nai’a, and then right around there, this area here, that’s where that *ko’a* is.
- KM: So not too far out.
- EK: Not too far. That’s the *ko’a* they go to before. Now, they all go to the buoy. But sometimes when they’re fishing, they come home to the *ko’a*.
- KM: So Pōhaku Ke’oke’o also?
- EK: Yes, that white stone over there. Some of the people say “that white stone, you line up that white stone, and the point...” With the inside or outside, again, it depends on how the ‘*au*’ is running; “*Ke pi’i ke ‘au i loko*,” if you’re out, then you going inside.
- KM: ‘Ae.
- EK: And that’s how. I don’t know where that white stone came from, the water threw ‘um on top.
- KM: A big coral?



- EK: Yes, big coral. All 'a'ā over there, you know. And that's Pōhaku Ke'oke'o. So when new people come, they think the people went bring and throw that rock over there.
- KM: But it's old?
- EK: Yes, that coral rock marks that *ko'a*. Sometimes when big water comes, you see the white rocks up there. But you dive around there, no more white rocks. Funny kind.
- KM: Hmm, carried from far.
- EK: Yes.
- KM: So you wouldn't have to go out a mile? Not even?
- EK: No, not one mile.

[Use of baits changed when the flag line/long line fishing began (ca. 1930s); use of meat baits causes the *pōwā* (predators) to attack the *ko'a 'ōpelu*.]

- KM: What about when they use junk, or stink meat. Like when they go for '*ōpelu*, compared to you folks, if you are feeding your '*ōpelu* *kalo*, and then someone comes to feed them meat, your '*ōpelu* are going after which bait?
- EK: You see, that's what happened. During those times, when those flag-line, or long-line fishing sampans from Hilo, what ever, come down. They come to Kona side, summer time they all come to Kona side, lay their line and catch '*ahi*. Then they're full, they go back to Hilo. So when they come, some of them, they come, they get the *uneune* boat. But they don't come home outside Miloli'i, they stay in Okoe, Kapu'a. But they already know, when they come, if they don't have, then they go. They get their own net and they fish '*ōpelu*, and they catch their bait. The thing they use, they get their '*ahi* or *aku* meat, they grind 'um, and that's what they were using to feed the '*ōpelu*. So that was the start. And we don't like those kind of baits.
- KM: And was this the 1920s, 1930s?
- EK: In the 1930s already, when they started coming. But the few Japanese boats that came over there, that's what they were doing. So they made them stop. They got the word, "If you are going to come over here and feed these kind of fish, you go over to South Point or over to Wai'ahukini and over. But not this side, from Kaulanamauna, to this side. If you do, we going come out and do something..." According to the old folks. "Because we only feed taro and potato, pear, or pumpkin.
- KM: Yes.
- EK: None of these kinds of fish baits. What it does is it brings the big fish in there, and they *pōwā* the fish.
- KM: 'Ae.
- EK: So there were people that understood that, and they came, and when they wanted '*ōpelu*, they would take it from the people. They would tell them, buy their '*ōpelu*, so much... Well, that time was 35 cents for one *ka'au*, according to the size. Fifty cents one *ka'au*.
- KM: Amazing, for forty fish?
- EK: Forty fish, yes. So that's what they took. When that happened, some of our own people began to realize. They said "Hey, with this kind of bait, the fish all like eat." So they started to go get the '*ama* crab. They *pūlehu* and mash 'um and then mix 'um with the *palu*. So if you get that kind of mix, and you and me go together, oh, the fish are all going to you!
- KM: Yes.
- EK: They all go to you because the feed is different. And then in the community there, the wondered, "What was going on over here?" So you would come home... We three go



fishing over there, and every time we throw our feed, you come down and throw yours, they all go to you, and you're pulling in the fish. Only when yours is *pau*, you're not putting your net down, you're waiting for us. We put our net down, and you can tell the fish are acting different. *Lālama ka i'a!* When you come feed, they don't eat steady like that, they eat all excited. So this is the story that I know. But during that time, I was not the head fisherman. I just look down, I was *ka'a'ai* man or behind. But this is the thing that they talked about among themselves, "something is wrong." Then as soon as we come home, they *hemo* the *ōpelu* and look "Ahh! What is this red stuff?" [gesture cutting the fish open]

KM: So they look in the *ōpū*?

EK: Yes, they look. And they tell, "you're not supposed to this, this is why we had *pilikia* over here. The fish go all *lālama*." All that kind.

KM: Yes. So it changes the nature of the fish?

EK: It changes the nature of the fish.

KM: If you use these things, the bigger fish, like you said, "*pōwā*." They come in too.

EK: Right. If the *'ā'ama*, not so bad, because you're mixing it together with the *palu*. They don't use it all, because they mix it with the *kalo*. That's not so bad. The only thing, the fish get excited, and they like more of your *'ai*. So when you're *pau* and you *huki* your net, and then you are waiting for us, and we feed only *kalo*; we put our net down, and they can see the way the fish act. Their behavior, something is wrong. And that's how they found out. But then it came to the point that they began to use the *aku* meat.

KM: Hmm.

EK: So they introduced a law for there, that you can use any other kind of feed except for vegetables. And this law is still on the books till today.

KM: Yes, but some people are going outlaw.

EK: They go out, our own people. So even you see, when you catch that *ōpelu*, you use meat, all the *pōwā* come over there chase. And you get hard time to catch the fish, hold the fish. And then that too, you cannot keep the *ōpelu* long, because they go fast. *Ōpelu*, the stomach you got to open quick with that kind of bait. So till today, that law is still there. Even that *'upena ōpelu*, small one inch or half inch eye...

...But again, that's what's happening to our *ko'a*. So many people come, they don't know where the *ko'a* is. And they go all over the place and feed so the fish move here and there.

KM: Yes. And before, you folks would make the *ko'a*, you would mark them, right, and you would visit that place regularly?

EK: Yes, all the time.

KM: So sometimes feed and no take fish, other times *ka'a'ai*...

EK: Yes, you feed.



[Fish, *limu* and other aquatic resources today, not as plentiful as when he was young; over taking is in part to blame. In the old days, people fished from the lands where they belonged, and did not intrude in other localities.]

KM: Hmm. What are your thoughts about the fish today? Are the fish as plentiful today as they were when you were young, or have things changed?

EK: Well, I tell you, like this example. You go to Miloli'i There are many things that we don't see now over there that used to be. Like for instance, every season when the '*ōhua* comes in, there's plenty, they're just loaded. And the families just go over there scoop the '*ōhua* and take home, *kaula'i* and everything. Never ran out. Today, you don't see it. And even the small *pua*. *Pua* before, plenty, you could see over there. Right outside of our place, and especially Omoka'a, that sand place and Kalihi. That's where they all are. All the small fish are over there. And even the *moi*, the *moi li'i*, used to get plenty over there. Now no more.

KM: Is it because of over taking, or because of changes in ocean?

EK: *Pehea lā?* I don't know. What I see, there are fish, but because of the over taking, I would say. There's a *pilikia* down there. When I went home, there are those people who go out and look for tropical fish, and that's another thing too. The way I see it, even certain kinds of *limu* too, and even the *namako*, the *loli*. Even that, you hardly see that now. Hardly see the *moi li'i* and the *pua*, the *uouoa* and all that. When it was my time, the little ones were just loaded.

KM: Yes. This is an important thing, because when you were young, and growing up to the 1930s, 1940s, the people that fished there, were primarily the native residents of the land. Is that correct?

EK: That's all it was, all the people of the '*āina*.

KM: Today, because of the way that the American law is set up...

EK: Uh-hmm.

KM: ...there are no *kapu* fisheries, except for what they want to determine ["reserves" and "preserves"].

EK: That's right.

KM: And if you are from Kohala, and you don't have fish, you can go to Miloli'i and take all the fish you want.

EK: Uh-hmm, that's right.

KM: Was it like that when you were young?

EK: It wasn't like that. It wasn't like that [shaking his head].

KM: So this idea about...well, when you are of the land, you know when the fish are plentiful and when you can take.

EK: That's right.

KM: And if you come from away?

EK: You don't know. That's what's happening.

[Feels that the old Hawaiian *Ahupua'a* and *Konohiki* system of managing fisheries should be reestablished.]

KM: So maybe as a State and people, we need to look at reestablishing some of these old *Konohiki* Fishery ideas and concepts. *Ahupua'a* based management. What do you think?

EK: That's why we keep talking about it. Sometimes you get angry, you bring these things up,



and yet they put in conservation, where the tourist can go over there and feed, dive and see. And what about the people?

KM: Yes, have to have a balance.

EK: They don't do it.

KM: Conserve, but the people of the land have to be able to fish, right?

EK: That's the way it was.

[Discusses the source of the *‘ōhua* fish.]

KM: Hmm. May I ask you about the *‘ōhua*? *He‘aha kēlā ‘ano i‘a?*

EK: *A, ko mākou manawa, ke lo‘a ka ‘ōhua, a me ka no‘ono‘o e puka mai o ka manini. Ka manini li‘ili‘i, kēlā ka ‘ōhua.*

KM: ‘Ae.

EK: *Kēlā ka i‘a ki‘i ‘ia. Hele ‘oe i ke kakakhiaka nui, mamua o ke ka‘a mai o ka lā, a ‘ike ‘oe i kēlā i‘a, ka manini. ‘Ike ‘oe i ka iwi, transparent. Kēlā ka ‘ono ‘ai maka!*

KM: *A kēia ‘ōhua, ai loko o kekāhi ‘eke paha, o helele‘i wale?*

EK: [chuckling] *Kēia ku‘u lohe, pehea lā pololei paha, a‘ole pololei? Lohe kākou ka ho‘i mai koholā ia ne‘i, ka makahiki a pau. Mea, kuha mai ka hūpē koholā [chuckling].*

KM: ‘Ae.

EK: *Lohe ‘oe, kēia ka hūpē koholā, ‘eke nui! A mai kēia i‘a li‘ili‘i, o ka ‘ōhua, he‘aha lā, a komo akula ke ‘alu‘alu nei ka i‘a, nui a lākou a komo ka ‘ia i loko o kēia ‘eke. A pae a‘e lā kēia ‘eke i uka, ka lae kahakai, a pahū mai kēia ‘eke a mai laila ku ka ‘ia. Kēlā ku‘u mea i lohe ai.*

KM: ‘Ae.

EK: *Pololei paha, a‘ole pololei pehea lā?*

KM: *Mai Ni‘ihau a i Hawai‘i, lo‘a kēlā mo‘olelo, mai ke koholā.*

EK: *Lo‘a kēlā mo‘olelo, no ke koholā.*

KM: ‘Ae. A o ka po‘e scientists...

EK: Scientists.

KM: *A‘ole lākou maopopo ai. They don't think so. Akā, ‘oia ka mo‘olelo a ‘oukou a pau, nā kūpuna mai Ni‘ihau a i Hawai‘i.*

EK: ‘Ae.

KM: *Ea mai kēlā ‘eke.*

EK: *Ka ‘eke, hūpē koholā. ‘Oia ko mākou i lohe i ka wā li‘ili‘i. Pēlā ka‘a mai ka ‘ōhua.*

KM: ‘Ae.

EK: *Ke ha‘i nei au i kēlā mo‘olelo, pā mai kēia mai ka hūpē koholā.*

KM: ‘Ae.

EK: *He ‘eke nui pae i kahakai. Nui, i nā pō a pau, nui. Hele a ‘upena kā‘e‘a. Kekāhi a nā wahine, hele malāila, inā makemake, hele wale no akula. Hele me ka ‘upena kā‘e‘a a lawa a ho‘omalo‘o aku. kāhi lulu a kaula‘i. Hiki no ke ‘ai maka pēlā. A kēlā mākou, inā nui kēlā i loko o ka ‘eke. Mākou, hele i ke kula, ‘ai kēlā. Ko mākou kanakē.*



[Gathering *limu*.]

KM: 'Ae, hmm. Tūtū, lo'a *limu* aia ma kēlā 'āina? Ua hele 'oukou 'ohi *limu*?

EK: 'Ae, ka *limu kohu*. Nui ka *limu kohu* ma laila. A ka *limu pahe'e*, aia ma kēlā 'ao'ao ma Pāpā. Kēlā pōhaku ma laila. Pae mau 'ana ka *limu pahe'e* ma laila.

KM: A, ma kekāhi kau, certain season?

EK: Yes, kekāhi kau. Pēlā ma 'ō loa, a hele 'oe ma Kīpāhoehoe, malaila. Hele 'oe i ka wa'a, hele ki'i malaila. Kēia manawa inā 'ike 'oukou kēlā, lawe lākou i kāhi wa'apā me ka mikini, hele akula malaila. Akā ka *limu kohu*, pa'a mau malaila.

KM: Hmm, mahalo nui no kēia mo'olelo...

EK: [discusses family *ilina* sites]

[Disucsses the practice of families traveling between the uplands and the shore for fishing and cultivating the land; and of the excahnge of goods between families.]

EK: ...Malaila ku'u wā kamali'i, kēlā po'e pā malaila, 'Alika-Pāpā, hele 'oe i 'Ōpihali, mau kēlā po'e ma laila.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: He ala kēlā mai uka a i kai.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: Kekāhi manawa 'ike aku 'oe i kekāhi o nā 'ohana, makemake lākou hele i ke kai, a me kēlā ala no i iho mai a hiki kai, lawai'a, kōpī *pa'akai*. A pau aku ho'i i uka. A kekāhi o nā 'ohana noho no lākou ma lalo laila, ka hale pōhaku, hale pāpa'i.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: Ua 'ike au i kēlā, kēlā 'ano noho ana.

KM: 'Ae. A i ka wā mamua, kuapo paha lākou. O ka po'e o uka, kanu i kēlā mau mea 'ai?

EK: 'Ae.

KM: A hele i kahakai a kuapo me ka i'a?

EK: Kēlā ke 'ano. Kēlā ke 'ano.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: Ho'okāhi manawa mai Miloli'i, hele wau i Kāināliu, o Keli'i mā, Ho'omanawanui mā.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: A o ku'u 'ohana. 'Ohana kēlā me ku'u tūtū wahine o Paialua mā, o Kini Kā mā.

KM: 'Ae, Kini Kā. 'Ohana me kou kupuna wahine?

EK: 'Ae. A ho'okāhi manawa, 'elua manawa iho aku wau me kēlā po'e 'ohana, iho i kai.

KM: I Kāināliu?

[*Ahele 'a'ama* (snaring crabs).]

EK: 'Ae, mai i uka mai i Kāināliu. A lohe lākou, "Kēia keiki kama'āina 'oia i ka 'ahele *'a'ama*." Lohe lākou i ka 'ahele. 'Ōlelo mai ku'u tūtū, "Ki'i 'oe, ho'omākaukau i ka 'ohe, me ka mea kākele." Hele kākou, hele. Hele au me ku'u 'ahele, kekāhi o nā kamali'i hahai mai ia'u, "He'aha lā kēia?" Kēia 'ano o ka 'ahele. Hele au a lo'a ka *'a'ama*.

KM: 'Ae, a hoihoi loa ē, kēlā 'ano 'ahele?

EK: 'Ae. Pēlā ka 'ōlelo, nā wahi a pau, lo'a ke ala, hele ka 'ohana hele i uka, a mai uka hele i



*lalo. Nā wahi a pau.*

KM: *A noa kēlā mau ala hele no nā po'e kama'āina?*

EK: 'Ae.

KM: *Ō kūkū, mahalo nui no kēia hui hou ana.*

EK: Okay, yeah.

KM: Maybe in the new year, we'll find a time and take care so you can come up...

EK: 'Ae... *Ho'omana'o au iā Kumukāhi.*

KM: 'Ae.

[Recalls *tūtū* Lohi'au and his *mo'opuna*, Kamuela Kumukāhi. Lohi'au made the *kuku* for the 'ōpelu nets from 'ūlei gathered at Okoe.]

EK: *Hā'ule 'oia. Ko mākou hui hou ana me Walter Paulo, wala'au mākou ko mākou wā kamali'i i noho ai i kēlā 'āina i Miloli'i. Kona tūtū o Lohi'au, noho 'ia mauka. A ke iho mau ana no iāia.*

KM: *He'aha ka hana a Lohi'au, ua hana paha 'oia i 'apo no ka 'upena?*

EK: 'Ae. *Inā makemake ka po'e o Miloli'i i ka waha o ka 'upena, ka 'ūlei.*

KM: 'Ae.

EK: *No ka kuku.*

KM: 'Ae. *Ua lohe au, ua noho 'oia i Okoe?*

EK: 'Ae, *noho 'oia i Okoe.*

KM: *Aia mauka?*

EK: *Mauka. Kama'āina wau. Hele wāwae mākou i ka hale, hiamoe ma laila. Kēlā ke 'ano o ka mākou wā kamali'i. Pēlā no wau 'ike iā Kamuela. Kekāhi manawa...li'ili'i au i kēlā manawa. A iho mai o Kamuela mā, a pau, makemake i pi'i i uka. Hele wāwae wale nō.*

KM: 'Ae.

EK: *Mai Miloli'i hele mākou i Kalihi no paha a pi'i.*

KM: *A hele ala hele pi'i i uka?*

EK: 'Ae, *pi'i i uka. Hahai akula wau iā lākou hele i Kapu'a, a mahope, pi'i lākou mauka ala. Pi'i lākou. Hahai wau iā lākou, 'ōlelo mai o Walter, "Ē mai hahai 'oe, mahope, a'ole hiki iā 'oe ke ho'i."*

KM: *E 'uwē ana paha o Kamuela?*

EK: *Nui ka 'uwē. "Hele 'oe!" Hahai wau mahope. "Ē, a'ole hele mai!" Hahai wau, a mahope, "Okay, hele mai." [chuckling] Pi'i kāua i luna me tūtū mā.*

KM: *Hmm, nui ke aloha!*

EK: *Maika'i loa kēlā mau lā.*

KM: *Mahalo nui!* [pauses] *Tūtū*, I'll get this transcribed... [Discusses review and release; and a trip to Miloli'i; and marking locations of importance to families, to help protect resources.]

EK: Too bad all those old time fishermen gone. When I think about John Aiona, Eddie Kuahuia, 'Ula'ula, they were all *kama'āina*. When they left over there, they went to Hilo, then they went to Pāhoa, down Pohoiki. *Kama'āina lākou*...good fishermen. I remember



Keoni Kuahiwinui, when he came here, he started on that shark fishing over here. *Kēlā manawa, nui ka manō. Hana 'oia me kēlā lawai'a.*

[Discusses sharks in the Kapalilua region; *manō* protected the fisheries and helped the fishermen.]

KM: Hmm. May I ask, you speak of sharks, did you folks have guardian or protective sharks out here, that you folks knew?

EK: Yes, I was fortunate to know about that, my *tūtū*, speak of the *'aumakua*, it is the *manō*. I heard it from them. Then when my *tūtū* Paialua *mā* which is Paulo *mā* too, they had the *pueo*. So during my time, I did sense many things that *hō'ike, ka hōailona, hō'ike ka mea e pili ai ka manō*. And even Kahele, *ka 'ohana Kahele, ka manō* too. And the *pueo*, certain times I've seen where the *pueo* did show me something. And I took heed, because I heard my *tūtū wahine* talking about things like that. It comes, it opens up the way for you, or it demonstrates that it's not time to go. Wait for another day. I listen... [discusses an event with a *pueo* at Ka'ala]

KM: *Kūpuna* talk about the *manō* like that, as *kia'i* or guardian, and they come up when your fishing, nudge the canoe, and tell you when it's enough.

EK: Uh-hmm, enough, leave for another day. One example, when we went diving. You know the Kahele family?

KM: 'Ae.

EK: The two Kahele brothers and one of the Paulo family, and this other friend of them, came from Hilo. They stayed at Miloli'i and then we went to go diving to get fish. This boy stayed on the boat while we were diving. He's not a seaman, he's on the boat, couldn't follow us when we dive. So we just dropped the anchor and we went diving. Then when it was enough, we come back to the boat. So in the meantime, we left him over there. Then one of the Kahele brothers came by us, nudged us, let's go up. Why? He was pointing at this *manō*, spinning around. Funny, usually they just pass and they go. But this one kept spinning on top of us. So good thing we went, we came up start swimming to the boat. We looked and thought the boy on the boat was laying in the boat. but he wasn't over there. He had gotten hot, and jumped in the water, but he wasn't a strong swimmer. So he went off and the *'au* was strong, it pulled him away. And he was trying to swim back to the boat, and he was just about ready to go down. Lucky when we came up, we saw, there he was. Somebody swam towards him, and the rest went to get the boat. And they said, "you see, if the shark hadn't done that, he would be finished, he would have drowned."

KM: Yes...

EK: So that's one example that really shows you. The Kahele family, that's their *'aumakua*. It's lucky for some of us, our *tūtū* told us about that. And another example too. This is Tūtū Ka'anā'anā, when we go flag line, we eat. If we have *aku* like that, we eat *aku*. And then sometimes some *'ahi*, when the *'ahi* comes up, maybe part of the tail, the shark ate. And when comes too far, more than half is taken, if only half, a big *'ahi*, the market will take 'um. Sui San, they cut it off, they get the meat and the head, everything.

KM: Yes.

EK: But when it is too far gone, close to the head, they won't take it. So we cut off all the part where the shark took, and we take it and eat. The head, we chop it up and make soup. [chuckles] This one time, I came home with my piece of *'ahi*, a pretty good chunk. I don't know how *tūtū* man knew. He asked "He 'i'o *'ahi kēia*?" (This is *'ahi* meat?) "Yes." He says, "No hea mai kēia *'ahi*?" "From outside there." "Nāu ko kēia i'a? Nāu ko kēia i'a ho'iho'i mai na kākou e 'ai ai?" (Is this your fish that you bring home for us to eat?) But before, when we come home, we had whole *aku* like that, we never did bring the *'ahi* piece. We never did bring an *'ahi* piece, we usually eat it on the boat, and *pau*, we throw it away. The other kinds of fish, the smaller ones, we bring 'em home. Then he says, "Ai 'ia kēia na kāhi manō, ē." (The shark went eat this fish.) "Yes." Then he said, "Pehea 'oukou



*ho'ihoi mai, ha'awi aku. Ha'awi pau aku kelā i'a. A'ole ho'ihoi mai na kākou e 'ai ai. Mālia paha na kekāhi, okay. A'ole na kākou, a'ole na kākou kēia i'a."*

KM: Hmm.

EK: How did he know? Maybe because we didn't bring home this kind of fish before? But that's the first thing. "Is this your folks fish for bring home?" He said "throw 'um back to the shark."

KM: Interesting.

EK: How did he know? And the same thing with that boy with the Kahele family, diving.

KM: Hmm. *Mahalo nui!* Thank you so much, it's so good...

EK: *Lawa kēia?*

[Discussing various ko'a and place names of the Miloli'i vicinity.]

KM: 'Ae... [speaking about maps and marking locations on them] ...Like you said, the place names are so important, and we're losing the place names.

EK: Yes, especially the names like this. Inside Miloli'i like that, from right in the front, from Kapukawa'a.

KM: Yes here, Kapukawa'aiki.

EK: Yes, and to Laeloa, and there's names all inside here. [thinking] See, I forget. Right around in here has Waikini. Waikini is the landing, right over there, the *awa* where the canoe comes up. And then the next one is Kamākāhā, then you move along and go to Kalanihale. And there is one *kumu kiawe* over there on that *pōhaku*, right over there. It's amazing when the big sea and everything comes up, all the other stuff falls down, but that *kumu kiawe* still stands straight up. Then you come a little bit over, and you come to Omoka'a. Then to Kalihi, and then you go here, there were all names over here. *Ka'ili'ili* and all along. Hmm, I used to know all those names. Pāpīhā along this side, all those names.

KM: Yes. You'd mentioned...

EK: Nāniu'o'ū.

KM: Yes.

EK: So when we used to go fish, we'd come back, "Where did you get this certain fish...?" "Ah, *mea*, we went over there..." Then they knew already. Then the next time when they like go, then they go over there where the fish is running. Lot's of those names, no more.

[Place names important in history; discusses the meanings of certain place names.]

KM: 'Ae... These place names as you said, it is so important because in the place names there are *mo'olelo*.

EK: Yes.

KM: Each one has a story.

EK: Yes, in all this.

KM: Sometimes they tell us why you don't do certain things, or why you do.

EK: Uh-hmm... I remember, *tūtū* said even the names of places, if you don't know the story *pili* to that place, you not supposed to give meaning.



KM: That's a wonderful example, Minoli'i, Miloli'i, perhaps a little *milo* or a little current, *paha*. And is it Ho'opūloa?

EK: Uh-hmm.

KM: There are stories. 'Ōpihali, 'Ōpihahali.

EK: 'Ōpihali. Like Ho'opūloa, there is a story about that too. When they came home, all *pili loa*. *Ho'i a ho'opū a loa, noho pili ana loa lākou*, according to this story.

KM: Yes, so they come together for a long period of time.

EK: Yes. And then this Miloli'i, and according to some, *ka milo o ke kai*. But that is only connected to Molokai.

KM: 'Ae, *Molokai, Kaunaikahakai*.

EK: Yes, and that's true when they talk about that. *Kauna i kaha kai*. And then when they talk about Miloli'i, the story was that we had good people who *milo 'aho, po'e milo 'aho*.

KM: *Ā, milo 'aho*.

EK: *Po'e milo 'aho no ka lawai'a*. That's when they come with the small 'aho. That's the story that *tūtū* man said. *No'ono'o 'oe, a'ole wahi mimilo*. We don't have any undertow over here, *mālia mau*. When the *kai 'ino, ā holo aku kēlā mimilo ma'ō, holo kēlā mimilo mai*. But they tell the story over here is they *milo* the fine 'aho.

KM: Hmm, 'aho lawai'a?

EK: 'Aho lawai'a.

KM: *Mahalo*, so beautiful! And like Honomalino, *malino paha ke kai?*

EK: *Malino ke kai malaila*.

KM: *Mahalo a nui. Ke Akua pū me 'oe a me ka 'ohana..*

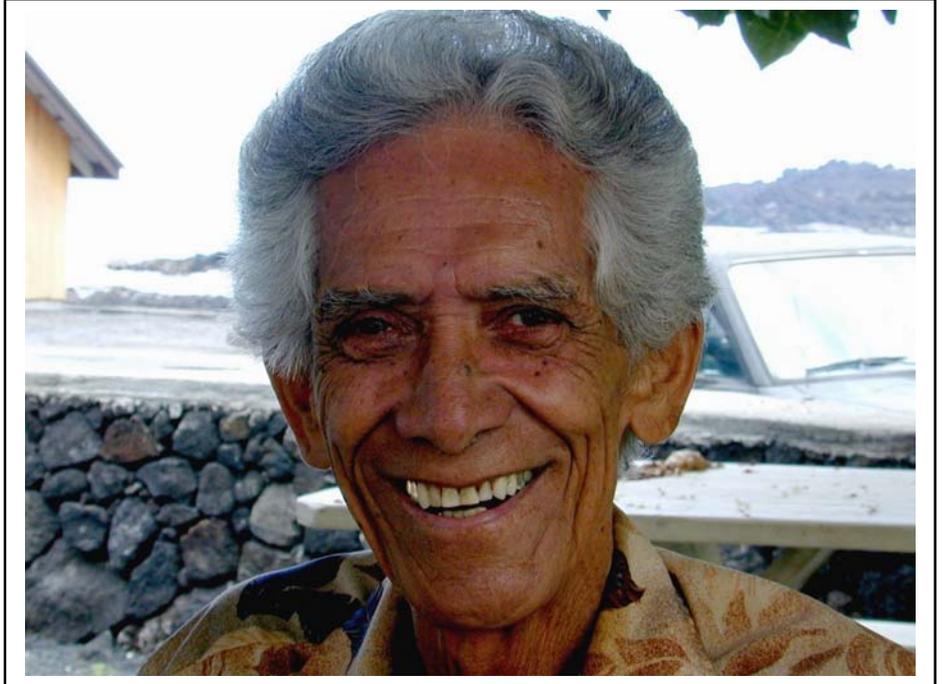
EK: *A'ole 'oe hopohopo mai, na 'oukou kēlā hana, hana i ka mea pono...*

KM: As we finish the larger study, we would like to include the transcripts in the study with all of the interviews. But it all comes home to you, because it is important that the history kept in the family...



**Eugene “Gino” Keawaiki Kaupiko  
Lands and Fisheries of Kapalilua, South Kona  
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly and Gilbert Kahele  
March 1, 2003 – at Miloli’i, South Kona**

Eugene Keawaiki Kaupiko was born at home in Miloli’i in 1931. He is descended from families with generations of residency in the Kapalilua region. His family have been fisher-people and cultivators of the land for generations. And as a youth, *kupuna*, began fishing for *ōpelu* and all types of fish from shore to the deep sea.



**Eugene “Gino” Keawaiki Kaupiko (KPA Photo 4104)**

As the social and economic system in Hawai’i was changing in the 1920s-1930s, the Kaupiko family also entered into the “commercial” aspect of subsistence fishing. They coordinated many of the efforts of native families in the “Miloli’i Fishing Village,” brokering *ōpelu* and other fish to localities on the island of Hawai’i, and as far away as O’ahu.

*Kupuna* is an animated story teller, and in the interview, he shares his recollections of Miloli’i and the practices of the families of the land and in the fisheries. He gave his personal release of the interview records to Maly on August 21, 2003. The following list identifies selected topics and descriptions of fisheries described by *kupuna* Kaupiko:

<b>Topic:</b>	<b>Page</b>
• Discussing his background and familial connections to the lands and people of Kapalilua.	248
• Describes mission of <i>Pa’a Pono Miloli’i</i> , an organization of native Hawaiian Miloli’i residents, dedicated to the perpetuation of the traditional Miloli’i lifestyle.	249
• ‘ <i>Ōpelu</i> fishing was the practice of the families who lived in this region from Miloli’i to Kapu’a, and the neighboring lands.	251
• Describes the relationship between families and businesses of the uplands and the coastal communities.	253
• Names many of the families who lived along the <i>Alanui Aupuni</i> between Miloli’i and Ho’okena.	254
• Fishing was the primary livelihood of the families; goods exchanged between families.	258
• Discusses development of the “commercial” fishing business in Miloli’i.	258
• Discusses various fishing <i>ko’a</i> of the Kīpāhoehoe-Kapu’a region.	258
• Describes <i>ōpelu</i> fishing.	259



<b>Topic:</b>	<b>Page</b>
• People respected the ‘ōpelu grounds and fishing customs; fish dried on the flats to send away to markets.	261
• Names <i>ko’a</i> for ‘ōpelu and ‘ahi along the Miloli‘i-Kapu‘a coast line.	263
• Names <i>ko’a</i> ‘ōpelu from Miloli‘i towards Kīpāhoehoe; and describes currents.	265
• By going to the <i>ko’a</i> and feeding the ‘ōpelu, you trained them to come to you.	265
• Names fish caught while <i>kūkaula</i> (hand line) fishing.	267
• Gathered <i>limu</i> , ‘ōpihi, and <i>wana</i> for family gatherings.	270
• Fished for ‘ū‘ū, <i>kūpīpī</i> , <i>akule</i> and many other fish at various locations along coast.	272
• <i>Kūpuna</i> wouldn’t go out to fish when they were spawning.	273
• Discusses traditional <i>palu</i> used by families of the region; meat baits changed the <i>ko’a</i> ‘ōpelu; keeping the <i>ko’a</i> clean is important.	273
• It is important to respect the ocean and the land; people from outside should not come and take the fish from the Miloli‘i vicinity fisher-families—it is the livelihood of the families.	274
• The quantity of ‘ōpelu is not like before, but is still good.	275
• <i>Pa‘a Pono Miloli‘i</i> is working to enact protection of the main Miloli‘i vicinity <i>ko’a</i> , setting them aside for the native families of the land—to protect the <i>ko’a</i> and lifestyle of the traditional families of the land.	276
• Shares a Miloli‘i song about ‘ōpelu and other fishes of the land.	277

[Discussing his background and familial connections to the lands and people of Kapalilua.]

- KM: So uncle...
- EK: ‘Ae.
- KM: *Kolekole ‘ana kāua, kou mo’olelo, kou mea i ho’omana’o ai e pili ‘ana kou ‘āina aloha.*
- EK: ‘Ae.
- KM: *Makemake au e ninau iā ‘oe i kekāhi mau questions, a e kala mai ia’u inā niele au.*
- EK: *A’ole pilikia!*
- KM: *Mea nui kēia no ka ho’opa’a ‘ana i nā mo’olelo a ‘oukou, nā kūpuna.*
- EK: ‘Ae...
- KM: *Mahalo nui. ‘Olu’olu ‘oe, ‘o wai kou inoa piha a me kou lā, makahiki e hānau ai?*
- EK: Eugene Keawaiki Kaupiko, Jr.
- KM: *Hānau ‘oe i’?*
- EK: *I Miloli‘i.*
- KM: *Ai makai?*
- EK: *Ai makai, ka hale malalo.*
- KM: *Ka hale malalo, pili me ka hale kū’ai?*
- EK: *A’ale, kēia wahi malalo me ka ulu niu.*
- KM: *Ā, ka pā me ka wa’a?*
- EK: ‘Ae. *Lo’a ka lua wai a me ka step.*
- KM: Yes.
- EK: *Kēlā, ka hale ma laila.*
- KM: ‘Oia ka hale kahiko a ‘oukou?



EK: *Mākou. Kēlā manawa no ho'i, ma'ō, ka hale o tūtū Malaea Kaupiko.*

KM: Hmm.

EK: *Kēlā hale ma'ō, pili me ka store.*

KM: Ahh.

EK: *'Ili'ili wale no kēlā wahi.*

KM: *Kahua hale?*

EK: *Kahua, 'ae. Mamua lo'a ka hale. Malaila au i hānau ai, noho me ko'u makua, mahape, pili ka hale ma'ō. Kēlā wahi, li'ili'i wale no, a hele i ke kula mane'i. Kekāhi manawa, hele i Ho'opūloa, hele Pāpā a lawe wau me ku'u tūtū o Waha.*

KM: 'O wai?

EK: *O wau me ku'u tūtū, o Ka'imi Kaupiko me Pa'ea. Ku'u mama, mama kēlā. Ku'u mama papa, o Ka'imi, ku'u papa mama, 'ohana kēlā. Pili lāua, first cousins. A hānau mai no ho'i o Kapela, a noho ku'u papa, lukini, ku'u papa, no Pohina, but ka inoa, huli aku mai Pohina iā Kaupiko. Kona mea first cousins.*

KM: I see. Aloha.

EK: *Aloha no.*

KM: *A hānau 'oe i ka makahiki?*

EK: February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1931, o wau.

KM: *Aloha. You just had a birthday?*

EK: Yes, just had.

KM: You're 72 now, *pōmaika'i no!*

EK: *'O wau, mahalo ke Akua, mālama no, lo'a ka ma'i, kēia manawa, palupalu ke kino, ka no'o ua hala aku la [chuckling].*

KM: *A'ole, a'ole. Mahalo ke Akua, ke 'oni nei 'oe.*

EK: *'Ae, nui ke 'oni nei. Mahalo iā Kilipaki kono wau hele mane'i, hele ma'ō, nui ka hau'oli.*

KM: 'Ae... Thank you so much. You know uncle, a few weeks ago, when you folks dedicated the canoe. And you actually were *hānau*, born and raised here?

EK: Right.

[Describes mission of *Pa'a Pono Miloli'i*, an organization of native Hawaiian Miloli'i residents, dedicated to the perpetuation of the traditional Miloli'i lifestyle.]

KM: Since 1931 you've lived here. You and Kilipaki and a group started an organization, *Pa'a Pono*?

EK: That's right.

KM: Tell me, what is that about?

EK: Well, I know he probably explained it to you, but I can add to it. What we tried to do was to help the community, to help our *'ohana*, to get the background of where all of our families came from. We tried to form it because the people here were having a hard time, and we thought we would do something in return to help the community. And being that we were fortunate to go away and go to school, and we thought we would give back something to the people of the village here. And to maintain our culture.

KM: Yes.



EK: Our lifestyle. Because we have traveled we've been all over to the mainland. I have been a Tour Director all my life and have been a Waikiki Beach Boy when my grandfather, who was originally from here, and go back to our foreland, back to our home originally is Kapu'a, our family. Then they migrated this way.

KM: Do you know why they left Kapu'a?

EK: For the betterment of their lifestyle.

KM: Yes. Because it was already so remote, only a couple of families?

EK: That's right. And then no work, their children had to go, and during those days the ranch, Holomalino Ranch. My grandfather worked for the ranch and our 'ohana worked part time. And then fishing was their only sort of surviving.

KM: I'm trying to think, who had Honomalino Ranch back then? McWayne?

EK: McWayne, that's right.

KM: Yes, okay. Back in that time. Ranch, and then your family went *lawai'a*?

EK: Right. But you see, in those days the cattle, the ship used to come out to Kapu'a.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: And just like how they got in Kailua and Kawaihae, the *pipi ho'au in the kai. Ka wa'apā holo aku i ka moku.*

KM: 'Ae.

EK: *Ma ka 'ao'ao, 'elua. 'Elua kēia wahi, 'ekolu paha, a'ole 'ike wau. A'ole hānau wau i kēlā manawa.*

KM: 'Ae, lohe wale no.

EK: 'Ae, lohe. *Ku'u papa* them all *noho ma kēlā wahi.*

KM; *Ma Kapu'a.*

EK: 'Ae. *A kona 'āina ma laila, a mākou, kēlā manawa, a'ole maopopo*, educated about *heiau, hōlua*, all those things.

KM: Yes.

EK: When we grew up, we didn't learn all about that, when I came back I found out what it was. *Heiau* and what.

KM: Yes. But there were all those things out there?

EK: Was all over. And then you know, it was only for royalties in those days to have programs like that. But we're not knowing till we went to school. I was fortunate enough at Kamehameha School too, we used to go down to Bishop Museum. And then we'd see pictures and land, photographs of our island here and showing Kapu'a, and then history, stories they said that Kalākaua came all the way down here and stayed at our place. I think, "What for? Who are we? We are the common people." But we never know we were... Well a lot of the old Hawaiians were cousins and relatives of the royalty.

KM: Yes, that's right. And also the significance of sites on the land.

EK: That's right.

KM: Because it was a wonderful fishery, a retreat so they could go and visit.

EK: That's right.

KM: So, as you were talking about *Pa'a Pono*, the idea is to help your community and the youth retain, recapture some of that history right?



EK: That's true.

KM: And you said your culture and lifestyle. What was the, is there a main component of your culture, living out here that you think, or practice that you folks did? What was your life like out here at Kapu'a-Minoli'i, what gave you folks your life?

EK: It's our heritage of growing up in the country and then get education and then going away to school for the betterment.

KM: Yes.

EK: And by doing so, we were fortunate enough that we moved out. I attended Kamehameha School, and my older brother (Ka'imi Kaupiko, who has just passed away), he did the same kind of lifestyle that our uncles did. From here they worked on the boat and the next thing they were in Honolulu, then they were on the big freighters they were in the mainland and moved away.

KM: Oh.

EK: Went up to San Francisco and Los Angeles up in that area. That's how my uncles, my father's brothers they moved away. A lot of them went to Honolulu and Damon Tract where the airport used to be.

KM: Yes.

EK: That's where all the Hawaiian Homes used to be and Kaka'ako.

KM: What do you call that Water Town and stuff like that?

EK: Yes. Right where the airport was just a small little strip of land for the airport in the old days, all up until World War II.

KM: That's right.

GK: Where was your father born?

EK: In Kapu'a.

GK: He was born in Kapu'a?

EK: That's what I can think of, they all came from that area. I never really knew because all I know is Minoli'i but right here wasn't even... Like I said when I was born. I was born over here but...

[‘Ōpelu fishing was the practice of the families who lived in this region from Miloli'i to Kapu'a, and the neighboring lands.]

GK: Most of the time he went ‘ōpelu fishing besides running the store?

EK: He was everything. Everybody here was ‘ōpelu, you get nothing else to do until Frank Manalili came and start...well had one Japanese guy before, came with the sampan over here.

KM: And went out that side?

EK: Only in the village, he stayed here because they found out that this was the ‘ōpelu grounds.

KM: ‘Ae. So your livelihood, your culture as a village, as a community, was the culture of fisher people?

EK: Fishing.

KM: *Lawai'a, po'e lawai'a 'oukou a pau?*

EK: *'Ae, pololei.*



KM: What was papa's name?  
 EK: Eugene Keawaiki Kaupiko.  
 KM: And mama?  
 EK: Sara Kapela.  
 KM: Kapela?  
 EK: Kapela, Kaupiko. She was a Ka'imi.  
 KM: Where does the Pohina come in?  
 EK: Pohina, that's daddy's mama, the Pohina lady. And the Pohina is the one down there by the church in the back. And that's all this land that all goes up here.  
 KM: I see. Pohina had this *'āina*?  
 EK: Yes.  
 KM: And that's how some of the land came into the family?  
 EK: Yes.  
 GK: They lived on this Kaleohano's land award.  
 EK: Kaleohano's estate.  
 KM: It's under Kaleohano's Land Commission Award from the *Māhele*?  
 EK: Yes.  
 KM: Pohina comes under Kaleohano you think?  
 EK: No, but they're related. But I didn't follow up on who's land and what.  
 KM: I understand. But it's nice because we can associate families with lands.  
 EK: That's right.  
 KM: When had the canoe launching as an example, this is old *kama'āina* land for you folks. What is the name of this little cove right here? Is there a name?  
 EK: *Poina* [thinking].  
 GK: I always knew it as *Awa*.  
 KM: *Awa*?  
 EK: No, it was something...  
 GK: I'm not sure I never thought about it having a name.  
 EK: It has.  
 KM: There's a name right?  
 EK: Wai... [thinking]  
 KM: Yes, Waiea is a little north?  
 EK: Yes, towards the rubbish dump. [thinking] It comes and goes with me.  
 GK: By and by we can ask Walter.  
 EK: Yes. [still thinking]  
 GK: What was the name of your folks *'ōpelu* canoe? You folks had a canoe?  
 EK: No name.



GK: No more name?  
 EK: Never had a name for that.  
 KM: Was this an old canoe landing for you folks?  
 EK: That was the only one.  
 KM: That was the only one.  
 EK: Over here and where that ramp is.  
 KM: Where the ramp is.  
 EK: Yes.  
 KM: But it was all *pōhaku*?  
 EK: Same as is, except when they filled that cement. The land is just like this.  
 KM: Okay. This was *Awa* or...  
 EK: *Awa* that's right, *Awa*... [thinking] There was a name.  
 KM: Okay.  
 EK: All *awa* is where they launched the canoes.  
 KM: Okay. This cement that's down on the little landing, is that from the old landing that the boat?

[Describes the relationship between families and businesses of the uplands and the coastal communities.]

EK: This is the same landing that they first built that. That was involved for the '*ōhi'a*' log camp.  
 KM: C. Q. Yee Hop?  
 EK: C. Q. Yee Hop.  
 KM: From Pāpā, Kīpāhoehoe like that?  
 EK: All up there, from as soon as you go up, you go straight across the highway, go all the way up to where they have all the '*ōhi'a*' woods.  
 KM: The mill camp?  
 EK: The mill camp.  
 KM: '*Ōhi'a*' Mill and *Koa* Mill?  
 EK: Right.  
 KM: Okay. They were bringing it down and shipping it out of here?  
 EK: Shipping it, they come down they load 'em on a trailer, the log itself so maybe about ten or fifteen feet long. My uncles and brothers and family all worked for them. And they used to have the roof over here. They come down and the lumber was sawed...  
 KM: Yes, milled?  
 EK: Yes, from the mill. They stacked it all up in the area down there, and had the shed. I don't have the picture, my aunty took all our pictures.  
 KM: Do you remember what they were milling the '*ōhi'a*' for?  
 EK: They were just shipping it out.  
 KM: Did you hear about it being used in Pearl Harbor?



EK: I'm not too sure, but wherever this lumber went to it was converted for building and then a lot of it was shipped away.

KM: Since we are talking of shipping for a moment, 'awa, you know the plant?

EK: Right, 'awa and 'awa root.

KM: Yes. Did you hear about them cultivating 'awa mauka?

EK: Yes.

KM: Did they ship it out also?

EK: That I didn't know. I know it was mostly for their body.

KM: Yes, for home use.

EK: And then for medications, certain type of 'awa.

KM: 'Ae. You folks basically lived makai here?

EK: Makai.

KM: All the time?

EK: All the time. And our tūtū man worked up there. They lived [thinking] Pāpā, what's that place called. My mom and father, their brothers and sisters, their cousins; my mother's father lived over there in Ho'opūloa, and he had the property right after the flow and everything. Before that they had the pier.

KM: Yes at Ho'opūloa?

EK: Ho'opūloa, they had the pier where the pond was.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: But it's gone now all covered up.

KM: Was that pond a fish pond or water pond?

EK: It was just like this until the flow came in and covered it and then had a big pond and now it's in the front.

KM: Just filled it in.

EK: Just like in the front there, then you got a pond here. Had spring water and we used to go down and swim.

KM: It must have been beautiful.

EK: Beautiful! Nothing, had no houses except where our house and then Aiona. We have pictures of that.

KM: As a youth, you folks traveled much of this land here?

EK: Yes, that's right.

KM: And your main livelihood was fishing?

EK: Fishing.

KM: Your papa also had a store?

[Names many of the families who lived along the Alanui Aupuni between Miloli'i and Ho'okena.]

EK: Prior to the store, he became a mailman down here. And then as time went along, going up here and delivering mail back and forth...

KM: C.Q. Yee Hop?



EK: No. The post office was Lincoln.

KM: Oh yes, at Ho'okena.

EK: Ho'okena. Lincoln's post office, never had the flow at that time.

KM: That's right.

EK: He, somehow I recall, he's related to...I found this out later on, to one of the presidents family.

KM: That's right. Lincoln?

EK: Lincoln.

KM: Yes, he is.

EK: They are related and he had pictures on the wall. When I used to be small, I would go in there with my dad on Thursday's to deliver mail, I don't go to school. I'd see every house has a mailbox.

KM: You *kōkua*?

EK: Yes, I would just run out and pick up the mail bag and keep going and pick up all the mail until he gets to Ho'okena. Lincoln was the post master. Sort all the mail whatever, my dad would go in town and does shopping.

KM: He took it to Kailua?

EK: No. Then we go to town. What he does is takes in the mail and drops it.

KM: As far as Ho'okena.

EK: Then we go up to Kealakekua and then the Manago Hotel was there.

KM: Yes.

EK: And has certain stores, Keālia had a store and the church.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: We would just go there and then buy things, whatever we needed and then come home.

KM: 'Ae. In between Miloli'i where dad started his mail to Ho'okena. How many houses would you say there were? How many stops did you have to make? Average, about?

EK: I would say, he started from here you get up there first there was the Pāpā School. Across, had the people that stayed up at the camp they had the mailbox I would say about three.

KM: Yes.

EK: There. then you get the Kekumus right next, and then *makai* had... [thinking] Aki's I think it was...no Ha'aheo.

KM: Ha'aheo?

EK: That's right. There was Ha'aheo... [thinking] Ha'akoi, two houses that's all. And after has Joe Martine, then Gay's house, then no more. Then you go to 'Alikā flow, no more.

KM: So Kīpāhoehoe like that, no more?

EK: Had houses, but I forgot their names, just after the flow there, then you get... [thinking] Ka'upu.

KM: Oh!

EK: Kawa'auhau.



KM: Yes. That was just this side of the flow or the other side?

EK: The other side.

KM: Okay.

EK: Kawa'auhau, then went to McKinley's, and then the Pahinui's, Gabby Pahinui family. And then Minnie Obata, that's the Kekumu family, those. And then also after that... [thinking] When you get up to Ho'okena, then you get the McCandless Ranch.

KM: Yes.

EK: From McCandless Ranch you came over and you get Ho'okena road.

KM: That's right because in between, if...and this is Register Map 2468, here's where the Pāpā School was, here's Ho'opūloa, the old landing down here, here's Miloli'i Bay.

EK: Yes.

KM: The road starts right there and comes up here, the old road. This is the road that you used?

EK: Yes.

KM: Then you come to Kīpāhoehoe.

EK: Kīpāhoehoe.

KM: Ka'apuna because this was all C.Q. Yee Hop?

EK: C.Q. Yee Hop, that's right.

KM: Then you get into the houses over here, 'Ōpihiali, 'Ōlelomoana or Kolo like that.

EK: Yes.

KM: Kukuioapa'e. So had families all along. You started to pick up mail all the way?

EK: All the way until we got to Ho'okena post office.

KM: Ho'okena, okay. You think maybe fifty homes a hundred homes all together or?

EK: No, no more.

KM: No more hundred.

EK: You see I would say, oh and the Magoons.

KM: Yes, Magoon.

EK: 'Ala'ē School.

KM: That's right because Magoon was all that Pāhoehoe.

EK: Yes, that's all their land.

KM: That's right. Kuaimoku.

EK: That's right, Kuaimoku, the Magoons. Then when you get up to there, there's a lot of Hawaiians up there. Get the Ontais.

KM: 'Ae, Ontais were there. Ontai had been partner with C.Q. Yee Hop.

EK: That's right. Pahinui, Ontai, Obata, Kuahiwinui, and then Kemas. Kema that's 'ohana to the Apōs, to us, cousins. The Kema family that's right. And then, who else was there. Hmm, *poina wau*.

KM: But that's good. Oh, Moku'ōhai them at Ka'ohe-Honokua?

EK: Yes.



KM: You would pass Ka'ohē?

EK: Ka'ohē. And then when you get down there to the junction, that's where had plenty houses too.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: Had the Paulo family, *makai* the road.

KM: That's right.

EK: Right around where Padash stay. You know when you get the?

KM: Medeiros.

EK: 'Ala'ē School. Get the other road that goes down to by the ocean.

KM: Yes, Road to the Sea or something.

EK: Yes.

KM: Lualapauila. Here it is right here [pointing to location on map] That's the old road. This is the old crater, down on the ocean, where the road goes down to the ocean.

EK: Yes. And where's Ho'okena?

KM: Ho'okena is still further down. You have to go through all the Ka'ohes, Waikaku'u, Ka'ohē, Pāhoehoe, Haukālua, like you said 'Ala'ē School.

EK: Yes, and the Magoon's and all them.

KM: Yes, all them here.

EK: We had land there too. And from there, Freddy Iona, that's another family.

KM: Freddy?

EK: Iona, Freddy Iona. Up here...

GK: Iona.

EK: Iona, all that family.

KM: Lakalo, I remember. Was Lakalo still...?

EK: Yes, Lakalo. And then get this *Pākē* guy he came over here, his family was over there too, Cho.

KM: Yes. I know that they had ties to that side.

EK: His grandpa lived in Honolulu in Kaka'ako but he came back later on.

KM: Maybe not a hundred houses all together between Miloli'i and Ho'okena or maybe had about a hundred?

EK: No, I would say maybe lucky you get twenty-five.

GK: Where, along the shore line?

EK: No, *mauka*, from Pāpā going over to Ho'okena.

KM: Yes.

EK: I mean the post office.

KM: Yes, the post office, Ho'okena, Lincoln's place.

EK: Lincoln's place.



[Fishing was the primary livelihood of the families; goods exchanged between families.]

- KM: Okay. So your primary—you would go and help your dad and stuff like that—but your primary livelihood was as fisher people?
- EK: Fishing, yes and they all grow taro.
- KM: On the *mauka* section?
- EK: Yes. The Obatas and the Joe Martines, that's where my dad would buy, he would make deals with them, Get taro so we can go fishing, and exchange with the fish, *'ōpelu*. And then, since he make money, maybe charge so much a bag.
- KM: Right. Your dad, you folks didn't really grow taro personally?
- EK: No, we were strictly fishing.
- KM: So you would go *lawai'a*, and then with Obata, Kepanī or?
- EK: No, that's the nickname...Kuahiwinui.
- KM: Kuahiwinui, okay.
- EK: Kuahiwinui married to... [thinking] but we called her Obata. She was quite a woman in herself, she was active.
- KM: 'Ae. So that's what you folks did, you would *lawai'a*?
- EK: Uh-hmm.
- KM: You would actually *kuapo*, exchange fish for taro goods, from the people *mauka*, like that?

[Discusses development of the “commercial” fishing business in Miloli'i.]

- EK: Dad used to take to the stores to sell up there, but along the way, for taro, he would use fish to pay for the bag of taro.
- KM: Yes.
- EK: Exchange. And when he has extra, you know and in those days they didn't have too much ice until Frank Manalili or whoever came in to start the full on fishing. Then everything was here.
- KM: May I ask when someone like that came from outside and started fishing here, what was the thought of the families back then? Was it okay, no can help or geez go home or...?
- EK: No, no, in those days that was an input. In other words that man came here to start a business and to start the lifestyle of improving, bettering yourself. You only going fish, you come home and dry fish, you get nothing, only get your food. Had the ranch down here, and the 'Ōhi'a Camp they exchange, that's the only time they had work. Otherwise no jobs, you got to go cowboy.
- KM: When you were young, the idea was this was a way to improve or to get some economic benefit?
- EK: Yes. In other words, the future was starting to begin.

[Discusses various fishing *ko'a* of the Kīpāhoehoe-Kapu'a region.]

- KM: Yes. As we look at this map here, and I realize it's small scale because it covers a big area. Here's Miloli'i here and the village right there. If we were to look at this, can you think about areas where you folks would go out and fish, the *ko'a*?
- EK: As far as from my time it was from here down Two Stone.
- KM: Two Stone is that, Kīpāhoehoe?



EK: Kīpāhoehoe.

KM: Nāpōhaku loloa?

EK: That's right, *pololei*.

KM: Here's Laeloa, so the church is sitting over here?

EK: Yes.

KM: Here's Laeloa, you had a *ko'a* out there?

EK: *Ko'a* right here. Straight out, Ka'akuli, that's the main one.

KM: Ka'akuli okay. In front of the point, Laeloa?

EK: Laeloa.

KM: I'm just going to mark it, is that okay?

EK: On top just slightly to the left.

KM: Okay. A little bit to the left of Laeloa. That's for *'ōpelu*?

EK: *'Ōpelu*. All this fishing is for *'ōpelu*, the flag line wasn't in, catching *'ahi* all that.

KM: About how far out would you say Ka'akuli is, and how deep?

EK: I would say about fifty, one hundred yards from the point, eh?

GK: About a quarter mile from the shore.

EK: From here to the outside, [pointing to sea] you see the wave coming?

KM: Yes.

WK: Just beyond that maybe a little bit more from the point.

GK: You see where there is some kind of white out there, about a quarter mile out.

EK: You see one white streak going outside?

KM: *Malino*.

EK: *Malino*, right about like that from the point.

KM: Okay, maybe it's about a quarter of a mile out?

GK/EK: Yes.

GK: Right in the middle there's the white out there about that from the coast.

KM: Okay, *malino* the streaks.

EK: Yes.

KM: The *ko'a* is about a quarter of a mile out?

EK: Yes.

KM: About how deep did you have to fish, you think?

EK: The depth of the fish, say this is about thirty fathoms.

GK: Thirty fathoms.

[Describes *'ōpelu* fishing.]

EK: They go by fathoms. I'm just in comparison the fathoms. That's your normal feeding spot, and the current moves it and the food sinks down. The fish follows that. But the lifestyle



of fishing is like that, you just keep feeding. When they all come, you get over there, you can get half of that bunch or whatever you can, then you drop your net.

KM: 'Ae. So the fish are all *nanea* and eating?

EK: Yes, eating.

KM: What is your bait?

EK: Taro, ground and cooked like how you make the *poi*. Except you grind it, fine and like mush. That's what you feed the fish.

KM: You had *ka'a'ai*?

EK: *Ka'a'ai*.

KM: You dropped it down?

EK: Dropped it down.

KM: *Huki*?

EK: *Huki*. Jerk it to open up, the *palu* they call that.

KM: Yes.

EK: And all the fish come in and they start eating.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: As you're feeding and you look and you can see how they eat, and that way if they eat and run something is wrong.

KM: Yes.

EK: If they eat and they're hungry then you got to *maka'ala*, "This fish is good *'ōpelu*." Then you hurry up, your *ka'a'ai* man, you got to be fast. You throw some more, add some more.

KM: Yes.

EK: More is coming. When they all come in a bigger bunch, say maybe you get two thousand or one thousand, but you only going to get so much. Five or six hundred, whatever. In the old days it was good, lot of times when you feed you don't catch, you feed. When the fish come hungry and they're used to the taro but it's already been done before but that's the lifestyle. The young one's that come up they do that they start moving but the old one's are always there.

KM: The big one's and they're teaching the young ones?

EK: The old-timer, right. You don't scatter around because the big fish see you around there, they always stay in groups. Anyway when you get them all together, that is the time to get it and then you throw your net down.

KM: 'Ae. When you went out on the canoe initially, the net was straight yeah?

EK: Straight, it is made out of [thinking]...

GK: *'Ūlei (Osteomeles anthyllidifolia)*.

EK: *'Ūlei* sticks.

KM: The *'apo* or *waha*.

EK: Right. Then when you open it up in the water, it's a big circle and the shape of the net is like the cone it comes down to the *'eke*. When feeding, you just keep feeding all the time so that the more you get, come in, and don't feed too much, then they get full and run



away. You feed so much and then you got to *'eleu*, be fast. And then first thing you do is about two or three times more outside, up high.

KM: Ahh. You're drawing them up?

EK: Yes. So that when you are ready to put in the net from the top the food will go down. When it's drifting down on the outside and comes close to the net the next *palu* you put in the *'eke*, you drop on the top. They will all been eating, but meanwhile, I'll be with that *ka'a'ai*, I can see too. When they say *koi*, it means you jerk it so the food spreads open.

KM: *Koi*?

EK: *Koi*, yes. Then all the *'ōpelu* starts coming inside toward the net but the net is in the bottom right. They are eating and if he looks and he thinks it's not ready he wants more he tells you real quick, "One more," you put two hands because now more *'ōpelu* is coming. So now, you are going to raise that one on the top the others are on top the net. He pulls and the one's below is down already and whatever's on the top he's going to get it again.

KM: Wow!

EK: That's when you come good. Because you got to study the feeding of the fish. When you do that and I've been on it, and I've been 8, 9 years old where my dad used to pull up one time, then one, two *lau*, you come home and you get around eight, ten tubs, and it's too much already.

KM: Yes.

EK: If you catch that much, that means go home.

KM: *'Ae, pau.*

EK: Maybe you get one party you get as much as you can, and that's it.

KM: Amazing!

[People respected the *'ōpelu* grounds and fishing customs; fish dried on the flats to send away to markets.]

EK: When you do that, and there's other canoes that come to you. Once you throw your net, only you going to fish. When you pull yours up, then the other guy takes his turn.

KM: They would take turns?

EK: Yes.

KM: But no one just comes, *maha'oi* inside?

EK: *Maha'oi*, you go to your own *ko'a*. But if you're there first, and you get, they wait, and then go look, and there's no more. Well, they would let you get your first two pulls, three pulls, and they come and take over.

KM: If you could take two *lau* at one time and someone else could take another couple *lau*, got to be thousand and thousands of fish?

EK: Yes. But again, if you get so much, and then those days like before, this I'm talking about was market already, when I was. You get as much as you can and flood the market, it's alright. Everybody shared.

KM: Yes. Before they would sell out and *kū'ai* like that the families would come in and help or something and they would share fish with?

EK: No, no you're on your own, I'm on my own you catch what you catch, you catch it, and then you sell. He's going to take everything whatever he can and take it to Hilo and



auction it off, that's his *kuleana*. Over here we *māhele* it may be only five cents a pound but in those days money was... Main thing you bring home the rice, the cracker and the *poi*, the food. And whatever balanced that goes inside your bank or whatever. Because the price might be five cents a pound, sometimes it wasn't, I know it went up to ten cents when I left. And they dried a lot and sent to Honolulu. We have family there. Our family worked down at 'A'ala Market, so we used to dry. We had one *pā 'ia* right in front of there.

KM: For real! Where you *kaula'i*?

EK: *Kaula'i*.

KM: In front of your house?

EK: Right where they parked the truck.

KM: On the right on the *papa* here?

EK: Yes.

KM: Okay. Where the coral is?

EK: Yes, where they parked the trucks, that area used to be a stone wall that our family built, big *pā 'ia*, so the dogs and cats don't come down there.

KM: Yes.

EK: That's our job, we stay where that coconut leaf and we *kaula'i*. Never had screens.

KM: On the flat.

EK: On the rock.

KM: *Pōhaku*.

EK: And then you stay over there and chase the flies, that's your job. Then you turn over the fish, the other side.

KM: You would *kaha*?

EK: *Kaha* right down there by the pond, with the spring water. *Kaka* and then for *kaula'i*. At night when you come in you *kaka*, that's your job. Us kids were over there, that's our job, throw it in the water, rinse. If get left over, if you get pigs, you take some behind for the pigs.

KM: *Hānai pu'a*.

EK: *Hānai pu'a*, 'ae *pololei*.

KM: So you *kāpī*?

EK: *Kāpī* all the *ōpelu*, with the *pā'akai*, and then put in the *pakini a waiho*. 'Apōpō, in the morning *kaka* and clean up all, *pau*, *kaula'i*. And then we were fortunate we only had the *pā 'ia*, beautiful stone built wall, right around that whole area. And the people all came down and helped.

KM: Wow! You folks had the only *pā 'ia*?

EK: Only one down here.

KM: What happened to it now? The tidal wave?

EK: Oh yes, in '46, way back.

KM: I see.



EK: It was beautiful. I had lot of those pictures and my aunt took all those pictures to Hilo. We had it in the house here. But everything was done like that. Dry, then the family in Honolulu, ship it to Honolulu to sell to make money.

KM: Yes.

EK: Of course that lifestyle went all around, and we all grew up, all us children we went to school. Then the next family came up, we have cousins that came down visit. They had family down in Kapu'a, most all the families here. Kaheles, Apō, Kuahuia, Kaupiko, Aionas. At my time growing up, and the Chang family. All cousins.

KM: Yes, all 'ohana.

EK: 'Ohana. And the Ka'ananās over here. He had his land here too.

KM: Yes, Keli'ikuli mā.

EK: Keli'ikuli all over here, all the way to Pāpā Bay.

KM: Amazing!

EK: That's their 'āina. And over here, the Pohinas. Because of this pier here, hauling the lumber. Like I said, it was helpful before. And yet, look now it became a harbor. Today, boats can come and go, and we all get high tech fishing, faster. That's our lifestyle. The young blood all go hunting, catch *pu'a* up here.

KM: *Kao*?

EK: *Kao*, goats.

KM: Good life?

EK: Good life.

[Names *ko'a* for 'ōpelu and 'ahi along the Miloli'i-Kapu'a coast line.]

KM: So you have Ka'akuli

EK: Ka'akuli

KM: Is there another *ko'a*?

EK: Okay. You coming this way...

KM: Towards Holomalino.

EK: Holomalino. Right outside, get Pōhaku Ke'oke'o.

KM: Pōhaku Ke'oke'o.

EK: Between Okoe and Honomalino Bay.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: And then get one stone wall over there goes right up.

KM: Okay, it goes up. You said Pōhaku Ke'oke'o?

EK: Pōhaku Ke'oke'o.

KM: So that's another *ko'a*?

EK: Yes. This is Ka'akuli [pointing to map], so Pōhaku Ke'oke'o should be right by there. Then Holomalino.

KM: 'Ae, here's Honomalino.

EK: You're in the right spot.

KM: Okay.



EK: That's right.

KM: Okay, I'm going to open up the map a little bit more. This one goes out as far as, here's Okoe Bay.

EK: Okay.

KM: Honomalino you had a *ko'a*?

EK: Yes, Honomalino is right outside here.

KM: In the middle section of the bay?

EK: Kapulau Point, right straight out there.

KM: Okay.

EK: That's another one. So Ka'akuli, Pōhaku Ke'oke'o, then Holomalino. Then you come down here, that's another big one the *ko'a*. Mokuau, that's the one. That's where they get the 'ahi ko'a out here.

KM: How far out was the 'ahi ko'a?

EK: The 'ahi ko'a would be about same distance from here, that fishing line.

KM: Oh, so close?

EK: Was close, maybe about half a mile.

KM: Half a mile out?

EK: From the bay, that's the 'ahi ko'a. And right inside of the 'ahi ko'a is the 'ōpelu ko'a, right inside there. The 'ahi outside, and the 'ōpelu inside.

KM: You said Mokuau or, what did you think the name was?

EK: Pōhaku Ke'oke'o.

KM: That's Pōhaku Ke'oke'o?

EK: Yes.

KM: I see Hanamalo out here.

EK: Yes. This is going to Okoe Bay right.

KM: Here's Okoe Bay.

EK: Yes. And right, Holomalino if you come out of this point here, where the kind has their house. You come out over here and then get plenty white stones.

KM: Yes.

EK: That's where I figured was, maybe around here.

KM: Okay. This is Pōhaku Ke'oke'o?

EK: Yes. Pōhaku Ke'oke'o.

KM: Okay. The 'ōpelu ko'a is out here and the 'ahi is?

EK: Outside. And I'm telling you over there, many a times I've gone down here; many times from here, paddle all the way down here, and I know incidents that happened out there. I went, and I didn't have to go in the water. My dad went out way back, with my mom's brother, they went out there and the canoe was so loaded; with the big canoe, water was coming in. They almost sink, and they had to paddle now. They caught so much they paddled all the way home. They came in they had like twelve tubs from the canoe. I wasn't here at the time I just went to Kamehameha School that year. But, when I came home that was my job to go fishing.



KM: Amazing! You folks fished all along here and even out to...  
EK: All the way to Kapu'a, all the way down towards South Point.  
KM: 'Ae.

[Names *ko'a 'ōpelu* from Miloli'i towards Kīpāhoehoe; and describes currents.]

EK: Most always it was *'ōpelu*, and everyday life style fishing is right here. And Makahiki.  
KM: This is Miloli'i Bay, there was a *ko'a* outside in the bay?  
EK: Right outside there.  
KM: Straight outside?  
EK: Straight outside.  
KM: Maybe about a quarter mile or so out?  
EK: Yes. All in the same line from shore.  
KM: Here's Kapukawa'aiki.  
EK: That's right up here.  
KM: Okay. Is there a *ko'a* there too?  
EK: Yes. Right out here, in front of it, straight out from this. And then, *'au Ka'ū* is behind, see.  
KM: *'Au Ka'ū*, that's the current going?  
EK: Current going that way [gestures, south]. When it goes to Kona the fish moves back, right up in front here.  
KM: Yes. When it's going to Kona you have to come in on this side?  
EK: Right straight out of this pier.  
KM: Yes, to the pier. When it's going to Ka'ū you go?  
EK: Go up that ramp.  
KM: Because the fish are going to go into the current?  
EK: Right. They drift with the current.  
KM: Yes.  
EK: You got to go up, you don't want to go behind.  
KM: *Pōhō*, if you throw your bait, and it runs away.  
EK: That's right. When you feed the fish, they stay with you until you get off the *ko'a*, then you gradually go back to the *ko'a* where they know. So then you pull up and go in front.

[By going to the *ko'a* and feeding the *'ōpelu*, you trained them to come to you.]

KM: You had said that you would go out sometimes and just *hānai*?  
EK: *Hānai*.  
KM: No take?  
EK: No take, but you look, if they eat good you take.  
KM: Yes.  
EK: If they don't eat, you feed. You feed and you watch.  
KM: So you're training them?



EK: You're training. Then you prepare yourself, when you comes, you want the fish market to be able to buy, so no sense you catch and throw away.

KM: Right, right.

EK: You could dry, but those days never had, you dry and then you sell to the market.

KM: Yes.

EK: Dry *'ōpelu*, 'cause you got to get ice to keep cold and fresh.

KM: By the time it's business you really needed the ice.

EK: *Palahū*, it's spoiled.

KM: Yes. And there's only so much fish you can dry.

EK: That's right. And again never had *pā 'ia*, never had screen, you got to *malo'o* on top the *pāhoehoe*. You *kaka*, clean, put 'um all out, dry. And that was my job, you got to chase the flies all day.

KM: *Hili lau niu?*

EK: *Hili lau niu*, that's right. *Pololei*.

KM: All along, different areas and I guess like even here it says Ko'anui Point.

EK: 'Ae.

KM: Ho'opūloa Landing is here.

EK: Ho'opūloa Landing. There's another good spot over here, all along this whole area.

KM: This is Ka'alaea Point.

EK: Yes, Ka'alaea

KM: Ko'anui Point.

EK: That's it.

KM: Kamokuau.

EK: That's right, Kamokuau.

KM: Then Ho'opūloa Landing.

EK: That's in the bay that. The bay outside there is all *'ōpelu ko'a*.

KM: There were just *ko'a* all along?

EK: Yes, all in the different spots. As I said *'au Kona* goes that way, you go over there. *'Au Ka'ū*, you go back here. Then you go down here, it's the same thing, *'Au Ka'ū*, over here. *'Au Kona*, you that side. Then you come outside, Kamakahiki, that's a big point. And Ho'opūloa, over there is good too.

KM: *'Ōpelu?*

EK: Right at the point *'au Ka'ū*, you go inside it's *'au Kona*.

KM: So you're on the Pāpā side?

EK: Yes. Pāpā side that's Kona current. And over here at Pāpā Bay, that's another spot too, right in here. Pāpā Bay that's another *ko'a*. Alikā outside, that's another *ko'a*.

KM: Amazing! You folks knew all these places and you fished them at all different times?

EK: Oh yes, all the different times. Certain times when you get the small ones, naturally they are going to get big, and when they are small like that then you start feeding them, they



move. The ones stay back that's the ones getting big. The next young ones come up, they go "Hey, get out of this territory, go to the other one."

KM: 'Ae.

EK: And he comes up to 'Alikā Bay. Then you go outside to the Arch Rock.

KM: Here's the arch rock, Nāpōhakuololoa.

EK: Right. That's the one, that's another *ko'a* over there. Over here get one too [pointing to location on map].

KM: This is Kamimi Point.

EK: Yes, Kamimi Point it's not too much. But this one here...

KM: Nāpōhakuololoa?

EK: Yes, right there, close. Cousin over here, Jimmy Ontai used to work and all out here is good. Over there and the *'ahi ko'a*.

KM: Yes here. Out in front of Okoe, the point here?

[Names fish caught while *kūkaula* (hand line) fishing.]

EK: Yes Okoe, the point. From here and this one, that's about the same style of fishing, that the fish moves and the *'ōpelu* is right by that rock and if you go outside from there you get bottom fishing.

KM: Bottom fishing?

EK: Oh yes, you go bottom fishing.

KM: What type of bottom fishing?

EK: *'Ōpakapaka, kalekale, hānuī* all those kinds of fish. Whatever bottom fish you can catch for sale, that's the kind.

KM: You *kūkaula*?

EK: *Kūkaula*, yes.

KM: Deep kind then?

EK: All same, they all go the same distance. What you find out there you're about the same length. *'Ōpakapaka* hand line fishing. This is about the same area that I fished in all my life.

KM: Yes. Basically from that Okoe section, *'ahi ko'a* out to Nāpōhakuololoa?

EK: Uh-hmm. After I fish out here, the fish get plenty.

KM: Get plenty. This was your most common place to go?

EK: Common, go all the time. Once in a while we'd go all the way down to Red Hill. Those days when we used to go, we had the sampan boat for fishing, Manalili them. We had *Leilani, Kanani* that's the name of the boats. You put your canoe behind and everything is prepared.

KM: You would drag, haul the canoe?

EK: When you reach down there you throw the anchor, stop the boat and jump in your canoe, and the *ko'a* is right there, just like from here.

KM: For real!

EK: Yes.



KM: That's close, the *ko'a* is right there.

EK: Yes.

KM: When you *kūkaula* like that, how many fathoms you think you went?

EK: I would say about sixty, sixty-five.

KM: You were really not more than half a mile out, close to shore?

EK: Down there is deep.

KM: Deep water.

EK: That's why you're lucky you're two hundred yards.

KM: Amazing!

EK: Yes, right there. Even *'ōpelu*, you go right in the *kai*, you can see the bottom, it goes like this [gestures dropping off].

KM: It drops?

EK: Yes, you don't see it. And then when you get down that way, it goes outside that's when you get all the *'ōpakapaka* you out there and fish the *'ōpelu* inside.

KM: Amazing!

EK: This would be like this here and then they are outside, like maybe from here to the wharf. You pull up the *kaka* line, and you see it taking all the fish.

KM: Yes, because get plenty...

EK: Hooks.

KM: Hooks.

EK: Get about eight or ten.

KM: Wow!

EK: And it's more if you add another line. Twenty one time, you get.

KM: Twenty fish?

EK: Twenty fish, yeah. Amazing! And whatever you catch that's it if you no like you throw 'em back in the water.

KM: Right.

EK: You take what you like.

KM: Did you ever catch an unusual fish, like it was just something you've never seen before?

EK: There was so many. We used to call that ghost, *akua* fish, it looked ugly. And that's *kawele'ā*, and that's one of the best eating fish.

KM: For real!

EK: When you look at it uhh [shaking head].

KM: Funny kind mouth and the eyes?

EK: It looked like a baby swordfish, but flat, black, purple and when you touch it *waliwali*, that means slimy.

KM: Yes, slimy.

EK: And the teeth, ohh! And a lot of bones inside that, you got to know how to eat it.

KM: For real!



EK: Yes.

KM: Kawele'ā. What was that deep or shallow?

EK: Deep, real deep.

KM: Hundred fathoms, two-hundred?

EK: It's a little more than the normal *kaka*.

KM: Yes. If you're going sixty?

EK: Maybe about eighty.

KM: Wow! So *akua* fish, kawele'ā?

EK: Yes. Just like they call that hāuliuli.

KM: Good fish?

EK: And of course you *kaka* fish, night and day, you can *kaka*, because you're going to the bottom.

KM: Right.

EK: It's always there.

KM: Amazing!

EK: A lot of times we never used to go night fishing until the Japanese came, and foreign people go night time, and then later on in the modernized time, they dropped the anchor and stayed there. They don't move, they don't waste the gas nothing just parked.

KM: Right.

EK: And they would go down and catch all the fish.

KM: When you hit the right place? You see in those days you had to use your common sense, your brains right?

EK: Oh, yes.

KM: Now, they get that global positioning and depth...

EK: Depth recorders.

KM: They can see what the bottom looks like they don't even need to...it's like the technology....

EK: They can tell you depth already, 80 fathoms, let's go. Stop there and you drift.

KM: The fish no more chance now. [chuckles] Right?

EK: [chuckles] Well, they're down there, it's up to you for go. If they're not hungry to eat then that's it.

KM: Yes.

EK: And that's why you see when they mention names, "South Point, oh choke." You know why they say that, "Why?" "Nobody goes down there and fish it's too windy." And when it's clear you better make it.

KM: Right.

EK: Get all you can and go home. Same thing at Pohoiki all down there, all the fishermen. Used to get one guy comes from right here, raised with me, his brother and I were close. He used to go down Pohoiki that's in Puna.

KM: 'Ae.



EK: That guy was vicious he just caught all that 'ahi. The schools go down because the small fish are there.

KM: Yes.

EK: 'Ōpelu, all kinds of fish is going to come.

KM: The 'ahi is going down?

EK: Going to look for them. And that place because it's too rough people don't go down. They catch all the small fish, the 'ōpelu so naturally all the big fish going over there, migrate to that area. "Seasonally" they call that when they're baby, they birth, get big, off they go, wherever.

KM: Amazing!

EK: Amazing! He was a good fisherman, his brother and I, he came here and lived here, he and I used to go fish. We had the greatest time, I made more money than anybody you could think that worked for the road or the county while I was down there working, fishing with Siu.

KM: Amazing!

[Gathered limu, 'ōpihi, and wana for family gatherings.]

EK: Amazing! Again, like I said, a lot of the fishermen in the old days, it's always told to your, it's been our lifestyle "lohe" and "mālama." So you remember too. And then of course that's how I learned to speak Hawaiian. I was rascal, kolohe you know... [chuckling]

KM: Not? [chuckles]

EK: I would imitate, and then when we get lū'au, and that's where the people celebrate. New baby born, you one year old, birthday, always get lū'au over here. Never mind you no more money, there's a lū'au. You raise pig, "O, anakala, mamake wau ho'okāhi pu'a, ku'u keiki mane'i, one year old." "Okay, hiki no. Pick what one you want." By the time get to that side, that's yours sixty pounds, hundred pounds. "How much is that?" "Umi kalā," maybe ten dollars. But if 'ohana, "Kali mai 'oe, mahape 'oe, you come work for me," or you know exchange. You get hard time, but that's his grandchildren or whatever you know or cousin. Anyway that's the lifestyle that we lived. And knowing that coming, everybody goes out get 'ōpihi, go get this, even wana.

KM: You folks would gather wana, 'ōpihi, limu?

EK: Limu.

KM: What kinds of limu?

EK: Limu kohu, limu pahe'e, we have the only one here. It only appears at certain places, certain times.

KM: Limu pahe'e?

EK: Pahe'e. And we always have it here.

KM: When the water comes?

EK: Winter, the high surf.

KM: Yes.

EK: Once in a while it comes here.

KM: 'Ae. Limu pahe'e you had a place out here. Was there a name for that papa?

EK: Yes, Holomalino.

KM: Holomalino?



EK: Yes, that's the place right there.

KM: The limu pahe'e?

EK: Is always in abundance there.

KM: Amazing!

EK: That area is the only place, and somehow in that area, I don't know if it's the sand or what, but that's the only place get. And then later on it would move on outside more on the point but that place always did have.

KM: Yes.

EK: And another place that has, once in a great while outside the Pōhaku Ke'oke'o. Outside the point way out. The 'ahi ko'a, all the way from Honomalino to here.

KM: Let me make sure I understand.

EK: [pointing out location on map] Right here, used to be all out here. Bumby it moves out here a little bit. But that that place is it, limu pahe'e.

KM: That's brownish?

EK: Purplish. When you put and you mix it with the 'ōpihi, hmm. Too bad you ever eat that kind. If we do get together hopefully get and you get that and you put, that taste, it's something like the *nori* rice. You know that black limu, it's something similar to that.

KM: Yes.

EK: One other place and they still have it at the airport. But one year I remember, I was working as a tour driver, maybe not only once but maybe about three or four times that I could recall. Kailua Bay where the Kona Hilton is, right on that papa going to Huggo's.

KM: Yes.

EK: All used to be.

KM: For real!

EK: Oh the people...and I was working for the county I came home, I used to get the morning shift. I would go to work, four or five o'clock in the morning, we got to clean the streets all like that before.

KM: Right, right.

EK: Before the traffic, so you can clean up. What we would do is we would get through and we'd go down there and pick. In front of there was loaded, you see all the people, all the *tūtū* ladies.

KM: Yes. Going for the limu pahe'e.

EK: It's so nice. Only when it's certain time when it does come up and then you see all the old timers.

KM: Was Tūtū Maunupau still living there?

EK: Yes, Maunupau used to live there [thinking]...

KM: Pua, not Pua?

EK: No, he lived down this side more towards Keauhou.

KM: Not, Kawewehi?

EK: Kawewehi too. And old man [thinking]...

KM: Oh, Naluahine?



EK: Naluahine, yes, tūtū Naluahine. And all the family would come down. “*Aloha mai,*” they come from the *mauka*, so they could go *kahakai*, ‘*ohi limu*, ‘*ae pololei*.

KM: Did you folks gather salt out here also?

EK: Yes, once in a while, but we always had.

KM: Yes.

EK: The one from the *kai* is good for making with the *lomi* and all kinds.

KM: ‘*Ae, momona*.

EK: Yes, *momona*. All inside here get.

KM: The *kāheka*, all the little *poho*?

EK: Yes, the *poho*.

KM: You folks get *limu*, you get ‘*ōpihi*...?

EK: ‘*Ōpihi, hā’uke’uke, wana, pipipi, kūpe’e*.

KM: *Kūpe’e* too?

EK: Yes, *kūpe’e* night time it comes over here, big.

KM: Right by the ‘*one*?

EK: Yes.

KM: In the little pockets of sand?

EK: Right.

[Fished for ‘*ū’ū, kūpīpī, akule* and many other fish at various locations along coast.]

KM: You gather those things, you get all your *i’a*?

EK: All the *i’a*, ‘*ū’ū, manini, kūpīpī*, you name it. ‘*Upāpalu*, that’s night fish.

KM: ‘*Ae*.

EK: The ‘*ū’ū, upāpalu, kawele’ā* that’s the one the bone fish, with the eye ugly, but ‘*ono* when you eat that. What else?

KM: Like you said ‘*ōpelu* was the big fish?

EK: That’s it.

KM: Did *akule* come in sometimes?

EK: Once in a while.

KM: Once in a while, more sandy bay areas where the *akule* would come in or...?

EK: Well, mostly in Holomalino and Kapu’a.

KM: ‘*Ae*. They would come into the cove more close.

EK: They like to get into the sand.

KM: Yes.

EK: I think it’s because that’s where they hatch. I think so, it’s where they are born. I’m didn’t really look into it, but I think that’s what it is.



[Kūpuna wouldn't go out to fish when they were spawning.]

- KM: Yes, that's what you think. Were there certain times that you wouldn't take fish?
- EK: Yes the 'ōpelu.
- KM: Like if they're spawning or something?
- EK: If it's spawning you don't go out, you don't go fish in the old days.
- KM: In the old *po'e kahiko* time, it was *kapu*.
- EK: *Kapu*, yes.
- KM: For six months not can go out.
- EK: Same like here, we don't go 'ōpelu but you could feed, *hānai*.
- KM: *'Ae, hānai*.
- EK: *Hānai*, if you like eat, you can cheat and get one for eat.
- KM: Little bit for personal use.
- EK: Right, that's all.
- KM: But not for big?
- EK: *Kū'ai, lau* no, no. Then when ready, they tell, "*Ho'i mākou, hele mākou*," then you go to your favorite *ko'a*, because you were the one that fed that.
- KM: Yes. People respected one another's *ko'a*?
- EK: Oh yes. You don't go to the other guys place, let him go first.

[Discusses traditional *palu* used by families of the region; meat baits change the *ko'a 'ōpelu*; keeping the *ko'a* clean is important.]

- KM: See, that's the thing too, your bait you said was *kalo* mostly?
- EK: *Kalo*, everybody.
- KM: And some *pala'ai* or something?
- EK: Yes. Everybody is *kalo*.
- KM: You folks didn't use what they call now, chop-chop?
- EK: No, no more.
- KM: Is that, what does that do to your *ko'a*? If you would only go with *pala'ai* or *kalo*?
- EK: Well, when you do that you're inviting the bigger fish, because when you throw *palu* that smells.
- KM: Right.
- EK: Like if somebody pūlehus the fish, "hmm, *'ono*, we go over there eat." Well, the *palu* is the same thing, if it's rotten in the water the fish going come in, they think something is going on up there, "lets go." And then "hey," they see all the small 'ōpelu, they go and eat everything.
- KM: So They destroy your *ko'a*?
- EK: The *ko'a*.
- KM: Mess up your nets *paha*?



EK: When you go *ku'u*, you're trying to catch you're fish, and it gets in the net, the 'ōpele' stuck in the net, they shake like that [gestures with hands, back and forth], and they rip your net. So that's why.

KM: So using other...these *ko'a* that you folks have out here, should only be for your kinds of baits, right?

EK: Right, the *kalo*.

KM: *Kalo*.

EK: That's all you use, or pumpkin.

KM: Yes.

EK: That's the only two things.

KM: When people started coming in to Miloli'i and other areas I'm sure like North Kona they use the 'ōpae ula' right?

EK: Yes, sometimes they feed. That's just too, when they're eating good, that's why you add those things, so they take something different. Some of these guys they don't like taro, you know what I mean?

KM: Yes.

EK: You don't like only steak, you know, you got to get roast pork or something like that or beef jerky.

KM: Yes, it's really important?

EK: Yes, important.

KM: That you keep your *ko'a* clean?

EK: Clean. That's why those people didn't come here. When they come here, they know they just keep going.

KM: Good.

EK: But today everybody goes anyway.

KM: And people come from all over right?

EK: In our days growing up, it was only here.

KM: That's right, it was you folks.

EK: Only us.

KM: So you knew when to go and when not to go.

EK: That's right. And when it's enough, you no need go again tomorrow. You get three or five tubs today, if you supply everybody, why should you go out there and get some more, what are you going to do with it.

KM: Yes. But nowadays if you go get and get enough fish for you, you say now you're going to let it *ho'omaha*, but someone else comes in there, *malihini*, they don't know. So they take, someone else takes.

[It is important to respect the ocean and the land; people from outside should not come and take the fish from the Miloli'i vicinity fisher-families—it is the livelihood of the families.]

EK: That's alright too, it's not us from here but as much as possible before we got to pay respect for our place. We were only doing this to preserve when the ones we sell *pau*, we go and get some more. In other words this is our ice box, our reefer.



KM: Yes.

EK: You go over there and you take care of your fish, don't come here.

KM: So "Don't come and take from our place."

EK: That's right. And then go down there and sell to the markets where we want to sell. We're waiting for them to finish and when they say, "Hey, we need some more." We bring, you supplying them.

KM: The old style is so important.

EK: Yes, it's very important.

KM: Today is the fish like it was when you were young? Are the fish today, as good?

EK: No, no. You mean the?

KM: The amount.

EK: Amount. It's producing...

KM: Producing, still producing?

EK: Nothing, as much as before because we didn't have that many fishermen.

KM: Yes.

EK: In 'ōpelu fishing, it's noted that certain families, they fished up there, we fished here. They always come here and get what they can. Theirs over there, they have more people that go out at one time. Now like I said before used to be only a few people, now, anybody can go. Any fishermen from the boat and they use chop-chop too and use the *kaka* line and hook. You stay out there all night and you come home with two hundred pounds. That's just like going outside there for one hour and getting two hundred pounds. I still get mine down there and it's all hook. In that way too, it's right there, boom, inside the chill box. They have everything convenient and it's easier to handle.

KM: Yes.

EK: It doesn't get spoiled.

KM: Amazing!

EK: Amazing.

[The quantity of 'ōpelu is not like before, but is still good.]

KM: What a history. But you know, in your mind then, is fishing as good today as it was when you were young?

EK: Hmm.

KM: Or you were saying...?

EK: Not as much, but it's good enough to supply whatever amount the fishermen we have today.

KM: Okay.

EK: Except, most of them are coming from outside to come here in the area.

KM: The local is getting a harder time?

EK: Harder time.

KM: I know, like you pointed out, Ka'akuli and there's a *ko'a* out in front of Minoli'i, the bay in front of the landing, and another one in front of out here right?

EK: It's the same distance from shore.



KM: Yes.  
EK: But it keeps going north, that's for the current, 'au Ka'ū, 'au Kona. Then you move, and if they are not there then you go to the next area.  
KM: 'Ae.  
EK: Same thing 'au Ka'ū and 'au Kona and whatever you see.

[Pa'a Pono Miloli'i is working to enact protection of the main Miloli'i vicinity ko'a, setting them aside for the native families of the land—to protect the ko'a and lifestyle of the traditional families of the land.]

KM: You folks with Pa'a Pono you and Kilipaki mā, and uncle Walter them, you're trying to dedicate some of the ko'a in front of here for just the family's use, is that correct? You're working on...?  
EK: We're working, actually right now I don't know what Gilbert has in mind but what we're trying to do is start a project to maintain the lifestyle familiar to the parents and their children. They're getting spoiled, and they don't want to do it, and the parents are not as aggressive as we were and trying hard.  
KM: Right.  
EK: So doing this and giving them a point of interest because get nothing else to do, and there are more children. With all these happenings.  
KM: Pilikia.  
EK: As I said, paka lolo and all that going along, it's all over the world.  
KM: It is.  
EK: But to maintain our lifestyle and with funds that is helping... See we had MacFarm for helping, and the things they do today, it's unfortunate. Gil and I and our club, members of the Pa'a Pono we're trying to work... That's why we're maintaining.  
KM: Yes, as long as they respect the 'āina?  
EK: Oh, yes, right.  
KM: And the oceans and the resources. When people come just to take, that wasn't the way it was for you folks right?  
EK: That's right.  
KM: You got to aloha, respect and take care?  
EK: Respect and what we're doing having programs here so when we're gone the children of tomorrow and years to come will be able to handle it.  
KM: That's right. And that's why we're doing this kind of recording with you folks, to help record some of your stories and recollections and your thoughts about... How do we make it so that our children can know?  
EK: That's right.  
KM: And it's by doing stories like this.  
EK: Stories like this.  
KM: When you folks launched your canoe a few weeks ago.  
EK: Yes, that's right.  
KM: The whole idea, right is to have a canoe so that you can teach people how to go out, right?



EK: That's right, for the people here.

KM: For the people here.

EK: And also when you have programs like this to, when it goes out, people see it somewhere advertised, "Hey, look what they're doing?"

KM: Yes.

EK: "How come they're doing that? Why can't we do it?" You see, when things like that, this is Minoli'i and all the people that live on any part of the islands knows that. But unfortunately we've come into all these incidence.

KM: 'Ae, pilikia...

EK: ... [starts singing] "*Ke ala o ka rose, ua hapa mai...*"

KM: Well, speaking of singing, what's the song for this 'āina here?

EK: There is so many, so many. Gabby Pahinui his family, 'ohana is all from here, they learned from way back. My grandmother and grandpa's were wonderful singers in the old days.

KM: You're a wonderful singer.

EK: No, unfortunately but my sister Sarah named after my mom... Okay, John Ka'imi, that's one who just came home, we brought his ashes home. He's named after my grandpa, mom's father John Ka'imi. He was away in the mainland and never been home, then me named after my mama's dad and my sister Sarah named after mama. We both grew up and the knowledge of this village and the lifestyle we want, that's what we are forming now to have.

KM: 'Ae, for *Pa'a Pono*?

EK: For *Pa'a Pono*. I was fortunate enough to go to Kamehameha School, but coming home again, I wasn't prepared for anything else until now when we got together and trying to maintain our lifestyle. The *kamali'i* today, and their parents, and hopefully we can benefit by it and keep our lifestyle for our youth.

KM: Especially the youth?

EK: The youth, right and to have someone like you to come here and give your *mana'o* and help for the community.

KM: What I like to do is I like to be able to help you record your story and the other *kūpuna* so that the children, the *mo'opuna* can read it and understand.

EK: Thank you.

KM: This is how...

EK: *Mahalo!* That's right.

KM: You don't need the dope, you don't need all this other stuff.

EK: Don't need nothing.

KM: You can work...

EK: All you need is your mind, your heart and your mouth.

KM: That's right. *Hana ka lima*.

EK: *Hana ka lima*, that's right. And talk when you're supposed to, like they said *Wala'au, a'ole namunamu, wala'au kēlā mea pilau*.

KM: *Pololoi 'oe!* Could you share a song that you remember that was sung for this place?



[Shares a Miloli'i song about *'ōpelu* and other fishes of the land.]

EK: Well, [thinking] That's one of our songs, and I'm not a very good singer, I always loved it, I been with it, but my sister Sarah. And like I said mama's song, and I used to imitate, I forget a lot of times. There's so many songs they sang. I've tried like I said, at Kamehameha School, they were always picking on me because I could speak Hawaiian and act and do the things that I learned through grandpa folks, but so many songs that I know of.

KM: Is there a song about fishing out here for *'ōpelu* or something?

EK: There is, I kind of forget [singing]:

*'Ōpelu, lomi 'ia 'ono,  
A he 'one, a he 'ono  
a he 'ono ke momoni.*

See, you get *'ōpelu*, you *lomi* till it gets soft and it looks delicious. And when you eat, you put in your mouth, you don't eat fast [smiling].

KM: 'Ae.

EK: It goes down your throat and you get that taste. Don't even swallow [chuckling]

KM: [chuckling]

EK: It goes down, it's gone, and you're going for the next one. Then you take your *poi*, see. Instead of two fingers, one finger *poi*... [chuckling]

KM: *Miki poi*.

EK: *Miki poi*. Then you have *'ōpihi*, and it's the same thing... [singing]:

*'Ōpihi, 'ai a'e 'ono,  
A he 'one, a he 'ono  
a he 'ono ke momoni.*

So when you eat the *'ōpihi*, you chew it slowly, no swallow the whole thing [chuckles].

KM: Yes.

EK: You chew, chew and you shift you put it on the left side, and then you save it, and then you grab the *'ōpelu*. Then you take the *'ōpelu* on the right then you mix it together. Then instead of one finger *poi* you put two finger *poi*. One for *'ōpihi* and one for *'ōpelu* [chuckling]. And if you look the *poi* is getting low you eat faster, so you beat your sister or your brother, you know [chuckling]. Then you get *'ānunu*. But, that's our lifestyle.

KM: *Nunui ka maka?*

EK: *Nunui ka maka*, yeah. And then *'a'ā kamaka*, it's all gone.

KM: Wonderful! Beautiful!

EK: So many songs, a lot of rascal songs. I forget, that Keao Grace, they know a lot of the songs. Okay, like *Minihaha* [singing]:

*Henehene kou 'aka,  
Kou le'ale'a pa'a,  
He mea ma'a mau 'ia  
For you and I...*



And you look at the *wahine*, and you wink, that means, “I’m singing to you my dear.” Then later on you make your eyebrows [eyebrows rising up - chuckling].

KM: Meet you outside [laughing]!

EK: [laughing] ...Aloha!

KM: ...Wonderful!

EK: All in all, I’m thankful you’re here, and I appreciate this too, because you’re making me feel young again [chuckles]. *Mahalo iā ‘oe.*

KM: *Aloha! ‘Olu‘olu, nanea ka ho‘omana‘o ‘ana o ka wā mamua.*

EK: *‘Ae, pololei. A hiki no ke mālama i ka po‘e kamali‘i mane‘i, ‘auwē!*

KM: *‘Oia ka mea nui, ho‘opa‘a i kekāhi po‘e mo‘olelo, a ho‘olaha no nā keiki!*

EK: *‘Ae.*

KM: So that they can begin to...because you know I think a lot of our children are lost.

EK: Well, it’s the parents. Teach, help, advise them. Put them in the right path, to grow up. When we’re all gone, pau, then they’ll be... All these things we’re doing like this with Gil, is very important, and thanks to Gilbert. He’s been trying hard, and working, and I’m thankful to still be around here to help.

KM: It’s so good. There is only a few of you.

EK: Only a few.

KM: In your age, generation now. It’s very important.

EK: I look at it this way, I like to help, I like to be around because I’m enjoying it too. Because this is what is keeping me motivated, and keeping me alive to share everything that I know with the rest of the children.

KM: Yes. Good program though, it’s good to gather the children and gather these stories and get them back to these kids.

EK: *Mahalo!* Like Kilipaki, he’s one. Hopefully we can have the rest of the family and children from here to continue.

KM: Good! Wonderful! Good *mo‘olelo.*

EK: *Mahalo iā ‘oe, hele mai.*

KM: *Mahalo nui.* It’s a beautiful day. Did you folks go out in your canoe again?

GK: No, we never did yet, we are kind of waiting for a good day...

KM: *‘Ae...* [shows *kupuna* branch of plant] ...Uncle, do you recognize this from along the road *mauka*?

EK: Yes, and I’m *poina* already. I see it and I looked and I said, Oh, wow. I’m looking at this, trying to think. Do you know?

KM: *Māmane?*

EK: *Māmane*, yes.

KM: When certain plants flowered, in your time, did you know that something was happening on the ocean?

EK: That’s right, *māmane*. That’s for fishing too, there’s another one used to be down the beach here but no more. It’s the purple flower...

KM: The *pōhinahina*?



EK: *Pōhinahina*, yes.

KM: Small little purple flower, pretty leaves?

EK: Yes, yes.

KM: That would bloom?

EK: Season time, yes.

KM: Certain time when certain flowers bloomed you knew the fish?

EK: The fish, yes that's right, *pōhinahina*. And some are medication too.

KM: That's right very important medicines.

EK: That was for *ila*.

KM: Yes, when the skin discolors, the rash kind?

EK: Yes. You take the sap and you put it on top.

KM: 'Ae, it makes good medicine?

EK: Cures fast...

KM: ...*Aloha kēia hui 'ana, mahalo nui!*

EK: *Aloha, mahalo 'iā 'oe...*

KM: We're going to transcribe this and bring it home to you so that we would like to be able to share parts of your *mo'olelo* so that it can become an educational resource.

EK: 'Ae.

KM: For the students, for the youth.

EK: 'Ae, *mahalo. No'u ka no'onno'o, hā'awi aku.*

KM: *Mahalo nui! He waiwai kēia mo'olelo... Mahalo ke akua!* Before you folks went and fished, did papa them *pule* or anything like that?

EK: No, not that I know of but if they did, *ka'awale lākou.*

KM: 'Ae, *ka'awale*. How about *manō*, did you folks have a special shark out here?

EK: No, but they talked about it. My grandpa, mama's father, those were the people, that's where I learned a lot.

KM: Mama's papa was?

EK: Ka'imi.

KM: Ka'imi, okay.

EK: John Ka'imi Kaupiko.

KM: Some of them they say that...

EK: Yes, they get *mana*...oh, yes.

KM: The shark would even drive like how you *'alu'alu pipi*...

EK: Yes, yes.

KM: The shark would *'alu'alu i'a*.

EK: *I'a*, that's right. I don't know, we never had...

KM: In your time you didn't see that?

EK: Grandpa them, I heard them talk, certain people. And that certain people so, like they say,



kahunas, their worshipping was different. But like I said their *'aumakua*, like that. You got your own, I got my own. If it works out for both of us that's great.

KM: 'Ae [chuckling].

EK: I don't know about sharing, what and what kind of *'aumakua*. But my grandpa, they always tell you, "*Kulikuli*."

KM: 'Ae.

EK: Don't get inquisitive. But I got educated now, so I'd like to know. You know I'm going to school I come back, "What is this grandpa? *Kulikuli*." Like they said, "Children should be seen and not heard."

KM: Right.

EK: Seen and not heard, that's right. I was the one that was seen and heard and *kolohe*. That's the only way I learned.

KM: That's right. *Mahalo nui*. See you soon...

EK: *Hiki no*.

KM: By and by look, you'll be interested in that other map I brought for you. It's the whole island, in 1928 it was drawn. It has almost all of the *ahupua'a*, all of the land names all the way around a lot of the main names.

EK: Okay.

KM: Not all of the small little place names, only some.

EK: Like districts.

KM: Yes, you'll enjoy that.

EK: I appreciate that. That's for my therapy. I sit down and go, "oh yeah, the old days used to be." Bumby the mind go, wrong island I stay... [chuckling]

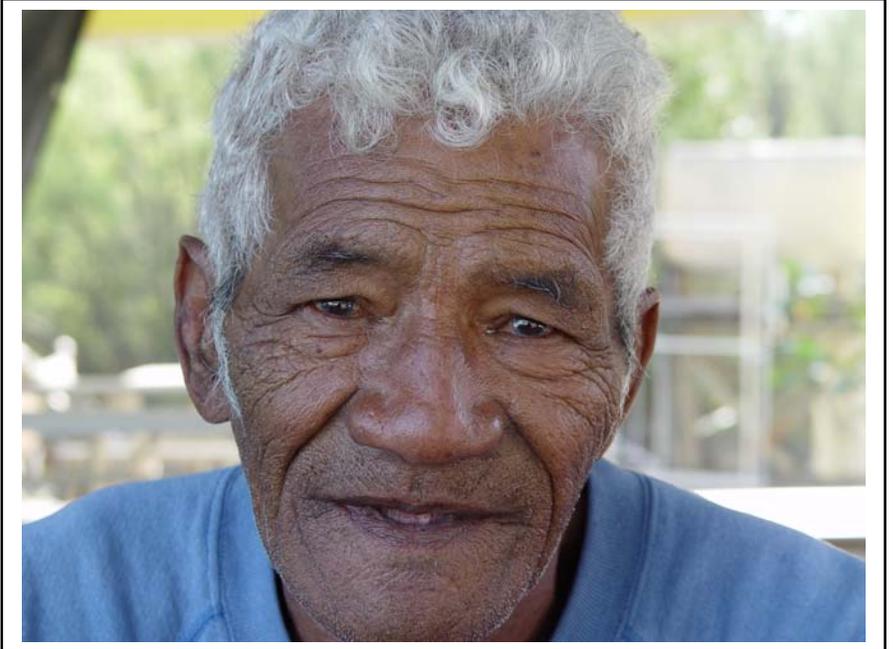
KM: [laughing – end of Interview]



**Samuel Kamuela Waha Pōhaku Grace  
Lands and Fisheries of Kapalilua, South Kona  
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly and Gilbert Kahele  
March 1, 2003 – at Miloli‘i, South Kona**

Samuel Kamuela Waha Pōhaku Grace was born at Ka‘ohe in 1927. He was raised by his elders and *kūpuna*, who were noted fishermen and canoe makers.

*Kupuna* Waha has spent his entire life fishing the near-shore and deep-sea fisheries of Kapalilua. In this interview, he shares many descriptions of the practices, traditions, and beliefs that were handed down to him by his elders. He continues to fish in the present-day, and has a deep love for, and attachment to the land and ocean. He believes that passing on the knowledge is important, and that caring for the land and ocean, will help the families of Kapalilua.



**Samuel Kamuela Waha Pōhaku Grace (KPA Photo S374)**

*Kupuna* gave his personal release of the interview records to Maly and Gil Kahele on January 17, 2004. The following list identifies selected topics and descriptions of fisheries described by *kupuna* Waha:

<b>Topic:</b>	<b>Page</b>
• Discussing his background, and ties to the families and lands of the Kapalilua region.	283
• Lived his life as a fisherman, as did his <i>kūpuna</i> . His father and elders were also canoe makers.	284
• Planted <i>kalo</i> and other crops in the uplands, and traveled to the shore to fish for ‘ <i>ōpelu</i> and other fishes.	285
• Fished for ‘ <i>ōpelu</i> as a youth, in the Kolo-‘Ōlelomoana section of Kapalilua.	285
• Taro and pumpkin were the baits used for ‘ <i>ōpelu</i> .	286
• Describes the ‘ <i>ōpelu</i> nets.	287
• Currents determined which <i>ko‘a</i> would be used at any given time.	288
• Kolo Rock marked an <i>ulua</i> fishing ground.	288
• Describes ‘ <i>ōpelu</i> season; fish shared with families.	289
• Use of meat baits in the <i>ko‘a</i> ‘ <i>ōpelu</i> of Miloli‘i is not good; it draws big fish-predators into the <i>ko‘a</i> .	290
• Elders kept <i>kū‘ula</i> , and <i>kupuna</i> still cares for a <i>kū‘ula</i> ; prayers were always offered before going fishing and upon returning with the catch. He still does the same today.	291
• Has fished the entire shore line from ‘Ōlelomoana to Kaulanamauna.	292



<b>Topic:</b>	<b>Page</b>
• Recalls a tradition of Nāpōhukuloloa; the stones also marked near-shore fishing grounds and a <i>ko'a 'ōpelu</i> .	294
• While deep sea fishing from Kapalilua, as a youth, they sometimes paddled more than five miles out from shore, fishing for <i>'ahi</i> and <i>a'u</i> .	296
• When he was young, outsiders didn't come in to fish at Miloli'i; though, if someone came and asked, they would be given fish.	298
• Fished for <i>akule</i> at Honomalino; fish not like they were before.	298
• Before days, used to go out and <i>hānai</i> the <i>ko'a</i> prior to the time of fishing; the <i>au'a</i> helped to train the young fish.	299
• Kū and Hina are fisherman's gods, and the <i>manō</i> is also a guardian of the fish and fishermen.	300
• Feels that the <i>ko'a</i> of Miloli'i should be set aside and protected for the native families of the land.	301
• Let the fish and <i>ko'a</i> rest one day a week, like <i>Lāpule</i> , as practiced before.	302
• Describes the <i>ko'a 'ahi</i> fronting Pōhaku Ke'oke'o.	304
• Shore fish previously kept in a small pond on the shore at Miloli'i; <i>umu</i> also made. Describes gathering of <i>limu</i> and other near-shore fish.	305
• Discusses use of <i>'ala'ala</i> bait to catch select near-shore fish.	305
• Believes that if we will take care of the ocean, the fish will come back.	306

[Discussing his background, and ties to the families and lands of the Kapalilua region.]

KM/GK: [asked where uncle Waha had been born]

SG: ...*Ma uka*, it's kind of *ma uka* of the road, right over there had one small house. My mama lived over there, and I *hānau* up there.

KM: Oh.

GK: I was surprised, you told me that you went into the army too.

SG: Yes.

KM: *So kupuna, mahalo! Aloha kēia hui 'ana.*

SG: [chuckling] *Maika'i kēia. Maika'i, maika'i.*

KM: Kupuna, could you please share your name and date of birth?

SG: Yes. My name is Waha Pōhaku, my Hawaiian name.

KM: 'Ae.

SG: English name, Kamuela.

KM: 'Ae, Kamuela, Samuel. And you go by last name?

SG: Grace.

KM: Grace. So Kamuela Waha Pōhaku Grace?

SG: Yes.

KM: And Waha Pōhaku is for your *kupuna*?

SG: Yes, right.

KM: And we're here with Gil Kahele, and you were just mentioning that you were *hānau* at 'Ōlelomoana side?

SG: 'Ōpihali.



KM: 'Ōpihali [also known as 'Ōpihiali]. And it was *mauka*?  
 SG: Yes, *mauka* of the *alanui*.  
 KM: What year you *hānau*?  
 SG: October 12, 1927.  
 KM: *Ō pōmaika'i*. Now we're doing this history, talking about the land and some of the practices that you learned while growing up, and how you went fishing. I also brought you, these two old maps of this region. It covers your *'āina*, all the way down Ka'ohe, come to Kukuiope'e, 'Ōlelomoana, 'Ōpihali, Kolo, all the way out here, and then out to Kapu'a.  
 SG: 'Ae.

[Lived his life as a fisherman, as did his *kūpuna*. His father and elders were also canoe makers.]

KM: And so what we were hoping we could do, is just in talking story, record some of your recollections of what it was like growing up. And did you go fishing? You folks were *lawai'a*?  
 SG: Yes, that's my livelihood.  
 KM: That's your livelihood.  
 SG: And my papa.  
 KM: 'Ae. What was papa's name?  
 SG: Charles Grace.  
 KM: Charles Grace. Were your *kūpuna kālai wa'a* also?  
 SG: Oh even my papa *kālai wa'a*.  
 KM: Ah. And who was Antone Lono Grace to you, uncle?  
 SG: Yes, that's my uncle, my dad's brother. 'Ae, for Nāpōpo'o [also pronounced Nāpo'opo'o].  
 KM: 'Ae. So did you folks go *mauka* to make canoes?  
 SG: My papa them go up to 'oki the *koa*, and then they brought it down here. My tūtū Ka'ananā [also pronounced Ka'anā'anā].  
 KM: 'Ae, Keli'ikuli Ka'anā'anā *mā*?  
 SG: Yes. He was the canoe builder before. Down there, the *kālai* canoe, here.  
 KM: I see, like *Mālolo*?  
 SG: Underneath there [pointing to location near the shore].  
 KM: Oh, where the *ulu paina* is now?  
 SG: Yes.  
 KM: Was there a *hālau* there before?  
 SG: No, it was open.  
 KM: No *hālau*?  
 SG: No more.  
 KM: Hmm. Where we're sitting now, by *Hau'oli ka Mana'o* Church.  
 SG: 'Ae.  
 KM: What *'āina* is this, Kalihi...  
 SG: No this is Miloli'i.



KM: So this is still Miloli'i right here?  
 SG/GK: Yes.  
 KM: Okay, and the next *'āina* where your house is, is 'Omoka'a?  
 SG: 'Omoka'a.  
 KM: [pointing out location on Register Map No. 2468] So we're sitting here, and just *makai*. This canoe *Mālolo*, they built?  
 SG: Yes, all Kekumu them.  
 KM: Ah, Kekumu Kawa'auhau?  
 SG: Yes, all them, *kālai wa'a*.  
 KM: Where did canoe logs come from?  
 SG: Up here, Honomalino.  
 KM: Honomalino, *mauka*?  
 SG: *Mauka*.  
 KM: Did you folks some times go into...?  
 SG: Honomalino.  
 KM: Yes, Honomalino, Pāpā, Kīpāhoehoe...?  
 SG: Yes, I walk all over there.  
 KM: So all those *'āina, mauka*?

[Planted *kalo* and other crops in the in the uplands, and traveled to the shore to fish for 'ōpelu and other fishes.]

SG: 'Ae, *pololei*. Yes, we used to *kanu kalo* up.  
 KM: *I hea*?  
 SG: Up where I was born.  
 KM: Oh, 'Ōpihali?  
 SG: Yes.  
 KM: So you folks *kanu kalo mauka*?  
 SG: Yes. *Ku'u papa* had seven acres. That's what we live on.  
 KM: 'Ae. So certain season you folks live *mauka*...?

[Fished for 'ōpelu as a youth, in the Kolo-'Ōlelomoana section of Kapalilua.]

SG: Live *mauka*, and then when *mālia ke kai*, we go down 'Ōlelomoana, go *lawai'a*. My father was an 'ōpelu fisherman.  
 KM: So at 'Ōpihali or...?  
 SG: Right next.  
 KM: Kolo, 'Ōlelomoana section?  
 SG: Yes, Kolo.



KM: Ohh! So you said, certain season, when *mālie*... When was the ocean *mālie*, and you folks went out?

SG: Well usually after February.

KM: So after February...?

SG: Yes.

KM: And through summer like that, you come *makai*?

SG: *Makai*.

KM: Now, how did you folks go out to get your *‘ōpelu*?

SG: We had *wa‘a* down there.

KM: On the *pali*, or had...?

SG: Down.

KM: So had a place where you could launch?

SG: Yes.

KM: So you had a canoe down there?

SG: Canoe. My dad used to have his own canoe, and he had his own *‘upena*.

KM: Hmm. So from Kolo, basically, you would go out?

SG: Yes.

KM: About how far out would you go?

SG: Oh it just about where all the boats go [indicating distance of boats on ocean fronting Miloli‘i].

KM: So you think, with a quarter of a mile?

SG: Yes about that.

GK: From a quarter mile to a mile out.

KM: And how deep was the *ko‘a*?

SG: [chuckles] *Ko‘a* is deep, it depends on where you go, and the current.

KM: Oh yes. So if the currents goes to Kona, what?

SG: Shallow.

KM: You come in shallow?

SG: Yes. When you go to Ka‘ū, it falls in the deep.

KM: Ahh. What did you do when you went out to get *‘ōpelu*?

SG: Well, I was the chum boy.

KM: The *palu* boy, chum boy?

SG: Right.

KM: What kind of *palu*?

[Taro and pumpkin were the baits used for *‘ōpelu*.]

SG: We used taro, pumpkin, that’s all we used.

KM: So you would cook it, your taro, *pala‘ai*?



SG: You *kuolo*.

KM: Ah, *kuolo*, grate it?

SG: Yes, grate it.

KM: How interesting. So when you were making the *palu* out, what did you have to do?

SG: When you feed 'um to the fish?

KM: Yes.

SG: Well, you just throw, when my dad said okay. "Give me inside." That's for them go inside the net.

KM: Yes. So he already put the net down?

SG: Down.

KM: And then he'd throw the *palu* in?

SG: Yes.

KM: And what, the 'ōpelu all come in feed?

SG: Yes. Then when he sees the 'ōpelu all start to go down, they're busy eating, then he pulls slowly, the net.

[Describes the 'ōpelu nets.]

KM: Wow! About how wide do you think the mouth of the net would be? You make 'apo, right, circle?

SG: Well the rim, from head to head [the two ends of the 'apo, when straight]. Some they had six feet, seven. It all depends on how they make the net. Our net, is calabash type.

KM: Oh.

SG: Not like today's kind of net.

KM: So it's more rounded?

SG: Yes, like 'umeke.

KM: You know this table here, was the mouth as wide as this table is long?

SG: No. From that corner to here, and it's about eight fathoms deep.

KM: Eight fathoms deep?

SG: Yes.

KM: And about eighteen feet across?

SG: Yes, about that.

GK: Yes.

KM: Wow! You no more 'eke down on the bottom?

GK: Get 'eke. 'Eke, they call that the *pūpū o ka 'upena*.

KM: 'Oia!

SG: It goes down with the *kēpau* underneath.

KM: 'Ae. So you wrap our *kēpau*?

SG: Yes, you *hana pa'a* that.

KM: That makes it *lu'u*, go down?



SG: Right, *pololoi*. Some *'upena*, they have *piko*, *kuluwaiū*, they call that.

KM: *Kuluwaiū*?

SG: They get four. one on each [tapping out corners on table]

KM: On the corners like?

SG: Yes. One this side, one this side and around.

KM: Amazing, you know all these names.

SG: [chuckling]

KM: *Kuluwaiū*, you remember, and *pūpū*. So your type was *pūpū*, or like an *'umeke*, rounded?

SG: Yes, like the *'umeke* on top and then comes down wide and goes down [gestures shape with hands].

KM: Oh interesting. So it actually had the curve in it and then went down?

SG: Yes. Just like a calabash.

KM: 'Ae.

SG: Then you get all your *hānai*, *kaula huki*, and your *kāwaha*. You know where the *'upena*, where the stick is? [gestures the 'apo]

KM: Yes, yes, *kāwaha*.

SG: *Kāwaha*, that's way up for the rim.

KM: Yes. And you would loop it together?

SG: It's already, you put it on and everything. You clamp it down,

KM: And then you set the net down?

SG: [chuckles] Well, before you put that, you have to fix all your *'upena*.

KM: 'Ae. So when you folks went out, was there a steady place where you always went?

[Currents determined which *ko'a* would be used at any given time.]

SG: Well, we go, and it all depends on the current.

KM: I see. So if the current is going to Kona?

SG: Kona, you have to go in the back, Kona current. You go Ka'ū, you go in front.

KM: So more close to shore or further out?

SG: That's for the fish. They go against the current.

KM: 'Ae. So if you threw your *palu* at the wrong place, the *palu* is going down and the fish, *'auwana*?

SG: Right. Some times, no more in front, you stay up about half way between Kona and Ka'ū. Half way. That's why you have to drift down, if you don't get them here, you get them right there.

KM: 'Ae. You know at Kolo, has the *pōhaku* out in the water, right?

SG: Right,

KM: From that *pōhaku*, Kolo Rock, you go out?

[Kolo Rock marked an *ulua* fishing ground.]

SG: That's an *ulua pōhaku*, that.



KM: 'Oia?  
 SG: And you come further back, that's where our place is.  
 KM: Towards this side?  
 SG: Yes.  
 KM: That's your *ko'a*?  
 SG: 'Ae.  
 KM: And that *pōhaku*, is good for ulua?  
 SG: Yes, that's why they call Ulua Point.  
 KM: For real?  
 SG: A lot of people go there for ulua.  
 KM: What kind size ulua?  
 SG: Oh big ulua.  
 KM: Hmm. Wonderful, your recollections. Now this was your livelihood, right, how you folks lived?  
 SG: Right. My dad brought us up in the ōpelu fishing.  
 KM: Yes. When you go out *lawai'a*, was it just you and your father?  
 SG: No, sometimes, three of us. My sister or my other brother.  
 KM: Oh, sister Margaret?  
 SG: She'd only go once in a while. She was mostly with my *tūtū* Ka'ananā,  
 GK: Tūtū Kipi?  
 SG: Yes, *tūtū* Kipi and Ka'ananā, and aunty Kapeka them were living with *tūtū* them, with Kūkulu.  
 KM: Hmm.  
 GK: She was staying with Eddie Ka'ananā.  
 KM: Ahh. I went and interviewed uncle Eddie, your cousin Eddie.  
 SG: Oh... My cousin Louis, my aunty Kapeka's son, he's the one who brought Eddie to my *tūtū* them, for *mālama*.  
 KM: Oh, wonderful.  
 SG: Even Melekule, same thing.  
 GK: Tūtū Kapeka is the one that had a lot of the songs for Miloli'i.  
 SG: Yes.

[Describes ōpelu season; fish shared with families.]

KM: Hmm. *Kupuna*, when you folks would go out *lawai'a*, you said it would start around February, *mālie*. How long would you go out for ōpelu, how many months?  
 SG: Oh, sometimes we have three months, *mālie ke kai*. Sometimes four when we're lucky.  
 KM: Yes. Now, you folks get ōpelu?  
 SG: Oh plenty. Those days, *nui ka 'ōpelu!*  
 KM: Hmm. When you came home, did you folks *māhele i'a*, share with family?



SG: Oh yes. Those days the people come with the *i'a*, "Here." [gestures, handing out fish] *Hā'awi, ma kēia, a'ole.*

KM: *Mamua, hā'awi aloha?*

SG: Yes, *a'ole like me kēia* [gestures, money sign].

KM: *A puni kalā!*

SG: Yes. Our days, no.

KM: So you folks would *kuapo* like that? If someone had *mea 'ai* from the mountain, you could exchange for fish like that?

SG: Yes. *Mai'a, kalo, kō no ho'i, 'uala.*

KM: 'Ae. And you said you folks used mostly *pala'ai*?

SG: *Pala'ai* and *kalo.*

[Use of meat baits in the *ko'a 'ōpelu* of Miloli'i is not good; it draws big fish-predators into the *ko'a*.]

KM: What happens if people bring in meat bait to your *ko'a*?

SG: This just lately started.

KM: Do you think that's okay, or no good?

SG: No good, no good.

KM: Because?

SG: It brings in all the big kinds of *i'a*.

KM: *Pōwā?*

SG: Yes, *pōwā*. They break the *'upena*, that's why those *po'e*, they don't think. They only think for themselves.

KM: 'Ae. So for your *mana'o* on this *'āina* out here, it's best to use...?

SG: *Kalo.*

KM: *Kalo*. And *pala'ai*?

SG: *Kalo* and *pala'ai*. Or *pea no ho'i*.

KM: Pear [avocado], yes, later on they started using *pea*. But that's all vegetable things. Now, people talk "make dog, chop-chop, *pilau*..."

SG: Ahh [Shaking head].

KM: What happens when you feed your fish *pilau* meat?

SG: [chuckles] It's alright, but the big fish, that's what we don't like. They *nahae* the *'upena*, you got to *pohopoho* the *'upena*.

KM: 'Ae, all the time.

SG: Yes, all the time.

KM: Hmm. When you folks, if you were on your one canoe, and you go out to get *'ōpelu*. How much *'ōpelu*? How many *ka'au* you'd get one time?

SG: Well, sometimes we go out, we get one or two *lau*.

KM: Ah, so four hundred or eight hundred?

SG: Yes.

KM: Amazing.



SG: That's what we get.

KM: Were you folks selling fish also, at that time?

SG: Yes, we sell. Like before, only fifty cents a pound, the dry *'ōpelu*.

KM: Hmm.

SG: My dad used to sell to Aiona, Ho'okena side.

KM: Oh yes, Ho'okena, Aiona Store .

SG: Yes, they had the store on the *alanui*.

KM: Yes, and aunty Hanami was right across, yeah?

SG: Aunty Hanami was *makai*, and the other was *mauka*.

KM: Yes.

SG: And *pāpale*, my sister, all them *ulana*, *moena*, they sell.

KM: Oh. And where was your *lauhala* from?

SG: We *kanu* our own, right down at the *kahakai*.

KM: *A pehea, maika'i kēlā lauhala?*

SG: *'Ae. Lauhala, hā'ula'ula.*

KM: Oh. How about *loulu*?

SG: *Loulu*, yes.

KM: They would *ulana*?

SG: Right, *ulana*.

KM: So you folks made your own nets, and you *ulana*...

SG: Yes. My dad sewed his own nets.

KM: So all of these things, you fished the ocean, you planted your foods, you *ulana*, *kā 'upena*, *kēlā mau mea*, *a ola 'oukou*.

SG: *'Ae.*

KM: Hmm. *Nui ka hana?*

SG: *'Ae, nui ka hana.*

KM: *Pehea kou mana'o, maika'i kēlā mau lā?*

SG: *Maika'i*, we learned a lot. That's why I think today, the things our father taught us, amazing.

[Elders kept *kū'ula*, and uncle still cares for a *kū'ula*; prayers were always offered before going fishing and upon returning with the catch. He still does the same today.]

KM: Yes. Did your papa them have a *kū'ula*?

SG: *Ā, nui ke kū'ula.*

KM: *Ā mamua o ka lawai'a 'ana, pule lākou?*

SG: *'Ae, 'ae.*

KM: *Noi mua?*

SG: *Mamua o ka wa'a. A lele no i loko o ke kai, pule ma mua. A ho'i mai no ho'i a mahalo ke Akua no kēia po'e i'a i loko o ka wa'a.*



KM: 'Ae.  
 SG: *Hele 'oe i waho, lo'a 'oe i ka 'ōpelu, makana 'elua.*  
 KM: *'Elua, no ke aha?*  
 SG: *No Kū me Hina.*  
 KM: *'Ae, maika'i, o Kū me Hina?*  
 SG: 'Ae.  
 KM: *'Elua, ho'oku'u?*  
 SG: *Ho'oku'u.*  
 KM: *No ke 'aha?*  
 SG: I [shaking head]...  
 KM: *No ka ho'olako 'ana paha?*  
 SG: *'Ae, pololoi.*  
 KM: *Maika'i. Aloha, aloha kēlā mau lā.*  
 SG: Yes.  
 KM: *Na keiki o kēia mau lā, pōina lākou, a'ole lākou i maopopo ē?*  
 SG: 'Ae.  
 KM: *So 'oia ka mea nui o kēia mo'olelo, he waiwai kēia. A'o i nā keiki.*  
 SG: Yes.  
 KM: *Eia ka hana pono.*  
 SG: Yes. Well, *kekāhi po'e no ho'i, ka 'ohana, a'ole a'o 'ia ka po'e kamali'i.*  
 KM: 'Ae, 'ae.  
 SG: 'Oia ke kumu.  
 KM: *'Ae, aloha nō. So i kou wā li'ili'i hele i Kolo, lawai'a 'ōpelu, ulua.*  
 SG: 'Ae.  
 KM: *Ua hele 'oe i kēia mau lae kahakai?*  
[Has fished the entire shore line from 'Ōlelomoana to Kaulanamauna.]  
 SG: 'Ae, mai 'Ōlelomoana a i Kaulanamauna.  
 KM: 'Oia?  
 SG: Yes. *Hele wāwae wale nō.*  
 KM: *Ō! Ma ka ala hele?*  
 SG: 'Ae.  
 KM: *He ala hele kahiko kēlā?*  
 SG: 'Ae. *Ai mauka nei, hele 'alu'alu kao, pu'a no ho'i, kēkake.*  
 KM: 'Ae. *Ē, 'ono kēlā kēkake, kaula'i.*  
 SG: [smiling] 'Ae, *kaula'i, 'ono no ho'i.* [chuckling]  
 KM: *Lohe wau ma ka mo'olelo, puni ke kūpuna i ke kēkake.*



SG: 'Ae.

KM: Hmm. *No hea mai ka pa'akai?*

SG: *Mai ka lae kahakai, i loko o ka poho.*

KM: 'Ae. *Hele 'oukou 'ohi?*

SG: *Hele, 'ohi pa'akai.*

KM: 'Ōkaikai *kekāhi manawa a pi'i ke kai ma lae kahakai?*

SG: 'Ae. *A nui no ka poho.*

KM: *A pau, kaula'i, malo'o, hele 'oukou a 'ohi?*

SG: Yes.

KM: 'Oia ko 'oukou pa'akai *no ke kaula'i i'a, kaula'i kao paha?*

SG: 'Ae, *Nui ka pa'akai kēlā manawa. Nui!*

KM: *A ma'ema'e?*

SG: 'Ae.

KM: *Kēia mau lā, 'ano maka'i, no ka mea, haumia kekāhi po'e.*

SG: *Pololei. Mamua, kaula'i ka i'a i loko o ka pāhoehoe, a'ohē nalo.*

KM: Ō!

SG: *Kēia lā, ō, nui ka nalo!*

KM: 'Ae, *a'ole hiki iā 'oe ke kaula'i, mahape, kau hua?*

SG: 'Ae [chuckling], *maggots.*

KM: 'Ae, *ku ka 'ilo.*

SG: Yes.

KM: Ō *mahalo! Maika'i!*

SG: It's good you know. Sometimes I come here by myself and I sit down over here, I only wish somebody would come, you can talk Hawaiian, I like that.

KM: 'Ae, *nanea.*

SG: Me and my sisters are the only ones who know how to talk Hawaiian in our family.

KM: Hmm.

SG: My sister Keao and Kalua, we all talk Hawaiian. Oh I like that.

KM: Yes... *Hemahema wau, e hui kala mai ia'u inā hewa wau. But aloha kēia hui 'ana.*

SG: Yes.

KM: *Kūkū, if we look at the map here for a moment... Oh, I have one other question too. Kama'āina 'oe me kēia? [shows kupuna a branch of māmane.]*

SG: Oh yes, has plenty up here, along the *alanui*.

KM: *Maopopo 'oe ka inoa?*

SG: *Kēia, na ka 'ōpelu kēia.*

KM: 'Oia, *'ike 'oe ka pua?*

SG: *Ka pua.*



KM: *Ku ka 'ōpelu?*  
 SG: 'Ae.  
 KM: *Maopopo 'oe ka inoa?*  
 SG: *Lohe ka inoa, akā pōina.*  
 KM: 'Ae. *Māmane?*  
 SG: 'Ae.  
 KM: *Pehea ka hāuhiuhi, ai'ole kolomona?*  
 SG: Yes, *kolomona* is a little different.  
 KM: Yes, a little different. But *kēia, pua, a ku ka 'ōpelu?*  
 SG: 'Ae, ka *'ōpelu*. *'Ōpelu no ho'i, ka ono.*  
 KM: 'Oia?  
 SG: Yes.  
 KM: *Maika'i. Ke pua nei kēia...?*  
 SG: Yes. *Ka wā mamua, ka po'e kūpuna, "Pua kēia, nui ka 'ōpelu."*  
 KM: *Ō aloha, mahalo. 'Oia ku'u kumu i 'ohi kēia pua, no'ono'o wau, inā kama'āina 'oe me kēia.*  
 SG: 'Ae, *kama'āina no!*  
 KM: [pulls out Register Map No. 2468] *Tūtū*, these maps are for you to take home.  
 SG: *Mahalo.*  
 KM: This is Register Map No. 2468. Here's Pāpā Bay.  
 SG: Uh-hmm.

[Recalls a tradition of Nāpōhakuloloa; the stones also marked near-shore fishing grounds and a *ko'a 'ōpelu*.]

KM: Here's Kīpāhoehoe, Nāpōhakuloloa.  
 SG: Uh-hmm.  
 KM: The arched rock, over there.  
 SG: Yes.  
 KM: *Lawai'a 'oukou ma kēlā...?*  
 SG: You heard the story of this *pōhaku*?  
 KM: *A'ole, a'ole.*  
 SG: Before, had three. Two all broke out. *Ho'okāhi wale no koe.*  
 KM: Hmm.  
 SG: Had three.  
 KM: *He mo'olelo kēlā mau pōhaku?*  
 SG: 'Ae, *Nāpōhaku*. *Ku'u po'e kūpuna*, them, they *wala'au* about Pōhaku. They said had this two, a couple, before, living up. And then *Tūtū* came down.  
 KM: *A iho mai o Pele?*  
 SG: 'Ae, *iho mai, noi paka. Mamake 'oia puhi paka.*



KM: 'Ae.

SG: *Kēia po'e 'elemakule, they had paka, but hō'ole 'ia.*

KM: *Aloha!*

SG: *'Eko'u manawa, that's the story we heard. They never hā'awi, kēlā manawa, it came down.*

KM: *Lilo lāua i pōhaku?*

SG: *Yes. They are for Kamapu'a. Kamapu'a o ke kai, a mauka o Pele.*

KM: *Hmm, aloha!*

SG: *So that's amazing that place.*

KM: *Nāpōhakupōhaku?*

SG: *Yes, kāne and wahine.*

KM: *Yes. So they turned into stone over there?*

SG: *Yes.*

KM: *Did you folks fish off of here?*

SG: *Yes.*

KM: *Any kind, or 'ōpelu?*

SG: *Yes, we hukihuki. 'Ū'ū no ho'i.*

KM: *Ah, 'ū'ū like that.*

SG: *'Āweoweo. A he 'ōpelu ko'a, ai mane'i, ai waho nei.*

KM: *Ai waho nei. Now see, here's 'Ōpīhali, then you can come all the way down. Here's Kolo, Kolo Rock out there, what you were talking about.*

SG: *Yes. 'Ōlelomoana.*

KM: *He mo'olelo kēlā wahi ē? 'Ōlelomoana me Kolo?*

SG: *Yes.*

KM: *So all these different places, different points, you had ko'a where you would go out fishing?*

SG: *Ko'a, right through to South Point.*

KM: *Hmm. There's a big cinder cone, crated out near the shore on Kukuiopa'e and Kolo, yeah?*

SG: *Yes. Lapakauila. Now get alanui over there. Wā mamua, a'ole alanui, hele wāwae wale nō.*

KM: *Hele wāwae. So you folks, that was your mea ma'amau? Mai uka iho i kai...?*

SG: *Yes.*

KM: *Hele lawai'a?*

SG: *Lawai'a.*

KM: *Hele i ka ala hele?*

SG: *Yes. Holoholo, nānā i ka 'āina.*

KM: *'Ae. Aloha kēlā mau lā.*



SG: 'Ae, 'ae. *Maika'i*.

KM: Hmm. So you would say that all of these different 'āina had places where you would go fish? *Ko'a*?

SG: *Ko'a*.

KM: What was the farthest out into the ocean that you would go fishing on your canoe? A mile, two, three?

[While deep sea fishing from Kapalilua, as a youth, they sometimes paddled more than five miles out from shore, fishing for 'ahi and a'u.]

SG: Oh, way out. These charter boats go, we went. *Kēlā manawa, hoe wale nō! A'ole mikini*.

KM: 'Ae. *Pehea, mamua, lo'a paha pe'a?*

SG: 'Ae.

KM: But 'oukou, hoe?

SG: *Hoe*.

KM: *Pehea kou mana'o 'elua, 'ekolu mile, 'ehā, 'elima paha?*

SG: 'Elima [gestures, more].

KM: 'Elima a 'oi? *Ka i'a ma kēlā kai uli...?*

SG: *Ē!*

KM: *He 'aha ka i'a?*

SG: 'Ahi, a'u.

KM: 'Oia?

SG: *Ē!*

KM: *Pehea 'oe i lawai'a? Me ka makau?*

SG: *Makau. Kēlā manawa, ka laina, he olonā.*

KM: 'Oia, olonā?

SG: 'Ae.

KM: *Pehea ka nui?*

SG: That time, my father them used to go up mountain. They see the *olonā*, they 'oki and they bring home. They *holoi* and then *kaula'i*. And then they make the rope.

KM: Amazing! *I kou wā li'ili'i?*

SG: 'Ae.

KM: So *ka olonā, mai uka mai?*

SG: 'Ae, 'ae. [speaking to Gilbert Kahele] You know where Amoi them used to live, the Pāpā Homestead?

GK: Up here?

SG: Yes.

GK: Yes.

SG: Loando them on this side?

GK/KM: Yes.



SG: Right over there, had plenty *olonā*.

KM: *Mamua?*

SG: We used to go up there, and the old man, used to pick up.

KM: So it's not even that far *mauka* of the old road then?

SG: No, way *mauka*. That's the only place I've seen it.

KM: Oh, it would be nice to see if it's still there.

GK: Is it still there?

SG: I think so, if they never poison. The County guys spray poison and destroy all the Hawaiian plants.

KM: *Aloha nō!*

SG: Yes.

KM: So that *olonā*, they had to *kahe*?

SG: Yes, they peel 'um off and they bring it down, then they [gestures, scraping the bark].

KM: They scrape 'um in the water?

SG: They soak 'um in the *kai*, and bumby you *kaula'i*, and then *kahe*.

KM: Hmm. *A hili lākou i 'aho?*

SG: Yes.

KM: *Ikaika kēlā 'ano 'aho?*

SG: *Ikaika.*

KM: So *hiki iā 'oe ke hele lawai'a 'ahi?*

SG: 'Ae.

KM: *A'u?*

SG: 'Ae.

KM: *Kēlā 'ano i'a?*

SG: Yes.

KM: *Pehea, ua hele 'oukou kūkaula, lawai'a?*

SG: *Kukaula, yes.*

KM: Hmm, *aloha.*

SG: Yes.

KM: What do you think about how the fishing is today, compared to when you were young?

SG: Well, I think it was better. Better than today.

KM: 'Ae. How come you think it was better?

SG: Because our *kūpuna* and all the people worked together. *Kēia lā, a'ale*. No more, no more. You know, *mamua* when we make a *lū'au*, over here had the Hale Hui, we used to come over here, all together.

KM: 'Ae, *ho'okāhi no 'ohana.*

SG: Yes... 'Oia ke kumu, ke kai, *mamua*, now no more, come up.



[When he was young, outsiders didn't come in to fish at Miloli'i; though if someone came and asked, they would be given fish.]

KM: Hmm. So *kupuna, pehea kou mana'o, i kou wā li'ili'i, ka wā mamua, inā noho 'oe i Minoli'i, ua hele mai paha kekāhi po'e mai kahi ē, e lawai'a i Minoli'i? E kala mai, namu haole 'ana wau*—Did people respect? If they knew that this was your fishing ground...

SG: Uh-hmm.

KM: If someone from somewhere else wanted to come and take fish, did they just come take, or did they...?

SG: No, *hele mai*. They *kali*, when you *huki* the *'upena*, they give.

KM: Ah, people shared.

SG: Yes.

KM: Today, though, if someone wants to come from Hilo, launch a boat down here, they can come, right.

SG: *Ka wā mamua*, no, nothing.

KM: Yes.

SG: No more, was all *wa'a wale no, kēlā manawa*.

KM: So people stayed on the *'āina* where they fished.

SG: Yes.

KM: Who was the *lawai'a nui*, the main fisherman when you were young?

SG: *Ku'u papa*.

KM: You papa.

SG: That's where I learned how to fish *'ōpelu*. I think that I am the only one that followed him.

[Fished for *akule* at Honomalino; fish not like they were before.]

KM: Hmm. And did you folks go out to get *akule* at Honomalino or anything?

SG: *Nui ka akule mamua!*

KM: Oh, even out here?

SG: *O nui*.

KM: *Pehea i kēia mau lā?*

SG: *Kēia mau lā* ahh [gestures with hand nothing]!

KM: *Kūka'ikāhi?*

SG: Yes. *I kēlā manawa wale no!*

KM: *'Emi?*

SG: Yes. *Nui ka akule i waho*.

KM: *A pehea, hele i Honomalino?*

SG: Honomalino, Okoe, Kapu'a.

KM: *Pehea ka i'a o kēlā mau wahi?*

SG: *Maika'i*.

KM: *He akule, 'ōpelu?*



SG: *Maika'i.*

KM: *Hmm. Aloha!*

SG: *Yes, aloha nō i ka po'e, ua hala ma'ō aku, nā kūpuna.*

KM: *'Ae a koe no 'oukou.*

SG: *'Ae.*

KM: *A eia ka mea nui, e ho'opa'a i kēia mau mo'olelo, alaila hiki nā keiki ke maopopo, "A ka hana a 'oukou nā kūpuna."*

SG: *Maika'i.*

KM: *'Oia ka mea pono o kēia mo'olelo.*

SG: *Maika'i. Kēia mau po'e kamali'i, a'ole lākou maopopo. You go wala'au me lākou, ahh [shakes hand like it means nothing].*

KM: *Hmm. Aloha kēia hui 'ana. Hau'oli nō!*

SG: *Yes. Mahalo nui iā 'oe me Gilbert.*

KM: *'Ae.*

GK: *Mahalo.*

KM: Gilbert, are there some questions, or thoughts that you wanted to talk about? But this has been a wonderful story.

SG: Maybe someday, I'll tell Alika [kupuna's son] to write down all the *ko'a*, the names, so that the *po'e kamali'i* will learn.

KM: That would be good. You know, we could mark it down, even on this map like this.

SG: Yes. All the names.

KM: Yes.

SG: Every *ko'a* has *inoa*. Every one was named.

KM: That means that it was important to the old people, yeah.

SG: Yes.

KM: If they put a name, they knew that place.

SG: Uh-hmm.

[Before days, used to go out and *hānai* the *ko'a* prior to the time of fishing; the *au'a* helped to train the young fish.]

KM: Did you folks go out before, and just *hānai* the *ko'a* sometimes?

SG: *'Ae, hānai.*

KM: So sometimes you go out and *hānai*, and don't fish?

SG: Yes. *Kēlā manawa*, when you say you're going *hānai* the *ko'a*, that means only *hānai*. You don't take *'upena*, nothing. Only *hānai* the *ko'a*. Then when ready for go, you go.

KM: *Hele 'oe me ka wa'a?*

SG: *Me ka wa'a.*

KM: *A hānai?*

SG: *'Ae.*



KM: *Ua ku'i paha o waho o ka wa'a... Pehea 'oe i kahea i nā i'a?*  
 SG: Oh, come [taps the table top, drumming], *kamumu*.  
 KM: *Kamumu 'oe i ka wa'a?*  
 SG: 'Ae. and then the au'a first comes up.  
 KM: 'Au'a?  
 SG: Yes, we call that au'a, the big one is the au'a. The small one, *kikā*. Cigar in English.  
 KM: Yes, so they were the little ones?  
 SG: Right.  
 KM: *A waiho ka au'a?*  
 SG: Yes. *Kekāhi manawa, komo i loko o ka 'upena* [chuckles].  
 KM: *So kāpae aku?*  
 SG: *Kēlā mau wā, yes. Ho'oku'u.*  
 KM: *No ka mea, ka au'a, he kia'i paha...?*

[Kū and Hina are fisherman's gods, and the manō is also a guardian of the fish and fishermen.]

SG: *'Ae, pololoi. O Kū me Hina kēlā.*  
 KM: 'Ae.  
 SG: *'Oia ka i'a i lawe mai ka mea li'ili'i.*  
 KM: *Kupuna o nā i'a.*  
 SG: Yes [chuckling].  
 KM: *A pehea, ua lohe paha 'oe kekāhi mo'olelo e pili 'ana i ka manō o kai?*  
 SG: *Kāhi po'e no, ka 'aumakua.*  
 KM: 'Ae. *Ua 'ike paha 'oe i ka manō?*  
 SG: *A'ale.*  
 KM: *Lohe wau mai kekāhi kūpuna, hiki iā lākou ke kahea i ka manō, manō kanaka, 'aumakua.*  
 SG: Yes.  
 KM: *Nāna no i 'alu'alu i ka i'a.*  
 SG: [chuckling] Yes.  
 KM: *Ua lohe paha 'oe?*  
 SG: Yes. *Ku'u tūtū wala'au me lā, uh-hmm.*  
 KM: *Pehea o Kolopulepule, kēlā manō nui, whale shark? Ua 'ike 'oe?*  
 SG: Oh yes.  
 KM: *'Ano kupaianaha, ē?*  
 SG: *A'ole kolohe.*  
 KM: *So aloha 'oe i kēlā mea?*  
 SG: Yes. *Kēlā wā mamua, a'ole maka'u 'ia i ka manō.* As long as you no *kolohe*, he no *kolohe* you.  
 KM: *Malama 'oe i ke kai...*



SG: 'Ae.  
KM: *Na ke kai e mālama iā 'oe.*  
SG: Yes.  
KM: Hmm, aloha 'oe.

[Feels that the *ko'a* of Miloli'i should be set aside and protected for the native families of the land.]

GK: Uncle, what do you think about us setting aside some 'ōpelu *ko'a* over here, for the village, so they can take care, *hānai*. Have the *ko'a* set aside like the akule...

SG: Yes, so nobody go over there take.

GK: Yes.

SG: Well right here [pointing out to *ko'a* fronting Minoli'i].

KM: What is this *ko'a* right out in front here?

SG: This here, this one is big. And that one there, Ka'akuli that's the main one, right there.

KM: So Ka'akuli is right on the boundary of Minoli'i and Omoka'a?

SG: Yes.

GK: Right outside of Laeloa.

SG: That's the big *ko'a*, there.

KM: Let me just open this map up [opens Register Map No. 2468]. So *kupuna*, you see here, here's Minoli'i?

SG: Yes. Laeloa right there.

KM: So Ka'akuli is right outside there?

SG: Yes.

GK: Then there's Minoli'i and Ho'opūloa.

SG: Yes.

GK: But there's *ko'a* all right down the coast line too.

KM: 'Ae.

GK: We're looking at maybe trying to set aside these three *ko'a*. Ka'akuli, Minoli'i...

KM: Which is in front of...?

SG: Right in front of the ramp here.

KM: Okay.

GK: And Ho'opūloa.

KM: So in front of where the old village was?

SG: Uh-hmm.

GK: Yes.

SG: And then Honomalino has.

KM: Hmm. And about how far out?

GK: About a quarter mile out.

KM: About a quarter mile out?



SG: Yes.  
 KM: How deep?  
 SG: Oh, I'd say about a good fifty to sixty feet.  
 GK: To about 100 feet.  
 SG: Yes, outside.  
 KM: Outside. So is that a good idea to set those aside to preserve them for the families here?  
 SG: Oh yes.  
 KM: It is. And only *pala'ai* or *kalo* like that?  
 SG: That's all we use.  
 KM: *Like me ka wā mamua.*

[Let the fish and *ko'a* rest one day a week, like *Lāpule*, as practiced before.]

SG: Yes, *maika'i kēlā*. Like today, you know before, our *kūpuna*, when it comes Saturday, nobody works. Saturday!  
 KM: 'Oia?  
 SG: Yes. *Kuke 'oe*, everything, all done.  
 KM: So *Pō'aōno*, *kuke* everything all *pau*, then *Lāpule*, *ho'omaha*?  
 SG: 'Ae, *ho'omaha*.  
 KM: *Hele i ka hale pule?*  
 SG: 'Ae, *hele i uka nei i ka hale pule Katolika*.  
 KM: Ō...! So you think that that setting aside the *ko'a* for the families here, is a good idea then?  
 SG: Yes, I hope that they can get it back again.  
 KM: So take care of *Ka'akuli*, *Minoli'i*, *Ho'opūloa*, *ko'a*?  
 SG: Yes.  
 KM: And what, you think even them, don't go fish on Sundays?  
 SG: No.  
 KM: Let it rest?  
 SG: I think so, *ho'omaka kēlā manawa*. You have all the days that you can go fishing, and then when come Sunday, you can rest. You cannot spare a day?  
 KM: Yes.  
 SG: That's how they did it. Like sometimes me and Sarah come over here talk, our days before, in comparison with today, *'oko'a!*  
 KM: 'Okō'a. 'Ano *kaumaha ka no'ono'o*.  
 SG: Yes. But you know, it's not that, all the mama and papa now, they don't help their kids. Sometimes, really pity, *po'e kamali'i*. They come down, they don't eat the whole day. Where are the parents?  
 KM: Hmm. So if you could re-teach the children about how to work the *ko'a*, how to catch *ōpelu*, they would have fish.  
 SG: Yes! I love to teach them.



GK: Uncle, what do you call the eye, where you tie? How many, eight, on the *'upena*?

SG: That's the *kāwaha*, you go over like that to the *'upena*, and to the stick. Then from over there, you get your *hānai*, come up.

KM: Where the ropes go up?

SG: Yes. Then you get the *kaula huki*, and you add if you like to go more down.

KM: 'Ae.

GK: What do you call the *palu*, the *ka'ai*?

SG: Oh, *ka'a'ai*.

KM: 'Ae, *ka'a'ai*. And you were the *ka'a'ai* boy?

SG: Yes, the chum boy. [chuckles] In English.

KM: Yes.

SG: You chum. When it's all ready, then you throw inside.

GK: The person in front, is what, the *po'o*?

SG: Yes, *po'o*.

GK: Then you.

SG: Yes. and then the guy at the end.

KM: *Kāohi. Nāna no i ku pono ka wa'a.*

SG: Yes, the steersman.

GK: And the look out?

SG: That's the front, *mamua*, man, and then *ka'a'ai*, yeah.

KM: Hmm, wonderful, your *mo'olelo*. *Aloha 'oe!*

SG: Hmm.

KM: Good!

GK: It's good!

KM: *Maika'i kēia mo'olelo, kupuna. Mahalo nui iā 'oe i kou 'ahonui me ia'u.*

SG: 'Ae.

KM: *A inā hewa wau, e kala mai ia'u.*

SG: 'Ae. *Maika'i, maika'i kēia hui 'ana.*

GK: He also caught a 110 pound *ono*, you know.

KM: A 110 pound *ono*?

SG: One hundred nine pounds.

KM: One hundred nine? Where?



[Describes the *ko'a 'ahi* fronting Pōhaku Ke'oke'o.]

- SG: *'Ahi ko'a*. Yes, one morning I went out there without knowing if the fish were going to bite. They said no more *'ahi*. I went over there, my first drop, *hemo* the *palu*. *Ua hemo ka palu*, you could feel it. It came up, only 80 pound test, *pa'a* inside the *niho*.
- KM: Wow!
- SG: Inside the crack.
- GK: It was like the old man in the sea.
- SG: Yes [chuckling].
- KM: Amazing. So you said this was at the *ko'a 'ahi*?
- SG: Yes.
- KM: How far out in the ocean is that?
- SG: Oh, it's about a mile out, yeah?
- GK: Maybe a half mile off the shore.
- KM: From where?
- GK: Honomalino.
- SG: Yes.
- GK: The point outside.
- SG: Pōhaku Ke'oke'o, the white stone.
- KM: Oh yes, yes.
- GK: Between Okoe and Honomalino, the lava that goes out.
- KM: Yes, right here [pointing to area on map].
- GK: Hanamalo, right outside.
- KM: Okay. And that's a white stone out there?
- SG: Right. That's our land mark for the *ko'a*.
- GK: And the *kiawe* tree.
- SG: Yes. That's the blessing I had. I thank him.
- KM: 'Ae...
- SG: Always say *mahalo*. I don't care what kind of fish, you go. You have to thank the lord, for the strength, and giving you the blessing.
- KM: 'Ae.
- SG: Yes. No matter what kind of fish. Always.
- KM: Wonderful!. You know, *e kala mai*, I see where the *alanui* is now, it looks like behind, has *kāheka* [describing area to north of church lot]. Was there a pond back here before?
- SG: *Ai mahape nei*.
- KM: *Mahape. He loko?*



[Shore fish previously kept in a small pond on the shore at Miloli'i; umu also made. Describes gathering of limu and other near-shore fish.]

- SG: Small, only. Small kind fish. Not like Kalihi, they have one. And they *mālama* inside there. And the *pūnāwai* behind the *hale*.
- KM: *He 'aha ke 'ano o ka i'a?*
- SG: *'Anae no ho'i, 'āholehole, he honu, nui ka i'a mamua.*
- KM: *Oh! Mālama lākou i na i'a ma loko o kēlā loko?*
- SG: 'Ae.
- KM: *A inā 'ōkaikai, hiki iā 'oe ke hele a 'ohi i'a?*
- SG: Yes. *Wā mamua, ma'ema'e kēlā wahi. Kēia manawa, a'ale.*
- KM: *Hmm. Lohe wau, inā komo ka honu i loko o kēlā 'ano loko, e 'ai no ka honu i ka pohō.*
- SG: *Ka limu, ho'oma'ema'e. Ku'u tūtū Kaululua, hele 'oia ala i loko o kēlā pūnāwai a ho'oma'ema'e.*
- KM: *Ō! I Kalihi?*
- SG: 'Ae.
- KM: *He inoa paha kēlā pūnāwai?*
- SG: *He inoa paha, a'ole au i maopopo.*
- KM: *Hmm. Aloha.*
- SG: Yes.
- GK: You used to throw net, Waha?
- SG: Oh yes.
- GK: Like *imu*?
- SG: Yes, you make *hale* for the *manini*.
- KM: *Imu?*
- SG: Yes, we did that.
- KM: *Maika'i kēlā imu, umu, inā 'ōkaikai...?*
- SG: 'Ae, 'oia ka manawa hele 'o 'oe ki'i *manini*, *kūpīpī* no ho'i. *Uhu, nenue.*
- KM: *Pehea kēlā nenue, maika'i?*
- SG: 'Ae, *maika'i. Pualu.*
- KM: 'Ae.

[Discusses use of 'ala'ala bait to catch select near-shore fish.]

- GK: You know, everybody used to have a special recipe for catching *manini*, *maiko*. They make their own.
- KM: The 'ala'ala?
- SG: Yes, the 'ala'ala.
- KM: So you had a recipe for making your own...?
- SG: 'Ae [chuckling].
- KM: Secret? [chuckling]



SG: 'Ae, *kēlā wā mamua, a'ole 'oe ke hā'awi aku i kou palu.*

KM: 'Ae. *No ka mea puni ka i'a i kou palu, ē?*

SG: 'Ae.

KM: *Pehea, ua hana 'oe i ma ka makau, ai'ole ma ka lā'au melomelo, he bait stick?*

SG: *A'ale, kēpau wale no. Kēpau ma ka 'aho wale no, ka makau.*

KM: Hmm.

SG: 'Elua makau.

KM: 'Ae, 'elua 'ao'ao?

SG: Yes.

KM: *Pehea, iho i kai, 'elua i'a?*

SG: *Lo'a mākoi, 'oki 'o 'oe like me ka puna, ka palu iloko. That wale no, pa'a.*

KM: Hmm. *A iho ka makau i kai, lo'a 'elua i'a?*

SG: 'Elua kāhi manawa, ho'okāhi kāhi manawa.

KM: Hmm. *A puni ka i'a i kou palu?*

SG: 'Ae! [smiling]

KM: [chuckling] *He 'ala'ala i kō'ala 'ia paha?*

SG: Yes. *Hui 'oe me ka aila mahu.*

KM: 'Ae.

SG: You have to make your own ingredients. Like them [*kūpuna*], they had good *palu*.

KM: Oh, *mahalo!*

SG: Yes.

[Believes that if we will take care of the ocean, the fish will come back.]

KM: So it is important to take care of the ocean?

SG: 'Ae.

KM: And the fisheries like that?

SG: Yes. If only we can take care, we will see all the *i'a* come back.

KM: That's right!

SG: *Kēia manawa, all 'uha'uha ka i'a* [shaking head].

KM: Yes, wasted and too many people.

SG: Yes. You know, that's a big shame, people come like that. And you know, us, we live down here, for many years...

KM: Generations!

SG: ...And then they come and do that. Sometimes I sit down by myself, and the *waimaka* come.

KM: *Uwē!*

SG: I think of the old people.

KM: 'Ae. *Mahalo nui no kou wehe 'ana i kēia mo'olelo.*



SG: Even now, I still feel it.

KM: *'Ae, nui ke aloha.*

SG: Yes.

KM: *Aloha...* [takes photos of *kupuna*]

SG: You know, if we're not going to show our talent to the kids, what we learned from our *kūpuna*, they're not going to learn, nothing.

KM: Yes, that's right.

SG: They're not going to learn anything.

KM: *A 'oia ka pilikia o kēia mau lā.*

SG: Yes. No good.

KM: *A nā kūpuna, nui ko lākou 'ōlelo ho'ona'auao.*

SG: Yes.

KM: *"Maika'i ka hana a ka lima, 'ono no ka 'ai a ka waha."*

SG: Right!

KM: *"Hana ka lima, lo'a ka 'ai."*

SG: *'Ae. Kēlā 'ano, hmm.*

KM: *'Ano maika'i o nā kūpuna, na'auao 'oukou.*

SG: *Ka wā mamua, holo, hele 'ana 'o 'oe i loko o ke kai ma ka wa'a, hele 'ana lawai'a 'ōpelu, a'ohe 'o 'oe wala'au. Mai wala'au 'oe.*

KM: Hmm, *no ke 'aha? He pepeiao paha ko ka i'a* [chuckling]?

SG: *'Ae, Kū me Hina.*

KM: *A hele ka i'a i kāhi e a'e.*

SG: 'Ae. I had one experience of that too.

KM: What happened?

SG: I had nothing.

KM: [chuckling]

SG: Yes, I come home, they tell, you "*wala'au*, no good. No *wala'au!*"

KM: So you were hearing about Kū and Hina all in your youth?

SG: Yes, I still *mālama* them.

KM: Hmm.

SG: Sometimes I go *hānai* the *ko'a* with 'elua *'ōpelu*.

KM: So you still have a *ko'a* that you take care of?

SG: Yes, right over there [pointing towards his home]. In Omoka'a, they call 'Ili'ilikou.

KM: 'Ili'ilikou.

SG: We still leave the fish for them.

KM: Hmm.

SG: *Ka'u wahine*, the mama always took care.



KM: Hmm. *‘O wai ka inoa o kāu wahine?*

SG: Eleanor Kalau Apō.

KM: Hmm. *Kama‘āina lākou...?*

SG: Yes, they *hānai* the *ko‘a*.

GK: John and Nancy Apō were her parents.

SG: Yes.

GK: And they tie to Kema.

KM: Oh.

SG: Yes, my mother-in-law is a Kema. Kaupe.

KM: Hmm.

SG: And with aunty Sarah.

KM: Oh yes, Kaupe comes to Kaupiko.

GK: Kaupiko.

KM: Hmm. *Kupuna, mahalo nui...* Maybe we could sit down again some time...and just mark locations on the map, the names of places that you think are important.

SG: Yes, bumbly I’ll tell Alika to mark where.

KM: Good, you keep these maps home, for you.

SG: Yes. My most familiar area is from Honomalino to this side.

KM: ‘Ae.

SG: That’s where I know.

KM: ‘Ae, *kama‘āina loa*.

SG: Like Gilbert, the *‘ohana*, they all come from Kapu‘a. But he was *hānau* over here, eh, Kalihi?

GK: Yes, Kalihi.

KM: Aloha *nui!*

SG: Yes.

KM: *Mahalo nui iā ‘oe kupuna ke Akua pū me ‘oe a aloha i kou wahine, me ka ‘ohana.*

SG: ‘Ae. Thank you...



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