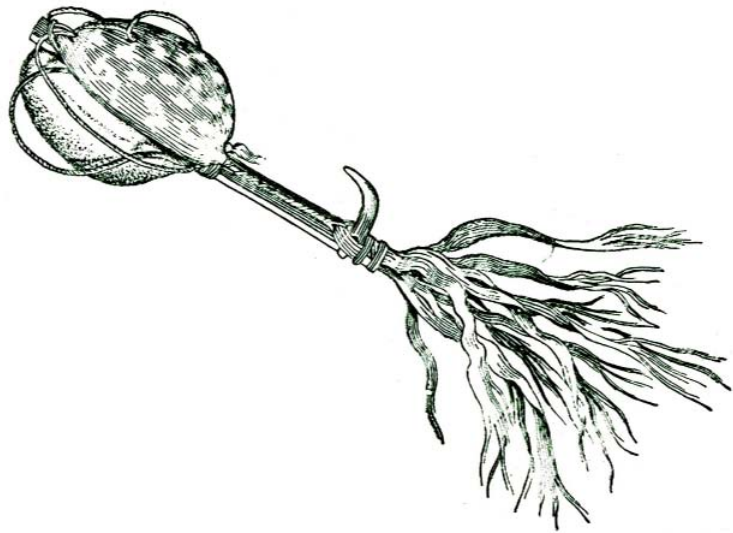


**VOLUME II –
ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS:**

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

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

**COMPILED FROM:
ORAL HISTORY
INTERVIEWS
WITH KŪPUNA
AND KAMA‘ĀINA**



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



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*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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With KŪPUNA AND KAMA‘ĀINA**

By _____

*Kepa Maly • Cultural Historian & Resource Specialist
&
Onaona Maly • Researcher*

Prepared for _____

*The Nature Conservancy
923 Nu‘uanu Avenue
Honolulu, Hawai‘i 96817*

December 10, 2003

Kumu Pono Associates



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*Historical & Archival Documentary Research · Oral History Interview Studies ·
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The voices of *kūpuna* (elders) and *kamaʻāina* (those who are of the land) give life to the history of the land and resources of Hawaiʻi nei, and acknowledge those who have come before us. Their *moʻolelo* (histories) help us understand the value placed on the *wahi pana* (storied and sacred places) that make up the cultural landscape and seascape.

To each of the *kūpuna* and *kamaʻāina* who have shared your *aloha* for the land, ocean, history and traditions of Hawaiʻi nei (interviewees are named in *Table 1* of this volume), we offer our sincerest appreciation, and say “*Mahalo a nui!*”

Also, to — Scott Atkinson, the Board and supporters of the Nature Conservancy; Chipper and Hauʻoli Wichman, the Board and supporters of the Limahuli Garden–National tropical Botanical Garden; Ua Hashimoto, Board and supporters of *Hui Makaʻāinana o Makana*; staff of the Hawaiʻi Natural Heritage Program, University of Hawaiʻi-Mānoa; staff of the Division of Aquatics, State of Hawaiʻi; and to all who helped to make this study possible, we extend our humble gratitude and thanks to all of you.

We also acknowledge our sincerest gratitude to several individuals for their commitment to ensuring that interviewees were found and contacted — *Kupuna* Valentine K. Ako, on Kauaʻi; Isaac and Tammy Harp, on Maui; and Gilbert Kahele, at Kapailua, Hawaiʻi.

Through our combined efforts, the voices of *kūpuna* and *kamaʻāina*—the life lessons, values, and knowledge they have shared—will be handed down to future generations. It is our hope that from their histories, we will learn to be good stewards of the resources that have been handed down to us, and which we have the responsibility of handing down to those who follow us.

We also recognize the wisdom of the traditional saying, “*Aʻohe pau ka ʻike i ka hālau hoʻokāhi!*” (Not all knowledge is found in one school!). Thus, we acknowledge here, that much more could be said, and that different variations of the accounts and practices described are known. We have made a truthful effort to accurately document the histories shared with us, and to present them in the way they were meant to be heard. We ask you to respect the words as well, and that they not be used in ways other than they were meant to be used. As *Kupuna* Eddie Nāmakani Keliʻikuli Kaʻanāʻanā, shared when talking about traditional knowledge and care of the natural resources — “*Hoʻohana aku, a hoʻōla aku!*” (Use them and let them live!)

Māua no ke ka haʻahaʻa a me ke aloha kau palena ʻole — Kepā me Onaona.

O ka mea maikaʻi mālama, o ka mea maikaʻi ʻole, kāpae ʻia!
(Keep the good, set the bad aside!)



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INTRODUCTION

This volume, compiled at the request of Scott Atkinson on behalf of The Nature Conservancy, includes excerpts from more than 130 oral history interviews that have been conducted by Kepā Maly over the last twenty-eight years. The interviewees were born between the 1890s to 1950s, and all shared personal knowledge—either in native beliefs, traditions, customs and practices; the locations of, and types of fish caught; or about the changing the conditions of the resources—in Hawaiian fisheries. The early interviews are taken from notes recorded and expanded by Maly as early as 1975, with excerpts from recorded interviews dating from 1996 to 2002. The interviews conducted specifically as a part of this study date from late 2002 to late 2003.

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

Interview Methodology

Except for the early interviews—done primarily with elder relatives—the oral history interviews cited in this appendix 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 review, correction, and release; and (4) copies of the final oral history study, will be provided to each primary interviewee or their families.

Some of the interviews were conducted as site visits, and during the process of review and release, 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.

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. Also, when conducting field interviews, photographs were taken and selected pictures are cited in the interviews.

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 fisheries being described;
2. Age. The older the informant, the greater the likelihood that the individual had had personal communications or first-hand experiences with even older, now deceased Hawaiians and area residents; and



3. 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 area discussed.

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 land and 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/interviewers have 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 Documentation

All of the formal recorded interviews were transcribed¹ 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 requesting permission for release from the interview participants, Maly followed a general release of interview records form (*Figure 1, at end*).

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, Limahuli Garden-Hui *Maka'āinana o Makana*, University and community libraries, and at appropriate review agencies.

Contributors to the Oral History Documentation

Participants in the oral history interviews cited in this collection shared personal recollections dating back to 1900. 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 of interviewees).

Table 1. Primary Interview Participants

Name of Interviewee	Ethnicity	Year Born	Island and Areas Described
Howard Ackerman	Hawaiian	1932	Hawai'i – Kealahou and South Kona region.
William A. Akau and (sister) Kahikilani Akau	Hawaiian	1927 1936	Hawai'i – Kawaihae and South Kohala region.
Valentine K. Ako	Hawaiian	1926	Hawai'i – South Kohala to South Kona; Kaua'i – Wailua, Hanalei and Nāpali; and Ni'ihau.

¹ 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 (continued)

Name of Interviewee	Ethnicity	Year Born	Island and Areas Described
Samuel Waha Pōhaku Grace	Hawaiian	1927	Hawai'i – Miloli'i and larger Kapalilua (South Kona) region.
Hannah Grace-Acia	Hawaiian	1917	Hawai'i – 'Ōpihiale and larger Kapalilua (South Kona) region.
Lily Nāmakaokai'a Ha'ani'o-Kong	Hawaiian	1927	Hawai'i – Keauhou-Kahalu'u, North Kona.
John Hale	Hawaiian	1919	Hawai'i – Pohoiki-Kapoho region, Puna.
Louis Hao, Sr.	Hawaiian	1907	Hawai'i – Kapalilua region (South Kona).
Edward Nāmakani Keli'ikuli Ka'anā'anā	Hawaiian	1925	Hawai'i – Miloli'i and larger Kapalilua (South Kona) region; O'ahu – Waikiki-Ke'ehi and Wai'anae District; and the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands.
Geo. Kinoulu Kahananui	Hawaiian	1925	Hawai'i – Honokōhau-Ka'ūpūlehu region, North Kona.
Margie Kaholo-Kailianu	Hawaiian	1926	Hawai'i – Ka'ūpūlehu-Pu'u Anahulu, North Kona.
Moana Kapule-Kahele	Hawaiian	1921	Hawai'i – Kealakekua and larger South Kona region.
Katie Kalā-Andrade	Hawaiian	1936	Hawai'i – Kealakekua-Ke'ei region, South Kona.
Eugene "Gino" Kaupiko	Hawaiian	1931	Hawai'i – Miloli'i and larger Kapalilua (South Kona) region.
David Keākealani	Hawaiian	1914	Hawai'i – Ka'ūpūlehu-Pu'u Anahulu, North Kona.
Caroline Keākealani-Pereira	Hawaiian	1919	Hawai'i – Ka'ūpūlehu-Pu'u Anahulu, North Kona.
Gabriel Kealoha	Hawaiian	1928	Hawai'i – Pohoiki-Kapoho region, Puna.
Joseph K. Keli'ipa'akaua	Hawaiian	1929	Hawai'i – Ki'ilae-Ke'ei, South Kona,
Fred Kaimalino Leslie	Hawaiian	1918	Hawai'i – Kealakekua and larger South Kona region.
Weston Leslie	Hawaiian	1947	Hawai'i – Kealakekua and larger South Kona region.
C. Arthur Lyman	Hawaiian	1912	Hawai'i – Pohoiki-Koa'e region, Puna.
Arthur "Aka" Mahi	Hawaiian	1933	Hawai'i – Ka'ūpūlehu-Pu'u Anahulu, North Kona.
Joseph Pu'ipu'i Maka'ai	Hawaiian	1917	Hawai'i – Ka'ūpūlehu-Pu'u Anahulu, North Kona.
Kahu John Kumukāhi Makuakāne	Hawaiian	1932	Hawai'i – 'Ōpihikao-Kapoho region, Puna.
Maile Keohohou-Mitchell	Hawaiian	1930	Hawai'i – Kealakekua-Nāpo'opo'o region, South Kona.
William Kalikolehua Pānui	Hawaiian	1928	Hawai'i – Kealakekua-Ke'ei region, South Kona.



Table 1. Primary Interview Participants (continued)

Name of Interviewee	Ethnicity	Year Born	Island and Areas Described
William “Billy” K. J. Paris	Hawaiian	1923	Hawai‘i – Kāināliu vicinity, North Kona.
Peter Keikua‘ana Park	Hawaiian	1918	Hawai‘i – Honokōhau-Ka‘ūpūlehu region, North Kona.
Walter Keli‘iokekai Paulo,	Hawaiian	1923	Hawai‘i – Miloli‘i and larger Kapalilua (South Kona) region; O‘ahu – Waikīki-Ke‘ehi and Wai‘anae District; and the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands
Rose Pilipi-Maeda	Hawaiian	1919	Hawai‘i – Ka‘ūpūlehu-Pu‘u Anahulu, North Kona.
Mary Kawena Pukui	Hawaiian	1895	Hawai‘i – Kalae region, Ka‘ū.
Robert Ka‘iwa Punihaoie	Hawaiian	1923	Hawai‘i – Honokōhau-Ka‘ūpūlehu region, North Kona.
Mary Tom-Ahuna	Chinese	1899	Hawai‘i – Kukuiopa‘e and larger Kapalilua (South Kona) region
C. Kapua Wall-Heuer	Hawaiian	1912	Hawai‘i – Kāināliu-Keauhou vicinity, North Kona.
Louis “Buzzy” Agard	Hawaiian	1924	Kaua‘i – Keālia; and Northwestern Hawaiian Islands
Charles Kininani Chu	Hawaiian	1913	Kaua‘i – Hā‘ena-Nāpali region.
Agnes Leinani Kam Lun Chung	Hawaiian	1921	Kaua‘i – Wainiha.
Wayne Harada and Keikilani (Haumea) Harada	Japanese Hawaiian	1948 1952	Kaua‘i – Lumaha‘i-Hā‘ena region.
Thomas and Annie (Tai Hook) Hashimoto	Hawaiian Hawaiian	1934 1933	Kaua‘i – Wainiha-Hā‘ena and Nāpali.
Violet Hashimoto-Goto	Hawaiian	1935	Kaua‘i – Hā‘ena.
Greg Kan Sing Ho	Chinese	1905	Kaua‘i – Hanalei.
Stanley Ho	Chinese	1920	Kaua‘i – Hanalei.
Melapa Makanui-Corr	Hawaiian	1917	Kaua‘i – Hanapēpē.
Richard Corr	Hawaiian	1943	Kaua‘i – Hanapēpē.
Leo Ohai	Hawaiian	1923	Islands of Kaua‘i, Ni‘ihau, the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands and Main Hawaiian Islands.
Mary “Lychee” Kamakaka- ‘ōnohi‘ulaokalā Tai Hook- Haumea	Hawaiian	1913	Kaua‘i – Wainiha.
Henry Kau Aki	Hawaiian	1924	Lāna‘i – Keōmoku and Kaumālapa‘u.
Samuel Kaōpūiki	Hawaiian	1925	Lāna‘i – Keōmoku and Kaumālapa‘u.
Solomon Kaōpūiki	Hawaiian	1919	Lāna‘i – Keōmoku and Kaumālapa‘u.
Apelehama Kauila	Hawaiian	1902	Lāna‘i – Keōmoku vicinity



Table 1. Primary Interview Participants (continued)

Name of Interviewee	Ethnicity	Year Born	Island and Areas Described
Helen (Helena) Akiona-Nākānelua	Hawaiian	1911	Maui – Wailuanui.
Stephen Cabral	Portuguese	1929	Maui – Ko'olau and Hāmākua Districts.
Samuel Ponopake Chang	Hawaiian	1911	Maui – Mākena vicinity.
Stanley Chock	Hawaiian	1933	Maui – Kahakuloa.
Isaac Harp and Tammy (Neizman) Harp	Hawaiian Hawaiian	1957 1959	Maui, Lāna'i, Kaho'olawe, Moloka'i and the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands
James Keolaokalani Hue	Hawaiian	1914	Maui – Ko'olau District, Ke'anae region.
Moon Keahi	Hawaiian	1935	Maui – Māla-Lāhainā region; and Lāna'i off-shore.
Pōhaku Miki Lee and Leimamo Wahihākō-Lee	Hawaiian Hawaiian	1920 1921	Maui – Hāna and Ko'olau Districts.
Robert Lu'uwai	Hawaiian	1935	Maui – Mākena vicinity.
Mina Marciel-Atai	Hawaiian	1916	Maui – Honomanu-Ke'anae vicinity.
F. Harrison Neizman and Teresa (Smith) Neizman	Hawaiian Hawaiian	1926	Maui – Māla-Lāhainā region; and Lāna'i off-shore.
Gilbert Neizman	Hawaiian	1934	Maui – Māla-Lāhainā region; and Lāna'i off-shore.
Joseph C. Rosa, Jr.	Hawaiian	1916	Maui – Honopou-Hāmākualoa region.
James Tanaka	Japanese	1916	Maui – Lāhainā region; Moloka'i – Wailau; O'ahu – Pu'uloa.
Scott Ka'uhanehonokawailani Adams	Hawaiian	1933	Moloka'i – Kaluako'i region.
John Dudoit, Jr.	Hawaiian	1934	Moloka'i – Pūko'o-Kainalu region.
Lawrence Joao, Sr.	Hawaiian	1930	Moloka'i – Kaluako'i region.
William H. Kalipi, Sr.	Hawaiian	1942	Moloka'i – Pūko'o-Kainalu region.
Daniel A. Kekahuna	Hawaiian	1925	Moloka'i – Kaluako'i region.
Wayde Lee	Hawaiian	–	Moloka'i – Kaluako'i region.
Mac (Kelson) Poepoe	Hawaiian	1946	Moloka'i – Kaluako'i region.
Kāwika Kapahulehua	Hawaiian	1930	Islands of Ni'ihau, Ka'ula, and Nihoa.
Joseph "Tarzan" Ahuna and Gladys (Pualoa) Ahuna,	Hawaiian Hawaiian	1931	O'ahu – Lā'ie.
William J. 'Ailā, Jr.	Hawaiian	1958	O'ahu – Wai'anae District.
Edith Kenoi'āina Auld	Hawaiian	1937	O'ahu – Mōkapu-Kāne'ohe region.
Charles Keonaona Bailey	Hawaiian	1937	O'ahu – Wai'anae District
Aaron Chaney	Hawaiian	1923	O'ahu – Mōkapu-Kāne'ohe region.



Table 1. Primary Interview Participants (continued)

Name of Interviewee	Ethnicity	Year Born	Island and Areas Described
Margaret Chiyoko Date	Japanese	1913	O'ahu – Mōkapu-Kāne'ōhe region.
George Davis and Mary (Furtado) Davis	Hawaiian Portuguese	1912 1924	O'ahu – Mōkapu-Kāne'ōhe and Kailua region.
Joseph "Kepa" Haia	Hawaiian	1920	O'ahu – Mōkapu-Kāne'ōhe and Kailua region.
Joseph Hines and Niki (Ahuna) Hines	Hawaiian	1922	O'ahu – Waimānalo.
Ruby Kekauoha-Enos	Hawaiian	1904	O'ahu – Lā'ie.
Isabella Kalehuamakanoe Kekauoha-Lin Kee	Hawaiian	1907	O'ahu – Lā'ie.
Roland Ma'iola "Ahi" Logan	Hawaiian	1930	O'ahu – Lā'ie.
Martha Maleka Mahi'ai-Pukahi	Hawaiian	1911	O'ahu – Lā'ie.
Lucy Ka'i'o-Marasco	Hawaiian	1922	O'ahu – Lā'ie.
Agnes McCabe-Hipa	Hawaiian	1912	O'ahu – Mōkapu-Kāne'ōhe region.
William Kanahale	Hawaiian	1929	O'ahu – Lā'ie.
Agnes Kanahale-Lua	Hawaiian	1922	O'ahu – Lā'ie.
Annie Kanahale-Tau'a	Hawaiian	1926	O'ahu – Lā'ie.
William Kulia Lemn, Sr.	Hawaiian	1914	O'ahu – Moanalua.
Anita Kahanupā'oa Lono-Gouveia	Hawaiian	1934	O'ahu – Mōkapu-Kāne'ōhe region.
Toni Auld-Yardley	Hawaiian	1948	
Viola Kēhau Kekuku 'Āpuakēhau Peterson-Kawahigashi,	Hawaiian	1910	O'ahu – Lā'ie.
Walter Kaiapa Pomroy	Hawaiian	1928	O'ahu – Waikīkī-Kapahulu region.
Charles K. Reiny	Hawaiian	1927	O'ahu – Wai'anae District
Arthur Hyde Rice Jr.	Caucasian	1911	O'ahu – Mōkapu-Kāne'ōhe and Kailua region; Kauai – off-shore.
Albert Hollis Silva	Hawaiian	1929	O'ahu – Wai'anae District
Lucia White-Whitmarsh	Hawaiian	1917	O'ahu – Mōkapu-Kāne'ōhe and Kailua region.
Jack Nāpuaokalauokalani Williams	Hawaiian	1915	O'ahu – Mōkapu-Kāne'ōhe and Kailua region.
Henry H. Wong	Hawaiian	1913	O'ahu – Mōkapu-Kāne'ōhe and Kailua region.
Walter Kong Wong Sr.	Hawaiian	1929	O'ahu – Lā'ie.
Masato Yamada	Japanese	1917	O'ahu – Waimānalo.



Respect is requested here, of all who read these interviews.

Please respect the contributors, 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.

***“E ne‘e imua, mai lōlohi ē! E ne‘e imua a lokāhi ē!
E ne‘e imua a hana like ē! E ne‘e imua a kau mai ka lei!”***



KA HANA LAWAI‘A: KAMA‘ĀINA OBSERVATIONS (1900 TO 2003)

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

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

Forty-four interviewees on the Island of Hawai‘i;
Fifteen interviewees on the Island of Kaua‘i;
Four interviewees on the Island of Lāna‘i;
Seventeen interviewees on the Island of Maui (and neighboring islands);
Eight interviewees on the Island of Moloka‘i;
Six interviewees on the islands of Ni‘ihau and the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands; and
Thirty-eight interviewees on the Island of O‘ahu.

Selected excerpts—documenting traditional knowledge of fishing customs and fisheries (from fresh water resources to shore and near-shore, and to deep sea resources); along with observations pertaining to the condition of the resources—from a large collection of oral history interviews are cited below. The selected narratives include excerpts from more than 132 interviews, with more than 125 individuals conducted between 1975 to 2003.

The interviews are generally cited by island— i.e., Hawai‘i, Kaua‘i, Lāna‘i... — and are indexed in the table of contents by the primary island and locations discussed by the interviewees. Several of the interviewees have personal knowledge and expertise in fisheries, on more than one island. Those interviews are given by their primary island, with reference in the table of contents to other island localities. For example, interviews with *Kūpuna* — Valentine K. Ako, Eddie Nāmakani Keli‘ikuli Ka‘anā‘anā, E. Kāwika Kapahulehua, Walter Keli‘iokekai Paulo, and James Tanaka — provide readers with documentation pertaining to fisheries on various islands, spanning from Hawai‘i to the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, and the larger Pacific region.

Interviewee recollections date from ca. 1900 to the present, and in their words, we find deep cultural attachment, and rich knowledge of the *kai lawai‘a* (fisheries) and *‘āina i pūlama ‘ia* (cherished lands) of Hawai‘i Nei. Readers of *Volumes I & II* will also find remarkable continuity and time depth of knowledge as recorded in the historical-archival literature (*Volume I*), and as passed down in the daily lives and practices of our elders in the present volume.

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



- Loss of the old Hawaiian system of *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.
- To many people fish in one area, and to few people take the time to *hānai* and *mālama* the *ko'a*; they don't let the *ko'a* rest, and only think of taking, and not giving back.
- “Hawai'i cannot feed the world.” The focus on economic fishing, only to export Hawaiian fish to foreign markets is damaging to the resources, and makes it economically inaccessible to many participants in the local market.
- Use of modern technology—including depth gauges, GPS, and fish aggregation devices to maximize harvests—makes it too easy for fishermen to locate fish. Fishermen no longer need to have in-depth knowledge of the ocean and habits of fish, as was necessary in earlier times.
- Failure of the state system to enforce existing laws, rules and/or regulations.
- The present centralized state system of management is out of touch with the needs of the neighbor islands, and does not take into account regional variations and seasons associated with fisheries and aquatic resources on the various islands.

Interviewee recommendations included, but are not limited to:

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

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.

“I ha'aheo no ka lawai'a i ka lako i ka 'upena!”

The fisherman may well be proud when well supplied with nets?

(Good tools help the worker to succeed.) (Pukui 1983:125, No. 1152)



ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

Island of Hawai‘i

Mary Kawena Pukui

He Mo‘olelo no Hala‘ea–

**A Tradition of the Aku Fisheries of Kalae, at Ka‘ū,
and the Ocean Current of Hala‘ea**

Oral History Interview November 7, 1977 – with Kepā Maly

In between 1975 to 1978, Kepā Maly, spent several days a month at the feet of *kupuna* Mary Kawena Pukui (*Tūtū* Kawena), grandaunt of co-author, Onaona Pomroy-Maly, at her Mānoa home, learning from her traditions and history. Tūtū Kawena (1895-1986), is recognized as one of, if not the most influential person in the recordation of Hawaiian culture and history in the twentieth century. Below, follows one of the accounts she shared for her homeland of Ka‘ū:

Hala‘ea is the name of a famous ocean current which extends ocean-ward (south) of Kalae. There was also chief named Hala‘ea, who was abusive of his people, and claimed all of the *aku* caught by his fishermen as his. He never allowed the people to share in fruit of their catches. Though many fish were wasted, Hala‘ea refused to allow any commoners to take fish for their families. Angered at this waste, and hardship imposed upon them, the people and priests finally laid a plan to kill Hala‘ea.

On one occasion when the fishing canoes departed for the fishing grounds, the fleet remained at sea longer than usual. Hala‘ea inquired about their delayed return, his priests told him that many fish were being caught, and because the fishermen wished to fulfill their chiefs' command they remained at sea. Satisfied that his people honored him so, Hala‘ea waited a while longer until he became curious about this great school of *aku*. Hala‘ea commanded that his double hulled canoe be prepared, and he went to investigate. Upon reaching the fishing fleet, he saw that a great catch was indeed being taken. He then commanded that all the fish be placed on his canoe so he could return with them to the shore.

As he commanded, one canoe after another began placing the *aku* upon the chief's canoe. When the canoe was filled, Hala‘ea called out – enough. The fisherman responded, "You have claimed all of our catch, and so it is yours." They continued piling the *aku* onto Hala‘ea's canoe until it sunk and the chief was carried off towards the horizon, and never to be seen again, by the current which now bears the name of Hala‘ea.

To this day, the saying "*Kō ke au ia Hala‘ea*" (The current carried Hala‘ea away), is used to describe one who was lost forever because of foolish actions (M. K. Pukui, pers comm., 1977).



**Camellia Kapuaianahulu Kahiwa'aiali'i Wall-Heuer – at Pu'ueo-Pukihae, Hawai'i
Resources of the Keauhou-Hōkūkano Vicinity, North Kona Hawai'i**

March 1, 1996 – Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly

Camellia Kapuaianahulu Kahiwa'aiali'i Wall-Heuer, affectionately known as Aunty Kapua, was born February 1, 1912. She is descended from Hawaiian families with close ties to the Honua'ino-Lehu'ula area of North Kona and has family connections to various other lands of Kona. The interview was conducted at Aunty Kapua's family home, *Hale 'Alani* in Hilo, with follow-up review and additional narratives recorded on May 9, 1996.

On May 9, 1996, Aunty Kapua and Maly met to review and release the original interview transcript, make necessary corrections, and spent a couple of hours talking story about aunty's life and histories that had been passed down through the family. Among the recollections discussed were the following accounts regarding the shark god Ke'ōpulupulu, the *heiau* 'Ū'ūkanipō in Lehu'ula (just *mauka* of the *Alaloa-Alanui Aupuni*), and the gathering of *wana* (urchins) along the shore. Excerpts from the interview include the following accounts:

The Shark God, Ke'ōpulupulu

As a child, Aunty Kapua often heard stories about a shark god of Kona who was named Ke'ōpulupulu. Ke'ōpulupulu was reportedly a very large shark who traveled the waters north towards Kawaihae, and south to at least Ho'okena. Aunty Kapua noted that though she never personally saw Ke'ōpulupulu while she was out with her father, the Kalawas, Ho'omanawanuis, or other families, she heard many stories about the shark.

She recalled that the shark figured as an important part of the traditions and practices of area fishermen through the 1930s. After that, he was not seen again. It was generally believed by Aunty Kapua's elders that the disappearance of Ke'ōpulupulu coincided with the rise of commercial fishing in Kona—non native fishermen are thought to have killed or driven Ke'ōpulupulu away.

Aunty Kapua's uncles John Johnson and William Johnson Paris told her of many experiences they had with Ke'ōpulupulu. The shark's back was covered with barnacles, *'ōpihi*, and *limu*. While they were out in their canoes, fishing, Ke'ōpulupulu would rise up next to the canoe. The fishermen would scrape his back and clean him, and then whatever fish they had caught prior to Ke'ōpulupulu's visit, would be fed to the great shark. After eating, Ke'ōpulupulu would depart, and in a short while he would drive schools of *'ahi*, *aku*, or *'ōpelu* back to the fishermen, and they always went home with plenty of fish to share with the family. (See also, the interview with William Paris below for additional descriptions of Ke'ōpulupulu.)

Lu'u Wana (Diving for Urchins)

As a child, Aunty Kapua spent a great deal of time at Keauhou Bay. She fondly remembers elder members of the Kalawa and Kinimaka family who taught her how to *lu'u wana*. They would go out into the bay and dive in water up to 8-10 feet deep, with a two-pronged picker and gunny sack and gather the *wana*. After getting the *wana*, they would return to the shore and roll the gunny sack over the *pāhoehoe* to remove the *kui* (quills). After that, they would take the *wana* individually and roll them over the rock to remove the remaining *kui*. Then, one at a time, they would take the *wana* and tap it around the mouth with a small stone to crack the shell and remove the mouth. The tongues of the *wana* were then scraped loose. This was done with each *wana*, but the tongues were placed into the first shell which served as a bowl. When that *wana* was full, they would take portion of an empty shell and use it as a cover, securing it in a *la'i* (ti leaf), knotted like a *laulau*. This is how they transported *wana mauka*, back home. Aunty Kapua recalled that her mama loved to eat the *wana* plain, just like that.



**Lily Nāmakaokai‘a Ha‘ani‘o-Kong, at Keauhou
Oral History Interviews and Site Visits with Kepā Maly
March 7th & 27th, and May 1st, 1996 (KPA Photo No. LK050196)**

Lily Nāmakaokai‘a Ha‘ani‘o-Kong was born in 1927, at her family homestead overlooking Keauhou Bay. As a child, Aunt Lily was surrounded by the *kūpuna* of her immediate family and those of the community. As a result, she learned a great deal about the land, fisheries and history of Keauhou and neighboring lands.



As noted by her Hawaiian name, Aunt Lily has “eyes for spotting fish.” She is a fisherwoman, and has fished her entire life. In the interview she describes some of the fishing customs, sites, and practices; and also recalls some of the elder fisher-people of the Keauhou-Kahalu‘u vicinity of Kona.

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March 7, 1996

LK: ...I was born in 1927, in the little village of Keauhou. My father, Harry Ha‘ani‘o was a fisherman, and we also had *kuleana* land at Keauhou *mauka*, where we grew *kalo*, *‘uala*, and all kinds of crops... My mother was Mary ‘Āinako‘ako‘a Ha‘ani‘o and she was a housewife. When I was growing up, there was only about 13 or 14 families around us on Keauhou Bay—my Aunt Ida Akana-Chai; Robert Kahalio‘umi (the brother of Thomas and Ben Kahulamū); Kalani Kinimaka; the Woods, Hinas, Whites, Roy Wall, and James Ko‘omoa; Alika; Henry Akā Kawewehi; Kahale Kaimihana; mother Ka‘aha‘āina (who lived to be 115 years old); Alice Hoapili; and the Walkers. It was a very close community. Most all of the Hawaiians were either fishermen or farmers.

KM: Where did your family plant its crops?

LK: On the *mauka* lands. The fishermen *makai* and the farmers *mauka*. You know one thing that you really need to know, and I’ve told the same thing to Bishop Estate, every *pā hale* (house site) has burials. It was our Hawaiian custom; our *kūpuna* always wanted to keep their loved ones close to home after they passed away. This way, they could take care of the graves.

In our community, everyone knew one another, and they knew what was right about use of resources in the water and on the land. Kahalu‘u people took care of Kahalu‘u, and Keauhou people took care of Keauhou. Of course, we always helped one another. The people of Keauhou and Kahalu‘u respected one another...

Discusses *akule* fishing in Keauhou; *Kū‘ula* was still kept by *kūpuna*:

LK: ...The old man Kahale Kaimihana was blind and had only one leg by the time I was born, but you know, he would still go fishing. He lived just above the shore at Ka‘ili‘ilinehe, and he was the only one that kept his canoe at Ka‘ili‘ilinehe. He would crawl down to the canoe from his house, remove the *piula* (corrugated metal) and push the canoe into the



water. He'd go out fishing, and when he'd come back, his canoe would be filled half way to the top with fish. I told him one time, "*Tūtū, a'ole makapō 'oe.*" (*Tūtū*, you're not really blind.) And he laughed, saying "*He makapō au.*" (I am blind.)...

My father, Harry Ha'ani'o was a well known *akule* fisherman [points him out in a picture]. This is him in his canoe in Keauhou Bay (in approximately 1930). When he would come in like this, he would drum the side of his canoe, driving the school of fish in towards the nets. Dad kept his canoe at the place called Awawa'a, the next little inlet west of Ka'ilii'ilinehe, and just on the side of the place, there was also a good *papa'ula* (slipper lobster) ground Ka'ilii'ilinehe side of that area.

Kinimaka and my dad were also among the few old fishermen to still keep a *Kū'ula*. Dad would always take his *ho'okupu* (offering) to his *Kū'ula* after fishing. And when the catch was brought in, he would then divide the fish between the helpers and families, and then some would be taken to market. There were so many fish, the net would be over flowing, and some fish would die because there wasn't enough air. After those who had worked, got their share, he would release the school, and those which had died would float to the surface, then anyone who needed fish could take more. This way there was always plenty of fish, because you only took what you needed, and released the school, and dad always made his *ho'okupu*. At the Keauhou Surf, they have a *Kū'ula*. It's my feeling that it is the one that my dad and Kalani Kinimaka kept.

Sometimes after a big catch, we would go to Makalawena to get salt (*pa'akai*) and dry the fish. Before days, there were no *nalo* (flies) or mongoose, and you could dry your fish quickly, and it was clean. Just like Keauhou, didn't use to have flies like today.

Another thing that I remember about living at Keauhou Bay, was that we had ponds where we would get *'ōpae 'ula* (red shrimp) for fishing. One place was right below our house, and another area was towards Tommy White's place below the cliff. It makes me so sad that these old places are gone now. Because the landowner doesn't take care of ponds, they've all been filled in...

KM: ...*Mahalo*, you've shared very rich information, about places and practices you remember as being important...

LK: [walking along the northern side of Keauhou Bay] This little road that runs down to the park in front of Auntie Ida's, Kahale Kaimihana's, and along side Alice Hoapili's lot, and continued out to Ha'ikaua Bay. Before I was born, this is the old road that they also used to run cattle on out to the Ha'ikaua Bay. The road ran back this side, around the bay, through the (present-day) volleyball court and behind Tommy White's place, and on out to Kinimaka's place. The old cattle holding pen was between the White's place and the old Keauhou Landing, right up against the cliff.

One of the things that makes me really sad about this place today, is that they dredged the bay in the 1950s. You see how the ocean is like *kai mimiki*, like its agitated and being pulled out before a tidal wave; well it never used to be like that in here. The water was always *mālie* and clear, but when they dredged the bay, the water changed. You know that's one of the things now-a-days, they change the nature of things, they open up the bays, or make the tidal pools open out to the ocean, and its all *hāmama* (open up), just waiting for the big water. They change things and it makes problems.

March 27th and May 1st, 1996

At Kani-ka-'ula, Keauhou Bay; describes changes in the bay, and types of fish caught:

LK: ...*Makai ala, e makai nei o Kona Surf* [shoreward of Kona Surf]...is Kau-ku-laelae. it's supposed to be "Kau-ko-laelae," if I'm not mistaken. But when they pronounced, *kākau mai* [wrote it out], you know when they write, *kākau 'ia*, the spelling is wrong *noho'i*. That is my *mana'o* [thought or feeling]. I don't know for sure, but I'm sure when you say "Kau-ko-laelae," your forehead stands out [cf. *lae*].



KM: 'Ae, oh *maika'i* [good]. So it was a prominent feature [as indicated by the name], as you said because the *pōhaku* [stones] were *kau 'ia* [set up].

LK: Yes, yes. *Kau 'ia*, big boulders, sometimes, I wonder what happened to those boulders. I know some were pushed into the ocean, and some of them were ground up; I'm not sure, you know. But that's what my *mana'o* is. See, because over here when papa *mā* used to *'upena ku'u* [set net] right here, by this *pu'u* [hill, mound or protuberance], but you cannot go *makai*, because *huki* [pull] the *kai* [ocean], by the corner of Kau-ku-laelae.

KM: Oh, I see...

LK: ...See this is Ha'i-kaua, over there by that white roof [pointing across the bay to a row of houses].

KM: I see.

LK: You see that cave, *ana*, the cove over there?

KM: Oh I see, yeah.

LK: Well that's where Ha'i-kaua is, and before, it was all *'ili'ili* [pebbles]. But today, it is all big boulders you know, and *ahuwale*, the sand all run away, and the pebbles all run away.

KM: Because of the dredging and change eh?

LK: That dredging. They dredged out here, we called this, where *Humuula*... Ka-imu-kī, where *Humuula* and *Hawai'i* used to park, the coral started growing, so they went blast that. So they opened up the path of the bay. That's how the big waves now come in.

KM: I see, and so *nalowale ke one, ka 'ili'ili* [the sand and pebbles are all lost].

LK: Yeah that's right, *pololei* [correct].

KM: So *Ha'i-kaua, aia ma kēlā 'ao'ao* [Ha'ikaua is there on that side]?

LK: Yes...and then *makai ala* [shoreward] is before, Wiliama Weeks used to own it.

KM: Oh, so that was Wiliama Weeks...

LK: Wiliama Weeks' house.

KM: The *ulu niu* [coconut grove side] side.

LK: Yeah, in the *ulu niu* over there. And then that is, we call that, *makai ala* by the cement wall, that is Kahe'āo. We used to call that Kahe'āo, but then I see on the map [Kekahuna, September 20, 1954], they only show *mea* [that] Ha'ikaua Point, by that *pu'u* over there. You see that *pu'u*?

KM: 'Ae, *'ike wau kēlā pu'u* [Yes, I see that hill.].

LK: That's Ha'ikaua point.

KM: I see, and so Kahe'āo, was this other place by William Weeks.

LK: It's an *ana* [cave], you know, that goes in and all the *āo* used, you know we used to catch *āo*.

KM: Oh *āo, kēlā i'a* [that fish].

LK: Yeah, *i'a*, fish, by the school, used to be in there. So anyway, we come back over here to Kani-ka-'ula. This is *heiau* Kani-ka-'ula right here. The reason why I say this, I think is Kani-ka-'ula, is because when brother *mā* used to go fishing when they were young, and they used to come home, they used to hear music and they used to hear crying...

KM: 'Ae...



[standing in the parking lot for the new boat dock, next to the hedge between the Yacht Club house and boat-wash area]

- LK: This [area] is owned by Alice Wood once upon a time. Right *makai* of this [ocean-side of the launching ramp] place is called 'Ala'ihī Point, and it came right here to this *kiawe* tree. This whole area here where this [present] boat ramp is, all the way to *mahape nei* [behind here], in the back here of the club house, by the Yacht Club, that was; to me it's called Ho'okūkū. This is where Kamehameha's still born was.
- KM: 'Ae, Kauikeaouli.
- LK: Revived, yes. Because there was a rock *mauka* by the club house and then that rock, we used to pound [wash] clothes on, and it was almost like a large platter, you know, a plate. So this is why it is supposed to be...Ho'okūkū.
- KM: *Ma'ane'i* [here]?
- LK: *Ma'ane'i*, yes...
- KM: ...Now, *'ala'ihī* is a type of fish too yeah?
- LK: Yes it's a type of fish. Very thorny, sharp needles, a lot of people don't...but *'ono* to eat, you know, *'ai maka* [eaten raw]. But a lot of Hawaiian people don't want to...like today, nobody want to catch that because it's stings... That driveway over there, and then that stone [the flat stone of Ho'okūkū] was *makai* there. And then...come [walking onto the Yacht Club property]; then *makai nei* [shoreward] there's that *pali* they call Kohe Point. *Makai*, see, they blasted that stone, they broke it up. But that stone was right in the corner over here. And it was a *pu'u*, you know, like a hat-shape-like. And the water came all inside here.
- KM: Oh, so the water was in here. So where they put the little Yacht Club picnic area.
- LK: The platform, it's all water.
- KM: It was like a pool inside here?
- LK: Yes. This whole area.
- KM: And this comes to Kohe Point?
- LK: Yes, this area here. I know because we used to come on top that stone and hook fish. 'Ala'ihī point is right by that *kiawe* tree.
- KM: Okay, so just past the cement pier [on the side of the present boat launch ramp].
- LK: Yes. Over here, there, there, that stone, is part of the Kohe Point. This whole area, it came like this, up like a hat, and then down like this. It was a big rock and we used to hook fish on top...
- KM: ...Now this little old house here is that where Tommy White's house was?
- LK: This was Tommy White's house. And then in the front over here, where this [Yacht Club] flag is...see, he had a *lānai* right around, and he had *lau niu* [coconut leaves] on top, and we used to sit on the wall and hook *upāpalu*. And this area was all clay...mud under here, under the pier. We had the *'oama*, we had clam...that's where I used to dig my clam, I used to watch for the bubbles and then the *puka* and I used dig down and pick up my fan clam. Was right under that pier...
- KM: ...'Ae. So this is the building...Sea Paradise Scuba Diving...
- LK: The old *Fairwind* used to own this, or had the lease on it. [walking up to the small parking lot in front of the building] This is where the old pier was. See, if you note, the pier was right here, and then the dry-dock was right here. That's why you see this ramp.



- KM: So this was the old dry dock area *ma'ane'i*?
- LK: Yes. And then, see this is a part of the pier here going outside, and that dry dock was right alongside. Professor Jaggar's warehouse was right over here, where the volleyball court is, right in here. Then when Professor Jaggar used to come up, and then he used to drive inside his place...this is where he created the first military tank on wheels. And it sank right outside there in front of Alice Wood's place [about 100 feet out from the ramp], and then they helped bring it back up. Papa *mā* pulled it in with the canoe and then brought it up here. So anyway, that's where he created the military tank. In the back here, I have a picture of the old Keauhou warehouse. We had windmill over here, that pumped the water into the cattle pen, the *pā pipi*.
- Then like I told you, *ma'ō aku* [over there], you had the pond, 'ōpae pond, 'ōpae 'ula. And then over here, was all *pōhaku noho'i* [stones], next to the pier, and then 'ili'ili and one [pebbles and sand]. Then *makai* by Hoapili corner, there was two large ponds over there. That wall don't belong over there, and the wild *pu'a* [pigs] used to come down and feed their babies and drink water over there. This was all brackish water under here. Fresh water from the mountain... And then *hele a ma'ō aku* [going on further over], Hoapili, and then Awawa'a *makai*.
- KM: Awawa'a where papa used to...
- LK: Park his canoe.
- KM: And before they put this stone wall up here now, the 'ili'ili used...?
- LK: Yeah, there was 'ili'ili in the pond, down to the pond and then sometimes instead of walking this far, we used *hōloi lolo* [wash clothes] over there. It depends you know, we don't wash all one place. So we take turn here and there. But anyway, this is Keauhou Bay.
- KM: Oh, *mahalo!* These histories are so important.
- LK: Yeah, it is very important...
- LK: ...We're at He'eia Bay now... And when we were little, when papa used to come 'upena *ku'u* [set net] down here in He'eia, *ma'ane'i* [right here pointing in front of the area where we were standing], this pebbles used to be all outside. We had little pebbles and they taper to little bigger ones and little bigger ones down this side [northern side of the bay]. We used to slide on those pebbles, you know... On that *pali* over there, before, it was way outside here. Now, *hāne'e* [the cliff has slid down], you see, all this stone before wasn't over there. So it was all 'ili'ili like that and then this is where the end of the slide was. Over there.
- LK: Here, on the northern point of He'eia, so you come down here and you have all this *heiau*. See, this *heiau* is up there by that *kiawe* tree. Yeah, and if you go further over, you find the *ala hele* [trail] that the rocks, the walkway trail the stones, some of the stones are still intact over there... Then right, *ma'ō aku* is Anapuka, and then you go Nā'ili'ili, Malihini, and all that area. So that's another area down that side, but I thought I'd bring you this side.
- KM: 'Ae, *mahalo*...
- KM: So the cliff has been all *hāne'e* as you said.
- LK: *Hāne'e*, all falling down. So I took the woman that worked for Kanaloa [the condominiums situated on the northern side of the bay], I showed her all these walkways, trails...
- KM: And you said there was stone in the trails?
- LK: Yes, this kind of *pāhoehoe* [pointing to the water worn stones on the beach], you know, and it's still intact, so I showed it to her. I said, "Here's the trail." Because I brought her



down to the corner, and then I took...I showed her how the trail was. Under that condo corner, where the *niu* [coconut trees] is, we had a little pond, there was a little pond, fresh water pond over there. You know when we come out and get thirsty, because far to pound *'ōpihi*... [pointing to the shoreward waves] One *honu* [turtle] right here, right inside here. Well anyway, we used to drink water from over there...

Aunty Lily Nāmakaokai'a Ha'ani'o-Kong granted her personal release of the interview records to Maly on August 10, 1997.



Louis Kānoa Hao, Sr.

**Kapalilua Oral History Interview April 13, 1996 (KPA Photo No. LH052496)
(follow-up discussions on May 24, and June 15, 1996) with Kepā Maly**

The late Louis Kānoa Hao, was born in 1907² 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.

Kupuna Hao granted his personal release of the interview records to Maly on June 15th 1996



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?

² *Kupuna* Hao passed away April 25, 1999.



LH: I was born in Ka'ōhe, 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... 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... Did you live mostly *mauka*?

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

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

LH: Yes, Ka'ōhe 5.

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

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... 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-‘Ōpihihali 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’ohe].

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 'Ōpihiali 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 'Ōpihiali.]

KM: Kūkulu.

Flow of currents observed for use of *ko'a*:

LH: Right next to 'Ōpihiali, 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'ohe 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, 'Ōpihiali, Ka'ōhe, 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, '*ūū*. They call that *menpahci*. And then we get market too, people come, Japanese market.
 KM: Oh.
 LH: We have. We go catch *menpachi*, 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 *lua wai* 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 *'ulua* 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, 'Ōpihihali get good landing too. Even Ka'ōhe. 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'ōhe family go down Ka'ōhe 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'ōhe, we can go 'Ōpihihali 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 *'ōpelu* 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...

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



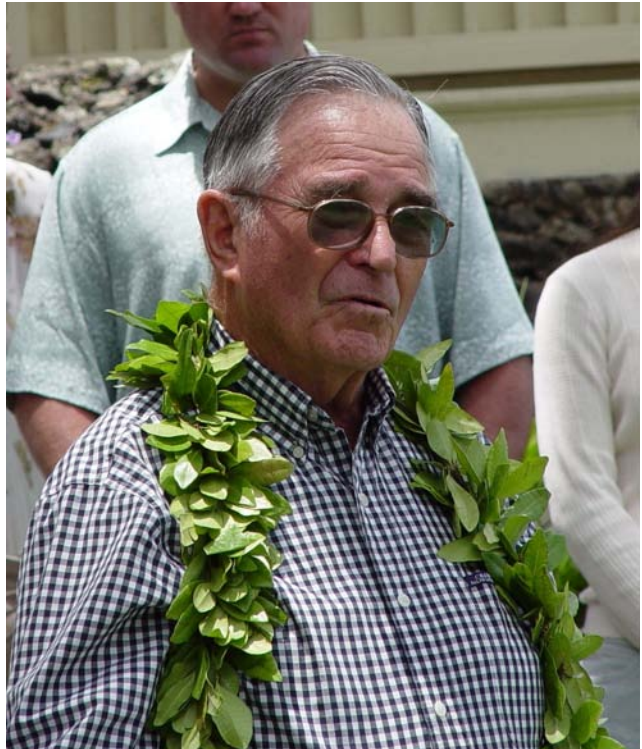
LH: Yes with my uncle, my *tūtū*.
KM: Hard worker?
LH: I mean, I can place her looks today, I think.
KM: 'Ah yes.
LH: I can, yeah... See like us, like my uncle and all them, they don't depend most on the fishing, we get land *mauka*, we plant. Fishing time we go fishing, bumbye *pau* fishing we all go *mauka*.
KM: *Mauka* again?
LH: Plant bananas, oh plenty...



**William Johnson Hawawakaleoonamanuonakanahahele “Billy” Paris, Jr.
Fishing Practices – Lehu‘ula-nui-Honua‘ino, and Ka‘awaloa, Kona
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. S668)
April 24, 1996; March 16, 2001; and April 27, 2003**

William Johnson Hawawakaleoonamanuonakanahahele “Billy” Paris, Jr., was born in 1922, and raised in Lehu‘ula (Kāināliu). He is descended from Hawaiian and Caucasian families who have resided in Kona since at least the time of Kamehameha I, and shares ties with many native Hawaiian families and lands of the Keauhou-Kealakekua region.

The Paris, Johnson, Roy lines of his family have owned (and still maintain interest in several) large sections of land including the *ahupua‘a* of Mā‘ihi, Kuamo‘o, Kawanui, Lehu‘ula, Honua‘ino, Onouli, Ka‘awaloa, and Kealakekua. Mr. Paris is passionate about the history, traditions, and practices of the land and people of Hawai‘i. He is a well-known historian, and gifted story teller, and he has graciously agreed to participate in several interviews with Maly over the last nine years. Uncle Billy granted his personal release of the primary interview records to Maly on June 4, 1996, May 9, 1997, and June 7, 2001.



In the following interviews, Uncle Billy shared specific discussions pertaining to — land use and residency; access (via native trails and Government Roadways); native traditions and practices; fishing customs; and place names and resources on the cultural landscape.

KM: ...*Mahalo* again, thank you so much for taking the time, because the history that you share is important for us as we go into the future...

Traditional *ahupua‘a* boundaries, and rights of access to fisheries observed when he was a youth:

Well, if we could, when we were closing up last month, you went and showed me some things that your papa and them had made, and then you started sharing with me some of your sense about the traditional *ahupua‘a* and collection, gathering rights, and access, and things like that. And I thought maybe we could talk a little bit about what you feel about that. How it was practiced in your time.

BP: Well, as far as *ahupua‘a* went, we had the trail that...we had one, two, three *ahupua‘a* trails in the land of Honua‘ino, which is to our south. In Lehu‘ula, we had one. These trails were used by the people that had places at the ocean, like the Ho‘omanawanuis and the Keli‘is and the Keles, and others. And they had free access to go up and down, as did any of the tenants or coffee farmers, or any of those people that lived within our *ahupua‘a*. They had *carte blanche* to go up and down. And they respected that right, and they were very...those people when they went to the ocean to fish, or anything like that, they only got enough for their family, and they would dry some of the fish, to preserve it so they could eat it during, or until the next fishing time. Salt some, etc. And things like this were done.



- KM: So the Hawaiian families were still practicing within the *ahupua'a* these *mauka-makai* accesses?
- BP: That's right...
- KM: ...So, people in your recollection, were respectful of resources within an *ahupua'a*? If you were traveling from one area to another, would you just go and take what you wanted?
- BP: No. We were always...like all of us ranchers, we had more or less the right to pass through other people's property, but we always, the old timers, we'd always call on the telephone, "We plan to move cattle through your area, tomorrow, at a particular time...or next week." We'd give them [notification]...so we didn't want to interfere with their internal operations. So, it was not just "Go." We always asked.
- KM: Is this your understanding that this is a carryover from earlier practices?
- BP: That's right.
- KM: You respect...?
- BP: Respect. My grandmother Paris, she pounded it in your head, "If you don't know whose land that is, don't go until you find out," you know. She was...they were...my aunt, Carrie Robinson, my Grandmother Paris, all those sisters, Mary Shipman, married to William Shipman, those sisters, boy, they believed in that!
- It was not just boom [striking the table]. But *in the ahupua'a, there was great freedom for the people who lived within. And I wish it would be that way today. Then the ahupua'a, the people who lived there in, would take good care of their resources, they would have plenty.*
- KM: That's right. How about even going into the ocean for fishing, was there kind of respect of the land area fronting...?
- BP: In the old days, you owned right to the *limu* line. You go look at our property markers, they're right...your high tide washes right over some of those "Xs" in the stone.
- KM: Did they have...did the *'aina* have, that you recall, did lands have fisheries like, and even if you go out fish, and look back at the land you would triangulate, like *ko'a* [dedicated fishing grounds or fishing stations]?
- BP: Well, that I don't know too much here, but on O'ahu, definitely so. Your land rights, like the Lucas' out in Kuli'ou'ou, that area, went right out into the *lau papa* [reef flats] outside. They had the reef and everything. They owned the water rights because, I remember, even after World War II, when Jimmy Pfleuger got a great big D-8 tractor, and I said, "What the heck you doing out in the water, getting all that coral?" He said, "The heck, this is ours, they're not going to tell me what I can..." He's from that Lucas line. I said, "'Auwē!" But that has all changed since statehood. Once we became a state, seems...In the Territorial time, boy, a lot of that *ahupua'a* tradition was practiced...

Kū'ula Heiau at Mā'ihi, marked *'ōpelu* and *'ahi* fisheries:

Like down here on Mā'ihi, we have the *Kū'ula heiau*, that is used as a marker for the *'ōpelu* and *'ahi ko'a* that is outside. In the old days, before you had *kiawe* trees, those things stood out. So that's how people lined up to get [to their fishing ground]...and then up on the hill further up, there is another smaller one, and these were all used in triangulating to get to the *ko'a* that were outside.

[This *Kū'ula* is on a *makai* section of the Paris' property at Mā'ihi. Uncle Billy recalls that when he was young, there was much less vegetation on the *makai*



lands, and it was easy to get bearings off of the *Kū'ula* [fishing deity and temple or shrine] and on-land *ko'a* [shrines or markers] to locate the *ko'a 'ōpelu* and *ko'a 'ahi* (pers. comm. June 4, 1996).]

KM: Still in your time?

BP: In our time. But when the *koa haole*, and the *kiawe* vegetation grew, they hid a lot of these. They did not remain prominent. That's why, when they were putting the...I forget the name of that place, right at Kahalu'u, the Keauhou boundary, down here...

KM: Yes.

BP: Has the Keauhou Surf and Racquet Club and all that stuff near that area. And they had the Kū'ula *heiau* down there, [Inikiwai] and all the worry was... They didn't care too much, they were making a lot of noise that the thing...the people were making suggestions that that *heiau* should be seen from *mauka* [chuckles]. But I said, "You know, a Kū'ula *heiau* has significance with the ocean. It relates more to the fishermen, and it should be...it's vision from the ocean, should not be blocked." It served that purpose in time. So they did make sure that they had not blocked it.

KM: So they left a view plane from the ocean?

BP: Yes, and then they left a small plane so you could see it from *mauka*, but that was quite a significant Kū'ula *heiau*. And of course, there's other *heiau* structures all around that Kahalu'u-Keauhou area...

KM: ...Now, is this what was related to you from your grandparents?

BP: Yes, those were free trails used by everybody.

KM: Were they still in any use when you were a child?

Fishing at Ka'awaloa:

BP: Well, I know the *mauka-makai* trail from Ka'awaloa to Kuapehu, was in great use. You have the Kaneao family and all those people, Loheau family, the Kaneaos and everything that used to go down there and fish *'ōpelu*. And every morning, they would bring the *'ōpelu* up on the *kēkake* [donkey], and they'd carry the old kerosene rectangular cans with...They would clean the fish near the shore, salt the *ōpū* [stomach], and then use *lau hau* [*hau* leaves], *lau milo* [*milo* leaves], and the *limu 'aki'aki*, and pack it around the fish to keep them fresh. They'd wet the *limu 'aki'aki* and then they'd put that in there and keep the fish fresh, and bring it up *mauka*.

KM: Oh, so interesting, so the *'aki'aki*, and with the *lau milo*...interesting.

BP: So they all used those leaves, too. My dad always put *limu 'aki'aki* in his *lau hala* basket. He'd clean the fish at *kahakai* [the shore], salt the *ōpū*, and put the *lau hala* basket with the *limu* and everything, on the horse and start up the hill. And our fish never spoiled [chuckles].

KM: Wow, so much [history]...

Preparation of *'ala'ala* bait; and types of fish caught:

BP: [speaking about preparing the *'ala'ala* bait] ... Now, you clean that and then you dry it, get all the ink out, dry it, and mix with salt, and you keep it in a dry place, see.

KM: Uh-hmm.



BP: It keeps for a long, long time. Then, you wrap that *lāʻī* [ti leaves], bake it in the oven at about 225° degrees, not too high a heat. Bake it for maybe, at least...usually about 45 minutes. But his test was, it would start to sing “weeeee,” making a noise when it’s cooked. Then after you get that, he used to mix it in a coconut shell cup, you can use any bowl, smooth stone, or what ever. Then he would put a little salt, and flour, and he would work that, and then you would add your seasoning. A little chili pepper, and he’d use the oil from the orange skin, you squeeze that. He also used to put a few drops of kerosene in there. The old kerosene was not toxic, the old Pearl Oil. A couple of drops of that and then he’d get dry corn and he’d cook that and grind that, real fine. Put a little in there. And you mix that...Some people use a little cinnamon also.

KM: Oh, you’re making a paste like that with the *‘ala‘ala*?

BP: A paste, yes. And he would vary his recipes, he says, “It’s dependent upon the *limu* that is in season.” The fish are feeding on *limu*, and I guess the bait has to smell and taste something like that. So he’d make about three basic recipes, get that paste fine. You spread it on the bamboo, you make a little flat spoon or spatula of bamboo, then your hook, the tip has to be round, no barb. You get that on, and you roll it till it forms a little ball on the end of the hook. And that’s spread on two hooks, you drop that in and usually, you’ll come up with a double catch, almost every time.

KM: Ahh, what kind of fish would you catch with that *‘ala‘ala* like that?

BP: *Kole, kole nuku heu, maiko, ‘api*, even *uhu* will come after that.

KM: Oh, so they catch the smell?

BP: Yes. If, you see an *uhu*, you have to use a bigger hook and a little heavier line, you know. They catch the smell, but the secret is in the cooking. You have to cook that *‘ala‘ala* just right. You cannot overcook it or undercook it. Because I’ve seen people just use *‘ala‘ala*, and some of them just put a little... When you make your *inamona* [*kukui* nut relish], the oil floats on top, put some of that inside. They are basically...some of them are relatively simple recipes, and they work. But my father was a great one to experiment with various things...

KM: So, Dad would make this *‘ala‘ala* bait and go fishing like that from the shoreline?

BP: He, my uncle Johnny Johnson, the Ho‘omanawanuis, they all made *‘ala‘ala*.

KM: How about the *pā* [lures] that he made. And I see that you still have some of these lures, mother of pearl. Where did he get his shell from? Locally or...?

Making *pā* (lures); and *aku* fishing:

BP: Some were local, some were shells that were brought in from Fiji and other places. But most were from the people who got the shell here. But it took a lot of doing, you had to cut them out, file ‘em, put ‘em in the vice. Then you make that hook, he didn’t use the bone, he used the straight metal. And then you get the right *heu pua‘a*, or bristles. And the tying is the art, oh... [shaking head, so fine].

KM: The lashing is so amazing. And he would go out on boat and still trail the...?

BP: Oh yes. Most times they would get into the school of *aku*, and they would just *kākele*. Hey, those days, you looked down from *mauka* here, and those schools of fish...the ocean would, you’d see these purple blobs out there. It was alive with fish [they would *ho‘olili*!]

KM: Oh, so you could see it glistening even from *mauka*?



BP: Yes. Then he'd call up my uncle Leighton, and uncle Leighton would get his man Keawe Alapa'i, "Get the boat ready," and out they'd go. In no time, he'd be back with 90 *aku* or something.

But today, the people don't *mālama* the schools. You get these charters, the fishermen, they just want to get the hook so they can drop it down to the...So they come busting through the schools of *aku* and *'ahi*.

KM: Run?

BP: Oh, before you went around.

KM: Oh, *mahalo*. Thank you so much...

During follow up conversations on June 4, 1996, Uncle Billy added the following comments pertaining to the place named—

Lānai-o-Kauhi (sheltered porch of Kauhi). Kauhi was a chief who resided in the coastal village of Hōkūkano, he enjoyed watching the fishing canoes returning to shore with their catch of *aku*, *akule*, and other fish. On the rocky point that is known by the name Lānai-o-Kauhi, an open air shelter was erected so the chief could watch the canoes return to the shore.

March 16, 2001 with Kepā Maly

The "*ahupua'a system*" of Hawaiian land management, gathering, and access, was still very much intact and respected when he was young. The resources within the *ahupua'a* were cared for and gathered by native families of land, and people from outside the *ahupua'a* did not enter other's land areas or gather resources without permission...

April 27, 2003

Traditions of the Shark God, Ke'ōpuluhulu

WP: ...Ho'omanawanui them, the old people down at Kāināliu used to call on the shark god Ke'ōpuluhulu, to help them drive the *'ōpelu* to the fishing *ko'a*. There was a *mele* that they sang, but I can only remember the first verse. It was like this [chanting]:

Ke'ōpuluhulu, ka manō nui,

Ka haku o ke kai o Kāināliu,

Ka manō 'aumakua,

O ka po'e lawai'a

Mālama pono no ke ko'a i'a,

Mahalo a nui e Ke'ōpuluhulu

Ka haku o ke kai o Kāināliu

That was the first verse. And after they had fed him and everything, he would swim away. First thing they'd know, they would look down, under the canoe and it would be full of *'ōpelu*.

KM: Wow!

WP: They would set the *'upena* down and they'd *ka'a'ai* them and pull the net up, it would be *piha*.

KM: Hmm.

WP: So he would drive the fish to them. And because he was a shark, they would come to the canoe for shelter.



KM: Yes. *Mahalo nui!*

WP: I was telling Sarah Kaupiko and Walter Kahiwa about this, and he said, “You know Billy, that’s no bull. I was with this old man from Nāpo’opo’o. We went out, and this big shark came up. ‘*Auwē! Huki ka ‘upena!*’ Let’s get out of here. But the old man said, ‘No, no, no, *ka’a’ai, ka’a’ai,* feed him, feed him.’” And he said, “We had more *ōpēlu* that day!” So it was true, that shark was real.

KM: Yes. You folks called him Ke’ōpūlupulu, and in Nāpo’opo’o, Ka’ōpūlupulu, but the same kind of practice.

WP: Yes.

KM: They drive the fish to the canoes, and they feed the shark, take care of them.

WP: Yes.

KM: How about at Ka Lae Manō, did you see the shark out at Kīholo?

WP: Yes. And of course we have a big *heiau* down on our place, Honua’ino, it’s dedicated to a shark. It’s called ‘Ūkanipō, and that was a *heiau* built for a shark. And we have a water hole, *mauka*. It’s got a stone wall around it. I always wondered as a child, asked my father “Are you sure this is the *pololei* name for this water hole?” He’d look at me, “You better believe it. I never knew why the waterhole’s name was Wai-ka-manō. To me, I thought it should be Wai-ka-manu, because the wild ducks and everything used to come and land there. But “No, Wai-ka-manō.” Later on, as I got older, I found out that that is where that ‘Ūkanipō fellow, he would go through the underground fissures and come out to that water hole and take another form and go *nānā ‘āina*. He go look around the land and see what was going on.

KM: ‘Ae. So Wai-ka-manō, Water-of-the-shark?

WP: Yes. That’s where he’d come up, by going under ground.

KM: *Mahalo!* It’s interesting, there are many stories like that, even here at Pu’u Wa’awa’a.

WP: Yes.

KM: They have the shark ‘Īwaha’ou’ou, the shark man.

WP: Yes. They pointed out his cave to me...



***Ka'ulupūlehu ma ka 'Āina Kaha—
'Ōpelu Fisheries, Wai 'Ōpae, Ka Hana Pa'akai (Salt Making); and Deified Sharks:
Oral History Interview with Kūpuna – Valentine K. Ako, Margie Kaholo-Kailianu,
David Keākealani³, Caroline Keākealani-Pereira, Arthur "Aka" Mahi, Joseph Pu'ipu'i
Maka'ai, Rose Pilipi-Maeda, and family members with Kepā Maly December 7, 1996***



***Aka M. Mahi, Joseph Pu'ipu'i Maka'ai, David Keākealani, Margie Kaholo-Kailianu,
Caroline Keākealani-Pereira, and Rose Pilipi-Maeda (Missing from Photo Valentine K. Ako)
(KPA Photo No. Kaupu120796a).***

This interview was conducted near the shore of Ka'ulupūlehu (Ka'ūpūlehu), between Kumukea Point and Waiakauhi Pond, as a part of an ethnographic study to identify traditional cultural properties along the coast of Ka'ūpūlehu.

All of the interviewees share generational attachments to the families of the Kekaha region of North Kona. Several of the interviewees—David K. Keākealani (1914-1999), Joseph Pu'ipu'i Maka'ai (1917-1999), Margie Kaholo-Ka'ilianu (1926-1998), were raised on the lands of the Ka'ulupūlehu-Pu'u Anahulu vicinity, and spent their early years fishing and making salt in the area. Caroline Kiniha'a

³ Uncle David's daughters Lehua Kihe, Lanihau Akau, Keala Tagavilla, and Maile Rapoza accompanied him to the interview. Additionally, his niece Shirley Keākealani and grand-niece Ku'ulei sat in on the interview.



Keākealani Pereira was born at Pu'u Anahulu in 1919, and raised at Kahuwai, Ka'ulupūlehu. Rose Pilipi-Maeda was born in Kohala in 1919, but raised at Pu'ukala; she also spent much of her youth at Kahuwai, Ka'ulupūlehu. Kupuna Valentine K. Ako was born in 1926 at Hōlualoa, North Kona, and traveled the entire Kekaha shoreline fishing, through 1950. Uncle Arthur Mahi, was born at Laupāhoehoe in 1933, but returned to live with his grandfather, Kuakahela at Hale'ōhi'u, and regularly traveled the coastal lands of Kekaha during his youth.

Together, all of the participants in the December 7th, 1996 interview shared personal memories of past events, family relations, and of the fishing and salt making practices of the early residents of Ka'ulupūlehu and neighboring lands.

Personal releases from all interviewees are on file with the families and *Kumu Pono Associates*.

MK: I'm Margie Kaholo-Kailianu. I was born March 21, 1926. *Ku'u makua, 'o Joseph Sonny Kaholo. [My father, Joseph Sonny Kaholo.] Ka makuahine, 'o Lizzie Kehaunani Alapa'i. [Mom, Lizzie Kehaunani Alapa'i.]*

Kupuna, 'o Makahuki; a'ole i maopopo i ko lākou inoa haole. A me Kaniho, me kona kāne o Kaholo-nui.

Grandmother was Makahuki; I don't know their foreign names. And Kaniho, and her husband, Kaholo-nui.

JM: *'O ko'u inoa 'o Iokepa Maka'ai. Hānau 'ia au ma Pu'u Anahulu, and lawe hānai 'ia e ko'u Tūtū ma Ka'ūpūlehu. Kēia 'āina nei, ma'ane'i 'oia i hānai iāia [kuhi ana iā Tūtū Kiniha'a].*

My name is Joseph Maka'ai. I was born at Pu'u Anahulu and raised by my grandparents at Ka'ūpūlehu, this land here. She [pointing to Tūtū Caroline Kiniha'a Keākealani-Pereira] was also raised here.

KM: *Kēia 'āina nei?* [this land here?]

JM: *'Ae. Ko'u po'e mākua, ku'u Pāpā 'o Maka'ai Kauluwale.*

Yes. My parents, my papa was Maka'ai Kauluwale.

KM: *Kauluwale?*

JM: *'Ae. No kēia 'āina. Ko'u māmā 'o Ka'iulani Purdy, no Pu'u Anahulu 'oia.*

Yes, he was of this land. My mother was Ka'iulani Purdy, she was from Pu'u Anahulu.

KM: *Ahh. Makahiki 'oe i hānau ai, me ka lā?*

Ahh. What was the year and date that you were born?

JM: *Malaki 'emi kūmālua, 'emi kūmāiwa-'emi kūmāhiku.*

March 12, 1917.

KM: *'Ae, mahalo. 'O wai ka inoa o kou po'e kūpuna?*

Yes, thanks. What were the names of your grandparents?

JM: *Well, ko'u kupuna nāna i mālama ia'u, 'o Kahiko... A 'o Kauluwale 'oia ka tūtū kāne.*

Well, my grandparents, the ones that cared for me, Kahiko... Yes. And Kauluwale, was the grandfather.

KM: *A 'o wai 'o Mahikō? [And who was Mahikō?]*

JM: *'O Mahikō ka helu 'ekolu paha. [Mahikō was perhaps the third husband.]*

JM: *...Mamua, o— nā wahi... Kēia po'e lae kahakai a pau, po'e Hawai'i wale no. A'ole kēlā 'ano Hawai'i hapa, Hawai'i piha.*



Before, in the places...along all of these shoreward points, there were only Hawaiians. Not the part-Hawaiian type, pure Hawaiians.

CK-P: [nodding her head in agreement, and chuckling]

KM: ...‘Ae, *mahalo*. [Yes, thanks.] Uncle *Aka*?

AM: My name is *Aka Mikeele Mahi*, born in *Laupāhoehoe* in 1933.

KM: ‘Ae.

AM: I moved to *Kona* as soon as *pau hānau*, with my grandfather, *Keau Kuakahela*. And *Ka‘ai‘ai* was my grandmother. We lived in *Hale‘ōhi‘u*, but we lived also down at the beach, at *Ho‘onā* and *Wawaloli*. And then we come over here and at *Kūki‘o*, because my grand-uncle, *Jack Una*, with *Annie Una*...

JM: Hmm.

AM: *Punihaole*, *Lowell*...

JM: *Lowell Punihaole*.

AM: Yeah, the sister.

KM: ‘*Oia, kaikaina*? [She was his younger sister?]

AM: *Kaikaina*, a *male iā Una*. [The younger one, married to *Una*.] And then my grandfather was *Keau Kuakahela* and *Ka‘ai‘ai*. My father, *Mikeele Mahi* and my mother *Kahuawai Keau Kuakahela*.

KM: ‘Ae, *Kahuawai e*? [Yes, *Kahuawai*?]

AM: ‘Ae *Kahuawai*. [Yes, *Kahuawai*.] And we stayed in *Kona*, go back and forth, most time I stay with my grandfather. My grandfather brought me up, not my father. And I stay here, ever since, until now...

KM: ‘Ae, *mahalo*. [*nānā ana i ka mea e a‘e*] *Aloha*.

Yes, thanks. [looking to the next person] *Aloha*.

RM: Ahh [tears rising to her eyes].

KM: *Mahalo. Kou inoa*? [Thanks. Your name?]

RM: My name is *Rose Maeda*, that’s my *kāne’s* [husband’s] name. But we went by the name *Pilipi*. So we went...I don’t know, in those days, there were sometimes that you would have two or three men-folks in the home, in certain ones. So I think we had several names, started *Palea* and *Kaho‘omana* and...anyway, we ended up with *Pilipi*. And so we lived in *Kohala*, and I was born in *November 18, 1919*. And I was *lawe hānai* [adopted] by my grandmother and my grandfather...so that’s why I was brought here, as a *mo‘opuna* [grandchild].

KM: To *Ka‘ūpūlehu*?

RM: Yes...well, see *Ka‘ūpūlehu* and *Kalaoa*...And then we also lived up at *Pu‘ukala* (as well)... My *kūkū*, was *Kaniela Kinoulu*... And he and I stayed with *Wainuke*, he was the grandson and I was with them... Today I found out that the sister [Aunty *Caroline Keākealani-Pereira*] said she “also lived here.” But I don’t remember her. It must have been when she came, I wasn’t there. So that’s why I don’t remember her. But I do remember *Wainuke*. And that was the last time.

KM: That you saw *Wainuke*?

RM: Yeah. This is the first time I’ve seen him.

KM: Since when, 1930—?



RM: I think it was sometime in 1930...

KM: ...*'Ae, mahalo. Kupuna Kiniha'a, aloha.*
Yes, thanks. Elder Kiniha'a, *aloha.*

CK-P: *Aloha.*

KM: *Mahalo. 'O wai kou inoa, ka makahiki i hānau ai? 'O wai ka inoa o nā mākua a me ka po'e kupuna?*
Thanks. What is your name, the year born? What are the names of your parents and grandparents?

CK-P: *Ko'u inoa, Caroline Kiniha'a Keākealani Kuehu. Keākealani, 'oia ka inoa mua o ko'u Pāpā.*
My name, Caroline Kiniha'a Keākealani Kuehu. Keākealani, is the first name of my father.

KM: *Ahh! 'O Kuehu ka inoa hope? [Kuehu was the last name?]*

CK-P: *'Ae.*

KM: *A lawe ka inoa mua, 'o Keākealani?*
So the first name, Keākealani was taken?

CK-P: *'Ae, mākou hele me ka inoa mua, Keākealani. Hele i ke kula, 'o Keākealani. Ka inoa mua kēlā o ko'u Pāpā. Kuehu, 'oia ka inoa.*
Yes, we go by the first name, Keākealani. Go to school, it was Keākealani. That was the first name of my father, Kuehu was the [last] name.

KM: *Ka inoa hope, pono'i? [The true last name?]*

CK-P: *'Ae. But i ka hale kula, ko'u inoa Caroline Keākealani Kuehu. Mākou, kēlā manawa, all Keākealani [chuckling], all Keākealani.*
Yes. But at school, my name Caroline Keākealani Kuehu, Though at the time, we all went by Keākealani [chuckling], all Keākealani.

KM: *A makahiki 'oe i hānau ai? [The year you were born?]*

CK-P: *lune iwakālua kumāono, 'emi kumāiwa-'emi kumāiwa.*
June 26, 1919.

KM: *'Ae, mahalo. 'O wai ka inoa o kou po'e kūpuna?*
Yes, thanks. What were the names of your grandparents?

CK-P: *Ko'u kupuna, 'o Ka'iliihiwa-nui, 'oia ko'u Kūkū kāne, Ka'iliihiwa-nui Kuehu. A ko'u Māmā, 'o Keola Na'aho. 'Oia ka inoa o ko'u Māmā. Kona Pāpā, Na'aho.*
My grandfather was Ka'iliihiwa-nui, he was my grandfather. Ka'iliihiwa-nui Kuehu. A my mother, was Keola Na'aho. That was my mother's name, her father was Na'aho.

KM: *A me ka po'e kūpuna no Ka'ūpūlehu, 'o wai ka lāua inoa?*
And the grandparents at Ka'ūpūlehu, what were their names?

CK-P: *'O Kahiko me Mahikō. Na lāua i mālama ia'u me Wainuke, ko māua wā li'ili'i. Hele i ke kula, ho'i māua i Pu'u Anahulu, i hiki iā māua ke hele i ke kula. A'ole hiki ke noho i kahakai [chuckling].*
Kahiko and Mahikō. They cared for me and Wainuke in our youth. To go to school, we returned to Pu'u Anahulu, that way we could go to school. You couldn't remain at the shore [chuckling].



KM: 'Ae, i ka manawa ho'omaha... [Yes, and in the breaks...]

CK-P: 'Ae.

KM: ...mai ke kula, ho'i mai i ke kai? [...from school, return to the shore?]

CK-P: 'Ae.

KM: O, mahalo. Uncle, hiki iā 'oe ke lohe ia'u? ['ōlelo ana iā Uncle David Ka'ōnohi Keākealani]
 Thanks. Uncle, can you hear me? [speaking to Uncle David Ka'ōnohi Keākealani]

CK-P: Ua hiki, lohe? [Can you hear?]

DK: [nodding his head] Hmm.

KM: 'O wai kou, kou inoa piha?
 What is your full name?

DK: Ka'ōnohi.

KM: Ka'ōnohi?

CK-P: 'Ae.

KM: 'O Ka'ōnohi Keākealani? [Ka'ōnohi Keākealani?]

DK: Keākealani.

KM: 'Ae. O kēia kou kaikuahine? [kuhi ana iā Aunty Kiniha'a]
 Yes. And this is your younger sister? [pointing to Aunty Kiniha'a]

DK: 'Ae.

CK-P: Kaikuahine.

KM: 'Ae, so ua like no ka mo'okū'auhau? I kou wā li'ili'i, ua noho 'oe i kai i Ka'ūpūlehu?
 Yes, so your genealogy is the same? In your youth, did you reside on the shore of Ka'ūpūlehu?

DK: Pau ke kula, ho'i mai ke kula. There and pau kula, ho'i.
 Finished school, returned from school. There and done school, go back.

KM: 'Ae, mahalo. [looking at Uncle Val] Aloha, Uncle.
 Yes, thanks. Uncle Val

VA: I'm Valentine Kalaniho'okaha Ako. I was born and raised in Hōlualoa, Kona, and was reared down at Kailua, Kona... Why I love Ka'ūpūlehu, we fish over here [tears coming to eyes]. I came [crying]... But there was always fish. And we took what we needed, anytime I wanted mullet, we could come over here, or down at Mahai'ula. But if I wanted *kala*, *pālani*, *pualu*, this place was just loaded with that type of fish. And we were always told "Take what you need, and you respect the people in the village." Because we had access to the whole Kona coast. They said we could fish from Māhukona to Ka'alu'alu. That was our 'āina.
 But the way that we were brought up, if stayed in your Kailua district, you stayed in Kailua district. So when I wanted certain type of fish, knowing this area had this type of fish, I would come and just take enough, and go home. Also, what was related to me about Ka'ūpūlehu, and Makalawena, Kūki'o, and Mahai'ula, my mama used to tell me, "Our 'ohana used to fish for *aku*, 'ōpelu, outside here." And they used to bring to Kailua, in a



cracker can, the *palu* [salted fish relish]. And she said, “The *palu* was always ‘ono because they knew how to... And there canoes had sails, they used to sail from over here to Kailua.” So having that information, I grew to love this area...

KM: ‘Ae. Aunty...?

CK-P: Hmm.

KM: ...*me* Uncle, *hiki paha iā ‘olua ke wehe i kekāhi mo‘olelo e pili ko ‘olua wā li‘ili‘i, ka noho ana ma Ka‘ūpūlehu me nā tūtū...?*

Aunty...Uncle, could you two perhaps share some of the history of your residing at Ka‘ūpūlehu with the grandparents?

CK-P: Yes [chuckling]

KM: *Hé‘aha ka hana? Nui ka po‘e ‘ohana? Nui nā hale? Ai‘ole kūka‘ikāhi wale nō?*

What did you do? Were there many families? Many houses? Or was it just sparse?

CK-P: *A kāka‘ikāhi.* [Sparse.]

KM: *Kāka‘ikāhi.*

CK-P: *Hale niu wale nō.*

Only coconut-thatched houses.

KM: *O hale niu. Hale pa‘i ‘ia i ka lau niu?*

Coconut houses. Houses thatched with coconut leaves?

CK-P: ‘Ae. [Yes – chuckling.]

JM: *Kēia [kuhi ana ka lima i ane‘i] Ka‘ūpūlehu.*

This [gesturing his hand to the present location] is Ka‘ūpūlehu.

KM: Ka‘ūpūlehu.

Discussing the spring of Wai-a-Kāne, in the sea fronting Ka‘ūpūlehu:

JM: *Pili kēlā mo‘olelo, kēlā wai pua‘i, Wai-o-Kāne.* [pēlā i ha‘i ‘ia ai]

The story is tied to the bubbling spring, Wai-o-Kāne. [as pronounced]

CK-P: ‘Ae.

KM: *A, kēlā pu‘una wai, no Wai-a-Kāne?*

Ah, that spring, Wai-a-Kāne?

JM: ‘Ae, Wai-o-Kāne.

Yes, Wai-o-Kāne.

CK-P: [‘aka iki ana — chuckling]

KM: *Hé‘aha ka mo‘olelo o kēlā Wai-o-Kāne?*

What is the story of Wai-o-Kāne?

JM: *Kēlā Wai-o-Kāne, kēia...*

That Wai-o-Kāne, this...

CK-P: *Mamua, kapu kēlā wahi.*

Before, that place was *kapu* [sacred or forbidden].



JM: 'Ae. Kēia kanaka no... kēia po'e hālāwai ana lākou paha. Mahape, pi'i mai kēia kanaka mai ke kai mai, ma kahakai e. Pi'i mai, komo , a ho'olauna iāia. So hui 'oia, wala'au me lākou e, kūkākūkā, pau. Mahape, a mākaukau ka mea 'ai hānai 'ai iāia. Pau kona 'ai ana, 'ōlelo ana, kēia manawa paha, "Ho'i ana" 'oia. Mahape, e 'ōlelo kekāhi po'e, "Mamua o kou ho'i, makemake mākou i wai." You know, wai inu [drinking water]?

Yes. This man...perhaps while these people were meeting. Afterwards, this man rose up, coming from the sea, landing on the shore. Rising up, entering, they met with him. So he met and spoke with them, talking till finished. Afterwards, the food was prepared to feed him. It was perhaps at the time that he was finished eating, that he said, "I am leaving." Then some people said, "Before you go, we would like some water." You know, drinking water?

KM: 'Ae, wai inu. [Yes, drinking water.]

JM: Nāna kēlā hana kēlā wai o...

It was made by him, that spring...

CK-P: 'Oia kēlā wai [chuckling].

It's that spring [chuckling].

JM: ...kēlā Wai-o-Kāne, wai pua'i.

Wai-o-Kāne, the bubbling spring.

KM: So nāna no i hana kēlā...?

So he made that...?

JM: A'ole nāna i hana, 'oia kāna wai, e ho'i iāia. Ka manawa ho'i iāia i Kahiki paha, ma laila 'oia i lu'u ai, nalowale, a pua'i kēia wai.

Not really made by him, but it was his water. At the time perhaps that he returned to the ancestral land [Kahiki], where he dove and disappeared, that spring gushed up.

KM: A, lu'u 'oia i loko o ke kai?

Ah, so he dove into the ocean?

CK-P: 'Ae.

JM: 'Ae.

KM: A pu'una mai ka wai?

And the water welled up?

JM: 'Ae, 'oia no ka wai o kēia manawa.

Yes, it's the same spring to this time.

CK-P: 'Oia paha kona mea i lu'u i loko o kēlā wahi...,

Perhaps it's from when he dove into that place...

JM: 'Ae.

CK-P: ...'oia ka mea lo'a ka wai. 'Oia wale no ka mea ma lalo o kēia wai.

...it's how the spring was obtained. It was him who went below this spring.

JM: Nāna i hana kēlā.

It was he who made it.



- CK-P: *Nāna i hana kēlā wai.*
He made that spring.
- JM: *Kumu kahea 'ia kēlā wahi "Wai-o-Kāne." Nāna no i hana kēlā wai.*
That's the reason the place is called "Wai-o-Kāne." He made the spring.
- CK-P: 'Ae.
- KM: *...Pehea, 'o Waipunalei, aia ihea 'o Waipunalei?*
How about Waipunalei, where is Waipunalei?
- JM: *Waipunalei, ai ma'ō kēlā wahi. Ai ma ka lae...*
Waipunalei, that place is over there [pointing north]. By the point...
- CK-P: 'Ae.
- JM: *Maopopo oe, hele mai o Wai-o-Kāne?*
You know, come to Wai-o-Kāne?
- KM: 'Ae.
- JM: *A hele mai 'oe i kēlā lae.*
Then you go to that point.
- KM: *Kēlā lae? [That point?]*
- JM: *Kēlā lae. [That point.]*
- KM: *'Ano ma waena o Wai-o-Kāne a me kēia wahi?*
Somewhat between Wai-o-Kāne and this place?
- JM: 'Ae.
- Discussing the fishponds of Waipunalei and Waiakauhi; a *Kū'ula* was formerly at Waipunalei:
- KM: *'Oia o Waipunalei?*
It's Waipunalei?
- JM: *A'ole 'o Waipunalei, Wai-puna-lei.*
Not Waipunalei, Waipunalei.
- CK-P: *Puna-lei.*
- KM: *Wai-puna-lei.*
- JM: *No ka mea he wai puna.*
Because it is a spring.
- KM: 'Ae, 'ae. [Yes, yes.]
- JM: *Kumu kahea 'ia...*
That's the reason it's called...
- KM: *...'Ae. Pehea ka inoa o kēia loko wai, loko kai ma'ane'i [kuhi ana ma waho o ka puka aniani, iā Waiakauhi]? He'aha ka inoa o kēia loko?*
Yes. How about the name of the this pond, the pond here [pointing out of the window, to Waiakauhi]? What is the name of this pond?
- JM: *Kēia loko nei, ma mua, Waiakauhi kēlā.*



This pond in front of us, that's Waiakauhi.

AM: 'Ae.

KM: *Waiakauhi. Ua lohe 'oukou [nānā ana i ka hoalauna i 'ākoako 'ia mai] i kēlā inoa, 'o Waiakauhi?*

Waiakauhi. Did you hear [looking to everyone gathered] that name, Waiakauhi?

Group: [nodding heads]

JM: *He mo'olelo kēlā e pili ana kēia ali'i e.*

There is a story about that (pond), regarding this chief.

KM: *He ali'i kāne, ai'ole he ali'i wahine?*

A chief, or a chiefess?

JM: *Ali'i kāne. [Chief.]*

CK-P: *Ali'i kāne. [Chief.]*

JM: *A ma laila ka hale o ka po'e ki'i 'anae, 'ama'ama. Ho'oku'u 'ia iloko o kēia pūnāwai.*

There were the houses there also, for the people who caught the mullet. They were released in this spring (pond).

KM: *A! I loko o kēia pūnāwai?*

Ahh! Inside this pond?

JM: *'Ae. Kēlā 'anae, na ke ali'i wale nō.*

Yes. Those mullet were only for the chief's use.

CK-P: *Kapu! [Restricted!]*

JM: *Ke 'ono 'oia i ka 'anae, na lākou hele, ki'i.*

When he desired the mullet, they would go and catch them.

CK-P: *A'ole hiki ke ki'i.*

Otherwise, they couldn't be taken.

JM: *A'ole hiki ka po'e ki'i.*

The people couldn't catch (the fish for their use).

KM: *'O Kauhi ke ali'i? [Kauhi was the chief?]*

JM: 'Ae.

KM: *Wai-a-Kauhi? [Water-of Kauhi?]*

CK-P: 'Ae.

KM: *Kauhi ke ali'i? [And Kauhi was the chief?]*

JM: 'Ae.

KM: *Nāna no i hana a mālama ka 'anae i loko o kēia...?*

It was he who made and cared for the mullet inside of this...?

JM: *A'ole nāna [not him], but...*

CK-P: *Na ka po'e... [By the people...]*



- JM: *Na ka po'e o lalo. Kāna wale nō, wala'au.*
The people below him. He only needed to speak.
- CK-P: [*'aka iki ana* — chuckling]
- KM: So *pehea*...[chuckling] 'Ae.
So how...[chuckling], Yes.
- CK-P: *Kāna hana wala'au wale no, but mana ka 'ōlelo. Mana ka 'ōlelo.*
His only work was to speak, but the voice contained power. The voice was powerful.
- KM: 'Ae, 'ae. *Pehea, i ko 'oukou wā l'ilī'i, ua lo'a ka 'anae, ka awa paha i loko o kēia Waiakauhi?*
Yes, yes. How about in your youth, were there mullet, or perhaps milkfish in this pond Waiakauhi?
- JM: 'Ae.
- CK-P: *Lo'a, lo'a!* [Had, had!]
- '*Ōpae 'ula* collected from anchialine ponds, and used as bait for '*ōpelu* fishing:
- JM: *Lo'a. Mane'i mākou e hele mai ai i ke ahiahi hana ka 'ōpae. 'Ōpae 'ula.*
Had. We would come here in the evenings to get shrimp. Red shrimp.
- KM: '*Ōpae 'ula.* [Red shrimp.]
- JM: *No ka lawai'a 'ōpelu.* [For '*ōpelu* fishing.]
- RM: *Mane'i ka 'ōpae 'ula?*
The red shrimp were here?
- JM: *Lo'a i ka wai ma mua, hele me ka kā'e'e...*
Gotten in the water before, (we'd) go with the net...
- RM: *A'ole wau maopopo, because, wā l'ilī'i wau i kēlā manawa. But ku'u Kūkū, halihali...hele mai to the that bushes of [thinking]...*
I did not know, because I was young then. But my Grandfather go get...come to that bushes [thinking]...
- KM: *Hau?*
- RM: No not *hau*, that one that had the white seed.
- KM: Oh, *naupaka*.
- RM: *Naupaka*, then he leave me there, *hiamoe* [sleep] and then he go *kā'e'e* [net catch] the '*ōpae* [shrimp]. When he get enough, then *ho'i* [come back] and they go out to fish.
- JM: Yeah, *mākou hele wale nō ki'i kēlā 'ōpae 'ula, mea, lawai'a 'ōpelu.*
Yeah, we would just go to catch that red shrimp for '*ōpelu* fishing.
- RM: Yeah, '*ōpelu*. They like for the *ōpū* [stomach] part, they eat... [chuckles]
- '*Ōpelu* were exchanged and sold between the fishing villages and uplands; were the livelihood of the families:
- JM: *Kēlā mau lā, 'oia wale nō ka i'a hana kalā, ka 'ōpelu.*
Those days, that was the only fish that we made money with, the '*ōpelu*.



RM: Yeah.

CK-P: *‘Oia ka māua hana, kī’i* [chuckling].
That was the work of the two of us [chuckling].

JM: *Na māua i lawe a kaula’i, a malo’o ka ‘ōpelu, a ho’okomo iloko o ke ‘eke...*
We would take them and a dry the *‘ōpelu*, when they were dry, place them in the baskets...

CK-P: *Kau ma ke kēkake a lawe...* [chuckling]
Put them on the donkey and take... [chuckling]

JM: *Lawe i Kalaoa, ka hale Pākē.*
Take to Kalaoa, the Chinese house (store).

RM: That a...?

JM: Dry *‘ōpelu*.

RM: Yeah.

JM: Akuna, Ahuna, the Kinilau.

RM: Ah-haa. That *kūkū*...my *kūkū* and your *kūkū kāne lāua like, hele kālewa*.
Ah-haa. That grandfather...my grandfather and your grandfather, the two of them went to sell (fish).

JM: Oh-hmm.

RM: *And maopopo ia’u, i ho’i mai, lawe mai kanakē.*
And I knew, when he’d return, he’d bring candy.

CK-P: [chuckling]

JM: *Kou kūkū Kinoulu?*
Your grandfather, Kinoulu?

RM: Kinoulu.

JM: *A kama’āina ia’u me kēlā.*
I’m familiar with that one.

RM: Yes.

JM: *Noho ‘oia ma Pu’ukala, lo’a kona hale ma mua.*
He used to live at Pu’ukala, his house was there before.

RM: Yeah, *noho ‘oia i Pu’ukala*, but *lawai’a ana...*
Yeah, he lived at Pu’ukala, but would go fishing...

JM: *‘O wai kāna mo’opuna, hānai ‘oia i ho’okāhi kaikamahine eh?*
Who was his grandchild, he took care of one girl, eh?

RM: *‘O wau ka ho’i!* [It was me!]

JM: *‘O ‘oe?* [You?]

Group: [laughs; Uncle makes an expression of startled recognition, upon realizing that the little girl he remembers is Aunty Rose sitting in front of him]



- KM: 'Ae, mau makahiki... [Yes so many years (ago)...]
- JM: Poina [forget], yeah.
- RM: [tears welling up in Aunt's eyes] Because 'oia [Aunt Kiniha'a], maybe when *hele mai 'oia, a'ole wau no ma laila*. I only remember 'o 'oe.
Because her, maybe when she come, I wasn't there, I only remember you.
- JM: 'Ae, *hele wau...ke ho'opi'i i Kalaoa, noho ma laila*.
Yes, I'd go...ascend to Kalaoa, and stay there...
- 'Ōpae 'ula were formerly abundant; other fishes were found in the ponds. Families traveled seasonally between the uplands and the ocean, working the land and fisheries to sustain themselves:
- KM: ...*A i ka wā ma mua, i kou wā li'ili'i, ko 'oukou wā li'ili'i, lo'a ka 'ōpae 'ula?*
And before, in your youth, all of your youth, you'd get the red shrimp?
- RM: Uh-hmm.
- JM: *Lo'a, 'ae...* [Get, yes...]
- CK-P: *Nui*. [Plenty.]
- JM: ...*nui ka 'ōpae 'ula*. [...plenty red shrimp.]
- KM: *Nui ka 'ōpae 'ula?* There was plenty of red shrimp?
- JM: 'Ae.
- Group: [nodding] Uh-hmm.
- KM: *A me ka i'a?* [And fish?]
- CK-P: 'Ae.
- JM: *Me ka i'a*. [With fish.]
- KM: *He 'ama'ama?* [Mullet?]
- CK-P: Yes.
- JM: *'Ama'ama, ka 'awa 'aua*. [Mullet, the milkfish.]
- CK-P: [chuckling]
- KM: Ohh!
- JM: Yeah, *nui ka i'a*. [Yeah, plenty fish.]
- KM: *So inā po'i ke kai a 'ino'ino like me kēia lā, hiki iā 'oukou ke hele i loko o kēia loko?*
So if the ocean was rough like today, could you go inside this pond?
- JM: *No kēlā...ma mua e, lo'a hana, ke 'ino'ino ke kai, ho'i mākou mauka. Mahi'ai i ka 'uala, kanu 'uala...*
No, that...before, had work. If the ocean was rough, stormy, we'd return to the uplands. Cultivate sweet potatoes.
- Group: [agreeing and nodding heads] *'Uala* [sweet potatoes].
- JM: *Mālia ke kai, ka manawa ho'i i kahakai, hele lawai'a*.
When the ocean was calm, that was the time to return to the shore to go fishing.
- CK-P: [chuckling and nodding her head]



JM: For *hana kalā e*. [For make money.]

KM: So *ma mua, a'ole 'oukou e lawai'a iloko o kēia loko?*
So before, you folks wouldn't go fishing inside this pond?

JM: *A'ole*. [No.]

CK-P: *A'ole hiki*. [No can.]

KM: But *lo'a ka i'a?* [But, there were fish?]

JM: *'Ae, ho'oku'u 'ia ka i'a!*
Yes, the fish had been released!

CK-P: *Lo'a ka i'a* [chuckling].
There were fish [chuckling].

Group: [nodding, in agreement].

KM: Now, *e kala mai ia'u, namu ana wau ma ka haole*. [Excuse me, I'm going to speak in English.]
Uncle [looking at Uncle Arthur] and some people recall... Was there a *kahe* [a channel for a sluice gate]? Did this Waiakauhi, do you remember, did it have an opening sometimes to the ocean?

JM: They used to have an opening to the ocean. Bum-bye when the *po'e Hawai'i* [Hawaiian people], went close, because ...*holo ka 'ōpae 'ula, waho eh* [chuckling].
(because) ...the red shrimp would go outside, eh [chuckling].

KM: *'Ae*.

Group: [chuckling]

JM: *Ka manawa ho'i pau, a'ole ho'i mai*.
The time when they go, that's it, they don't come back.

CK-P: [*kūnou ana ka po'o, 'aka iki ana* — nodding her head, chuckling]

KM: So, do all of you remember that there was a gate?

JM: That's why they went close 'em up.

CK-P: Yeah.

AM: *'Ae*.

JM: That's why I said, "You folks call the *po'e Hawai'i 'hūpō*." *A'ole lākou hūpō*...
... "You folks call the Hawaiian people 'ignorant'." They're not ignorant...

KM: *A'ole!* [No!]

JM: *Akama!* [Smart!]

KM: *Akama!*

Group: [chuckling]

KM: *Pehea...?* [How...?]

CK-P: That's why they make gate, so the *'ōpae* [shrimp] no run away.

JM: So the *'ōpae* no run out.

CK-P: For the *'ōpae* no go out [chuckling]



Group: [chuckling and nodding heads in agreement]...

JM: ...‘O wau me Caroline... [chuckling].
Caroline and I... [chuckling]

CK-P: [‘aka iki ana — chuckling]

JM: *Ke hele kēia po‘e ‘elemakule, hā‘awi ia‘u ho‘okāhi pākeke nāna* [chuckling]...
These older people would come, (one) would give me a bucket for his [chuckling]...

Group: [chuckling]

JM: *Kēia ‘elemakule, a‘ole, kiloi ‘upena wale nō, a na māua ‘ohi‘ohi ka i‘a.*
This old man, no, he would simply throw his net, and the two of us (Caroline and himself), would gather up the shrimp.

Kūpuna: [‘aka iki ana — chuckling]

Describes ‘ōpelu fishing, and preparation of fish for drying:

JM: *O, Caroline Kiniha‘a, a piha kana pākeke, a hāpai ‘oia. ‘O wau, hāpai, ho‘omaha. Nānā mai ‘oia ia‘u, “Pehea, kaia ‘oe?” “‘Ae.” No ‘oia, a‘ole ho‘i...*
Caroline Kiniha‘a, would fill her bucket, and she’d carry it. I would carry mine and then rest. She’d look at me, “What, you tired?” “Yes.” No, not her though.

Group: [chuckling]

JM: *‘O wau ho‘omaha, ho‘omaha. Caroline, hana ‘oia.*
I would rest (go) rest. Caroline, she’d work...

JM: *...Akamai. ‘O wau, ka‘u hana hele lawai‘a ‘ōpelu, ‘oia ka‘u makemake.*
Smart. Me, my work was to go ‘ōpelu fishing. That’s what I liked.

KM: *‘Oia kāu makemake.* [It’s what you liked.]

Group: [laughing]

JM: *But kēlā mau lā e, na ka po‘e kāne hele lawai‘a ‘ōpelu, ho‘i mai, na ka wahine e...mea, kaha mai...*
But in those days, the men went ‘ōpelu fishing, they came back, and the women cut the (fish preparing it for drying.)

RM: *‘O mākou me ka...* [Us with the...]

JM: *Po‘e wahine, mākaukau already, kaha ‘ōpelu...*
The women, ready already, and cut the ‘ōpelu...

CK-P: *Kaha ‘ōpelu, a kaula‘i.*
Cut the ‘ōpelu and dry it.

RM: *And the hana kēia po‘e mo‘opuna...bring the lona ...*
And the job of these grandchildren...bring the canoe rollers (*lona*).

JM: *‘Ae, ‘ae [yes, yes] for the wa‘a [canoe].*

RM: *...for make the wa‘a go up.*

KM: *Makai [on the shore] here, you make the lona...?*

JM: *Yeah, the other side that [pointing in the direction of Kahuawai].*



- KM: *O ma ka 'ao'ao o ka hokele* [Kona Village]?
Oh, on the side of the Kona Village Hotel?
- JM: Yeah.
- RM: When they come in, yeah.
- JM: Yeah, by the hotel.
- KM: *Pehea ka inoa o kēia hana, kēia kai, he'aha ka inoa? 'O Kahuwai ka wahi a pau...?*
How about the name of this bay, this ocean here, what was its name? Was Kahuwai the whole place?
- JM: No, *Kahuwai* [*pēlā i 'ōlelo 'ia ai*], *'oia kēlā...Kahuwai, ma ka hokele.*
No, Kahuwai [as pronounced], it's that...Kahuwai, by the hotel...
- KM: *...Mamua, he heiau paha ko kahakai? He heiau, he Kū'ula paha?*
...Before, was there perhaps a temple on the shore? A temple, a fishing-god shrine perhaps?
- JM: *Kū'ula ka'u mea maopopo. Heiau, a'ole wau maopopo.*
I know about a fishing god. Temple, I don't know.
- CK-P: Yeah.
- Discussing the *Kū'ula* at Waipunalei; *kupuna* still made offerings:
- JM: Maybe *ai mauka paha. Kū'ula, 'ae maopopo ia'u.*
Perhaps in the uplands. Fishing god, yes, I know.
- KM: *Kū'ula makai e?*
Fishing god on the shore eh?
- JM: Hmm.
- KM: *Maopopo, ua 'ike 'oe?*
You know, you saw it?
- JM: *Ua 'ike wau.*
I saw it.
- CK-P: But *kēlā manawa, ke malo'o, a'ole lo'a wai. See, a'ole lo'a wai, malo'o.* Maybe *na lākou no paha, no'ono'o lākou...*
But at that time, it was dry, there wasn't water. See, there was no water, it was dry. Maybe they, perhaps they thought...
- JM: *Ko'u tūtū, puni 'oia kēlā 'ano Kū'ula.*
My grandfather, he kept that type of fish god.
- KM: *Puni 'oia...?*
He liked...?
- JM: *Kau punahele, ke 'oia kiloi 'upena, o ka 'anae, you know. Ho'okupu 'oia, ho'okomo ma lalo o kēia pōhaku. No'ono'o 'oia...*
Placed the favorite, when he would throw net, the mullet, you know. He would offer, placing it below this stone. He thought...



CK-P: *I kona mea hānai.*
He fed it.

JM: 'Ae.

KM: *Hānai 'oia, a mālama i kēia Kū'ula...* [He fed and cared for this fish god...]

KM: *... 'Oia ka ho'omana a ka po'e kūpuna.* [That's what the elders believed.]

AM: Yeah.

JM: 'Ae.

CK-P: Uh-hmm...

KM: *Aia ihea ka wahi o kēia Kū'ula?*
Where was the place of this fish god?

JM: *Ma Wai-o-Kāne, kēlā 'ao'ao.*
By Wai-o-Kāne, on that side.

KM: *O ma ka 'ao'ao o Wai-puna-lei?*
Oh, on the side of Waipunalei?

CK-P: Yeah.

JM: 'Ae. *Ai loko o ke kai.*
Yes, there in the water.

KM: *Ma ka 'ao'ao o Wai-puna-lei?*
On the side of Waipunalei?

CK-P: Yeah.

JM: 'Ae.

CK-P: *Lāua, pili.*
They were close.

KM: *Lāua pili, Wai-o-Kāne me Wai-puna-lei?*
They were close, Wai-o-Kāne and Waipunalei?

JM: 'Ae, 'ae [Yes, yes]. And Mumuku, and then Maheawalu, and then Keonenui.

KM: Ah, so Wai-puna-lei, Wai-o-Kāne...?

JM: 'Ae.

KM: ...Mumuku?

JM: Mumuku.

KM: Kahuawai?

JM: *Kahuawai. 'Oia kēlā...*
Kahuawai. That's...

CK-P: *Po'e 'ohana wale no o kēlā wahi.*
There was only family (living) at that place.

JM: And then Maheawalu and Keonenui.



KM: Keonenui.

JM: *Kēlā one 'ele'ele, lō'ihī e.*
That black sand, long (sandy area).

KM: 'Ae.

JM: Keonenui *kēlā*.
That's Keonenui.

KM: Keonenui, *a i* Kalaemanō?
Keonenui, and then Kalaemanō?

JM: *O Kalaemanō ai mamao loa.*
Kalaemanō is far away.

CK-P: [chuckling]
'Ōpelu dried and salted; *pa'akai* (salt) made at Kalaemanō:

KM: *Pehea, i ka wā lī'ili'i, ua kāpī 'oukou i ka 'ōpelu, kaula'i 'ōpelu?*
How about in your youth, did you salt the 'ōpelu, the dried 'ōpelu?

JM: 'Ae, *na nā po'e wahine, a'ole na nā kāne.*
Yes, the women did that, not the men.

KM: *Na ka po'e wahine?*
Done by the women?

JM: *Ka po'e wahine. And kēlā wahine kēlā mau lā, a'ole lākou 'oki ka 'ōpelu ma ka...mea, pahi. Me kēia lima [ka manamana lima nui; kuhi ana 'oia me ka miki'ao].*
The women. And those women in those days, they didn't cut the 'ōpelu with the....knife. With this finger [gesturing cutting the fish with the thumb nail].

CK-P: *Me ka lima*, like that. Yeah, *me ka lima* [chuckling].
With the finger, like that. Yeah, with the finger [chuckling].

KM: Ohh! *A kāpī?*
Ohh! And salt it?

JM: Yeah, *pau a kāpī.*
Yeah, done and salt it.

KM: *Nohea mai ka pa'akai?*
Where did the salt come from?

CK-P: *Ma laila nō. Ma laila.*
Right there. There

JM: *Makai.*
The shore.

KM: *Ma ke kai, ma kēia one?*
From the ocean, on the beach?



- JM: *Ka po'e kamali'i, 'oia ko lākou hana, hāpai pākeke hele a hana pa'akai.*
The children, that was their job, to carry the buckets, and make the salt.
- CK-P: *Hele ki'i pa'akai.*
Go get salt.
- KM: *Ki'i ke kai?*
Get the salt water?
- JM: *A'ole, ma ka mea...pohopoho pōhaku, ma ka pāhoehoe.*
No, in the...stone basins on the pāhoehoe.
- CK-P: Yes.
- JM: *Malo'o e ka lā, a lo'a ka pa'akai. Kaula'i a komo iloko o ka pākeke.*
Dried by the sun, and get the salt. It's dried and put into the bucket.
- KM: *Mamua, ua hele paha 'oukou i Kalaemanō?*
Before, did you perhaps go to Kalaemanō?
- RM: 'Ae.
- JM: *Ka mea mamake kū'ai pa'akai, 'oia ka wahi pa'akai maika'i. Hiki iā 'oe ke hana nui e.*
The ones who wanted to sell salt, that was a good salt place. You could make plenty, eh.
- MK: *No ka mea, nui nā 'ano poho.*
Because there were many basins.
- JM: 'Ae.
- RM: The *kāheka* [salt-making basins].
- KM: *Kāheka* [salt-making basins].
- JM: *Kēlā mea, komo ke kai o loko a malo'o.*
Those thing that the ocean water would go in and then dry.
- CK-P: *A malo'o, piha ka pa'akai.*
When it was dry, it was filled with salt.
- Group: 'Ae.
- RM: When it's rough, that's when we all go over there and make salt. I know we did. We went and stayed about a week over there, in the *ana* [cave]. We stayed there, and certain ones, with the *kēkake* [donkey], they haul it and come back to... Then for the weeks that we gather all this salt together. Then when the weather is good, then they go out fishing, and we had salt all the time.
- KM: So you folks would go out and stay at Kalaemanō, in that area?
- RM: Yeah, yeah.
- KM: When rough ocean?
- RM: Yeah, because they can't go to fish, but they can go and make salt.
- KM: So go get *pa'akai* [salt]?
- RM: Oh yes, lots and lots. We never go without salt. There was always salt.



JM: Plenty eh. *Nui*, plenty salt.

KM: Hmm, so *maika'i ka pa'akai o Kalaemanō*?
So it was good salt at Kalaemanō?

RM: Hmm.

JM: 'Ono. [chuckles]

Group: [agrees]

RM: Real good.

MK: *Maika'i*. [Good.]

JM: Yeah, *kēlā mau lā*.
Yeah, those days.

RM: We just wish we go back and live like that. It was so good.
Kalaemanō home to a deified family shark (*manō*); considered a sacred place:

KM: *Kēlā inoa o Kalaemanō, he mo'olelo paha kēlā*?
That name Kalaemanō, is there a story about that?

JM: *He mo'olelo kēlā!*
There is a story.

CK-P: *He mo'olelo, he mo'o...*
A story, a...

JM: *Kalaemanō, he lae kēlā, a lo'a kēia awaawa i ke kai e.*
Kalaemanō, it's a point, and there is this crevice in the sea eh.

CK-P: 'Ae.

JM: *A komo iloko, ke hele i uka loa, a lo'a kēia ana, kēia ana wai, ki'eki'e. Hele mai 'oe...ke 'oe kolo i kēlā ana, hele mai ma leila nānā, 'ike 'oe ka mea. And ma mua o kēlā ana, no kēlā kai, ma leila hānau mai ka manō.*
And it comes in, going some distance inland, and there is this cave, this water cave high up. You can go...if you crawl in that cave, and go look there, you'll see it. And in front of that cave, that shore, is where the sharks give birth.

KM: *Hānau ka manō*?
Sharks are born?

JM: 'Ae.

CK-P: 'Ae, *ka manō*. [Yes, the sharks.]

JM: *A nui ka pēpē, a holo ma waho i ke kai.*
And when the baby is big, it goes out to the sea.

CK-P: 'Ae.

KM: *A, 'oia ka wahi a manō i ho'i a hānau ai...?*
So that is the place that the sharks return to give birth?

JM: 'Ae.



- CK-P: 'Ae.
- JM: *Hiki no i kēia manawa, ke 'oe hele ma leila.*
Until this time, if you go there.
- KM: So, *he māwae ma luna o ka mea...?*
So there is a fissure on top of the...
- JM: *Kai, kai hohonu.*
Ocean, deep water.
- KM: *A pi'i i uka?*
And it goes inland?
- JM: *He kahawai, mai ke kai mai, komo iloko. O kumu kahea 'ia ai kēlā wahi, "Ka-lae-manō."*
Ma leila ka manō i hānau ai.
Like a gulch, from the ocean and goes inside. That's the reason the place is called "The shark Point." That's where the sharks are born.
- CK-P: *Hānau kāna pēpē.*
Gives birth to its baby.
- JM: *Hānau ka pēpē a lawe i ke kai, holo Māmā i ka 'au kai ...*
The baby is born, and taken to the sea, the Mama goes swimming in the sea.
- CK-P: *Holo i ke kai [chuckling].*
Goes out in the ocean [chuckling].
- KM: *Ua kama'ililo mai 'o Auntie Margie, na ke kāhi po'e kūpuna, na lāua i hele a hānai a mālama i kēlā manō.*
Auntie Margie said that there were some elders, that two of them used to go and feed and care for that shark.
- JM: *'Ae, nui nā po'e hana me kēlā...*
Yes, there were many people that did that...
- CK-P: 'Ae.
- JM: *Hānai ka manō.*
Feed the shark.
- MK: *Ai no ka manō kia'i, kia'i pōhai.*
It was the guardian shark, go around watching.
- JM: *Ko'u 'aumakua, he manō. So 'ōlelo wau ko'u Tūtū "Pehea wau pili ai i ka manō?" A'ole wau puni iā 'oe, ma ka 'ōlelo o ko'u Tūtū—huki ko'u pepeiao, "Ho'olohe kēlā pepeiao!"*
My family guardian is a shark. So I said to my grandfather, "How am I related to the shark?" I'm not lying to you, in the words of my grandpa—pulling my ears, "Listen with those ears!"
- CK-P: [*'aka iki ana — chuckling*]
- JM: *Kou 'anakala mua, he'e wale ka māmā, a lawe 'ia kēia pēpē iloko o ke kai. And ko'u pāpā, ka helu 'elua. 'Oia ke kumu i lilo ai ka manō.*



Your first uncle, his mother miscarried, and this baby was taken into the ocean. And your father, he was number two. That's how it became a shark.

KM: 'Oia, so *kou makua*...?

Oh, so your uncle...?

JM: And *ko'u tūtū, maopopo 'oia, a'ole au puni kēlā 'ano*...

And my grandpa, he knew that I didn't believe that kind...

So *ko'u tūtū kāne, ho'okāhi lā, kakahiaka nui, ho'āla ia'u, "E! Hele ana kāua holoholo." A'ole hiki iā 'oe ke 'ōlelo, "Hele lawai'a."*

So my grandfather, one day, early in the morning, woke me up, "Hey! We going traveling." You couldn't say "Going fishing."

RM: Oh yeah, yeah.

JM: *Holoholo. Mahape, hele wau, kau ka wa'a, then... Mahape, no'ono'o wau, 'ike wau kēia mea, he pōhaku e. 'Ulu ka limu kala, nui 'ino, lana ana iluna*...

Traveling. So then I went and got into the canoe, then... Later, I was wondering, I saw this thing, a stone. The *kala* seaweed was growing on it, plenty, floating up above...

[pick up interview from Tape 1-A]

JM: *Pau ka 'ōlelo o ko'u tūtū...maopopo i ko'u tūtū ka manō kēlā. But a'ole mamake e wala'au ia'u, ma hope wau maka'u e. So hele ko'u tūtū, pili, "E hele 'oe ma'ō a ho'oma'ema'e i kēlā pōhaku." So I tell, "Okay." Holo ma luna, ho'oma'ema'e ka pōhaku, huki ka limu, ma hope wau hemo...nānā wau, "Auwē, he manō!" Lele... [laughing]*

Grandpa finished talking...Grandpa knew that it was a shark. But he no like tell me, bum-by I scared, eh. So my grandpa went up close, (telling me) "You go there and clean the stone." So, I tell, "Okay." I go on top clean the stone, pull the *limu*, and when I had pulled some, I look, "Ohhh! It's a shark!" (I) jump... [laughing]

Group: [laughing]

JM: *...lele wau i ke kai...but ko'u tūtū, maopopo ia'u, lālau ana wau i ka hoe, hili iāia e. Ua pa'a 'oia i ka hoe, hūnā e. 'Aka'aka 'oia la, 'ōlelo 'oia, "Kou 'anakala kēlā." "A ho'opunipuni!" E, manō nui. Mahape, hele ka manō, puni ka wa'a e, ai wau ma mua e. Mahape, hele mai kēlā manō, 'elua manawa, ka'apuni. Hele mai a ma mua o'u, pi'i iluna a kona hi'u e, hana 'oia me kēlā [kuhi ana me ka lima, e peahi ana ka manō i kona mau 'eheu].*

(I) jump in the water...but my grandpa, he knows me, I'm going to grab the paddle to hit him eh. He held the paddle, hid it. He Laughed, saying "That's your Uncle." "Oh lie." It was a big shark. After that the shark encircled the canoe, I was there in front. Then the shark came two times around. Coming in front of me, it rose up and with it's fins, making like this [gesturing like it was waving its two side fins].

Group: [laughing]

JM: 'Ōlelo ku'u tūtū, "Mai hana 'ino iāia."

My grandpa said, "Don't mistreat him."

KM: 'Ae, no ka mea, 'ohana e.

Yes, because he's family.

CK-P: Yeah 'ohana [family].

Group: 'Ae.



- KM: *Ai ma kai ma'ane'i?*
In the ocean here?
- JM: *Ma kēlā 'ao'ao [kuhi ana ka lima, i ka 'akau].*
On that side [pointing to the north].
- CK-P: *Ma kēlā 'ao'ao, ma ka hokele.*
On that side, by the (Kona Village) hotel.
- KM: *Ma Kahuawai?*
At Kahuawai?
- CK-P: 'Ae.
- KM: *So kēlā po'e manō, he 'ano kia'i, he 'ohana?*
So those sharks were like guardians, family?
- JM: 'Aumakua. [Family guardians.]
- CK-P: 'Aumakua.
- JM: *Ua 'ōlelo mai ko'u Tūtū ka manawa he'e wale o ko'u 'Anakala, pēpē mua kēlā. Mahape mai ku'u pāpā. So wili 'ia...kēlā manawa, a'ole lākou i kiloi i ka mea...iloko o ke ana. Lawe 'ia paha a kiloi i ke kai.*
My grandpa said that at the time that my uncle was miscarried, he was the first born. Then my father came. So he was wrapped...that time, they didn't just throw him away...in the cave. He was taken and perhaps thrown into the ocean.
- MK: *Ku'u Pāpā, a'ole. Hānau 'ia 'oia me kēia 'ohana, ka hemo mai ana 'oia, hemo me kēia i'a.*
My father, no. He was born with this relative, when he was taken out, it was with this fish (like baby).
- KM: *He māhoe kou pāpā?*
Your father was a twin?
- MK: *Yeah, he māhoe. E no na'e ka māhoe, he i'a. Nānā lākou, a'ole hiki ke hana, they couldn't do anything, so hana pau ka pēpē, a lawe kēia mea, kau iluna o ka pōhaku.*
Yeah, a twin. But the twin was a fish. They looked, but they couldn't do anything, so they took care of the baby (Kaholo), and took the fish, and placed it on top of a stone.
They left him over there, on the *lā'i* [ti leaves], and they thought, that "Oh bum-bye when they *pau* [done] make the baby, then they would go and *kanu 'ia* [bury it]." But when they went back, no more. But all where the fish went, was all blood, get trail. They follow, going to the *kahakai* [shore]. That's how they knew that.
- KM: *A, lilo manō e?*
And it became a shark, eh?
- JM: Yeah, yeah.
- MK: Then when my grandmother go down, when Kaniho go down to the beach, she go watch down the beach, *a ho'i mai ke keiki a hānai* [the child come back and feed].
- KM: *Hānai poli?*
Breast feed?
- MK: Yeah.



- KM: *Hoihoi kēia mau mo'olelo a nā kūpuna.*
 These stories of the elders are so interesting.
- RM: Oh that's interesting.
- KM: *So, i ka wā ma mua, pehea, o Kalaemanō, o kēia mau lae a pau, ua aloha nā kūpuna...ua hō'ihī, respect nōho'i lākou i ka 'āina?*
 So, before times, how about Kalaemanō, all these coastal points, did the elders love...did they respect the lands?
- JM: Respect...
- Group: Uh-hmm.
- JM: All the *lae kai* [seawards points].
- CK-P: *Kāhi manawa, kānalua, a'ole 'oe makemake he hehi ma luna o lākou, a'ole lākou e makemake, kapu!*
 Sometimes, (you're) uncertain, you don't want to step upon them, they don't like it, it's forbidden.
- JM: *Kapu, 'ae.*
 Forbidden, yes.
- KM: *O ka ana...?*
 The cave...?
- CK-P: *No'ono'o lākou, "a'ole hehi ko mākou po'o. Ai mākou ma lalo. A'ole lākou makemake, kapu!*
 They think, "do not step upon our heads. We are below." They don't like that, it's forbidden!
- KM: *'Ae. So kēia, ka wahi o ka manō paha?*
 Yes. So this, perhaps the place of the shark?
- CK-P: *'Ae.*
- KM: *So aia ma Kalaemanō?*
 So there at Kalaemanō.
- CK-P: *'Ae, Kalaemanō.*
 Yes, Kalaemanō.
- KM: *So ua 'ōlelo o Tūtū, "Mai hehi 'oe ma luna o kēia wahi?"*
 So, did the grandparents say that "You weren't to walk on top of this place?"
- CK-P: *'Ae, hele 'oe a ka'apuni.*
 Yes, you go around.
- The springs along the coast were beloved and respected by the families:
- KM: *Pehea o kēia mau wahi, Waipunalei me Waiakauhi? Ua aloha lākou i kēia (mau) wai?*
 How about these places, Waipunalei and Waiakauhi? Did they love these springs?
- JM: *Nā wai a pau.*
 All of the springs.



CK-P: *Nā wai a pau.*
All of the springs...

KM: ...In your time you feel that your *kūkū* them, they took care of the land, they took care of you folks...

MK: That's right.

KM: And the land, the ocean, gave you everything you needed.

CK-P: Uh-hmm.

JM: And those days, the *kamali'i* [children], the main thing to them. They the first to eat...

MK: They are.

JM: Full, *pau hānai*, *piha* the *ōpū*, *pau*, "*a hele pā'ani*." Then they eat.
Full, done eating, full the stomach, done, "go play." Then they (the adults) eat...
... There were plenty *'ohana* [along the *lae kahaka*] Come from Pu'u Anahulu, come from Kalaoa, here. And the Stillman used to own the Kūki'o.

Fisheries of Kūki'o were protected under *Konohiki* rights:

AM: Yeah, Kūki'o.

JM: That's the only private.

KM: Ahh, in your time?

JM: Yeah. Nobody...

CK-P: Nobody allowed to go over there, taboo.

AM: The old man Una.

RM: Yeah, he took care of the place.

KM: Cannot even go fish?

AM: Hu'ehu'e Ranch.

JM: You can fish, but you got to go out, you cannot come in.

KM: So it was like *Konohiki* [land overseer for the chiefs], they kept the *kapu*?

JM: Until today, they still have that law, you know...

KM: ...And did Uncle Jack Una take care of that place?

AM: Yeah.

JM: Well that's...he's the caretaker for that. And that man strict, you know. You no can go bypass him [laughs]. He tell you, "You walk inside the water."

Group: [laughs]

JM: Strict. That's why, those days, all the haoles, they like that kind old Hawaiian, they strict. Today kind Hawaiian, ahh, "You take care my land." As soon as that *haole* go, *pau*...

Group: [laughs]

CK-P: Everybody come in.

JM: In those days, no! You no can pass the land...

KM: ...Okay, *mahalo*...



Speaking of stories they heard from their *kūpuna* when they were children, about the changes that would come to the land:

KM: ...*Pehea, lana paha ka mana'o? Hau'oli lākou, ai'ole 'ano kaumaha?*

How about, would their thought be happy? Would they be happy or somewhat distraught?

RM: *Kaumaha*. [sad.]

AM: *Uwē wale*. [only cry.]

KM: *Kaumaha, uwē* [sad and cry].

CK-P: Because *a'ole like ko lākou noho ana like me kēia manawa*.

Because now, it's not like when they were living.

JM: *Me kēia*. [*kīkē ana 'oia i ka papa*]

Like this [tapping the table for emphasis].

AM: 'Ae.

MK: *Me kēia* [like this].

RM: 'Ae.

CK-P: *Kāhi manawa, 'ano e ko lākou mana'o. A'ole like ko lākou noho ana like me ko kākou i kēia manawa*.

Sometimes, their thoughts were different. Their way of living is not like ours in this time.

KM: *Pehea, ma mua ua aloha lākou kekāhi i kekāhi?*

How about, before, they would aloha (love and care for) one another?

JM: 'Ae.

KM: *Mālama i ka 'āina*.

Care for the land.

CK-P: Hmm.

KM: 'Oia ka nohona e?

It was the way of living?

CK-P: 'Ae.

MK: Yeah.

JM: 'Ae...

In response to questions about various place names of Ka'ūpūlehu, starting with Kumukea, the *kūpuna* responded:

JM: Hmm, *a'ole wau i lohe*.

Hmm, I didn't hear it.

KM: *Kūkū* (Kiniha'a)?

CK-P: 'Ae, *ua lohe wau i ka inoa Kumukea*.

Yes, I heard the name Kumukea.



KM: Uncle [speaking to Uncle Ka'ōnohi], *ua lohe 'oe i kēlā inoa?*
 Uncle, did you hear that name?

DK: *A'ale.* [No.]

CK-P: 'Cause *māua wale no ka mea noho i ke kai i Ka'ūpūlehu.*
 'Cause we two were the only ones that resided on the shore of Ka'ūpūlehu.

KM: 'Ae.

CK-P: 'Oia ko'u mea maopopo, 'ae.
 That's what I know, yes.

KM: 'Ae. *Kēia mau lua wai li'ili'i, poina ka inoa?*
 Yes. These little water holes, the names are forgotten?

JM: Hmm.

CK-P: *A'ole maopopo* [Don't know].

JM: *Poina. Lo'a inoa, pololei,* but, *a'ole māua maopopo.* [chuckling]
 Forgotten. Had names, that's right, but we don't know. [chuckling]

CK-P: *Lo'a inoa.*
 Had names.

KM: 'Ae. So if we have Waiakauhi...*pehea kēia lae? Kēia lae pōhaku...* [*kuhi ana i ka wahi*]?
 Yes. So if we have Waiakauhi...how about this point? This rocky point [pointing to the location]?

JM: Hmm.

KM: *Maopopo ka inoa?*
 [do you] Know the name?

JM: Ohh, *poina ka inoa. Maopopo ia'u,* but *lō'ihī.*
 Ohh, forget the name. I know, but long (time ago).

KM: Yeah, *ma mua, mau makahiki aku nei.*
 Yeah, before, many years ago.

JM: *A'ole wala'au 'ia, poina.*
 Not spoken, so forgotten.

KM: Okay. [pointing to locations on a map-photo] So Waiakauhi, Waipunalei...?

JM: Hmm.

KM: Wai-o-Kāne?

JM: Wai-o-Kāne.

KM: Kahuawai?

JM: Kahuawai, 'oia *kēlā* [that's it].

KM: Okay. Then...



- JM: *Ke awa Mumuku.*
The landing of Mumuku.
- KM: *O, aia ihea o Mumuku?*
Oh, where is Mumuku?
- JM: *Ai kēlā [there]...*
- CK-P: *Ai nei [kuhi ana ka lima].*
There [pointing her finger].
- JM: *Mane'i [kuhi ana ka lima].*
Here [pointing his finger].
- KM: *O, kēia lae. Then Maheawalu?*
- JM: Maheawalu, and then Keonenui.
- KM: Keonenui.
- CK-P: 'Ae.
- KM: Kalaemanō?
- JM: Kalaemanō.
- CK-P: Then go way... Kalaemanō, the last one.
- JM: *'Oia ka wahi hānau ai ka manō. Ai no kēlā wahi...*
That's the place where the sharks give birth. At that place...
- CK-P: *Kēlā wahi, na ka manō kēlā wahi.*
That place, that place is for the sharks.
- MK: 'Ae.
- Certain *manō* deified, and believed to be representative of family members:
- KM: *Nui no nā kūpuna i ho'omaopopo ai i kēlā mo'olelo e pili ana ka manō. Kekāhi, 'ōlelo mai...like me Aunt Margie 'ōlelo mai, "He manō kia'i, he manō kanaka."*
There are many elders who remember the stories about the shark. Some say, like Aunt Margie saying, "The shark is a guardian, a human shark."
- CK-P: *Hānau ka po'e o ka manō, hele ka po'e pēpē i waho.*
The sharks give birth, then the babies go out.
- JM: *O kumu, 'ōlelo wau i ko'u tūtū, "Pehea wau i pili ai me ka manō?" 'Ōlelo 'oia, "Ke keikunane o kou makuakāne [Kou keikunane], ka mua, ma mua 'oia [o'u], hānau ka Māmā, he'e wale. Wili 'ia pa'a, a lawe 'ia i waho, kiloi 'ia i ke kai, 'oia ke kumu." But, a'ole wau puni kēlā 'ano, you know. Ho'okāhi lā, hele wau me ko'u tūtū, hana 'ōpelu e.*
That's the reason I said to my grandpa, "How am I related to the shark?" He said, "The elder brother of your father, the first born, before him, the mother gave birth, but it was a miscarriage. It was tightly wrapped and taken out, and thrown into the ocean, that's the reason." But I don't believe that kind, you know. One day, I went with my grandpa to catch 'ōpelu.
- KM: 'Ae.



JM: *Ma hope, 'ōlelo mai ko'u tūtū, "E kū, hele a ho'oma'ema'e i kēlā pōhaku." [chuckling] But ko'u Tūtū, maopopo 'oia, he manō. Ua ulu 'ia i ka limu kala e. But a'ole 'oia i wala'au ia'u. Mahape, maka'u wau. So hele ho'i Tūtū pili, a lele wau ma leila, hō'oki'oki ka limu. Mahape hō'oki'oki ia'u, ho'oma'ema'e, pipi'i ke kai ma luna, nānā wau, lele wau o loko o ka wa'a [laughing], bum-bye ho'olālau ka hoe, hili ko'u Tūtū. But maopopo 'oia ua lālau 'oia i ka hoe e. 'Ōlelo 'oia, "Kou 'Anakala kēlā. Ua makemake 'oia hele ho'oma'ema'e i kona kino."*

Later my grandpa said, "Stop," go and clean that stone [chuckling]. But my grandpa, he knew it was a shark. It had a growth of *kala* seaweed. But he did not tell me. Later, I'm taking up the seaweed, cleaning it, the ocean washed up and I looked, I jumped into the canoe [laughing]. Bum-bye, I picked up the paddle to hit my grandpa. But he knew, and picked up the paddle. He said, "That is your uncle. He wants to go and have his body cleaned."

KM: *O kēia 'o tūtū Mahikō? [This is grandpa Mahikō?]*

JM: *'Ae. Mahape 'ike wau kēlā manō, hele a ka'apuni ka wa'a e. 'Eholu manawa, a hele mai 'oia ma mua o'u lu'u i lalo a pipi'i ka hi'u, hana 'oia me kēlā [chuckling] [kuhi ana me ka lima, peahi ana ka hi'u].*

Yes. Afterwards, I saw that shark go and circle the canoe. Three times, then he came before me, diving down, and his fins rose up, and he made like this [chuckling — gesturing with his hand, waving the fins].

KM: Good bye.

JM: *Mamake wau hili iāia, kēia mea, a'ohe maika'i... [laughing]*

I wanted to hit him, this thing is no good... [laughing]

Lepo (dirt) used with the *'ōpae 'ula* as bait for *'ōpelu* fishing, gathered from the uplands:

KM: *...I kou wā kā'e'e ka 'ōpae 'ula, nohea mai ka lepo?*

In your times of catching the shrimp, where did the dirt come from?

JM: *Ka lepo [the dirt] we pi'i kuahiwi [ascend the mountain] up there.*

KM: Pu'u Nāhāhā?

JM: No, no, Pu'u Mau'u, they call that.

KM: *O Pu'u Mau'u, aia ho'i ke kumu o ka lepo?*

Oh, Pu'u Mau'u that was the source of the dirt.

JM: *Ai ma leila ka lepo, lepo 'ele'ele, black dirt.*

The dirt is there, black dirt.

KM: *'Ae. Pehea 'oe i ho'omākaukau ka maunu? [Yes. How do you prepare the bait?]*

JM: *Kēia ka mea [kuhi ana me kona mau lima] kāwele, the napkin nōho'i. Mane'i nei kēia napkin me ke kēpau eh.*

This is the thing, eh, [gesturing with his hands] a cloth, the napkin like. Here's the napkin, and the stone sinker eh (is set in the middle).

KM: *He pōhaku? [A stone?]*

JM: *'Ae. So you put the 'ōpae [shrimp] over here [in the center], and then you put that black dirt ball over there. And then you wili [fold up the napkin into a small pū'olo or bundle-like],*



wili pa'a [bind it firm]. And then you no tie the *'aho* [cord], they just *wili* [gestures rolling the line around the *pū'olo*], *wili* it all around. See, the reason why you *wili*, when you *wili pa'a*, when you ready to go *'ōpelu*, you just drop that in the water, and then you just pull up, and then that thing going down. And you know reach down, *huki* up [gestured pulling up with his hands], ah, you going see the *'ōpelu* coming down.

KM: Ah, so *'a'ai* [the food spreads out for the *'ōpelu* to eat].

JM: Yeah, they go *'ai* [eat] the *'ōpae*. But the *'ōpelu*, they never know the *'upena* [net] under them. See, by the time they find out, too late already.

Group: [laughs]

JM: You get 'em already.

RM: They so busy eating the *'ōpae*.

JM: Yeah, they eating the *'ōpae*. Poor thing when you think yeah, us *hana 'ino* [mistreat] them.

Group: [laughs]

RM: But that's *mea 'ai* [food] for us.

AM: *A'ole 'ai 'ia, pōloli 'oe*. [If you don't eat, you hungry.]

RM: And the dirt is to kind of cloud it up so the fish can't see the net. So by the time they realize, it's all up.

KM: Oh, I see. Aunty Margie, *ua 'ōlelo mai 'oia, ka palu o kona tūtū, he pala'ai me ka 'uala eh?*

Oh, I see, Aunty Margie said, the bait of her grandpa was the pumpkin and sweet potato.

MK: Uh-hmm.

JM: That's right.

KM: So *kekāhi po'e ma kekāhi wahi e a'e, hana...?*

So certain people in various areas, do it (differently)?

JM: Yeah, like Nāpo'opo'o, Hōnaunau, and Ho'okena, that's all what they use. *Pala'ai* [pumpkin], that's right.

AM: *Pala'ai, kalo, pea*. [Pumpkin, taro, pear (avocado).]

JM: 'Ae.

RM: They make use of the fruits that they have.

KM: *Hoihoi*. And *kekāhi wahi, a'ohē lo'a ka 'ōpae 'ula eh?*

So interesting. And someplace, don't have the red shrimp eh?

JM: *A'ole lo'a ka 'ōpae 'ula*, no more.

Don't have the red shrimp...

RM: I think the only place that I remember that place there [Waiakauhi].

KM: Kekaha *ma'ane'i* [here] eh. Maka'eo...

AM: Maka'eo.

KM: ...*a i* [to] Kalāhuipua'a.

JM: Yes, right.

KM: *Kēlā mau loko li'ili'i*. [Those little ponds.]



Customs associated with preparing and eating the *‘ōpelu*:

RM: I often wondered now, you know when they *pūlehu* [broil] the *‘ōpelu*?

JM: Hmm.

RM: With the *ōpū* [stomach] full of *‘ōpae*, and they always tie the tail off. And I often wonder why.

JM: What?

AM: So *a’ole holo* [no run away — chuckling].

Group: [laughs]

JM: They cut the tail?

RM: No, the *huelo* [tail], they tie a piece of *lā’ī* [ti leaf], and they just tie it on and then they *pūlehu* [broil]. I’ve often wondered, ’cause I didn’t dare ask. Like you said, they tell, slap me. But I’ve often wondered why they always had this.

JM: Well, maybe them, they believe *kēlā ‘ano* [in that style].

RM: Oh, maybe.

JM: Like my grandmother eh, *hele mai po’e Mamona* [here come the Mormons], you going be Mormon, my grandmother no *puni* [believe] that kind. Everything *pūlehu* [broiled], *a mo’a* [cooked], throw inside, pour water.

RM: That’s why, when ever we came down, we always bring *lā’ī*. And when he *pūlehu i’a*, he tie the tail.

JM: Yeah, I’ve seen somebody do that.

RM: And then when they *pūlehu*, you know, *kamali’i* [children] they don’t want the *‘ōpae*, we only eat the *‘i’o* [flesh] part. So they said, “*Waiho* [leave it].” Then they eat the *ōpū* [stomach] part. After *pūlehu*, oh, you watch them. It look so *‘ono* [delicious], so you go try, ahh, not so good. But they eat all the *‘ōpae* part and they leave the body part for the *mo’opuna* [grandchildren] to eat....



C. Arthur Lyman

**Wai'ōpae and Kapoho Region Fisheries (KPA Photo No. AL112197)
Oral History Interview of November 21, 1997 — with Kepā Maly
(with discussion notes from November 14, 1997 and June 17, 1998)**

Charles Arthur Lyman was born in 1912, at Kapoho, Puna, and is of Caucasian-Hawaiian-Chinese ancestry. His *kūpuna* (elders and ancestors) were early missionaries on the island of Hawai'i, and by the 1830s, the family was actively involved in mission operations in Hilo and Puna. In the late 1880s, Mr. Lyman's grandfather, Rufus Lyman, purchased Kapoho Ranch from Captain J.E. Elderts. The family maintained ranching and agriculture operations in Kapoho and several neighboring *ahupua'a* (native land divisions), and by ca. 1899 also leased lands to the original Puna Sugar Company (ca. 1899-1905), which focused its operations in the Kapoho-Pāhoa vicinity. Mr. Lyman has maintained a life-long interest in the family lands of Puna, and in between 1931 to 1960, he worked for 'Ōla'a- and subsequently the new, Puna-Sugar Company with Herbert Shipman and American Factors (AmFac).



Arthur has an intimate working knowledge of the Puna District, which includes personal knowledge and experience in the lands from Kapoho to Pohoiki. Of particular interest to the present study Mr. Lyman provided documentation on early 19th century residents of the area, and described native agriculture and fishing customs which were being practiced when he was a youth.

Mr. Lyman gave his release of the interview records on July 9, 1998.

- AL: My first name is Charles. I was baptized when I was about six or seven years old, it was Charles. But my family always called me Arthur, and most my old friends still call me Arthur.
- KM: Ahh. And your last name?
- AL: Lyman.
- KM: Do you carry a Hawaiian name as well?
- AL: No, I do not.
- KM: What's your birth date?
- AL: August 12, 1912, and I was born in Kapoho.
- KM: Okay. [pauses] We were just talking story, and maybe by looking at this map, we could try to talk a little bit about some of your recollections of the different lands here in Puna. Also, last week you were sharing with me some wonderful stories about the Pu'u Kūki'i area. This is still your *'āina* [land], I understand?
- AL: Correct...



Describes Wai Welawela, and changes in the coast line and fisheries as a result of earthquakes and lava flows:

KM: ...Now, you'd also shared with me some interesting recollections, that as a child, at Kūki'i there was a place called "Wai Welawela," a warm spring area?

AL: The warm springs was...as far as I know, we called it "Warm Springs." Wai Welawela was a pond that was below warm springs and later on, in my life, I found out that warm springs was never a spring. It was a fault line all the way from Wai Welawela up to warm springs and continuing on up through and above Kapoho.

KM: Amazing. You'd said it was like a fissure that ran down, almost to the ocean or something?

AL: Yes, right to Wai Welawela.

KM: I think you'd said that the fracture opened up as a result of the 19 [thinking]...

AL: Twenty-four earthquake. Wai Welawela, prior to 1924, was just a small pond of about half an acre, or maybe one acre. And after the 1924 earthquake, the fissure opened up some more and the pond became a 40 acre pond from a one acre pond. And warm springs was also enlarged.

KM: Wow! So it just collapsed and opened up. You'd also said, that "there were some good fish in that pond" eh?

AL: Oh yes. Well, it opened right into the ocean and because the water was warm—and still warm after the 1924 earthquake—a lot of fish went in, especially mullet and *āholehole*.

KM: And I think you'd said, had *'ulua* waiting outside eh?

AL: [chuckling] The *'ulua* were waiting outside. And also, I think that the *'ulua* went there to cleanse themselves from a parasite that clung to their gills.

Because nearly every *'ulua* that was caught in the area, that I remember, had these parasites on their gills. The parasites would be about the size of... [looking in his desk] an eraser.

KM: Oh, so about two inches long?

AL: Yeah.

KM: What you're describing as far as the fissure goes, is indicated on the 1895 map [Reg. Map 1777]. It's a line of cracks, going down here to Wai Welawela.

AL: Yeah.

KM: Now, as we go along here, there are some various place names and things that area mentioned. There's a canoe landing down here, off of the side of "Ipoho."

AL: Uh-hmm.

KM: And if we come down here, to Kumukāhi, there is something called "King's Pillars." You'd mentioned, when you were a child, you could still see two columns or something, standing up?

AL: Yes. I'm sorry that I don't know the history of the King's Pillars, but it was two pillars that I can remember.

Maybe about five or six feet high. Stones piled up. You can't find it today because weathering and people removing stones to build their own shelters when they go fishing.

KM: I see. So it was like an *ahu*, a stone cairn?

AL: Yes, right.



KM: About how far apart were these two pillars?

AL: They were very close together.

KM: Close together eh. Do you think about three feet, six feet...?

AL: [gesturing with his arms] Maybe about two feet.

KM: Oh, two feet. So two pillars built in line there. Now you'd mentioned, that you don't remember hearing a story necessarily about the King's Pillar's...and on the map it has the name "*Kii Pohaku Alii*." You'd heard something about the *heiau* though, I think, on Kūki'i though, if I recall. That it had a special function? Was there some association with healing or something?

AL: Yes, I am told that the *heiau* was built by 'Umi [ca. 1525] and it was for healing purposes. And I suppose, it all goes back to having the warm water right below the *heiau* where people could go and bath themselves in the warm water and probably go up to the top of the hill to the *heiau* and offer, or give their prayers to the gods that took care of them, or were still taking care of them...

KM: Hmm. ...It's a beautiful land, so much history. You'd mentioned you remembered this fishpond area in here, identified as "Ihukapu." You'd said there was quite and extensive pond down here too eh?

AL: This was a big indentation where you had mullet ponds and my brother Richard, who became a Bishop Estate trustee, he and I were trying to restore the Hawaiian village that we found in this area.

KM: Ahh, so in the vicinity of this pond here eh?

AL: I suppose that's what this road here is [pointing to a trail alignment marked on Reg. Map 1777]. It was probably a trail going through here. On both sides of this road going through, there were enclosures where there were two ponds in each enclosure, and I suppose one was for bathing, and one was for drinking.

KM: Hmm. They were very fastidious about the separation of drinking and bathing waters eh?

AL: I suppose so, yeah. But of course, 1960, when the lava flow came, the whole area here was covered with lava and that was the end of the area.

KM: Ahh. So this section is now gone?

AL: It is gone.

KM: I see. It says the old boat entrance in here to "Kai o Kamiloholo", and you remembered the old boat entrance eh?

AL: Oh yes.

KM: By the way, it mentions here, "Ancient Burial Grounds," which are on the Kumukāhi side of these fishponds, Ihukapu, like that. Is this area now covered in lava as well? This area, on this side?

AL: Nearly all of it has been covered with lava, but there is still an area, not covered, that has built up stone foundations, that look like it could be the foundation for a home or an above ground burial area.

KM: 'Ae. They call that *pū'o'a*, built up mounds for burials like that.

AL: Yeah.

KM: Now, as we come further, going towards the Pohoiki side of the map, we see "1883 survey now covered at high tide." Here's Ha'eha'e, another important place name in the area.



And then we come into this whole area, the map shows sunken walls, fishponds and things like that [describing the area on the shoreward side of Hale'ōpelu and Pōhakumanō]. You said you remember this area also eh?

- AL: I remember this whole area very well. As a matter of fact, when we developed this Kapoho area into a subdivision [beginning ca. 1950-1951], and before the 1960 lava flow, there was a trail, that was below the water line, that went all the way from this Ha'eha'e Point here, directly across so that you could get to this other bay here.
- KM: 'Ae, this Kamiloholo here. So there was a trail here?
- AL: Under water. In several areas of the ocean fronting Kapoho, there are walls and foundations still in good shape under water. As long as the structures are underwater, below the wave action, they remain in pretty good shape.
- KM: Ahh, look at how this one here at Ihukapu appears to be lined with stones.
- AL: It was sand with stone.
- KM: Ahh, and there was sand in this area also?
- AL: Well, yes.
- KM: Was it white-black mix, or primarily...
- AL: Gray, a white-black mix.
- KM: So interesting. So this is a trail here [marking the map].
- Now, in 1868, I think you said you'd heard that there was a very substantial earthquake and collapse of much of this shoreline. Is that correct?
- AL: Well, the collapse of the shoreline was a collapse all the way from Ka'ū all the way to Kumukāhi.
- KM: So that was the source of why many of these walls...last week you'd said that under water, you can still see walls when you were young, diving like that?
- AL: You still can see the old fishpond walls.
- KM: Ah-haa. You'd mentioned also, when you saw this place name, "Pohakumano," remembered this stone out here in the bay, yeah? When you were young, there were some *pū hala* [pandanus trees] on top of it.
- AL: That's right. The island must have been about 40 feet by 60 feet long, and it had *pū hala* trees and *milo* trees growing there, and birds used to roost there at night.
- KM: Hmm, and now that's all submerged as well, is that correct?
- AL: That's right. During low tide, you can pick out these two islands [pointing to location on Reg. Map 1777].
- KM: Yes, Pōhaku-manō and an inner one.
- AL: But I can remember when they were always above the water. Of course now, when I tell people "You see those piles of rocks out there? I can remember when they were above water all the time and had trees growing on them." Of course the question I get back is "How many drinks have you had lately?" [chuckling]
- KM: [laughing] But here it is too. You remember it and it's shown right here on this old map as well. What's your understanding of this region? You've pointed out to me, that there were residences, a village here, and we know of villages further towards the Hilo side.
- AL: And the canoe landing at Kahuwai.
- KM: Oh Kahuwai?



- AL: Yes, there's a canoe landing over there.
- KM: Yes, and some of those *hālau* [long houses], the stone walls are still there.
- AL: The canoe landing, the sheds are still there. And the *poho* [basins] where they used to keep the bait, before the canoes when out, I guess somebody put the bait in there. And as the canoes went out, you'd scoop out what you want. Now those things are still there as far as I know.
- KM: Ahh, so interesting. So as we discussed earlier, had you heard...since we see these villages here; what's your understanding about the native population of Puna? Was it well populated at one time? And how many Hawaiian were there, when you were a young boy, growing up? Were there still Hawaiian families living out here?

Old families of the land sustained themselves from the fisheries, and kept upland planting fields; names types of fishes caught. *Ōpae ʻula* were used as bait for *ōpelu* fishing:

- AL: Oh yes, there were quite a few. They got their subsistence, or existence from catching fish, raising their own food, whatever they could. And plus, there was always the welfare program, so what they couldn't get, the government helped provide some of it.
- KM: When you were a boy also?
- AL: Yes.
- KM: Now, you'd mentioned they were fishing. Out of curiosity, what are some of the fishes that were famous for this area of Puna, that you might recall?
- AL: Fishing was [chuckling]...you could get anything you wanted. I can remember my father telling a good throw-net fisherman, "I'm going to have some friends over for the weekend, see if you can get some *āholehole*." The next time, I'd hear his say "Get some *āholehole*, and see if you can get some mullet and some *uouoa* and stuff like that."
- And he'd go out with his net and he'd come back with the fish.
- KM: Were there still some canoes going out doing any *ʻahi* fishing...
- AL: No. I have no recollection of any canoes. Although, there used to be a lot of canoes going out of Pohoiki and *Ōpihikao*.
- KM: Ahh, so when you were a boy still yet?
- AL: Yes. And the small *ōpae ʻula* [*Crangon ventrosus* – small red shrimp] was the important bait used by the Puna fishermen. People in other districts use pumpkin, taro, and *hauna* [stink baits], which can contaminate the *ōpelu*. But in this area of Puna—Kapoho, Pohoiki, and *Ōpihikao*—the fishermen only used *ōpae ʻula*. That way, the Puna people didn't need to be careful about how they prepared the *ōpelu*. Because the *ōpae* was a fresh, live bait, and a delicacy as well, they could even eat the *ōpū* [stomach].

One of the important ponds for the *ōpae* was the pond called Wai'ōpae, near the Kapoho-Pū'āla'a boundary. The pond was large, and was filled with *ōpae ʻula*. The fishermen would go very early in the morning to gather the *ōpae* in preparation for *ōpelu* fishing. There was also the long green *limu* [seaweed] which grew in the pond, and that's what they used to keep the *ōpae* fresh until they got out to the fishery. Hale-ōpelu (literally: *ōpelu* house) in front of Kapoho, was one of the fisheries.

Back in the 1930s-1940s, we leased the 'gathering rights for *ōpae ʻula* at Wai'ōpae to Hailama Kahaloa (Hailama used to work on the Puna road crew, and was a resident of the *Ōpihikao* area). He kept the lease all the up until my cousin, Norman Lyman, who was in the Territorial Legislature, introduced and passed a bill banning use of the *ōpae ʻula* as live bait.



It's really a shame that the 'ōpae were banned as bait, because the fish were clean back then. I think that the reason people get sick today, is because they use the dirty bait. When people make the 'ōpelu raw, they like to rub the gills and the liver on the fish to season it. The dirty bait probably contaminates the fish, whereas the 'ōpae was clean. People didn't get sick back then.

It's also been my experience that if you dig a hole and hit water anywhere along the shore between Kapoho to Pohoiki, when you come back to the hole the next day, you'll find the 'ōpae 'ula. They were very plentiful.

KM: This is a wonderful history, and I think that you are right about the problems associated with using "hauna" baits... Well, we're slowly moving down some of this area of the coastline here. Had you heard, by chance, that Puna used to be quite populous?

AL: [thinking]

KM: In legendary times, with the villages here? Were there many people, or were they scattered along the coastline? Even up to your time?

AL: There were a lot of small groups of families. I suppose they were families that settled on their own property. But I can not recollect any large groups of people.

KM: Uh-hmm. Who were some of the families that you remember?

AL: [thinking] The Hales.

KM: Where were they living?

AL: At Pohoiki. The Kuamo'os, also living at Pohoiki. Maunakea, who has [looking at the map] an area called Maunakea Pond which is now a County Park.

KM: Uh-hmm. So this in the 'Ahalanui area, I think eh?

AL: Correct.

KM: Okay, we see that that was Kalauwa'a or Kālaiwa'a that had the Grant [No. 2982] in the 1850s, and there is a small pond and canoe landing area that was a part of his *kuleana*. You think that was the area of Maunakea pond also?

AL: Yes, I can't help but figure that is where it was.

Then moving further on down the coast, you have...it was part of the Hale family that had some homes in here [pointing to the shore line]. [

KM: So in Laepāo'o and 'Ahalanui.

AL: Yes. The Hale family had land in the uplands at Pu'ulena as well, and lived there at one time. They cultivated taro and other crops there. The Pu'ulena area was a very rich cultivating ground. And the Puna Sugar Company railroad ran through the Pu'ulena cultivating fields extending about as far as Kamā'ili, near the upper Puna Highway...

KM: ...Yes. As we come a little bit back towards this way [towards Kapoho], were there any families living in Pū'āla'a that you remember?

AL: No, I can't recollect.

KM: You'd also mentioned that some of the families...they were primarily subsistence fishermen, and that there was some agriculture. Were they growing things like taro or sweet potatoes, or a variety of crops that you recall?

AL: Taro and sweet potatoes, yes.

KM: Were they growing things close to their homes, or were some people still going inland.



Like on this map [Reg. Map 1777] we see one example, along the edge of 'Ahalanui and Pū'āla'a, there's a trail that runs from *makai* [the shore], and here, it says "Kahaleolono Cultivating Ground." And there's another cultivating ground *mauka* [inland] here. Was there still some *mauka-makai* activity that you recall in your youth?

AL: I cannot recall them ever using those cultivating grounds. I cannot recall any stories about them, except that in the Kapoho area, where the fishponds were... Stories that I heard were that Hawaiians used to tend the fishponds for a length of time and then a new group would come in and bring food down so that they could stay maybe a week or two weeks.

And then they'd all go back inland to wherever their homes were or back to the cultivating grounds. And I think that that is how the Hawaiians probably lived in these cultivating grounds. Where they could cultivate what they needed for their existence, subsistence, they found better grounds and they used to migrate back and forth, *mauka-makai*. Probably going in shifts. A part of the family would stay *mauka* and cultivate, and then when they needed some seafood or something else to eat, then they would change. I think that's how they did it. I really don't believe that they lived in those cultivating areas.

KM: You bring up an interesting point here, the sea-foods and the migration process of moving back and forth between inland cultivating grounds and *makai* fisheries. Out of curiosity, were there also seaweeds that were noted for this area?

AL: Oh, plenty. There was plenty of seaweed. There was a lot of *limu kohu* and of course, when I say that they needed some seafood, they probably ran out of dried fish and stuff like that, so they would come down, bring breadfruit and taro down to where the family stayed along the coast, and then a new shift would go *mauka*.

KM: Yes. Did they make salt here as well, since you mentioned drying fish? Were there salt areas that you knew of, anywhere that salt was made along the coast?

AL: I cannot recollect any, but I have gathered salt in areas along different sea coasts and it is not too hard to gather salt. You would have more salt if the weather is dry all the time. That's why Kona and Ka'ū has more salt along the sea coast than any place that I know of.

KM: Yes...Now you mentioned that the Malama Trail ran right down to the ocean also.

AL: Yes.

KM: And that you could go to Pohoiki like that via the coastal trail.

AL: Uh-hmm.

KM: So interestingly, there were some canoes out in the Pohoiki area when you were a child, yeah?

AL: Yes.

KM: And the fishermen, Hale I guess. And I don't if Kuamo'o or some other people out there...but pretty much the rest of this area, there were not too many people? Were some of the Hawaiians working for your grandpa them on the ranch or anything?

AL: No, not that I remember, because I don't remember my grandfather at all.

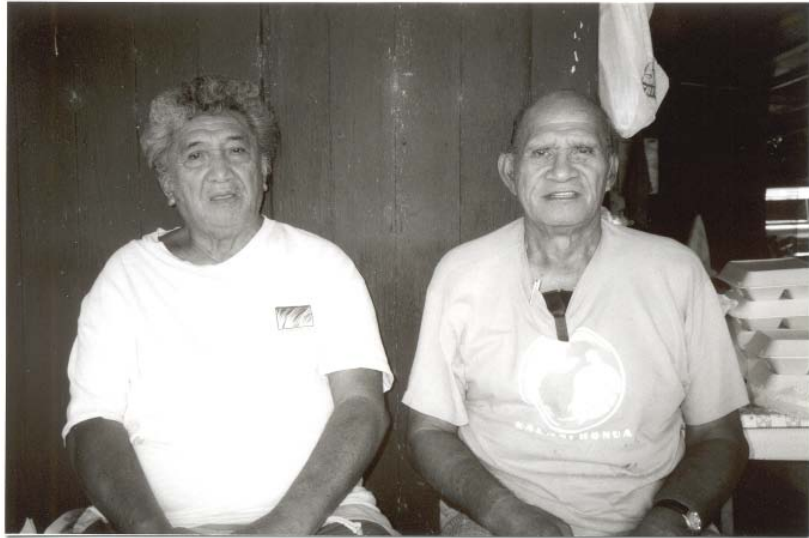
KM: Oh, I see. How about your dad them? What was your dad doing out there?

AL: He went there to work with his father, and then, later stayed when Puna Sugar Company started. The original Puna Sugar Company...



**John Hale and Gabriel Kealoha (with William Hale on June 5th; and George Enriquez)
Recollections of Puna Fisheries and Native Fishing Customs
Interviews at Pohoiki, Puna — with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. JH-GK061298)
June 12, 1998 (with notes from June 5, 1998)**

This oral history interview was conducted in two primary phases: the first, on June 5th, 1998, with John Hale, Gabriel Kealoha, William Hale, and George Enriquez; and the second, on June 12th, 1998, with John Hale and Gabriel Kealoha. Both of the interviews took place at the Pohoiki home of Uncle Hale. Uncle George Enriquez helped to make the arrangements for both interviews. The interview was conducted in both Hawaiian and English, and in the transcript, Hawaiian is written as it was spoken. During the interviews, Register Maps 1777, 1856, and 2191 were referenced, and certain places were marked while being spoken of.



As a result of their willingness to share some of their personal history and knowledge of the lands, people and practices of the Pohoiki-‘Ahalanui vicinity, readers are provided with richly detailed narratives of the area. Of particular interest, it will be seen that Uncle Hale’s memory of the families, residency, and practices associated with agriculture and fishing, are historically accurate. The continuity of documentation from the archival-historical resources to the history provide by Uncle Hale provide readers with a link between the past and the present. Additionally, Uncle Gabriel’s descriptions of the near-shore and deep-sea fisheries—the *ko’a* (fishing grounds) and *‘ōpae ‘ula* (*Crangon ventrosus*—a small red shrimp) sources—and customs which he learned and has practiced throughout his life, are important to re-establishing stewardship practices in the Puna region.

Uncle John Hale was born at Pohoiki in 1919, and was raised with his *kūpuna*. Because of his upbringing and age, he has first-hand knowledge of the families, the cultural and natural landscape, and practices of the families who lived on the land and fished the sea of the Pū‘āla‘a-Malama region of Puna.

Uncle Gabriel Kealoha was born at Kaimū in January 1928. Because of the familial relationship shared by Uncle Gabriel’s mother and the Kapukini line, and their relationship with Tūtū Joseph Mānoa, he has ties to the families of the Pohoiki vicinity and was regularly in the area. Later, as a teenager, Uncle Gabriel worked with Thomas Ka’ōnohiokalā Makuakāne (who later became his father-in-law), gathering *lau hala* (pandanus leaves) and *‘awa* (*Piper methysticum*) for sale, from the lands of Pohoiki-‘Ahalanui vicinity.

Brought up with *kūpuna* in the country setting of Puna, both uncles were taught native traditions of stewardship for land and fishery resources. Their interview is of particular importance to understanding the relationships between fisheries, lands, and access to those resources. In their stories are found insights into how to reestablish native stewardship principles for Hawaiian fisheries. The uncles observed:



Fishing was an important occupation for the old families. There are several *ko'a 'ōpelu* [dedicated *'ōpelu* fishing stations, which were fed and cared for] between 'Ahalanui and Keahialaka that the families used when they were young. Gabriel Kealoha and William Hale still fish at these *ko'a*. One *ko'a* is in line with the "Maunakea Pond" near the Oneloa-Laepāo'o boundary (fronting Kahinihini'ula Point); another was in the vicinity fronting Nīheu Bay; another outside of Pohoiki Bay; another by Laeokahuna (Keahialaka). Throughout the days of their youth, these *ko'a* were cared for by various *kūpuna*. Kealoha specifically stated that each *ko'a* was cared for by a particular family, and associated with the particular *ahupua'a* which it fronted. The Hales and Kealoha stated that out of respect for the families who cared for *ko'a*, no one from other lands would fish those *ko'a*; that was the traditional way. There were always so many fish, not like today.

The bait used by the area fishermen were the *'ōpae 'ula* which grew (and are still found today) in the anchialine ponds of Wai'ōpae in Kapoho and in the pond at Keahialaka. In those early days, the *'ōpae 'ula* were the only bait used for *'ōpelu* fishing.

Up through the 1950s-1960s the fishermen who came to Pohoiki, generally respected the Hale family's fishery rights. Whenever anyone went fishing, they would always approach the Hales first, and upon returning, would always bring fish to share (this is a deeply rooted cultural practice). Today (other than William Hale), Kealoha is the only fisherman practitioner who still cares for the old *ko'a* and brings the catch to distribute among the family.

Pa'akai (salt) used for drying fish and other purposes, by the local families of the Pohoiki vicinity was generally purchased. There were no good salt making areas in the vicinity. In their youth, good *pa'akai* was still being produced at Kapa'ahu on the *pāhoehoe* flats.

Both *kūpuna* expressed their *mana'o* that there was value in participating in an oral history interview.

Personal releases of the interview records are on file with the families, and *Kumu Pono Associates*.

KM: ...I'm here with *kupuna* John Hale.

JH: 'Ae.

KM: *Mahalo iā 'oe; a me* Uncle Gabriel Luka Kealoha.

Thank you; and with Uncle Gabriel Luka Kealoha.

GK: Kealoha.

KM: 'Ae. *Mahalo nui iā 'olua i ka 'ae ana e kūkākūkā pū ana me ia'u.*

Yes. Thank you both so much for agreeing to speak with me.

JH: 'Ae.

GK: 'Ae.

KM: *Kupuna.*

JH: 'Ae.

KM: 'O *wai kou inoa piha?*

What is your full name?

JH: *Ku'u inoa, 'o John Hale.*

My name is John Hale.



KM: *‘Ae. Hānau ‘oe i ka makahiki a me ka lā hea?*
 Yes. You were born what year and day?

JH: April 29, 1919, *i kēia hale* [in this house].

KM: *O, mahalo ke Akua—i kēia hale?* [Thank God—in this house?]

JH: All us born here, then *pau, hele*.

KM: *O kēia hale a kākou i noho nei i kēia manawa i Pohoiki?*
 This house that we’re sitting in at Pohoiki?

JH: Pohoiki.

KM: *‘Oia ka inoa o kēia wahi?*
 That’s the name of this place?

JH: *‘Ae, ‘ae, ‘ae.*

KM: *Kēia hale, ka hale o kou po‘e kūpuna?*
 This house, was the house of your elders?

JH: *Kūpuna and the po‘e make. ‘Oia, pau hele i ka wai, ka ‘uhane, hiki no, ha‘alele. Komo i loko o ka hale, po‘e i make. Mamua loa. That’s why, kēia hale, lo‘a hale pule. The po‘e, pule good.*
 The elders and the people who passed away. The ones who died in the water, so their spirit could depart. The bodies were brought to this house, long before. That’s why this house was like a church. The people had good (strong) prayer.
 [Maps of the Rycroft properties from the 1890s identify the Hale home as a “Carpenter’s shop” at the time. It is possible that one of the functions there, was the making of coffins.]

KM: *A, ma mua i kēia hale?*
 So before in this house?

JH: *Ka po‘e make, po‘e hale pule*
 The people who died and the people of the church.
 This kind of *hale* [house], not like other kind of *hale* eh.

KM: *‘Ae. So mana kēia wahi?*
 Yes. So this place had power?

JH: *‘Ae, mana. Mana...*
 Yes, power. Powerful.

KM: *...Maika‘i. ‘O wai ka inoa o kou makuakāne?*
 Good. What was your father’s name?

JH: Isaac Hale.

KM: Isaac Hale. *He inoa waena kou, he inoa Hawai‘i?*
 Do you have a Hawaiian middle name?

JH: Only John Hale.

KM: Hmm. So Isaac Hale, *ka inoa o kou makuakāne?*
 So Isaac hale was your father’s name?



JH: 'Ae.

KM: 'O wai kou makuahine?
Who was your mother?

JH: *Hannah Kawaiaie'a, no Kaupō, Maui.*
Hannah Kawaiaie'a, from Kaupō, Maui.

KM: Hmm, Kawaiaie'a, from Maui...

KM: ...*A eia kākou me uncle. Uncle, 'o wai kou inoa?*
And we're here with uncle. Uncle, what is your name?

GK: Gabriel Luka Kealoha.

KM: 'Ae. *Hānau 'oe i ka makahiki...?*
Yes. What year were you born...?

GK: *Hānau lanuali iwakālua-'umikūmāhiku, 1928.*
Born January 27, 1928.

KM: *A kanahiku, kou mau makahiki.*
Oh, so you are 70 years old.

GK: 'Ae i kēia makahiki.
Yes, this year.

KM: *O aloha, mahalo ke Akua. Ua hānau 'oe i hea?*
Oh aloha, thank God. Where were you born?

GK: *Kaimū, Kumaka'ula. Hānau i ke kakahiaka nui, hola 'ewalu.*
Kaimū, at Kumaka'ula. Born early in the morning, at 8 o' clock.

KM: *Aloha. A 'ano kama'āina 'oe me nā 'ohana o kēia 'āina o Pohoiki me Oneloa, Laepāo'o, 'Ahalanui e?*
But you are familiar with the families and the lands of Pohoiki, Oneloa, Laepāo'o, and 'Ahalanui eh?

GK: 'Ae, yes. *Kama'āina i 1944; 'umikūmā'ono makahiki. Hana au me Thomas Ka'ōnohiokalā Makuakāne.*
Familiar since 1944; 16 years old. When I worked with Thomas Ka'ōnohiokalā Makuakāne.

KM: *I kou wā 'ōpio, ua hele 'oe i kēia wahi a 'ohi lau hala?*
In your youth, you said you'd come here to gather pandanus leaves?

GK: *Hana lau hala*, for pick *lau hala* [pandanus leaves].

KM: 'Ae.

GK: 'Ohi lau hala maka [pick green pandanus leaves]. *Au hana, a ua maopopo au i ka nunui o ka 'awa.*
When I worked, I learned that there was a lot of 'awa (*Piper methysticum* growing here.

KM: 'Ae, o ka 'awa, i uka o kēia 'āina?
Yes, the 'awa was in the uplands of these lands?



GK: 'Ae.

KM: Oneloa, me Laepā'o...?

GK: *Mamua, 'ae. Ka 'āina a Napalapalai.*
[Before, yes. The land of Napalapalai (Grant 6845).]...

KM: 'Ae. [asking kupuna John] *I kou wā li'ili'i, ua noho 'oe i ane'i?*
Did you live here when you were small?

JH: 'Ae.

KM: *He'aha ka hana a kou po'e mākua a me nā kūpuna?*
What was the work of your parents and grandparents?

JH: *Mahi'ai, po'e mahi'ai.*
Agriculture, they were cultivators of the land.

KM: *I hea lākou i mahi'ai?*
Where did they do their cultivation?

JH: *O, kai mālie, Pohoiki, hele lawai'a. Kai ko'o, hele mahi'ai, hele mauka.*
Oh, when the ocean was calm at Pohoiki, they went fishing. When the ocean was rough, they went to the uplands.

KM: *Ho'i lākou i uka?*
So they went to the uplands?

JH: *I Malama, all lepo for the po'e mahi'ai.*
At Malama, it was all dirt for the agriculturists.

KM: Hmm. *He'aha ka mea mahi'ai?*
What did they grow?

JH: *Kalo, mai'a, 'uala.*
Taro, bananas, sweet potatoes.

KM: 'Oia [oh yeah]!
Families always worked hard, cultivating the land, and when the ocean was calm, fished for 'ōpelu and other fish in the sea:

JH: Yeah! That kind of *po'e* [people], no can *noho mālie* [stay still].
No can *noho i loko ka hale. Ka hale, hiamoe wale nō!*
They can't just stay in the house. The house is only to sleep in!

KM: 'Oia. *Pa'a hana lākou.*
Oh yeah. They were continuously working]

JH: *Pa'a hana* [continuously working]...

KM: *...I kekāhi manawa, inā 'ino'ino, 'ōkaikai, ha'alele 'oukou i kai a holo i uka, a kanu, a mālama i ka māla 'ai?*
Oh, had a house. So some times, when the ocean was rough, you would leave the shore and go to the uplands and plant, take care of the gardens?

JH: Yeah, *māla 'ai.*



KM: *A, inā mālie ke kai, ai'ole, kū ka 'ōpelu paha...?*
Oh, so if the ocean was calm, or perhaps if the 'ōpelu schooled...?

JH: *'Ae, hele i kahakai.*
Yes, go to the shore.

KM: *Ke ho'i i kai?*
Return to the shore?

JH: Yeah.

KM: *O ka 'ōpelu paha, ka i'a nui o kēia 'āina?*
So was the 'ōpelu perhaps the important fish of this land?

JH/GK: *'Ae.*

JH: *A 'oia [that's it]!*

GK: *Ko'a [dedicated fishing grounds].*

KM: *He ko'a [It's a dedicated fishing ground]?*

GK: *Ko'a.*

JH: *Ko'a.*

KM: Hmm... [pauses – looking at Reg. Map 1777] I see down here, has various family names. Like Kamaka'imoku [Grant 1001], had a *hale* down here. Pele'ula [Grant 1016], that name.

JH: Yeah, I didn't hear that name.

KM: I think the *loko* [pond] that you mentioned [before the interview], is this side here [Kamaka'imoku's land; subsequently Maunakea's land].

JH: That's where we stayed when I was young.

KM: That's where you stayed.

JH: Yeah, that where I stayed, 1926, 1927...

JH: [Observes that his *kūpuna mā* could never just sit around, they were always working in the fields or out fishing.] That's the kind, no can *noho wale nō* [only sit around].

KM: *'Ae, "Mai kaula'i ka lima i ka lā."* [gestures with hand]
Yes, they said "Don't lay the palm out to the sun."

JH: No [chuckles], *pa'a i ka hana* [always working]. In the *kai*, *'ano 'oni'oni* [when the ocean is agitated], good, *ho'omaha* [rest–don't fish], so *ulu ka i'a* [the fish will increase]. Today, no, they like go every day. You know what *pilikia* [trouble] today; the *i'a*, I don't know where. They go too much.

KM: Hmm. But you folks, in your young time, the *i'a* [fish] were plentiful around here?

JH: Yeah.

GK: *Lo'a [had].*

'Ōpae 'ula could be found in many of the protected near-shore ponds:

KM: Uncle Gabriel, you mentioned last week, that some of these small *loko wai*, the ponds, had 'ōpae 'ula [*Crangon ventrosus* – small red shrimp] inside, yeah?

JH: Yeah.



GK: Yeah, plenty 'ōpae [shrimp].

KM: Plenty 'ōpae 'ula?

GK: Yeah.

KM: One pond was back this side [pointing south-east]?

JH: Yeah, that's where my brother stays, Keahialaka.

KM: So his place by Lae-o-kahuna?

JH: Yeah, by over there.

GK: And also, Kapoho.

KM: Kapoho. How about down here, by this pond where you folks lived? Had 'ōpae in here, this ponds too [pointing to Kamaka'imoku's land on Reg. Map 1777]?

JH: That was our place. No more.

GK: No, no.

KM: So never had 'ōpae in this pond?

GK: See, that was open, close to the ocean.

JH: My brother's place, get plenty. Red!

GK: Maybe way before, but right now, no.

JH: But funny, when the land went sink, pau.

GK: They no go there for pick. They go Kapoho.

JH: Plenty out there.

KM: In your time too?

GK: Yeah.

KM: So when you were young, by your house, where kūkū [grandma] was...?

JH: We no go, our family only raised i'a [fish]. That kind i'a, was just like a pet. Plenty i'a, they keep that; kahakai [shore side] get plenty eh. That i'a, no 'ai [eat]. [chuckles]

KM: Hmm. I see there's one place up here called Wai'ōpae [near the Pū'āla'a-Kapoho boundary on Reg. Map 1777].

JH: Yeah that's the one.

GK: That's where we go.

KM: Ma'ane'i [here]?

GK: That's where we go get the 'ōpae.

KM: Just past Pū'āla'a.

Primary pond was Wai'ōpae; describes collection of the 'ōpae 'ula, and use as bait for 'ōpelu:

JH: Yeah, yeah, Wai'ōpae.

KM: So is that where you folks would go 'ohi 'ōpae [catch shrimp]?

JH: 'Ōpae, yeah, and these guys.

GK: I ke kakahiaka nui hele a 'ohi. [In the early morning we'd go and gather 'um.]

JH: Yeah, the 'Ōpihikao guys.

KM: Kā'e'e 'ōpae [scoop net the shrimp]?



GK: 'Ae, *kā'e'e 'ōpae* [yes, scoop the shrimp].

KM: Ohh! *Ka 'ōpae, ua hana 'ia i ka pōpō? He pōpō lepo paha?*
The shrimp, were made into a bundle? A dirt bait ball?
Pehea 'oukou e maunu ai, how do you make your bait?

GK: *Upena li'ili'i* [a little net – gestures scooping the shrimp in the pond].

KM: *Kā'e'e* [a scoop net].

GK: 'Ae. *Ma hope*, walk [motions walking backwards].

JH: Yeah, yeah.

GK: Walk, walk.

JH: Scoop the *'ōpae*.

GK: And when you walk, they all come up to the surface. The *'ōpae* come up.

JH: Yeah, you just walk, you back up. I make that.

GK: Then we use for *'ōpelu*.

KM: Ohh. What did you do, did you put it in a ball to make the bait?

GK: Well, we keep 'um in a bucket.

KM: But how about when you go fish? Did you just throw the *'ōpae* in the water, or did you make *lepo* [dirt balls]?

GK: Oh, we make *palu* [bait].

JH: 'Eke [a net bag].

GK: Yeah, 'eke.

JH: We throw the rock and all [gestures throwing the stone weighted bag with the shrimp into the water from the canoe]. Bum-bye, the *'ōpae* all swim [chuckles].

KM: 'Ae.

GK: [gestures jerking the line] Open the bag, the bag go down and you open 'um.

JH: The *'ōpae* come out.

KM: Hmm. So no more lepo? You know, how some people the *hana lepo*, they make the dirt balls, and they drop the *'ōpae* with that, pull the bag...?

JH: Same thing.

GK: We get some kind of *limu* [seaweed], put that with the *'ōpae*.

KM: Ohh! What kind of *limu*?

GK: One kind of *limu*.

KM: Oh, so you'd see your *kūpuna* go *lawai'a 'ōpelu* [fish for *'ōpelu*] like that?

JH: Every time, every time.

KM: And you folks had *ko'a* [dedicated fishing grounds], you said?

GK: Oh yeah.

Families had their *ko'a*; outsiders would not intrude in other's fishing grounds:

JH: Like these guys, they go 'Ōpihikao side.

GK: Yeah, we go 'Ōpihikao, that's our boundary.



JH: Them. Over here, different. Over get plenty *ko'a*.

GK: People over here, get boundary here.

JH: Yeah, we no go somebody else place *maha'oi* [be nosy or bold]. You stay in your own section. Me, I don't them, I don't take their *'ōpihi* or stuff, they stay in their own corner. We don't do that.

KM: Hmm. Like now...?

JH: Now, only *pōhaku* [stones] left.

GK: Different.

JH: No more *'ōpihi*.

KM: Hmm. So they take too much?

JH: They take too much. I look how the net [gestures small eye], that's how, all the way.

KM: Yeah. So before when you were young, when people would come fish down here, was it mostly *'ohana*?

GK: Yeah.

JH: Yeah, mostly all *'ohana*.

KM: So people from away, didn't just come and go out side fish?

GK: No!

JH: They stayed at their own place. Kapoho people don't come like that.

GK: They get their own boundaries.

JH: Yeah, they never come.

GK: Like we have *'Ōpihikao*, we get Kalapana, Pohoiki...

JH: Us, we stay over here.

KM: And what, you *kūpuna* went out *hānai ko'a* [feed and care for the dedicated fishing grounds]?

JH: Yeah, they go.

KM: So they would feed and take care?

JH: Yeah.

GK: *Mamua. Mamua hānai* [Before. Before, they feed 'um.] They take the *'upena* [net].

KM: 'Ae. So they didn't go fish every time?

JH: Yeah.

KM: Some times, they would go out with the *wa'a* [canoe]...

JH: 'Ae.

KM: ...and they'd feed the *'ōpelu*, take care?

GK: Yeah, for make the *i'a*. Some times, they take their *'ōpelu* to the *po'e mauka* [to the upland people]...

JH: *Mauka*.

GK: For the *po'e māla 'ai* [farmers]. *Mamua, hele kahakai, e ho'olauna lākou*.
Before going back the ocean, they meet together and exchange goods.



KM: So they would trade?

GK: Yeah.

KM: Oh, so some people stayed *mauka*, *mahi 'ai* like that...?

JH: Some *kaula'i* [dry fish].

KM: ...and the *lawai'a* [fishermen] they get the fish for exchange? And you said, *kaula'i kekāhi* [some dried]?

JH: *Kaula'i, kaula'i* [Dried, dried fish].

GK: *Kaula'i*.

'*Ōpelu* was the important fishery; describes various *ko'a*:

KM: *O ka 'ōpelu, ka i'a nui?* ['*Ōpelu* was the main fish?]

GK: More '*ōpelu*. Over here, most '*ōpelu*, plenty before! Fifteen canoes, fifteen when I counted. And the big kind canoe, not small kind.

KM: Ohh! *A aia ma kēlā 'ao'ao, o Lae...* [And there at that side, the Point...]? [pauses]

JH: *Lae-kahuna*.

KM: *Lae-kahuna*,

GK: '*Ae*.

KM: '*Oia kekāhi ko'a...?*
That's one fishing station?

JH: Yeah, over there.

KM: '*Oia kekāhi ko'a?*

JH: And *Pū'āla'a*.

KM: *Pū'āla'a?*

GK: *Lo'a* [has].

KM: And Uncle Gabriel, *ua 'ōlelo 'oe, lo'a kekāhi ko'a, ma waena paha?*
You also said that there was also a *ko'a* in between the two areas yeah?
Lo'a kekāhi ko'a ma waho o ka loko; has one *ko'a* outside of the pond area?

GK: Yeah.

JH: Yeah, over there, outside of the pond.

GK: *Nīheu, a ma mua nei*. [At *Nīheu*, and one in front of here (Pali-poko)].

JH: Plenty.

GK: And *Keahialaka*.

JH: Plenty, *ma mua loa* [long before]. They *hānai* [feed and care for], that's why.

KM: '*Oia ka hana?* [That was the custom?]

JH: Yeah.

KM: *No'ono'o lākou, inā mālama lākou i ka i'a, ola*.
They believed that if they took care of the fish, they would like.

JH: They *mālama* [take care] and they go. *Pau*, today, only *pōhaku* [stones]. Nobody take care now.



GK: *A'ole maopopo, ua hala.*
 They don't know, the old people have passed away.
 But, you take care again, *lako hou* [it will be rich again]. *Ho'olako i ke ko'a.*
 The fishing stations will be rich again.

JH: Today, no can. If the *po'e* like you, yeah.

KM: *Nunui ka po'e, po'e mai nā 'āina like 'ole?*
 So many people, people from all the different lands?

JH: Yeah. Now, they like you go make, then they take. But nobody go make. Today style eh, you make, they go get. Ahh [shaking head]!

KM: [chuckles].

GK: Now, *kū'ai 'ōpelu, maunu* [you buy 'ōpelu, bait]...

JH: They buy plenty.

GK: For the *i'a* [fish], more easy, instead you go out.

KM: Hmm.

GK: But when you buy, the expense too high. But when you go outside, and you get, you can save money.

JH: Had plenty fish.

KM: And uncle, you mentioned Nīheu was a *ko'a*.

JH: Nīheu.

GK: Nīheu.

KM: So "Niehu" as its written on some of the maps is *hewa* [wrong], yeah?

GK: *Pololoi* [right].

JH: That's by the coconut eh.

KM: Hmm. *Kupuna, ua 'ōlelo 'oe, ma mua, kou po'e kūpuna, he po'e kālai wa'a lākou?*
Kupuna, you said that before, your elders were canoe makers?

JH: *Kālai wa'a* [canoe makers].

KM: *'Oia. No hea mai ka lākou lā'au, ke kumu?*
 Where did they get the wood, the trees?

JH: Mauna Kea.

KM: Mauna Kea?

JH: *'Ae, a me Hāmākua.* [Yes, and Hāmākua.] You know, *i uka nei* [in the uplands].

GK: *Mamua, kūpuna...* [Before days, elders...]

JH: Strong kind.

GK: *Nunui kālā, hele kū'ai i'a.*
 There was a lot of money in selling fish.

KM: *So, ua hele lākou a kū'ai i kekāhi lā'au?*
 So, they went to purchase a log?



GK: Yeah.

JH: You got to buy.

KM: *A halihali lākou i kēlā lā'au, kēlā kumu nui ia ne'i?*
And then they carried the log, the large tree to here?

JH: No. Before, my grandfather's days, no more car. Forget about that.

KM: *'Ae, holo wāwae* [yes, they traveled by foot].

JH: Ka'ilima'i, he *make* [died], the old man. He told us the story, where they come from, Hakalau or what. *Pau* they *kālai* [they completed the carving] and then bring 'um around.

KM: Oh, so they bring 'um in the ocean, around?

JH: Yeah, all *pau* already.

KM: *A, ua kālai wa'a i uka, ma Hakalau?*
So they carved the canoe in the uplands of Hakalau?

JH: Yeah. Before them days, no more the *ka'a* [car]. [chuckles] That's right, before, no more the car eh.

KM: *'Ae. Hoihoi kēia* [this is so interesting].

JH: *Hoihoi.*

KM: *So ua launa lākou me nā po'e o kēia mokupuni e?*
So they associated with the people of this island then (not just within the district)?

JH: Yeah.

KM: *A ua kālai lākou i ka wa'a* [and they carved the canoes].

JH: Because they *ma'a* [familiar] all the families eh, because like the Mormons *ma mua* [before].

KM: Hmm.

JH: They were Mormons them [speaking of elders in his family of the middle to later 19th century]. Ka'ilima'i.

KM: So that's already 1800s?

JH: Yeah, 18-something. He's the one that told us.

KM: *A lo'a kekāhi 'ohana me ka inoa 'o Kālaiwa'a ia ne'i ma 'Ahalanui?*
[And has one family by the name of Kālaiwa'a here at 'Ahalanui, yeah? (Grant 2982)]

JH: Yeah, what I heard the name, Kālaiwa'a.

KM: William Kālaiwa'a.
[William Māhana Kālaiwa'a, a note Hawaiian chanter and minister (who at one time served at the Pohoiki church), was born at Pū'āla'a in 1856. At that time, his father was *Konohiki* of the area.]

JH: Yeah, and I met one old lady with that name, Kālaiwa'a, that used to stay over here.

KM: *'Ae, ua pili ke kahua hale me ke kula o 'Ahalanui.* [Yes, the house was close to the school at 'Ahalanui.]

JH: Yeah, someplace there. That's the last. Before she passed away, she went Kona...

KM: ...But your *kūpuna* brought their canoes in here?



JH: Yeah. I have the picture of the pier, one small pier right here, and they tie the boat.

KM: 'Ae. And who was your *tūtū*, the one who could *hāpai* [carry] the *wa'a* [canoe] all by himself to the water?

JH: Kapukini.

KM: Kapukini. *Nui 'oia e?* [He was big, yeah?]

JH: He was over seven feet tall. They know, the old folks. But he was *make* before I was born. I like check, so I went to look at the grave, in the *ana* [cave] no.

KM: 'Ae.

JH: I see the bones, long [gestures with his hands – chuckles], that's *pololoi* [right]. The *iwi* [bones], that's the proof, see...

KM: ...So this pond by your old house, Maunakea Pond, you don't think it had 'ōpae?

JH: Only I know, had *i'a* [fish].

KM: Hmm. And what, when 'ōkaikai [rough seas], did they sometimes take the *i'a* out of there to eat?

JH: They hardly ate that fish. That was just like their pet. Puna get plenty *i'a* those days. All over get *i'a*, so the ones in the ponds, they leave. They were like pets, nice the *i'a*, clean. The *i'a lelele* [fish jump].

KM: Hmm. So you folks would get 'ōpelu out here?

JH/GK: Yeah, yeah.

Discusses various fishing methods, types of fish caught, and customs of the families:

KM: Were there other kinds of fish too?

GK: *Kā'ili* [casting], *kākā*, that's bottom fishing.

KM: And what kinds of fish?

GK: *Ulaula koa'e* [snappers]; the Japanese call that *onaga*. *Ehu*, *paka*, 'ōpakapaka, and *kalikali*, 'ukiki.

KM: *Nui nō nā i'a. Ola kēia 'āina i ka nui o nā i'a*
Many kinds of fish. This land, the people, had life in the many fish.

JH: Oh yes.

KM: *Pehea, o ho'i i kahakai, ke hā'awi 'oe ka i'a i ka 'ohana?*
How about, when you returned to the shore, did you share fish with the family here?

GK: *Ha'awi* [shared]. *Mamua* [before]. Now, *a'ale* [no], they don't.

JH: Nobody give.

GK: I give.

JH: Yeah, he practice the old way. [chuckles] He's *pau*, no more *i'a* [fish]. Your *i'a*, you got to go buy.

KM: [chuckles] 'Oia ka hana a nā kahiko, inā hele lākou lawai'a...
That was the practice of the old people, if the went fishing...

JH: ...Like if I went to get 'ōpae, I get one share.

GK: Yeah, he get one share.



KM: 'Oia ka hana a nā kūpuna? [That was the custom of the elders?]

JH: Kūpuna, yeah.

KM: Ke māhele ka i'a, alaila, pōmaika'i lākou a loa'a ka i'a hou?
By sharing the fish, they were blessed, and would get fish again?

GK: Pono! Pono kēlā. [Right! That's right.]

JH: And the po'e [people], you go over there, they give you i'a, when you hāpai wa'a [help carry canoe]. The old style no.

GK: Over here in Puna, a'ole wala'au [they don't say], "Hele ki'i ka i'a" (help yourself to the fish).

JH: Not like Kona.

GK: Puna, a'ole. Hana ka lima a hā'awi.
Puna, no. They take with their hands and give]

JH: Kona different.

GK: This is pololoi [right].

JH: Yeah. Some the tell you "hele ki'i" [go take], but you no like, because you hilahila [shame]. They hā'awi [give — chuckles], one pākeke [bucket]. That's their style.

KM: Maika'i. 'Oia ka hana a 'oukou i Puna nei?
Good. That's the custom of you folks in Puna?

JH: Yeah, Puna.

Describing the method of 'ōpelu fishing in Puna:

GK: Mamua [before], everybody use 'ōpae in Puna. In Kona the use kalo, pala'ai [taro, pumpkin], pear, any kind for feed.

KM: But Puna, 'ōpae?

GK: 'Ōpae.

JH: 'Ula'ula [red], the 'ōpae. And when you 'oki [cut] the ōpū [stomach], clean.

KM: Pehea, ua hana pōpō, ka 'a'ai, me ka limu paha?
How about, did you make the bait ball, to spread the 'ōpae with the seaweed perhaps?

GK: A'ole [no], we'd just use the 'eke palu ma lalo [bait bag underneath].

JH: Kilo [throw 'um].

KM: They just dropped the 'ōpae in the 'eke [bag]?

GK: 'Ae.

JH: They 'au'au [swim], the 'ōpae.

GK: Yeah, and we get the limu inside.

KM: So the net is poepoe [round]?

GK: Yeah, poepoe.

JH: Aia a poepoe [it's round].

GK: Over here, Puna, pi'o ka 'upena [the net is curved]. A ka i'a, komo i loko o ka 'upena, a hāpai. [When the fish come inside the net, you lift it up.] But the 'upena, leave in the



water. *'Elua kaula, huki, ma mua a mahape.* [The net is pulled with two ropes, one in front and one in back.] And the *'upena* is pulled up.

KM: *'Ekolu po'e ma ka wa'a?*

Three people on the canoe?

GK: *Mamua a ma hope. Ho'okāhi hānai, ho'okāhi mākaukau, a me ho'okāhi ho'opa'a ka wa'a.*

In front and in back. One would feed the fish, one makes the net and baits ready, and one keeps the canoe steady.

KM: So *huki like lāua* [they pull together]?

GK: *Huki ka 'upena, 'ae. A ka 'ōpelu, i loko. A kau i ka wa'a i waho.*

Pull the net, yes. And the *'ōpelu* are inside the net, set on the outside of the canoe.

Kona, different. *Pi'o ka 'upena, a komo ka i'a i loko o ka 'upena, a hāpai ka 'ōpelu i ka wa'a, huki ka 'upena.* [The net is curved, but when the fish come in the net, they lift the *'ōpelu* into the canoe, pull the net.] Outside, they *hemo* [remove] the *'ōpelu*. But over here, different.

KM: So different style. The families in the various districts have their own styles, yeah.

JH: Yeah, their own style.

GK: I think maybe, that is modern, but over here is different, still the same old way.

JH: Yeah.

Before, only families who belonged to the land fished; today, too many people fish, and they no longer care for the *ko'a* as was the tradition and practice:

KM: *I kou wā li'ili'i, a i ka wā a kou po'e mākua, kou 'ohana wale nō ka po'e o kēia 'āina kahakai?*

So in your youth, and the time of your parents, it was only your family on this shoreward land?

JH: Yeah.

KM: *Pehea, ma mua, nui nā po'e hele lawai'a?*

How about before, were there a lot of people who came here to go fish?

JH: Not many.

KM: But *kēia manawa, nui* [nowadays, plenty]?

GK: *Nui* [plenty].

JH: *Nui 'ino* [too many]!

KM: *'Oia ka pilikia, hele lākou lawai'a mau, akā a'ole lākou hānai, a'ole lākou mālama i ka i'a?*

That's trouble, they all come fish, but they don't feed, they don't take care of the fish?

JH: No *mālama* [don't take care].

GK: Most *po'e, a'ole mālama* [most people don't take care]. *Hele lawai'a, po'e hana the boat, hana like.*

You go fish, the people who worked the boats, worked together.

If I call and gesture to the water, everybody's net doesn't go down. Me, the first one to go down. When my net comes up, then you, the next one. So everybody shares the *'ōpelu*.

KM: They share. And *he lau paha* [perhaps 400]? Plenty?



JH: Plenty.

GK: But today, the regulation now, changed. Kona, *‘ōpelu*, you no can go get *‘ōpelu*. *‘Ōpelu makau*, *‘ōpelu ‘upena* [hook or net *‘ōpelu*]. Over here, *hiki* [can].

KM: *A ua kaula’i ‘oukou i ka ‘ōpelu , kaha a...?* [And you would dry the *‘ōpelu*, cut ‘um and...?]

JH: *‘Ae, kaula’i*. [Yes, dried.]

KM: *No hea mai ka pa’akai?*

JH: Over here, *kū’ai* [purchased], I think. In Kalapana, they go, no.

GK: Kekaha.

JH: Yeah, Kekaha.

KM: *Kekaha ‘o Puna* [Kekaha of Puna]?

GK: In the National Park side.

KM: *‘Oia Kekaha, he ‘āina malo’o, a hiki iā lākou ke kaula’i i ke kai e?*
That Kekaha, it’s a dry land, so they can dry the sea water eh?

GK: *Kaula’i ke kai* [dry the salt water.] *Mahape, kū’ai*. [later on it was bought.]

KM: Hmm, *i kou wā* [in your time]?

JH: *Kū’ai ‘ia* [it was purchased]. Over here, no more that kind. No more like Kalapana and past, the *pāhoehoe* flats.

KM: Ahh. *A ua kēia ‘āina*. [And this land has rain.]

JH: *‘Ae. Hehe’e ka pa’akai* [the salt would be all watery].

KM: *‘Ae... Mahalo, nui ka hoihoi o kēia mo’olelo*.
Thank you so much, this story is do interesting.
Mahalo nui. Those are good ideas, take care of the forest, take care of the old Hawaiian places.

JH: Take care of the land. That’s what I like, take care.

KM: And the *‘ōpae* ponds. I wonder, this water is *‘ano wela* [sort of hot], yeah.

JH: *Wela*.

KM: Maybe that’s why no more *‘ōpae* in the Maunakea side pond.

JH: Maybe.

GK: Because, right now, it’s open see. Open, so the ocean comes in, so no more *‘ōpae*.

KM: How about Wai’ōpae side in Kapoho? So think there are still *‘ōpae*, or no more?

GK: Still has.

KM: And brother’s [Wm. Hale’s] place at Keahialaka?

JH: No more.

‘Ōpae ‘ula have been impacted by introduced species; regulations against use of *‘ōpae ‘ula* need do not take into account, traditional and customary practice:

GK: No more, has the *tilapia*.

KM: Oh, so they ate the *‘ōpae*. *Aloha*.

JH: They don’t clean that place anyway.



KM: So it's hard then. If you'd like to go back to the old style of 'ōpelu fishing, no more 'ōpae.

JH: *Pau.*

GK: Uh-hmm. But see, the regulation...

JH: Waste time.

GK: Regulations now, they don't allow.

KM: They don't allow you to fish with the 'ōpae?

GK: No. So pretty soon, I'm going to ask Andy Levin and Bob Herkes to introduce legislation to open that.

KM: Yeah. Because you used to fish on the canoe for 'ōpelu, with the 'ōpae, yeah? That was your livelihood.

GK: 'Ae.

JH: But they went stop us, before.

GK: They went stop us.

JH: No can go back already.

KM: For you folks, that was your life. You get 'ōpelu, you go *mahi 'ai* [farm].

JH: Yeah.

GK: We fished.

KM: And what, did you folks trade, *kālewa kekāhi*?

JH: Yeah. But then, was only a few boats. Like today, you're talking about 70 boats, or 50. Forget it, too much. Today, everything go, no more nothing. *Pōhaku wale nō* [only stones remain.]

GK: No more nothing.

KM: So before, when you lived in the *ahupua'a*...?

JH: Yeah.

KM: ...that's where you fished. Did you go *maha'oi* other *ahupua'a*?

JH: Now, *pau* that kind.

KM: Uncle Gabriel, last week, you mentioned something that you *kūpuna*, or your papa told you? "When you lived in a particular *ahupua'a*, that's where you fished, you don't go to somebody else's house."

JH: Yeah, that's how us guys. That's the old guys way.

GK: Because, this person here, doesn't go outside of here. Doesn't go to 'Ōpihikao, the *ahupua'a*. He can go if he goes in the boat of the person from there.

KM: Hmm. So if he goes with the people who lived there, then can?

GK: Right, get permission. And why, the reason they like the 'ōpae come back, all the guts, they don't throw away. They use that for *palu* [a fish relish], to eat.

KM: So the 'ōpelu eat the 'ōpae and then you can make *palu*, *pa'akai* [salt]...

GK: *Pa'akai* and *inamona* [kukui nut relish].

KM: Hmm, 'ono eh?

GK: 'Ono!



JH: Yeah, they grumble before. I don't know why. The *aku* guys, maybe they think we going take all the fish.

KM: If you go make *hauna* [stink bait], all the big fish come in.

JH: Yeah, that's right.

Describes bottom fishing and types of fish caught:

GK: Yeah. Before, the old *kūpuna*, they use the *maunu 'ōpelu* [*'ōpelu* fish as bait], they use bait. And you go outside for *'ula'ula*, you get 25, 30 hook, all the hooks full with fish.

KM: So each hook got fish?

GK: Yeah. So they go over there, the *ko'a*, once or twice, then they *pau*. Then they go to another *ko'a*. That's how. But today, they go everyday. They anchor, they use chum and that's why, get other big fish, shark, and all that.

KM: Hmm. So all the big fish come in too, and eat all the good fish?

GK: Yeah.

KM: So you'd drop your line with like 25 hooks...how many fathoms, do you think?

GK: One hundred-twenty fathoms for the *'ula'ula*. [boat engine being cleaned in background, made this section of tape difficult to hear] And everything on that hook is *'ula'ula*.

KM: Amazing!

GK: And *koa'e*, 250 feet, that's way down. But you use big stone weight for go down.

KM: And what, when you get down to the right depth, you *huki* [gestures, jerking the line] and let the stone go, or do you pull it all the way back up?

GK: Let 'um go, break 'um.

JH: Let the stones go.

GK: So you don't buy the led.

JH: Different kind, yeah? More fast.

GK: Like now, they say the *'ula'ula* and *koa'e*, safety plan. No go fish. So in the meeting, I told them "I disagree what you fellas said. You fellas may be scientist and everything, but I disagree. I think the problem now, is *taape*. *Taape* and *toau*, that's the problem. This is the problem, the *taape* and *toau* is the problem. They planted all that and they eat the baby. The *ehu*, *'ōpakapaka*, *kalikali*, *ukiki*; when they born, their eggs, they eat that."

JH: *Aloha ka i'a* [*aloha* (compassion) for the fish]. They went throw 'um out here too. Plenty!

GK: So I explained to them, "You folks introduced this fish, 1954. Before 1954, wasn't like that. There wasn't any *taape*. Today, we no can make money with the *taape*. It doesn't pay the expense, the poundage." [boat engine turned off]

JH: That's no good fish.

GK: And you know what the guy said, "Yes the poundage, why should we go take the fish? The fish is nothing for us."

JH: Yeah, they went throw 'um in water outside here.

KM: Yeah, *aloha*. These guys have *'ike palapala* [paper knowledge], but they aren't *kama'āina*, they don't know how the fish work, the seasons...

JH: That's right.



KM: So your *kūpuna*, you folks would just go out here with the canoe only, and the waves like this were okay with the canoes? [the ocean waves were at times cresting around 20 feet, during the interview]

JH: They don't go, only when good water.

GK: Only in good water.

JH: They go *mahi 'ai* [farm] when rough.

KM: So the time when *'ōkaikai* [rough ocean], that's when the fish population comes more strong too then?

JH: Yeah. They go *kanu* [plant].

GK: Yeah, they plant taro. That's why this one, they go when good.

JH: Good water, go out. Rough, no can. *Mālie* [calm water], they come down.

GK: But certain fish, like if the water isn't so calm, you get advantage for go get *'ū'ū*, the *menpachi*, right from the shore line.

KM: Hmm.

'Ōpelu were plentiful; discusses care of the *ko'a*:

JH: Hoo—plenty *'ōpelu!* *Piha ka 'ōpelu* [the ocean was full of *'ōpelu*]. Just like rubbish.

GK: I think now has, nobody goes.

KM: No one goes for *'ōpelu* now?

JH: Nobody goes. Before, somebody would go, throw *palu* [feed]. You got to feed the *'ōpelu hānai*, the leader.

KM: Hmm, the *'ōpelu au'a* [the *'ōpelu* that guards the *ko'a*].

JH: Yeah, then you go. But who going make 'um. That's the style today. The old days, you make, somebody go make. Now, you make, everybody would go.

KM: Hmm. *Mahalo nui iā 'olua i kēia kama'ilio ana. Na'u nō e kākau kēia...* [Thank you both so much for talking with me. I'll go write this out...]

JH: Yeah.

KM: *...a ho'ihō'i iā 'olua i ka mo'olelo.* [...and return the story to you.]

JH: Yeah. *Lawa* [enough].

GK: But our days was [pauses], some times we use coconut, *lā'au*, bamboo for put the canoe up. *Lona* [canoe rollers]. By the time you come with the skiff, we use 'um. But every time the boat *puka* [get a hole]. But the canoe, no problem.

JH: Yeah, the canoe.

KM: Where did your folks canoes go? Like in the picture you showed me earlier? Do you still have your family canoe?

JH: The canoe *pau*. Was heavy kind.

GK: Heavy.

JH: Because rough water eh. Heavy, and over here Hawaiians, big kind crew. My father guys...

KM: How big was the crew?

JH: Four. Big kind guys.



KM: And your *kūpuna*, *kālai* [carved] those *wa'a* [canoes]?

JH: Yeah, before. We *ma'a* [used to] rough water. Wide kind, heavy.

KM: Good for the waves yeah, and for carry the fish.

JH: My father, the paddle big, you know [gesturing the paddle size].

GK: [chuckles]

KM: Hoo!

JH: Big hand eh. And my father's paddle, I went cut 'um for make it smaller, I no can hold 'um.

KM: So the blade like was almost two feet across?

JH: Big kind paddle for *huki* that big canoe. Us, we no can *huki*. How do you *huki* that kind of canoe? [chuckles]

KM: [chuckling]

JH: For them, it was light.

KM: Yeah, that's what you said, Kapukini, he could *hāpai* [carry] the *wa'a* [canoe] by himself, yeah?

JH: He *hāpai* the canoe. He was big that's why, more then seven feet. When he stands by the canoe, the canoe looks small. He was big. Different breed that. You know the stone, they carry big kind [chuckles]. Today kind, no can.

KM: Yeah... Hmm. That' one Mahina-akāka?

JH: Yeah, we don't know about the history. But plenty scientists went... [brief discussion about various archaeologists who have been to Pohoiki vicinity] ...Like over here, 500 years ago, the Hawaiians traveled to the other islands, 5000 miles like nothing. They travel, only looking at the sky.

KM: Hmm, *kilo hōkū* [observing the stars].

JH: Yeah, that's the real one. They smart. And how come the Mauna Kea guys they make over here? Must be the best place, the mountain guys, no. They study the sky, but these old guys, they knew already.

KM: The *kūpuna* over here, knew before.

JH: Hawai'i, they know. That's right.

KM: *I kou wā li'ilii', a'ole 'oe kama'āina me kekāhi heiau ma kēlā 'ao'ao 'o 'Ahalanui...?* [So in your youth, you weren't familiar with a temple on that side, at 'Ahalanui...?]

JH: No more. Only Kapoho side, on the hill.

KM: 'Ae, *Kūki'i* [yes, Kūki'i].

JH: I tell them, I don't know what kind of *heiau* that. Because the cinder cone before, the *heiau*, they used to dig, get plenty bones. So I wonder what that mountain is for. They put the bones.

KM: Hmm. *Kou po'e kūpuna ia ne'i, ua kanu lākou i nā ana i uka?* [your elders here, were they buried in the caves in the uplands?]

JH: No, over here [pointing to the Keahialaka cemetery].

KM: *I ka pā ilina* [in the cemetery]?

JH: Yeah, all in there.



KM: *A ua pono no kēia hānauna, ke waiho mālie...?*
And it's right for this generation to leave them alone...?

JH: Yeah, we no like no body touch, leave 'um alone.

KM: Oh, *mahalo nui*.

JH: Today, the *po'e lāhui* [various nationalities], they scared Hawaiian kind, they *maka'u*, they no touch [chuckles].

KM: Hmm, *ma hope, o mu'umu'u* [bum-bye, crippled — gestures turning the hand in]

JH: [chuckles] *Mu'umu'u!* Even this house, if I don't stay, they don't come, they *maka'u* [afraid]. This old place, they don't like.

KM: *Aloha*.

JH: Leave it like this. You can only hear them talk, you imagine no. Nice the sound, no more that kind of *leo* [voice] now. Only I hear you talk today. You talk soft. Some times, ten guys behind, and you only hear soft voices. No more *'uwā* [roaring, loud conversation], that's the real old way. Today, only three guys talk, oh, the big noise.

KM: [chuckles] *Kakani* [noisy]!

JH: Hawaiian was soft, they no *hakakā* [fight], they don't *'ōlelo lapuwale* [talk dirty]. They don't fight, because humble.

KM: *Nā kūpuna, po'e ha'aha'a, aloha...*
The old people were humble, filled with *aloha*...

JH: Yeah. *Aloha, pā'ani pila* [play music] or what. And us over here, my grandfather's days, I don't see *hakakā*, they don't fight, because the words, they don't *wala'au*. They use good words. No more swearing and that...

KM: *'Ae. Mahalo nui iā 'olua i kēia mo'olelo. Na'u nō i ho'ihō'i i kēia lipine i ka hale a e kākau...*
Yes. Thank you both for sharing this history with me. I'll take this tape to my house, and transcribe it...

JH: Yeah, *kākau* [write it], you look at the good. You take the good parts you like. I know the one you need already...



**William AhYou Akau and Annie Kahikilani “Lani” Akau
South Kohala Fisheries – Oral History Interview at Kawaihae
July 6, 1998 – with Kepā Maly (with notes from April 10, 1999)
(KPA Photo No. WA041099 with Lani and William Akau, Val Ako & Sister Akau)**

William A. Akau (retired Kawaihae Harbor Master) and Annie Kahikilani (“Lani”) Akau (retired school teacher) are brother and sister, and life-long residents of Kawaihae. Their genealogical line places their family at Pu’u Koholā in 1791 when Kamehameha I dedicated the *heiau* to his god Kūkā’ilimoku. Their family traditions also tie them to the lands and families of Kohala (including past residents of Puakō and Kapalaoa).



In the interview, the Akaus describe traditions of travel along the coastal trails and by sea, which they learned from their elders. Another interesting aspect of the interview, are the descriptions given by the Akaus, of land use on the *kula* (flat lands) above the trail in the Pu’u Koholā vicinity, and the importance of the estuarine and near shore fisheries on the ocean side. The waters Pūhaukole-Pelekāne and Makahuna streams flowed to the sea and produced a rich *muliwai-pu’u one* (estuarine fishery). When *mauka* land owners blocked the water flow off in the uplands, keeping it from the near shore *kula*, the lands dried up, and the nutrients which enriched the *muliwai-pu’u one* stopped flowing to the shore. That, coupled with the dredging and filling of the harbor, all but destroyed the Kawaihae fishery which had supported the native families of the region. The Akaus note that what one sees at Kawaihae today, is nothing like what it was when they were young. It was a productive land with rich fisheries.

During the interview several maps were referenced by which we could mark locations discussed. The maps included Register Maps No. 1323 (Jackson, 1883); 2230 (Loebenstein, 1903); 2786 (1911); and 3000 (Lane, 1936). Readers will find that the interview shares many important observations pertaining to the subsistence practices of native families from Kawaihae to Kapalaoa, and is an important collection of historical documentation.

The Akaus granted personal release of the interview records to Maly on April 10, 1999.

KM: I’m here with Mr. William Akau. *Aloha!*

WA: *Aloha.*

KM: *Mahalo!* Thank you so much for you, and your sister Lani—who’ll be coming back inside—for agreeing to take the time and sit down and *kūkākūkā* [talk story] a little bit about the *‘āina* [land] of Kawaihae.

WA: Yes, my pleasure.

KM: *Mahalo...* Would you please share with me your full name and date of birth?



WA: William AhYou Akau, born January 15, 1927. I was born in Wai'emi, at Kamuela, Hawai'i. My dad used to work for Parker Ranch, he used to train thoroughbreds. So I was born there...

KM: ...What was your papa's name?

WA: My dad's name was William Akau. He was born March 7, 1906... He was born here in Kawaihae...

KM: ...Now, your mama was?

WA: My mama was born and raised in Kohala, in Niuli'i. My mom was Helen Waiahuli Ka'ohu-Akau, born August 7, 1906, at Niuli'i, Kohala, Hawai'i...

KM: Now, your family has lived *makai* here, at Kawaihae for a long time too, is that right?

WA: At least 169 years.

KM: Ohh!

WA: Eighteen twenty-nine (1829) is when my great grandmother, Kamakahema Kepe'a was here.

KM: So Kamakahema Kepe'a, so she was living down here, *makai*?

WA: Yeah.

KM: [pointing to locations on register Map No. 1323] We see Pu'u Koholā, and earlier, we were talking about some of these locations and even where your house is now. Where would you place us on this map, and where were your *kupuna* living?

WA: Okay, where is... [looking at map, thinking]

KM: Here are the old salt pans, this is Davis' grave here.

WA: My great-grandfather, William Paul Mahinauli Akau and his wife, they used to live in the back of 'Ōhai'ula, they had a farm up there.

KM: 'Ōhai'ula, we see on the map there's a walled enclosure with the coconut trees, they were *mauka*?

WA: *Mauka* of that, there were small little farms up there (at Nahue'o). If you look, you know, you'll see walls. And one of them...she's buried in there.

KM: Oh yeah?

WA: Yes, Kealoha.

KM: Kealoha Pau'ole?

WA: Kalaluhi, she's from Maui. Kaupō, Maui... And that area was mostly farming, the walled enclosures were cultivating areas. Because of the '*auwai* [irrigation channels] and *kahawai* [streams] that flowed down there. So it's a farming area. They have that flooding system. They plant their '*uala* [sweet potatoes] in rows, and when the water gets in, it just waters itself.

KM: So, when we look at this land today, and it's *mauka* above the trail, and *mauka* of Waiku'i and 'Ōhai'ula, it looks so *ke kaha*, so arid. Was the land like that before?

WA: No, no, no. It was beautiful, it was alive. People were always there, always working the land. Because the water was there, you see. Because they can tell eh. They can look above where the mountain is raining. So when you get rain, the water flows down and it was always there. So they planted their '*uala* [sweet potatoes], and they fished.



KM: So, that was their livelihood then?

WA: That's right...

LA: [joins group]

KM: I'm just going to say *aloha*, sister's come back in and it's Kahikilani?

LA: Kahikilani.

KM: 'Ae, Annie Kahikilani Akau. I'd asked brother a few questions as a brief introduction. May I please have your birth date?

LA: March 28, 1937.

KM: Okay, so you folks are ten years apart?

LA: Exactly.

KM: 'Ae, okay... Were you born, *mauka* also?

LA: I was born on the *makai* side of the road here.

KM: Oh, *makai*. So down here then?

LA: Across where the Standard Oil Company is now.

KM: Yes. What was where Standard Oil is, when you were born?

LA: What was it like?

KM: What was there when you were born?

LA: That's where my grand-parents lived.

KM: So they had a *hale* [house] there.

LA: Yes.

WA: Yes.

KM: And who are these *kūkū*, what's their name?

LA: Abraham Akau, Abraham AhChong Akau is my grandfather. His wife is Alice Pualeialoha Ahina.

KM: Oh Pualeialoha, what a beautiful name. Pualeialoha. Now was your *kūkū* then...was that Grant property that he got around the turn of the century?

LA: That land belonged to Grandma, Grandma Alice.

KM: And that's Ahina?

LA: Ahina.

KM: 'Ae. So they had that *'āina* down there. Now, where that is, were there other houses, or was it mostly your *kupuna*, your grandma them?

LA: Grandma had a first cousin that lived in front of her. It was Anna Davis Kapule.

KM: Kapule?

LA: Kapule. Anna is the daughter of Willie Kulua Davis.

KM: 'Ae, so that's the Davis line that ties back to Isaac Davis, you were talking before we started?

LA: That's her great-grandfather. Because George Hū'eu Davis is her grandfather...



KM: 'Ae... We were looking at this 1883 map by Jackson [Reg. Map 1323], the salt pans area and you see the old school house like that. Where would you put your grandparents house in relationship to this?

WA: This is what?

KM: The salt pans are there [pointing to area on map].

WA: Yes. So this is our great-grandfather, Kungskung (Kungskung is a Chinese word for great grandfather). Over here was Akena, so this is where Apo...?

LA: That's AhKung's house. (AhKung is a Chinese word for grandfather.)

WA: AhKung's house, my grandfather.

KM: Okay, this is AhKung here?

WA: Kungskung, our great grandfather.

LA: That's William Paul Mahinauli Akau [affectionately called Kungskung].

The shore line of Kawaihae (where the harbor facilities are now located), were formerly salt works and fishponds, cared for and used by the families:

KM: Oh, okay good... So this is where you were born right within this *pā* [wall enclosed] area?

LA: Yes.

KM: Down in here. Was the family still making salt when you were children?

WA: No, no. That was *pau*, the only thing was...

LA: The fishpond.

WA: Yes, there was a fishpond.

KM: So this is where the fishponds were [pointing to salt works/fishpond area on map]?

WA: Yes, this whole area was the fishpond and in the back here had one, two, three more ponds. My grandfather used to get the *awa* [milkfish] and the *pua* [mullet fingerlings] over here, and used to take it up here and put them in one of the small little ponds. And then as they grew, he would switch 'em to the second pond and then the last, he would put them in the big pond. Then when the fish were ready, Parker Ranch used to pick them up and take them down to 'Anaeho'omalū. 'Anaeho'omalū, when the ranch had their big party they used to take all the big *awa* and mullet out, you know, just for the party. And so, the replacement came from over here, they'd take 'em down.

KM: Wow! And did they even travel along the old trail?

WA: No, they just take them by boat.

KM: Boat, oh they'd go down by boat.

WA: Yes, take them by boat.

KM: Who was the boat captain? Do you remember?

LA: Kolomona.

KM: Was that your uncle, Kolomona?

WA: Uncle Solomon, yes, my father's brother

KM: Solomon Akau.

WA: A lot of people used to go down. Jack Paulo, Yoshikami, you know, who had big sampans.



LA: George.

WA: George, plenty people.

LA: George Ka'ono.

KM: Ka'ono. Is Paulo, Jack Paulo.

LA: Jack, that is Lālā's grandfather.

KM: Oh, so Lā'au family?

LA: Yes.

WA: Yes.

KM: Lā'au.

LA: Well, Jack Paulo's wife is a Lā'au.

WA: Just like the park over here, the park is 'Ōhai'ula eh?

KM: 'Ae.

WA: So Oliver Lā'au used to be the caretaker. The brother of Annie...

LA: Jack Paulo's wife, her name was Annie Lā'au.

KM: So you folks were the primary families down here, and are the last old families today, yeah?

LA: Yes, yes...

KM: ...So, this pond area [pointing to the map]... And I have to ask then if the salt pans, which were originally the salt works were modified into fish holding ponds?

LA: I don't think so.

WA: What?

LA: Because that was up this side, eh? The fishpond was fishpond, the salt pan was up on the hill.

KM: Further up?

LA: That was practically in Mrs. Akina's yard, because that was where all the salt was. They wouldn't put fish in...

WA: But this is an old map, it doesn't say fishpond.

KM: Yeah, this does say all the salt pans here where your Tūtū William Paul's place was *makai*.

WA: Yes.

KM: What I'm just curious about though, is that there must have been a water source, here.

WA: They used to run a pipe all the way from the pond down to the ocean.

KM: You're kidding?

WA: So when the tide rises, it pushes up the fresh water.

LA: [chuckles] Practically underneath Kungkung's house.

WA: Yeah, yeah but wasn't big.

KM: So the land was level enough, *makai*, it was level?

WA: Right, right, about sea level.



KM: So this is all been sort of filled in?

LA: Backfill. They covered up all of the beautiful sand beach we had.

KM: Oh, so this was all sand, *makai* here?

WA: All over here.

LA: All the way from outside where the canoe club is now. A black sand beach, all the way until you get to Pu'u Koholā.

KM: So below Pelekāne side, like that?

LA: All black.

KM: All black sand, oh.

WA: [pointing to location on Reg. Map 1323] This is all the reef.

KM: So that's all the reef?

WA: This is all reef.

KM: So the deep begins in here and this is all the *papa* [reef] shown on the map here. And like there's a place...[location in front of] ...the school house?

WA: Yes.

LA: Right in the front of our house, just *makai* the road.

WA: The school house is right here...

KM: [pointing to location on map] ...It says here there's Macy's grave, do you know?

WA: Yes, still yet, it's *mauka* side there.

KM: Who was this Macy?

WA: [thinking]

LA: [chuckles] I don't know.

Macy's grave was formerly a *ko'a* (marker) for the sea fisheries:

WA: They said, well they used the Macy's grave for a...

LA: ...a marker.

WA: Marker. maybe a *ko'a* for fishing, like.

KM: Oh, out from the ocean. If I recall, he was a business man...

WA: I think maybe... yeah.

KM: ...You'd mentioned the gulches here, you have Makeāhua, Makahuna.

LA: Uh-hmm.

WA: Yes, Makahuna, Pūhaukole.

LA: Pūhaukole.

KM: 'Ae, Pūhaukole. Was there water in these gulches before?

LA: Oh, yes.

WA: Yes, yes. [chuckles]

LA: That's why I said I used to wash clothes with my mother. In the big *pā kini* [wash basin]. Papa used to put the big *pā kini* in his car, take us up there on the top of Pūhaukole. An all day affair to wash clothes.



Streams formerly flowed to the sea, producing rich near shore fisheries, and drawing large fish into near shore:

KM: Pūhaukole, at the top side. So the water was flowing, how interesting. And *pūhau* too, you know, it can mean, just like “cool pool, cool pond,” *pūhau*.

WA: Then when you go *makai* side, it is [thinking]...

LA: Then you come down is Mākenawai...

WA: ...no, no go down close to the beach is [thinking]...It's not on there [pointing to the map]?

KM: I know so long when you don't use the names, that's why it's important to record and preserve them.

WA: Oh, Pelekāne.

KM: Oh, to Pelekāne.

WA: Pelekāne.

KM: Oh, so Pūhaukole comes down into Pelekāne.

LA: And it's name is Maka'ili, on the shore.

KM: Maka'ili is right on the shore?

WA: Yes, it's a big pebble...

LA: ...bed, it's a pebble bed.

WA: That comes mostly from Makahuna. Makeāhua is another one, you see. It comes directly down, it brings down the pebbles and it forms that up there. It was a big one though, this Pelekāne. That's why on top of there, you look, before the plovers used to come and fly by the thousands of them. Just when it's low tide they sit on there.

LA: Eat the crabs.

WA: They said the plover had to rest before flying on again. Used to be...Hoo! The *'akekeke*, the *'ūlili*, all those kinds of birds we used to see them all the time.

KM: And you said they would eat the crabs, so that's how they come would come *nepunepu* [fat, plump]?

WA: Right, right.

KM: They would come *momona* [fat], and ready to fly. Now this place down here Pelekāne, Maka'ili from Pūhaukole coming down to Makahuna, Makeāhua, like that, coming down. You said this place was very different when you were young because of the water. Can you describe that?

WA: It's deep. Say for instance, not like today, it's so shallow before it was deep. At least I would say six feet or more when you get close to the shore line, it goes down, you know, and it gets deeper. Then you get the reef.

KM: So the water was deep?

WA: Yes. That's why a lot of *akule*, even the sharks and the turtles came in, because they had lot of space to maneuver within the reef.

KM: It was like a protected, almost a natural pond area?

WA: It was, yes. It was.

The fishery is now gone, as a result of development:

KM: Is that still present today?



LA: It's all gone.

WA: It's gone!

KM: Filled in?

WA: Yes.

LA: They dredged the coral, they dredged the coral reef and back-filled.

Describing *limu* and types of fish caught along the coast line; *honu* also frequented the area:

KM: All out and they back-filled in there. You were telling me earlier and it was a beautiful description you mentioned that there were *limu* [seaweeds] growing there?

LA: Yes.

KM: The *pua* [mullet fingerlings], the *moi li'i* [milkfish fry], and *'oama* [young *weke* fish]. Can you talk a little about what it was like, and your life at that time? And you also mentioned a place called Onehonu?

WA: Onehonu is further, by Mauna Kea Hotel.

LA: That's by number one hole.

WA: By Mauna Kea Beach, on this side. That's Onehonu Bay, they shoot across and that's another point. Onehonu is the sand beaches, that's where the turtles come in and lay their eggs, in that area. But then Russ Apple wrote the story and he changed it, with Onehonu now on the other side. But that's wrong!

KM: Okay, we'll mark that later, you know the reason I'd bought it up is because you'd mentioned with the *limu* and things that the *honu* [turtles] would come in. So I'd just got misplaced as to where Onehonu is. For here, you said there was like the *limu lū'au* or *pahe'e*, *limu 'ele'ele* and a brown *limu*, the green flat *limu* yeah?

LA: The green flat one, the brown long one, the long green one.

KM: Is that *limu kala*?

WA: No, *limu kala* don't grow in that area usually grows in rough water. In there, because of fresh water, this *limu* really just grows.

LA: A soft *limu*.

KM: Yes, yes, *limu 'ele'ele*, the *pahapaha*.

LA: Which I didn't eat. [laughs]

KM: But the families ate that yeah?

WA: Yes, because the fresh water all this different *limu* grow. So when you cut fresh water away from there, then you loose them.

KM: So, the *limu*, the water was flowing from *mauka*?

WA: *Mauka*, yes.

KM: And it was depositing *'ili'ili* at Maka'ili and then the *pua*, the *moi li'i* even *akule* you said, *'oama*, *halalū* would all come in?

WA: Right.

KM: ... come in and feed. And the *honu* came in to?

WA: Oh, yes, even the black tip sharks were loaded inside there. I've seen thousands of them.

KM: Gee! So when they cut the water flow off, the *limu* and everything went?

WA: Well, everything goes down, you don't have the feed.



KM: So you don't have the fish like that?

LA: No more.

WA: Well you know, your food supply...if you cut off your food supply that's *pau*.

KM: Yes, the nutrients all gone.

WA: Yes, so that's why I was talking to other people. That's why, if you can do something about that, you know. Make sure...it's just like that trail, you see. You cut it up people cannot pass from this end to the next end. So what's going to happen? You keep them out. So in other words you're taking away their rights. The same thing like the fish, the water, you cut the water out you loose. The growth just dwindles, and the fish disappear.

KM: Yes, yes the nutrients all the things that the fish eat.

WA: Yes, *pau, pau*.

KM: So they have to go somewhere else, and on top of that now this has been all filled in. That beautiful natural ponding area is gone.

LA: Is no more.

WA: Gone. But you still can preserve some now.

KM: Yes.

LA: You know even the sand, there were differences in the sand from where the old *pā 'eke* [corral] was; over there had nice sand. As you get close to a mouth of a river or a stream you would find the different quality. You would have the runoff from the mountain mixed with pebbles and with mountain dirt. But then the type of fish, or the type of crabs that you get, you can tell and you know what kind of crab you're going to get.

KM: 'Ae, you would even know where they came from then, by the kind of *i'a* [fish] or *pāpa'i*, crab that they were.

LA: Sure! You know exactly where you're going to get the most crab, because they like to stay in the particular area.

WA: The key thing of that is you're getting a lot of soil washed down into the ocean and the soil brings all these nutrients and new growth. Fresh water mixes with the salt water, it brings this growth. So you have this growth continuously and you get all these different fishes coming in. It's a place where it's been protected and they can grow up within that area because there's lot of food there. Another thing too, because the black sand and the white sand doesn't mix, then they won't mix. That's why you look at all within Kawaihae it's black sand. So you go down white sand beach...

LA: White.

KM: 'Ōhai'ula?

WA: Yes, it's white. Then you go right in between Mau'umae, Waiku'i you get black sand. Mau'umae black sand. Then you go down Wai'ula'ula, it's mixed over there, it's kind of more on the...

LA: Red.

WA: ...coral, coral gray.

KM: In fact there's even green olivine you can see in there.

WA: Yes, because the weight of the both is different. So then you go down further, and Onehonu is black sand. Then you get down to Kauna'oa and it's white. You go down, *makai* side of Kauna'oa, over there it's black. Then Hāpuna is white. Then you get to Waile'a, it's white. Puakō is black. So it goes like that you see, everything kind of washes to shore.



KM: Where there's plenty fresh water, black.

WA: You get a lot of growth. The black and dirt...lots of dirt in it. So that's where the growth is.

KM: It makes a lot of sense.

LA: The rocks roll down there.

KM: That's right, it makes sense because where there's fresh water the coral doesn't grow good. Where no more fresh water, *puka* [flows] out even under the water then the coral can grow. Makes sense... We see 'Ōhai'ula and you were talking now...by the way, did the streams run down here?

WA: Uh-hmm.

KM: And you said they would even have '*auwai*'?

WA: Up here, all this area had. Because Wai'ula'ula is over here and so they would take the water from way above here. So they would have the '*auwai*' connected and it runs down.

KM: So they had access to water, *mauka* in this area here?

WA: Oh, yes.

LA: Yes, they were smart... See a stream that comes down, going down to the ocean. They make an opening for that and they called that...each farm had their own *po'o wai* [water source]. When they needed the water they opened it and the water flowed in to make a farm. When they had enough they closed it back again.

KM: I see, so at the *po'o wai*, which would be some distance *mauka* then?

LA: Yes.

KM: Let me just see [opening a new map], this is portion of Register Map 2786, this was done in 1917 by George Wright and I just wanted to see... This shows us a little bit more what we see is Makeāhua you said?

LA: Makeāhua.

KM: They left out one of the letters here so I'm just marking it. They said "Makehua," so Makeāhua, you see here's Ke-anu-'i'o-manō coming down here Waikōloa. This says Lauwai, but you'd given another name *mauka*?

LA: Hanakalauwai.

KM: Hanakalauwai, beautiful. So you were talking again about the *po'o wai*, here's the *heiau*, Pu'u Koholā, yeah?

WA: Yes.

KM: And your *kupuna mā* were growing '*uala*' and things here, so they would take water off of some of these upland areas running across here?

LA: Yes.

WA: All these *kahawai* [streams] come down here. But you see, they don't show you the farm and stuff because it's not marked in here.

KM: Yes. Beautiful yeah, the name Hanakalauwai.

LA: Hanakalauwai.

KM: You could almost, if you were thinking interpretively about "Hana-ka-lau-wai" To-make-the-water-spread, yeah?

LA: Uh-hmm.

WA: Yeah.



KM: Almost you would think that could be the meaning based on how you describe the distribution of the water from the uplands.

LA: It's possible...

KM: ...Now with Waikōloa stream it comes down into Hanakalauwai and Wai'ula'ula.

WA: Right, up here is a place that they blocked off.

KM: This is where you said they blocked it off?

WA: Yes, they made a wall across it. Right across the water head. That's why no water is coming down here. Only on this side, they threw the water all in Wai'ula'ula.

LA: Wai'ula'ula.

WA: That's why this side has no more water.

KM: I see, so that's why Wai'ula'ula is flowing strong.

WA: Yes. But this side, they stopped everything from here now. You know the growth of the *limu* and all that.

KM: Why do you think they stopped the water from flowing?

WA: I've got no idea, no idea.

KM: It really hurt the families down here.

WA: Hurt everything.

KM: The fish, everything is gone.

LA: This stream used to flow [pointing to the neighboring lot].

KM: Oh yeah, right next to your house here...?

LA: This one used to flow.

KM: Do you know the names of these little streams here?

LA: [chuckles]

WA: There are names but we don't hear them for so long.

KM: *Poina* [so they're forgotten].

WA: We don't use it all the time. But this one here, right next to use comes from Keawewai, it's right above here.

KM: Oh, Keawewai.

WA: Then Keawewai, she partly flows by here, gets out here. This one has a name but... [pauses]

KM: 'Ae.

WA: And then it goes and gets into...

LA: Honokoa.

WA: Honokoa. So Honokoa has two branches that flow in, one from the Kahuā area and one from this side area.

KM: Uncle, may I ask, you said that somewhere up here near perhaps the Ke-anu-'i'o-manō and Waikōloa Stream they blocked this off [pointing to upland area on map].

WA: Yes.

KM: Maybe it was a little more *makai*. So now, the water doesn't flow to you folks here?



WA: No.
LA: In the Kawaihae area.
KM: When did they do that?
WA: Maybe in the fifties, I think.
KM: In the fifties, that recently?

Believe that returning water to the stream would foster restoration of the fisheries; discuss the *akule*, *pīhā* and *aku* fisheries; and the *muliwai* system:

LA: I would think so, because we still had water flowing. In 1954 I left, I graduated and went to the mainland for school. When I came home I lived in Honolulu. So they had a lot of changes that took place at that time. In that period of time.

WA: I walked it, I went all the way...

KM: ...Boy it's amazing because if you brought the water back down here.

WA: Big difference!

KM: The fish would probably return too.

WA: Oh yes!

LA: Definitely.

KM: Would you folks fish *akule* out here?

WA: They still fish *akule*, but you see because of the change, they don't come in close like before.

KM: That's right. Part of the reason they come in because they get something to eat too, the young *pua* and the *'oama* and things like that they can eat, yeah?

LA: Yeah.

KM: And if no more the nutrients for those fish, they're gone.

WA: The *pīhā* [*Spratelloides delicatulus*]...what else? Because we used to go *aku* fishing; there were a lot of *nehu* [*Stolephorus purpureus*] too.

LA: Bait.

WA: So we used to go in there, just to surround and get it load it up in the boat and go. But it's all gone.

LA: I remember dad used to go out, get all the *nehu* put it in the bag come home, with our fish box, just...

WA: Dry it.

LA: Dry it.

WA: 'Ono [delicious]!

LA: That's what we ate, we ate fish everyday of our life...

KM: ...You'd mentioned that below...so I guess if we look where would you place Maka'ili? If this is Pūhaukole?

WA: Maka'ili, [looking at the map] where is this?

KM: This is Makahuna.

WA: Maka'ili should be around here.



KM: Okay, now if this is Maka'ili which I'm marking on the map here]. Is this also where the *muliwai* was?

WA: Above on the shore you know. Each time the streams flow the leaves a pocket eh? Leaves a pocket and the water stays there. Unless high, high tide or else you get a big storm it breaks the what you call...

KM: Oh like a *pu'uone* [dune bank]?

WA: Yes, so it breaks and then everything flows out, the fish goes back in the ocean. Then when the tide starts rising and bringing... So it fills up the broken area and then it always has this pocket in here. So you get the smaller ones get caught in there.

KM: 'Ae, 'ae.

WA: They stay in there and they grow up in there because there's lot of food there. A lot of growth because of the fresh water. So here's a system that just goes round and round.

KM: It's self-sustaining.

WA: Yes, right.

KM: Because it's the natural cycle of things, it supports itself.

WA: Right.

LA: The reef that was out here, it protected us, in here. But the natural waves would still come in and build up the beach. I remember the beach used to be high and then when the winds would come, we have the *makai* wind all the sand would disappear. You wonder where's the sand going, the sand disappeared. Then the beach is flat again, but when the winter storm comes it brings all the sand back up and it's clean not dirty, clean.

WA: Like everything else you know, you take care, you know, you clean your own house. The ocean, the land it takes care of it's own self. So it's natural, so the seasons too. The different seasons the tide rises and drops down. Low, low tide, high tide so you always have that continuous wash out. So it's natural. So the Hawaiian's kind of lived in the same...

LA: ...pattern.

WA: ...pattern, yes.

LA: They lived around it.

WA: You cannot fight it, you cannot go against it.

LA: Simply because they studied the seasons, they studied tide, and they studied the moon. These are the things that they go by.

KM: So they would plant at the right time, they would go out fish. You mentioned that your *kūkū* [great grandfather], I guess William *mā* them, and others would plant fish in here. During rough ocean time was this a source of food for them also? Did you folks eat?

WA: The pond was just for the ranch, Parker Ranch.

KM: Oh, so they were working it for Parker?

WA: Yes, yes.

KM: You see that Parker had a place over here too.

WA: Yes, this is the residence, Hanakahi.

KM: Hanakahi.

WA: Hanakahi, yes.



KM: Your *kūkū*...or did some *kūkū* live close by here also?

WA: In the back here they used to live. This was the house over here. And Queen Emma's grandfather Olohana, John Young...

LA: ...See, that great grandfather of ours, William Paul Mahinauli, lived several places in Kawaihae. The last place of residence was in front of that fishpond.

KM: Oh, so *makai* here, then?

LA: But he lived several places here in Kawaihae.

WA: He lived here. His wife passed away over here, up here at Hanakalauwai. Kungkung, he farmed this area here...

KM: [pauses] ...If we come back *makai* here for a moment at Pelekāne in an area here, you'd mentioned that there were sharks out here?

WA: Still yet.

WA: Yes.

Recalls Hale-o-Kapuni, an ocean *heiau* of the sharks:

KM: There's a history of sharks, of the *manō* in this place, did you hear a little bit from your *kūkū*?

WA: Well, Hale-o-Kapuni is the shark *heiau*, what the national park is always talking about to the tourists.

LA: July, August, there are plenty of sharks.

KM: July and August the *manō* all come inside. So, Hale-o-Kapuni?

WA: Hale-o-Kapuni, that's a *heiau*.

KM: Is that the one that's in the ocean?

WA: In the ocean, it's covered up we cannot find it.

KM: It was covered by building this harbor?

WA: Yes, the dredging. But it was kind of, when we were growing up it was kind of...

LA: Covered up.

WA: It was going down.

KM: So the siltation in the ocean, but you could see stone pile?

WA: Nothing, you cannot see anything now, because it's really too much of that silt.

KM: But in your youth?

LA: Well it wasn't covered as bad as it is today, because when you have the runoff from the mountain, but yet you have the movement of the ocean the wave so it's not that bad. But when you go over there now because you have that sand backfill, the water doesn't circulate.

KM: Yes, that's right, and so it just keeps piling up on top.

LA: That's why you look at that river over there it's all stagnate.

KM: 'Ae.

LA: Water's supposed to circulate if it's clean.



WA: When my papa was alive, he told the park service guys that if they would go to the approximate area of Hale-o-Kapuni, and push a stick into the silt, they could tell when they were at the *heiau*. Where the rocks were built up, they couldn't push down, where no more rocks, they could push the stick. I told the same thing to them recently, and the park service archaeologists found the location. They even have an old film from before the harbor was put in, and you can see the *heiau*.

KM: Okay. So Hale-o-Kapuni, which was noted for sharks...?

WA: Yes, it's right over here.

KM: 'Ae, okay. It's marked on this map here [Reg. Map No. 1323], just below Pelekāne.

WA: Yes, that's the shark *heiau*.

KM: Where Alapa'i...did you hear about the chief and the sharks?

WA: That one was way before Alapa'i, I think because [thinking] the *heiau*, Mailekini was during the time of Līloa. Līloa used to come here. Alapa'i nui died here. You see all of the *ali'i* they ended up down here. We were told that Kamehameha I used to go play with the sharks there. You could watch from Pu'u Koholā, Pelekāne side.

KM: And that's the name that they've given to that river area now, Pelekāne?

WA: Pelekāne, yes.

KM: Pelekāne, goes down. Is Pelekāne an old name or is that...?

WA: That's a white man who named it.

KM: That's a white man so it means British like or?

LA: That's what it is. [chuckles]

WA: Yes, white man...

KM: ...Did you folks trade *i'a*, or salt or things? Like since you said that you weren't still making salt here when you were young, where did the family get their salt did they *kaula'i 'ōpelu* [dry 'ōpelu] and *i'a* [fish], or *aku* like that?

WA: We did, but in those days we had a store.

KM: Oh, so they *kū'ai* [buy it]?

WA: Yes, mostly we don't take the salt water and put it in the salt ponds to dry it out to get the salt. That thing was all in the past already.

Recalls the salt works at Kalaemanō:

KM: Yes, how about though at Kalaemanō?

WA: They did that, they still did.

KM: They were still making salt when you were young?

WA: Yes, because the people who lived down there, they still fished and they still dried it.

KM: But you folks didn't get your salt from them?

WA: No, no. But they *mālama*, they take care because that's the only livelihood they had.

KM: That's right.

WA: You see, so the only way they're going to preserve their fish is by salting and drying it. So that type of ocean salt is not salty like the mined salt. Ocean salt, only a little that you have to put on top eh.

KM: *Miko* [well seasoned] eh!



WA: Yes, yes.

KM: You're so right, the old salt like that.

WA: But people will still go that route. But when you have too much wild animals mongoose, cats, and plus people fish and they peepee in the pond so it's kind of *lepo* [dirty] now, you see, so they don't take a chance.

KM: So one of the things, based on what you just said might be if you walk this trail, that you take care of it and respect the resources.

WA: Yes, definitely.

KM: Was anyone your *'ohana* at Puakō or down at 'Anaeho'omalu still making salt when you were young that you remember?

WA: No.

KM: Not that you remember?

WA: But, we know where the salt was.

KM: Yes.

Pa'akai also gathered at Wai'ulua; today it is unsafe to gather *pa'akai* because people are careless:

WA: So right at Wai'ulua, come back on that *pali* over there when it's rough weather, the waves throw up the water. And then when it clears up the thing dries up, so usually there's plenty of *pa'akai* over there. Or else the fishermen when they do throw net or whatever, when they cross over and they see it real dried up they used to take it out. And when they come back they pick it up. Some of them do that, [thinking] yes some of them do that.

KM: Okay. So this side of Wai'ulua?

WA: Wai'ulua, yes.

KM: Well see, now that comes back to the point you were bringing up. That before days they *mālama* [take care]. Now people they *mimi* [urinate] or *hana lepo* [defecate] so this is one of the things that we should try to ensure that people become aware that the resources along the ocean are important to the families of the land, yeah? Don't *mimi* [urinate] inside this *kāheka*, where they make the *pa'akai*...

WA: Right, right.

KM: ...or *hanalepo* where you get the fish or things like that.

WA: Either that or maybe you can work it out, if you are still going to go through that again maybe put some kind of sign or do something, but it should look natural. It can be done, but people have to cooperate.

KM: And they have to know to begin with, some they just don't think, yeah?

WA: Yes...

KM: ...Where would you put Onehonu, again if we look at this map? [pointing out locations] Here's Hāpuna, Mau'umae. This is the trig station for Wai'ula'ula but this is the stream.

WA: Onehonu supposed to be in here someplace.

KM: Okay, so you think in here?

WA: Yes.

Honu formerly laid eggs at Onehonu:

KM: Now see there's a little cove in here too. Onehonu, and you said this was the birthing of ...the kind where they lay eggs, you think?



WA: Yes, turtle.

KM: The *honu* come to lay eggs, yeah?

WA: Maybe on this side, I think, yeah.

KM: Okay, yeah.

WA: This is the point, no this is Hāpuna over here...

KM: Kauna'oa is here.

WA: [looking at map] Eh, this map different eh, Hāpuna Bay over here, I think this maybe is... Oh, Puakō is over here.

KM: Here's 'Ōhai Point, Puakō Bay, here's a little cove here.

WA: Puakō, Hāpuna...

KM: Actually this should be Kauna'oa, yeah, here is that right?

WA: Right here, Wai'ula'ula, this map is...?

KM: Maybe this map is...

WA: Kauna'oa has a big bay you know?

KM: Yes.

WA: Well anyway, put Kauna'oa right around here.

KM: Okay. Because from Wai'ula'ula Stream, the next big bay over is Kauna'oa?

WA: Oh this is some kind of point.

KM: That's a point only. These are boundaries.

WA: Oh, okay, okay.

KM: This is the gulch where the stream comes down.

WA: Oh this is Wai'ula'ula. So it has to be around here, Onehonu.

KM: Oh, okay. So past [south of] Wai'ula'ula?

WA: Yes, yes. [looking at the map] Mau'umae, okay...

WA: ...And you see, someone always maintained the trail. So you go from Pelekāne from over here you start walking because guys from Puakō coming back and forth, eh?

KM: Yes, yes.

WA: You see.

KM: Even Kapalaoa people would come down like that?

WA: Yes. But most times they come on a canoe or...later eh, only thing that they used the trail was when the ocean was rough. That's when they used the trail, that's a long hike for them especially from Kapalaoa. But other than that, when normal time, they get canoes and they used to come up.

KM: Yes. Uncle Robert Keākealani them tell some stories about walking trail with Kilionā, Alapa'i mā and them.

WA: Yes. Well, that's down Kapalaoa, yeah?

KM: Yes, coming up this side.

WA: Right, yes. They used to fish 'ōpelu, over there. They used to use 'ōpae 'ula [red shrimp] that's the kind of bait they used down there.



Pala'ai and *'uala* used as bait for *'ōpelu* fishing:

KM: How about you folks up here for *'ōpelu* and things, what kind's of bait did you use?

WA: We used mostly potato, pumpkin...

KM: *Pala'ai*, *'uala* like that?

WA: Yes, yes.

KM: So, you folks no more *'ōpae 'ula* up at this side?

WA: No, no.

KM: Interesting, yeah?

WA: So, only *makai*, because ponds, when the tide comes up they come out.

KM: Kapalaoa side.

Discusses *ko'a 'ōpelu* of the South Kohala coast:

WA: They used to take care of that so, plenty. Their *ko'a* was right outside that big high stone in front of Kapalaoa side. Right on the drop, had the *ko'a* over there. So plenty of *'ōpelu* over there. So them, they *kaula'i* [dry it], that's why they need the salt. Around there the salt pond, I'm not too familiar you know, I'm sure they have someplace around there, you see. Because you go down, over there mostly *'a'ā*?

KM: 'Ae.

WA: So a few places...well right inside, from there you go *mauka* side you hit the *pāhoehoe*. *Pāhoehoe* and *'a'ā* on the other side...

KM: ...Would you folks walk this trail? Did you go all the way down too, like Lāhuihua'a and 'Anaeho'omalua sometimes?

WA: Oh past that.

KM: Past. And your Uncle Kolomona, you said even would go all the way down to...?

WA: Keawaiki, with Francis Brown them. he spent a lot of time down there, so I spent lot of time down there too, during the summer. We used to go down and stay during the summer vacation, go fishing, do all odds and end work, you know. Keeps me busy.

Francis Brown bought the Keawaiki and 'Anaeho'omalua-Kalāhuihua'a lands in the 1930s, I think, and uncle Jack Paulo was the first man hired by Francis to take care of the area. Then my uncle Solomon Akau took the position when Jack retired... So that's how I spent lots of time summer, fishing along the coast, right down to South Point. He loved to fish too, Francis Brown. Go north, fast boat eh. Early in the morning we'd go dive. You spear a certain type fish like the *kole nuku heu* [*Ctenochartus strigosus*]. Certain places, there's lot's of them.

You know that black sand beach between Kalaemanō and Kahuwai, at Ka'ūpūlehu?

KM: Yes, Keone'ele'ele is the old name that Uncle Maka'ai them gave to that place.

WA: Yeah, Keone'ele'ele. That was a famous area for the *kole nuku heu*. Francis Brown and us, we would always go over there for that fish.

KM: Hmm, so you folks knew all the fishing grounds along this entire shore line?

WA: Oh every inch of the shore line. Then we did ourselves, with my dad we did a lot of *huki lau* [seine net fishing] We would go down and every...that's why we knew the names and all the places. But if you don't use it, you forget.

KM: That's right...



WA: ...But you know if you can somehow keep this trail alive, by, as I said, why put the sign up and the public just looks, "Oh Shoreline Access." But if you make the thing the way it's supposed to be and especially from Hāpuna to Puakō because you're going to get people that don't like to walk so make it nice and give a history.

KM: Well that's so important as you said to bring it alive. And this is a part of what we do because you've walked the land. So your story should be an important part of it. Like, "In the 1930s I went with my *kūkū* or with my parents, with my uncle we walked, fished even Mrs. Saffrey from school took us and we would go down to go picnic at Kauna'oa Bay... We would fish, you *'ohi pa'akai*, you gather salt, *limu* or *'ōpihi*..." It animates it, brings it to life.

WA: Yes, the feeling you know, when you're young, you don't do it all the time but it's a special time you go and you have a different feeling.

LA: You folks walked, eh?

WA: Walked.

LA: [laughs].

KM: ...If we come back to Hale-o-Kapuni for a moment, that was built up stone in the ocean.

WA: Right. How old it is, I don't know.

KM: Old though yeah, because there's the stories?

WA: Yes.

KM: Of the *manō* coming in there. Did your *Tūtū* talk to you, was there a guardian? As an example you know when your *kūkū* go out fishing on their canoe, was there a *manō* a guardian or something, did they go out and feed the *ko'a* [fishing grounds] even when they don't fish? Were there customs like that, that the family practiced?

WA: We didn't. I haven't seen that. Maybe most of that was just fading away. But then each Hawaiian, they have *'aumakua* [family gods]. Some has the shark as it's *'aumakua*, some they get *pūhi*, some the owl.

KM: *Pueo*, *honu* depends on what the *'ohana*.

WA: Yes.

LA: The *hīhīmanu*.

KM: 'Ae. But, by your time *kūkū mā* weren't talking much about those things?

WA: No, no...

WA: ...But you know a lot of things happened over here. Because of the *mahi'ai* [cultivating areas]. [pointing to various locations] So they do the *mahi'ai* over here, they live down here and they do the fishing over here. Everything is in place for them.

KM: Yes. Amazing, it was such a different place before.

WA: So if they like to do the *'ōpelu* fishing, they can do their own *'ōpelu* fishing out here.

KM: So there were *ko'a* [specific fishing grounds]?

WA: *Ko'a*, yes *'ōpelu ko'a*.

KM: And did they go out in...?

WA: Canoes.

Ko'a were cared for; discusses various methods of fishing, and types of fish caught:

KM: Did they care for the *ko'a*, did they feed it some days?



WA: Oh yes, they *hānai* [care for, feed the fish at certain times].

KM: So they *hānai*, no catch but they feed they would train the fish to come?

WA: They do a lot of drying, when the season time you know how much.

KM: And they go out farther, go *'ahi*?

WA: They go *kūkaula* [hand line fishing].

LA: See, that's why they used to use the steeple of the church as their focal point.

KM: A *ko'a* like, it was one of their triangulation points?

LA: Yes.

WA: Yes. That's where you go for different fathoms, maybe forty, *weke 'ula*, then you go maybe forty to fifty, maybe *kalikali*. Then you go further out maybe about sixty you get *'ōpakapaka*, you get *kāhala*, *uku*, further out *ōpū nui*, then *koa'e*. All of that.

KM: *Koa'e*, so all these at different *ko'a*?

WA: Yes, they out there.

KM: So they knew the fathom, *anana*, how deep each one was?

WA: Yes.

KM: And the church was one of the triangulation points?

WA: Right.

KM: Did they go off the *heiau*?

WA: The church and Puakō.

KM: Oh, Puakō?

WA: The *heiau* is one of them too.

KM: Oh, so they would look from the church steeple and Puakō Church, also?

WA: Yes. Even if they go further out and you're looking back to Waimea, you see all of those *pu'u* way back, certain *pu'u* that means you are way out.

KM: 'Ae, Hōkū'ula like that?

WA: Yes. You line them up which ever.

LA: And Pu'u Kamali'i up here.

KM: Oh, Pu'u Kamali'i?

LA: Pu'u Kamali'i, they would sight from there.

KM: That was one of the *ko'a* points also?

LA: Uh-hmm.

KM: Were there promontories *pu'u* or something, that they would look, that a *kilo* could look down and tell where the?

WA: No, not over here.

KM: Not here. So they already knew where the *ko'a* were?

WA: Yes. For *akule* and stuff like that, either they see the ripple or they see the color in the water.

KM: *Ho'olili* [rippling on the water made by schools of fish near the shore].



WA: Yes.

KM: On top?

WA: Yes. So the Hawaiians they get all the things you know. If you don't know, then that's your fault.

KM: Hmm. Like you said, they observed they knew the moon, they knew the seasons, the tides, yeah?

LA: And they learned from their parents before them.

KM: That's right.

WA: I went all through that like the fathoms and different things.

LA: Well he knows because he went fishing. My father was not a line fisherman, my father was a net fisherman, in the water. That's my dad. If he stayed on the boat, he would get sick.

WA: Grandfather was a throw net fisherman also [chuckles].

LA: Champion to throw net, morning time he's passing, he's going out there by the wireless station [north side of Kawaihae], you know he's going to *kiloi 'upena* [throw net] one time, his *manini*... Morning time the *manini* is different, and then you see him with his bag, his *'upena* [net] in there and he's going home. Tūtū Kalehua used to do the same thing. And then you see them *pau*, they stretch their net up to dry.

WA: They depend on the tide.

KM: So when this harbor went in it really changed the entire lifestyle?

LA: That's what you call progress.

KM: Is it?

LA: [laughing] That's what they call progress.

KM: That's what they called it, yeah? It changed your entire life, then?

LA: It has.

WA: You look on the reef over here, you look at this reef all over here.

KM: All gone?

WA: Gone.

LA: See what they did to it?

KM: Yes, so this all became the harbor, then, all this *papa* [reef flats]?

LA: So they worried about keeping the other one, what's that other one in Honolulu? Makapu'u? The one you walk down, they want to save that, the reef?

WA: Hanauma Bay.

LA: Hanauma, because too many people walk on the coral. Gee, this one was the most beautiful one.

WA: This one, they went wiped 'em out.

KM: So this *papa* was alive back then? Had *he'e* [octopus] out here?

WA: Yes, anything you can think of.

LA: Day time you can go when it's low tide. You swim across the channel, walk on the coral, hook *'upāpalu* [*Apogonidae*], you know.



WA: I used to go *kā'ili* [cast], outside here, me and Tūtū Ka'aihue eh. We'd go outside, you know those days, you get the *pā'ou'ou* [*Thalassoma* fish].

KM: 'Ono?

LA: 'Ono fish, that's my favorite. But now, I no can eat, they get the *ciguatera*, poison and you can die.

WA: This place was famous for *pā'ou'ou*, from Kawaihae to Puakō side. But now, because they change the water circulation, you no can eat the fish.

LA: That's right, they changed everything.

Ciguatera was unknown during their youth:

WA: So we fish. One time I took my nephews to go outside and fish we come back eat the fish, we all get sick.

KM: Oh you're kidding.

WA: Yeah.

LA: *Ciguatera*.

WA: *Ciguatera*. Never was like that before. That's why I don't eat the fish today, I'm scared about it.

KM: You know and plus because they changed the flow of the water.

WA: The dredging.

KM: The algae or *limu* bloom grows and poison algae accumulate.

WA: That's true.

LA: See, when the river flows, it brings different kinds of stuff into the water so that there is a balance. See, no more that balance now.

WA: Maybe that's another thing we got to go stronger on, you know. We look into that, bring that water back over here so we can wipe out those poisons. Let the other things grow to counteract with the poison.

LA: I wouldn't swim in this harbor area now.

KM: Not now, eh.

LA: Not with all those little boats. I don't know what, who do what in there.

KM: 'Ae, *hana lepo* [yes, make the water dirty], people don't think yeah?

LA: Uh-hmm.

WA: That's right. Well good, you know, you come, we talk story and you get an idea.

KM: 'Ae. Your history is very important, for this land.

WA: Well, whatever we can say...

KM: ...Hmm. In your folks childhood time, this was your ocean, your playground here.

LA: That's right.

KM: Now, cannot.

Kūhonu, *holomoana*, and other crustaceans caught:

LA: I used to run across the street. If we go down there, we can catch crabs, [gestures picking up the crabs, placing them] in the dress, full, you come home, and throw 'um in the pot.

KM: What kinds? You had *kūhonu* or what out here?



LA: The sand crabs.

WA: *Kūhonu*, and the other one is the *holomoana*, the red one, the long one. That one has also. So the *kūhonu* is mostly all over, has that one. And the *pokipoki* and *aloalo*, 'ono eh.

KM: Yes!

WA: Before, plenty over here.

LA: He's the *aloalo* baby [laughing]. When mama was *hāpai*, that's what she was 'ono for. She was 'ono for the *aloalo*. So *tūtū* used to have go out and get that. You have to know how to find that *puka* and swoosh 'um out.

WA: What's why you see, the fresh water, the sand and the *lepo* [soil], mix together, so it gives you a solid ground, so the *aloalo* dig their hole go down and the hole stays firm like that. So when they stay inside, no *hāne'e* [fall down]. You see, nature really plays a great part in our lives. But we don't vision that.

LA: That's why, when I went to Moloka'i and I saw that *papa*, it thought "Oh, they must get *aloalo* inside here!"

KM: That's right.

WA: But we lost that already.

KM: Hmm. *Mahalo*, thank you so much for...

WA: Well I hope that we helped you a lot.

KM: Yes. What I'll do is, I'll take the tape and transcribe almost verbatim, I'll clean up a little bit...

LA: ...You know, when we used to go fishing... I was the youngest and I was always saved by my grandfather. These guys [pointing to her brother], when they go fishing, they work hard. I would just sit on the boat with grandpa. He always used to tell me stories. And I used to listen to his stories and the stories make sense. So I had a good time with him. But he always saved my life. "No." When papa tell "you jump now." Grandpa he'd [gestures stay there]. [laughing]

KM: You stay right there.

LA: So I tell, "Akung said I stay here." [laughing]

KM: So did you hear grandpa or your *kūkū* them talk about the shark *heiau* at all, or about Pu'u Koholā?

LA: I used to hear them talk that shark used to come in, because the *heiau* was built in a certain way, where the shark would come in. Kamehameha would grab the shark and he would break the back on his knee. Grandpa used to tell me.

KM: Oh, so they would wrestle them like, fight the shark then?

LA: Yes. And I did see it with my own eyes, but now, the remains that they are telling me "That is the chair of Kamehameha." That sure doesn't look like the chair. Because the one I saw when I was young, was really a chair made out of rock. But now they tell "oh this is it." That's not what I saw. [Pōhaku-noho (the stone chair); overlooking the ocean below Mailekini]

KM: So there was a place along the ocean side that was the seat where Kamehameha would...?

LA: Look out to that shark *heiau*, when the shark came in...



Kahu John “Kumukāhi” Makuakāne
(with Violet Akamu Makuakāne and Joni Mae Makuakāne-Jarrell)
Oral History Interview of July 21st, 1998
at ‘Ōpihikao with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. JM072198)

John “Kumukāhi” Makuakāne (*Kahu*¹⁸) was born in 1931, at Pu‘ukī (Kapoho uka), Puna. His father was Thomas K. Makuakāne, of ‘Ōpihikao, and his mother was Hattie Makua-Makuakāne, who also had ties to ‘Ōpihikao and neighboring lands in Puna.



While growing up, *Kahu* lived at several locations in Puna, including Kapoho, Pohoiki, Malama, ‘Ōpihikao, and Kaueleau. For the first five years of his life, he was raised by his grandmother, and in the following years until he left Puna to join the

military, he was raised with various *kūpuna* (people of his great- and grand-parent’s generations), and other elders of his parents generation. Throughout those years, *Kahu* was surrounded by, and a participant in the native practices of the fishermen and agriculturists of Puna.

In his interview, *Kahu* describes the Hawaiian community of Puna, and their relationship with the lands and fisheries extending from the Kaueleau to Kapoho vicinity. His personal recollections of planting and fishing customs, as experienced first-hand, are an important contribution to the history of native Hawaiian land use in Puna

During the interview, Register Maps 1777, 1778, and 2191 were referenced when discussing various sites. *Kahu* gave his verbal permission for release of the interview on October 10, 1998.

KM: *Aloha, mahalo nui!*

JM: *Aloha.*

KM: ...Could you share with me, your full name, Where you grew up, and where we are now?

JM: When I grew up, my full name was Pedro Kumukāhi Makuakāne. I was born at Kapoho, Pu‘ukī. I was told that the reason they gave me that name, was because the lighthouse was there, and I am not sure, other than that, for the reason of my name... I was told I was born on November 26th, 1931. When we applied for the birth certificate, there was no Makuakāne born on that day [chuckling]. There was one that was born on November the 16th, 1931, and that baby’s name was John Peter Cotano Makuakāne. So being that I was the only Makuakāne born in 1931, they assumed that that was me. So after that, my legal name became John Peter Cotano Makuakāne.

KM: ‘Ae ... Who was your mother?

¹⁸ *Kahu* – a Hawaiian word for minister. Following a family tradition that reaches back to the 1850s, John “Kumukāhi” Makuakāne is the *kahu* of the ‘Ōpihikao Congregational Church.



JM: Hattie Makuakāne.

KM: And her maiden name?

JM: Hattie Makua.

KM: And your papa?

JM: Thomas Ka'ōnohiokalā Makuakāne... He was born about 1901...

KM: Okay. When we look at these maps here...One of them is Register Map 2191 I'm just trying to see... [looking for Makuakāne family grant lands]. Yes, here's Makuakāne right next to the church. And then there's another Grant, 2600 here.

JM: Right.

KM: Are we on this land sort of in this area here [pointing to location of Grant 2600]?

JM: No, we're down here.

KM: Okay. [opening another map] This is Register Map 1778, by A.B. Loebenstein in 1895. Yes, see this is Grant...

JM: Ten-Twenty (1020).

VM: Uh-hmm. That's coming down Kamā'ili Road.

KM: Okay. These Grants with Makuakāne's name on them, go back to 1851 thereabouts...
...Do you have a general sense about care for old Hawaiian places, sites, and the land like that?

JM: Oh yes!

KM: What do you think?

JM: I think that it should be kept that way. They depended on what it is. Our problem is that in our generation, they [the elders] don't talk about things like that, so we don't understand too much about it. What I understand, and my own feeling comes, not from my *kūpuna*... But from my understanding now, what the younger generation is trying to do and preserve and why. I feel yes, there are some things that are very significant. Even as a Christian, we understand that some of the *heiau* were sacrificial *heiau*, and the Hawaiians had different things that they believed in. But I don't think that we should condemn that. We need to understand it first.

KM: Yes, that was their way... ..You'd said earlier, in your young time, the *kūpuna* didn't always talk and tell you about things that were going on. I don't understand how come they chose not to speak of those old things, but, *mahalo* that you are willing to take the time today. Because you know, if we don't know this history, where you came from... And that's why I want to talk about your childhood and your recollections.

Like you were sharing earlier, a wonderful story about fishing, and how your papa would go down to get the *pūhi ūhā* [a variety of eel] and go then fishing. Those are wonderful stories that the children need to hear, because they can then learn about how you work on the land and ocean. Otherwise, our kids only know how to go to the refrigerator eh [smiling].

JM: And you've got to remember that before, they never had all these big trees that we have now. So the view, even though high, it was not obstructed at all. Even here, when I was growing up, none of these trees were here.

KM: Hmm. So, what was it like? What are some of your recollections as a child, living in Puna, working the land?



JM: Being raised and isolated in this small community, and because there was no real transportation, so we did not travel a lot. We Spent a lot of time in the area, we grew up knowing nothing except what was taught to us by our parents. When I look back, maybe at that time, we were taught number one, of the utmost importance in any Hawaiian home. In fact in all Hawaiian homes, that discipline was the number one thing within the family. So we grew up that way. We do not question our *kūpuna*, our parents, or anyone...

KM: 'Ae. ...It's so interesting, it seems that all of the families here, their livelihood was primarily tied to working the land.

JM: Uh-hmm.

KM: They would *'ohi lau hala* [harvest pandanus], *kanu kalo*, *'uala* [plant taro and sweet potatoes] like that, collecting *'awa* for sale.

JM: I don't recall anybody working anywhere else, but doing that.

KM: I see...

'Ulua fishing with the *pūhi wela* and *pūhi paka*; other types of *pūhi* also caught:

KM: Could you talk to me a little bit about the ocean, what it was to your family?

JM: My father, when he did *'uluu* [crevalle or jack fish] fishing, he always used the *pūhi* [eel] as bait. He would send me down, from behind of our house, close to the church, my grandma's place. I would take a long bamboo stick, and he would have a long cord with the hook on it, with the bait, and I would stick it on the end of the bamboo and put it in the *pūhi* hole. And that was the *ūhā* [type of eel]. And after I got it in the hole, I'd pull the bamboo, and I'd go up and he'd stay on the land because the cord was long. And he would just hang on. He could tell when the *pūhi* was on.

KM: Oh, so the *pūhi 'ūhā* would take the bait like that?

JM: Yes, I'd just put it inside and leave it in the hole. Pull the stick back out, and I'd go back up. And the *pūhi 'ūhā*, was big [gestures], I mean when you talk about *pūhi 'ūhā* those days, it's big, like your *'ūhā* [thigh]!

KM: Oh, like your leg.

JM: Yeah, and that's probably the reason they call it *'ūhā*.

KM: Oh, maybe so.

JM: So he'd pull it out. See, my father ate *pūhi*, all the family ate. But I never could get around to it [chuckles].

KM: [laughing]

JM: I was just that odd-ball kid, I don't eat *poi* either, when I was growing up.

KM: *Aia*, what *'ai laiki* [eat rice]?

JM: Yeah. [chuckling]

Group: [laughing]

JM: Yeah, I had a hard time with *poi*. But anyway, when the *pūhi* bite, he drag the *pūhi* out, and he cut the tail off. Then he would dig out the center bone and put his big hook inside and tie the top to the hook so it wouldn't slip down. Then we would come in front of here. This is what we called *Lae-'ō'io*, the point over here. I suppose that would be because there were plenty *'ō'io* [bone fish] in those days.

Then, we could catch the other fish, something that I would call the rubbish fish. Something that he won't eat, *wela*, *kāpā* [other types of eels], and he'd split that in half and we would take a hammer and pound on it and tie a cord and throw it in as chum. We



would pull it up, and we would do that for about five or ten minutes, then he would say, "How is it, warm?" I would think, "What are you talking about, warm?" Then he'd come over and feel it, "Ah, no, keep going." So we keep pounding. Then later on he come over feel, "Ahh! Here now." Then he'd tell us to stop. So he'd get his bait with his *aho* [line], and he would cowboy style [gestures swinging the bait line over his head], and throw the *pūhi* outside and drag it in [gestures hands pulling the line directly in front of him]. He'd do that one or two times, and then we'd see his hands go a different way. This way [gestures really pulling the line in, hands down at waste level], he pulling already. See, when he do that, it's like *kākele* [casting for 'ulua], when the hand goes side ways like that [gesturing], the 'ulua bite. He has 'ulua on his line.

Once, we caught one that was so big. My sister had come down and visit us, and her friend had a car. We didn't have a car yet, those days. And we had to go home, tell the guy to come down. We tied the rope to the car to pull the fish out.

KM: Wow! How big would you say that 'ulua was?

JM: My golly, if it wasn't close to 200 pounds. There was no way you could pull it up. And we pulled 80, over 100 pounds. The average weight that we used to catch was 60 to 80 pounds. That was the typical kind of size.

KM: And you said the *aho* was big eh?

JM: Oh yes, about the thickness of your small finger.

KM: So 'ulua was a big fish for this place here?

Names fish caught along the shores of Puna; *ko'a* known between Kumukāhi and Kalapana:

JM: All kinds, anything you want. Anything you wanted. When we wanted different kinds of fish. We wanted *manini*, *uouoa*, *āholehole*, or what ever we wanted, there were different places, and all we do is take the 'upena [net], "Boy, let's go." We jump in the car. We wanted *manini*, most likely we go to Pohoiki. We wanted *āholehole*, we would go down to Kehena. One throw, we don't *hemo* the fish from the net. It is so full. We just pick up the net, carry the net in the bag, and go home. We take the fish out at home. Enough for us.

KM: One throw?

JM: Enough, that's it. You cannot eat it all. You got to salt, or *kaha* [cut] for dry. But only one *kā* [throw]. One throw and that's it. Every time we go. So the fish was plentiful.

KM: In your childhood time, you had access, you could go fish anywhere along this shore?

JM: Anywhere, anywhere.

KM: Did papa...you know, if papa went down to Pohoiki to go fish, did they *aloha* to the 'ohana that was living down there, share some fish back?

JM: Oh yes, yes, always did that.

KM: You saw on the map [Reg. Map 1778], your little canoe landing?

JM: Right.

KM: Pā or Po'okea.

VM: Po'okea.

KM: Po'okea. Did papa or anyone still have canoes here when you were a child?

JM: Oh yes, plenty.

KM: Did they go out *lawai'a* [fish]?

JM: Oh yes. We go all the time.



KM: 'Ōpelu, 'ahi?
 JM: More was 'ōpelu, kawele'ā, 'ula'ula, 'ōpakapaka.
 KM: Oh, so you would also go deep out to the ko'a [fishing stations]?
 JM: Yes.
 KM: So did they have set areas where they knew the i'a [fish] would come?
 JM: Yes, yes. 'Ōpelu, there were two ko'a right outside of the canoe landing, and further up by what we call the old school house, that's another ko'a.
 KM: Ahh, so you would mark form like various spots on the land, where your ko'a was?
 JM: Yes. See, usually when we go out...Like I know where there was a good 'ula'ula ko'a down in Kehena. You go out, look at Kumukāhi, and then at the Kalapana point, and then there is a grave yard. So you line up those three, and you drop, guaranteed you get 'ula'ula.
 KM: For real? So that's how you would mark. You get far enough out, you see Kumukāhi, and you look to Kalapana Point, and then you line up with the grave yard?
 JM: Yeah. That's where you get the 'ula'ula.
 KM: Too good yeah. You know for your 'ōpelu out here? What kind of maunu, bait did you use?

'Ōpae 'ula gathered and used for 'ōpelu fishing:

JM: The small red 'ōpae [shrimp]. We used to go to Keahialaka and we used to go over to Kapoho. And that was our job. If those who were going out for 'ōpelu wanted to go out, they'd always ask us. It was our job to go get the 'ōpae.
 KM: So you would go get 'ōpae 'ula at Keahialaka, the pond not far from the heiau side?
 JM: Right.
 KM: And then Wai'ōpae at Kapoho?
 JM: Yeah. Kapoho The ponds all over Wai'ōpae. You cannot even... What we gather from there, is not even different from any part of that, abundance. And you don't need too much. Because when you put inside that palu [bait] bag, the 'ōpae is alive yet. You take the limu [seaweed] and you put inside, and so the 'ōpae is still alive. So when they put it in the palu bag, and when they drop down... See, the way you do it with pumpkin, or the taro, or the other kind that they use today, they usually do it past the net. And then they hemo [release the bait].
 KM: 'Ae, huki [yes, pull].
 JM: Yes, and the palu bag open. But with the 'ōpae, you open 'um way high above, because the 'ōpae swim. So when you open on the top, the 'ōpelu see, and the 'ōpae go down. All the way to the bottom of the net and go outside of the net. So the 'ōpelu chase 'um all the way down to the bottom of the net, and pa'a [stuck]. Then you don't have to worry, you just huki [pull] your net up.
 But, when I went the other style of 'ōpelu fishing, with the pumpkin and the taro, you have to pound on the canoe because the 'ōpelu like come back up eh. But with the 'ōpae, they go down to the net, because the 'ōpae stay underneath the net.
 KM: Ahh, so when they pound the canoe, the 'ōpelu are afraid...?
 JM: Yeah, they go down.
 KM: Ahh!



JM: With *‘ōpae*, you don’t have to do that. They automatically go down, and stay down.

KM: Now in Kona, like Ka’ūpūlehu, Kūki’o, Mahai’ula like that...?

JM: Uh-hmm.

KM: They would also gather *lepo* [dirt], they’d put the *‘ōpae* in with dark *lepo* so it was like shadows in the water. Did you mix your *‘ōpae* here with anything? The *limu*?

JM: No, the *limu* was only to keep it alive.

KM: Just to keep it alive?

JM: Yeah.

KM: So you would go down to the pond, you *‘ohi ‘ōpae*, and you’d get the *limu* from the pond?

JM: Yes.

KM: The green *limu*?

JM: Yes green, *limu*.

KM: So that *limu* is what you would gather when you get *‘ōpae*.

JM: And then we put the *‘ōpae* inside, she’d stay alive. And then, when you go out, they don’t use that, they only put the *‘ōpae* in the *palu* bag. The *‘ōpae* no mix with nothing, just the *‘ōpae*. And that’s why they don’t have to use too much because the *‘ōpae* swim.

KM: Too good. And the *‘ōpelu* plenty?

Fish always shared among families:

JM: Oh, plenty! Oh yes. How many canoes? Let’s see. Joe Mānoa, Jack Kahana, my Uncle Hanohano, Hailama Kahaloa, at least six canoes. And everyone go out, they all get *‘ōpelu*, except for this one person. Him, his canoe is always full up. Jack Kahana. Because he come in... I suppose you’ve heard of the *hāpai wa’a* [custom of division between those who help carry the canoes on shore].

KM: ‘Ae.

JM: Well, when the other canoes come in, they count what they give you. But when he come in his canoe, he just grab and throw the fish to you, he doesn’t count. And his canoe always used to come in with more fish than any other canoe there.

KM: So you think he went out *hānai ko’a* [feed and care for the fishing station]?

JM: I don’t think they had to *hānai*. I don’t recall. Because, I guess it’s not fished out like some of the other places. The fish are always there. And another thing, I’ve never noticed the water to be as rough as it is nowadays. We could go out almost any time...

KM: Hmm. Now, Hailama, I understand... I spoke with Arthur Lyman, yeah.

JM: Uh-hmm.

KM: And he said that Hailama had the last lease that they had down there for Wai’ōpae side. They leased him, I guess, the rights to gather *‘ōpae ‘ula*.

JM: Well you know, this is interesting that you bring this up, that there was a lease. We had never, at any time, known that we couldn’t go there.

KM: So it was the custom, that you folks could go?

JM: We could just go! Even Keahialaka, Even though it was the Hales place, we would just go.

KM: But the *‘ohana* you *aloha* eh? [greet one another and share the catch]



JM: Oh yes.

KM: And what, would you bring fish back if the canoe came in...?

JM: Well, like I said, this Uncle Jack was one of them. He always give, always give.

KM: Well, like you said, the *hāpai wa'a*, the *kōkua* [helpers] on the shore...

JM: That's what I mean, they get. As long as you touch the canoe, that's enough [chuckles]

Group: [laughing]

JM: You walk along side, you just hold the canoe, you going get fish. That's the way that it was. But you see, most of the canoe guys, they would count [how many fish they gave]. But with this Jack Kahana, he doesn't count, he just grab the fish and give it to you.

KM: I've heard stories from the *kūpuna* in the old times, about the *'aumakua lawai'a* [fisherman's god], when they give, you would always get back. Did you hear any stories like that?

JM: Oh yes! Yes, I always knew that. I always knew that. And when ever our *kūpuna* wanted to go fishing, they would always call on us, the young ones, they would take four of us young ones and two fishermen. We *hoe* [paddle] that's why. We do all the paddling. I can recall several times out there, rain, dark, they cannot see land marks. And in the morning, when you see, you're way past Kumukāhi, way outside.

KM: Oh so you'd go out when it was still dark time?

JM: Oh yes, night time, we'd go out fish. The *'ōpelu* is day, but other fish like *kawele'ā* and some of the other fish we go for, are at night.

KM: Hmm. So what kind of fish would you go out for at night time?

JM: More, they would go for *kawele'ā*. I've never heard, or never known for us to get *'ū'ū* [menpachi]. We'd spear the *'ū'ū*, but we would never go hook *'ū'ū*.

KM: Day time?

JM: Day time, spear.

KM: So you'd go in the crevices like that?

JM: Yes. And remember, I was telling you about this guy from Kaua'i, Moke?

KM: Yes.

JM: I don't know his last name, but he was the one, that when he came from Kaua'i and somehow became friends with my father, he lived with us for a while. He was the one that introduced us to diving out in the deep.

KM: Hmm. So, you know your *'ōpelu*, you folks would go out...? Was it all fresh, or did you *kaula'i* [dry] and sell some?

JM: No, it was all for *'ohana*. I have never known them to go out and sell. They always go get their share. Some they dry. I guess, *'ōpelu* is season, yeah. They come only certain time of the year.

KM: And your *'upena* [net] was a round *'upena*?

JM: Round, what they call *poi* bowl kind.

KM: So there were two lines or something to let down and pull up?

JM: When you look at the Kona net and the Puna net, they are two different kinds. The Puna net is shallow and like a *poi* bowl. The Kona net is like a cone, real deep. That's because the *ko'a 'ōpelu* is shallow over here.



KM: Hmm.

JM: So I've worked both the Puna style and the Ka'ū and Kona style, their style is easier to *hemo* the *ōpelu*. Because all you need to do, is pull the net inside the canoe and just open the underneath, and all the fish just come out.

KM: They drop out of the bottom.

JM: The Puna style, you've got to pull the whole net, and turn the net inside out to get the fish out. It does not come to a cone, and like how they tie the bottom where they have the led to take the net down. All they do is *hemo* that and underneath open and all the fish come out.

Ocean likened to one's refrigerator; you just took what you could use:

KM: Hmm. Before the interview, you'd also mentioned something about the ocean being like your folks *pahu hau* [refrigerator] eh?

JM: It was! It was. You know, we never knew probably, so we were never dependent on the *pahu hau*, the ice box or refrigerator. Because when ever we wanted the fish, it was right there, always there.

KM: So were your *kūpuna* and *mākuā* careful about how they would gather? Not take so much that it was *pohō* and thrown away?

JM: Ohh! Never, never ever...we were taught never, ever to do that. And even now, I have a hard time, even though not much *ōpihi*, I have a hard time picking small kind *ōpihi*. Some guys tell me, "Why don't you take that, because if you don't take, somebody else will take?" But I have a hard time taking that. It has to be a certain size...

KM: ...Okay, now earlier, we were talking about the ocean and that you folks took for your time, what you needed. You'd mentioned that sometimes they get plenty fish, and that they *kaha* [cut some up], *kāpī* [salt] the fish or something. Where did your *pa'akai* come from?

JM: That we got from the store. We never had, the only time we got is if we would go down below Volcano.

Pa'akai formerly made along the shore in southern Puna:

KM: So 'Āpua, Keauhou, Kealakomo like that?

JM: Yeah. When we used to go there, we would gather the salt, and then we would bring home. But other than that, no.

KM: Uncle Hale and Uncle Gabriel mentioned that even like at Kapa'ahu side, they could make *pa'akai*.

JM: Yes, that's right, but not this side.

KM: Was there interaction between the families? Like if you had a good *ōpelu*, would you folks work together and exchange resources? Or did you folks pretty much work within the *'ohana*?

JM: We pretty much worked within the *'ohana*, yeah. We would have the 'Ōpihikao group that goes out *ōpelu* fishing here, and the Kalapana group that goes for *ōpelu* at their canoe landing in Kalapana.

KM: 'Ae. Did you folks pretty much, then... for your fishing, did you mostly stay here, or did you go down... Let's say, like you go down to Pohoiki or Maunakea's area at Oneloa, would you go *ōpelu* fishing down there?



JM: No. No, we never needed to. The *ko'a* that we had here was more than enough for the six canoes that were here. During the season, they can go everyday, and they always get 'ōpelu. But you know, because I did not see them selling the 'ōpelu, they really didn't need that much. So they really didn't go out that much. Because one time they go out, oh my golly, they've got enough 'ōpelu to last you for months.

KM: So they got what they needed.

JM: Yeah. More than enough.

KM: Did they dry some for home use?

JM: Oh yes.

KM: So you folks would *kaula'i* [dry] the 'ōpelu like that?

JM: Yes. We always dried some.

KM: So there was a strong sense...this idea about access to the ocean, access to the uplands...

JM: Uh-hmm.

KM: *Lau hala*, 'awa, *kalo* like that. The relationship between working *mauka-makai*. When the ocean was 'ōkaikai, or rough, down here, did you folks go up...?

JM: We go *mauka*, work. And because...I'm saying this because my grandfather owned almost all the properties here, but we have never had problems, in as far as I'm concerned. I don't care where we wanted to go. Go to the beach or if I saw an orange tree over there, and I wanted an orange, it was okay for us to go get it. But always in a respectful way that we take what we need only. If I'm not taking home, I'll just take one or two, enough for me to eat, and I go my way. We never had problems, yeah.

In our homes here, we never had doors. Certainly no locks, because there was no door. Our main house inside, was a two story building. The down stairs had a wide opening like this [pointing the entry way of his present house, a double-door entry]. But no door. And then it was our kitchen, our living room, and every thing was open...

KM: Hmm... Did you ever see your *kūpuna* go take 'awa down to the ocean maybe, to give to *manō* or something like that?

Kūpuna would throw a gourd in the ocean to distract sharks from the *ko'a*:

JM: No. That I've never seen, but I know that I was told that our guardian was the shark. And I know I've heard that before us, they used to talk about how they took calabash, gourd eh. And when they'd see the big shark come towards the canoe, they'd throw the gourd out side so that the shark would go after the gourd rather than the canoe.

KM: The *manō* eh?

JM: Yeah.

KM: So they'd throw the *hue* or calabash inside the water, and he'd go after that?

JM: He go after that and he no bother you. I've heard that. But not when my time. But I've always heard, "Don't be scared of the shark. Don't worry about the shark, that's your guardian." I always heard that. We go diving and get plenty shark, but never thought anything about it...

KM: You know, you hear stories some times that the *kūpuna*, sometimes the *manō* would draw the schools of *i'a* [fish] to you like that. Did you see anything like that with the old man Kahana *mā*?

JM: Not, that I never saw.



Laws regarding use of *‘ōpae ‘ula* inconsistent with traditional practice; use of “*hauna*” baits unhealthy, and draw predators to the *ko‘a*:

KM: Yeah. So, you really *aloha* this *‘āina*, yeah?

JM: Yes, very, very much so...

KM: ...Do people still use *‘ōpae* to go out for *‘ōpelu*?

JM: No, that was outlawed in... I think late 1940s or early 1950s. It was outlawed that we can not use that anymore. So that's the reason I know of why we did not go *‘ōpelu* fishing anymore. 'Cause we no *ma‘a* [not used to], like the Kona side, they *ma‘a* already, using the pumpkin, the taro, and the other baits. Here, we have never used that. Not that we cannot, but I guess they just didn't want to do it.

KM: Hmm. Did you hear your *mākuu* or anybody talk about the use of what they call “chop chop” now, or “*make dog*”?

JM: Right, the different names that they use. No. They just didn't want to fish without that *‘ōpae*. That was their way.

KM: Yes, and it's sad, when you go throw in the *hauna* [stink, meat bait], your *ko‘a* changes too.

JM: Right, it does. You bring in all of the different fish that you don't want. See, the sad thing about that is that a lot of fishermen that I see, that happens, then they bring up the fish and then they throw away. That is terrible. You know they catch all the fish, even the ones they don't want, on the *‘upena* [net].

When you put inside the canoe...like our Puna side, with the *poi* bowl type of net, you don't have one pile like the Kona style. When you *hū* [pour the fish out of the net], it's the whole canoe. The net all *huli* inside, and we get all *‘ōpelu* inside. So if they are still alive, and they're shaking, they take 'um and throw back what you don't like. But a lot of them don't do that. They bring 'um inside if you do the chop chop. Because with the *‘ōpae*, you know, guaranteed, only *‘ōpelu*. But when you start chop chop, you get all other kinds of fish go inside, that people don't care for. And then, they bring 'um in and just throw it all away. And that is bad!

Probably, the *kūpuna* knew about chop chop, they understand. But the Hawaiians, they no *‘uha‘uha* [waste]. Because food don't cry for you, you cry for it.

KM: 'Ae [chuckles].

JM: So they never did that kind of stuff. So probably, as far as I know, and I can understand it, once the *‘ōpae* was outlawed, *pau*.

VM: The *‘ōpae* have disappeared. Same thing with the *‘ōhua*, they came in seasons. You can go out and catch 'um by the bucket full. We'd go home and dry it, enough for the whole year. Then they made a law that you cannot catch that thing, it disappeared. You hardly see it.

JM: And yet, when we were growing, that was part of our food.

VM: 'Ae.

Discusses seasons in which various fish were caught:

JM: Every season, we have season for *‘ōhua*, *moi li'i*, down the line, all different kinds. It was put there for us at different times. When the *‘ōhua pau*, the *moi li'i* come, when the *moi li'i pau*, the *‘oama* come. Right down the line. When that was *pau*, the *‘ōpelu* was in season. So you always had.

KM: Hmm. So they were working the fishery year round, one to another?



JM: Right.

KM: That way the other fish can grow up again. You know, Arthur Lyman mentioned something very interesting. When you would go for 'ōpelu with 'ōpae 'ula, you can even eat the ōpū [stomach] eh?

JM: That's the best palu [a salted fish relish]. See the old folks never throw away. That's why even until today, when clean the 'ōpelu, I like clean 'um. I like the ake [liver] [chuckles].

KM: 'Ae. Just like you said, the ōpū like that, and when the 'ōpae are inside, you can eat that.

JM: Oh yes.

KM: Arthur said that he wouldn't be surprised if one of the reasons people get sick when they do that and if they break the ake or something like that, is because when they put hauna in the water, the fish eat hauna.

JM: Uh-hmm.

KM: And then you get sick.

VM: Uh-hmm.

JM: Because even when...I have never seen dried 'ōpelu, like the kind of 'ōpelu we have here in Puna. Because when we kaha [cut] the 'ōpelu, you see, you take the pihapiha [gills] eh.

KM: Hmm.

JM: Then you rub that all on the 'ōpelu.

KM: Yes, red eh.

JM: Yes, it comes red! Oh, the good looking!

VM: And the 'ōpelu, when it was dried before, it never got mildew. Now, when you dry the 'ōpelu, you have to keep 'um in the freezer.

JM: We never had that.

KM: Yes, they don't dry 'um good now, when you go to the store.

JM: No, 'cause then they loose the weight.

KM: You're right.

JM: The drier it gets, the less the weight. So they want that wet weight, not the dry weight. It's totally different.

KM: I think you're right. Before, when you would kaula'i [dry], did you use the box, or did you just set it out?

JM: Right on the stone. See what we generally do, we used to have another warm spring, that was across the road. Right next to the road, maybe ten, fifteen feet away. And when the water is low, no more rain, we keep the water in the barrel, we keep it for drinking. The women folks would go down to this place, take their pā kini [tin basins] and put their water. That's where they would wash their clothes, and then they'd dry their clothes on the stone. And that's where they would kaula'i the fish too. They're sitting over there talking story, waiting for the clothes to dry, same time that the 'ōpelu drying.

KM: Hmm. So it would dry fast on the stone?

JM: Yes, yes.

KM: So 'ono, the ōpū with the 'ōpae and stuff?



- JM: That's guaranteed, every time, you clean, all the *ōpū* is saved. All the *ōpū*, because that's all *'ōpae*. No more *kāpulu* [dirty or contaminated bait] kind inside there. It's all clean with the *'ōpae*.
- KM: Hmm. It's so interesting. It is smart, a simple way of life, not complicated, but the people lived well. They *aloha*, take care.
- JM: They get *aloha* for everything that you have, everything that you see. That's where I think that was the biggest thing, to respect. Not just human beings, but everything around you.
- KM: *Mahalo...*



**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)
March 3, 1999 – with Kepā Maly**

Mrs. Mary Tom-Ahuna was born at Ka'alaea, O'ahu on April 1st, 1899⁴, and was of pure Chinese ancestry. In 1914, she married Loo Fat Kung Ahuna, who was Hawaiian-Chinese, and a native of Kukuiope'e, South Kona. By ca. 1916, Mrs. Ahuna moved to Kukuiope'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. Among the recollections shared by Mrs. Ahuna, Mrs. Yee, and family, are stories of fishpond care at Ka'alaea, O'ahu, and shoreline fishing in South Kona.

Personal releases of the interview records were granted to Kepā Maly on May 18, 2002.

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 1st, 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...?

⁴ Mrs. Ahuna passed away in October 1999.



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

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...

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

MA: I don't know, I forget.

KM: Where did you live in Kona?

MA: Kukuiopa'e.

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

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

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 Kukuiopa'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 Kukuiope'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 6th 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 Kukuiope'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...

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...

Discusses method of fishing along the shore, using the 'ala'ala (squid 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 shore line fish and the men go out make 'ōpelu?

MA: Yes, they go on the boat.

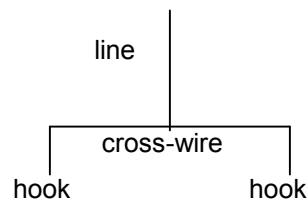
KM: They no let you go out for 'ōpelu?

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: ...Interesting, yeah. So 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-Acia⁵ (KPA Photo No. 4065)
Recollections of the Lands and Fisheries of the Ka'ohē-Miloli'i section of Kapalilua
December 11, 1999, May 13, 2000 and May 28, 2000 – with Kepā Maly**

Hannah Waha Pōhaku Grace Kawa'auhau-Acia was born at Ka'ohē, 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.



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.

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.

⁵ Joined by children and granddaughter – Hannah Kawa'auhau-Shimsaki, Donald K. Kawa'auhau, Ellen Kawa'auhau-Cullen, and Cynthia Whitworth-Galiato



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 inoa⁶. Ku'u mākuia pono'i, 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.

⁶ 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: Were they at Ka'ohē 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'ohē inoa Hawai'i, kēlā wale no.
 KM: '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, Pepeluai, 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 shore line 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 mākoī.
 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'ōhe, 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 ōpū o ka 'ōpelu, 'ono* [chuckling].

KM: 'Ae. *Ka mahamaha?*

HG-A: *Ka mahamaha, kiloī, akā ka ōpū.*

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 pūnāwai, 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: 'Ekolu. Ko'u kahu hānai, our neighbor, Moke Wentworth and Apela. 'Ekolu 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'ule 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?

Kalo and pumpkin used as bait for 'ōpelu. *Kupuna* was a canoe peddler 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: *Mālolo*.

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: *Pi'i 'oia me 'elua, 'ekolu kanaka. Lākou pi'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'ī 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: Nahelehele.
- HG-A: Nahelehele [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... 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 *pākeke* 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 ma mua, 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, Kukuiopae, ai 'ole Kukuiopa'e?*

HG-A: Kukuiopa'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'ohe side?

HG-A: He went up Ka'ohe.

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

(Register map 2468 referenced at points during interview)

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'ohe?

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 ma waho o ka ulu 'ohi'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 and landed on the cliffs with *lona* (rollers):

HG-A: *Hiki! Well, ka pali (i 'Ōlelomoana) me ka hale pāpa'i mamua, ma lalo, 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 ma luna.*

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 ...

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)
May 28, 2000 – Interview with Kepā & Onaona Maly at Ho'opūloa, South Kona***

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'ilii?

HG-A: 'Elepaio.

KM: Ka 'elepaio. He'aha ka hana a ka 'elepaio?

HG-A: [chuckling] When they 'oki that koa... They pī'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 kuahiwī?*

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 pololoi*, 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: *Pūnāwai* get the kind, but way *mauka*.
 KM: The *ʻiako* not *hau* also, you don't think?
 HG-A: No, I don't know what they use.
 KM: Not *ʻōhiʻa* 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 *kūʻai* already?
 HG-A: They went *kūʻai* already, by that time was *kūʻai* 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 *Kūʻula*:

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 *Kūʻula*.
 KM: The place where they would go take the *iʻa 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 *Kūʻula*.
 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 *ʻāina* 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 *makai*?

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 that 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 mā mā* 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, *ma waho.*

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 mākoī*. 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 *lāī*, 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 mākoī*, and the *i'a* take the *palu*, so you bring the hook up dab a little more on top, *kiloī* 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: ...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* Pōhaku lōloa, 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...

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'li'i?*” [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 iwī?*



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 *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. 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.



Hāuhiuhi or Kolomona (Cassia chaudii).
(KPA Photo 4081)



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 chaudii*]. 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*...



Fred Kaimalino Leslie (with Weston Leslie)
Fisheries and Fishing Customs of the South Kona Region
February 14, 2001, at Nāpoʻopoʻo – with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. 1056)

Fred Kaimalino Leslie was born at Nāpoʻopoʻo in 1918. His immediate family (Leslie, Gaspar and Kamakau) has lived at Nāpoʻopoʻo for generations, and his late wife's family (Lanui Kaneao and Kua) was the last native Hawaiian family to reside on the Kaʻawaloa Flats, where he also lived for a while in the 1930s. Mr. Leslie was raised, and has lived his life as a fisherman. As a youth, he traveled the land and ocean of Kona with his elders. He still makes *ōpelu* nets, and during the interview *Kupuna* Leslie shared detailed descriptions of fishing customs; and the importance of features on the inland landscape to locating fisheries (*koʻa*).



Mr. Leslie's nephews, Gene and Weston Leslie initiated the contact, and Weston facilitated arrangements for the interview. The elder Mr. Leslie gave his personal release of the interview to Maly on May 2, 2001.

KM: Uncle may I please ask you what is your full name and when were you born?

FL: I was born September 10, 1918.

KM: 'Ae. A Blessing...strong. Your full name?

FL: [chuckling] Fred...my Hawaiian name is Kaimalino, Leslie.

KM: Fred Kaimalino Leslie, beautiful.

FL: Yeah. That's what I used to go by the Hawaiians that were in the village at that time, they all knew me as Kaimalino.

KM: Nice.

Dove along the Nāpoʻopoʻo shore line for *uhu* and other fish; always shared with elders:

FL: I used to go spear *uhu*, I used to give 'em. Sometimes I would go just for...some of the Hawaiians those days when you go down, you walking on the road. They tell, "Ē, *hele mai 'ai!*" They call you, come eat. When I go inside there they no more nothing only salt and *poi*.

KM: 'Ae, that's how yeah.

FL: That's all they get for eat.

KM: So you go *lawai'a*, and then you go share with them?



FL: I go get fish for them, I give 'em. I go spear fish, I give 'em.

KM: *Maika'i*. Where were you born?

FL: Down at Nāpo'opo'o.

KM: 'Ae. Who was your mama?

FL: My mama was Joanna Gaspar.

KM: Papa?

FL: Henry Andrew Leslie.

KM: What did your papa do?

FL: He used to be fisherman and he used to take care the landing at Nāpo'opo'o, he was what they call a wharf manager.

KM: That's Henry?

FL: Henry.

KM: Was papa *hapa Hawai'i* or was he pure *haole*?

FL: He was Hawaiian and *haole*.

KM: Mama was?

FL: She was part Hawaiian, some of the family was from Kaua'i, the Fredenburg family...

KM: ...Did you go Konawaena, or *pau*?

FL: Konawaena. I went until I was in the eighth grade and I quit school. Those days was hard time, plus the depression years. Then I started go fishing.

KM: Hmm. I hear you folks were famous fishermen, your *'ohana*?

FL: Yeah, we were flag line fishing, that is what you call long line.

KM: Long line...and so you started going *kahakai*, you go *'au'au*, you go dive fish like you said you go for *uhu* like that?

FL: Yeah, spear. Those days we got to learn that's our living. We were not that bad we're young kids yet, when we like fish, we just go get 'em.

KM: Yeah, you knew?

FL: The elderly people, had the Ka'ohu family, they were in their eighty's some of them ninety, maybe over. That's what I used to do, go spear and...

KM: *Maika'i*, so you *aloha* the *kūpuna*, yeah?

FL: Hmm.

KM: You would go out and like you said they call you, "*Hele mai 'ai*" and you go, they get *pa'akai*...

FL: No more, only *poi* and salt.

KM: Did you folks used to make salt down here, somewhere?

FL: Yeah, I've known of people going along the beach down Ka'awaloa side.

Gathered salt from *poho pa'akai* on the Ka'awaloa shore:

KM: On to the Ka'awaloa flat side?

FL: Yeah, on the flat outside by the lighthouse there.

KM: 'Ae.



FL: And they get the kind *poho pa'akai*, and that's where we go get our salt.

KM: I guess certain time of the year they would go when the ocean...

FL: When rough. When real rough, the water go on top and go inside all this *poho*, eh.

KM: 'Ae.

FL: Then the sun evaporates take the water away and just leaves the salt. Talk about good salt, that's the best...that's the winner!

KM: I'm going to pull out this Ka'awaloa map.

FL: I've lived in that area for several years.

KM: Oh yeah.

WL: Aunty Annie's from there too.

FL: Yeah, my wife is from there.

KM: Uncle, this is the Ka'awaloa Flat Map, Number 205.

FL: Oh, yeah.

KM: Here's the lighthouse side over here.

FL: *Heiau*, this is a *heiau*.

KM: You remember that *heiau*?

FL: Yeah, I remember this *heiau*...

KM: ...And this is your nephew, Weston Leslie?

FL: Yeah.

KM: Wes, what year you were born?

WL: January 13, 1947.

KM: Okay...

Discussing sites along the shore of Ka'awaloa:

FL: Way over, yeah. That stone they used to call...what the heck now they had a name...Lepeamo.

KM: Ah...Lepeamo...yeah and then you go a little further Hāli'ilua?

FL: Hāli'ilua is the cold pond that's right in Ka'awaloa already.

KM: 'Ae. But Lepeamo is?

FL: The *mauka* side.

KM: *Mauka*. Did you hear did they used to jump, dive, leaping?

FL: Yeah, dive.

KM: You heard that?

FL: Yeah, you can go up to the top and jump.

KM: Ah... So is Lepeamo in Kealakekua or Ka'awaloa?

FL: Ka'awaloa, right in Ka'awaloa.

KM: You know this map again, of Ka'awaloa Flat is really nice because you see this old marine railway? I guess how they used to bring the boats in and out before. Here's Hāli'ilua right here.



FL: Yeah, yeah.

KM: Lepeamoa is further out, further over or is it?

FL: Up this way.

KM: Yeah, so here's the ocean side Ka'awaloa come, then come Kealakekua over...

FL: What are these? [looking at map]

KM: These are rocks...fronting here.

FL: This might be the Lepeamoa right here.

KM: Oh, right by Hāli'ilua?

FL: Yeah, right by right close.

KM: Oh, wonderful so it's a high stone and then they jump?

FL: Yeah, it goes up to a point like.

KM: Oh.

FL: And according to the old-timer, they said they used to go up on the top and dive.

KM: *Kawa*.

FL: They dive back this way.

KM: In towards the shore side?

FL: Deep 'eh.

KM: On the cliff side.

FL: This stone here is where the *Humuula* used to anchor, had a cattle chute over here, Greenwell's had a cattle chute.

KM: That's right, yes.

FL: The ship come in, drop anchor. They drop the anchor over here and then they the power boat take the steering line over here. In fact like a turn buckle where they put the end...

KM: Was the cattle chute by Cook Landing, Cook Monument or was it further by Hāli'ilua?

FL: *Makai* side, more *makai* by the *awa*, by the canoe *awa*.

KM: 'Ae, right here, here's the canoe landing right here. I think this is the landing here then. See these big rocks in the water here?

FL: Yeah.

KM: Here's the canoe landing.

WL: Still get the foundation.

KM: That's right...still get, yeah, the chute.

WL: Yeah.

FL: The foundation is still there. This is the canoe landing.

KM: 'Ae.

FL: And the Government road going up...

WL: ...Somewhere by the dry-dock never have one pond for the wahines go over there for 'au'au before?

KM: 'Ae.



FL: Yeah, that's Hāli'ilua.

KM: Cold that water?

FL: Cold water...and you know in the corner *mauka* side the water gushing out just like fresh water coming out.

KM: Wow!

FL: And mix with the salt, that's why it's cold.

WL: We used to go '*upena ku'u* over there before..

FL: Yeah, '*upena ku'u*. You know, when you go dive, you can hardly see.

KM: That's the fresh water?

FL: The fresh water mix.

KM: Yeah.

FL: Gushing out. You go over there you take soap, you take any soap you go in the salt water, you no get suds.

KM: No suds. [chuckling]

FL: You go over there you get suds.

KM: Oh good for '*au'au*.

FL: I used to tell my wife...eh, you know how you test water. Them they don't know. They tell me, "you and your ideas."

Group: [laughing]

FL: Take one bar soap go over there try suds 'um if the buggah suds that's fresh water...

WL: ...Uncle, how you guys get you *poi* coming across Nāpo'opo'o?

FL: Yeah.

WL: Put the flag up and then paddle over across the bay?

FL: Yeah.

KM: For real...

WL: The white flag up.

KM: At Nāpo'opo'o landing, they hoist up one flag you knew had *poi*.

FL: Then we go over get the *poi*.

KM: You paddle the canoe?

FL: Yeah. I had one canoe I used to use over there. Those days was all [gestures paddling a canoe].

In his youth, paddled canoe to the '*ahi ko'a* by Keauhou:

KM: *Hoe, hoe, hoe ka wa'a*. That's why you strong yet too, even though you smoked you said, but because you out *lawai'a*, you paddle canoe...the lungs strong 'eh.

FL: I used to paddle, man I paddle all over. I used to go down to the '*ahi ko'a*, down Keauhou, all paddle.

KM: For real, wow!

FL: Early in the morning, I go.



KM: And you said one last thing here...Ka'awaloa by the lighthouse side has the *poho*, *pa'akai*?

FL: Still there.

KM: That's where you folks would go make salt?

FL: Yeah.

KM: That's important. Now, did you folks go to the mountain also to plant or did someone else plant and you stayed *makai*?

FL: No, we never did.

KM: You folks were fisherman?

FL: Fishermen, yeah.

KM: This is a little hard because it's the scale but the map...here's Kealakekua, Nāpo'opo'o Landing. You would go fish various places all along here?

FL: All along here, yeah.

KM: Even you said the *ko'a 'ahi* at Keauhou? You go that far out? [pointing out various locations on register Map No. 1281]

Describes *'ahi ko'a* of Pu'u Ohau-'Umi Ko'a:

FL: Yeah. By Red Hill, even Red Hill there.

KM: Yeah, so here's Pu'u Ohau...that's Pu'u Ohau right, Red Hill?

FL: The *'ahi ko'a* is over here someplace.

KM: This is Keawekaheka, this is Ka'awaloa, here's Keauhou here.

FL: Yeah.

KM: When you would go out to the *ko'a*...how far out is the *ko'a 'ahi*, mile or more or less?

FL: I would think about a mile and a half somewheres around there.

KM: Did you have certain points on the land that you would mark?

FL: Mark, yeah we got landmark by what triangulation.

KM: Yes. What kind of areas? If I can ask, because it's important so that you know sometimes now, when the bulldozer come *pau*...they even move the landmarks.

FL: Oh yeah, that's what our problem is now.

KM: How come it's a problem?

FL: Well, you take before the Red Hill *ko'a*...

KM: *'Ae, ma'ane'i*, here's Pu'u Ohau.

FL: They had a name one was 'Umi, 'Umi was where if the current go strong Kohala. And in fishing [gestures motion with hands] the fish is always work against the current. I used to wonder why might be easier to catch small fish because the small fish going against the current. Cannot fish so fast, then the big fish catch 'em and eat 'em. I figure that's why and another theory is by working against the current the small fish going be carried by the current right.

[The *'Umi Ko'a* (and associated land markers) mentioned above by uncle was also described in the 1930s by Nāpo'opo'o historian, Kalokuokamaile.]

And they say if you was one *'ahi* you work against that. Your meal going come to you.



KM: That's right, come to your mouth you no need work as hard [chuckling]

FL: You no need bust your ass for 'em.

KM: Yeah.

FL: It figures.

Discusses relationship of currents to *ko'a* fisheries:

KM: The Kohala current, come down from Kohala?

FL: Yeah, if strong Kohala...especially if the thing pull to Maui. Maui is an angle...

KM: Yeah...angle out.

FL: They going in at an angle and that's the *ko'a* they call 'Umi.

KM: 'Umi, in front of Pu'u Ohau?

FL: This way of Pu'u Ohau.

KM: Kealakekua side of Pu'u Ohau?

FL: Yeah.

KM: You said about a mile or something out like that?

FL: About a mile and a half.

KM: 'Umi.

FL: That's only about seventy fathoms.

KM: For 'ahi?

FL: For 'ahi.

KM: Oh, *maika'i*.

FL: But now if they going put that law and you cannot fish...what the Hawaiians cannot go catch, 'ahi? Bull shit, I going whether they like it or not.

KM: Yeah, because that's your practice. That's your traditional way.

FL: Yeah.

KM: And you learned this *ko'a* from your *kūkū*, from your papa *mā*?

FL: Yeah, passed down. They get guys on that committee that don't know nothing!

KM: On the committee?

FL: They don't know nothing!

Discusses the *ko'a* of Kanāhāhā; and relationship of landmarks to locating fisheries:

WL: Get 'Umi, get Kanāhā...

FL: Kanāhāhā. [*Kupuna* Kalokuokamaile also described the *Kanāhāhā Ko'a* in the 1930s.]

KM: 'Cause Kanāhāhā that's way one *pu'u* on top Hualālai side too?

FL: Yeah.

KM: You triangulate with that *pu'u*?

FL: No, not really our best mark was down Keauhou used to get one banyan bush, and then you triangulate 'um... You put the banyan bush right on one sand hole and you let 'em up and that's triangulation this way. Then down this way you can use Nāpo'opo'o's different house on that lighthouse point.



KM: You get that far out where you can see the banyan at Keauhou?
 FL: Where the line intersect is it.
 KM: Amazing!
 FL: That's triangulation.
 KM: And you got to know your land.
 FL: Yeah, you got to know what house.
 WL: What area.
 KM: Had *pu'u* that they used or sections in the forest?
 FL: They get all kinds of markers. On the mountain get one bush, that's my marker and the bush square you know. You know the Kona Hospital, the square bush you put 'em right on Kona hospital.
 KM: Ah...and then you out.
 FL: You cannot miss you can see it just stand out.

Kaka line fishing; types of fish caught:

KM: And what kind fish you get from your *ko'a*?
 FL: *Kaka* line.
 KM: For *kāhala* or?
 FL: *Kāhala*, 'ula'ula...
 KM: 'Ae, amazing yeah! Do you have a special name for your *ko'a* for your forest way up there?
 FL: No.
 KM: You just know 'em.
 FL: Yeah, as soon I go, I look I know.
 KM: You know you're home.
 FL: And I can pinpoint that buggah hundred ten fathoms, boom every spot I hit 'em!
 KM: Amazing, yeah.
 FL: Good mark.
 WL: [chuckling] That's the kind mark we loosing 'em.
 KM: Yes.
 WL: All these kind marks, from development.
 FL: Then what came in, the development came in they cut the bush down. That's our old mark, it's gone, we got to get different mark now. Even the old mark no more the banyan tree, the sand hole...that's part of the golf course now.
 KM: Ah...Keauhou side.

Discussing Nāpo'opo'o vicinity place names:

KM: Right here...here's you know Kahauloa...
 WL: Pahukapu.
 KM: Yeah, Kapahukapu, Manini they call now.



FL: Kapahukapu, yeah, yeah.

KM: That's the one Manini they call 'em, but Kapahukapu...

FL: Manini beach, yeah.

KM: Kapahukapu that's the old name.

FL: Yeah, I know that place as Kapahukapu.

KM: 'Ae.

FL: You know how that name came Manini?

KM: No.

FL: Way back this Julian Yates them...I remember he had one boy Jackie. They used to go around and like name the different places. They don't know the names...oh shit [slaps his hands] we call 'em Manini Beach! That's how he told me how the name Manini Beach. I tell 'em hey...those Hawaiians they had all kinds of name.

KM: All, every place yeah, is it important to preserve place names?

WL: Yeah.

FL: Oh yeah, at least you the...

KM: 'Cause that's history.

FL: Yeah, that's history, yeah.

WL: Landmark.

KM: That's right, landmark.

FL: They should follow those names. Don't go off, if you don't know the name they give 'em one name, that's not right.

KM: Yeah. And you look at some of these name beautiful Palemanō all these different kinds...Ke'omo you know beautiful names.

FL: Yeah... [pointing to location on map] This was all grass.

KM: On the *pali*... I was living at Ka'awaloa.

Preparation of 'ala'ala bait; fishing along the Nāpo'opo'o-Ka'awaloa-Nāwāwā shore line:

KM: So you like to go *holoholo*?

FL: We used to go hook *maiko*, you know the process when they take the ink bag from the squid.

KM: From the *he'e*, the 'ala'ala?

FL: The *he'e* yeah, the 'ala'ala. You make bait.

KM: 'Ae.

FL: You mix 'em, that's a secret.

KM: Put on your hook?

FL: Yeah, you take little bit you put 'em on the hook.

KM: You going share your secret?

FL: [chuckling]

KM: Your secret mix?

FL: I know [chuckling]...



KM: You put *'ala'ala*?

FL: Sometime the *maiko* like 'em smelly certain time certain time they like 'em kind of burned.

KM: Different season kind?

FL: Yeah. Certain time, they eat...what kind *limu* they eating...even use kerosene.

KM: Yeah, I heard pearl oil yeah?

FL: Yeah...hair oil, pomade...all kind stuff.

KM: You would go all the way from Ka'awaloa? Walk feet?

FL: I walk, yeah, with a *pū'olo*. Over there good for *maiko* that.

KM: Where by Pu'u Ohau?

FL: Yeah, over here, Nāwāwā, all over there good *maiko* place.

KM: And what you folks gather *limu* someplace here?

FL: Yeah, get *papa limu* outside there. Out Keawekaheka...

KM: Keawekaheka...yeah.

Discusses collection, and uses of *limu*:

FL: Yeah, get one *papa limu* over there. By the kind, what you call the *papa* now [shaking his head]... The Hawaiians before they used to take care. The *limu kohu* the worse enemy is another *limu*, the *limu kala*.

KM: She grow over everything?

FL: She smother, yeah. The Hawaiians when they see the *limu kala* growing they take 'em out.

KM: 'Oki?

FL: Yeah, take 'em out, but now nobody do that.

KM: That's right, so what the *limu kohu* all...?

FL: No more *limu* now, you go over there all take over, you see the big ball.

KM: Was that the way you were taught you go you take care?

FL: You take care, yeah.

KM: And what you can take everything today *pau* no need worry or what?

FL: Well, now days there's nothing to take.

WL: Take what you need.

KM: Yeah, so before days your *tūtū* told you?

FL: Yeah, if you see *limu kala* growing you take 'em out...leave only the...

KM: Good *limu*.

FL: You can go harvest the *limu*, then you wait a couple of months, you ready for another harvest cause the *papa* is well taken care.

KM: Always clean.

FL: Ke'ei get one *papa* over there, nobody take care till now.

KM: That's amazing you know. Not only did they take care of the fish or the ponds or go up *mauka* to the *māla'ai*, but even the *papa limu* they go clean 'em.



FL: To the Hawaiians *limu* was medicine.

WL: [gestures] You pinch ‘em.

KM: You pinch instead? Rather than *huki* the root, otherwise you take the root what?

FL: You take your finger nail you dig ‘em out of the base.

KM: *Limu* were used for medicines also?

FL: Yeah, a good source of iodine.

WL: ‘*Ahi poke* any kind *poke*.

KM: Yeah.

FL: That’s for the liver and all, Hawaiians knew that.

WL: *Kukui inamona* together.

FL: *Kukui*.

KM: Amazing, wonderful story...

Still making ‘*ōpelu* nets. Describes use of the nets and ‘*ōpelu* fishing:

KM: ...How about your ‘*ōpelu*, like even now [pointing to the net on the table], this is one ‘*upena* for ‘*ōpelu* you making now?

FL: Yeah.

KM: Amazing, eighty-three years old you *kā ‘upena* yet.

FL: My eyes good.

KM: *Maika’i*, oh...

FL: Good eyes.

KM: *Mahalo ke Akua*.

FL: I go check my eyes...my eyes twenty-twenty. Only this eye when get cataract you see the big...I had the cataract taken out.

KM: Wonderful, amazing see get some good modern day stuff.

FL: Yeah.

KM: Some *pilau*, but some good. You *kā ‘upena*, how big is your?

FL: This one is one big net.

KM: About how deep would this net be?

FL: This net going end up being about six fathoms.

KM: Wow...and the ‘*eke* down on the bottom?

FL: This is the ‘*eke*.

KM: And the top how you make your ‘*apo*, what did you make the ‘*apo* with when you were young?

FL: We used ‘*ūlei* stick.

‘*Ūlei* for ‘*apo* of the ‘*upena*, formerly gathered at Manukā:

KM: ‘*Ūlei* stick, oh. Where did you get your ‘*ūlei* from?

FL: We go down Manukā.

KM: You folks go *holoholo* all the way out Manukā?



FL: We go over there and you gotta join each one.

KM: About how long was each *paukū*, each section like?

FL: About like this [gestures length].

KM: Four feet or so?

FL: Then you got to notch 'em and make one *pū'ali* they call it. [gestures, the notches interlocking]

KM: Yeah, *pū'ali* so she bite in.

FL: So you can tie and you cross and you skip every opposite side...so they bend against each other.

KM: Logical...

FL: Make 'em round.

KM: You go out in the canoe...it's open straight out?

FL: Yeah.

KM: Can you describe how you go *'ōpelu* fishing?

FL: Well, *'ōpelu* has...this is what I found out later had this guy used to come and he was what you call...I'll call him fish scientist. He studied the marine animal and fish, whatever. According to him this *'ōpelu ko'a*...actually the *'ōpelu* feed on plankton and small minute shrimp. He said where you get a heavy concentration of this plankton you going see *'ōpelu*. That's the idea of *'ōpelu ko'a*, plenty plankton, you going get *'ōpelu* feed on 'em. And he told me how you make one plankton net.

KM: Oh.

FL: You know the small mosquito net...you make one net and you throw 'em overboard and you drag 'em, you drag 'em then you pull 'em up you check. He said sometimes you got to use magnifying glass for see 'em. Then he say when you get the heaviest concentration going get *'ōpelu*.

KM: But you, you folks already knew where your *ko'a* were, you didn't need a scientist to come. What was your bait, did you go out *hānai* sometime and not fish?

FL: Actually, yeah. Later on the old-timers used to tell me certain time of the year, usually after January, February one of those months. Hardly any *'ōpelu*, I don't know why. But I guess that's the month that not too many plankton. The old-timers used to tell me they go, they go *hānai*, they go feed. And they say when the time for feed you better not go out with one net, he said they turn your canoe over.

Kūpuna would care for the *ko'a*; the primary feed was pumpkin, though other vegetable foods were also used:

KM: Oh yeah, so just like *kapu*.

FL: Yeah, it's a no play thing you know, they're serious. He said they catch you with one net they turn the damn [chuckling] canoe over.

KM: What did you feed them?

FL: Mostly taro those days. Pumpkin you can use pumpkin.

KM: *Pala'ai*.

FL: Pumpkin, taro you grate 'em.

WL: Avocado, pear.



FL: Pear afterwards, avocado we used to use avocado. I guess you can use anything.

KM: You folks, there's so much *pilikia* now cause some people go out they make *hauna*, yeah *pilau* kind.

FL: You know actually I don't believe in that theory 'cause common sense tell you where you get small fish in the school they going see big fish come around. Just like you see one nice *wahine* you going see plenty bulls around [chuckling].

KM: The *kumū* [chuckling].

Group: [chuckling]

Using meat baits, draws predators into the *ko'a*:

FL: Yeah. They say...they go put chop-chop, they make *hauna* the big fish come in...not true. I've known times where during our time fishing when the *'ōpelu* get scarce. The *ko'a* that we use chop-chop get the most *'ōpelu*. I don't know why. They say oh I don't know...the Hawaiians believe that you use chop-chop, me I believe plenty *'ōpelu* you going get *'ahi*, you going get swordfish.

KM: 'Ae, a'u.

FL: I've seen swordfish, I've seen *'ahi*. In fact one swordfish went right through my net, took one side.

KM: 'Auwē, in your *'ōpelu* net?

FL: Yeah, went right through one side out the other side. One other time one *'ahi* went inside my net he went follow the *'ōpelu*.

KM: Uncle, some of the *kūpuna*, the old *lawai'a*, they told me "if you feed *pilau* to your fish though...stink kind bait you going eat that too," right?

FL: Yeah.

KM: So that's why you folks you use *kalo* you said. Did you use *'uala* some?

FL: Can be used, yeah.

KM: *Pala'ai*?

FL: Pumpkin.

KM: And then later *pea* like that?

FL: Avocado.

KM: You would go out, what kind of depth for your *'ōpelu*?

FL: *'Ōpelu* usually not more than twenty fathoms, they kind of inside.

KM: You drop your net and how...how did you go out, can you describe when you go out your canoe?

FL: Well, you make sure you have your net you put 'em on the canoe and you go out to these different *ko'a* and you throw the *palu* you feed.

KM: 'Ae.

FL: Then they come, sometimes what they call *ka'awili* the long line, school of *'ōpelu*.

KM: *Ka'awili*.

FL: *Ka'awili* they call that, some guys different way that they...you know the *ka'awili* is one, then what they call *holo papa* you see 'em down just like one shelf and they all moving.

KM: Together...



FL: That's *holo papa*. That's the buggah usually eat the *palu*, they come for the bait. Sometimes the *ka'awili* they only stay over there they no...I think they eating plankton maybe.

WL: Or waiting till the current change.

KM: Yeah. You go...do you have *pakā* you drop down?

FL: Yeah, we have one rag...kind of.

KM: Square?

FL: [takes piece of paper and folds it down in manner used for fishing] Not a really square kind of offset and one lead in the center then you put the *palu* inside you fold the corner on and then you throw. You throw 'em down so far and you shake 'em, you jerk 'em and the thing spill out.

KM: Open up. And so the *'ōpelu* all come?

FL: They all go for the *palu*.

KM: You know you go out Kekaha, Ka'ūpūlehu side they put *lepo* inside also with the *'ōpae 'ula*.

FL: Yeah, that's how they use the red *'ōpae*, and it's a special way. To get the *'ōpae*, they go in the pond... And the secret of that *'ōpae* is how to get 'em, how to catch 'em. If you go in the day they all in the cracks, and the Hawaiians knew that in the night they float.

KM: *Lana?*

FL: What they call *laha*...*'ōpae laha*...that's the name of the *'ōpae*, *laha* to float. You go in the night, they all on the surface, you scoop.

KM: Yeah, smart.

FL: That's how they catch 'em.

KM: You folks here didn't use *'ōpae*?

FL: No, we used the *palu*.

KM: The *palu*, and you no need use *lepo* to shadow?

FL: No need.

KM: No need.

FL: You see the trick is if you get about three those small red shrimp we throw 'em in the *ka'a'ai*. *Ka'a'ai* is the one that feeds. You throw 'em in the *ka'a'ai*, the three, four *'ōpae* then you get one handful mud you throw 'em inside, fold 'em in and throw. You see the idea is no put too many *'ōpae*...because hard to get. The *lepo* like you said, the mud, you going see all, just like... [gestures, opening out]

KM: Spread out?

FL: Then the *'ōpelu* going inside that *lepo*, go look for that three shrimp. You no grab one whole hand shrimp... [chuckling] No take long, you going get no more.

KM: [chuckling] Yeah, yeah.

FL: That's the trick.

KM: So in other words the *lepo*?

FL: The *lepo* is for camouflage make 'em go find.

KM: So when you *huki 'upena* they no see 'em?



FL: Right, two purpose. When you throw net, when you *kūkulu*, when you put the *palu* in the center of the net... This *ōpelu* net get the rings coming up.

KM: 'Ae. Like three or four...

FL: When you *ka'a'ai* right in the center you shake 'em, the mud going...

KM: Open?

FL: Kind of make 'em hard for see. The *ōpelu* go in the mud, he no can see the net coming up around him by the time he know he stay in the net.

KM: Too good yeah...

FL: That's the idea of the mud.

KM: Did you folks do that here, or you no need?

FL: No.

KM: Only your *palu* enough?

FL: The Kailua people did 'em.

KM: Kailua, yes. You folks what, you drop the net down, you *ku'u* the *'upena*?

FL: Yeah, you *ku'u* yeah.

KM: And then you throw the *pakā*?

FL: Then you feed.

KM: And what the fish just stay there and you can pull the net up they no run away?

FL: Well, they're eating.

KM: So they *nanea* so much eating they don't...

Au'a helped to guide *ōpelu* to the *ko'a*, and taught them how to feed on the *palu*:

FL: They eating, but they get what they call the school boy, the buggah's been through the mill they know how to run away.

KM: Yeah, the *au'a* like.

FL: *Au'a*, that's what they call 'um, the *au'a*...that's what we call school boy, they graduate.

KM: School boy he graduate already, graduated from the first net.

Group: [chuckling]

FL: He sees the net, he comes straight up.

WL: That's the one tell you where the fish stay.

KM: Yeah, that's right so you no like bother the *au'a* maybe.

FL: That's the one teach the new fellow how to eat.

KM: *Maika'i*.

WL: Yeah, he teach 'em how to eat.

FL: He teach 'em.

KM: Too good.

FL: That's why you go to the *ko'a*, you bang the paddle...bang, bang.

KM: On the side of the canoe?

FL: You see the first one come that's the school boy, *au'a*.



KM: Because you trained him already, time to eat.

FL: They going train the other one.

KM: That's why you go out *hānai* sometimes and no fish?

FL: Yeah.

KM: So you bang the side of the canoe with the paddle?

FL: And the old-timers they no like catch the *au'a*.

KM: Ah...too good.

FL: Yeah.

KM: You make your *'apo*, you still would go get *'ūlei* you lash 'em together. You go out it's straight on the canoe?

WL: Yeah.

KM: When you get to the *ko'a* you *'apo*.

FL: Yeah. Then you throw.

WL: You throw one in, and one under the canoe, one away.

FL: The head...you poke one inside the ring and then you squeeze 'em then you squeeze the other ring over [gestures with hands a ring being drawn over the two ends of the *'apo*, locking them together as one].

KM: Oh, so you would make rings by that time...too good.

FL: One small ring and one big ring. First you throw the *'eke*, and it goes down, then you throw the body down, the last going be the stick.

KM: 'Ae.

FL: Take the stick and the fisherman in front the other guy behind. You tell 'um one, two...throw on number three. One, two, throw the outside stick, poke 'um under the canoe, the inside one. You poke 'em under the canoe and you poke 'um in the small ring then you squeeze the two together. You squeeze the big ring over, and you let 'um go.

KM: And she go down. So you drop 'em down?

FL: Drop 'em down to about maybe seven fathoms.

KM: Amazing!

WL: If you rush, not patient, the thing broke.

FL: Broke, yeah! How many time that happen. You know, plenty people get all excited, go! broke the stick.

KM: *'Auwē no ho'i*, so *pau* you go home.

FL: Then we make 'em out of iron.

KM: Ah, so forget the *'ūlei* make iron kind now?

FL: Iron kind.

KM: [chuckling]

FL: Plastic now.

KM: Plastic, you mean the p-v-c kind, pipe now?

WL: Fiber glass.



FL: Fiber glass.

WL: Before those days, was real strict. The *'ōpelu*, when you feed time, everybody had their turn to feed?

FL: Yeah, we take turn no, no buck ass.

KM: 'Ae. So was there a main *lawai'a nui* out for you folks here?

FL: They say according to the old-timers, usually the village get one what you call the head fisherman. He decide when to fish, and when they go out they get agreement, they call one another. How you doing, I get three or four *ka'au* easy, then they... [gestures, pulling up the net and returns to shore]

KM: Who was the *lawai'a nui* for you folks?

FL: Actually, by our time we never had.

KM: Oh was *pau*...but people still *aloha*?

WL: The fish, two, three weeks, you got to feed before you go get 'um.

FL: Yeah, yeah.

Fish shared among families:

KM: That's how you trained them though, yeah? So then you tap the side of the canoe?

FL: You bang the paddle.

KM: Bang the paddle and they already knew, come yeah.

FL: Yeah. I remember going with...when *pau* school we go home. We go down by the beach we watch the canoes. And I ask if they need *ka'a'ai* man... The *ka'a'ai* man, he is the one feed. He said, yeah come, go out.

KM: Hmm, you go *holoholo*.

FL: You even go help them carry the canoe, they give you *'ōpelu*.

KM: 'Ae, *hāpai wa'a*.

FL: *Hāpai wa'a*.

KM: So whoever would come, *kōkua*.

FL: Yeah.

KM: They *māhele i'a*.

WL: They give you *'ōpelu*.

KM: How nice, yeah when everyone *kōkua*.

FL: Yeah. Now you go, *ala!*

WL: They look at Washington [dollars].

Group: [chuckling]

FL: Before the old-timers, when their time for feed, they feed alone and no fool around, they're serious.

KM: This is wonderful though, *maika'i kou no'ono'o, ho'omana'o 'oe*.

FL: That's right...
...You see the early days the Nāpo'opo'o here, we used to get mean floods you know.

KM: Oh.



FL: You know the coffee mill down here?

KM: Yes.

FL: It almost got inundated with water.

KM: You're kidding so big *ua, mauka, kahe ka wai*?

FL: The ranches *mauka*...that's the Greenwell ranch up here. One section there, what they did they went bulldoze. They had bulldozers up in the mountain.

KM: Way *mauka*?

FL: Nobody knew, they were bulldozing up there, same thing...after that one of nephews you know, Butchy, he was working with the ranch. I used to go hunt pig with him up there.

KM: Kealakekua?

FL: Up Kealakekua Ranch, yeah. Then when I went up there with him I look...

KM: *Hāmama*, everything open up?

FL: This is where the flood came from.

KM: So, this was after the war then time?

FL: Oh, yeah.

KM: Yeah, way after the war time.

FL: When I went up there I said, this is where the water was coming from. They were doing exactly what they did down... [thinking – points north]

KM: When Hōkūkano went bulldoze.

FL: Hōkūkano.

KM: You open up the land, the water just going flow when rain.

FL: You see what hold the land together is the roots. You get roots, trees you take that away and you get one big rain, that's what going be. Everything going...up here bare rock you can see the base rock.

KM: What happens when the mud all wash into your old *ko'a*, your fisheries?

FL: What happens?

WL: Run away.

FL: Then no more.

KM: The fish no can, live... Oh *mahalo nui i kou lokomaika'i*.

FL: I respect those days.

KM: You got to respect the old times yeah?

FL: Sure. But now what they doing, look over here, they caught 'em already. Now they finally admit.

Recalls the shark god Ka'ilipulapula:

KM: Yeah, you know they say you come down here Keikiwaha side like this, the Hōkūkano landing like that, get old house site, old *heiau* all kinds of things. Kāināliu... Hey uncle, you made me think, did you folks have a shark out here that used to help you folks do you remember ever hearing about one shark?

FL: Yeah, the Hawaiians used to call him Ka'ilipulapula.

KM: Ka'ilipulapula...ohh!



FL: It's not a superstitious thing, what they called that, is a whale shark.

KM: Big!

FL: You can swim with 'um, he not going bite you. 'Cause why they call 'em whale shark? You know the whale, whale is a big thing. Get big mouth and all that but the throat you no can put your fist inside, you no can ram your fist in the throat. They only eat small things, plankton...

KM: Hmm. So Ka'ilipulapula?

FL: That's the one spotted...

KM: That's the shark for this place?

FL: The scientific name is Grampus.

KM: Oh you *na'auao*. This Ka'ilipulapula was the shark for you folks?

FL: Yeah, the Hawaiians say that's the *Kū'ula* like, our fish god.

WL: Sometimes I'm out there fishing, it comes by me.

KM: You see that fish?

FL: That's true you know.

WL: Come by my boat.

FL: You see that shark come the school *ōpelu* follow. They follow the bugga, for protection, I guess.

WL: Rub the back under the boat.

FL: Yeah, he come rub the back, some guys they scared they think the buggah going attack, but I tell you...

KM: Big eh, maybe 30-something feet?

FL: Yeah. I don't know we have one boat about twenty-seven feet long, grandpa's small boat, and the buggah was longer [chuckling] than the boat.

KM: Amazing!

FL: He go under there rub his back.

WL: [chuckling] Itchy, the back.

KM: Did you ever hear, did the *kūpuna* ever go *kahe* clean the shark or feed it?

FL: My father-in-law used to tell me he used to...first he was scared then he said his father told him, "No that shark not going bother you." The old man Lou. He said when they do that that thing, the coral, the Hawaiians call 'um *'āko'ako'a*. The *'āko'ako'a* grow on the back, the thing irritates 'um. And that's the time he come he rub his back on the canoe. So when he sees that, he poke 'um with the paddle broke the *'āko'ako'a*, take 'um off. He going like that.

KM: That's right.

FL: And then my father-in-law said "Yeah, the more you poke, the more he like come."

KM: Just like one *'īlio*, how the dog like come, you know, you scratch the back.

Group: [chuckling]

Went *aku* fishing with the *pā hī aku*, with his grandfather; *pīhā* used to attract the *aku*:

FL: Yeah. I've seen that... Grandpa and I used to go chase *aku* on his small boat. We used what you call the *makau pā*, made out of pearl.



KM: 'Ae, the mother of pearl, *pā*.

FL: The mother of pearl the plate.

KM: You folks used to make your own?

FL: Yeah, I get some under the house someplace.

KM: Wow...uncle take care of those make sure that someone who will appreciate it. I don't know if your nephew or somebody or otherwise *nalowale, pau*.

FL: Yeah, I used to make 'em...

KM: Please that's important...and what you make *olonā* you tie 'em.

FL: Tie 'em with the hook. But the old timers used to use the bone hook eh. The shin bone [gestures down to his leg].

KM: From the shin bone...the barb.

FL: The Hawaiian said, "you get the kind leg no more hair..." oh they like that.

KM: Lucky me!

Group: [chuckling]

FL: The bone strong. Some of them they ask 'em "if you go *make* I can have your shin bone for make hook?"

KM: When 'ohana not bad yeah, maybe 'ohana the *kūpuna* like help.

FL: Yeah.

WL: Too good.

KM: Amazing...so good, you still made *pā* like that?

FL: I know how to make the *pā*.

KM: You go out you used to go out for *aku*?

FL: Yeah, used to go out and chase school *aku*. I've seen the Grampus, the whale shark. I see what the *aku* used to chase the *pīhā*, like minnow. They all group up like one tight ball and then I see this Grampus, we pass I look gee, "grandpa look the shark." Grandpa he look he tell me, "Oh that's old Ka'ilipulapula, he going eat fish" [smiling]. The buggah he go down he stand on his tail in the water he stand like this [gestures with arm, the shark standing up on the surface of the water], he come up and the *pīhā* all spinning, scared the *aku*. The ball spinning, and the buggah he come up and open his mouth... [chuckling] The buggas come all one time.

KM: Get 'em all one time?

FL: He get 'em and all the scales coming out from the gill. I stop the boat, I watch, I see all the gills. Sparkle, eh? That damn buggah went stand up. [chuckling]

KM: She come straight up, amazing...*kupaianaha!*

FL: Hoo, the mouth big you know...you see white.

KM: That is amazing...

WL: ...Too good no.

FL: The buggah with the mouth, you can jump inside...the mouth bigger than the icebox.

KM: More than six feet across, more big.

FL: Yeah...he scoop the whole school. Interesting...I remember that year, I never see so much *pīhā*...



KM: Interesting, yeah.

Discusses different types of fish caught; some believed to be omens of pending events:

FL: [speaking to Weston] You remember the year the fire fish they call that, that year the thing went we used to see 'em outside, we go flag line look like one reef.

WL: When the volcano erupt.

FL: Look like one reef.

KM: What you call that fish, 'alalauā?

FL: 'Alalauā, that's baby 'āweoweo.

KM: Yes, that's the one?

FL: No, this one is I don't know just like one *hage* [the Japanese name for the fish].

WL: When the volcano erupt, come.

FL: Yeah.

KM: What color is that fish?

WL: Gray, yellow, black.

FL: Yellow dots. When you go look 'em outside there just like one reef floating.

KM: Amazing...

WL: All *make* in the water.

FL: Millions. Then they die off, no more nothing to eat I guess. Then I remember me and daddy them, we go by the 'ōpelu ko'a, all by the 'ōpelu ko'a, they come pile up on the shore. By the wharf, there, loaded!

KM: You folks had 'ō'io out here too? You go for 'ō'io?

WL: Yeah.

FL: 'Ō'io used to be our raw fish, oh that's a winner.

KM: That's what I heard...Leslie family famous.

WL: Awa, 'ō'io, still yet, in the bay.

KM: 'Ono that 'ō'io too, 'ai maka!

FL: With onion.

KM: 'Ae, *inamona*, *pa'akai* little *limu*.

FL: That and *poi* 'nough.

KM: *Lawa* yeah...good yeah when you can go off the 'āina you go make *pa'akai* you get your *i'a*.

FL: Yeah.

KM: Someone come, 'ohana come bring *pa'i ai*.

FL: Come from the mountain, bring taro.

WL: I was telling you about Nāpo'opo'o you know where the mud pond stay.

FL: Hikiau.

WL: They get all the *alā* rock, they when set in that pond way before, daddy was talking about.



- FL: Yeah, that's why, when you go in the pond, guys say you go inside you going sink down...no, the inside all *alā* stone. All set. Had one old lady, Masuhara...old lady she all *kuapu'u*, she go inside with a... [thinking]
- KM: *Kāē'ē*, net go?
- FL: Yeah, the kind pole net.
- KM: Get *'ōpae*?
- FL: I remember I go inside there I ask the old lady, I pity her she small, old.
- KM: Was she Hawaiian or pure Japanese?
- FL: Japanese...Akira Masuhara that's the mother. They had one house inside there, then. That's during the flood time, the flood when take the house and throw 'em in the *'ōpae* pond.
- KM: *Aloha*. Do you remember the name of the *'ōpae* pond?
- 'Upena ku'u* fishing with Louie Ka'io:
- FL: I don't know the name but I knew the *heiau*, Hikiau...
 ...You know the olden days, I remember, and you don't see that now. Certain days, usually summer months, on a Saturday they used to plan and down Nāpo'opo'o village, had this family Ka'io, Louie Ka'io, I remember him. He had this special net and we used to go, and they made this *'eke* and two wings open the *'upena ku'u*, what you call cross net. They drop the bag and they had this...what you call the kind tree on the lava? [thinking] *'Ōhi'a*...they call 'em *lehua* but actually the wood is *'ōhi'a* in some part of the Hawaiian islands *'ōhi'a* that's tomatoes.
- KM: That's right they call 'em tomatoes. They were making this and the *'eke* you said was maybe...
- FL: Get *'ōhi'a* stick holding 'em open, and on top, *'īkoi*. The *'īkoi* is *hau*, they shape 'em into floaters. When you get this...the bottom you put those days they used to use stone for led.
- KM: *Pōhaku* for led.
- FL: For hold the bottom down.
- KM: Yeah.
- FL: Had this kind heavy, something like this and they notch 'em, put a notch in 'em.
- KM: That's right.
- FL: That hold the bottom down and on top the *'īkoi*, the *'īkoi* like float. When you look inside oh nice open. The *pā* was the kind...and they no dye the net they leave 'em white cause when the fish see 'em they keep away. You like 'em do that so then you keep 'em together, then you can chase 'em. They go certain spot and this guy we used to call Humakū, Ship Humakū. he used to be the head fisherman. He go all this what you call *ku'una*.
- KM: 'Ae.
- FL: *Ku'una* mean the where you going put your net.
- KM: Set 'em down.
- FL: They go there take care the coral so no *hikia*. If the coral in the way, they broke 'em they kill 'em that's the *ku'una*.
- KM: That's the net set place.



FL: They put it in then us we go and then we chase 'em.

KM: *Paipai...*

FL: We chase *paipai* and then some guys in a canoe with a long stick with a pipe on the end when you hit the pipe down sound like spear, metal hoo, they take off...and they go in one pile when they come by the net the 'eke they stall. From behind they dive off the canoe when the one guy give the signal, go...we dive off the canoe when you go way down you make whoa, that kind noise. The fish take off all inside the 'eke. You make that kind noise, whoa!

KM: What kind of fish?

FL: All kind, *maiko*, *uhu*, everything inside there.

KM: And the 'eke was about?

FL: Big buggah, big like this room [about 30 feet across].

KM: You said had wings out on the side?

FL: Had wings out.

KM: Did you close the net or?

FL: No, when they set the net in front of the 'eke get this just like one flap.

KM: Yes.

FL: When we chase the fish in, when the fish is inside the 'eke already, we take this flap and we...

KM: Close em?

FL: And that flap is lead so we throw 'em over the mouth, lock 'em over the net, where the *īkoi* come across. And then they go they take the outside, the *pā*, the net. Take 'em out, get that and then they bring the 'eke out.

KM: About how deep was the 'eke you think?

FL: I think about the length of this room.

KM: As much as 30 feet then.

FL: And about half that size in width.

KM: Maybe about fifteen feet wide.

FL: About that.

KM: Amazing, wow! That's a unique style of fishing.

FL: And the fish we catch.

KM: Who was the heard fisherman you said?

FL: Ship we used to call him Ship Humakū.

KM: Humakū?

FL: Humakū, yeah.

KM: Hawaiian?

FL: Hawaiian, and a good fisherman that buggah, good net fishing throw net any kind.

KM: Every Saturday you folks would go down certain times?

FL: Not every Saturday, come the summer months.



Fishing grounds were monitored so stock could repopulate areas; few outsiders came to fish in the early years. People now fish and wipe out whole areas:

- KM: Ah...were there seasons, were there certain times in the moon too or?
- FL: I don't know why, but I know was summer months.
- KM: Summer months.
- FL: We used to go...where the canoe goes we catch 'em, we had one big canoe. You remember Kaliko, Judge Moku, he had one big canoe, fill 'em up full.
- KM: How you folks would always share?
- FL: The amazing thing is you wait couple of months, you go again the fish there, no take long they repopulate. Why, I wouldn't know.
- KM: May I ask you though, when you folks were fishing was it only you folks? People from different places wouldn't come down to fish and take?
- FL: No, was mostly the village people.
- KM: So, was mostly the village people.
- FL: Some people from more *mauka*, the Hawaiians *mahi'ai*...
- KM: 'Ae. But see they must have traded, *kuapo*, when you exchange things like that but they were of this land.
- FL: Yeah.
- KM: Someone from say, Kailua maybe, wouldn't come fish your place?
- FL: No.
- KM: That's why, 'cause the guy who watching right...they knew when the fish come strong again, not like now you get everybody come they go launch boat your place from Hilo. And you know *pau*, everybody fish.
- FL: And those days, I remember *'ōpelu* fishing we used to go, go out feed, then usually we get about five canoes out there feeding then one guy would yell, "*pehea oe*, how you making out?" The guys say maybe about three *ka'au* eating and they ask the other guy how are you, how are you...okay and they say "okay we all ku'u." I throw my net, you throw, everybody throw their net. One time they pull, *pau* they go home.
- KM: *Pau*, so you know waste.
- FL: Today, they go with ice they bang that *ko'a* all day so wipe out.
- KM: Wipe out...
- FL: That's the result, wipe out. That's the difference, one pull they go home.
- KM: They say *'ānunu*.
- FL: *'Ānunu*, yeah that's the word, only thing *'ānunu*, greedy.
- KM: They greedy, because they take everything and they no think and then next week they go down the next land, then the next just like your *'ōpihi* or what. *Pau*, everything wipe out.
- FL: Gone now gone.
- KM: Before you folks could go out Ka'awaloa anywhere go get *'ōpihi* like that.
- FL: Before we used to go you know when we get *lū'au*, we used to go down this place Pōhakupuka, that stone coming out of the water. And the amazing thing about that stone,



the water go right out of the bay until about five hundred yards from shore right outside there ninety fathoms.

- KM: Amazing!
- FL: How the hell did that stone come there.
- KM: Maybe was one old *pali* before, extending out, left that stack..
- FL: There's got to be some definition. And the '*ōpihi*, you walk on the '*ōpihi*. When we get *lū'au*, somebody get married, we used to go down there. You pound the '*ōpihi* all day...
- KM: Is that Kolo side?
- FL: This side of Miloli'i, you know where the place they call Pāpā?
- KM: Yeah, Pāpā.
- FL: Right down there. Miloli'i used to be the same thing, Miloli'i was noted for their '*ōpelu*.
- KM: Now the fisherman all messed up because they come in over there, they say the guys come in with chop-chop or *make* dog, *pilau* kind they spoil the *ko'a* because they would only go with the *pala'ai* like that or stuff.
- FL: There used to be only *palu*.
- KM: *Kalo*.
- FL: *Pala'ai*.
- KM: Then they poison their *ko'a*.
- WL: Chop-chop to me is a good *palu*.
- KM: As long as clean but if you go to someone's *ko'a* and they don't use that then you going change their *ko'a*.
- WL: There you go.
- KM: And that's when the *pilikia*. 'Cause if the *kama'āina* only fish certain way, you come throw something else in the fish not going for the *kama'āina*.
- FL: I remember the Kailua people used to come down by...you know Nāwāwā...
- KM: 'Ae.
- FL: We used to call 'em '*ōpelu* house, had one lonely house by itself and we used to catch '*ōpelu* over there.
- KM: On the south side of Nāwāwā or the Kailua side?
- FL: On the south side.
- KM: On the south side of Nāwāwā.
- FL: That's why we used to call 'em '*ōpelu* house.
- KM: '*Ōpelu* house.
- WL: '*Ōpelu ko'a*, that.
- FL: That's where we used to catch 'em and bait for long line, go get our bait. In fact there are *ko'a* all around, some that we don't know of. And the old timers tell me outside in Ka'awaloa right outside the monument used to be the great *ko'a* over there, '*ōpelu*. Today, no more '*ōpelu* over there. You see along here along the *pali*, all '*ōpelu*.
- WL: Uncle Fred, Antone Grace?
- FL: Antone Grace, Smoky. We used to call him Smoky.

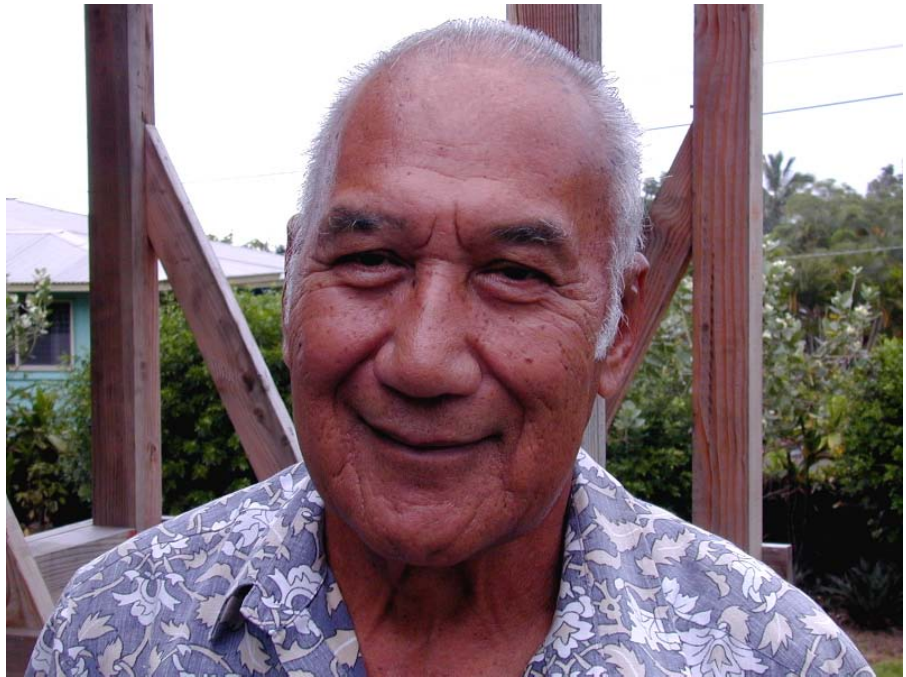


KM: He was over here too?
FL: He was one canoe builder, that old man.
KM: Antone Lono Grace.
FL: Antone Grace. He had one son, Ako, that's the carver. That Antone I knew him from one baby. He used to go up the mountain with the *tūtū*. The *tūtū* used to go make canoe for people.
KM: *Kālai wa'a*.
FL: Used to go up Greenwell ranch and he *kālai wa'a*, what they call the dug out, rough, and they bring 'em down from the mountain. Those days they used to drag em with a horse. They just carve 'um crude. Going be roughed up, that's why. So they rough 'em out.
KM: They drag 'em only?
FL: They drag 'em down.
KM: Did you hear sometime they go up mountain they chant first or they call when they go down?
FL: That old man, they had what you call *kahuna kālai wa'a*, that's the high priest for canoe building. He chant and he get offering.
KM: Antone's daughter is your age, Hannah.
FL: Hannah, yeah, I know that lady...



Joseph K. Keli'ipa'akaua, Jr.
Fisheries of Ki'ilae-Nāpo'opo'o, South Kona, Hawai'i
February 13, 2001 – with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. 1647)

Mr. Joseph K. Keli'ipa'akaua was born at Ke'ei in 1929. His father was Joseph Kepo'ohunaikoaouli Keli'ipa'akaua, Sr., and his mother was Mary Kamahinakauhewa Ka'ai Keolanui. *Kupuna* Keli'ipa'akaua is a kind man with great *aloha* for the land, ocean, and traditions of Hawai'i. During the interview, he shared his personal experiences of traveling to the *makai* lands and fishing between Kauleolī and Ke'ei, South Kona. He also described practices and customs associated with dryland agriculture, as practiced by his father and elders.



He noted that in all things, whether fishing, going to the *māla 'ai*, or undertaking some task, his father would always offer *pule* (prayer). He also planted and fished by various nights of the moon and seasons.

Arrangements for the interview were made with the assistance of Clarence A. Medeiros Jr. *Kupuna* Keli'ipa'akaua gave his personal release of the interview records to Maly on May 22, 2001.

- KM: ...*Mahalo*. Could you please share with me your full name and your date of birth?
JK: Joseph Kepo'ohunaikoaouli Keli'ipa'akaua, Jr.
KM: 'Ae, beautiful, beautiful name.
JK: *Mahalo*.
KM: Where were you born and when?
JK: I was born May 23rd, 1929 and as my father said at the Kona Hospital [chuckling].
KM: Oh, okay... Who was your papa?
JK: My father was Joseph Kepo'ohunaikoaouli Keli'ipa'akaua, Sr.
KM: Beautiful. Where was he born, do you know?
JK: He was born in Ki'ilae, but the exact location I'm not sure of...he was born May 16, 1893.
KM: Oh... Your mama was who?
JK: Mary Kamahinakauhewa Ka'ai Keolanui.
KM: Oh, beautiful! Her last name was Keolanui?
JK: Keolanui...



KM: ...Now, when you came into Ki'ilae to go fishing, did you come down a trail? Or did you come from Hōnaunau across the *Alanui*?

JK: We used to come from Hōnaunau.

KM: The old *Alanui Aupuni* up Alahaka?

JK: Right.

KM: Was there a special place by where dad them would stop and you folks would...?

JK: Yeah, Kau'inui had another lot close to the road.

KM: 'Ae, *ma'ane'i* in here.

JK: Yeah, in here someplace. There was a make shift house.

KM: Was that *mauka* of the road?

JK: *Mauka*.

KM: The one *mauka* of the road so that's this one here.

JK: That was open to all the 'ohana.

KM: A base, where you folks would get together and...

JK: Yeah.

Kā mākoī fishing along the coast; names types of fish caught; preparation of the 'ala'ala bait:

KM: Then they would go along the shore *makai* here go *lawai'a*, *holoholo*?

JK: *Lawai'a*, go all the way in and then *kā mākoī* during the day.

KM: What kind of fish?

JK: *Maiko*, *manini*, 'ala'ala fishing [chuckling].

KM: Good so you, the kind 'ala'ala for no more or for 'ala'ala for make the bait? [chuckling]

JK: For make the bait.

KM: On the hook, the little 'ala'ala.

JK: Right.

KM: Did daddy have a special way of preparing the 'ala'ala?

JK: Yeah.

KM: How did he prepare it?

JK: Well, he took a lot of time. There were things that he needed to use. He used *kupukupu*, we call it *kupukupu* I don't know...

KM: Is it the fern, *kupukupu*? No?

JK: No it's not a fern it's a geranium type plant.

KM: Okay.

JK: It's smelly, spicy smell. He used that and salt and 'ala'ala. And of course it had to be roasted

KM: He would roast it...did he prepare it down here at Ki'ilae?

JK: No, most of the time it would be done home here. Well the old house used to be below here.

KM: A little *makai*.



JK: Those days we had our wood stove, the open kind.

KM: Yes. He would *kō'ala* that?

JK: He would *pūlehu*.

KM: *Pūlehu*.

JK: There was a sound that he would listen to the sizzling like [chuckles].

KM: Yeah.

JK: It had to be so, so.

KM: Just the right *kani*? [chuckling]

JK: Yeah. Then that would be ready and then he would mix it.

KM: Did he mix *kukui* or pearl oil or anything at all with it?

JK: No.

KM: He would make that, mix up?

JK: Uh-hmm mix it up and then put it in the *poho niu*, and then cover it with the ti leaf he used to wrap the *'ala'ala*. Of course he would make his own hook because the store hook would not really meet that angle that they needed to penetrate the brain of the fish. This hook was made so that the point of it...I was told that *maiko* and *manini* do not feed from under the hook, they feed from the top. They come down on the hook. When they come down on it, when they close (their mouth), you feel that weight and you just flick and the tip of the hook would penetrate the brain.

KM: Could you draw the alignment of the hook right here?

JK: It's a simple thing. This is the critical angle. Sometimes...

KM: The barb side?

JK: Yeah and this is without barb.

KM: Without?

JK: Without barb.

KM: Was he making it out of iron out of nail or?

JK: No. He used to use those old tires. They used to have those wire reinforcements. The edge of the tires?

KM: Yeah.

JK: In there used to have those steel wires, these were the ones that he used. Like I said this is the critical angle.

KM: Okay, so the outer side?

JK: Yes.

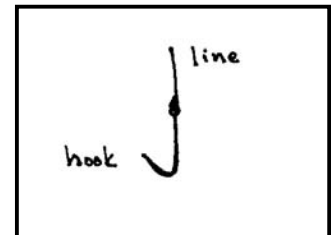
KM: This is the line up here?

JK: This is the end of the hook. The line is wrapped around here tight and it goes up to the pole.

KM: Yeah, about how big was the hook?

JK: Big.

KM: Big hook.



JK: He would make it so that it would be easy to readjust the angle and then after this thing was shaped and filed, then he would put it in the fire to heat it up and quickly cool it.

KM: To temper it?

JK: Temper it.

KM: That was his, he like go *kā mākoī* with that? He would dip the tip of his hook little bit into his *palu*?

JK: His *palu* was put on what we call that stick, it's something like in that *hi'a*.

KM: The *hi'a*, a net shuttle like? Was it a bamboo?

JK: Made out of bamboo with, just shaped so that it's wider at the part that you put the bait on. You put it in your mouth. So it's just a matter of getting the tip of the hook. Just a little bit put on to cover the tip and that was it.

KM: 'Ae. And the fish jump on that hook, I heard sometimes. They're really 'ono for that.

JK: Yeah, if it's made right you have no problem. The combination of what you used was real critical. Each person had their own way of making it, the 'ala'ala. Some would use a little kerosene for whatever purpose, and some would use chili pepper and nutmeg or things like that.

KM: 'Ae. Did you hear they use *alani* too?

JK: I heard but I didn't see.

KM: You didn't. Your papa had his own mix?

JK: Yeah, he wouldn't go into kerosene or anything because he felt that "this is food." [chuckling]

KM: 'Ae, that's right. Now that's an important value, because today, we have people go out *lawai'a* and they use *pilau* stuff, so what are you going to eat?

JK: That's right.

KM: *Pilau* right? Then you wonder how come *ma'i*.

Prayers offered before fishing; catch always shared:

JK: He made it a point to tell me "when you make this don't... When you make it right, you pule and take care."

KM: Papa, he would *pule*?

JK: Even before we start fishing he would *pule*. And we had more than enough.

KM: 'Ae. And how was his manner when he would go fishing and when he taught you folks? You take everything, or you take what you could use. And did you share back?

JK: That's right. Take what you can use and then we share what you get.

KM: 'Ae so you *hā'awi aloha*, you give some and what next time *lo'a*?

JK: *Lo'a* again. *A'ole nele*.

KM: 'Ae. So you folks would go for *maiko*, *manini* out here. Were there places where you could gather *limu* as well?

Limu pahe'e gathered along the coast:

JK: Yes, *limu pahe'e* was down during the winter months then it was easy to come by.

KM: 'Ae, *mōhala* come up?

JK: Yeah.



KM: Down Ki'ilae like that to?

JK: Ki'ilae. In fact down here at Ke'ei too. Moinui. and all those areas. Those are nice areas for *limu pahe'e*.

KM: Wonderful, thank you so much... ..I can see in your mannerism how *kanaka makua* you are, your papa must have really instilled in you this, that you *aloha*, you respect, you take care. Take what you need, leave.

JK: That's right.

KM: You always share too?

JK: That's right.

KM: Wonderful!

"You take what you can eat and eat what you take:"

JK: We used to get plenty, and then you have plenty so why not...

KM: That's right.

JK: If you don't eat it...you know those days we didn't have refrigerator, not like we do now.

KM: That's right and *pohō* yeah and I know I've heard the *kūkū* say something like "*a'ale e 'uwē 'ana ka 'ai iā 'oe, e 'uwē 'ana 'oe i ka 'ai.*"

JK: 'Ae.

KM: The food not going cry for you, you going cry for the food, so no waste 'em. You remember something like that?

JK: I remember that. [chuckling]

KM: Interesting yeah.

JK: My father used to say "You take what you can eat and eat what you take."

KM: 'Ae.

JK: You want some more, go get some more.

KM: 'Ae.

JK: But no *hana 'ino*.

KM: 'Ae. *Mahalo nui...!* [tape off, then back on in discussion about gathering salt]

JK: ...we learned.

KM: So certain areas, you can go and gather salt that's another reason why the *kūpuna* wanted to make sure that you don't *hana 'ino* someplace or you don't *hauka'e* or something.

JK: That's right.

KM: Maybe the next guy going come and want this salt or something. There were areas...do you remember were there any places along the shore at Ki'ilae that you could gather salt or was there other areas when you went?

JK: There were places at Ki'ilae, we did and there were places here at Ke'ei beach that we also did that. More especially, Ke'ei beach I remember, we did go there very often.

KM: Oh yes, you were here so it was easier, quickly. Like you said there was a week when summer school break, your father dedicated one time you folks would go *kahakai*. You would stay *makai*?



JK: At that time he was leasing a property at Ke'ei beach and there was a house, a shack there that was useable. That's where we stayed and from there we would walk all the way out to Kīpū, Moinui and those areas.

KM: 'Ae.

JK: And then fish backwards by the time you reach, by the time we got tired we already close to home.

KM: Smart yeah, you don't need *hāpai* the load all the way. You go out this way catch, catch, catch and then what you come home *lō'ihī*...

JK: [chuckling] That's a load to carry.

KM: *Kaumaha*...that's funny. Papa, was basically fisherman, he worked for the county when work was available. WPA which was a really neat program. He worked on the road?

JK: Yeah on the roads here and also in Ka'ū area. He was a foreman too. Every little bit helps, and when there's no jobs we're all out in the field, *māla 'ai*.

KM: You have to. Hard life...but you folks learned plenty?

JK: We appreciate it...



Myra Maile Keohohou-Mitchell

**Near Shore Fisheries and Resources of the Nāpo'opo'o Vicinity, South Kona
March 8th 2001, and July 5th, 2002 – with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. 1206)**

Myra Maile Keohohou-Mitchell was born at Pōhakupa'akai (Kapahukapu) in 1930. Her mother was Annie Pēnoni Kapule, and her father was David Keohohou. The Kapule genealogy ties her to several families with generations of residency in the Kalama-Ke'e'i vicinity. The interviews were generally conducted in Hawaiian, and are given verbatim as recorded and released. The following English notes, provide readers with a summary of selected traditions, recollections, and thoughts that were shared by *Kupuna* Mitchell:



It was the practice of the families to live at, and work on various locations of the land. There was regular travel along the old trails between the uplands and lowlands. The families cultivated taro, sweet potatoes, and other crops on the *kula* and in the uplands. And at other times, they lived near the shore, fished, made salt, and tended small, near-shore gardens. They also frequently traveled by canoe to Ka'awaloa to visit *'ohana* and fish.

Among the fish regularly caught near shore were the *'ōhua*, *'upāpalu*, *ma'i'i'i*; *kole maka onaona*, *lā'īpala*, *hālula (wana)*, and *'a'ama*. *Pa'akai* (salt) was made and gathered at places like Pōhakupa'akai and Ka'awaloa.

In regards to her recollections and discussion of history as she learned it from her *kūpuna*; and the great value of the *mo'olelo* (traditions) of the land, Mrs. Mitchell stated — “Some people, they make like, ‘she [speaking of herself] doesn't know what she's talking about.’ But if I don't know, and I say something, I can bring *pilikia* to me. If I speak and it's not the truth, it gets you. These things are *waiwai*, precious. To tell what they used to do. The *mana'o* what I know, that's what I'll give. The reason that I want to do that is so that you get fundamentals of our *mea ma'amau* [practices and beliefs].”

Initial arrangements for the interview were made with the assistance of Gene “Bucky” Leslie. The interview was conducted primarily in Hawaiian (with some English narratives), and is cited verbatim below. The preceding summary of the interview translates selected points and recollections shared by *Kupuna* Mitchell.

Kupuna Mitchell granted her release of the interviews on December 5, 2002.



KM: ...Kūkū hiki paha iā 'oe ke wehe mai i kou inoa piha?

MM: Okay. 'O wau, ka inoa o Myra Maile Keohohou-Mitchell.

KM: Hmm, so Keohohou, ka inoa?

MM: O ku'u papa inoa.

KM: Hmm.

MM: A Kapule, ko'u mama inoa, 'o Annie Pēnoni Kapule. Ku'u kūkū inoa, 'o Mary Kealoha Kapule.

KM: Hmm... Ua hānau 'oe i ka makahiki?

MM: Ho'okāhi haneli kanaeīwa kūmā kolu, 1930.

KM: Hmm, pōmaika'i nō.

MM: 'O wau noho me kūkū wahine, a kēlā manawa, iāia make, ho'okāhi haneli kanaeīwa kana'ono kūmālua, 1962.

KM: Ohh.

MM: Kēlā manawa hā'ule, 'owau kōkua.

KM: A o kēia Kapule, 'o Kualau...?

MM: 'O Kualau Kalua...

KM: ...Now kūkū, ua 'ōlelo mai 'oe, 'o "Manini," akā, he inoa hou kēlā?

MM: 'Ae. Mamua loa, kēlā wahi, kahea 'ia 'o Pōhakupa'akai. But, kēia po'e Kepanī, manawa a pau, hele kiloi 'upena, 'upena ku'u.

KM: Hmm.

MM: Manawa pau loa, manini wale no. Manini maoli no. A hea 'ia kēlā wahi Manini.

KM: Ahh. So Pōhakupa'akai?

MM: 'Ae, ka inoa o kēlā wahi.

KM: Pehea kou mana'o, ua lohe 'oe i ka inoa 'o Kapahukapu?

MM: 'Ae.

KM: I hea kēlā wahi?

MM: I lalo loa, ka wahi a Gordon Leslie i noho ai. 'Oe 'ike 'o Gordon?

KM: Kama'āina wau me ia.

MM: Iāia, kēlā wahi. A kēlā ka inoa o kēlā wahi.

KM: Ō

MM: Akā, kokoke i ko'u wahi.

KM: Hmm. A he 'aha ka hana ma Pōhakupa'akai, ua hana pa'akai lākou?

MM: 'Ae, mākou, hele ki'i pa'akai ma laila. Nui ka wai i loko o kēia puka, a ka wai, 'o 'oe hana me kēia [gestures scooping wet salt off of the surface of the salt ponds]. A'ole hiki ke hana me kēlā [scooping deep], no ka mea nui no ka lepo i loko ka poho.

KM: 'Ae.

MM: I luna, scrape nō ho'i.



KM: 'Ae, just the top.

MM: *A komo i loko laila o ka 'eke, a mahape hele kau ma luna i loko o ka 'eke [gestures hanging the basket from a branch].*

KM: *A, maluna o ka lā'au?*

MM: *'O 'oe hang, wai hele mai, a mahape, malo'o ka pa'akai.*

KM: *Hmm. Pehea kēlā pa'akai, maika'i?*

MM: *'Ae, maika'i.*

KM: *Momona.*

MM: *Me ka ma'i'i, kole maka onaona, 'upāpalu, kēlā manawa.*

KM: *'Ae, a mamua, ua 'ōlelo 'oe, ua hele 'oe me kou kupuna a 'ohi ka 'ōhua?*

MM: *'Ae. O, but lo'a ho'okāhi maka'i, 'o Paris i kēlā manawa, a 'ike wau iā kūkū, hele 'ana ki'i ka 'upena li'ili'i i kēlā manawa. Kau 'ana ka 'eke ma luna [chuckling], 'o Paris nānā, hōmai, kiloi ka mea iluna o ka screen nō ho'i me ka pa'akai. 'Ōlelo mai 'o Paris, 'o wau lo'a ho'okāhi 'eke me kēlā. 'O wau 'ike 'oe... [chuckling]*

KM: *[laughing] 'Oia ka hai, ka payment nō ho'i.*

MM: *Ka payment nō ho'i, nāna i lawe ka payment.*

KM: *Hmm. A he aha ka hana i ka hele a 'ohi 'ōhua? Ala 'oe i ke kakahiaka nui?*

MM: *Yeah. O ka hele ma laila me ku'u kūkū, ka manawa 'elima makahiki wale nō. Hele ki'i ka mea paipai, ka 'eke. A ku'u kūkū paipai a i loko o ka 'eke, a ho'i mai mākou.*

KM: *Hmm. Kēia 'ōhua, ai no i loko o kekāhi 'eke, mea 'ano waliwali? The baby manini?*

MM: *'Ae. If ka lā lo'a i luna, 'ele'ele, like pū me ka manini. But if hola 'elua i ke kakahiaka, hola 'ekolu, lana, a ke'oke'o wale no. 'O 'oe 'ike ka mea, a palupalu. A 'o 'oe kaula'i, a'ale 'ike ka mea 'ele'ele, ke'oke'o wale nō.*

KM: *Inā 'ohi 'oe i ka pō'ele'ele?*

MM: *Pō'ele'ele, 'ae.*

KM: *Pehea, 'oia mau no ka 'ōhua i kēia manawa?*

MM: *I Ke'ei lo'a, akā a'ale hiki iā 'oe ke hele ki'i, 'elima haneli kalā ka fine inā hele ki'i ka 'ōhua.*

KM: *Ō! Akā, he mea ma'amau no 'oukou, nā kama'āina i hele a 'ohi.*

MM: *A'ole hiki. Kēlā manawa, ku'u mama, ua hākākā me Hester Richardson. She used to be the Supervisor over here. Territory kēlā manawa. Hākākā ku'u mama me iāia, a'ole hiki. Pau!*

KM: *Hmm. So we have here... This is Register Map 1595, for the Nāpo'opo'o vicinity. And on the side here, we see... So when you stayed makai, where was your hale?*

MM: *On Manini Beach.*

KM: *So you were right in here?*

MM: *Yeah.*

KM: *Was this by where aunty Mona stayed too?*

MM: *Mona them used to stay with us too, in our place...*

KM: *...When you folks went over to Ka'awaloa, kau wa'a?*



MM: Yeah *ma ka* canoe.

KM: A land by what they call Cook's landing?

MM: Right by where Captain Cook's monument is. *Ma lalo laila, lo'a ka wahi a ka po'e ali'i hele 'au'au kai.*

KM: Hāli'ilua?

MM: 'Ae. *A'ole polū ka wai, 'alani ka wai.*

KM: 'Oia?

MM: 'Ae. *Like pū me green and yellow.*

KM: Hmm, *nani.*

MM: *Kēlā ka wahi a ka po'e ali'i hele 'au'au...*

KM: ...Down on the flat at Ka'awaloa?

MM: Yeah, Ka'awaloa... *Kēlā manawa, one wale no.*

KM: 'Oia?

MM: *One, one wale nō. Ka hale a Lānui i kūkulu, ke keiki o Sonny, ka mua, hō'ike'ike no laila. Mamua loa ilikini mākou [chuckles], hele no ma laila. Kēlā ka wahi mākou hele iluna. Hele mākou, hele ki'i maiko, kole maka onaona, ka lau'ipala, a ka wana. Nui me kēia ka wana [gestures with hand, the size of the wana].*

KM: *Ō nui, nine inch kind.*

MM: 'Ae. They call the that the *hālula.*

KM: 'Akāhi no wau i lohe i kēlā 'ano wana, *hālula.*

MM: Yeah.

KM: *Pehea ke kui, 'ele'ele?*

MM: 'Ele'ele, *pau 'ele'ele, nui. But i loko ka 'ālelo, like me kēia [gestures size of the tongue – meat, more than two inches].*

KM: Oh amazing!

MM: *A iluna ka mea, ke kihi, lo'a 'a'ama. Ka 'a'ama mahape o ke kua o kēia hālula. 'O 'oe nīnau i ka po'e, lākou 'ōlelo iā 'oe, "'ae.'" Ono ka hālula.*

KM: Hmm.

MM: *Ka hālula, 'oia ka inoa, a ka nui. 'O 'oe nānā i ka wana, kēia manawa, a'ohe lo'a kēlā mahape o ke kua, ka 'a'ama i loko laila. Ka hālula, 'ae. lāia 'ai kēlā mea i loko laila, ō momona!*

KM: Hmm, amazing!

MM: And good. 'Elua *hā'uke'uke. Ka hā'uke'uke i loko o ka wai, 'ula'ula, ka mea i luna o ka pōhaku, 'ele'ele, you know purple.*

KM: 'Ae, 'ano poniponi-'ele'ele.

MM: 'Ae, *poniponi.*

KM: So *ua hele 'oe a 'ohi mau i'a, limu paha?*

MM: 'Ae, *akā a'ale limu.*

KM: *Ua kama'ilio wau me uncle Fred Leslie; ua male 'oia i kekāhi o nā kaikamahine o Lānui-Kaneao.*



- MM: 'Ae.
- KM: *Mamua, ua 'ōlelo 'oia, 'ano pili me Laemamo, lo'a he mau poho pa'akai, ma'ō, ma kēlā wahi.*
- MM: Hmm, *ma ke kihi paha.*
- KM: 'Ae...
- MM: ...We were born in the Territorial days, and these were the things we knew. This was our story. before, my grandfather, he used to plant potatoes, *'uala, 'uala kahiko, i loko o ka pā. A iāia 'ōlelo, a'ole 'oukou hiki ke 'ai kēlā, na Kamapu'a. And he used to kahea "Mai Kamapu'a hele 'oe ki'o pau loa ma luna o kēia wahi. Kēia kou 'uala."*
- KM: Hmm.
- MM: My grandfather, he called. This was the *mo'olelo* of grandma. And *mahape, 'ekolu, 'ehā lā, hele ku, nui ka 'uala. A'ole mākou hiki 'ai. Na Kamapu'a kēlā. Pau kēlā, mākou* [gestures going inside the potato patch]...
- KM: *Hiki ke 'ohi?*
- MM: Yeah...
- KM: *...I ko wā li'ilii, ai 'ole i ka wā o kou po'e kūpuna, ua hele lākou a kanu i kekāhi kalo, māla 'ai o mauka nei?*
- MM: 'Ae. *Mākou, i uka laila kekāhi. Hana 'uala, kō, 'ulu, me kalo, a me ke kope.*
- KM: So *i kekāhi kau, season nō ho'i, hele 'oukou i ka uka, kanu i ka mea 'ai, mea lā'au?*
- MM: 'Ae.
- KM: *A i kekāhi manawa paha, ho'i i kahakai?*
- MM: 'Ae. *Mākou noho i uka pō'akāhi a i pō'alima. Pō'alima, ka pō, mākou ho'i i kula, a mahape o kula, hele i kahakai pō'aono. Kuke mākou i ke kahakai. A ma laila, hele i ka pule. Mākou hele i ka pule, hola 'ewalu, a pau hola 'umi kūmālua. Pau, mākou hele 'au'au kai. I kai, i Nāpo'opo'o.*
- KM: 'Ae... Is there a song of this place that you...?
- MM: Oh, my aunty made one song, it's a song for Manini Beach. We tried to ask Lionel, Joe Gaspar's son, because he was *hānai* by the Au family. Ka'ahihi was raised by *tūtū* Charlie Au and *tūtū* Annie... So the song that she made, we tried to get it from Lionel, but he could not find it. The song *Manini Beach* [singing]:
- Manini Beach 'oe lae la lae lae,
Manini Beach 'oe lae la lae lae,
Ka home o ka i'a 'oe lae la lae lae,
Manini Beach 'oe lae la lae lae...*
- KM: *Ō nani!*
- MM: But that's the one. And every time *tūtū* Annie would drink, that's the song she would sing. But there's more words to it. But that is the tune we had out there.
- KM: Beautiful. You know when the old people *himeni, 'oli, kahea, nani, nani...*!



Myra Maile Keohohou-Mitchell (July 5, 2002)

KM: *Aloha... Hānau 'oe i hea?*

Where were you born?

MM: *I Nāpo'opo'o.*

At Nāpo'opo'o.

KM: *Ma kēia pā 'āina?*

On this land?

MM: *'Ae. Kēia pā, i loko o Kananiokalāhikiola. 'O wau 'umi kūmāeiwa kanakolu, ua hānau.*

Yes. This lot, in Kananiokalāhikiola. I was born in 1930.

KM: *'Ae... So kūkū, this 'āina that we are in, is Kahauloa?*

MM: [thinking] *'Ae, Kahauloa mane'i. Hele mai Ke'ei, Keawaiki, Kahauloa, Manini.*

Yes, Kahauloa is here. You come from Ke'ei, Keawaiki, Kahauloa, and Manini.

KM: *A Manini, he inoa hou?*

Oh Manini that's a new name?

MM: *'Ae, ka wahi mane'i o Pōhakupa'akai.*

Yes, the place here is Pōhakupa'akai.

KM: Pōhakupa'akai, so before, was *poho pa'akai* over here?

MM: *'Ae. Mai kēia kihi a ma laila [indicating to the south], o Pōhakupa'akai. Mai kēia kihi i lalo loa [towards the sea], o Kapahukapu.*

Yes. From this corner to there, is Kapahukapu.

KM: *A, 'oia ka inoa?*

Oh, that's the name?

MM: *'Ae.*

KM: So kūkū, you have Pōhakupa'akai, and then Kapahukapu...?

MM: *'Ae.*

KM: And now, *loli ka inoa to Manini?*

The name changed to Manini?

MM: *'Ae.*

KM: And these are within the 'āina of Kahauloa?

MM: *'Ae, ka 'āina o Kahauloa.*

Yes, the land of Kahauloa.

KM: Then you said...?

MM: [pointing south] *Ke'ei, Keawaiki, Kahauloa, me Manini, mane'i.*

KM: *'Ae. When you were young...earlier when we were talking, you said now, because of the sanctuary, there was pilikia. That even the native families can't go out fishing here. Is that correct?*

MM: *'Ae, a'ole hiki mākou hele. Kēlā kihi i waho laila [pointing north]...*

Yes, we can't go. That point out there...



KM: Keawekāheka?

MM: *'Ae. Hiki ke hele, akā i loko nei, a'ole hiki.*
Yes. We can go there, but not in here, no can.

KM: But when you were young?

MM: *Pau loa kēia wahi mākou hiki ke hele ki'i. Ka i'a me ka wana, me ka...* [thinking]
This whole place, we could go and fish. The fish, urchins and...

KM: *Ka limu paha?*
Seaweed?

MM: *A'ohē limu.* Well, *lo'a limu 'ōpihi*, but *uaua*. *A'ole hiki 'ai kēlā mea uaua kēlā.*
No *limu*. Well, has *'ōpihi* seaweed, but it's tough. That one can't be eaten, it's tough.

KM: *Ai ma loko o kēia hono, a'ole limu maika'i?*
So in the bay, there's no good seaweed?

MM: *A'ole limu maika'i. Ka wana, ka i'a, me ke kole a me ka mā'i'i, me ka 'ū'ū* [chuckling]. *Ka manini kekāhi, lā'ipala, a nui kēlā i'a.*
No good seaweed. The *wana* (urchins), the fish, the *kole*, the *mā'i'i*, and the *'ū'ū*. There's also *manini*, *lā'ipala*, there's a lot of that fish.

KM: *'Ae.* And in your youth, you went all out here?

MM: *'Ae.*

KM: Did you folks also travel the land and go out to Ke'ei?

MM: *'Ae, 'ae. Mamua, a'ohē hale. Mākou holo ma luna o ka papa.*
Yes, yes. Before there weren't any houses [only a few residences, mostly native families, between Kahauloa and Ke'ei]. We went along the stone flats.

KM: *A'ole ma ka alanui kahiko?*
Not along the old trail?

MM: *A'ole, ma ka papa wale nō.*
No, just along the stone flats.

KM: *Pili me ke kai?*
Along the ocean?

MM: *Pili me ke kai. Hele mākou, hele ki'i limu pahe'e.*
Along the ocean. We went and gathered *pāhe'e* seaweed.

KM: *I hea?*
Where?

MM: *I Keawaiki. Noho mākou, kēlā manawa, nui ka wai hele mai uka, a noho mākou a 'ohi ka limu pahe'e, a komo i loko o ka 'eke. Pau lo'a hapa 'eke, a ho'i mai. Ho'i mai a hele mākou lu'u, ka wana a me ka hā'uke'uke i loko wai. 'Ula'ula kēlā hā'uke'uke.*
At Keawaiki. We'd sit at that time, there was a lot of water that came from the uplands, and we'd sit and gather the *pahe'e* seaweed, put it in our bags. Enough when there was half a bag, come back. We'd come back and go diving, get *wana* and *hā'uke'uke* urchins in the water. That *hā'uke'uke* was red.



KM: 'Ae...

MM: *Mākou hana kai, 'ai 'ia me ka i'a maka, lomi aku i loko o ka mea... [chuckles]*
We make gravy with that and eat it with the raw fish, massage it into the things...

KM: 'Ae, maika'i, 'ono.
Yes, good, delicious.

MM: 'Ae. *Me ka nī'oi i kēlā manawa. Mamua loa, ka po'e hele mai me ku'u kūkū, 'o 'oe a'ole lo'a mea iloko o ka hale, o ka nī'oi me ka pa'akai wale nō, 'o 'oe hele mai i loko, 'ai. Ka po'e kanaka hele mai, "Hele mai 'oe, lo'a nī'oi me ka pa'akai..." Mākou, 'eono mahina, ku'u papa hele i uka, hele lo'a pu'a, pipi a ho'i mai. Ho'i mai a komo i loko o ke kelamania. Kāpī me ka pa'akai.*
With chili peppers at that time. Way before, the people that would come with my grandfather, if you don't have anything in the house, only chili pepper and salt, you come inside and eat. The people come, you hear them call, "Come inside, there's chili pepper and salt."

KM: *Ka pa'akai, mai kēia 'āina?*
Was the salt from this land?

MM: *Mai ma ne'i, ma luna o ka papa, nui 'ino nā puka.*
From here, on the flats, there was a lot of salt holes.

KM: *Poho pa'akai?*
Salt bowls?

MM: *Kāheka. Mākou hele 'ohi ka pa'akai a komo i loko o ka 'eke, a hele a kaula'i ka pa'akai. A hele ki'i 'ulu, hele ki'i kalo a ho'i mai ma ne'i a kuke.*
Small pools. We would go gather salt, put it in the bags, and come back dry the salt. We'd go gather breadfruit, go get taro and come back and cook them.

KM: 'Ae. *Kou pā 'āina makai nei, ua kanu paha o tūtū i ka 'u'ala?*
Yes. Your lands here, near the shore, did your grandfather plant sweet potatoes?

MM: *A'ole, i uka, kula. Hala 'oe i ke ala nui ma Kāhikolu, 'ehiku eka ma laila.*
No, it was above on the kula. You pass the road by Kāhikolu, there are seven acres there...

KM: *...Kūkū from Kealakekua, like Keawekāheka to Palemanō, is there something about the bay being protected that you heard of? Did a manō protect this area?*

MM: Yes. All I know is... *Kēlā manawa, ka mo'olelo o ku'u kūkū 'ōlelo, iāia i hānai ho'okāhi manō i Ke'ei. Iāia hele i ka lawai'a a hā'awi, hānai i ka manō.*
At that time, all I know is the story my grandmother told me, she would care for a shark at Ke'ei. When she'd go fishing, she'd give, feed the shark.

KM: *Hānai poli?*
Breast feed?

MM: 'Ae. *Iāia hele lu'u i Ke'ei, kēia manō hele. Inā ma waho kēia manō, 'o 'oe hele i waho i ke kai. I loko nei kekāhi, mākou, hiki ke 'au'au kai.*
Yes. She'd go dive at Ke'ei, and this shark would go. If this shark is outside, you can go out in the water. When it's inside, we can go swimming.



KM: *He kia'i, he 'ano manō kanaka?*

So a guardian, a protector of people?

MM: *'Ae, 'ae. Ku'u kūkū, a'ole 'ai manō, a'ale. A pūhi kekāhi. Iāia mo'olelo, ku'u kūkū. "Mamua loa, 'elua 'ohana i luna o ka moku, hele ia nei i waho. I luna o kēia moku...Kēlā wahine mamake 'ia ho'okāhi sela moku i luna o kēlā moku. A'ale mamake hele. Ku kēia mea...moku i luna o ka wai, kokoke ho'okāhi makahiki. Mahape, kēia pūhi hele mai kahea, kēia i kēia 'elua kanaka, "lu'u i loko o ka wai." [chuckling] A'ole lāua mamake, nānā aku i ka pūhi kahea 'ana. But lu'u kēia kanaka, a kēia pūhi moni kēia 'elua kāne a hō'ea i uka nei i Kahauloa. A pūhi aku i waho, hele mai kēia kanaka ma waho."*

Yes, yes. My grandmother wouldn't eat shark, no. Also the eel. My grandmother had a story, "Long ago there were two families on a boat, outside here. On that boat...That woman [the fish woman] wanted one of the sailors on the boat. But he didn't want to go. So this boat was anchored on the water for about one year. Later this eel came and called these two men, "Dive into the water." They didn't want to because they saw it was an eel calling them. But for some reason they dove in and this eel swallowed the two men and took them up to the shore at Kahauloa. The eel then spit them up and the men came out.

KM: *A pae ma ka 'āina?*

Landed on the shore?

MM: *'Ae. A 'ōlelo mai ku'u kūkū, "Ku aku ma laila. 'Ike lākou."*

Yes. And my grandmother said "they stayed there. They saw them."

KM: *He 'ano kūpua kēlā pūhi?*

So this was a supernatural eel?

MM: *'Ae...*

KM: ...Now you folks, you would holoholo, go fishing all along this coast line?

MM: *Hele 'ohi 'ōpihi, 'a'ama, me ka 'ōkole, me ka loli pua, ma lalo o ka pōhaku. Kēlā mea, 'ono. Ka mea ma lalo o ka pōhaku. Holoī, holoī, hana me ka pa'akai.*

Go gather 'ōpihi, 'a'ama, and 'ōkole with the loli (sea cumpers), the one that is beneath the rocks. That thing is good. The one that's beneath the rocks. You wash, wash, and make with the salt.

KM: *'Ae, pau ka waliwali.*

Yes, until the slime is gone.

MM: *'Ae.*

KM: *Kūkū, out here, were there fishermen, who were like the main ones?*

MM: *Ho'okāhi i luna laila [pointing to Kealakekua pali], noho ma luna a nānā.*

There was one on top there, he'd stay above and look.

KM: *Kilo?*

MM: *'Ae, ma luna o ka pali.*

Yes, above the pali.

KM: *Kapalikapuokeōua?*



MM: *'Ae, noho ma laila. O Mona, iāia 'ike ka mo'olelo o kēlā wahi, kanaka noho i luna a 'ike ka i'a hele mai 'ana.*

Yes, stay there. Mona, she knows the story of that place, the man who'd stay up there and watch the fish come in.

KM: *A nāna no i kuhikuhi?*

So he would direct them?

MM: *'Ae.*

KM: *A o ka i'a nui o kēia hono, 'o wai?*

And what was the important fish of this bay?

MM: *'Ōpelu, akule.*

KM: *A, 'ike 'oia, kū 'ana ka 'ōpelu...?*

So he would see that schooling of the 'ōpelu...?

MM: *'Ae. Kahea 'ana ka po'e, "hele mai 'ana." "He'aha ka i'a?" Hele mai 'ana ka aku paha, ka akule paha, kawele'ā paha.*

Yes. Calling the people, "they're coming." "What kind of fish?" Perhaps it was the aku coming, perhaps the akule, or perhaps the kawele'ā.

KM: *'Ae. And along this way, was there some that was noted fisherman at Ke'ei that you remember?*

MM: [thinking]

KM: Or if you folks wanted to, you could go there fish at any time?

MM: *Oh yes. A'ale kapu kēlā manawa. Mamua loa, mākou hiki ke hele i luna, mākou mamake i ka mai'a hiki ke hele. Hele i loko 'ohi ka mai'a. Kēia manawa, a'ole hiki, kahea 'ia ka maka'i. Mākou ma ne'i, a'ole mākou hele...mai Ke'ei wale nō. A'ole mākou hele i Hōnaunau.*

It wasn't forbidden in that time. Way before, we go up, if we wanted bananas we could go. Go inside and gather bananas. Nowadays, no, the police are called. Us here, we didn't go...only from Ke'ei. We didn't go to Hōnaunau.

KM: So you folks went as far as Ke'ei?

MM: *'Ae.*

KM: Moku'ōhai section like that?

MM: By Palemanō.

KM: Palemanō. *Tūtū* I have a map here for you, this is Bishop Estate map No. 824. it's of the Ke'ei section. It goes from the Kahauloa boundary... ..So you folks would come along the shore and you would fish along out here.

MM: *'Ae, 'ae...*

KM: *Tūtū*, in the old days, if people went fishing, or if they went on land to gather, even niu or something like that. Did people just take everything, or was there a kind of respect? Did people care for the fish, the land, or the coconuts when they were using things from them? Or just take and hana 'ino?

MM: *No, no, mākou kēlā manawa, a'o 'ia, "O 'oe lawe ka i'a, he 'elima, 'umi i'a, hā'awi i kou 'ohana." Ka i'a, me ka wana, a me ka 'ōpihi, ka hā'uke'uke. Kēlā wale nō i hānai mākou, ho'okāhi pule, pau loa. A'ale mākou lawe pau loa, a hiki i ke 'ai. A'ale. Ka niu kekāhi,*



mākou mamake ka niu haohao, hele he 'ekolu, 'ehā wale nō. Hā'awi wau i kūkū. Mamua loa, ho'okāhi wahi 'au'au, nui ka 'ōhua.

No, no, us, that time were taught, "When you take fish, maybe five or ten fish, give to your family." The fish, the *wana*, the *'ōpihi*, *hā'uke'uke*. That's what fed us for the whole week. We didn't take everything, just what we could eat. No. Same with the coconuts, if we wanted young coconuts, go for three or four only. I'd give to grandmother. Before there was also a bathing place where there was lots of fish fry (*'ōhua*).

KM: *Mamua o kou hale?*

In front of your house?

MM: *'Ae, nui ka 'ōhua mamua o kēia hale. Ma ne'i, ku'u kūkū, ho'okāhi nui a kaula'i ka i'a. A ka game warden nānā [chuckling], hāpai ku'u kūkū a kilo i luna o ka wahi lānai, a kaula'i. O Wili Weeks ka game warden, "pau 'oe mamake wau ho'okāhi 'eke [chuckling]. 'Ai kohana wale nō kēlā, mākou 'ai kohana!*

Yes, so much *'ōhua* before in front of this house, Here, my grandmother, get one big one and dry the fish. The warden would look, my grandmother would lay it out on the shed, and dry it. William Weeks was the game warden, he'd say, "when you're done, I want one bag." That's eaten with relish, we eat it by itself.

KM: *'Ae. No hea mai ka 'ōhua, a he'aha ke 'ano o ka i'a?*

Yes. Where are the *'ōhua* from, and what type of fish is it?

MM: *Mai ka manini paha. Ke nānā 'oe i kēlā mea, hele mai ka lā, like pū me manini.*

Maybe from the *manini*. When you look at that, the sun comes on it and it looks like a *manini*.

KM: *'Ae.*

MM: *Just hānau kēlā, hele ki'i lākou kēlā.*

That's when just born, they'd go get that.

KM: *Ua 'ike 'oe i ka 'ōhua, i loko o kekāhi 'eke?*

Did you see the *'ōhua* in a bag-like?

MM: *'Ae. 'O 'oe hele hola 'ekāhi o ke kakahiaka, hele ki'i. 'O 'oe hele ke nānā aku, ke'oke'o wale nō. Kēlā manawa 'o 'oe 'ohi. A ho'i mai a kaula'i, a 'ike ka iwi. 'Ono! A pa'akai i luna.*

Yes. You go at one o'clock in the morning to get it. When you go, it's pure white, that's the time you gather it. Then return and dry it, that's when the bones are seen. It's good, just salt on it.

KM: *'Ōlelo mai kekāhi kūpuna, no'ono'o 'ana lākou, ka 'ōhua, mai ka 'eke hūpē o ke koholā, Ua lohe 'oe?*

Some elders say that thing, the *'ōhua*, comes out in the mucus of the whale, did you hear that?

MM: *'A'ole. [No.]*

KM: *Hmm. O ka 'ōhua, 'oia ka baby manini?*

The *'ōhua*, that's the baby *manini*?

MM: *I think so [chuckling].*

KM: *A pehea i kēia mau lā, 'ike 'oe i ka 'ōhua?*

How about these days, do you see the *'ōhua*?



MM: *A'ohē ma ne'i i kēia manawa. Hele i kai i Ke'ei, o aunty May Awā, iāia. O wau ninau iāia, "I Ke'ei, nui ka 'ōhua."*
Not here now. Aunty May Awā goes to the shore at Ke'ei. When I asked her (she said) "there is a lot of 'ōhua at Ke'ei."

KM: *I kēia mau lā?*
Nowadays?

MM: Yes. I don't know where she gets 'um, but aunty May, get.

KM: Hmm...

MM: *Kēlā ka mo'olelo o kēia wahi.*
So that's the story of this place.

KM: *'Ae... ...Lo'a 'oukou ka 'ai mai ka 'āina, ka i'a o kai...?*
...You got the food from the land, and the fish of the sea...?

MM: *'Ae, 'ae.*

KM: *'Oia kō 'oukou noho 'ana?*
That's how you lived?

MM: *'Ae, 'ai ma ka 'āina... Pau loa lākou hele 'ohi i ka i'a. Hele mai ma ne'i, pau loa.*
Yes, food from the land... All of them go get fish. They'd all come here...



**George Kinoulu Kahananui, Sr. (with Annie Kalani'i'ini Coelho)
Fisheries of the Lands of Kohanaiki, Kaloko and 'O'oma, North Kona
April 4, 2002 and January 14, 2003 – with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. S444)**

Kupuna George Kinoulu Kahananui Sr. was born in 1925 at Hōlualoa, North Kona. His birth parents were James Ako Sr. and Lily K. Kanoholani-Ako, but at birth he was given in the custom of *hānai* to relatives of his mothers. Uncle Kino's *kahu hānai* (guardians or adoptive parents) were Kinoulu and Haliaka Kahananui. He was raised in the land of 'O'oma, overlooking Kekaha. Being raised by the elder Kahananuis, Uncle Kino's first language was Hawaiian. From his earliest days, he was hearing stories of the lands of Kekaha, and he traveled the entire region from the



uplands to the shore, between Honokōhau and Ka'ūpūlehu. *Kupuna* Kinoulu, has participated in ten oral history interviews with Maly, and shares rich traditional knowledge, of native values, practices, language and history.

While traveling the lands of Kekaha, as a youth, between the 1920s to 1940s, *Kupuna* Kinoulu, learned *mo'olelo* (traditions) of the land; the customs of the native tenants; and about many of the places and practices of the people of Kekaha. In this interview, he also shared detailed descriptions of travel and fishing along the coast of Kaloko, Kohanaiki, 'O'oma, and Kalaoa, and many traditions he learned from Palakiko Kamaka, one of the noted elders of his youth. *Kupuna* Kinoulu has fished his entire life, and he continues to do so to the present-day, though he notes that the fishery resources have drastically changed during his lifetime. Of particular interest to the traditions of fishing, *Kupuna* Kinoulu describes the traditional method of *lūhe'e* (octopus lure) fishing, and accounts of 'auhuhu and shark fishing.

Kupuna Annie Kalani'i'ini Coelho, is *Kupuna* Kinoulu's sister-in-law, a native of Kāināliu (Honua'ino, North Kona). She has been traveling the lands of Kohanaiki and Kekaha, fishing with *Kupuna* Kinoulu since the 1950s.

The interview was conducted in both Hawaiian and English; both are narratives given as released. *Kupuna* Kinoulu *mā* gave their personal release of the interview records to Maly on June 25, 2003.

Driving below Ka'ahumanu Highway, down the trail towards the coast of Kohanaiki and 'O'oma:

- KK: ...One *lā'au* I like look for, how many times I go look and I never find that, the one they call... [thinking]
- KM: 'Auhuhu [*Tephrosia purpurea*], you said.
- KK: 'Auhuhu.



KM: Yes, yes.

KK: Hard to find.

KM: You know when we were just over at the Kaloko-Honokōhau office. The last time I went *holoholo* with Peter Keka when we went by Kahinihini'ula the pond. You know the "Queen's Bath" pond section?

KK: Yes.

KM: I saw a little bit of *'auhuhu* over there, small little plants. Not big healthy ones like before.

KK: That plant has been getting real scarce.

[*Kupuna* has since located patches of *'auhuhu* growing on the *kula* of Kohanaiki, and begun propagating it.]

KM: Yes. They used it for stun...?

KK: For go *i'a*.

KM: *I'a*, fish.

KK: *Ku'iku'i a wali a kau i ka lua. Ho'okomo i loko laila.*

KM: 'Ae.

KK: *Nā i'a like 'ole, ka pūhi. 'oia mau 'ano. 'Ai lākou, a'ole 'ai, akā na'e kēlā wai, komo i loko o ka pihapiha a 'ona.*

KM: Ahh! So it's not poisonous like. It stuns them?

KK: *A'ole iā 'oe ke 'ai ka ōpū.*

KM: *Ka ōpū, a'ole hiki iā 'oe ke 'ai?*

KK: *Ho'oma'ema'e 'oe a pau.*

KM: 'Ae... ...When you were young was there anyone living out here at Kohanaiki?

KK: No, *a'ole. Po'e lawai'a wale nō.*

KM: *Po'e lawai'a, hele noho ho'okāhi pō paha?*

KK: No, *noho i Kaloko. Po'e Pilipino, noho ma laila, a hele lākou lawai'a no Akona. O Akona kō lākou mākeke. Hele lākou lawai'a no Akona.*

KM: *Ō, ua noho lākou i kekāhi hale ma ka 'ao'ao o Kaloko?*

KK: *Ma Kohanaiki.*

KM: *Kokoke me ka palena o ka 'āina?*

KK: *'Ano mamao no mai Kaloko mai.*

KM: There's a little *pali* right on the side where the house was?

KK: 'Ae, *pololei...*

Observes that the mangrove growing in the ponds is a recent introduction; has seen the walls and features in the ponds. During his father's time, they gathered *'ōpae 'ula* from the ponds for bait used in *'ōpelu* fishing:

KK: *I ka lā ma mua, a'ole kēia po'e kumu lā'au* [pointing out the mangrove in the distance, growing in the ponds].

KM: *He kumu lā'au hou kēia mangrove. Ai ma lalo o kēlā kumu lā'au, lo'a kekāhi...*



- KK: *Nui ka pūnāwai.*
- KM: *'Ae, pūnāwai. Ua 'ike wau i kekāhi wahi ma kēia mau pūnāwai, he pā. Ua hana nā kūpuna i kekāhi pā. Kahua li'i paha, i loko o kekāhi o kēlā loko. Ua 'ike 'oe?*
- KK: *A'ole wau 'ike.*
- KM: *Kekāhi manawa ma mua, ua hele wau nānā, no ka mea hoihoi wau i kēlā mau loko. Lo'a paha ka 'ōpae?*
- KK: *'Ae pololei, 'ōpae. Ko'u makuakāne, hele lākou i pō 'ele'ele, nānā i ke ki'o 'ōpae.*
- KM: *'Ōpae 'ula?*
- KK: *'Ōpae 'ula.*
- KM: *No ke 'aha?*
- KK: *No ka hele hana 'ōpelu. Hānai lākou i ka 'ōpelu.*
- KM: *Ā na lākou e hele i ane'i, i Kohanaiki?*
- KK: *Hele mai lākou i Kohanaiki nei. Kēia wale no ka wahi lo'a kēia pūnāwai 'ōpae.*
- KM: *'Ae.*
- KK: *Ka manawa hele lākou, pō 'ele'ele, 'ike lākou i kāhi o kēia po'e pūnāwai, ho'okomo lākou i kō lākou lima. Inā piha ka lima 'e'eu ka 'ōpae, a maopopo lākou komo ka 'ōpae i loko. A komo lākou i ke kā'e'e.*
- KM: *'Ae, kā'e'e lākou i ka 'ōpae 'ula?*
- KK: *Kā'e'e i ka 'ōpae 'ula. 'Oia ka palu e hali ai.*
- KM: *'Ae. Hele lākou ma ka wa'a?*
- KK: *Lawe lākou ma ka wa'a.*

Describes 'ōpelu and lūhe'e fishing from Kohanaiki and neighboring lands – various points along the shore, marked ko'a (fishing stations) in the ocean:

- KM: *He mau ko'a 'ōpelu aia makai o kēia 'āina?*
- KK: *Kēia 'aina lo'a ko'a 'ōpelu, a'ole au maopopo loa i hea. Akā na'e, kama'ilio mai ko'u makuakāne, "aia ke ko'a 'ōpelu ma ne'i nei, ma'ō. Nānā lākou i ka māka.*
- KM: *'Ae, kekāhi lae paha.*
- KK: *Lae, māka e hele ai.*
- KM: *Ō! Lohe wau i kēia mau mo'olelo a maopopo wau i ka na'auao o nā kūpuna. Ua hele lākou, hana mālie, hana me ka pono. A maopopo lākou i ka 'āina. Kēia lae ma ka 'āina, holo 'oe ai ma waho, a kū 'oe ka wa'a ma ke ko'a, māka...*
- KK: *'Ae. Ku'u lohe 'ana i ka wā, ke au ma mua, a'ole lākou e lawe me kēia manawa i ka pahu aniani. Kēlā mau lā kahiko, nau lākou i ke kukui, a pūpuhi.*
- KM: *'Ae.*
- KK: *I luna o ka wai, hinuhinu a hiki iā lākou ke nānā e like me ka pahu aniani.*
- KM: *Hiki iā lākou ke 'ike i nā mea o lalo.*
- KK: *'Ae, o lalo.*
- KM: *Hmm. Ua lohe wau, 'oia kō lākou hana no ka 'ōpelu, no ka lūhe'e 'ana...*
- KK: *'Ae, pololei.*



- KM: *‘Ike lākou i ka he‘e.*
- KK: *Pēlā kō lākou lawai‘a ‘ana i kēlā mau lā.*
- KM: *‘Ae, na‘auao.*
- KK: *Kekāhi manawa, hele nānā i ka leho. Kēia leho, a‘ale nā leho like ‘ole, kēia leho, kona kala, kalakoa. A ho‘okomo i ka makau i loko ana a pa‘a, a ‘ike lākou i ka he‘e, kilo i kēia leho.*
- KM: *‘Ae. He ‘ano hā‘ula‘ula?*
- KK: *Kalakoa. Ke‘oke‘o, kikokiko. Pēlā lākou e hele ai. No ka mea, ka he‘e makemake lākou i kēlā mau mea. Hele kēia he‘e a ‘ike, a po‘i. Ka manawa e po‘i ai i kēia leho, ‘oia ka manawa e huki a pa‘a ka he‘e ma ka makau.*
- KM: *‘Ae. Huki lākou i ka he‘e ka kau i ka wa‘a?*
- KK: *Huki ā kau i luna o ka wa‘a. A ka manawa e hō‘ea i luna o ka wa‘a, a‘e lākou e ho‘opili i ka wa‘a. A ho‘oku‘u lākou i waho loa me ka hoe, pa‘a akula. Ka mana‘o kēlā, a‘ole hiki ka he‘e ke hopu mai i ka wa‘a.*
- KM: *Ā!*
- KK: *A pae a kau, a loli lākou i ka po‘o. Kekāhi po‘e loli ka po‘o.*
- KM: *‘Ae, ho‘ohuli.*
- KK: *Ho‘ohuli i ka po‘o. A kāhi, nahu ka maka.*
- KM: *‘Ae.*
- KK: *Pēlā lākou e hana ai.*
- KM: *‘Oia kō lākou hana. Ai ma waho o Kohanaiki, Kaloko...*
- KK: *Me Honokōhau, o kēia wahi.*
- KM: *‘Ae, ō! [pauses] Ka ‘ōpae ‘ula, he mea nui no lākou ē?*
- KK: *No lākou o kēia ‘āina.*
- KM: *No Kekaha...*
- KK: *...Ma kēia wahi. A ‘oia ke kumu i lo‘a kēia alanui mane‘i nei. A kēia wahi ka‘u e hele a noho a lawai‘a.*
- KM: *A‘ohe po‘e noho i kai i kēlā mau lā?*
- KK: *Kēlā manawa, a‘ole. Po‘e wale nō mauka. Pau ke kula hele mai mākou i kai nei...*
- Names some of the many fish caught along the shore of Kohanaiki and ‘O‘oma:
- KK: *A na kākou e ho‘i aku, e kuhikuhi wau iā ‘oe iā ‘O‘oma. Ma mua kēia wahi, nui ka i‘a. Ka pualu, ka palani, komo mai loko.*
- KM: *‘Oia? Pehea kou mana‘o, i kēlā mau lā, na ka po‘e kama‘āina o kēia mau ahupua‘a, no lākou wale no kēia mau i‘a?*
- KK: *Ko‘u mana‘o, nui ka i‘a, a‘ole po‘e hele no lawe i ka mea mamake ai. Kēia one, piha ke one kēia manawa, ma mua ‘ālo‘alo‘a. It was all rocks over here, and now all full sand.*
- KM: *A ai ma lalo o kēia po‘e mangrove...?*
- KK: *He pūnāwai ai ma lalo, loko ‘ōpae.*
- KM: *Kūkū, ua lohe paha ‘oe i kekāhi inoa no kēia pūnāwai?*
- KK: *A‘ole wau i lohe...*



Fish like the *pualu*, *palani*, and *manini*, not plentiful like they once were. People have been greedy, and taken too much:

...*Ma mua, nui ka pualu, nui ka palani o kēia wahi.*

KM: 'Oia ka i'a nui o kēia wahi?

KK: 'Oia ka i'a nui, me ka manini.

KM: Hmm. Kēia manawa, not like that?

KK: Pau. Loli, loli loa ka manawa.

KM: No'ono'o 'ana inā hele ka po'e ē, e lawai'a, lawai'a me ka pono. Akā hele ka po'e lawai'a a hāpuku.

KK: Hāpuku, hāpuku!

KM: Aloha nō!

KK: Kēia kumu lā'au mane'i nei, he loko ma lalo nei.

KM: 'Ae.

KK: Kēia manawa, pau!

KM: This mangrove they just kill it, they choke it out.

KK: Well, Kaloko was the same thing too where Peter [Keka] is making the wall. They went *huki* all *pau*.

KM: Yeah. Nice though at least they're working on trying to keep things clean.

KK: Yeah.

KM: You know uncle, if you walk back into some of these little ponds back here they have small areas just like *ki'o pua*, you know where they made small fish holding areas or *ki'o 'ōpae*. There's some of the ponds have like almost like a little *kahua* in them, you know.

KK: I'm sure.

KM: Maybe they *kau* net or something you know. [driving] We go to this side?

KK: Yeah, keep going now *kau nei kākou i ka 'āina o Wāwahiwa'a*.

KM: Kēia ka lae o Wāwahiwa'a?

KK: Yes. *Lae o Wāwahiwa'a*.

KM: *I kou wā li'ilii, ua lohe paha 'oe i kekāhi mo'olelo e pili 'ana ka inoa o Wāwahiwa'a?*

KK: *A'ole wau lohe.*

KM: *Wāwāhi*, is to break apart?

KK: Break apart.

KM: *Wa'a* is a canoe. Maybe *kekāhi manawa ua hele kekāhi wa'a a wāwahi ma kēlā lae?*

KK: That's what I think.

KM: [chuckling]

KK: 'Ōkaikai! *Manawa 'ōkaikai, pau kēia wahi piha i ka wai.*

KM: 'Ae.



Discusses Wāwahiwa'a – while he did not hear a specific account regarding the naming of Wāwahiwa'a, the name tells us that a canoe shattered upon the point. Also observes that 'ōpae 'ula were gathered from the ponds behind Lae o Wāwahiwa'a, and points out *ki'i* (petroglyphs) on the *pāhoehoe* flats:

KK: *Mane'i nei ka muliwai, komo mai i ka wai 'ōpae, mauka. Kēia manawa kākou i loko o Wāwahiwa'a.*

KM: 'Ae.

KK: *Iho 'oe mane'i nei.*

Group: [Turn towards shore behind Wāwahiwa'a]

KM: *Kupuna, lo'a kekāhi kahua pōhaku ai ma'ō.*

KK: 'Oia ke kiko waena o Wāwahiwa'a...

Group: [Stop car, walk to petroglyphs and *kahua*...]

Group: [Walking towards *kahua* that marks Wāwahiwa'a...]

KM: ...So before when you were young there used to be a wood stand on top of there. Like the trig kind for marking a flag or something?

KK: Well, just a marker I think.

KM: Marker?

KK: Yeah.

KM: You don't think it's a *ko'a* for the fishery?

KK: It's more a *ko'a*. All these points they get, it's more on the *ko'a*.

KM: 'Ae.

KK: *Ko'a Wāwahiwa'a.*

KM: 'Ae.

KK: As I was saying, [pointing towards the south] that's 'Alula point?

KM: Yes.

KK: And you stand over here, you can see Keāhole.

KM: That's right you can see to Keāhole.

KK: Keāhole point.

KM: 'Ae. So a *ko'a* like?

KK: This is a *ko'a*, I think that's how this *ahu* stay. *Nui kēia ahu.*

KM: 'Ae...

KK: ...*Ka manawa, ka po'e hele lawai'a, "Hele kākou i ke ko'a 'ōpelu o Wāwahiwa'a."*

KM: *Kēia ka wahi.*

KK: *Kēia ka wahi o Wāwahiwa'a.*

KM: *Ō mahalo!*

KK: *Kēia nā pana o kēia o Kohanaiki.*

KM: 'Ae, aloha...



Recalls that Henry Akona had a fisherman's house on the south side of Ka-lae-o-Kohanaiki; names some of the Filipino fishermen who worked for Akona and lived along the shore:

- KK: *Ma mua, he hale ma kēia kumu kiawe, makai nei. Ma laila ke kahua hale.*
- KM: *No wai?*
- KK: *Akona.*
- KM: *Akona. A ka wahi o kēlā hale, i Kohanaiki?*
- KK: *I loko o Kohanaiki. Kaloko, kēlā ka'e ma'ō aku.*
- KM: Ah. So it was a little cove area here, and Akona kept a house here actually?
- KK: That's his fishing house.
- KM: Where the Filipino's lived at. Were they working the fishpond also or were they just going out *holoholo*?
- KK: They were fishing. Fish for *'ōpelu*, any kind of fish. Maybe we can your car is high, we can go until we hit that Kalaemamo.
- KM: Oh, okay.
- KK: Kalaemamo. You see that point over there?
- KM: 'Ae, the point right there. That's Kalaemamo. And Kalaemamo, that's Kaloko or right on the boundary of Kaloko and...?
- KK: Most of it is in Kaloko.
- KM: 'Ae.
- KK: There now you can see more.
- KM: Yes.
- KK: You see that *lae* over there?
- KM: Yes. So that's Kalaemamo?
- KK: Kalaemamo. You see the *ulu lā'au* over there?
- KM: Yes.
- KK: That's Kaloko. And *Kaloko hō'ea mai kēia ka'e ulu lā'au mane'i nei.*
- KM: The one right there?
- KK: Yeah.
- KM: The dark green, okay.
- KK: Going up.
- KM: So this is Kohanaiki?
- KK: Kohanaiki here.
- KM: This little cove?
- KK: This cove. The *po'e wa'a* come over here and come inside.
- KM: They go out *'ōpelu*, whatever?
- KK: Yeah, go out through here, *'ōpelu. Kēlā po'e Pilipino, make, pau lākou.*
- KM: 'Ae. Palacat *paha*, Pedro?



KK: Palacat, Pedro. *Kekāhi inoa, kahea 'ia*, "Open the door," Catalino.

KM: Catalino [chuckling]...

KK: ...In front this *lae, nui ka 'ulua*.

KM: 'Oia, *Lae-o-Kohanaiki?*

KK: Lae-o-Kohanaiki, that's where plenty 'ulua come inside. I don't know now, everything is all *loli* already, so we don't know.

KM: Yeah, people take too much.

KK: All big kind 'ulua come over here. Inside, not the small kind, real big.

KM: And did they go with *pūhi* or how did they...?

KK: I don't know, most likely these Filipinos they go with the *pūhi*. One Filipino caught one over 100 pounds, big.

KM: Wow! You know brother's always talking about the *honu* out here.

KK: The *honu* is outside that *lae*.

KM: The *lae*, this one here?

KK: Yeah. Outside that's where he was talking about the *honu*...

Describes the fishponds of Kaloko and Honokōhau:

KM: ...*E kala mai*, the pond, and you were saying too, even you knew, you'd heard that in the olden days at Kaloko, *lo'a kekāhi*...?

KK: Mermaid.

KM: Kananaka?

KK: I don't know.

KM: *Mo'o?*

KK: *Mo'o wahine*.

KM: Yeah, *mo'o wahine*. And *ma mua ua noho 'oia i loko o Kaloko?*

KK: 'Ae.

KM: *Ua 'ike paha 'oe i kēlā mo'o?*

KK: *A'ole wau 'ike, lohe wale nō i ka mo'olelo*.

KM: 'Ae. *Nāna no i kia'i paha, mālama i ka loko?*

KK: *Kia'i o kēlā loko*.

KM: 'Ae... *Pehea o Honokōhau, 'Aimakapā, he mo'o paha kō kēlā loko?*

KK: *A'ole wau i lohe*.

KM: Hmm. *Ma hope o 'Aimakapā, he mau loko iki*.

KK: 'Ae.

KM: 'Ike 'oe i ke *kuapā* just like. Did you hear what those were for?

KK: I don't know.

KM: Just like storing pens or something.

KK: Maybe it's a storage or something.



KM: Interesting. You wonder 'cause get the big pond then in the back end, has all the small.

KK: The small ponds. Maybe they catch the fish and they go put 'um inside there.

KM: Store over there.

KK: Those days *a'ole lo'a pahu hau*.

KM: 'Ae. *Pehea ka i'a o Kaloko me Honokōhau, ua like lāua?*

KK: *A'ole. Ka i'a o Kaloko, 'ono. A'ohē hohonu. A ka i'a o Honokōhau, pōhō 'oia ka mea 'ai.*

KM: Yes, muddy *nō ho'i*.

KK: *Nui ka pōhō o loko laila. Pōhō* is the mud.

KM: Algae, mud like.

KK: Yes.

KM: *So ka i'a o Honokōhau ano, a'ale 'ono loa?*

KK: *A'ale. Maika'i, akā na'e, ka ōpū, honi 'oe kēlā 'ano pōhō. Ka i'a o Kaloko, like me ka i'a ma waho nei.*

KM: *Ā! No ka mea, lo'a ke kuapā, ka pā loko...?*

KK: *Loli mau ka wai.*

KM: *Ka mākāhā?*

KK: *Ka mākāhā.*

KM: *Huli mau ka wai.*

KK: *Ke au, komo i loko.*

KM: *So ka i'a o Kaloko, ua 'oi ka 'ono?*

KK: *'Oi aku ka maika'i. Ku'u manawa e ha'alele ai ka Hui, hele mai au e ki'i i'a ma laila. Hele au 'upena ku'u ma laila...*

KK: This place here, used to get plenty [thinking] what you call it.

KM: The *naio* like that?

KK: No, not that *naio* that poison for the fish.

KM: Oh, *'auhuhu* [*Tephrosia purpurea*].

KK: *'Auhuhu.*

KM: Oh.

KK: You see all the *naio* over here.

KM: Yes. Must have had water here before too.

KK: *Lo'a pūnāwai, makai.*

KM: That's why...

Group: [Arrive at northern edge of cove]

KK: So that's where we come, go *lawai'a* over here. *Ma mua, nui ka i'a* inside here!

KM: Hmm...

KK: Over here *ma mua, nui ke kūpe'e*.

KM: *'Oia? Iloko o kēia one?*



KK: *Iloko o ke one. Hele mai 'oe me ke kukui, lo'a.*
 KM: *Ua hele 'oe 'ohi i ke kūpe'e?*
 KK: *'Ae.*
 KM: *Pehea kēia kūpe'e, ke'oke'o me ka 'ele'ele wale nō?*
 KK: *Hāuliuli.*
 KM: *'Ae...*

Walking along the collapsed Kaloko Fishpond wall (*kuapā*); names the types of fish caught along the shore:

KK: ...Here, you see all this *limu* outside here?
 KM: *'Ae.*
 KK: All the *limu*, this is the *ka'e* of the *pā pōhaku*.
 KM: So that's the old ones there really outside.
 KK: Outside there.
 KM: You see I guess that's *ina* in there.
 KK: Yeah, that's *ina*. *Po'e kahiko, hele lākou hana kai. Kai ina.*
 KM: *'Ae*. So right on the edge of the *lae* there, straight out.
 KK: Straight out.
 KM: All of this curve in?
 KK: That's all new.
 KM: The waves slowly pushing it in.
 KK: Push 'em, go inside. And they *lawe mai kēia pōhaku* from up there.
 KM: From on top?
 KK: Yes.
 KM: The stones for the wall like that, the big stones, the rock.
 KK: Big stones on top there.
 KM: From on the *papa*?
 KK: Yes. Then they blow up the powder, everything they bring 'em down over here then they... And I definitely know, this is the... [thinking]
 KM: The *mākāhā*?
 KK: The *mākāhā*.
 KM: *'Ae*. Wonderful! *Mahalo nui*.
 KK: Sometimes you got to go look at the things, you can see the origin, the whole thing.
 KM: Yes.
 KK: See the *nahu manini ai ma waho*, bumby you'll see 'um *hulali*.
 KM: *'Ae*. And I think get one *pāku'iku'i* or something in there.
 KK: Yes, and has *la'ipala*.
 KM: Oh yes the yellow one.



KK: Yes. This is *mālia*.

KM: Beautiful... See that little stone sticking up there like that. The way it's a natural formation.

KK: All natural.

KM: The *kūpuna* you look at those things, you think "oh was that their marker" for something, you know?

KK: Well, it can be their marker, because they always go with their marker... These *kūpuna*, always, when they do things, they always have a mark some place. Even the *po'e mahi'ai*, same thing, too. That's why I was saying, my papa, *mahi'ai kalo*, comes to Honokōhau, Kanakamaika'i, Pai and all them *mākaukau*. *Maopopo no lākou ka manawa e hea mai ai o Kinoulu, ku'u makuakāne, ho'omākaukau lākou i ka 'upena. Hele lākou i waho. Ā, 'elua lio 'eke piha!*

KM: *Piha me ka i'a. A nāna no i lawe mai i ke kalo...?*

KK: *Kalo, kuapo ka i'a no ka mea 'ai.*

KM: *Maika'i kēlā mau lā.*

KK: *'Ae. Kēlā mau lā, a'ole kalā, kuapo lākou i mea 'ai. Hele ki'i lawai'a, lo'a ka palani, ka pualu.*

KM: Hmm. *Mahalo!*

Group: [Walking back into Kohanaiki.]

KM: So the *kuapā* went straight from this *lae*, here, straight up?

KK: That's why you can see how the formation.

KM: Yeah, the waves pushed it in.

Group: [Walking along Kalaemamo]

KK: So I go throw net mostly, in here. The *uouoa* inside here, big.

KM: Oh yeah. This little *lae* right here...?

KK: This is Kalaemamo.

KM: The water is so beautiful, yeah?

KK: Yes. *Mahalo no kēia lā maika'i.*

KM: 'Ae...

KK: ...*Ka māiko*. I *kiloi 'upena* inside here, inside this *puka* right here. The *uouoa* come inside up there. Big kind *uouoa*.

KM: Hmm.

Group: [Walking towards Kohanaiki]

KM: Ah. *Ma mua, ua hele lākou me kēkake?*

KK: *Kēkake, lio.*

KM: *Hele lawai'a, a kau ka i'a ma loko o ka 'eke?*

KK: Yes.

KM: *Ho'okomo ka i'a, kau ma ke kēkake, holo me ka lio ma ka ala hele?*

KK: Yes. But they put *limu* inside, the *limu 'aki'aki*.

KM: *No ke 'aha?*



KK: *A'ale palahū ka i'a.*

KM: *'Ae. Mea hō'olu i ka i'a?*

KK: *'Ae.*

KM: *Kēlā limu 'aki'aki, kēlā mea 'ano melemele...green? The one on the rocks?*

KK: *Yeah, the one on the rock, the long kind. They just uhai. And then they put inside the kilo, then put the i'a inside just ma ū. And this is the kahua hale.*

KM: *'Ae, 'ike wau i ka piula.*

KK: *Kēia ka hale ma lalo, a ma luna. Moe ma luna, ka moa, ka pu'a ma lalo.*

KM: *Okay, I'm going to take a photo.*

KK: *And the wa'a come inside here.*

KM: *'Ae.*

KK: *When the wa'a come inside here. See where that papa pōhaku is?*

KM: *Yes.*

KK: *There's one channel inside there, the wa'a come over there and around in to here, a pae ka wa'a.*

KM: *[ho'opa'i ki'i] ...Ua 'ike wau i kēlā mau poho. He poho palu paha, hana pa'akai paha?*

KK: *Maybe pa'akai. Kēia wahi, ka 'ape komo mai nei. A ma kēlā papa, ka uouoa kau i luna o kēlā papa... [inaudible] Ke enenu ai ma ne'i nei, komo ma loko.*

KM: *'Ae, ho'olulu paha ma loko o ua wahi. Ō mahalo, mahalo nui! So 'Alula, 'oia kēlā lae [point to area south, across bay, indicated by Kupuna Kahananui]?*

KK: *'Alula. And that is one main lae for the po'e ana 'āina. Mai kēlā lae hele 'oe i Hualālai; mai tēlā lae 'ike 'oe iā Keāhole.*

KM: *'Ae.*

KK: *For me, I was happy 'cause had an opportunity to go out and do all that.*

KM: *Yes...*

Group: *[Drives into 'O'oma.]*

KM: *...Is this old an pā or...?*

KK: *That's one old pā over there. That's what I was saying they ho'ohuli kao, I don't know they put 'em inside there. Around this area, they skinned everything and they throw 'em in the water.*

KM: *Oh, this was the place?*

KK: *This the place.*

KM: *Oh.*

Lawai'a manō (shark fishing) at 'O'oma:

KK: *And when they throw 'em in the water the manō come up.*

KM: *He'aha ka hana a kēlā lawai'a manō?*

KK: *Kēlā mau lau, aia ma kēia 'ao'ao, huli aku i ke kao. Ho'ohuli a hō'ea ma laila ka po'e lawe ke kao. No ka mea, ka 'ili o ke kao ka mea nui.*

KM: *'Ae. I ka wā o kou kahu hānai?*



KK: 'Ae. 'Oia kō lākou māhele...ke kumu, nui nā kao mane'i nei. Huli a ma laila, a pepehi. Po'e lololele ka 'ili, lawe 'oe ka 'i'o a pau kou makemake. O ka hapanui, kiloi lākou i loko o ke kai a hele mai nei ka manō ma laila, 'ai.

KM: Ae...

KK: The Hawaiians they had lot of stories.

KM: This is still O'oma?

KK: We are in O'oma 2nd. I don't know that *pu'u pōhaku* over there that, *kahua hale*. It looks like it is a *kahua hale*.

KM: It does.

KK: Right.

KM: Yeah.

KK: So up here, we walked with the OTEC people. Then you get one place where they *hali* all the 'ōpihi; they *koe* all the 'ōpihi, everything. And they said over here, that's one of the *ko'a*. And up here some place you get three *pōhaku*.

KM: You see get one little *ahua* right over there, little *pu'u pōhaku* right there. *Kuahu* or *ahu* like.

KK: Get three *pōhaku*, then one *pōhaku*, it looks like that's their *ko'a*. From there then, they look outside to that *ko'a* in the mountain.

KM: I guess that was how with the *ko'a i'a* they had different places. Some could be on the mountain when you mark a certain place or even a part of the forest or something...color yeah, and then different *lae* like that.

KK: Yes. Those days you can do that, I would say you can. For the reason why that, there was no more nothing in their way.

KM: 'Ae.

KK: Today, oh you no can tell me where and where. This is one, I don't know that's whether *kahua hale* or...?

KM: Maybe I, let me just stop and take a quick photograph, uncle.

KK: Yeah. It's nice flat inside here.

KM: It is, it's very nice well built yeah.

KK: I don't know whether it's a *heiau* or...?

KM: [photograph]

KK: ...As I said, all we're doing now is picking up what remains.

KM: Yes, yes...

KK: ...I think with our old Hawaiians they never *uhauha*. They knew how to maintain their life style. No matter how big the family, they were able to stay together, they we able to feed them all.

KM: Yeah.

KK: And grow up with them until their kamali'is *keiki* and *keiki* and *keiki*, so that origin stay with them that way. Today, no, it's no more of that. What is mine is mine if you want, go get your own. If you share, what going happen you want to be the history of that sharing and you want to be the one who been share with others. Your name will not come out they're going to come out. That's a different together all things...



**William Kalikolehua Pānui (joined by Nāmāhana Kalama-Pānui)
Fisheries and Customs of the Kealakekua-Ke'ei Vicinity, South Kona
July 3rd and October 28th, 2002 – with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. S506)**

William Kalikolehua Pānui, was born at Ke'ei on November 16, 1928. He was raised by his *hānai* parents, Louis Kauanoekauikaliko-kahalaopuna Pānui, and Annie Kahalulu Kauhi-Pānui. The Pānui-Kauhi lines have resided on the same land at Ke'ei for many generations. *Kupuna* Pānui was introduced to the history and cultural landscape (including natural resources) of Ke'ei by his father, Louis Pānui, who was also known by the name of Ka-ēhu-



kai-o-Palemanō (commemorating the family's affiliation with the land). The elder Mr. Pānui (*Tūtū* Kaua) was a well-known historian of the Ke'ei-Nāpo'opo'o region, and an authority on a wide range of cultural matters. Born at Ke'ei in 1863, Mr. Pānui was often sought out on matters of Hawaiian history, until his passing in 1960, at the age 97.

From his earliest days, *Kupuna* Pānui traveled the land—*mauka-makai* and along the shore fishing—with his father, who pointed out family sites, and places of importance associated with histories dating back to at least the 1500s. His knowledge of traditions associated with the naming of Ke'ei, Palemanō, Kūlou, Haleolono, Kamaiko Heiau, Mokuoka'e and Moku'ōhai is remarkable, and is a gift from the past to future generations. *Kupuna* Pānui is a gifted story teller, and shared freely, his recollections of histories, families and sites of Ke'ei and neighboring lands.

The interviews were conducted in both Hawaiian and English; at points in the interviews, English translations are given below the original texts. *Kupuna* Pānui granted his personal release of the interviews to Maly on December 18, 2002.

- KM: Now *tūtū*, *e kala mai*, 'o *wai kou inoa*?
- WP: 'O *Wiliama Kalikolehua Pānui ko'u inoa*.
- KM: Hmm Kalikolehua?
- WP: 'Ae.
- KM: *I hea 'oe i hānau ai?*
Where were you born?
- WP: *Hānau 'ia wau i Ke'ei, kahakai o Ke'ei, Palemanō.*
I was born at Ke'ei, the shore of Ke'ei, Palemanō.



KM: 'Ae.

WP: *I ka makahiki 'umi kūmāiwa, iwakalua kūmāwalu. Mahina o Nowemapa, lā 'umi kūmā'ono.*
In the year nineteen twenty-nine. Month of November, the sixteenth.

KM: Hmm. *Mahalo ke Akua...*

Discussing site and fisheries along the shore of Ke'ei:

KM: *Palemanō, mea nui paha kēlā, ē?*
Palemanō, that's perhaps important?

WP: *'Ae, Palemanō, he heiau makai nei... [looking at map – pointing out locations] Makai a'e o ka pā hale o Kekūhaupi'o [Helu 6940].*
Yes, Palemanō, there is a *heiau* on the shore... It is on the shoreward side of the house lot of Kekūhaupi'o.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: *He heiau mane'i.*

KM: *'Ae, makai o ka hale o Kekūhaupi'o?*

WP: 'Ae.

KM: *'Oia mau no kēlā wahi heiau i kēia manawa?*
Is that *heiau* still there to the present time?

WP: *Ua hāne'e 'ia.*
It has fallen.

KM: *'Ae, pi'i mai ke kai paha?*
Yes, perhaps ocean waves have risen up?

WP: *'Ae, pi'i mai ke kai. Ka inoa 'oia heiau, 'o Kamaiko.*
Yes, the ocean waves have risen to it. The name of the *heiau* is Kamaiko.

KM: Kamaiko?

WP: *Kamaiko. I ku'u lohe 'ana i ka mo'olelo o ia heiau, i ka wā kahiko loa, i ka make 'ana kekāhi po'e, po'e ali'i paha, maka'āinana paha, lawe 'ia lākou...lawe 'ia ke kino, a kaulia ke kino ma luna o ke ke'a, e kaula'i.*
Kamaiko. From what I heard of the history of the *heiau*, in ancient times, when certain people died, chiefs perhaps, maybe commoners, they were taken...the bodies were taken and the bodies were placed on a cross-like to dry.

KM: *E kaula'i 'ana lākou?*
So they were dried?

WP: *'Ae. A pau ke kaula'i 'ana, a laila lawe 'ana ke kino i lalo a palupalu wale no ka 'ili. Hō'ili'ili lākou i ka iwi.*
Yes. And when they were dried, then the body was taken down, the skin was soft. They then gathered the bones.

KM: *'Ae, o ka pela, ua kapae 'ia?*
Yes, so the flesh was set aside?

WP: *Kapae 'ia.*
Set aside.



KM: *A o ka iwi, hō'ili'ili 'ia?*
And the bones collected?

WP: *Ka iwi, hō'ili'ili a kanu 'ia.*
The bones collected and buried...

KM: *... 'Oia? I kou wā li'ili'i, kou noho 'ana ia ne'i, he'aha ka 'ōlelo o kou po'e mākua, nā kūpuna e pili 'ana kēia wahi? He akahēle, mai hele a lālau? Or, mai maka'u 'oukou, he 'ohana?*
Is that so? In your youth, when you were living here, what did your parents, grandparents say about this place? "Be careful, don't go all about." Or "don't be afraid, it's family."

WP: [chuckling] *'Oia mau kauoha.*
All of those instructions.

KM: *'Ae.*

WP: *No mākou kēia 'āina, no laila, ua 'ōlelo 'ia mai mākou, "E mālama i ka 'āina. Inā 'oe mālama i ka 'āina, mālama ka 'āina iā 'oe."*
This land is for us, therefore, they told us, "Care for the land. If you care for the land the land will care for you."

KM: *A 'oia, na'auao nā kūpuna!*
That's it, the elders were so intelligent!

WP: *'Ae.*

KM: *Mahalo i kou ho'omana'o 'ana i kēlā, "Inā 'oe mālama i ka 'āina..."*
Thank you so much for remembering that, "If you care for the land...?"

WP: *"Mālama ka 'āina iā 'oe."*
"The land will care for you."

KM: *'Ae, aloha.*

WP: [pointing out area on map] *Hele mākou e lawai'a mai kēia 'ao'ao nei ā—hiki i Moku'ōhai a Kīpū.*
We went fishing from this side [Ke'ei Iki] all the way to Moku'ōhai and Kīpū.

KM: *'Ae. 'Ike wau i ka pōhaku o Kīpū mane'i.*
Yes. And I see the stone of Kīpū marked here.

WP: *'Ae.*

KM: *Ua hele 'oe holoholo, lawai'a?*
So you went fishing?

WP: *'Ae, hele lawai'a.*
Yes, we went fishing.

KM: *Ma kēia mau lae kahakai?*
Along these coastal points?

WP: *'Ae. Lae pōhaku wale nō kēia.*
Yes. This is all stony points.



KM: 'Ae... A i kou wā li'ili'i ua hele 'oe lawai'a?

Yes, aloha! So in your youth, you went fishing?

WP: 'Ae.

Names types of *limu*, and varieties of fish caught:

KM: He'aha ke 'ano o ka i'a? A he limu paha ko kekāhi?

What kinds of fish, and was there *limu* perhaps at certain places?

WP: 'Ae, he limu. Mane'i, ma Limu Koko, he inoa kēia no ka limu kohu.

Yes, *limu*. Here, at *Limu Koko*, that is a name for the *limu kohu*.

KM: Hmm.

WP: *Limu koko, limu kohu, like no.*

Limu koko, limu kohu, are the same.

KM: Ā! 'Ula'ula?

Red?

WP: 'Ae. Nui ka limu kohu ma kēia lae. A makai nei [pointing to location]...

Yes. There is a lot of *limu kohu* at this point. Along the water side.

KM: Kēlā nuku li'i ma Palemanō?

And that little inlet by Palemanō?

WP: *Palemanō. He papa o loko nei, ho'olei 'upena, kiloi 'upena, ma kēia mau papa li'i. Ke pi'i mai ke kai, hohonu ke kai, a uhi 'ia ka papa a pi'i mai ka i'a.*

Palemanō. There is a flat area there, that's where we throw net, along these little flats. When the tide rises, the water is deep and the flats are covered and the fish come up.

KM: Hmm, ma loko o kēlā wahi?

Inside that place?

WP: 'Ae.

KM: Nā i'a like 'ole?

Different kinds of fish?

WP: *A nui nā i'a. A iho ke kai, kai make, hiki iā 'oe ke hele wāwae ma kēia papa nei. Mai kēia papa a hiki i kēia papa [indicating from the Haleolono section to the point of Palemanō]. Hele wāwae iloko o ke kai.*

Many kinds of fish. And when the tide recedes, low tide, you can walk on those flats. From this flat to that one. Walk feet in the water.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: *Ma kēia 'ao'ao [west of Haleolono], he wahi 'upena ku'u.*

Along this side, it's a lay net place.

KM: *Mai Haleolono a i kēia moku li'i?*

From Haleolono to this little islet?

WP: 'Ae, ma loko nei, 'upena ku'u. Āholehole, uouoa... [thinking] A ma ka 'ao'ao o ke kai hohonu, ka pāku'iku'i, uhu, 'enenu, ka 'ulua.



Yes, in there, for lay net. *Āholehole, uouoa...* And on the side where the water is deep, there are *pāku'īku'ī, 'uhu, 'enenue, ka 'ulua.*

KM: *'Ae. 'Oia ka i'a a 'oukou i kou wā li'ili'i...?*

Yes. Those are the fish of you folks when you were young?

WP: *'Ae.*

KM: *So ua hele 'oukou lawai'a no ka...?*

You went fishing for...?

WP: *No ka 'ai 'ana.*

For food.

KM: *No ka 'ohana?*

For the family?

Akule schools were surrounded in the bays; recalls the lead fishermen of his youth:

WP: *'Ae. A i kekāhi manawa, ma Kealakekua, Nāpo'opo'o, komo mai ka i'a akule. A hele ka po'e o Nāpo'opo'o e ho'opuni e ka 'upena. A puni, kahea 'ia mai ka po'e a pau, mai Ke'ei a hiki i Kahauloa, Nāpo'opo'o.*

Yes. And sometimes at Kealakekua, Nāpo'opo'o, the *akule* fish would come in. The people of Nāpo'opo'o would surround them with net. Once surrounded, they would call all the people, from Ke'ei to Kahauloa, Nāpo'opo'o.

KM: *Hmm.*

WP: *Hele e 'ohi ka i'a.*

Come take fish.

KM: *Aloha! Hele lākou me ka wa'a?*

Aloha! So they'd go with canoes?

WP: *Me ka wa'a.*

With canoes.

KM: *A puni...?*

And surround...?

WP: *Ho'opuni ka i'a, ka akule. A hele ka po'e ki'i.*

Surround the fish, the *akule*. And the people would come take.

WP: *'O wai ka lawai'a nui i kou wā li'ili'i, wā 'ōpio?*

Who was the head fisherman in your youth, when you were young?

WP: *Ma Ke'ei nei, ko'u papa a me kona kaikaina, Kekoa. Kekoa Pānui.*

Here at Ke'ei, my father and his younger brother, Kekoa. Kekoa Pānui.

KM: *Ahh.*

WP: *Kona inoa piha o Kekoanuiokamehameha.*

His full name was Kekoanuiokamehameha.

KM: *'Oia?*

WP: *'Ae.*



KM: *So lāua no nā lawai'a nui?*
So they two were the head fishermen?

WP: 'Ae.

KM: *I kēlā mau lā, ua kuhi, direct nō ho'i lākou i hea ka wahi e kū ka 'upena...?*
In those days, did they direct them, where the place was to set the nets?

WP: *Ka wā hele i kai a lawai'a, 'ae.*
At the time went into the sea to fish, yes.

KM: *Na'auao nā kūpuna.*

WP: 'Ae.

KM: [pointing to locations on map] Moku'ōhai Bay, *ua hele 'oe lawai'a?*
Moku'ōhai Bay, you went fishing?

WP: 'Ae. *A'ole o Moku'ōhai Bay kēia. He inoa 'oko'a kēia wahi...* [thinking]
Yes. But this isn't Moku'ōhai Bay. There is a different name for this place...
[thinking – Mokuaka'e or Mokuoka'e, as described in the interview of August 30th 2002]

WP/KM: [looking at Register Map No. 1445 for another place name that may have been recorded]...

WP: *He pu'u wale no kēia, pu'u pāhoehoe.*
This is just a little hill, a pāhoehoe hill.

KM: *Lo'a ka inoa [on the map], Koholā.*
There is a name, Koholā.

WP: *Ua like me ke koholā.*
It's like a whale.

Prayers were offered before undertaking all tasks, including fishing:

KM: 'Ae... ..*Pehea, i kou wā li'ili'i ua lohe paha 'oe i kou papa, ai'ole kou kūpuna...mamua o ke kanu 'ana pule paha lākou?*
Yes... ..How about, in your youth, did you hear your papa, or your grandparents...before planting, did they pray?

WP: 'Ae *pule! Pule mau lākou mamua o nā hana a pau. Hana like 'ole.*
Prayed, yes! They always prayed, before every task. All different tasks.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: *Mamua o ka hana 'ana, pule.*
Before working, pray.

KM: 'Ae. *So mamua o ka lawai'a 'ana?*
Yes. So before fishing?

WP: *Mamua o ka lawai'a 'ana, mamua o ke kanu 'ana, mamua ka hele 'ana, mai ka home a hiki i ke alanui.*
Before fishing, before planting, before traveling, from the home to the trail.

KM: 'Ae, *pule mau.*
Yes, always praying.



WP: *Pule mau... ..Makahiki 'umi kūmāiwa kanahā kūmālua, komo wau i loko o Kamehameha. Mamua o ko'u ha'alele 'ana ua komo mākou i loko o ke kaula nui, kaula 'elua.*

...In the year 1942, and I entered Kamehameha. Before I left, we had entered into the great war, World War Two

KM: 'Ae.

Coast line and fisheries were blocked off during World War II:

WP: *A komo mai na po'e koa, ka 'oihana koa ma Nāpo'opo'o, ma Ke'ei, Hōnaunau a kūkulu lākou i ko lākou wahi noho. Noho lākou ma ka heiau o Kamaiko.*

And the military came in, the army came to Nāpo'opo'o at Ke'ei, Hōnaunau, and built their places to stay. They stayed at the *heiau* of Kamaiko.

KM: *'Oia, ua noho lākou ma luna?*

Is that so, they stayed on it?

WP: *'Ae, ma luna o ka heiau a ma ka 'ao'ao. Ma luna o ka heiau, kūkulu 'ia he hale nui, he tower.*

Yes, on top of the *heiau*, on the side. On the *heiau*, they built a big house, a tower.

KM: *Na ke koa?*

For the Army?

WP: *Na ke koa, lākou e kiei.*

For the Army, so they could observe.

KM: Hmm.

WP: *A ho'opa'a 'ia ke kahakai me ka 'uwea.*

And the shore was closed with wire.

KM: *A'ole hiki iā 'oukou ke holo...?*

So you folks could go...?

WP: *A'ole iā mākou ke hele ma waho. Mahope mai, o ko lākou kūkulu 'ana i ka 'uwea... Kūkulu lākou a hiki i kēia 'ao'ao nei [looking Map No. 824]...*

We could not go outside. Later they built the wire...It was built all the way to this side, here...

KM: *Eia o Ke'omo, Kīpū.*

Here is Ke'omo, Kīpū.

WP: *Mane'i, a hiki i Koholā.*

Here, up to Koholā.

KM: *Ā!*

WP: *No ka mea mane'i, he pali wale nō.*

Because here, it's only cliffs.

KM: *So 'uwea, mai ka 'ao'ao o Koholā a i Palemanō?*

So wire from the side of Koholā to Palemanō?

WP: *Palemanō, Haleolono, a hiki i Kānehu'ea [boundary between Ke'ei and Kahauloa].*

Palemanō, Haleolono, up to Kānehu'ea



KM: *Kānehu'ea, mane'ī.*

WP: *'Ae.*

KM: *So ua pa'a 'ia?*
So it was all blocked off?

WP: *Pa'a 'ia.*
Blocked off.

KM: *A'ole hiki iā 'oukou ke holo lawai'a?*
So you couldn't go fishing?

WP: *A'ole hiki.*
Couldn't go.

KM: *Aloha nō! Mau makahiki ai'ole...?*
Aloha! was it for years or...?

WP: *Mau mahina, mahape a'e a laila hele mākou e noi iā lākou inā hiki iā mākou ke hele i waho. 'Ae 'ia mai, but na lākou wale no e kuhikuhi i ka wā e hemo ai ka 'uwea.*
Several months, then we went and asked them if we could go out. They said yes, but they had to direct us at the time they could open the wires.

KM: *Hmm.*

WP: *So we go down to the kahakai [pointing to area of canoe landing].*

KM: *By Haleolono?*

WP: *'Ae. A huli ke 'alo i ke koa e kū 'ana ma luna o ka tower.*
Turn to the army man standing on top of the tower.

KM: *Hmm.*

WP: *Pe'ahi mākou, no laila he hae [gestures waving]...*
We waved, there was a flag.

KM: *Ō, kuhi 'ana me ka hae?*
Oh, gesturing with a flag?

WP: *'Ae.*

KM: *Pehea māhele 'ia ka i'a a hā'awi kekāhi i nā koa?*
And did you divide up the fish, giving some to the army people?

WP: *'Ae.*

KM: *He po'e haole lākou?*
Were they Caucasian?

WP: *Po'e haole, but 'olu'olu.*
Caucasian, but nice...

***William Kalikolehua and Nāmāhana Pānui (with Hōkūlani Pānui)
Ke'ei Walking Tour – October 28, 2002, with Kepā Maly***

WP: *...Mai Hauiki mai a hiki i ō nei [pointing to area of Papa Ki'eki'e, a little south of where we were standing], ke kahua kauhā. A Moku'ōhai, kāhi i kū ai ke kauhā a hiki ka make 'ana o Kīwala'ō... Kauhā ma ka 'āina, kauhā ma ke kai.*



From Hauiki to over there, is the battle field. And Moku'ōhai is the place where the battle took place, to the death of Kīwala'ō. They fought on the land, and fought in the sea.

KM: 'Ae.

Walking along the shore, names types of fish caught, and locations where found:

WP: 'Ae kai nei, he wahi lawai'a no mākou mamua.

Here along the shore, was a fishing place for us before.

KM: He'aha ke 'ano?

What kinds?

WP: 'Ōpihi, lawai'a kole, maiko, manini me kā mākoī.

'Ōpihi, and fish for kole, maiko, manini with the pole.

KM: Hmm... ..So this is Papa Kī'eki'e?

WP: Yes. Mauka nei, there is a little higher hill.

KM: Yes, so where the little cluster of trees and the noni are?

WP: Yes.

Group: [walking along shore]

WP: [points out poho pa'akai]

KM: So there are plenty of those poho pa'akai around?

WP: Yes.

KM: Oh, look at all of them out here...

WP: Wahine Kī'i is just a little beyond here.

Group: [walking south]

WP: Grammatically, it should be Kī'i wahine, but we've always heard it as Wahine kī'i.

KM: Hmm. You know, I look at all of these poho pa'akai out here, and there must have been many people living out here at some time.

WP: Yes, noho ka po'e ma'ane'i.

KM: And Ke'omo point is right out there?

WP: Yes...

KM: ...So all of these poho pa'akai, may be from those people's time.

WP: From the residents...

Group: [walking south – arrive at a little cove with a boulder in the water; situated just north of Ke'omo Point]

WP: This was my papa's favorite fishing area. Because it's in the vicinity of Ke'omo. And he always reminded us that we are descendants of Kekūhaupi'o. He came over here often to lawai'a kole, he made his hook, he made his own palu from the 'ala'ala he'e, and he'd come just when the tide was down so he could walk across. He would sit on that pōhaku and lawai'a.

KM: Kā mākoī [pole fish]?

WP: Kā mākoī.



- KM: *He inoa paha kēlā pōhaku?*
Is there perhaps a name for that stone?
- WP: *Inā he inoa, a'ole wau i maopopo.*
If there is a name, I don't know it.
- KM: Hmm. [photo]
- WP: When I was small, like this [indicating Hōkūlani], he used to bring me out here, and showed me how to *ho'owali ka palu*. And the hook, he made his own hook from my grandma's hair pin. The old hair pin, the long ones. They were very strong, so he would make his hooks from that...
- Group: [Walking north along shore, arrive at spot where there is a cave in the cliff wall; *Kupuna Pānui* tells story of how he almost lost his life while gathering 'ōpihi.]
- WP: ...As a teenager, we were out here *ku'i 'ōpihi*. It was not rough like this [today], it was *mālie*. I went over there, I went on that *pōhaku*, there [pointing to a large boulder separate from the shore], and had the *'ōpihi kō'ele*, huge, huge *'ōpihi*. I was always taught, "keep your eye on the *kai*." But I didn't at that time, and I was trying to get that big *'ōpihi* and a *nalu* came and hit me from behind. I went underneath. But luckily, see these openings all under there? So there are breathing spots.
- NP: Wow!
- WP: I got caught under there for a little while, and then when the next wave came and went out, I went out with it. [chuckling, shaking his head] Oh boy!
- KM: Hmm...
- Group: [walking to area of Pu'u Koholā]
- WP: ...This was an area where we came to fish for *'ū'ū*.
- KM: Ahh... You know before, when you would go fishing, like the *lua 'ū'ū*, would you see the fish plentiful?
- WP: Oh yes.
- KM: So like now, you don't see much of anything?
- WP: *Mamua me ke kukui hele pō. Hele mākou a i laila i ka wā pō 'ele'ele, me ke kukui hele pō, ho'ā ma ka'e pali.*
Before with the lamp. We'd go there at dark, with the lamp lit at the cliff side.
- KM: 'Ae.
- WP: *A kali li'ilii 'oe, a 'ike 'oe i ka 'ū'ū a me ka 'āweoweo, 'ala'ihī.*
You wait a little while and you'd see the *'ū'ū*, *'āweoweo*, and *'ala'ihī*.
- KM: And now?
- WP: *Kēia manawa a'ole i 'ike 'ia.*
Now, we don't see the fish.
- Before, only *kama'āina* families of the land fished here, no outsiders came in:
- KM: *Mamua, 'oukou nā kama'āina, nā lawai'a, a'ale po'e malihini?*
Before, it was you, *kama'āina* who fished, there were no strangers?
- WP: *A'ole.*



- KM: 'Oukou wale nō, nā kama'āina?
Only you the natives?
- WP: 'Ae, mākou wale nō hele lawai'a no ka home wale nō, no ka 'ai 'ana.
Yes, only us would go fishing, and for the home only, to eat.
- KM: 'Ae.
- WP: A inā he nui loa, kōpī a kaula'i.
And if there were a lot, we'd salt and dry them.
- KM: 'Ae, hā'awi paha, māhele i'a paha?
Yes, and perhaps have give some, divide the fish?
- WP: 'Ae, māhele ka i'a me ka 'ohana, ka mea ma'a mau.
Yes, divide the fish among the family members, that was the regular practice.
- KM: 'Ae...
- Group: [approach mauka side of Kamaiko Heiau]
- KM: ...O ka heiau o Kamaiko?
...This is Kamaiko Heiau?
- Group: [walk to makai side of heiau]
- WP: Mamua, i ke kaula, ua pa'a ke kahakai me ka uwea, mai Hauiki a ia ne'i.
Before, in the war, the shore was closed with wire, from Hauiki to here.
- KM: Me ka pā uwea? Mai Hauiki a pili i ka lae kahakai ma Palemanō?
With wire? from Hauiki along the shore to Palemanō?
- WP: Ma Palemanō a ma Kūlou, a ma'ō a'e a hiki i Kāneahuea.
And from Palemanō to Kūlou and over there to Kāneahuea.
- KM: 'Oia ka palena 'āina ma waena o Ke'ei a me Kahauloa?
That's the boundary between Ke'ei and Kahauloa?
- WP: 'Ae, Kahauloa.
Yes, Kahauloa.
- A shark guardian was known to protect the waters of the region:
- KM: A e kala mai ia'u, ua wehe mai 'oe me kupuna Mona mā e pili 'ana i ka manō. He hale manō paha ma Palemanō?
And excuse me, you and Kupuna Mona them explained about the shark. Is there perhaps a shark house here at Palemanō?
- WP: 'Ae [pointing to area fronting and north of the point], ma lalo nei, ai ma ne'i.
Yes, below here, there.
- KM: So basically makai (and north) of the heiau? [indicated by in indentation on the point on Map No. 824]
- WP: 'Ae. He ana ai ma lalo nei, hiki iā 'oe ke 'ike inā pā mai ka mālia.
Yes, there is a cave below, and you can see it when the sea is calm.
- KM: Hmm.



WP: *A kapa 'ia kēia, Palemanō. The protective barrier.*
 And that is called Palemanō, the protective barrier.

KM: 'Ae...

Names the *ko'a* of the Palemanō vicinity:

WP: [Walking along shore on the north side of Palemanō pointing out various named locations and fishing spots in the waters fronting Palemanō] ...*Ka papa ma'ō, o Kanukuokamanu. No ka mea, like me ka nuku o ka manu. Ke kai make, hiki iā 'oe ke nānā. Kanukuokamanu. A iloko nei, kēia wahi o Pohākainalu. Ke pī'i mai ke kai, he kai 'ino, lohe 'oe i ka pohā o ka nalu. So Pohākainalu.*

That flats out there, is Kanukuokamanu. Because it looks like the beak of a bird. When it's low tide, you can see it. Kanukuokamanu. And inside here, this place is Pohākainalu. When the sea rises, and it's stormy, you can hear the crashing of the waves. So Pohākainalu.

KM: *So Kanukuokamanu a me Pohākainalu.*

WP: *A he poho no ka moi ma'ō nei. Pohomoi.*
 And there is a hole for the moi over there. It's Pohomoi.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: *A ma'ō, mamua o ke one o Kūlou, kēlā 'ao'ao, o Haleolono. Ka inoa o kō mākou ku'una.*
 And there, in front of the sands of Kūlou, that side, is Haleolono. And that's the name of our net fishing place.

KM: O Haleolono?

WP: *Haleolono. E 'upena ku'u wale nō mākou laila. A makai o Kanukuokamanu, kiloi 'upena. Ma laila, ma'ō nei.*
 Haleolono. We only set net over there. And on the ocean side of Kanukuokamanu, we throw net. There, and out there.

KM: *Ma ka 'ao'ao hema o Palemanō?*
 On the south side of Palemanō?

WP: *Ko'u papa ho'olei 'upena. A he mau ku'una 'ōpelu ai waho o Kanukuokamanu. Ma'ō nei, ma'ō, a ma'ō, i loko.*
 My papa would throw net. And there are a number of 'ōpelu net stations out in front of Kanukuokamanu. One there, there and there, inside.

KM: 'Ae. So a little further out in the bay?

WP: *Kokoke i loko.*
 Close to inside.

KM: *Ku'una 'ōpelu?*
 'Ōpelu fisheries?

WP: 'Ae, ko'a 'ōpelu.
 Yes, ko'a 'ōpelu.

KM: *I hea 'oukou e pae ai ka wa'a, ma Kūlou?*

WP: 'Ae.



Walking along Kūlou towards Haleolono – speaking of the kinds of fish caught in the *ku'una*:

WP: *Nui ka 'anae, weke. Ku'u ka 'upena ke 'emi ke kai. Aia 'emi ke ahuwale ka papa ma'ō nei. A ahuwale ka pōhaku ma'ō. Ku'u ka 'upena ma'ō a na ka po'e kāpeku makai nei, a lele i loko a hiki i ka 'upena.*

There was a lot of *'anae* and *weke*. When the tide was going down the net would be set. Then when it was low, the reef would be exposed, over there. The stones would be exposed there. The net set there, and the people would splash the water here, and jump in the water out to the net.

KM: Hmm.

WP: *A'ole hiki ka i'a ke holo ai ma'ō, no ka mea ua ahuwale ka papa.*

The fish couldn't go out, because the flats were exposed.

KM: 'Ae, amazing.

WP: But yes, we had lots of *weke*, sometimes *kala*, *pūalu*, *'anae*, all inside here. *Nui ka i'a!*

KM: Hmm.

Describes *imu* fisheries:

WP: *A kāhi manawa, kūkulu mākou ka imu iloko o ke kai.*

And some times, we'd build *imu* in the water.

KM: 'Ae. *He'aha ka i'a o ka imu?*

Yes, and what was the fish of the *imu*?

WP: *O ka manini, me nā i'a like 'ole.*

The *manini* and all types of fish.

KM: Aloha. So *hana ka imu*?

So make an *imu*?

WP: *Hana 'ia ka imu a waiho, 'elua paha mahina, a hele 'oe lu'u a nānā, a 'ike 'oe ka i'a i loko o ka imu, a mākaukau. Ho'opuni me ka 'upena a wāwahi ka imu. [chuckling] Holo ka i'a ai loko o ka 'upena.*

Make the *imu* and leave it, perhaps two months, and you'd go out dive, look, and when you see the fish inside the *imu*, it's ready. You surround it with the net and break the *imu*. The fish all run into the net.

KM: *Aloha, na'auao nā kūpuna.*

Aloha, so clever, the *kūpuna* were.

WP: 'Ae. *Mākou, kūkulu mākou ho'okāhi imu, kāhi manawa, 'elua imu, imu nunui. A o Kalā, hele 'oia a kūkulu i kona imu, a'ole kolohe. A'ole po'e kolohe. Hele 'oe, hele no 'oe i kou imu.*

Yes. Us, we'd make one *imu* sometimes, two *imus* another, big *imu*. And Kalā, he'd go make his own *imu*, no one would mess around. People didn't make trouble. When you go, you go to your own *imu*.

KM: 'Ae, 'oia ke 'ano mamua?

Yes, that was the style before?

WP: 'Ae, a'ole kolohe koha'i.

Yes, you didn't mess with other people's things.

KM: 'Ae...



Describes *‘āhele* fishing for crabs:

WP: [picks up a coconut frond, and discusses the making and use of an *‘āhele*] ...*Lo‘a ‘oe i kekāhi ohe, kā mākoī, a me ka nī‘au, he ‘elua nī‘au.*

...You get a bamboo pole, fishing pole, and coconut mid rib, two mid ribs.

KM: *‘Ae, a ua hana ‘oe i ka ‘āhele?*

Yes, and you made the snare?

WP: *‘Ae. He ‘elua nī‘au me ka lopi, lopi ‘ele‘ele, mamua nei. Pa‘a ma ka nī‘au [gestures in a V with the wide end crossed by the string]. ‘A ‘ike ‘oe i ka ‘a‘ama ho‘olulu ‘ana, nui ka ‘a‘ama, nou ‘oe i ka nī‘au, ‘ike ‘oe i ka ‘a‘ama, komo ‘oe i ka lopi ma ka maka. A pa‘a ka maka, pani ka maka, a‘ole hemo hou.*

Yes. Two mid ribs with a string, black string before. Secure the mid rib. And when you see the *‘a‘ama* resting, lots of *‘a‘ama*, you dip the mid rib, and when you see the *‘a‘ama*, you put the string by the eye. It closes the eye, and won't let it go.

KM: *‘Ae.*

WP: *A huki ‘oe.*

And you pull.

KM: *‘Ae, a ho‘okomo iloko o ka ‘eke.*

Yes, and place it in the bag.

WP: *Komo iloko.*

Put it in.

KM: *E kau kēia mau nī‘au, ka ‘āhele ma ka ohe?*

Set these mid ribs, the snare, on the bamboo?

WP: *‘Ae, akamai nō ho‘i.*

Yes, truly clever.

KM: Yes, smart.

WP: *No ka mea ke pani ka ‘a‘ama i ka maka, a‘ole wehe hou. A‘ole hemo hou ka maka.*

Because the *‘a‘ama* closes it's eye and won't open it again. It won't open the eye again.

KM: Hmm. And if they would only let go, they would be free. [chuckling]

WP: Yes... [chuckling]



Walter Keli'iokekai Paulo
Fishing Customs and Fisheries of Kapalilua, South Kona;
The Wai'anae-Kona Coast of O'ahu; and the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands
July 14th, 2002 and March 5, 2003 at Miloli'i
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. 4112)

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. He has helped establish several programs to perpetuate Hawaiian knowledge and practices associated with Hawaiian fisheries and practices.



Kupuna Paulo began fishing from the *ko'a* of Ho'opūloa and Miloli'i, in the native style to help sustain his family when he was seven years old. 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 DLNR research vessels, investigating Hawaiian and Pacific area fisheries.

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.

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 Isabella 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: ...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...

KM: ...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...!*

Began to fish from Ho'opūloa-Miloli'i when he was seven years old:

WP: ...In 1930, 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... And he, Keli'ikuli Ka'anā'anā, was a *kahuna pule*. He was also a canoe builder.

KM: And he lived at Ho'opūloa?

WP: *Mamua loa*, before the 1926...April the 18th 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...

'Ōpelu, 'ū'ū, 'āweoweo, hāuliuli, *kawele'ā* and other fish caught; fish also sold:

WP: So I was 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. *Upāpalu*, 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 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...
 KM: About 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...

Long line fishing introduced; the arrival of Japanese fishermen; and *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 *mā'*

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; describes '*ōpelu* fishing:

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 'ōpela 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.

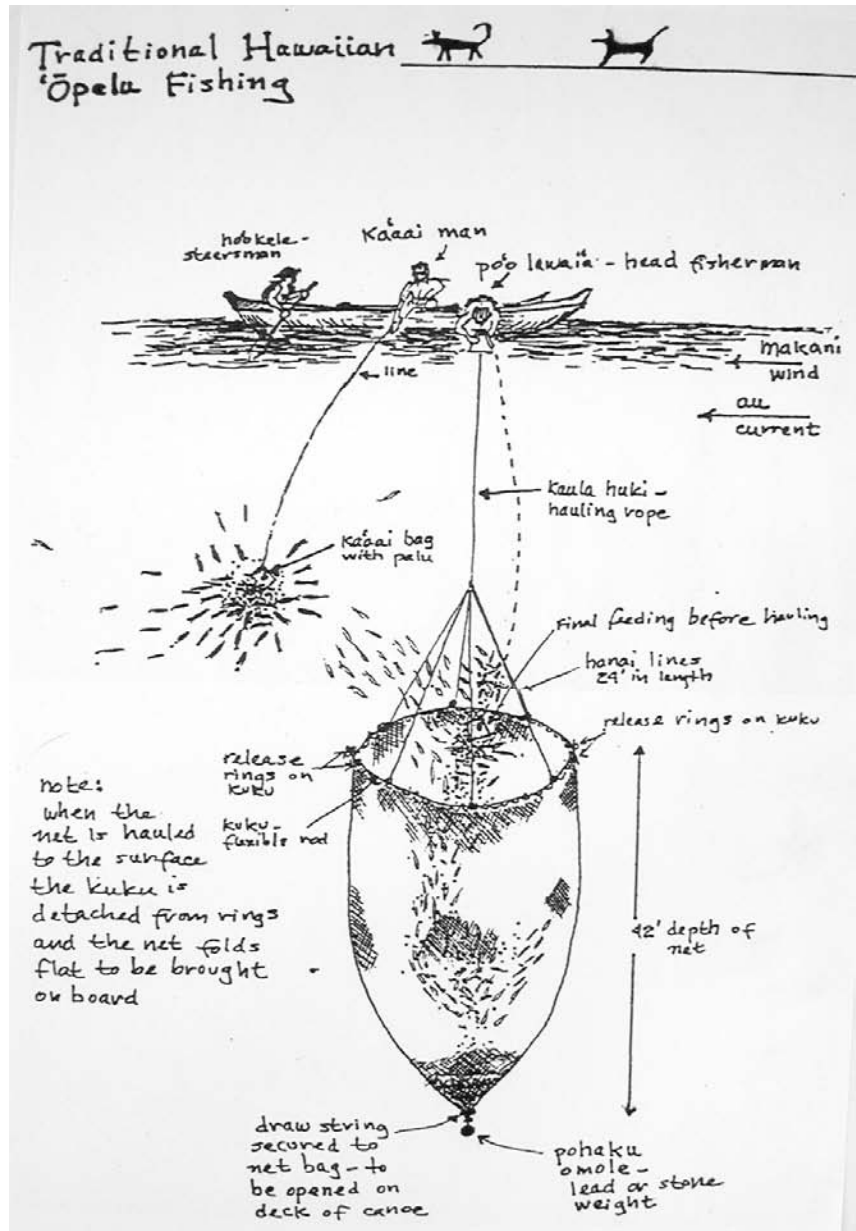


Diagram of 'Ōpela Fishing Net (courtesy of Kupuna Paulo).



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 *kiloi* the net. He put the net in the water first, then the end part is the *kuku*, the two *kuku*. We would just *kiloi* 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?

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 'ōpelu 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 'ōpelu? 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, *kēia 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 i waho*, 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 *hukī*?

WP: Yes, one time you *hukī*, 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 *i waho*, 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 *lōle*.

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 *Kepani* 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 increases 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.

Discusses 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'ilae, 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'ihele*, 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 Kuahuaia; 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'a* 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, Kalanihale, where the ramp is, used to be the fish market, just opposite of the road.

KM: And is that actually Minoli'i?

WP: Yes, Kalanihale, 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 the 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 *kāpulu* 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 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*... [end of interview]

Walter Keli'iokekai Paulo
March 5, 2003 – with Kepā Maly
Commercial and Subsistence Fishing from O'ahu and South Kona;
and Fisheries of the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands and Pacific Region

- 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*...



Discusses early life as a fisherman, and leaving Miloli'i in 1941; and flag line fishing from O'ahu:

KM: You know *kupuna*, you were talking earlier about your life on O'ahu. When did you leave home here?

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... 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 Kawaihoa.

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 then 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 fishing for *'ōpelu*, *nehu* and *aku* off of O'ahu; the Japanese *aku* fishing boats:

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 'ōpēlu fisherman from Maui. That was Simeon Ka'anā'anā. He came around the dockside all the time. I think he went 'ōpēlu fishing with Spinney in Honolulu.

KM: Yes.

During World War II, Japanese fishermen weren't allowed out to fish; revitalization of the *aku* fishing industry after the end of World War II:

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 Pukikī, 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 Kāne'ohe Bay for bait fish for the *nehu*. And can go in Pearl Harbor.

KM: Oh yeah?

WP: Yes. Because Mr. Kanakanui 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, 25th or 26th, 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 Kumamoto. 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, Kumamoto 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 Kumamoto 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 Kumamoto, 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 Miloli'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.

Discusses 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, you know the arch rock stones. All along got *ko'a 'ōpelu* 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 were 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'ilii*. 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 *lā'ī* 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 *i lalo*, 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 *hakakā*. 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*. *'Ōpelu* 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 *'ōpelu* 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 ‘ānunu, 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 '*ōhe* with your left hand and you butt it right between your legs you make one '*ēke* 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, *Kepani* 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 *Kepani* 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 *īao*, *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 *īao* and he *lele*, he jumps. He is active. So if you get *īao* 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 then, 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 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:

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 *ko'a*, you would go for 'ōpelu 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 *ko'a* then we knew where the *ko'a* was.

KM: Yes.



WP: By our constant fishing generally the *'ōpelu* are there all the time. I remember when Charlie Spinney used to, during the war time, we used to always go *'ōpelu* fishing right outside of Kewalo, then outside of Honolulu. You get an idea where the *ko'a* is.

KM: Right. Amazing! Around O'ahu your experience was from Honolulu and then you said Wai'anae like that, there are *ko'a* all around?

WP: All around, yes.

KM: And the current they're going to follow?

WP: And I fished outside of Kāne'ohe, Moku Manu 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 *'ōpelu* 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 O'ahu there is actually a tradition about the certain types of fish starting at Pu'uloa 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 *pa'a*?

WP: I don't think so that they traveled.

KM: You don't think so.

WP: The only one that travels is the *'anae*.

KM: *'Anae holo*?

WP: Yes. From Moloka'i. At times they traveled from Moloka'i to O'ahu 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 *ho'olili*, like.

KM: 'Ae. 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 *moi*, fish like *'anae* (mullet) very plentiful, *akule* also. We used to catch a lot of *moi*, 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 *mōi* 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 Islands — 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 *ōpelu*. 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 *ōpelu* fishing with your net," because he said that he seen people fishing with net in Lāhainā. He gave me his name but I *poi*na, 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* *ōpelu*. 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 ‘*ōpelu* 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 *'ōpelu* 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 'ōpelu right outside, to lay off and let the 'ōpelu project do its 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 'ōpelu 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 *mālolo* fishery and into the high seas beyond. You'll find just that wording, they talk about the 'āpapa fishery, the *kilo he'e*, *mālolo* 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 *Mālolo*. 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 Maldive, 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 able 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, lets 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*, *pāpī'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 *kāpulu* 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 Maldives, 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*, *piholo*. 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, *ʻīlio* 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 *puʻa ʻeleʻele*, whatever color, because the *puʻa* 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 *hoʻowiliwili*. Then you put, *hoʻokāhi*, *ʻelua*, *ʻekolu*, 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 *ʻōlepe*, the clam, to make the *pā* and to make the bristles of the boar, the *hulu puʻa*.

WP: And then the *nākiʻi* 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 lawaiʻa*. 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 *lawaiʻa* and for *nākiʻi* certain ones tightly wound. That's just for *nākiʻi* the *waʻa* whatever part of the *waʻa*.

KM: Yes.

WP: For instance the *ʻupena* to catch the *maunu* in the Maldive, part of the sections of the *lāʻau*, 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 *lawaiʻa* and the *pūhi* too...

KM: *Mahalo nui!*

WP: *Maikaʻi kēia lā*, it's been a good day.

KM: ʻAe... [end of Interview]



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 *kākā uhu* (fishing for *uhu* with a net and decoy fish). Peter Paulo would make a cross of two pieces of *‘ohe* (bamboo), about three to four feet across, and cover it with a net. He would then catch a *pāhuuhu*, 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 *pāhuuhu*, 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)



Howard Ackerman (with Harriet Ackerman)
Fisheries of the Kealakekua-Ke'ei Region, South Kona
August 5, 2002 – with Kepā Maly at Kalamawai'awa'awa

Howard Ackerman was born at Kalamawai'awa'awa in 1932. While growing up, uncle was inquisitive, and spent much of his time out of school traveling the land, working from the mountain lands to the shore, and fishing with elder Hawaiian residents of the Ke'ei-Kealakekua region. From his own parents and area *kūpuna*, he learned Hawaiian customs, practices, and values, which he has lived throughout his life. He and his wife, have in-turn shared their experiences and the knowledge gained from their elders with youth of the area.

Uncle is a noted fisherman, and in the interview he shared detailed descriptions of fishing the waters between Ke'ei and Ka'awaloa, observing that there have been significant changes in the health of the fisheries over the years. He described various methods of fishing, and the importance of caring for the resources. Uncle also described the application of the same kinds of values and practice in land use and stewardship. While sharing the recollections of families and practices, Uncle Howard referenced a number of place names along the coast from Ke'ei to Kealakekua. In particular he noted that the near shore pond at Kalamawai'awa'awa – Kapahukapu, was always noted as a place of importance, and known for it's healing qualities. He believes that care of the land and ocean resources and cultural places, is very important. He is also very concerned about the protection of access (native trails and old roads), and protection of shore line for future generations; and laments the loss of these resources to date.

On August 30th, Uncle Howard joined a small group of *kūpuna* and area *kama'āina* for an interview on the shore of Ke'ei. For additional descriptions of sites, practices and customs, see that interview as well. Uncle Howard granted his release of the two interviews on January 7, 2003.

HA: ...I used to go dive with them and I look at them and I come up and I laugh and I used to tell them, "This guy a good diver?" They said, "Yes," and I look at them and I laugh... Kids before, I was thirteen years old, I out dive 'em you know. Because I say we were kids and we were diving *akule* net you know so we used to going down this real deep water.

KM: Yes, amazing! *Mahalo* to both of you, thank you so much for being willing to talk story a little bit this morning... Could I please have your full name and date of birth?

HA: Howard, that's all, Ackerman.

KM: Howard Ackerman... And you hānau when?

HA: July 23, 1932.

KM: Oh, *aloha*. You come seventy just last month?

HA: Yes...

KM: ...When you were young, you lived basically right here? You fished out here all the time?

HA: Oh, yes.

KM: Did you go out as far as Kahauloa, Ke'ei, Hōnaunau like that?

Discusses *'upena 'eke* method of fishing along the Nāpo'opo'o shores:

HA: You see like before with the old people, or when we had *hō'ike* or stuff like that. The old-timers like uncle Richard Pakiko, we go we start from Ke'ei... It's a different...we used the *'upena ku'u* you know the regular cross net?

KM: 'Ae.

HA: And then there was another old net they used and they tabu'd that later.

KM: 'Ae.



HA: Called *'upena 'eke*.

KM: *'Ae*.

HA: It was like an *'ōpelu* net you know with plenty *īkoi* you know so the thing stay open like this.

KM: Yes, yes.

HA: And one *'ōpelu* stick on the bottom like this, yeah [gesturing].

KM: *'Ae*.

HA: And two weights. So you go with the canoe and you drop this net down right on the *ku'una*, and then two canoe, you just drop your wing. And then the last...not too far. The *ku'una*, they all go down, soon as you get 'em straight the fish all go straight.

KM: Right, right.

HA: And you just drop and then on the top of this net you put one floater.

KM: *'Ae*. So just like holding the mouth open?

HA: Yes. So you go like this you huli your two canoes and come back and one guy in front he just throw stone like this [gestures throwing stones in water]. And the fish come down the two canoe come straight down, the first canoe reach there grab that and pull 'em and this net closed. And the divers go down, pick up the *'ōpelu* stick, the two ends, and just throw 'em, and seal this bag.

KM: Yes.

HA: But you know with the floater the *īkoi* all that, the net stay wide open on the top.

KM: Yes, yes.

HA: All the fish go down, to the bag.

KM: So they go into the bag, the *'eke*?

HA: Yes, into the *'eke*. And then you go back and you pick up your wing, and you pick 'em up. And you see the first time uncle Richard came back from Kaua'i, he came with the *'upena 'eke*. So he told me one morning, "Boy you get up early we go *'upena 'eke*, early in the morning." I look at him and I run home I tell, "Mama, uncle tell, we go *'upena 'eke*." Then my brother went get up, he older he say, "I go." Take Sonny, Sonny know. I used to go before when I was young, take care one canoe, the other take care of the other canoe. And then we go one time we go in the morning, and early we come home, then we start dividing, you know.

KM: Yes.

HA: Everybody get share. And the ones no more no kids, automatic going get half share.

KM: Yes, yes.

HA: But everybody.

KM: That seems to be the style of the families here.

HA: Yes.

KM: And when someone went out fish like just when we first walked out on the edge of your property was the *akule* fisherman.

HA: *Akule*, yes.

KM: So the people though, before when they fish, they go and what *māhele i'a*?



Fish were always shared among the families:

HA: Oh yes, everything. Everything was shared. Just like when you, you know like over here they all used to fish *'ōpelu*. But when they come home you run down there help to bring the canoe up.

KM: 'Ae.

HA: But you come home with your *'ōpelu*.

KM: 'Ae.

HA: Even over here had Blue Frazier he owned this house before and he go out get *'ahi* so every time when he come in like that you know he call, "Help," especially when he get *'ahi* or whatever bring the canoe up, this was his place. And then everybody did that, that's normal.

KM: 'Ae.

HA: That's why I told people in all the years that I've dived on the other side, from young times I knew everybody Kailua all the old people, so loveable.

KM: 'Ae.

HA: We come home I open the cover from the canoe, I sit down little while and the old people come they go straight to the canoe they take what they like. And they come and they kiss me and they go home. Oh that's what's happening...because some no more husband.

KM: 'Ae.

HA: And sometimes vice-a-versa, but everybody got to eat you know.

KM: That's right.

HA: But mama always used to tell me you give, you give, plenty heart!

KM: Yes. *Hā'awi aloha?*

HA: Yes.

KM: And then always comes back.

HA: Oh always, always. Then had some ladies that I knew since we were kids and they had plenty kids but their husbands couldn't swim or something you know. They come, and we...I just call them "*Hui*, come down." And they come inside and they say, "Oh brother, how much?" I said "no, no, just take half *ka'au*." "Ho brother plenty red fish. Here take some red fish, they take half *ka'au*. And they come and kiss me, "Hey brother *mahalo!*" And they go. But, as I say I've always done it you know what I mean. It makes you feel good.

KM: 'Ae.

HA: Like this lady who worked for my mother she was the same thing. She was very strong lady she had a lot of kids but she took good care of me. I used to get headache, sinus from the water, and then she come early in the morning put medicine in my nose. She come, she put *'ōlena*.

KM: *'Ōlena*, yes.

HA: You know I told people, "That *'ōlena* when take care of me for twenty years." I told them. I go work I rub, rub my head but you know they take care. She said, "Yes, I got to take care of you, bumby I not going eat fish."

KM: [chuckles]

HA: That was great, great.



KM: You were mentioning on the point on Kahauloa Point basically here, that there's an old canoe landing right over there. This coral, the lady walking now I guess kind of.

HA: Yes, yes. There was canoes there, there were canoes right here too see right this high rock here?

KM: Yes.

HA: You see right there?

KM: Yes.

HA: That's another awa too, right there. This awa was made, this awa when this man Blue Frazier bought this house here had a rock in the center. Had the rock blown out and then he made this you know.

KM: I see, I see. Now, your *Tūtū* Annie?

HA: Yes, Au. She lived right here that was Desha, that's where uncle Steven lived.

KM: Yes, yes okay. And you said that there used to be a pond there?

HA: The pond was next, it used to be John Gaspar's.

KM: 'Ae.

Tidal wave of 1946 altered the coast line, changed the near shore ponds:

HA: He owned that property behind the house, he owned that and he was a school teacher way back. And also the one *makai*, uncle...I forget his last name, I was only a kid at that time. Then later, uncle Richard Pakiko had it. But then the tidal wave came and took all of these other houses.

KM: 'Ae. But that pond over there you had a recollection it was brackish, but good water?

HA: It's good brackish water but it's supposed to go further back.

KM: 'Ae. And your recollection, you heard that it was a special bathing place?

HA: According to the old people they said "there was *tabu* that was for the ladies to 'au'au."

KM: Ahh, uh-hmm.

HA: And that was their private bath. Just *tabu* and that was only for ladies. And I'm pretty sure this water went all the way back to the back of where the next property.

KM: 'Ae.

HA: I think, and I meant to ask my father, when we were kids, if there was a plank when we used to go down, had uncle Alec Gaspar. He used to live *makai* there, uncle Joe's brother.

KM: Yes.

HA: And I'm pretty sure had one plank that we used to walk across. So you know that's the thing you know you kind of *poiina* as the years go by you know but... [shaking his head]

KM: Did you used to walk along the coastline out to Ke'ei too?

HA: You see everybody mostly even like cousin Lawrence and...

KM: 'Ae.

HA: And Lawrence, Lawrence especially everybody went this way.

KM: Along the old *alanui-alahale*?



HA: Yes. Went to Kahauloa then up, up along Keawaiki, Ko'opapa and then right into Ke'ei.
KM: Right into Ke'ei so where uncle Louie mā's house was before?
HA: Yes. Everybody went, where you go down that hill going down Ke'ei at Ko'opapa, go down there.
KM: 'Ae.
HA: And Ko'opapa so you go down. Everybody went this way, it was shorter.
KM: Uh-hmm.

Catching 'a'ama, gathering *limu*, and diving along the coast:

HA: But now one time I told her [his wife], "take me down there at Ko'opapa, drop me off and then come home. I going catch 'a'ama and then you can come through." But then it was cut off, it's in the ocean now.
KM: So that old *alaele* has been changed out and cut out too?
HA: Yes. That's the part because everybody went through. Like you know when we were kids the people used to come through here.
KM: Uh-hmm.
HA: Walk through here and where Walter Kahiwa them stay, the next lot and then over. Because had one gate you know over there. My mama used to walk, wait for her cousin, they all used to walk to church. The small church over here.
KM: Yes.
HA: So, when mama was alive everything was fine, the gates everything was there, even for the church property. The minute mama died, boom, the gates were gone! The *alanui* used to go in. When mama was, they wouldn't fool around...
KM: [looking at BE Map No. 824] Here it says Limukoko Point. Did you gather *limu* or anything at that time?
HA: Yes, we used to go over here. But kind of, you know, this place here, you have to be very careful. We go, go pick *limu*, plenty *limu kohu*.
KM: Hmm.
HA: But kind of rough water, no.
KM: Yes. And you know they say this is a very famous place, Ke'omo with Moku'ōhai.
HA/HaA: Yes.
KM: The old battleground like that.
HA: Yes. A lot of people fish off there too. We used to dive all through here too.
KM: So go along?
HA: Yes. And Louie and I we dived this whole area. And I always go to shoot fish, and she [gesturing to his wife] go make *limu*.
KM: 'Ae.
HA: You know, and like sometimes when she go catch 'a'ama and she come back and she can smell night time. So in day time we go, then we come back and cannot find her. We go ask people if they seen her, "We seen her early this morning she was outside here." And we go find and we find her. And then sometimes she find 'um but in the water. Sometimes *limu* stays in the water, you know cannot find 'em. And then Louie says "no more." She says, "No cuz, get." And she goes and she find 'em.



KM: Yes. You can smell the *limu*?

HaA: Uh-hmm.

HA: She can smell 'em... ..You know, funny about these waters. Like Ke'ei, just like they know where you are, they have to accept who you are. Even when I first took her Kāināliu Beach I said, "You watch out this place can *kaukau* people."

KM: Ahh.

HA: But with her, the first time she go, but you know her she no *maka'u* she just go couple of times she get kind of bust up, until it accepts you.

KM: Yes, yes.

HA: You know even we go at night, or catch 'a'ama in the rough water, "I said you go up, you go up, the water it comes from behind you.

KM: 'Ae.

HA: I said "you fall in the water *pau*, you going *make*, you not going get no way of coming up." You know lot of people drown. I said, "Cannot come up." They said, "No." I said, "Cannot come up." I know he cannot come up because the tide is up when the tide is up you go you touch the stone certain places and you go right back out.

KM: 'Ae.

HA: You can never come up you have to make up your mind to swim to the next point or something because you cannot come up.

KM: Yes...

Recalls elder fishermen of the region; one uncle trained his dogs to *kāpeku* the water and drive the fish to his net:

HA: ...You know my cousin Lawrence he lived with the grandfather, old man Pānui. He had thirteen black dogs. So he set the 'upena by himself then he whistle, and all these thirteen black dogs hit the water and that's their *kāpeku*.

KM: For real! Draw up the fish?

HA: Chase the fish.

KM: Wow! Too much yeah!

HA: Thirteen black dogs.

KM: Wow!

HA: And we used to go that's what I tell, "You see this finger all crooked," I throw net with this man you know that's how, that's how good he was. So good, he was.

KM: Wow!

HA:But oh the sad, you know, all the fishing grounds before the old people, I go with *Tūtū* Simon we go out hook 'ū'ū at night.

KM: 'Ae.

HA: Mark all your lines.

KM: 'Ae.

HA: And I don't know how they really know the bottom. They tell you, you hold four fathoms, you hold five fathoms everything was stone before.

KM: 'Ae.



HA: You jerk, you *hemo*, and we go only until eleven o'clock, get enough fish for everybody, then you come home.

KM: 'Ae.

HA: If the *upāpalu* bite, one not too bad, two bite, he go over three that old man get hot then he pound 'em on the canoe until the thing fly off because he'd rather catch 'ū'ū, 'āweoweo.

KM: 'Ae.

HA: There's so many things. Like *Tūtū* Simon, he was on the *Humuula* for so many years, and when he came home, when he used to come Kailua then he used to call mama you know for send one car down pick him up. But then I used to fish with him, very good, very good. All his spots, and sometimes these old people they argue.

KM: Uh-hmm.

HA: Like old man George Moku like that, about sports. He tell me, "Boy go home to *Tūtū* Annie, cut bait bring outside here." Then the two of them go. he tell me "You wait for *tūtū* man over here." They go out Ka'awaloa, go out catch fish. Because sometime he tell they stay right under your nose. You know like *ōpelu* he said I can go right over there by the monument, and one pull I can come back, five *ka'au* or something. He get hot, he tell 'um they're under their nose.

KM: 'Ae.

HA: That's what we learned. You know, everybody before what you knew, you knew and you wouldn't spread it around.

KM: 'Ae. They took care of their *ko'a* yeah, and kept it kind a...

HA: Yes, really. I tell him and that's why...you know me and Lionel used to stay with *tūtū*, but if Lionel going outside, go look *he'e*, or he going by himself, he ain't going take me, you know.

KM: [chuckling]

HA: That's true you know. But you see everybody kept that you know. Like cousin Anini, uncle Joe's oldest son.

KM: 'Ae.

HA: He used to go out sometime, but then he take some of the young kids for go hold canoe. But what the younger ones were doing they were land marking 'em.

KM: Ahh.

HA: You know and that's why you got to be very careful.

KM: So as a fisherman you know you really was in your best interest that you protect your *ko'a*?

HA: Sure.

KM: You know because that's where you were *ma'a* to go?

HA: You see the thing is the people don't clean their holes like the lobster.

KM: 'Ae.

HA: Like Ke'ei before, right inside the breakers, had these rocks before. And it's hard to go and Lawrence...Louie's younger sister Rebecca, she was Mrs. Andrade, and I go down there and I go call her that time she was single, young. And come from *mauka* I said I going outside pick up lobster. The boys from *mauka* said, "I go, I go hold bag for you." I tell, "No, I going take my cousin with me."



KM: Uh-hmm, yes.

HA: I say, "You folks no can handle the breakers, you folks not used to the breakers." I said, "No, I take my cousin with me," so the both of us. "But one girl." I said, "She's better than all you folks."

KM: [chuckling]

Fishing was done to sustain the family and share with others:

HA: But you know we go out and we only go for *kaukau*, and we just go out and we make. Just like with the fishing we only go for make. And even with the *akule* before same thing. Everything was like the same you know.

KM: Yes.

HA: And now, nowadays you know everybody's head is like one cash register you know.

KM: Yes, yes. And you know and see that's the thing I suppose there's only so much you know...before when you went out you knew you were going get fish right. Now, what, different?

HA: It's different. It's so different people, people's thinking is different.

KM: Yes. I like your explanation, their heads like one cash register you know, "thinking of the *kenikeni*."

HA: Yes. You know like when we used to stay on the lighthouse area before we go and sometime I work kind of late so I'm the last canoe come over at night.

KM: From here?

HA: No, no from Kailua.

KM: Kailua.

HA: You know but we go we stay right by the lighthouse we only, you know before used to take us so long to get there, the motors were small.

KM: Yes, yes.

HA: Took you long to get there. And then you were choosy because we never had all this ice to take care of the fish.

KM: Right, right.

HA: So you *kaula'i*, if you going stay there for few days like when we stayed. When we used to go on the other side of Minoli'i you know.

KM: 'Ae. Kapu'a section?

HA: Kapu'a section you know, and we go outside...what's the name of that place now [thinking] oh boy... Anyway, you know if you going stay couple of days, you got to come back and cut and dry. Cut and dry. And when you ready for come home, you get little bit fish.

KM: Yes, yes.

HA: But you only took what you wanted.

KM: When you were drying, where did you get your salt from out there and you made?

HA: We did. We always took you know like ginger. But you can pick up salt you know, on the pāhoehoe.

KM: Yes. 'Cause you mentioned Kalaemanō like out Ka'ūpūlehu?



HA: Yes, yes. Kalaemanō, all those areas all had places where you can 'au'au.

KM: 'Ae.

HA: Always get brackish water. All along that whole coast same like this side, same thing.

KM: Yes.

You need to "*mālama*" the fishing grounds; discusses his thoughts about fishing:

HA: Every place you know. And you know we tried not to leave 'em *kāpulu*. You know, you got to *mālama* these places, you no can *kāpulu*.

KM: Yes.

HA: And we stayed all those places from one end to the other end. But those days I told 'em you know, I tell people, even our section below Kāināliu Beach, I tell people you can just stand up and shoot fish.

KM: Yes.

HA: You know, people chase the fish, but we were taught to just let the fish come to you.

KM: Come to you... So you could in those days...?

HA: Yes.

KM: You no need go after 'em?

HA: No you don't. And then you only shot what you wanted. You know like my nephews before, when they go with me I tell 'em, "the main thing about diving is shooting being accurate it's not the depth." Because the depth will always come natural eh?

KM: Yes.

HA: You know as you get feeling better, you get deeper and deeper and you don't damage yourself and then you'd be accurate. I say you only look at the head then you only going shoot the head but you look at the whole body then you might shoot 'em on the body but you only look at his head. You know what I mean...

KM: Yes.

HA: And it's simple things like that just to kind of tell 'em . Sometimes they say, "Why you tell 'em that?" I say, "You know why, because when you say something it stays in the back of their head."

KM: That's right.

HA: You know, I talk to a lot of people about conservation, they talking about something, "Oh, we got to correct this problem over here." Then I just tell 'em, "If I was to solve that problem, I would go to the source of supply, I don't wait until it comes to millions, I'd break it down into stages." I said, "But I don't know how you folks do it." They say, "Why you talk like that to them?" I said, You know why because now they going home and think about it."

KM: That's right, plant seeds yeah?

HA: Yes. It's simple things, you know like the kids, like we always had... ...That's the good days. Because this man, Pila, he only shooting the fish when fat. Like when we used to go to the lighthouse a lot, lot of boys never know that ground very well. We shoot one section from here to the fence, "Oh, 'nough, 'nough, out of the water in the boat, in the boat." They say, "Plenty fish over here." "No, no if you going shoot fish, put 'em in a different cooler."

KM: Yes.



HA: Why? 'Cause over here I got to fish. You got to know the area.

KM: Yes.

HA: I remember Pila, we used to go Kalaemanō go shoot fish and one time we were going over Kalaemanō, and on the way over he tell me, "Boy, I hear story the *kole*, big *kole*. I said, "Yes, somebody tell you that kind story. He tell me, "Yes." He said, "You the guy know 'em." I said, "Who went tell you that funny story?"

KM: [chuckling]

Diving for fish along the Kekaha coast, and along Kealakekua Pali.

HA: He tell me. Alfred Delpino, we used to dive together years ago. I said, "Yes, he told you that kind of story?" He tell me, "Yes, you ask him. So on the way over I tell him, "You make all your things ready." So going over, I told Aka, go inside here, I said, "Right here, right here." They all said, "we going with pops." I said, "No, you folks all stay on the boat, no, no, no, no." We go down the other side Ka'ūpūlehu poke fish. I said, "Don't worry about it he'll be fine back there." When he came back, we see the smile, the people see the *kole* big.

KM: Wow!

HA: I said because this is the only section we have you know on that coast, all the way up. The *kole maka onaona*.

KM: *Kole maka onaona*, 'ae.

HA: Big like that. Because only Kohala and other places get the big kind *kole* like that. But over here no more only certain sections you know you see the *kole* big. Like for the *pali* before when we pick we only dive along the *pali* [pointing to the Kealakekua section].

KM: 'Ae.

HA: The *kole* in the *pali* is small but 'ono, soft. For 'ai *maka* like that, that's the best.

KM: Yes, oh.

HA: And even the *pāku'iku'i* like that you go, plenty fish, but the people just 'ānunu.

KM: 'Ae. Now that's the *pilikia* you know if you keep taking too much, too much you know, and you don't let it *ho'omaha* too...

HA: ...Just like out here, plenty before, we take, then now, the people don't go day time they go at night now so what they cannot get they'll get it at night. It's going to wipe out everything. Even like you look Kohala now, plenty people, plenty fish Kohala. But now you see the fish is in the market, like *pāku'iku'i* in the market and no spear mark, got to be with net.

KM: Yes.

HA: But if you 'upena *ku'u*, you cross. You have to catch the *pāku'iku'i*. The *pāku'iku'i* going wait until the other fish hit. The minute he shine, the *pāku'iku'i* going turn around come back.

KM: [chuckles]

HA: Unless he hit and the net goes down the *pāku'iku'i* going over.

KM: Ahh.

HA: But the *pāku'iku'i* is not one *lōlō* fish. So how they going catch 'em. They got to go at night because the *pāku'iku'i* don't sleep in shallow water. I tell the people, "When you dive night time you see *pāku'iku'i*?" I bet you no see *pāku'iku'i*, because the *pāku'iku'i* sleep outside



deep so how they catch 'em they got to go out there and catch 'em with the net. You see these little things that happen.

KM: Yes. Well it's like the technology has made it so easy you don't need to have any smarts too, yeah?

HA: You know before when you dive, free dive you're accurate because you're not going to go down forty feet and miss your shot.

KM: Yes.

HA: So, I tell them, "You got to know what you're going to shoot before you leave the surface and be accurate." What's the sense of going down forty feet if you going miss?

KM: Yes.

HA: But I don't know everything changes they making it too easy they make all this easier things, make the fins bigger.

KM: Yes. Out swim the fish [chuckling].

Too many people from outside areas are taking fish; tropical fish collectors have also impacted fishery resources:

HA: And then they have these divers, and they're scouting the grounds at the same time. And the tropical fish is the worse one the State is so far in the back, that the tropical fish people been taking fish for the past twenty years. They went wipe out this whole area. Kāināliu beach used to have so much fish. I used to tell people, people would tell me, "Oh brother I like *pāku'iku'i*. You don't have to dive you can just stand right on the rock like that and just shoot 'em like that.

And I'm telling you, you go down there now, you only see *humuhumu*. "Oh but it's coming back." I said, "If you had a thousand fish over here and you took away nine hundred and then all of a sudden you let 'em rest and now went back, but now get two hundred inside." "But the fish is coming back." I said, "Yes but how about the other eight hundred you took before that?"

KM: Yes.

HA: "Where is it, it's gone!"

KM: So the amount has really changed?

HA: Yes. And they tell, "It's coming back." I said, "Like hell, who you think you talking too?"

KM: Yes. Well, and that's the one thing about when we were talking earlier about these maps and the Boundary Commission, you know. So many of the *kūpuna* said, "This *'āina*, the fishery extends out to the sea," they had to know the boundaries of their land because each people in their *ahupua'a* were responsible in the old days, to take care. So you knew how much you could take right? If you took all today what do you eat tomorrow.

HA: Yes, but you see what is happening now with boundary lines when the equipment goes in, they're scattering the walls.

KM: 'Ae, 'oki and cut 'em up.

HA: You see that's why because now they going say, "What wall, I didn't see no wall, I never see no fence."

KM: Yes... ..It's so important though you know to talk story, and hear these little recollections. You know it's really neat you know this whole idea. I get this real sense of family, community you know...Ke'ei the families between here and what you know. Everyone just seems you folks worked together, and it was interesting you said *'ōpelu* even for the big nets that they *hui* together buy the nets like that.



Discusses the *akule* fishery of Nāpo‘opo‘o:

HA: Always even, with the *akule* everybody before. The Leslies like that, they never had enough money to buy all these nets so they went to all the merchants.

KM: I see.

HA: They all threw in their money and my father and everybody else threw in their money. And so everybody was entitled and they had old man Ushimura, he used to be a judge before, he was a lawyer. He was kind of the honcho who took care of the payments and the sales and stuff. He and my father was good friends you know that man. And all the good *kama‘āina* Japanese from *mauka* here.

KM: Yes...

HA: ...They used to come in here for go dive for *he‘e* like that, down here.

KM: Was good *he‘e* grounds out here?

Discusses the *he‘e* fishery, and practices associated with caring for it:

HA: We don't have the kind *he‘e* grounds all in the *pu‘u*. You got to come *mālama*, no can make *kāpulu* inside.

KM: Yes [chuckling].

HA: That's going to happen with all the lobster and stuff.

KM: Yes.

HA: They said you don't clean, I tell people, "When you *hemo*, you clean." Because that's when the eel go back in.

KM: Yes.

HA: That's when he go in and he stay in. And I tell you know the problem before people if you go and the lobster stay inside you leave 'em alone.

KM: 'Ae.

HA: Because now you can't get 'em out you only going kill 'em and you going and then the eel going in.

KM: 'Ae.

HA: So you wait until it comes out or something.

KM: 'Ae.

HA: We used to go early in the morning before the sun come up we go down the breaker and the lobster still outside, walking.

KM: Wow!

HA: So you only go you catch maybe one, two then *pau*. That's enough.

KM: Was there someone, when you were young to teenage years like that was there still someone out here who was sort of looked to as sort of the *lawai'a nui*, the main fisherman who when the *ōpelu* were going or *akule kū*, you know?

HA: The Leslies with the *akule*, like with the nets. Different ones like... [thinking] uncle Pakiko you know, different ones.

KM: Pakiko?

HA: Pakiko lived down here, and *Tūtū* Simon... [thinking] Kalua.

KM: Kalua.



HA: You see all those Kaluas, even if you know the Kalua girls some of them back here from Honolulu. They were all from here, even the Kalimas...

Discusses *pā'ou'ou* fishing with the *pāo'o*:

...You know what I kind of *minamina* was...like us we went up early. We got to get up 3:30 in the morning, we go work. So never had time for stay down. And my cousins, I wanted to because had this old man Kuohu who lived over here he used to go catch *pā'ou'ou*.

KM: 'Ae.

HA: By himself, and he go out on the canoe. Big kind *pā'ou'ou*! But he used the *pāo'o* for bait. The *pāo'o*, the skin hard to come off, and ti leaf. It's a kind of lost art. I wanted my cousins for go for learn because for me I no can learn because for me I no can because every morning I go work early. But you know lot of them rather sleep then go. Kind of *minamina* all of those things.

KM: Who was this old man?

HA: Kuohu... [thinking] what was his first name? See a lot of these old people, I went bury them. But those days we was working, but like I said, my mother knew a lot. But you know, in those times we didn't think.

KM: I know, aloha...

HA: You know, one time, had the *Kū'ula* stone, the *akule Kū'ula* stone by the second piling. Then bumbly I go in this bar and I look at this stone I tell this guy, "You know that stone look familiar." And you know what it was? The guy said, "Should, you should know that stone." I said "that stone from Nāpo'opo'o, the *Kū'ula* stone." He tell, "Yes." And you know, later he died.

KM: Where was that *Kū'ula*?

Kū'ula was formerly used by the *akule* fishermen:

HA: It was the *Kū'ula* on that pile of rocks there [pointing towards the Nāpo'opo'o Landing]. That was for the *akule*. And he used to go over there go spot fish with Earl [Leslie], and one time he went go over there he took the stone... And that's what he did.

KM: 'Auwē! Did the stone come home?

HA: I think Earl them went go get 'um.

KM: Good. Yes, you can't mess around with those kinds of things...

Salt formerly collected by his family at Kāināliu; today, cannot, because people are *kāpulu*:

HA: ...My wife saw the salt stones down there at Kāināliu. One day, early in the morning I was down there, I saw Hooper, so I went over there to talk to grandma, down Kāināliu Beach. "Good morning, good morning. Grandma, over there by Honey House (Week's old place), that's where they used to make the salt?" She laugh, she said, "Billy, you heard what he said? How did you know?" I said because we were over there looking at stones, and she told me come over here look." It was one, only half *pau*. But my wife sees all that kind of stuff.

KM: Wow, good eye. Nice that salt when you make salt.

HaA: Oh yes, that's the best.

HA: That's the best salt.

HaA: You know before nobody used to walk down the beach so the salt is safe.

KM: That's right, yes.



HaA: Now you have all kinds people just shi-shi all over the place.
KM: Terrible yeah, *haumia*.
HaA: So nice, but you cannot eat it because you don't know.
KM: And our own children, we need to teach them again about it, that you don't *hana 'ino* you know. And you don't just *kapae*, throw your stuff around and what.
HA: Even look at the waterholes and what, you know.
KM: Yes, yes.
HA: How they *kāpulu* that.
KM: *Aloha...!*



**Moana Kapapakeali'ioka'alokai "Mona" Kapule-Kahele
Fisheries and Native Lore of the Kealakekua-Nāpo'opo'o Region, South Kona
Oral History Interviews – January 25, 2001 and August 5, 2002
with Kepā Maly at Kīloa (KPA Photo No. 1026)**

Moana Kapapakeali'ioka-alokai "Mona" Kapule-Kahele (Aunty Mona), was born at Kapahukapu (Kahauloa-Nāpo'opo'o), South Kona in 1921. As a child, she was raised by her grandparents and brought up in a household where Hawaiian language and cultural practices were the way of life. *Kupuna* Kahele is known throughout Kona (and Hawai'i) for her knowledge of the Hawaiian language, native traditions and practices. During the interviews (cited in this study), *Kupuna* Kahele shared detailed accounts of practices associated with collection of resources from sea to mountain, and traditions of place names and land use. Subsistence fishing and agriculture were their mainstay.



She believes that respect and care for the land is the responsibility of all who travel the trails and touch the land and sea. She believes that use of the land and ocean resources must be educated—People need to understand the sacred nature of the landscape to the Hawaiian people, and travel with respect.

Kupuna Kahele granted her personal release of the interviews on December 5, 2002.

KM: ...'Ae, *mahalo kūkū, aloha hou, aloha iā 'oe.*

MK: 'Ae.

KM: This is a wonderful map of the Ke'ei or Kiei section because it's the *makai* area and it shows... [opening map] Like we had talked before tūtū about the different names and areas of the land. This shows you, if you actually look on this big section. Here's Palemanō.

MK: Yes [looking at map].

KM: You told me about that, yes, before. And it has to do with the shark?

Discusses the shark guardian of Kealakekua Bay:

MK: Uh-hmm. Palemanō is about the shark too, and that's where the sharks live.

KM: Ahh.

MK: Because was a cave on the outside.



KM: On the Nāpo‘opo‘o side?

MK: The ocean side.

KM: Ocean side?

MK: Yes.

KM: You see there’s a little inlet even right in there.

MK: Uh-hmm.

KM: The point there, *nuku* yes...

MK: ...There was a *heiau* here.

KM: ‘Ae.

MK: And people were stealing the stones.

KM: ‘Ae.

MK: Take ‘em home for garden and...

KM: Did you hear the name Kamaiko?

MK: Kamaiko, yes.

KM: Yes. Still has a little bit.

MK: Kamaiko.

KM: Okay, Kamaiko. ‘Cause you walked around this ‘*āina* when you were young?

MK: All, all the way down.

KM: ‘Ae.

MK: Until Kīpū and beyond Ki‘ilae.

KM: See it shows Kīpū here.

MK: Yes...

KM: ...So you would walk along...did you ever hear that there were *ilina* at this Kamaiko heiau area or out along this point?

MK: They had, they had out there, I remember one place that we couldn’t go and climb up there.

KM: ‘Ae...

MK: (Going out towards Kīpū) ...The trail goes up that way till it goes in the back of that, and then comes down with this side corner see. And right in the front of the cliff there’s a *wahine*, all *pāhoehoe*.

KM: Oh?

MK: Laying on the *pāhoehoe* her hair nice, all nice and her arms up like this [gestures arms up] two arms, and the legs hanging over the cliff.

KM: ‘Ae.

MK: But all naked.

KM: Stone form?

MK: Yes.

KM: In a stone form?



MK: All stone. And then they have that over there. We cannot walk on top that. If you want to go pound *‘ōpihi*, you either...if you're brave enough to go underneath well, some places you have to swim.

KM: 'Ae.

Fishing for *‘aha‘aha*, *‘ōhua*, and other fish, and gathering *limu* along the shore:

MK: So we never took a chance unless you come on a canoe. And most times if we go on land we never go down that place. We always go in the back and then go down the other side.

KM: Yes... ..So you folks you would go *holoholo*, *lawai‘a*, visit family like that, all along the coast?

MK: Yes. Oh that Ke‘ei beach area is the best place for catch *‘aha‘aha*.

KM: Oh yeah?

MK: Oh my so easy.

KM: This side or all around the point.

MK: All these places.

KM: Oh yeah, *‘aha‘aha*?

MK: Yes. Especially where they had all the sand and all that.

KM: 'Ae.

MK: That's where *‘ōhua*, and all that.

KM: Wonderful! There's a point here called Limu Koko.

MK: Yes, that's right because over there had *limu koko* like rubbish.

KM: Oh.

MK: And there's a stone sitting outside in the water. But when you go over there, you pick all what you think you have enough, go away.

KM: Ahh.

MK: Because if you don't the water going come up, up, up.

KM: *‘Ōkaikai*.

MK: And then you won't be able to jump up.

KM: Oh interesting. So you go *‘ohi limu*?

MK: Yes.

KM: *A pau, ho‘i i kula*?

MK: When you see the waves kind of slapping against that rock, that's time for you to leave, you have enough already.

KM: Interesting.... When we spoke before...

MK: Uh-hmm.

KM: You shared such important things about place names, as we were looking at the maps. Like if this is the boundary Kahauloa [looking at map].

MK: Uh-hmm.

KM: And Kāneahuea right here.



MK: Yes...

Discusses the fishpond, Luali'iloa, at Kealakekua:

KM: This map [Register Map No. 1595] shows the old pond, the fishpond by Hikiau that you were telling me about.

MK: Yes.

KM: Here's the old prison before.

MK: Yes, in the back.

KM: Yes, in the back.

MK: And old Greenwell said, "No such thing...!"

KM: No, had, had.

MK: Yes. Because the cement was still there you know when we were kids.

KM: 'Ae. Hmm.

MK: And every time when we do something wrong our *kūkū* used to tell us, "*Makemake 'oukou hele mahope, me ke kepalō? Nunui ka maka, a 'ula'ula!*" [chuckling]

KM: [chuckling] 'Ae. Well you know even with that, with Kealakekua, Heakekua, the beach area and stuff you know they talk about *po'e akua*.

MK: And that fishpond, Li'iloa.

KM: 'Ae, Li'iloa.

MK: But they called that, Kalua'ōpae.

KM: Ah, Kalua'ōpae.

MK: Greenwell had that, I said, "No, that's not the name." He said, "That is!" I said, "No. Because that fishpond belonged to Kalani'ōpu'u."

KM: 'Ae.

MK: "And his *kahuna* was taking care of that fishpond. No tell me that because we grew up over there and we knew what it was." And in this fishpond the bottom, all with 'alā stones, all different colors. All lined up underneath.

KM: So it was just like paved?

MK: Yes.

KM: The bottom of the pond.

MK: Before when we go swimming in the bay pau we jump in there, and that's what we used to do. Play who can get more white or step, touch more red and all like that you know. Because it's kind of deep.

KM: 'Ae... ..You mentioned Nāpo'opo'o, is it just one specific place? Because see they have *ahupua'a* yeah, Kīloa, Waipuna'ula the Kalamakumu, Kalamakōwali like that, and 'Ililoa. But no more ahupua'a by the name of Nāpo'opo'o. Is it a region or what?

MK: It's the whole thing.

KM: It's the whole...so it's like a regional name?

MK: Yes.

KM: Ohh.

MK: Because Nāpo'opo'o just like a dented bowl or something.



KM: 'Ae.

Tells how places along the shore and in the mountain were named:

MK: The story goes back they had that two ponds that were there. See, the first time there was these two young kids that had come, nobody knew where they came from. But they wanted water, no more water. People were drinking sea water. And so they thought that they would convert themselves into two ponds. So one went into where the bay is and one went almost to where Ke'ei is, all that section Kahauloa and all.

And they changed themselves to ponds, two ponds. When they did that the people had water to drink. It was going on so good and the ali'i's were going in there. Finally, the ali'i's got greedy, so they were killing the people, even little children, only for drinking the water. They wanted the water all for themselves. One morning they got up, nothing was there no more water, nothing. What happened was, one, the boy went to the ocean that's why we have the brackish water. The sister went to the mountains and there we get Wailapa. So that's Maunalei right down to Hōnaunau *mauka*.

KM: 'Ae, Wailapa I've seen that old name on some of the testimonies.

MK: Yes. And that's just like basins down there.

KM: 'Ae. So little poho *po'opo'o wai*.

MK: With all this mountain sides so they say Nāpo'opo'o, that's a dent.

KM: Uh-hmm... ..It's important to know these place names.

MK: And today you hear different names. Sickening!

KM: Oh yes. They *kāpulu*.

MK: Yes. Like where Kamaile is they have another name but I forgot it... [thinking] something, I forgot.

KM: But, get *pa'akai* right?

Pōhakupa'akai, a place where families formerly made salt:

MK: Pōhakupa'akai, because of those salt basins.

KM: That's right.

MK: And you can still see them today.

KM: Oh yeah?

MK: Yes, if you go down there you can see them all different shapes.

KM: So Kapahukapu then Pōhakupa'akai?

MK: No. Kapahukapu that's that cove over there.

KM: 'Ae, okay.

MK: Okay. And then comes Hāwala'au.

KM: Hāwala'au.

MK: Just a little awa when you pass that high house?

KM: Yes, yes. Right below?

MK: Okay. Then keep on coming, and that's... [thinking] there's another name that's where Desha's live. I forget, I know the name but I'll get it. And then Pōhakupa'akai.

KM: Ahh. You know by where the Desha's lived?

MK: Where Kamaile lives and all.



KM: Was there a *lua wai* or *loko* out on that flats out there?

MK: There was a pond.

KM: There was, yes.

MK: There was a well and a *kumu lauhala* was there. And when the tidal wave came, *lilo*.

KM: Ah, *lilo*.

MK: So all *ho'opiha 'ia*.

KM: 'Ae. Now you were also sharing with me about your special spring by your area I think, at Kahauloa by the cove. Small Kahauloa or the bay?

MK: It's by Kapahukapu.

KM: Oh, Kapahukapu on that side.

MK: Where the healing waters are.

KM: Yes, yes. Is that not far from Ackerman's place or something?

MK: No. Way down.

KM: Further down.

MK: It's down at Kapahukapu.

KM: Ahh.

MK: Kapahukapu itself is that little cove. Because why they call that Kapahukapu, before there was a reef you know, outside.

KM: 'Ae.

MK: And all the old folks used to pull the canoes when low tide. They have to *kau* the *wa'a* on this reef and then you got to go inside. Inside was just like a pond.

KM: Ahh.

MK: So that's where the *po'e ali'i 'au'au, po'e wahine*.

KM: I see.

MK: In there. So that's why they call that Kapahukapu. Nobody go in there.

KM: 'Ae.

MK: But, nobody found out why that was really kapu. It wasn't because of bathing in there, and all, because it was a healing place.

KM: I see.

MK: So you go, they used to wonder, because according to what I heard the stories. They wonder why the *wahine* ali'i's go in there. When low tide and low tide the water is cold, cold, cold. And then they even take the young baby's go in there, and don't know the reason, see.

KM: Yes.

MK: But later on little by little the people found out. So that's why they call that place the healing place.

KM: 'Ae...

MK: ...It was good, and all the kids, my *mo'opuna* and all about two months I'd take 'em over there soak 'em in the water because I felt that maybe that way they won't get sick. They never got sick.



KM: 'Ae, *Wai o ke ola*?

MK: Yes... Now, since the tidal wave, it's all covered up, and Kepuhi, that's the name of that blowhole.

KM: 'Ae, the blowhole.

MK: Whenever you hear the rocks rolling over there, you can hear the rocks rolling down there. And when that thing starts blowing up, it's rough weather.

KM: Kepuhi.

MK: And then if you look down where the point almost to Ka'awaloa.

KM: 'Ae.

MK: And we call that Lepeamoā.

KM: 'Ae.

MK: And if you see the lights going up from the ocean up the *pali* and come out the other side.

KM: Yes.

MK: We going have something worse, either tidal wave or something real bad.

KM: Oh. From Lepeamoā going up?

MK: They say, "*Auwē, ke pī'i mai nei ka po'e menehune!*" That's when everybody get ready go up higher lands. That's how we lost the house where we were living down at the beach, where that tall house is staying, right next to that healing water.

KM: 'Ae...

Kaiakeakua, Kapukapu (Kealakekua Bay), and Kealakekua, all named for the shark god who took human form on this land:

MK: ...But each place over here all had names you know, all the way. There's Kaiakekua.

KM: 'Ae, by the Nāpo'opo'o landing?

MK: Yes.

KM: By the landing, Kaiakekua. You said Kapukapu was the name of the bay that you gave yeah, Kapukapu?

MK: Yeah, that's the name.

KM: Kaiakekua.

MK: Kaiakekua [emphasizing the name Kua], the water of Kua and so as Kealakekua.

KM: 'Ae, Kealakekua.

MK: The trail of Kua, because that's where Kua walked, and there's a story to it. That's how they got that name Kealakekua. Because the people felt so lost without him and so they named the trail where he walked with them.

KM: With Kua, who was Kua?

MK: Kua was the shark god. He was the king for Ka'u, and then of course all around Kona too.

KM: 'Ae.

MK: Every time he make his circuits every year, around the islands, he come down to the bay, that's where he rests. He used to watch the people, how they work, they go up and all that. Finally one time when he came in, he changed himself completely to man. No more



marks no nothing, and mingled with the people. So the people thought. “Oh he came from one strange place,” but they never see any canoe. He never said he walked, he never said he swam. But the people just took him in. Everything what they did, he did the same, and go as far as go plant taro, dig and all that kind.

But they found when fishing he’s real good at fishing. Because so much fish for the *mauka* people and the beach people. They took him like a real good friend or a family. Then until came one day and the horizon was real nice color, all bright color. That’s when he walked down to the beach, and that’s where the pier is standing now. He walked down there and he stood in the water. The people wondered what he going do. He told them “Pretty soon I have to leave you.” But they no see any canoes outside no more nothing. He said “Pretty soon they’ll come, pretty soon.” Like that, he tell them. So he told them everything, he said he was thankful for what they did for him.

Of course the people never like him leave. He told them whatever they do, “Do not pass the point Ka’awaloa side, go in the water over there from Ka’awaloa and do not pass Palemanō.”

KM: ‘Ae.

MK: “Inside they can do all what they like.” They wondered why he said that. But anyway, they just waited, because he walked down there he stooped over he bent over then he started to chant on the water. When he did that they saw these two lines way outside coming in. They thought was canoes. But as they came closer and closer and closer they look, no just like *manō*. They watch, they watch and they came nearer and nearer, real close to him. He turned around and he told the people, “Goodbye,” that he was going.

But he going come back “when they see the sky like that, he’s going to be there.” That’s when he went dive in the water. When he did he came up one big shark and then he went between these two lines and the two lines followed outside. That’s when they knew that was Kua, and that’s how they named the trail after Kua.

KM: Kealakekua.

MK: Yeah. And then the place where he stepped in the water and called his people, Kai-a-ke-Kua.

KM: *Ō kupaianaha!* And you heard this *mo’olelo* from your *kūkū*?

MK: Oh yeah.

KM: Oh, amazing!

MK: I wrote it down everything.

KM: Wonderful. And interesting because you have the name Palemanō...what could that mean Palemanō?

MK: Well, Pale-manō, like I said, there’s a cave there and under that cave that’s where the sharks live. That’s why they call that *pale*, because that thing go out like that [gestures a covering].

KM: Over them then?

MK: Yeah and then over there, that’s where the Spanish ship crashed.

KM: Oh!

MK: There were five of them in the 1500s that left Spain, and they were going to go around the world, but when they came here one crashed. Three returned the other one crashed in the South Pacific, somewhere around Samoa. But when these ships went back they don’t know which one crashed at Nāpo’opo’o and the one at Samoa...



KM: Hmm.... Tūtū, remember the other pond by Hikiau, has a small fishpond, that you mentioned earlier?

MK: Hikiau, they had a fishpond there that belonged to Kalani'ōpu'u, and his *kahuna* was Hewahewa, that's the one was taking care that pond.

KM: Oh.

MK: Luali'iloa that's the name.

KM: Luali'iloa. What's the name that's given to it more often now?

MK: Kalua'ōpae.

KM: Kalua'ōpae.

MK: The Greenwell's call it that, because the Japanese used to raise 'ōpae in there.

KM: And that's the pond by Hikiau?

MK: Yeah.

KM: So Luali'iloa?

MK: Luali'iloa, that's the real name... That pond was for Kalani'ōpu'u.

KM: 'Ae.

MK: All the kind fishes he eat was raised in there, and only he *kahuna*, Hewahewa, was the only one that took care. And right in the back used to have one place where Hewahewa had his house.

KM: Oh.

MK: Behind with a wall on the side, used to have the walls, I don't know, maybe fall down.

KM: Yes, you know in fact if you look you can see, here's the *heiau* on Register Map 1595, here's the *heiau*.

MK: Right.

KM: Here's the fishpond.

MK: Right.

KM: This map is 1892, so it still shows the wall. Then there's a wall on the front on the beach side in the little house. It says this land was lalua by that time.

MK: 'Ae...

KM: ...Was fishing important to you folks, to your family? *Hele lawai'a*?

MK: Oh, yeah.

KM: That was how you folks...?

MK: Yeah during our time yeah.

Recalls trips to gather *limu* and salt, and fishing with her *kūpuna* and 'ohana:

KM: *Pehea, i kou wā li'ili'i, ua hele 'oe i kai kekāhi manawa, lawai'a, 'ohi limu paha? A i kekāhi manawa, ho'i i uka, kanu ka mea 'ai?*

MK: Uh-hmm...

KM: ...Were any of the families still making salt out anywhere along here?



MK: Yeah. Like me for instance I live down *kahakai*, mostly with my *tūtū*. All the beach people, if you go down to where they say Manini Beach. Down there get one place, we call that Pōhaku *pa'akai*. Get all basins, all holes on the *pāhoehoe* and all these holes when rough the wave go in. Or else if no more, we go *ho'opiha* with the *'eke*, when high tide. That's the time you make. And then you wait till low, and you go *ho'owali* little bit. *Kūkū* them used to do that, and then if not they send us go make *kowali* [gestures stirring motion with her hands], it come hard like that.

KM: So you stir it, rake it like that, gather it up and then take it out to let it dry?

MK: Bumby after all evaporate...but sometimes us kids we up to our tricks too.

KM: [chuckles]

MK: We like that thing hurry up, we scoop the water out [chuckles]. Because the bottom get plenty salt, so ours going dry first. All what we do is just *kowali*, *kowali* until real dry and then you scoop all of it out. When they take home they *kānana* that, get just like strain 'um. They *kānana* because sometimes get the sand or *'ili'ili*, the small kind.

KM: Yeah.

MK: So that's why, and only the *pa'akai*.

KM: And sweet that *pa'akai*?

MK: Different from the kind you by from the store.

KM: Yeah you're right very different. *Pa'akai maoli* is good salt.

MK: That's how we make our *pa'akai*. We hardly ever buy *pa'akai*. Most of the time our *pa'akai* is only from there.

KM: 'Ae...



***Fisheries and Native Customs of the Kealakekua-Hōnaunau Region, South Kona
Oral History Interview at Ke‘ei Nui —
with Howard Ackerman, Katie Keli‘i Kalā-Andrade, Mona Kapapakeali‘ioka‘alokai
Kapule-Kahele, Maile Keohohou-Mitchell, Weston Leslie,
William Kalikolehua Pānui & Nāmahana Pānui
August 30, 2002¹ – Interview by Kepā Maly***

All interviewees are native residents of the area described—most previously introduced in other interviews, or introduced below. Personal releases of interview records were granted by all interview participants, and are held by the interviewees and *Kumu Pono Associates*.

KM: *Mahalo...* What would be really good for us to do, just to begin with, if we could, is if each of you would briefly—introduce yourself, your name, date of birth and where born. If you are kama‘āina of this place. How you...you know your family’s connection to Ke‘ei, Kahauloa, Nāpo‘opo‘o section of the lands like that. If we could, just real quickly so that we could record that bit of information please. And since you pulled right hand [chuckles] chair I think if we could ask you uncle, to start? First is your name and date of birth?

HA: Howard Ackerman, born July 23, 1932, born in Nāpo‘opo‘o.

KM: And your ‘ohana is *pili* to this land down here?

HA: Well more Nāpo‘opo‘o.

KM: ‘Ae... ..And how you know these ‘āina out here is because from your youth, you walked the land and fished?

HA: Yes...

KM: ...*Mahalo! Aloha kupuna.*

KKA: *Aloha.*

KM: ‘Ae.

KKA: ‘O wau o Keli‘i Kalā-Andrade. Ua hānai ‘ia wau mai Milika‘a, David Kalā, and ko‘u mau mākuā...

I am Keli‘i Kalā-Andrade. I was reared by Milika‘a, David Kalā, and my parents...

My parents, my mom and dad are Francis and Lilly Ka‘ohu Chang, of Miloli‘i. And I was born in Kahauloa, October 27, 1936. I lived at Ke‘ei all my life.

KM: ‘Ae.

KKA: I was raised by my *tūtū*, and this [indicating the area fronting us] is my home like, I’ve been brought up here, and we went fishing. The place has been changed a lot, many homes. And also during that time we had the Maluhia Camp, you know.

KM: ‘Ae... *Mahalo, aloha. E kupuna Pānui aloha mai ‘oe.*

Yes, thank you, aloha. Say *Kupuna Pānui*, greetings to you.

WP: *Aloha, aloha. O wau o Wiliama Kalikolehua Pānui. A no Ke‘ei au, Palemanō nei. Hānau ‘ia wau i ka lā umi kūmāono o ka mahina Nowemapa, makahiki ‘umi kūmāiwa iwakālua kūmāwalu. Kēia makahiki piha wau kanahiku kūmāhā.*

Aloha, aloha. I am William Kalikolehua Pānui. I am from Ke‘ei, here at Palemanō. I was born on the 16th day of November, in the year 1928. This year I am 74.

¹ The interview was conducted on the shore of Mokuoka‘e Bay, at the Ke‘ei Beach Home of Nāinoa Thompson. Video recording of the interview was done by *Nā Maka o ka ‘Āina* for Kamehameha Schools and the *kūpuna*.



KM: 'Ae, pōmaika'i.

WP: *Kēia ku'u 'āina hānau, ko'u wahi pā'ani, ka wahi i a'o 'ia i nā mea Hawai'i. Ka lawai'a 'ana, Ka mahi'ai 'ana, a pēlā wale no.*

This is the land of my birth, my play ground, the place where I was instructed in things Hawaiian. Fishing, cultivating, and such.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: *Ua hānai 'ia wau e ko'u kupuna, o Louie Kauanoekauikalikohalaopuna Pānui, a me kona wahine, o Annie Kahalulu-Pānui. A hiki ko'u wā hele i kula, a laila ho'onoho 'ia wau i Honolulu.*

I was cared for by my grandfather, Louie Kauanoekauikalikohalaopuna Pānui, and his wife, Annie Kahalulu-Pānui. Up until I went to school, then I went to live in Honolulu.

KM: 'Ae...

During World War II, the military closed off the coast line and fisheries:

WP: ...Maopopo wau i ka manawa i ke Kaua Nui, ke Kaua 'Elua. Kēia 'āina nei i ho'opa'a 'ia me ka [thinking] hao.

...I know about the time of the great War, the Second World War. This land here was closed off with iron.

KM: *Uwea?*

Wire?

WP: *Uwea.*

KM: 'Ae.

WP: *Hiki 'ole ke hemo i waho e lawai'a.*

Couldn't go out to fish.

KM: 'Oia?

WP: *A'ole hiki. Aia 'apono 'ia, 'ae 'ia mai e ka po'e koa, a laila na lākou e wehe a'e ka uwea, a hemo 'oe i waho, a ho'i mai 'oe, na lākou no e wehe ka uwea. A komo mai 'oe a ho'opa'a hou 'ia.*

Couldn't. Then later, it was approved by the military, then they would open the wires, and you could go out, and when you returned, they would open the wires. Then you would come in and it was closed again.

KM: 'Oia? *Me ka wa'a, holo ma waho me ka wa'a?*

Is that so? With the canoes, go out with the canoes?

WP: *Holo me ka wa'a. A'ole hiki ke lawai'a i ka pō. Ka lawai'a i ka lā wale no.*

Go with canoes. Couldn't fish in the night. Only fished in the day.

KM: 'Oia?

WP: 'Oia no. *Mahape a'e e mo'olelo hou.*

That's it. Later, we'll talk story again.

KM: 'Ae, mo'olelo hou. 'Ae, mahalo nui. Aloha 'oe kupuna.

Yes, talk story again. Thank you so much. Aloha to you kupuna.



MM: *Aloha. Ku'ū inoa o Myra Maile Keohohou.*

Aloha. My name is Myra Maile Keohohou.

KM: 'Ae.

Fishing for 'ōpihi, wana, hāwa'e, 'ina, the hā'uke'uke and he'e.

MM: *Ku'ū kūkū...ku'ū papa me ku'ū mama, o David me Annie Pēnoni-Keohohou. Ku'ū kūkū o Hanalei a me Mele Kapule. Hānau lanuali, iwakālua, kanaīwa ho'okāhi haneli kanakolu makahiki. A noho wau i Kona. Kēia wahi mākou, hele mamua, manawa li'ili'i, hele ku'i 'ōpihi, mahape, hele mamua, hele 'ohi wana a me ka hāwa'e me ka 'ina, me ka hā'uke'uke, a me ka he'e.*

My grandfather...(well) my father and mother were David and Annie Pēnoni Keohohou. My grandparents were Hanalei and Mele Kapule. I was born January 29th, 1930. And I live in Kona. This is our place, I first came here when I was little, come to get 'ōpihi, also came to get wana, hāwa'e, 'ina, the hā'uke'uke and he'e.

KM: 'Ae, makai nei?

Yes, on the shore here?

MM: *Mamua.*

In front.

KM: *Mamua, Palemanō?*

In front of Palemanō?

MM: 'Ae. A'ole hiki kēlā manawa, nui ka pōhaku makai.

Yes. Couldn't come here at that time there were many stones in the water.

KM: *Makai nei?*

In the water here?

MM: *Ae. Alaila hele ki'i ka he'e, a'ole me ka hou, me ka stick.*

Yes. Then we went to get he'e, not with a spear, with a stick.

KM: Oh yes.

MM: *Yes. Hopu aku a 'ai ka maka [chuckling] a komo iloko o ka 'eke. Kēlā manawa, 'ae. Ua hānau i Nāpo'opo'o, o Pōhakupa'akai, kēlā ka wahi mākou noho. Alaila, pau loa mākou, me o Howard mā, noho ma laila. I kēia lā 'oia ko mākou wahi i noho ai.*

Yes. Grab it and eat (bite) the eye, and put it in the bag. That time, I was born at Nāpo'opo'o, that's the place where we live. Then, all of us, and Howard them, lived there. And today, that's where we live.

KM: *I Pōhakupa'akai?*

At Pōhakupa'akai?

MM: 'Ae, Pōhakupa'akai.

Yes, Pōhakupa'akai.

KM: *Aia ma loko o Kahauloa?*

In Kahauloa?

MM: 'Ae, ma loko o Kahauloa. Kahea i kēia manawa o Manini Beach. A'ole ku pono kēlā inoa, o Manini Beach. Mai Ho'okena kēlā inoa, lawe mai na Ushiroda. Hele kiloi 'upena a lo'a mea, manini wale no. A hūhū 'oia, "kēia wahi manini!" A kau 'ia ka inoa, Manini, mai kēlā manawa.



Yes, in Kahauloa. It's now called Manini Beach. That name isn't right, Manini Beach. That name came from Ho'okena, brought by Ushiroda. He came to throw net and only got *manini*. He was angry and said, "this place is *manini*." And the name Manini has stuck since that time.

KM: Aloha! So Ushiroda?

MM: Ushiroda [chuckling].

KM: 'O wai ka inoa pololoi ma kēlā wahi?

What is the correct name at that place?

MM: 'O Pōhakupa'akai, but *iluna o ka pepa i Manini*.

Pōhakupa'akai, but on the paper it's Manini.

KM: *Ka pepa hou?*

New papers?

MM: 'Ae. *The inoa o Manini*.

WP: *Ka inoa kahiko o Pōhakupa'akai*.

The ancient name is Pōhakupa'akai.

MM: *Kahiko*. [Ancient.]

KM: *A pehea o Kapahukapu?*

And how about Kapahukapu?

MM: *Ma ka hale o Gordon paha* [looking and *Kupuna Kahele*]?]

At the house of Gordon, maybe?

MK: The whole area.

MM: Oh yeah.

Salt formerly made at Pōhakupa'akai:

KM: *O Pōhakupa'akai, kekāhi wahi hana pa'akai lākou, mamua?*

So Pōhakupa'akai, is that a place where you made salt before?

MM: *Mākou, 'ae*.

Yes, we did.

KM: 'Oukou hana?

You made it?

MM: 'Ai mākou, a'ale pipi, a'ale pu'a, i loko o ke kai wale no.

Our food, there was no beef, no pork, it was only from the sea.

KM: 'Ae.

Many different fish previously caught, now there are hardly any:

MM: *Mākou hele ki'i kole maka onaona, ka mā'i'i, ka 'ōpelu me ka 'ala'ihī, 'ū'ū, 'āweoweo, kēlā manawa*.

We'd go catch *kole maka onaona, mā'i'i, 'ōpelu, 'ala'ihī, 'āweoweo* at that time.

KM: *Nā i'a like 'ole?*

All different kinds of fish?



- MM: *A'ale i kēia manawa, a'ohē lo'a i kēia manawa.*
Not at this time, it doesn't have it at this time.
- KM: *Pau loa nā i'a?*
The fish are all gone?
- MM: *Pau loa, a'ole lo'a i ka hale kū'ai i kēia manawa. Mamua loa, o lana! Kēia manawa, a'ale. A'ohē lo'a. Hānai mākou i loko o ka wai. 'Eono mahina ku'u papa hele ki'i i ka pu'a me ka pipi, ho'i mai kau iluna o ke kelamania me ka nui 'ino a pa'akai i loko laila. A'ohē lo'a pahu hau kēlā manawa.*
All gone, doesn't even have in the store now. Long ago, they just floated at the surface! Now, no, can't get 'um. We were raised in the water. Six months, my father would go get pig and cattle, come back put 'um in the crock pot with lots of salt inside. We didn't have a ice box at that time.
- KM: *'Ae, o ke kai ka pahu hau e?*
Yes, the sea was the ice box, eh?
- MM: *'Ae. A'ole make mākou. I loko o mākou hale, kanakolu mākou, ku'u papa hānai mākou. Hānai pau, 'ai me ka palaoa [chuckling].*
Yes. We didn't die. In our house, there were thirty of us, my father cared for us. Cared for everything, ate with flour.
- KM: *'Ae, poi palaoa?*
Yes, flour poi?
- MM: *Poi palaoa. Ae hānai mākou pau loa.*
Flour poi. Yes, we were all cared for.
- KM: *Mahalo! Na kēia 'āina i hō'ola a ho'olako iā 'oukou a pau.*
Thank you! This land gave life and enriched all of you.
- MM: *'Ae.*
- KKA: *'Ae...*
- KM: *Okay, mahalo... Kupuna Mona, aloha 'oe kupuna.*
- MK: *Aloha.*
- KM: *Mahalo i kou ho'okipa 'ana mai... Kupuna, 'o wai kou inoa, makahiki oe hānau, kekāhi mo'olelo e pili ana iā oe? Aloha.*
Thank you for visiting with us. Kupuna, what is your name, and the year you were born, some of the story about you?
- MK: *Nui no nā mo'olelo!*
There's a lot of stories!
- KM: *Ae nui no!*
- MK: *My name is Mona Kapapakeali'ioka'alokai Kapule and Kahele.*
- KM: *'Ae.*
- MK: *I'm known all over the place, I've been in so much community things and still am. I was born in Nāpo'opo'o my mother was a Ka'olulu also.*
- HA: *Daisy.*



MK: And my father was a Kapule. As the tradition goes the first born, if it's a boy supposed to go to the father's side but I came as a girl, so I have to go to my father's side. So that's where I was raised with them, until my other *kūkū* took me away from them. There's so much to tell...

KM: Yes.

MK: I was born on December 22, 1921.

KM: 'Ae, aloha...

MK: ...But going back over here, this is where we come all the way from Nāpo'opo'o. Us cousins come over here pound 'ōpihi all the way to Kīpū.

KM: 'Ae.

MK: And when we get to Kīpū there's a little *poho* over there way up land. And that *poho* get all kinds of colored sand inside. I don't know if he [*Kupuna Pānui*] remembers...

KM: Hmm.

MK: And there was a *wahine ki'i* on the *pāhoehoe*, remember the *wahine*?

WP: Yes.

MK: It was there, but was a little damaged. Some people cannot keep their hands to themselves.

KM: So this was a stone form of a woman?

MK: Yes.

KM: In the *pāhoehoe*, in the lava?

WP: *Pāhoehoe*.

MK: Right, and the legs hang down the cliff.

KM: On towards the water, ocean side?

MK: Yes.

KM: Was this a storied place, did you ever?

WP: It's still there.

KM: Still there?

MK: Yes.

KM: Was there a story or a name for that woman or *wahine ki'i* that you remember?

WP: *Kapa 'ia wale no ka inoa o Wahine Ki'i.*
Only called by the name Wahine Ki'i.

MK: Yes, we don't know.

KM: Wahine ki'i.

MK: Only Wahine Ki'i, that's all we know.

WP: Like me ke kino o ka wahine.

KM: 'Ae, hoihoi loa.

MK: Yes. That's where we used to go, and on to Ki'ilae.

KM: 'Ae...



'Aha'aha fishing along the shore:

MK: ...During the night, when we come down from *mauka* and we stay with my aunty folks, with Kaliko [Pānui] when he was little, he was there too. At night we go down to where the *kāheka* and catch 'aha'aha.

KM: 'Ae.

MK: Oh there were plenty, you stand in the water like that, all covered the water. And you got to keep lifting your feet up because the nose keep poking, poking, poking. Oh boy!

KM: 'Aha'aha?

MK: 'Aha'aha.

WP: Needle fish.

MK: Those stick fish.

WP: The 'aha'aha is the small one.

KM: The small baby, pua kind?

WP: Uh-hmm.

MK: Stick fish. So that's certain times of the night, and then when 'ōhua time.

KM: 'Ae.

MK: We come down.

'Ōhua fishing—*kūpuna* discuss their thoughts on the source of the 'ōhua. Almost no 'ōhua are seen now:

KM: May I ask...that's a very important thing 'cause I've spoken with most all of you about 'ōhua and how valued it was when you were young. You and your *kūpuna mā* would go out 'ohi 'ōhua. What is the 'ōhua, and do you see 'ōhua today like you did before?

KKA: Not like before.

MK: The 'ōhua, if you go early in the morning about three or four o'clock, that's the best time, but most of the *kūpuna* they watch the whale.

KM: Ahh.

MK: When the whale passes, that's when they go. So it's around April [thinking], the most time is around April.

WP: March and April.

MK: And you go down early in the morning.

KM: 'Ae.

MK: The reason for that is if you get to the *kāheka*, sometimes you see those little balloons.

KM: 'Ae. A bag, 'eke like?

MK: Yes. All you have to do is put your bucket underneath and you get that.

KM: Ahh.

MK: Because if that touches the land, if you have that *limu 'aki'aki*, it's going to break. Or if the big fishes attack. So that's what we used to catch. What ever you catch, that's it.

KM: May I ask, the 'eke. What did you folks know the 'eke that the 'ōhua came in as. What is it?



MK: *Hūpē koholā.*
Mucus of the whale.

WP: *Hūpē koholā.*
Mucus of the whale.

KM: *‘Oia ka pololoi?*
That’s correct?

Group: *‘Ae.*

KM: *Hūpē koholā.* You know it’s interesting to hear this because today, the scientists they argue with you, “No, that’s not it, no can.”

MK/HA: Yes.

KM: But, this is your experience, all of you and *kūpuna* whether it’s on Ni‘ihau...[pause to adjust video setting] ...because it is interesting with that *hūpē koholā* whether Ni‘ihau, Hawai‘i, all of you *kūpuna*, all you *kama‘āina* and fisher-people said this is from the *koholā*. But what is the *‘ōhua*, what kind of fish does it mature into?

WP: The *‘ōhua* matures into *manini*.

HA: All the ones we like for the table.

KM: *‘Ae.*

KKA: The striped *manini*.

MK: In fact they get all different kind fishes in that *‘eke*.

KM: All different kind.

WL: It’s florescent, like.

WP: The *‘ōhua* was before sunrise.

KM: *‘Ae.*

WP: The *‘ōhua* is transparent.

MK: Yes.

KM: *‘Ae.*

WP: And you can just see right through it, all you see is dots in the water. The dot is the eyes of the *‘ōhua*.

KM: *‘Oia?*

WP: And as soon as the sun rises they change color, they change to green and they begin to develop into *manini*.

KM: Amazing yes! And so here’s this *‘eke*, *‘eke hūpē?*

WP: *Hūpē koholā.*

KM: And it washes in all of these *‘ōhua*, these baby fish inside come up to the shore. If you get it before the sun?

KKA: Yes.

KM: *Palupalu?*

KKA: All white.

MM: *A‘ale, ke‘oke‘o wale no. ‘O ‘oe hiki ‘ike ka iwi. Ko‘u kūkū hele i kai, mamua o ka hale, hele ki‘i ‘ōhua. A kiloi aku i luna o ka [thinking] wire.*



Not only white. You can see the bones, My *tūtū* went to the sea, in front of the house, went to catch the *‘ōhua*. And laid it out on the wire.

KM: *‘Ae. Lānai kaula‘i?*

Yes. The drying shelter?

MM: *Kaula‘i. Ku no kēlā ke‘oke‘o, but mea [thinking]...*

Dry it. That white shows, but...

KM: *Puka mai ka lā?*

When the sun comes out?

MM: *‘Ae, pau. But ku‘u kūkū ‘ōlelo, kēia ka mo‘olelo iāia ‘ōlelo, “Kēlā ‘ōhua, mai ka whale. Puhī kēlā mea i waho, a lana iloko o kēia ‘eke.” I loko o kēia wahi no.*

Yes, it's done. But my *tūtū* said, this is the story she told. "That *‘ōhua* was from the whale. It spits that thing out and they float in the bag." It comes to this place.

WP: *Ka hūpē koholā.*

The mucus of the whale.

MM: *Kēlā ka mo‘olelo, ‘o wau kupuna, lohe ai.*

That's the story I heard from my *kupuna*.

KM: And today, do the *‘ōhua* come up like before?

WP/KKA: No.

MM: *Li‘ili‘i wale nō.*

Only a small amount.

KKA: Very little.

MM: *O Ke‘ei wale no lo‘a. Only Ke‘ei loa‘ kēia manawa.*

Ke‘ei is the only one that has. Only Ke‘ei has at this time.

KKA: But because it's *tabu* now, and you can't use the little net, so most of the people don't go.

KM: Yes. But that was like a *pūpū*, *mea ‘ono*?

MM: *‘Ae.*

Group: [agreeing]

WP: Like candy.

KM: What you *kaula‘i pa‘akai*?

KKA: Or you can mix it, make it raw with *pa‘akai* and just eat it like that.

MM: Yes.

KKA: But you have to wait till it's *miko* if you going to eat it early, you know you going to get all poked [gesturing to mouth].

KM: *‘Aki‘aki*, cut a little bit, the mouth.

MK: Like a needle.

KKA: And it's *‘ono*.

MM: *Kaula‘i, ‘ai kohana wale no mākou [chuckling].*

Dried, we eat it with relish.

KM: [chuckling] Oh!



MK: That's what we take for lunch, to school.

KM: Yes.

MK: The *poi* and whatever we get from the beach.

KKA: Some people would fry it you know shoyu sugar way.

KM: But this ocean, what I hear from all of you is how important the ocean in your life time as children growing up and to your *kūpuna*. The ocean sustained you, right?

Group: 'Ae, uh-hmm.

KM: Gave you life. And on *kula*, 'āina mauka, and the *māla'ai*, that's where your...

MM: *Kalo a me ka...*
Taro and...

WP: 'Uala, 'ulu, mai'a.
Sweet potatoes, breadfruit, bananas.

KM: 'Ae...

MK: And then where Maluhia is, that was [thinking] Pōhakupimu.

KM: 'Ae.

MK: Because there's one stone outside, and that's only where the *limu kohu* grows over there.

KM: 'Ae, exactly. On the old map there's a place called Limukoko.

WP: Limukoko.

MK: Yes, something like that.

KM: *O ka limu koko, 'oia ka limu kohu?*
The *limu koko*, is it the *limu kohu*?

WP/MK: 'Ae.

MK: Yes. Only that *pōhaku* have the *limu kohu*. *Aia mālia, hiki 'oe ke ki'i*.
There, when it's calm, you can go get.

KM: 'Oia, 'ohi ka limu?
Oh, so gather *limu*?

MK: 'Ōkaikai, 'auwē!
When it's rough, look out.

KKA: 'Auwē, make 'ana [chuckles]
Look out, it'll kill.

KM: 'Ai 'ia i ke kai.
Eaten by the sea.

MK: 'Ae...

Shark guardian known for the waters between Palemanō and Keawekāheka:

WP: ...*O Palemanō, 'oia ho'i, he manō i mālama 'ia*.
At Palemanō, there is a shark that cares for it.

KM: *Kia'i* [guardian]?



WP: *Kia'i i ke au mamua loa. Ka pale, 'oia ho'i kāhi o ka manō e lulu ai, like me ka 'ōlelo o ka haole, ka reef.*

A guardian in ancient time. The protected area, that is the place where the shark rests, is like a reef as said in English.

KM: Yes, yes.

WP: *Ai ma lalo.*

It's below.

KM: *Ai ma lalo, lo'a he...?*

So below has a...?

WP: *He ana.*

A cave.

KKA: *Ana.*

MK: Uh-hmm.

KM: *'Oia ka wahi ho'olulu ai ka manō?*

That's where the shark rests?

WP: *Uh-hmm, 'oia kāhi i noho ai ka manō.*

Yes, it's the place where the shark lives.

MM: *'Ae.*

KM: *He 'aha ke 'ano o kēia manō, manō kanaka, ai'ole he manō i'a?*

What is the nature of this shark? A shark good to humans, or a wild shark of the sea?

MK: *Manō 'ōko'a.*

It's a different kind of shark.

KM: *Pehea kou mana'o, he kia'i, Palemanō?*

What do you think, a guardian, Palemanō?

KKA: *'Ae, he kia'i.*

Yes, a guardian.

MK: *No Palemanō, 'ae. A na kekāhi mau 'ao'ao, a'ole.*

For Palemanō, yes. For other sides, no.

KM: *'Ae.*

KKA: *Like pū me ia, he 'ohana no anakala Louie kekāhi, hele mau 'oia ma laila e lu'u, ki'i 'oia ka 'ula.*

Like this, the family of uncle Louie is one, he'd always go diving out there to get lobster.

MM: *'Au'au.*

KM: *Pehea, hānai 'oia i ka manō?*

How about it, did he feed the shark?

KKA: *Hānai 'oia?*

Did he feed?



The *manō* guardian—*‘aumakua*—was cared for by the families, and in turn cared for them:

WP: *A’ole i ko mākou manawa, mamua loa.*

Not in our time, but long before.

KM: *‘Ae.*

MM: *‘O wau, kūkū, ‘ae.*

Me, my tūtū, yes.

KKA: *Hele ‘oia e lu’u, hou i’a, kēlā ‘ano, lu’u ‘ula. A’ole ‘oia i kākā i ka wai.*

He’d go dive, spearing fish, that kind, dive for lobster. He wouldn’t strike the water.

KM: *‘Oia, he mau kānāwai e pili ‘ana ko lākou lawai’a ‘ana?*

Is that so, there were laws about how you would fish?

KKA: *‘Ae. Ua ha’i mai ‘oia, “he ‘aumakua kēlā manō. Mai ho’opā, mai pepehi, nānā wale mai no.”*

Yes. He told me, “The shark is an *‘aumakua*. Don’t strike it, don’t try to kill it, only look at it.”

WP: *He ‘aumakua.*

It is an *‘aumakua*.

MM: *Ko’u mo’olelo, kūkū ‘ōlelo wau, iāia no i Ke’ei, hale no Kalā no, ka hale mua. Right next to Awā them, that’s the hale mua. Kēlā ka wahi ku’u kūkū hānau ku’u mama, kekāhi. Iāia hele i kai, hānai iāia waiū i ka manō.*

My story, what my grandmother told me, she was from Ke’ei, the house of Kalā, the first house. Right next to Awā them, that’s the first house. That’s the place where my grandmother gave birth to my mother. She would go to the ocean and she would feed milk to the shark.

KM: *‘Oia, hānai poli i ka manō?*

Is that so, breast feed the shark?

MM: *‘Ae. Kēlā ka mo’olelo, kūkū ‘ōlelo wau.*

Yes, that’s the story my grandmother told me.

KM: *I Ke’ei? [At Ke’ei?]*

MM: *Ke’ei. Iāia make kanaīwa makahiki, ku’u kūkū hā’ule. Ku’u mama, kanaīwa kūmāono, hā’ule ku’u mama, make. Ku’u kūkū ‘ōlelo mākou, “A’ole ‘eha lākou ‘ai waiū ‘ana?” “A’ole, like me ka pēpē, ‘omo.” Hele ‘oia a ho’i hānai ku’u mama, pau, hā’awi ke koena i ka manō. A’ole hiki mākou ke ‘ai i ka pūhi, a a’ole hiki mākou ke ‘ai ka manō.*

Ke’ei. She passed away at 90 years, that’s when my grandmother died. My mother was 96, that’s when my mother died. We asked my grandmother, “Wasn’t it sore when it was drinking milk?” “No, it suckled like a baby.” She’d go feed my mother, and then the remainder, she’d give to the shark. We can’t eat pūhi, and we can’t eat shark.

KM: *‘Ae, no ka mea, he ‘ohana paha?*

Yes, perhaps because it is family?

MM: *‘Ae, kapu. [Yes, forbidden.]*



KM: *Mahalo*, this is so wonderful, *maika'i ke kolekole 'ana... Mahalo!* ...You know in talking about these *manō* and what you had shared with your *kūkū*, that they would actually...there's this *mo'olelo* that they would *hānai poli*?

MM: 'Ae.

KM: Some *mo'olelo*, some 'ohana they say one of the *keiki* that they went *hānau* was this *manō*, yeah. 'Oia ke kumu lākou i hānai poli? Ua lohe paha?

Was that the reason that they fed the shark? Did you hear?

MM: *O wau, a'ole lohe kēlā. Ka mo'olelo ku'u kūkū 'ōlelo, hānai poli ka manō.*

Me, I didn't hear that. The story of my grandmother was that she would breast feed the shark.

KM: 'Ae. You know it's also interesting because when we look at Palemanō, *kupuna* Moana you had said there was a relationship between Palemanō, I believe, and Keawekāheka, yeah. And how the name even Kealakekua, yes? Came about was there a *manō*, was there a *manō*, a story about this place?

MK: There was one that was one that was for the *po'e kūpuna*, down there. But as the years went by, nobody *mālama*.

KM: Ahh. Took care?

MK: Yes. But anyway they said the legend was that "If you see them pili to the shore, don't harm, let 'em go. Because from one end, Ka'awaloa side, that point Keawekāheka, and come to Palemanō all the way inside, you are safe."

KM: 'Ae.

MK: So far all the times that we grew up nobody was eaten inside only outside.

KM: Yes. Interesting.

MK: So because, even though there was a bodyguard in there.

KM: Yes, yes. Now, on Palemanō there is a *heiau* out there also.

WP: Uh-hmm.

KM: What was the name?

WP: Kamaiko.

KM: Kamaiko.

WP: Heiau Kamaiko.

KM: That's an old place?

WP: Yes.

MK: Right.

KM: *Heiau kahiko.*

WP: *Heiau kahiko. A maopopo mākou, ka inoa Kamaiko, he inoa o ka i'a.*

An ancient temple. And we know, the name is Kamaiko, it is the name of a fish.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: *Maiko.*

KM: *Maiko.*



MM: 'Ae.

WP: And if you catch the *maiko* and you just leave it out, and decompose, *hele a pilau*, 'oia ke 'ano o *kēia wahi*. No ka mea, ka make 'ana o *kekāhi kanaka*, *kaula'i 'ia ma luna o ke ke'a*.
...it comes defiled, that is the nature of this place. Because when some people died, they were dried on something like a cross.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: *Ma luna ka heiau, kaula'i 'ia ke kino*.
On top of the heiau, the bodies were dried.

KM: *Pelapela*.
Flesh stench.

WP: *Pelapela. A pā mai ka makani, honi 'oe i ka pilau*.
Flesh stench. And the wind blew, you could smell the stench.

KM: 'Ae. O *kanaka*?
Yes. Of people?

WP: *Kanaka. Like me ka pilau o ka maiko. Ke waiho wale 'ia ka maiko, a pilau. Kapa 'ia Kamaiko*.
People. Like the stink of the *maiko*. When the *maiko* are left to rot, so it's called *Kamaiko*.

KM: Hmm. So *kēia heiau he 'ano luakini, he heiau mōhai kanaka*?
So this temple is it a type of *luakini*, a temple where humans were sacrificed?

WP: *A'ole, he heiau ho'omākaukau ke kino no ke kanu 'ana*.
No, it's a temple where bodies were prepared for burying.

KM: 'Oia?

WP: 'Ae...

KM: ...You know these things are very important and your *mana'o* about, "leave it alone, take care." But see if you don't share some of the stories with your children and the stewards and in some cases like Kamehameha Schools. If you're going to own and stewardship a land you need to know about it so that you can do the right things.
If we come to *Palemanō* again for a moment you know in 1882, J.S. Emerson was surveying out here. And it's funny he was told... Well, they kept setting a trig station, a marker on the *heiau*.

WP: Uh-hmm.

Kūpuna encouraged respect of the land and ocean; fish and crops always shared among the families:

KM: And the marker kept getting knocked off. You'll see the letters in this little *mo'olelo* that we're putting together and finally they went talk with some of the *kama'āina* who lived right in behind *Palemanō* and they said something like, "Ever since you put that station marker there, our ocean has been rough we couldn't go fishing." They said it was like *Kū'ula* or fishery related things and so the *kūpuna* really wanted you folks to respect, wanted people to respect the land.

MK: Uh-hmm.

WP: Yes...



KM: ...Now before, *hele lākou lawai‘a, ho‘i mai* [they'd go fish and come back]?

Group: [agrees]

KM: *Māhele i‘a, hā‘awi aloha* [divide and give with *aloha*]?

MM: *‘Ae, mākou kēlā.*

Yes that's how we were.

Group: [agrees]

KM: *‘Ae, ‘oia ke ‘ano o kānaka.*

Yes it's the nature of the Hawaiians.

WP: You always share your catch.

KM: *‘Ae.*

MM: *‘Ae.*

‘Upena ‘eke fishing, and other *ku‘una* (net fisheries) of the region named:

HA: Because everybody did that. Nāpo‘opo‘o, Ke‘ei. We used to use two canoes, and this net was different, we called it *‘upena ‘eke*. Just like one *‘ōpelu net*. We drop the *‘eke*, we drop the two wings. Two people in the water, and one stick that would hold it and the *īkoi*. The bag stays wide open.

KM: So floating, open?

HA: Yes. And then only two people in the water. You go with the canoe and then somebody in front, they throw stone and the canoe going out. And as soon we reach over there, the canoe reach over there *huki*, close the *‘eke* and two people pick up the lead and seal it.

KM: Wow!

HA: They pick up that then they go. It's only the big kind *ku‘una*, over here, Ke‘ei, come to Ko‘opapa, Keawaiki, Kahauloa, you know, the big kind *ku‘una*.

MK: I think we had only one uncle who used to do that.

KM: That kind *‘eke*?

HA: They went taboo that afterwards. Nobody really knew about the *‘upena ‘eke*, only us. The first time uncle said we go *‘upena*, I never know. So I went run home and ask Sonny if he used to go *‘upena* and he said yes.

KM: *‘Upena ‘eke*?

HA: Yes. So we went and after that then we all used to go.

MK: Almost like *‘upena ku‘u*, but the *‘eke* little bit different because they have the *‘eke*.

KM: *E kala mai* [pause to change video], and then lets come back to *ku‘una* and names of places and relationships to places on land... This style of fishing, evidently, was fairly unique to Ke‘ei or you know Nāpo‘opo‘o, the *‘upena ‘eke*. And so it was a winged, floating outside...

HA: The bag, you drop the bag and the canoes out, you drop your net. When you get down to the end you drop all your net, turn your canoes around and come back down. One *hoe* and the other one just throw stone.

KM: Yes, driving the fish.

HA: And the fish go down just like one chute just like driving cattle, and go right into *‘eke*.

Group: [chuckling]



- HA: The first canoe reach over there you pull and the 'ēke close and the people go down and pick up the two ends, bring the stick up and throw 'um on top, and seal the whole bag. And then you come back and pick up your two wings, you come back. It was only the big kind *ku'una* that you do that. But when you come back, you get enough to feed the whole community.
- MK: They feed the whole village.
- KM: So everyone in the whole village was fed?
- MK: Yes.
- HA: All divided, the boat man, the net man, and all.
- WL: Kepā, I used to go *hukihuki*, the Hawaiians say, for 'ū'ū night time... I used to do *hukihuki*, before we had the *koa* canoe.
- KM: 'Ae.
- WL: No more motor on the *koa* canoe.
- KM: 'Ae.
- WL: You have to paddle one man. So our set up was twenty-five hooks to a set. We catch 'āweoweo, 'ū'ū. But we didn't have measurement to carry on the canoe those days we go by the tip of our fingers, the size between, we release, throw it back to the ocean.
- KM: Ahh.
- WL: Let it get bigger. If over two finger tips, you take 'um home, and then we give every family down the road. Take this for *kaukau*, take this, and we share all to the 'ohana, and then we go home, go back home go sleep. The next night, we're back out there again.
- KM: 'Ae.
- WL: And then if the *hukihuki* don't bite we go *kā'ili*.
- KM: 'Ae.
- WL: *Kā'ili* means you go down the bottom. Up down, so you catch for put on the table, everybody share the fish. We used to share a lot. Today is *kālā*, money.
- Group: [agrees]
- Before, only families of the land fished in the area; the *palu* for 'ōpelu was pumpkin and other vegetable foods. The *ko'a* were cared for and the fish trained to feed. More recently people from outside have come in, and used meat baits, this causes problems for the *ko'a* and in the quality of the fish:
- KM: This is an important point, there are a couple of things we should talk about. One is the manner of fishing and how you shared, and another is about the *ko'a*. But may I ask in your time in your youth from *kūpuna mā*, when you fished here... See one of the *pilikia* that I hear from *kūpuna* today, is now people from all over...
- KKA: Uh-hmm.
- KM: ...can come fish your 'āina. Was it like that when you were young or was it 'ohana fishing?
- WL: No.
- KKA: 'Ohana.
- WL: You from Nāpo'opo'o, you fish to Ke'ei to *makai* of Ka'awaloa, that's the fishing areas.
- KM: 'Ae.



WL: 'Ōpelu net same thing. You feed your own *ko'a*, the area you stay, you feed 'em the way you feed it with pumpkin.

WP: Papaya.

WL: Taro, avocado.

KM: 'Ae.

WL: Lot of fruits that the 'ōpelu can eat. They eat that.

KM: May I...you've mentioned all the maunu all the *palu* that you've just mentioned, and that you were agreeing too are all vegetable materials.

WP: Uh-hmm.

KM: Did you folks use you know now they call "make dog" or "*pilau*" and things. Did you folks *hānai*, chop-chop, did you *hānai pilau mea i ka i'a* [feed dirty bait to the fish]?

KKA: The people after that.

KM: Yes.

HA: Later.

KM: What happens if you feed the fish dirty food, what are you going to eat?

WP: You eat dirty food.

Group: [agreeing]

KM: Yes. *Ma'i* then.

WL: If fresh it's okay, but not old.

KM: Yes.

WL: If it's old, then you have problems with what Hawaiians call *pōwā*. They come in and they chase the fish that you eat, the 'ōpelu.

KM: Yes. What is a *pōwā* when they come into your *ko'a*? That's the thief like?

MK: Yes.

KM: He come and chase 'em. So you get *manō*, 'ulua, some kind of fish.

MK: *Kākū*.

KM: *Kākū*, they going come in and take your *ko'a* right?

WL: 'Ulua, 'ahi, marlin.

KM: Yes.

WL: You can name all the fish, mahimahi. They go into your net now you have to stay home for one or two days to mend.

KM: *Kā 'upena* [chuckling].

MM: *Mamua loa, a'ole mākou, 'o 'oe a'ale hiki ke hele ma laila. Hele ma laila, 'ohi pau, ho'i. No ka 'ai, a'ole no ke hele kū'ai. Noho mākou, 'ohana. 'O 'oe mamake, hele no.*

Long ago, we couldn't, you (from away) couldn't go there. Go there, take all, and leave. It was only for food, not for going to sell. We lived as family, if you wanted to go, go.

KM: But there must have been like a *lawai'a nui* [head fisherman] someone who would watch and see, "*ku mai 'ana ka 'ōpelu, ka 'ō'io?*" *He i'a nui kēlā no Kealakekua 'ō'io?*



“...the *ōpelu* are schooling, the *‘ō‘io*”? Is that an important fish in Kealakekua, *‘ō‘io*?

MM: *A‘ale.*

KM: *A‘ole.*

MM: *Akule.*

KM: *Akule, ahh.*

Discussing various types of fish caught, and the *ko‘a* from near shore to deep sea:

WP: *‘Ō‘io* too

MK: *‘Ō‘io* they had.

MM: Yes, but *li‘ili‘i wale nō kēlā manawa* [only a little at that time].

MK: *Kawele‘ā, hāuliuli* at night. What else? *Awa* we had that.

WP: *Walu.*

KM: Oh [chuckles].

MK: Troubles.

Group: [all chuckling]

KM: *‘Ai walu*, troubles.

Group: [chuckling]

MM: *Palani.*

KM: Were there different *ko‘a* or *ku‘una* you used the word.

WL: Yes.

KM: That you folks marked along this land even here?

WP: Uh-hmm.

WL: The whole area is *ko‘a*, *‘ōpelu ko‘a*, *‘ahi ko‘a*.

Group: [agreeing]

HA: Trails that the fish follow.

WL: Yes. Where you chum the place.

KM: ‘Ae.

WL: That you put food all the time they come to you the area. Like ‘Umi ko‘a, Radio ko‘a. Radio ko‘a is for [thinking]...what that name, Kanāhāhā or something like that.

KM: Where was that?

WL: Radio.

KM: Radio?

WL: Yes.

KM: What land?

WL: Right above Captain Cook.

KM: Oh.

WL: We use that for generations. Keauhou.



KM: 'Ae.

WL: You can go as far as South Point or Hilo, wherever had *ko'a*, all down the coast.
Land markers are used to identify *ko'a* in the sea:

KM: When you folks marked the *ko'a*; if you were going out to *'ōpelu* or even *aku*, *'ahi* like that. Did you have places on the land that you would look at and then to *mauka* areas?

WL: Yes, yes.

KM: ...you know, they call triangulation, yeah?

WL: Forest like trees, different formations.

KM: 'Ae.

WL: Trees and property, get stone wall.

KM: Yes, yes.

WL: There's a certain kind of building or a certain kind of mountain like Mauna Kea.

KM: 'Ae.

WL: Mauna Loa, Haleakalā, Hualālai. All these mountains is for fishing land marks.

KM: But even an area of forest growth then, yeah?

WL: Uh-hmm.

KM: If you mark this, oh you get out front here and you go from Keawekāheka to maybe Ki'ilae or something like that. You line up kinds of things?

HA: Uh-hmm.

KM: Was there something in Ke'ei that you used as a marker when you went out holoholo?

WP: When we went to fish *'ōpelu* we would stay to the north of the point of Palemanō. Usually we just stay down that side. Very seldom do we come on this [south] side.

KM: Ahh.

KKA: And there's one also in the back there.

MK: Yes.

KKA: One out here too.

WP: And from out there, where we look up to the *kula* area.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: And then we have our line, our mark. You line up your *wa'a*. And then you look at how far you are from the shoreline.

KM: Yes.

MK: Some of them used Kāhikolu Church steeple as the main point.

Currents determine which *ko'a* will be fished:

KM: 'Ae. Were the currents such, that at different times you used different *ko'a* also? Currents in the ocean? When you set your *palu* down?

WP: Hmm, no not too much.

KM: Not too much?



WL: Depends on the changes of the current. Currents if you go one direction for the rest of the month it's no good, but if you change right after, then you going get all the changes of the small fish to come, and then the *'ahi* and everything else in the back of them, to feed on them. The right current to the right *ko'a*.

KM: 'Ae.

WL: And I used to use Howard's dad's home for landmark with Kahauloa Point below Ka'awaloa. I used to use that for the current changes, and then I used to use the Red Hill mountain, the *pu'u*.

KM: 'Ae, that's Pu'u Ohau.

WL: The two caves, I use to use that as eyes, your eye. And then in the front of that had the little like ravines, natural on that mountain. And if telling you going Ka'ū or Kohala then you open up one eye.

KM: Ohh.

WL: You get one eye open then you put your...like you fish for *'ahi*, for weight, we didn't have lead. We use a bag of stones, we take it out on the canoe put the chum, put the *'ōpelu* bait send it down to a different depth.

KM: *Huki?*

WL: Yes, what they say, *ahi wela*, burn the hand.

Group: [chuckling]

WL: *Huki, huki.*

KM: *Auwē!*

WL: Yes.

WL: We bring home. We didn't take ice before, just the fish to bring home. We feed everybody.

KM: Amazing, amazing! So the *ko'a*, like the places on the land, there were trails places...these are important places to care for?

Group: [agrees]

MM: *...Kēia wahi mane'i, nui ka mo'olelo iloko o kēia wahi. 'Oia nei mamake hele kūkulu, hele mai kamali'i lohe ka mo'olelo o kēia wahi. Hana kēia wahi na ka kamali'i.*

This place here, there are many traditions in this place. It's here to make...for children to come and hear the traditions of this place, Make this place for the youth.

KM: *Mālama i ka 'āina?*

Care for the land?

MM: 'Ae, *mālama i ka 'āina, ka mo'olelo.*

Yes, care for the land and the traditions.

KM: 'Ae... ..You know mahalo this has been a wonderful, wonderful gathering. I don't want to *luhi* you folks, but we should try and finish two things if we can, very important items as a part of this. In the introductions, if I could ask please both Weston and sister Nāmahana, if Weston would you please your full name date of birth, where you *hānau*?

WL: I'm Weston Leslie, born January the 13th, 1947. Born at Kona Hospital, raised down in Nāpo'opo'o.

KM: 'Ae.



- WL: My family, *'ohana* is all from this side of the island on the Leslie side.
- KM: *'Ae, mahalo...* To hear these stories and your family's relationship to these lands. *Mahalo.* And please sister *Nāmahana*, aloha 'oe.
- NP: *'O wau o Nāmahana*, Kaliko is my husband, I am his *kāko'o*. We actually live on O'ahu, but we hope to return to his birth place, and continue the work that his *kupuna* started... So we come all the time to *mālama*.
- KM: *Mahalo.* It was so important what you were sharing earlier, you know, "when you come to the land, you don't just come, you come and you work. You take care. If the *awa pae wa'a* was this big, and the rocks come in, you *ho'oma'ema'e*." You take care of these things...
- KM: *...Aloha, aloha oukou.*
- Kahu: *Pule ho'oku'u...* [end of interview]



Peter Keikua'ana Park
Fisheries of the Kaloko-'O'oma-Kalaoa Vicinity of North Kona, Hawai'i
November 2nd 2002 & January 14th 2003 – with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. S616)

Kupuna Peter Keikua'ana Park was born on his family's 'O'oma land in 1918. From birth, he was raised by his grandparents Peter K. and Kahanawale Ka'awa. The family worked their land, cultivating *kalo* (taro), *'uala* (sweet potatoes), and other crops under the shelter of the *'ōhi'a* forest then present on 'O'oma, within half a mile of the upper Kona Highway. When *Kupuna* Park was born, his family still lived in a house that was partially thatched with native



material. His *kūpuna* still counted the nights of the moon in the Hawaiian system, and by this system, they cultivated the land, traveled to Wawaloli on the 'O'oma shore line and fished, and sustained themselves. *Kupuna* has continued fishing the lands of the Kaloko-Kalaoa region until just recently.

The initial meeting and interview with *Kupuna* Park was arranged with the assistance of Kekoa Nazara, *kumu kula* and *haumāna* of *Kupuna* Park's.

Kupuna Park is a gifted story teller, and master *lauhala* weaver, and has participated in several oral history interviews with Maly. *Kupuna* Park gave his personal release of this interview to Maly on June 25, 2003.

KM: ...So *tūtū* you said that your grandfather was Peter K. Ka'awa?

PP: Ka'awa, yeah.

KM: He had *'āina* in 'O'oma?

PP: He had ten acres...

KM: 'Ae, you were *lawe hānai*.

PP: Yeah, *hānai* by these grand folks, but no more paper those days. *Hānai*, but no more the paper.

KM: No *palapala*.

PP: No more.

KM: I see... And, *e kala mai*, your full name, uncle what is your full name?



PP: Peter Keikua'ana Park.

KM: What year and date were you *hānau*?

PP: May 10, 1918.

KM: Oh, *pōmaika'i*, what a blessing. You coming on well, you've hit eighty-four.

PP: I hit eighty-four already.

KM: Ohh what a blessing!

PP: I don't know how long more [chuckles].

KM: *O mahalo ke Akua no kēia mau lā. So kupuna when you were born, you were born at 'O'oma?*

PP: 'O'oma.

KM: And were you born at the *mauka* house near the forest or near...?

PP: Yeah, *mauka* near the forest.

KM: You said *mauka* near the forest line.

PP: At that time not the present house that I was saying that they tore down.

KM: Yes, that they tore and brought down.

PP: It was one shack you know. The kind of shack that they made I think was guava stick, 'ōhi'a stick and the sidings were sisal, ti leaf and stuff like that.

KM: For real, *pa'i 'ia me ka lau*?

PP: Yeah, just like.

KM: *Hale pāpa'i*?

PP: Yeah, poor kind house, not real house.

KM: So what were your *kūpuna mā* doing near the forest line? And if I could, from the *alanui*, the old *alanui* when you were a child...

PP: Yeah.

KM: About how far *mauka* was the house you think?

PP: I would say maybe from where we used to go in and go.

KM: 'Ae.

PP: It would be about maybe almost a mile...

KM: ...And what was your work up in there?

PP: My grandfather, all he did was plant taro.

KM: For real!

PP: He *mahi'ai* everyday... kalo, 'uala and other things... And he doesn't plant anytime, you know, potato.

KM: For real?

Nights of the moon used to determine planting and fishing times:

PP: Yeah, they go by the moon. Those days, I never see calendar, the moon was the calendar. If they can remember the first moon that's Hilo, first moon.

KM: 'Ae.



PP: Then when you come the eighth moon it's already half way look like, eh.

KM: 'Ae.

PP: So it would be, I think the 'Ole, it's all *pau* by then.

KM: 'Ae, so 'Ole is when they don't plant?

PP: Yes.... He plants potatoes like he does when *Māhealani* for sure though.

KM: 'Ae, *Māhealani*.

PP: Because he said the potato would be full that way.

KM: 'Ae, *Māhealani*, full moon.

PP: Yeah. That's why he says...he used to interpret, I hear him tell, he said like "Māhealani the potato will be like saying '*mahea wau*'?" Where will I be? [chuckling]

KM: 'Ae.

PP: He said he doesn't plant in the... [thinking] *Kāloa* moon. There is a *Kāloa* moon.

KM: 'Ae.

PP: No plant.

KM: No plant?

PP: You know why?

KM: No.

PP: Only runners.

KM: Ahh.

PP: You know the potato you plant all roots?

KM: Yes.

PP: You go dig no more potato. All look big eh.

KM: So *loa* only long runners?

PP: Yeah. No stop because long. What he plant on *Kāloa* moon is bamboo, sugar cane.

KM: Yes.

PP: The *puna* get big.

KM: 'Ae, logical.

PP: Yeah. So they come long instead of short kind you don't want eat short kind.

KM: Yes, yes... ..So you still heard your...and saw your *kupuna* your *kahu hānai*, he'd plant with this? So like you said, *Hilo* he plant?

PP: *Hilo* he would plant new things.

KM: New things like that?

PP: Yes, *Hilo*. Or like the next moon is *Hoaka. Hilo, Hoaka*.

KM: Just little sliver, and then a little more?

PP: Yeah. And the *maka* of the things (plants) comes out, the shoots.

KM: Ahh, I see.

PP: For fishing no good.



KM: Ohh.
PP: *Hoaka* is you, cast shadow.
KM: 'Ae. Cast shadows around so the fish all...?
PP: All go run away [chuckling].
KM: All run away! [chuckling]

Kū'ula used by Ka'elemakule to draw *akule* into Kailua Bay:

PP: I don't know, you know. All these things, it's been said now, "seeing is believing." You got to see it to believe it, but if you believe what the old folks said... ...Even like I heard people get that *Kū'ula*, the fishing *Kū'ula*.

KM: 'Ae.

PP: And then they saw the stone. 'Cause I know this person I know him well because he's my friend too, that's why. The man who had the *Kū'ula*. At Ka'elemakule Store, he had the *Kū'ula*. And every time they feed that *Kū'ula*, and then when *akule* time come, they can see it right in Kailua. They *kū* right there.

KM: Who is this?

PP: Ka'elemakule.

KM: Oh, papa John Ka'elemakule?

PP: Ka'elemakule.

KM: 'Ae. Oh, so interesting.

PP: And then what happened, when he died they took the *Kū'ula* but no work.

KM: 'Ae.

PP: Maybe they never *hānai* maybe, I don't know.

KM: *Pololei 'oe!*

PP: When you take a *Kū'ula* like that, that's a sacred stuff you know.

KM: Yes.

PP: You have to treat 'em like sacred, I mean a lot of things...I don't know, it's hard to when you think, "I wonder if this is real, if this is true or not?" When you are telling it to somebody who doesn't have that...what you call cultural background, that thing...nah, nah. They used to tell...I used to hear them talking story but they no tell. You know, when we were kids...even though if you have kids now, you're talking like this, they're outside playing, they can hear what you're saying.

KM: 'Ae.

PP: One day, when they grumble, I heard my father saying something, I remember them saying something but they never actually tell you but you hear it. Lot of stuff I'm telling, some things I was not told, but I heard.

KM: Yes, I understand... Now when you lived with your *kūkū* them, did you have a *makai* house also?

PP: No, that's the only house.

KM: Only house.

PP: After that grass shack we came into that house.

KM: Ahh. With the *papa* (lumber) on top?



PP: Yeah...

KM: ...Now, did you...and if I, there's so many wonderful things that you've been talking about you know, these recollections. If you think about the days of the month and the moon that your *kahu hānai* would plant by you said *Hilo* come?

PP: *Hilo*.

KM: Then?

PP: *Hoaka*. Then start the *Ku*. Somebody I heard they plant potato at the *Ku* nights, you know.

KM: *Kukāhi* like that *Kulua*?

PP: *Kukāhi, Kulua, Kukolu, Kupau*, four.

KM: 'Ae, *Kupau*.

PP: Then the other way, after the moon goes back down then that's only two nights. If it's 'Ole ...well, 'Olekukāhi, 'Olekulua, then 'Olekupau.

KM: 'Ae.

PP: Before moon, the rising moon is *Pō*, that's *Hilo, Hoaka, Kukāhi, Kulua, Kukolu, Kupau, 'Olekukāhi, 'Olekulua, 'Olekukolu, 'Olekupau, Hūnāmohalu, Hua, Akua, Hōkū, Māhealani*. Then you go the other way, *Kulu, Lā'au-kukāhi, Lā'au-kulua, Lā'au-pau*, then *Kāloa-kukahi, Kāloa-kulua, Kāloa-pau*, then come *Kāne, Lono, Maoli, Muku*.

KM: 'Ae. And *Kāne*, 'oia ka *pō Kāne*?

PP: I think so yeah.

KM: Ahh. And you learned this, used this, heard it from your *kupuna*?

PP: Yeah, I hear him talking all the time.

KM: And all of these different things, when they plant or they go *lawai'a*?

PP: Yeah.

KM: Amazing!

PP: But he never go to much *lawai'a*. That's why I said, to be honest I never learned that kind of skills. My grandfather didn't have much skills that I could say, oh I learned, he went teach me how to make net, he went teach me how to... The only thing I can say my grandmother taught me how to weave hat. She taught me how to weave mat and weave basket, because we go pick coffee...

KM: ...So when you were young boy growing up, you didn't go *makai* too often?

PP: Not too often, because was far. And when we go down the beach that's the whole week we got to stay.

KM: And was there a trail that you used?

PP: Yeah, there's a trail.

KM: And was the trail in 'O'oma down, or was it *Kalaoa, Kohanaiki*?

PP: No. From 'O'oma we come down, and I can show you the road too where we used to come now.

KM: Okay... ...So *kūkū* you were saying when you came down you folks would walk down the trail?

PP: Yeah, walk down.



KM: And come *makai* into 'O'oma or to Kalaoa section? Where did you go when you went *makai*?

PP: We came down and then we came to 'Ohikapua, and still straight, down to this place, come to Wawaloli.

KM: Wawaloli?

PP: Yeah.

KM: At Wawaloli there's a pond of water right or a pool?

PP: Yeah.

KM: *Pūnāwai*?

PP: Yeah.

KM: And did you folks stay at Wawaloli?

PP: We stayed there, there was a *pāpa'i* over there one stone shelter... But no more now a days. You know where the restroom is now?

KM: Yes, yes.

PP: I think right around there was.

KM: That's correct you're right.

PP: And then we used to 'au'au mauka side of the road but now I think there's all kind stuff in there now.

KM: *Uhi 'ia*.

PP: If you clean that out, the pond stay there.

KM: 'Ae. And that water was, I hear Wawaloli, *momona kēlā wai*?

PP: Yeah.

KM: *Hiki iā 'oe ke inu ē?*

PP: Yeah. When we were living up Kalaoa no more rain no more water three months we go stay down there.

KM: So you folks did travel from *mauka* if *wā malo'o* [periods of dry weather]?

PP: Yeah.

KM: *Ho'i oukou i kahakai* [return to the coastal area]?

PP: *Kahakai* [the shore].

KM: *He aha ka hana ma kahakai?* [What did you do along the shore?]
Kā mākoī fishing, and gathering *limu* along the Kekaha coast line:

PP: Then go *kā mākoī* [pole fishing] and all that.

KM: *Kā mākoī, lawai'a?*

PP: *Lawai'a* [fishing], the *humuhumu*, *pāku'iku'i*, 'a'awa, and many others.

KM: *Kaula'i i'a paha? Ua 'ohi pa'akai paha, kāpī?* [Did you perhaps dry fish? Did you gather salt and dry the fish?]

PP: Yeah.

KM: *No hea mai ka pa'akai?* [Where was the salt from?]



PP: We take our own *pa'akai* that time.

KM: You took?

PP: Of course sometime you find some small ponds.

KM: 'Ae, *kāheka*.

PP: Yeah, *pa'akai*. I think they used to make *pa'akai* by Keāhole.

KM: 'Ae.

PP: 'Cause I see the mortar, cement basins, yeah.

KM: Yes, that's the old Hawaiian kind?

PP: Yeah.

KM: You're right.

PP: They bring water I think, and pour on top there.

KM: Put inside *ukuhi ke kai a kaula'i*.

PP: Yeah. I think that's how they make their *pa'akai*.

KM: That's right.

PP: I think Palakiko Kamaka was the lighthouse keeper.

KM: Yes, *pololo* Kamaka up until the thirties about...

PP: Yeah, yeah. So he was, at least he was kind of little bit well off, because he had like a government job and he get money. Like us, no more money.

KM: 'Ae.

PP: My grandfather was...they hire them go on the county road maybe ten days a month.

KM: That's right.

PP: They used to be paid with gold coins big like quarter, five dollars.

KM: Wow! Five dollar gold coin?

PP: Yeah, five dollars and buy *kaukau*...

KM: ...So you folks, certain times of the year you did go *maka'i*?

PP: Yes.

KM: And so you would *kā mākoi*. He 'aha ke 'ano o ka i'a?

PP: They used to catch like *humuhumu*.

KM: 'Ae.

PP: And *po'opa'a* and what kind the kind fish with the man molar [thinking], 'a'awa? Yeah.

KM: 'A'awa?

PP: Yeah, 'a'awa I think just like man teeth behind.

KM: Yeah. Ohh!

PP: They would bite the hook. Those days I see plenty fish.

KM: Plenty fish.

PP: Plenty. Hey, you know when we kids you go stand on the edge, oh nothing but what you call that orange tail?



KM: *Pāku'iku'i?*

PP: *Pāku'iku'i*. Plenty come up, oh they no scared.

KM: Amazing!

PP: Yeah.

KM: So you just look, and the fish are all over?

PP: All over, any place you stand that's the first fish come up.

KM: Hmm.

PP: And in fact when I got married, early March, I used to go down. I never used to go down dive I just go with the spear. I stick my head in the water and I shoot the fish right there and bring 'em up.

KM: Amazing!

Old fishing areas now have no fish:

PP: Yeah. Now no can, you go there, no more nothing.

KM: No more nothing?

PP: No more nothing. How can it be?

KM: And you know when you were young, part of this thing about the fish, and you just said, "How can it be?" Who went down to these places like Wawaloli like that with you to fish?

PP: Yeah.

KM: Only *'ohana* right?

PP: Only *'ohana*.

KM: Only the people of the land.

PP: Yeah.

KM: Today, everybody can go, and so everybody take right?

PP: Yeah, everybody.

KM: And what you going get now, *nele*?

PP: *Nele*.

KM: Yeah.

PP: And those days, they only take what they can eat.

KM: That's right.

PP: Even like *'ōpihi*, oh my grandmother, they take that shoyu barrel, they pick the *'ōpihi*, the yellow kind, *'ōpihi makalena*, they *kōpī* that thing.

KM: *'Ōpihi makalena*, with the yellow eye around?

PP: Yeah. Oh I tell you thing, when they *hemo* that thing, oh the aroma boy. Good smell!

KM: Good smell, that?

PP: But they sure salt 'em so that no spoil yeah?

KM: Yeah. And so they could bring that *'ōpihi* home too?

PP: Ohh yeah, bring home. Now days *'ōpihi* is gold. But no taste like how it was in those days though, I don't know why. Maybe because they clean the *na'au*, all that. Those days, no, we didn't.



KM: So no more taste [chuckling]?

PP: Yeah. The *manini* those days, they eat all the inside too.

KM: Yeah.

PP: Now no can eat I think.

KM: I know *pilikia*. Now when you were young, your *kahu hānai mā* didn't have a canoe though?

PP: No.

KM: They didn't go that kind *lawai'a*.

PP: No.

KM: You *kā mākoī* like that?

PP: Yeah, *kā mākoī*.

KM: Did you 'upena *ku'u* on the edge?

PP: No. He never even make net. I didn't see him make net.

KM: Okay.

PP: In a sense, as I say with my grandfather, he never taught, I never learned anything big like maybe building something, or make cabinets or something like that. We make *ipu* [hat blocks] for weave, I know that [chuckling]...

It was the custom to exchange fish and goods between the families of the coast and uplands:

KM: ...You know it's so amazing this *mo'olelo*. So from *kahakai*, you folks would go back *mauka*, and did you *kuapo* [exchange goods] sometimes? Like between the fishermen or someone from Honokōhau that's how you folks get *i'a* like that?

PP: Yeah, oh yeah.

KM: Papa give taro or anything?

PP: Oh yeah, taro, potato, banana we give, and then they give. They're so glad. They get fish, those guys down there, they get too much fish. They like some staples. They come up, they bring fish, exchange. No buy things in those days.

KM: Yeah.

PP: Give you fish. "Ē, take taro, take potato."

KM: Yeah. *Kuapo 'ana lākou i kēlā mau mea*.

PP: Yeah... ...Even that *loko* get story too, Kaloko.

KM: Oh yeah.

Fishpond of Kaloko, known to have a guardian:

PP: When that *loko*...those days the story I hear again too. Hear, they never tell me, but I hear.

KM: 'Ae.

PP: When the pond turns red the mermaid is in.

KM: Oh yeah, *mo'o*?

PP: Yes.

KM: *Mo'o kanaanaka wahine?*



PP: Yes. They see her come up and combing her hair and stuff like that. And then what you call, if you go in the water, then itchy, *mane'o*.

KM: *Mane'o kēlā wai?*

PP: Yeah, *mane'o*.

KM: *A pehea ka hōailona, ai no ka mo'o o loko?*

PP: I don't know. That one there, I don't know. That's all I heard, but I never saw, so I cannot say.

KM: Yes... ..By the way, were there certain times that if a type of flower bloomed or something that you knew you should go to *makai* like that to gather something or...?

PP: Still yet those things. I think when the *lauhala* flower bears then it was good for *wana* and for squid I think.

KM: Hmm *he'e*.

PP: Time for go get *he'e*. They had their own way, their own signs. They know what's ready now.

KM: Yeah.

PP: I think *he'e* you go that time and *wana*.

KM: 'Ae.

PP: When the flower...but you got to keep at it so you remember these different seasons.

KM: That's right I know yeah. It's so important.

PP: Yeah.

KM: What a blessing! *Mahalo nui i ka lokomaika'i...!*

***Peter Keikua'ana Park
Field Interview – Kalaoa, 'O'oma and Kohanaiki,
Kekaha Region of North Kona, Hawai'i
January 14, 2003 – with Kepā Maly***

Group: [Arrive at the home of *Kūpuna* Kinoulu Kahananui and Annie K. Coelho.]

Discussing the lands of 'O'oma nui and 'O'oma iki (with *Kupuna* Kinoulu Kahananui); shark fishing from the point just north of Kohanaiki and the old *pā kao* (goat pen), along the beach trail:

KM: [speaking with *Kupuna* Kinoulu] *Ai no kou hale i 'O'oma nui?*

KK: 'Ae...

KM: You know, *kūkū*, *i kekāhi huaka'i māka'ika'i*, *ua wehe mai 'oe i kekāhi mo'olelo o ka lawai'a manō a kou po'e mākuā i 'O'oma?*

KK: 'O'oma.

KM: *Lo'a kēlā kahua?*

KK: 'Ae, *lo'a kēlā kahua hale*.

KM: *He'aha ka hana a kēlā lawai'a manō?*

KK: *Kēlā mau lau, aia ma kēia 'ao'ao, huli aku i ke kao. Ho'ohuli a hō'ea ma laila ka po'e lawe ke kao. No ka mea, ka 'ili o ke kao ka mea nui.*

KM: 'Ae. *I ka wā o kou kahu hānai?*



KK: *'Ae. 'Oia kō lākou māhele...ke kumu, nui nā kao mane'i nei. Huli a ma laila, a pepehi. Po'e lololele ka 'ili, lawe 'oe ka 'i'o a pau kou makemake. O ka hapanui, kiloi lākou i loko o ke kai a hele mai nei ka manō ma laila, 'ai.*

KM: *A kēlā pā ma ka 'ao'ao o ka palena o Kohanaiki, he pā kao?*

KK: *Kēlā pā, no ka ho'ohuli kēkake.*

KM: *Ā. A hele 'oe ma ka 'ao'ao a'e...*

KK: *Ma Wawaloli...*

KM: *That's near the place where your papa them threw the goat?*

KK: *Kao.*

KM: *Ua hana lākou i kaula?*

KK: *Kāhi po'e kolohe, a hana i ka makau ke ka hao.*

KM: *Ā!*

KK: *Kiloi, mana'o lākou lo'a ka manō. Kama'ilio mai 'oia manō nui! A hopu kēia manō a pa'a i ka makau. A'ole hiki ke hemo, a kēia manō e lololele a lololele aku, a ho'omaka iho...*

KM: *A kau ma kula?*

KK: *A'ole. Lu'u 'oia i ke kai a moku ke kaula.*

KM: *'Oia?*

KK: *Mālia paha, he manō kūpua? Manō nui.*

KM: *Hmm.*

KK: *A'ole lākou hana...ho'omaka lololele, lolā, lolā, lolā a pili ka...*

KM: *Haki ke...?*

KK: *A mālo'elo'e, pa'a i loko o ke kino, a ho'omaka lākou iho, a moku ke kaula. A 'au.*

KK: *A hele ka manō?*

KK: *'Ae.*

KM: *Kupaianaha!*

KK: *O ka i'a, ka'u mea lohe, ka makau, hemo, hele lewalewa a kukaehao a hā'ule. I bet they suffered.*

KM: *Amazing, yeah?*

KK: *Yes.*

KM: *A o ka waiwai nui o kēlā 'āina mamua, no ke kao?*

KK: *Ke kao.*

KM: *Huli lākou i ke kao a hele a lawe ka 'ili?*

KK: *Ka 'ili wale nō.*

KM: *A kū'ai aku?*

KK: *Kū'ai aku. Nui ka po'e kēlā kalapa ai i Honolulu, lākou kāpī ka pa'akai, a kahi no ki'i ka lehu. Lū ka ehū a lolā a pa'a. A i 'ole 'ino'ino.*

KM: *'Ae. A kaula'i ka 'ili?*

KK: *Pēlā lākou kaula'i ai ka 'ili mamua.*



KM: 'Ae...mahalo...!

Group: [Kupuna Park and Kepā bid *aloha*, and continue towards shore.]

Fishing and gathering *limu* along the shore of 'O'oma:

KM: This white sand beach area, Wawaloli?

PP: Yes, Wawaloli.

KM: You'll see the story that Kihe wrote about that, I translated it in this *palapala* that I left for you. There was a waterhole right or something?

PP: Yes.

KM: In this *kiawe* area?

PP: Yes.

KM: We'll just drive and look over there.

PP: Right by the coral road, we used to 'au'au over there before we would go home. But it's covered 'ia already I think.

KM: Yes. Did you have good fishing in here?

PP: No. Only in the *kāheka* over there, *uouoa*, early in the morning, not late.

KM: Yes.

PP: You know right in front of this *papa* here, right now almost time, I think, the *limu pahe'e* is growing.

KM: Yes, this is about the time yeah, for the *limu pahe'e*?

PP: Yes, about this time. But dangerous you have to cross it.

KM: And the waterhole was basically in back here?

PP: Yes. In the trees over there.

KM: I bet some the sand when the tidal wave came, it washed in.

PP: The water came in.

KM: You can see all the sand back there.

PP: Must have been so rough that the water came over.

KM: You folks would come down here, dry time like that, fish like that?

PP: And sleep and *kaula'i*, salt our fish and *kaula'i*.

KM: 'Ae. I asked you and I *poina* what you said. You folks gathered small little *pa'akai* down here too right? Off of the *kāheka*?

PP: No, we never did but up there by Ho'onā, they did. I think those days no more salt because our time we could buy salt.

KM: Yes.

PP: The days before when they stayed down the beach, maybe just to go to the store and buy salt, you know how far. They made their own they get low cement platform. They pour in salt water and it dries up. When we go, some get *poho* with water inside, and nobody disturbs, you see the salt.

KM: Yes. You see that in the *kāheka*.

PP: Small kind *poho*.



KM: The small *kāheka*, *poho pa'akai*.

PP: Yes. Like Kaua'i.

KM: 'Ae. Nice that one at Hanapēpē.

PP: Yes.

KM: There they make it out of the *lepo*, *pā lepo*.

PP: Yes that's why theirs, you notice their salt is little bit reddish.

KM: Yes. We go out the other way or do you want to go down?

PP: No. Wherever, if you like go down.

KM: Only get their buildings out there now.

PP: Yes. Now that the ponds continued on that way.

KM: That's an amazing story too under the lava flow, the old pond Pa'aiea, the old fishpond but the 1800, 1801 lava flow buried it.

PP: Yes. Is that the one that the people never wanted to give fish?

KM: Yes. The old woman came.

PP: Yes. Is that the place where they have the two *pu'u* I think one is in the water and one is on the land?

KM: 'Ae.

PP: The one with the *wahine*.

KM: Yes. Interesting. These *mo'olelo*, you heard little things like that the *mo'olelo*.

PP: Yes.

KM: And all the way that's how the place Ka'ulupūlehu, Ka'ūpūlehu?

PP: Ka'ūpūlehu. It sounded like the name Ka'ūpūlehu can be Ka'ulupūlehu.

KM: 'Ae, *pololoi 'oia ka mo'olelo a nā kūpuna*.

PP: Hmm. I think maybe Pūhili is the other version.

KM: 'Ae. We're going to be there in a little while, and there's a *kahua*. [looking out over Wawaloli] May I ask you one thing, *loli*?

PP: Yes.

KM: Had *loli* in here that you remember?

Loli fishing at 'O'oma:

PP: Plenty.

KM: Plenty *loli*.

PP: Mostly I see was the black one with the sand all on top.

KM: Yes.

PP: But night time this place, everybody knows is the one the Japanese call *namako*. Funny stuff sticks out, but they say if your had 'awa, you touch that and it melts.

KM: That's right.

PP: What they do is they hit it on something to get them firm, and then throw it in the vinegar.

KM: Oh, I see so it doesn't melt?



PP: Yes, so no melt.

KM: That was plenty here?

PP: Yes.

KM: Did you folks gather this when you were young?

PP: No, we never ate it.

KM: You never.

PP: I never tried *loli*. Only the *namako*, at my friends place. They told me for go try, it's good. But me when I take one, I see that's like *hūpē* [chuckles].

KM: I know you no *hoihoi* that.

PP: After that no, I no eat.

KM: You know it's interesting too. In the story of Wawaloli, I don't know if you've heard. Had Loli he was a *kupua*, he had human form and *loli* form.

PP: Oh, yes.

KM: He went *ho'oipoipo me kekāhi kaikamahine o 'O'oma*.

PP: Yes.

KM: And some families they say, no you no can eat *loli* because that's your family.

PP: Yes, yes.

KM: You didn't hear that?

PP: No, I never heard. But I thought to myself there must have been some kind of *loli* family, why did they call this place Wawaloli.

KM: You'll see the story that *tūtū* Kihe, Ikaaka wrote in the newspaper in the *palapala* I left for you I translated his writing. Has the story "*Ka Punawai o Wawaloli*."

The *hilu* and *moi* fish were body-forms of family gods, and *kapu* to his *kūpuna kāne*:

PP: That I can believe. You know why, my *kūpuna kāne* he had two fish he no can eat. One was the *hilu* and the other is the *moi*. *Moi* was his half brother and the *hilu* was his real brother. When the mother went *hānau* she had miscarriage, I think.

KM: Yes. *Hānau 'e'ēpa, kupaianaha!*

PP: Yes. So they put outside *pū'olo*, and they figured in the morning they going *kanu* some place. But in the morning they wake up and come outside, they look, no more the baby, but they see the blood going. They follow the blood, went to the *pūnāwai*. When they looked down they seen the *hilu* swimming inside, that's why that fish is *kapu* to him. He said he no can smell when they cooking and everything, he'd get so sick.

KM: Oh, *aloha!*

PP: And the *moi* same thing. But only half brother, but it's the same thing. He don't eat *moi*, but that's a good fish.

KM: Maybe that's why he no like go *lawai'a*.

PP: Maybe, yes. He never tell me, of course you know when you're young you don't *niele* all these things. If I was older maybe I could *niele* lot of stuff. A lot of things I could have known, but I don't know what to ask, I was so young. Whatever they told us, that's what we remembered.

KM: *Mahalo no kou wehewehe 'ana i kāia mo'olelo, mea nui kāia!*



PP: Yes.

KM: Because it helps us remember the practices, the values of old.

PP: 'Ae.

KM: [driving along 'O'oma-Kohanaiki Beach Trail²] It's going to be a little rough but it's okay.

PP: Yes, it's alright...

Group: [Driving along beach trail between Wawaloli and Pūhili.]

KM: ...This is where you would come camp right by here?

PP: Yes, right there.

KM: You said it was a *pāpa'i* stone house?

PP: Over there was the *pāpa'i*, but it broke. I used to go fish over here, throw net.

KM: What kinds of fish?

PP: *Manini* whatever. Out there this flat, was good too.

KM: Looks nice. *Limu* out on that *papa* where the waves go or not?

PP: No.

Limu pahe'e gathered along the shore during the winter months:

KM: No more. But you said over by Wawaloli, the *limu pahe'e*?

PP: Yes. That's the only place I saw plenty.

KM: *Pahe'e*?

PP: Yes. *Pahe'e*.

KM: Kind of green, brown kind? Is that right?

PP: More brownish. Right on the edge around here would have had too, right around here.

KM: Yes.

PP: Not too much like over there. Right where this water is coming in.

KM: Yes. I see in that little *awāwa*.

PP: Yes. That thing only comes out once a year.

KM: That's right and after December, January time like that?

PP: Yes. And then after that it goes away.

KM: Yes... ...And just on the side of the point, kind of in front of the *kahua*?

PP: Yes. Right in there where that wave is coming in there.

KM: Yes. You could bring a little skiff in and on to the *papa*.

PP: Yes. A little nook over there as soon as you get out, you get off and hold the skiff and take it off.

KM: And all to go *holoholo lawai'a*?

PP: Yes, we fish on land. And then I come with my friends sometimes we come vacation and we stay there all week. We *kaula'i* our fish and everything...



...I used to get up early in the morning, get one *papa* right in front of here, *uouoa* I used to throw.

KM: *Uouoa.*

PP: Night time I come maybe about three, four o'clock in the morning, it's dark yet and throw. No look, just throw [chuckles], guaranteed. I don't know about now, everybody says no more fish, I don't know.

KM: Times changed too, because see now people can come from everywhere and fish. Before it was the *kama'aina* right?

PP: Right, yes. Now they come from all over the place.

KM: And they take everything they can. No matter what the size or what.

PP: Whether they eat or no eat, they going throw it away.

KM: Yes. Put it in the freezer and throw it away.

PP: Like me, the kind I don't eat I throw it back.

KM: 'Ae, yes.

PP: Sometimes small, I throw it back.

KM: Right... ..Did you folks gather *kūpe'e* or anything out here?

Kūpe'e, pipipi, hā'uke'uke gathered. Fisheries have been depleted. New laws not needed, enforcement of existing laws is needed:

PP: Yes, *kūpe'e*. That side [south side of shore] we used to catch.

KM: Along the long stretch of sand.

PP: Yes. Maybe around here, we used to catch too. *Pipipi* I think hardly any already. *Hā'uke'uke*, only get small kind, no more already too. Everything is all gone. Too bad! The only way they can do it, I don't know how they got to, I think stop everybody you know and let the fish. It's no good to just make laws, it's needs enforcement, like in the old days.

KM: That's right like in the old days like when they had *kapu* times.

PP: Yes.

KM: Because they let it *ho'omaha*, they rest and can rebuild.

PP: I guess in those days they really observed, you know why, that was their food.

KM: That's right.

Take only what you need, leave the rest:

PP: If you don't, then you not going have. Even when they *hukilau* like that, as I understand, they *hukilau* the village to come down help and *huki* the *lau*, and everything. When they get the fish all corral in one place, they tell everybody you go and help yourselves as much as you want, as much as you can eat and save. They go and take as much as they can use. And if there's balance, then they open the net and let it go.

KM: Let it go for another day.

PP: Another day. They no *uhauha*.

KM: 'Ae, no *uhauha*.

² Along the drive, various points were referenced as being in 'O'oma and Kohanaiki; Kepā misidentified the location of Pūhili during this field interview; *kupuna* Keikua'ana and Maly later corrected the locations. Thus, locational references in the recorded interview, vary in from the transcript, which reflects the corrected locations.



PP: They take what they need because no ice box those days too.

KM: Yes. And that's so important.

PP: You take and you no can keep in the ice box, then *pōhō*.

KM: Yes...

Group: [Driving along shore of Kohanaiki, past Pūhili.]

PP: ...Before plenty *wana* I don't know about now.

KM: *Wana* was plentiful before?

PP: Boy, these trees all grew up.

KM: Yes. You know, I see all these stones out here like this, water worn stones. Some you wonder if it was old *kahua hale* before.

PP: Might have been you know. Probably there's been people that lived here before.

KM: Yes.

PP: The place I was telling you, I *kiloi 'upena*, was outside here [indicating the southern end of the main bay]

KM: This place all *kiloi upena*?

PP: Some places, it was all open. Oh, somebody planted all coconuts in here.

KM: Yes, it's the Protect Kohanaiki 'Ohana, surfers like that....

PP: On this *papa* area, when the water is a little bit low, good for *'upena*. The *'āholehole* comes in a puka from outside.

KM: You go for *'āholehole* in this section?

PP: Yes, in one section there. might be the other side paha, I'm not sure. We're getting close to Wāwahiwa'a.

KM: Yes. There's a *kahua* out there by Wāwahiwa'a.

PP: Maybe that's it.

KM: You can see the *kahua* still yet.

PP: Quite a ways inside here...

Group: [Looking at petroglyphs at Wāwahiwa'a – one image is of a *honu*.]

KM: Interesting, these petroglyphs, the surfer, a man with a helmet, the *honu*. Interesting.

PP: Yes. I wonder if their drawing that *honu*, if over here had a lot of *honu paha*? They used to eat the *honu* before...

KM: Yes... You know this *kahua*, some said it was a *heiau*.

PP: Wāwahiwa'a is a known name. A lot of these haoles down here, all they know is Pine Trees, and there are no pine trees over here.

KM: Yes.

PP: I wonder if they are going to keep those trees?

KM: I think they are going to get rid of them because they are killing the ponds.

PP: Yes. But it will depend on the owner. If somebody can convince him. I think Kaniela knows the person.



KM: Okay... ..Did you folks ever gather *‘ōhua* out here?
PP: Yes. But no more now though. We used to catch *‘ōhua*. Early in the morning, you catch. They're transparent, you can see through. And then when the sun comes up, the stripes come out.
KM: What is the *‘ōhua* when it comes big?
PP: Mostly *manini*.
KM: Did you hear what do the *‘ōhua* come into the shore in? Do they come in individually, or are they all together in something?
PP: I never seen them in something, but when we find them they are already swimming. But I'd heard that they come in a bag. They said it comes out from the *koholā*.
KM: *Hūpē koholā*, did you hear that?
PP: I heard that, but I never did see the bag. By the time we saw them, it already broke.
KM: Yes.
PP: I think pretty soon, we come to the *‘au‘au* place.
KM: Yes, we're coming close to the road, go up.
PP: Yes...



Edward Nāmakani Keli'ikuli Ka'anā'anā
Fishing and Customs of Kapalilua, South Kona, Hawai'i
December 19, 2002, July 3rd and November 17th, 2003 –
with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. S21)

Edward Nāmakani Keli'ikuli 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.



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 has fished all of the Hawaiian Islands including the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, and in the interviews he shared his recollections of a wide range of fishing customs and practices. (Subsequent interviews on October 27th and November 17th 2003, are being prepared for a later historical study.)

Kupuna is a gifted storyteller and teacher, and well known for his knowledge of Hawaiian fisheries. *Kupuna* Ka'anā'anā gave his personal release of the interview records to Maly on July 3, 2003.

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 Kāwika 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 mākua.*

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...

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.

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*.

[*Kupuna* 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 [Kāwika 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, they 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. Bumby 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 'Alīka 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 kini* or big salmon barrels. And like certain places, they made the cement tank.

KM: Yes, cistern, *lua wai*.

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 bumbly 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 ma luna* so no *mal'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 Nāpōhakuololoa.
- 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 'uluu 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 *kawale'ā* at Kapukawa'a.
- EK: We used to go there for *kawale'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 'uluu.
- KM: *Kā māko'i*?
- 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 i waho loa o ka wharf*, and that's the *ko'a* over there. *A i ō Ka'ili'iili*, 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 the 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 *ī'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 'ō*pihi* 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 'ō*pihi* 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 'ō*pihi* 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 'ō*pihi* 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*.

Discusses the fishing seasons for 'ahi, aku and 'oe'oe:

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 the 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 will, you make sure you pa'a, so the pieces stay in. But if you make kāpulu, 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 form 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 'a'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 *‘a’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.

Discusses *‘ōpelu* fishing out of Honolulu—problems with tourist submarines and boats, and lights form Honolulu:

One time, uncle Walter and I, we were down at Sand Island, and the game wardens were over there. They saw us, and came to look, they were curious as to what kind of net this is, hanging on the boat. So uncle Walter is on the boat, and I’m backing up the truck. They came and stopped me, “Hey, hey...” We knew already they were game wardens. So I stopped the truck... Walter knew so he started the engine and took the boat out. He knew they were going to ask about the net. After I parked the truck, I went to the pier, and uncle had to come in and pick me up. So he told them, “If you’re going to stop us, you better make sure you’re right, otherwise you’re going to hear from us. This is the original Hawaiian fishing net, and this is allowed with our Hawaiian people.” So the two guys listened, and they never came back and bothered us.

- KM: Hmm. About when was this, you think, in the 1970s?



EK: Well, yeah, Honolulu, in the '70s. That's when uncle Walter went back to Miloli'i, and then *pau*, he and I didn't go back outside fishing this side, Honolulu.

KW: Is that the same time you saw the submarine?

EK: [chuckles] Oh, the submarine, that's another thing too. The submarines, that's why the *ko'a*, Honolulu here, are all haywire. Because we have all these buildings, all the lights, and they have all these sunken things out there. And then divers go out there with all the tourists and feed the fish. And many times we're on the *ko'a*, and when this boat comes out we're feeding the fish. Lucky if they don't come out there, we put our net and we catch. But while we're feeding them, we found them, and then these boats start coming out, and they're heading right outside there by a sunken boat. It seems like the fish can hear the sound of this boat, and they all disappear. And we go over by the sunken boat, they're all over there pile up, they're feeding them.

KM: Hmm.

EK: And especially Waikīkī, where the submarine comes out, and there is a *ko'a* over there. And every time when uncle Walter and I find that fish, if we get 'um okay. But if we're feeding them trying to make sure they eat good, '*ai pono, maika'i*, pile up. One time you put your net, or two times you pull, *pau* already, enough. But if they '*ai holo*, go, you no can catch 'um. But all of the sudden, you see them all take off, going, And we look, the submarine is coming. They can hear the sound.

KM: Hmm.

EK: So we went out, follow them. The submarine stays down, hoo the '*ōpelu*, all the fish, all around. So I told Walter [chuckling] "Hey, fish over here." We feed the '*ōpelu* right on top of the submarine, "We put our net down." But shallow over there too, I tell, "Oh bumbye we hook up with the submarine. That's okay, it'll be big news!" [chuckles] "Hawaiian fishermen trap Nautilus in fishing net!"

Group: [laughing]

EK: 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 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'ilii, 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 ma laila, 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, ma laila. Hele 'oe i ka wa'a, hele ki'i ma laila. Kēia manawa inā 'ike 'oukou kēlā, lawe lākou i kāhi wa'apā me ka mikini, hele akula ma laila. Akā ka limu kohu, pa'a mau ma laila.*

KM: *Hmm, mahalo nui no kēia mo'olelo...*

EK: [discusses family *ilina* sites]



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:

EK: *...Ma laila ku'u wā kamali'i, kēlā po'e pā ma laila, '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?*

'Āhele 'a'ama (snaring crabs):

EK: *'Ae, mai i uka mai i Kāināliu. A lohe lākou, "Kēia keiki kama'āina 'oia i ka 'āhele 'a'ama." Lohe lākou i ka 'āhele. '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 'āhele, kekāhi o nā kamali'i hahai mai ia'u, "He'aha lā kēia?" Kēia 'ano o ka 'āhele. Hele au a lo'a ka 'a'ama.*

KM: 'Ae, a hoihoi loa ē, kēlā 'ano 'āhele?

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 pilli 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'ihō'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'ihō'i mai, hā'awi aku. Hā'awi pau aku kēlā i'a. A'ole ho'ihō'i 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. 'Ōpīhali, 'Ōpīhali.

EK: 'Ōpīhali. 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 ma laila*.
- 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...

***Kupuna Eddie Nāmakani Keli'ikuli Ka'anā'anā
November 17, 2003***

Discussing traditional practices associated with the protection of Hawaiian Fishery Resources; and finding the right balance in the present-day:

- EK: *Ku'u mana'o, e nānā aku kākou, ka mea e pono ai iā kākou a pau loa*. If you look into this aspect of what is right, it is right. And this is where you folks would come in. And that is where I need to say — *Nui ka mea a kākou, ua lilo a hala. No kākou a'ole i nānā pono, a maopopo pono paha? Pau i ka lilo 'ana*. See, there is a lot of things that have happened to us, that have been taken and is gone. Was it our problem that we weren't careful and looked at it to understand it? And when you think of our times of past, a lot of our people didn't quite understand it, and some of them didn't even get the message straight. And we lost it. And this is where I look up on you, our *kumu*, our young students to try and understand this, for our *kūpuna* who didn't quite understand all of this. And this we find today is till happening.

Sometimes when we speak, and you spoke about the spiritual part. I want to bring up the spiritual part about our Hawaiians. Things that were taught to us. But sometimes, we don't want to incorporate our spiritual things, we don't want to mix those things inside, but we have to look at all these aspects. Last time when we talked about the *akule*, I never mentioned about the two fish, I said we called the people, it was for the people first. But I didn't mention about the two fish. But it was mentioned about the two fish that they had to let go.

- KM: *Kū a Hina?*
- EK: *Kū a me Hina!* And the same thing, when I was a little boy, I was at that part, when we took the first two out of the *'upena*, when I knew that they were going to surround, my work was to start that fire to prepare the charcoal and move it on the side, and keep it warm. Don't take it out of that place where I am cooking that fish. Then I handed it to them and they took it. It was part of our spiritual things.



On my first part, when I first went out fishing 'ahi, hand line. The first 'ahi I caught was about forty pounds. I was a young boy at that time. I pulled that 'ahi up and when it got to the ka'ā, the leader, that's when my tūtū took the line, and got that 'ahi inside... My tūtū, what he did is, he cut off the nose of that 'ahi. Then he cut one of the wings on the side. Whether it was the right or the left, I cannot remember. And the tip of the tail, the top or the bottom, I was excited that time, I cannot remember. But there was no question to ask what he was doing, cutting this with his pule. Then he let go the nose of the 'ahi and threw it in the water. Then as he cut off one of the wings, he pule, and dropped the wing down in the ocean. Then he cut the tail, and pule, let it go. Then we took the fish go home. We all ate this fish, gave it all to the family.

I didn't ask any questions, "Tūtū why did you cut the nose and do this? Why did you cut the pekeu and do this, and the huelo, and do this?" No question was asked. That's why they say "Aia i ka manawa pono, e lohe 'ana iā 'oe." When the time is right, you will hear what it is about. So when we had 'ohana, he told me, "I knew you wanted to ask the question." So he said—

"The nose is for him to go where he wants to go. And the pekeu, you cut, that 'ahi is going to go around and around, and he will come back to the house. And that tail will steer him, no matter where he goes, he will come back."

So that's why they say "Mālama i ke ko'a." Not only we have to mālama the ko'a, but in our spiritual means, with that first fish you caught, you will do that. In other words the kahukahu. That is why with me, I am so strong about our Hawaiian culture... So yes there are some things that we should do. If it's pono.

[Discussing the broad changes in Hawaiian beliefs and culture following the arrival of the missionaries; and the opportunity to recapture some of the good from the past.] That's why our tūtū said. When they destroyed all these things we had... *Mana'o lākou i ho'opau i kēia mea a kākou a pau, inā e ho'opau 'ia ka mea pono 'ole, maika'i 'ole, maika'i. Ka mea maika'i, e mālama aku kākou.* That's what happened when we destroyed everything, we should have kept what is good, and then destroyed what is bad. And yet, at the same time when we started destroying, we knew that this was good, but we must think, "do we have to destroy it all?" Maybe some things could have been saved, so we learn from our mistakes. And there are some things that we destroyed, and we realized that we shouldn't have done that. And that is why we have come to the point, we can bring that back and we can *ho'oponopono aku i kēlā mea i hewa ai!* When we look at the goods, we figure this is a good thing we have. But yet at one point, we made a mistake, this good, but yet it is causing us trouble. Then we need to bring the two together. That's why we have the balance and the connection. *Ho'oponopono aku ka mea maika'i, ho'oponopono aku ka mea pono 'ole. Ke nānā aku kākou i ka mea pono 'ole, a he 'ano mea maika'i kēlā.* That thing we thought we had destroyed, it must have been something good, so we have fault. So we can bring it back. *Ho'ihō'i mai a ho'opono aku.* That's why we say, "everything has to connect." The good and the bad, if we bring those in balance together, then we can *holo mua, holo pono...*

That happened in our village of Miloli'i. There were other things over there, that was there from long ago. But the law says, "if you are going to apply this law, we have to take it away." But yet it has been there, it is good. Leave it alone. We heard it today. If it is no trouble, don't bother it, leave it be. So this is what we need to look at as we go onto this.

Mana'o 'ana kākou kō kākou Akua, Kū, Kāne, Lono, Kanaloa, mai kākou pōina iā Hina, o Hina pū! We must not forget our Hawaiian Gods. My tūtū always said, "Never forget —*Mai pōina iā Hina.*" And how true. *Inā a'ole ka wahine a kākou, mai hea 'ana kākou?*

KM: 'Ae.



EK: *O kākou wale no ka po'e kāne, a pau 'ia.* So I balance those things. So like you mentioned, I was with those two fish, how did we know that we let go one *kāne* and one *wahine*. It's not the point. In the mind, the concept is there. We are not going to look, "Oh this is the one, this is the one." When put that with the concept, the mind is strong, *a komo aku i loko*, nothing can take it away. So that's why the balance is always so important. Like I said, as a *mahi'ai*, that's what I tell our *haumāna*, "Prepare the land, but make sure you know how to feed this thing that you are going to plant. *Wai*, how are you going to get your water? When you get that all together, you *kanu* your *kalo*... And there is a story about that *kalo*. And when you finish, then you have to prepare yourself. *Hana aku 'oe i ka papa ku'i 'ai, hana aku 'oe i ka pōhaku ku'i 'ai*... You must balance... So this is the kind of thought I have... We must be prepared to move forward in *pono*...!



Valentine K. Ako

**Recollections of Fisheries – Native Practices and Commercial Enterprises
(District of North Kona, Island of Hawai'i; and the Island of Kaua'i)**

February 14th and June 21st, 2003 –

with Kepā Maly at Wailua, Kaua'i (KPA Photo No. S977 – with Elizabeth Ako)

Valentine K. Ako was born in 1926, at Hōlualoa, Kona, Hawai'i. He fished with elder *kama'āina* and *kūpuna* fisher-people from 1932 till 1950 along the Kohala, Kona, and Ka'ū Coast of Hawai'i Island. He then fished throughout Hawai'i and the Pacific through the 1960s.

As a youth, *Kupuna* Ako was particularly attentive to the elders he fished with, and as a result, has a remarkable knowledge of fishing customs, practices, the *ko'a* (ocean fishing stations), and a wide variety of methods of fishing. *Kupuna* Ako has participated in ten oral



history interviews with Maly, and shared significant documentation regarding the Kona fisheries, which is cited in this study. He also annotated a map, documenting selected *ko'a*, their depths, and the types of *palu* used at various *ko'a* of North Kona.

Kupuna Ako has also fished throughout the Hawaiian Islands and Pacific, as a part of government research operations in the 1960s. As a result of his experiences, he is recognized throughout Hawai'i for his knowledge of Hawaiian fishing customs and practices. He also shares his thoughts on the status of Hawaiian fisheries in the present-day, and suggestions for long-term management of the fisheries.

Kupuna Ako granted his personal release of the interview records to Maly on June 21, 2003.

KM: *Mahalo*, uncle. It's February 14th, 2003. We're here with uncle Val Ako in Wailua on Kaua'i today, and we're talking story like you said about your life experiences from your youth through your years as a fisherman.

VA: Yes.

KM: Hawai'i, Kaua'i and various areas.

VA: Yes.

KM: *Mahalo nui, hau'oli kēia hui 'ana!*

VA: Yes...

Describes long line fishing from Kaua'i in the early 1950s:

KM: ...Now when you said you came to Kaua'i in '53 and when you would go out deep sea fishing. Who were you going with? Was it Hawaiians or was it others?



VA: The Japanese, who had the boats.

KM: Yes.

VA: But, they fished Hawaiian style.

KM: Okay.

VA: We went long-line fishing and long-line fishing, we used to lay about seventeen miles. The wonderful part about it was we had a long line machine that would pull the line in better than what we could do by hand.

KM: It was a winch like, it would roll, wheel up?

VA: Yes.

KM: On a long-line how are your hooks spaced? How many hooks do you have?

VA: Six hooks to a basket.

KM: Okay.

VA: And the length of the...the depth of our hook line is hundred-eighty feet.

KM: Wow!

VA: A hundred-eighty feet long. The branch line is a hundred eighty-feet.

KM: Between each basket area?

VA: Yes.

KM: Hundred eighty feet and it would drop a hundred and eighty feet as well.

VA: No. That's the depth.

KM: Yes.

VA: Then you have the branch line going that, hundred eighty feet.

KM: I see.

VA: And then the floats, another hundred eighty feet.

KM: Ahh.

VA: When you retrieve them, you pull the main line in and in between you have to take the floats, hundred eighty feet. That one you pull it in by hand. But the main line is always run by machine. When you catch the fish, the hundred eighty feet you have to fight it all by hand.

KM: For real! What kinds of fish were you catching with long-line?

VA: *'Ahi, ono, mahimahi*, sword fish. They all get tangled to it.

KM: Are these baited?

VA: Yes. We use sardines, smelt and fresh *īkā* if we can get it.

KM: Yes.

VA: With the *īkā* and the sardines we salted it. Even the smelt and we used to buy it, I think it was \$200.00 a ton.

KM: Wow!

VA: We used to keep it in refrigeration and we go get what we need and then we salted it. We salted it the day before we sailed.

KM: Yes.



VA: These were the baits that we used.

KM: You would leave from Nāwiliwili?

VA: Yes. You know that was another trick that we used to do. Because my friend and I, the owner of the boat.

KM: Who was that?

VA: Ichiro Ishiguro. I told Ichiro I said, "You know I got to make money for my family." Those days if you made three hundred and fifty dollars a month you can survive. We used to go out red flag and all. When they put out the flag for the storm we go fishing anyway. I used to fish about thirteen days out of every month, that's the minimum. When the weather is good we would fish twenty-five to thirty days.

KM: Wow!

VA: In the process of fishing I had to catch thirty shibi's a month weighing a hundred and fifty-five pounds for me to make a living.

KM: Yes.

VA: Within that fifteen days of each month we had a lot of fish at that time, so I was able to survive. I fished four years until I got tired.

KM: Shibi is what kind of fish in Hawaiian?

VA: 'Ahi.

KM: A different kind of 'ahi?

'Ahi and aku fishing in Kona in the 1930s-1940s:

VA: Yes. 'Ahi [thinking] ...you see there's several different species of 'ahi. In Kona we catch the bank *shibi* which the Japanese call *kabachi shibi*. This type of shibi doesn't have any long fin, it's slender and it goes up to eighty pounds at the most.

KM: Two and a half feet or something?

VA: Yes. That type of fish if you gut them, that bugga is stink just like shark. You got to get rid of that blood.

KM: Yes.

VA: In spite of it, the market used to love it because it was tender. Then you have the yellow fin, the big eye. The big eye tuna that they call blue fin tuna.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: Then you have the *maguro* is the, that's the one goes up to fifteen-hundred pounds.

KM: Wow! *Maguro*?

VA: *Maguro* that's what they call it the joint tuna. In Kona we used to catch it during the winter months. Deep, deep, deep.

KM: How deep about?

VA: They would change the depth to double the amount of what we had normally. Got to be in cold water. And there was only one family that used to catch that. It was the Padillio family, Filipino working for this man Henry Akona.

KM: Akona yes. Off of Kaloko side, Padillio *mā* lived over there?

VA: Yes.

KM: Okay.



Fishing to depths of more than 1,000 feet:

VA: The old man Padillio was the head-fisherman for Henry Akona. I remember him catching that *maguro*.

KM: The depth of water is three hundred feet or?

VA: There's six feet to a fathom.

KM: How many fathoms?

VA: When the old man Padillio used to go, it was a hundred eighty plus.

KM: Fathoms?

VA: Yes.

KM: Wow, 1,080 feet or so.

VA: And you know those days used to pull by hand you know, no more machine. He always came home with plenty fish. And he always came home about 9 o'clock at night. And then during the war...by then uncle Padillio finally died was, just about close to the starting of the war. There was a fisherman from Hilo just started coming over. And you got to be an American citizen.

KM: Kona?

Lupe (sting rays) considered to be guardians of the 'ōpelu fisheries:

VA: From Hilo. And this day they caught flag-line boat, the *lupe*. Kite fish. You know the one's that grows that way?

KM: Yes.

VA: And short tail.

KM: Yes.

VA: That thing was about four tons. It got snagged.

KM: In the line or hook.

VA: They brought it home and there was this lady down at Kailua pier. Those days wasn't the new pier, was the old pier. We went down there it was about 9 o'clock in the night, we got the flashlight. They caught this big *lupe* and when aunty Sara saw that, Sara Kahalewai. She yelled and she cried and she told them, "You know this is the mother for the 'ōpelu." They went gut the stomach and thousands of 'ōpelu came out of there. It was a sack like. Sara said, "You know, I tell you, you folks going take all this meat to Hilo and you folks not going reach in Hilo." And you know two o'clock in the morning out by Onomea Arch, for some reason the guy ran over *pali*. But he lived to tell the tale.

KM: That was like the guardian, the keeper for the 'ōpelu?

VA: Yes.

KM: Hmm.

VA: Just like all the *ku'una* that I mentioned in the map.

KM: Yes.

'Ōpelu *māmā* and *onopu'upu'u* also guarded the *ko'a* 'ōpelu:

VA: Everyone had...all the 'ōpelu *ku'una* you either had the 'ōpelu *māmā*.

KM: Yes.

VA: And then you had either barracuda which we called the *onopu'upu'u*.



KM: *Onopu'uu'u.*
VA: Yes. These were the species that took care of the *ku'una*.
KM: They were the guardians?
VA: Yes.
KM: They sort of kept the fish together.
VA: You get *kāhala*.
KM: 'Ae.

Where you find the *'ōpelu kala*, you will find the *'ōpelu*:

VA: It wasn't *mahimahi*, because *mahimahi* runs like everything. You would have the *kāhala* over there and then you would have *kala*, you know the *'ōpelu kala*?
KM: 'Ae.
VA: When you get *'ōpelu kala*, then you find the *'ōpelu* school.
KM: 'Ae. And you don't take those fish right?
VA: No, no. You know, that's what my brother was telling me. "I get my Japanese friend they go hook *'ōpelu*." They hook the *'ōpelu māmā* and he tell them, "Hey, that's why no more *'ōpelu*."
KM: If you take that fish the *ko'a* run away?
VA: Yes. Takes a long time for them to come back, they find one other...
KM: Leader?
VA: Yes.

Kūpuna previously traveled great distances in canoes to fish; discusses *aku* fishing:

KM: When you were fishing out here long-line you said you would go twenty miles out. May I ask you a question, did the old Hawaiians go far out and fish? Have you heard?
VA: Yes. They went for *aku* fishing.
KM: How far out they would go?
VA: Twenty miles.
KM: That far?
VA: There are times the school doesn't stay one place.
KM: Yes, they travel.
VA: They travel where there's plenty bait.
KM: Yes.
VA: And there were times when we were out there laying, waiting after we get the lines on. A school of *aku* would be around the boat and there were times where we would find *nehu*. A big ball like this rolling and that is one of the unexplainable...why they roll inside of there. We used to go alongside, when we see that roll we get one bucket and just scoop the fish, and only fish come up.
KM: And the *nehu* all come up?
VA: Yes. In order for you to get the other species around you, you break the pile of them. In most cases when you break the pile up, they are going to come underneath the boat.
KM: I wonder if it's a protection mechanism. Looks big right?



VA: It's the shadow. There were times also while we were traveling slow, and we see the swordfish and the *aku* feeding. For some reason everything goes down. No more *aku*, no more nothing. Then you look underneath in the back of the stern you see this swordfish trying to catch, feed on the school of *aku* underneath the boat shadow. You can go for miles. What we used to do is we used to hook one 'ōpelu and just dunk 'em and you see the swordfish just come up.

KM: Come up.

VA: Just like one dog. He would take it about twenty yards behind and you would see him spit it out. When he spits it out he's going to bite it with the front part of the fish and that's when it gets snagged. These are practical experiences.

KM: It was regular in old times and in your time, fishing. They would go great distances out to fish?

VA: Especially for *aku*.

KM: If someone were to tell you Hawaiians didn't go fish out in the deep ocean far off of shore what would you tell them?

VA: They're full of baloney. Our *kūpuna* fished all over.

KM: Traveled great distances?

VA: Yes.

KM: And there were *ko'a* way off land.

VA: Yes.

KM: That they knew. Did they mark certain locations by land?

VA: By land.

KM: Markers?

VA: Yes. It was so wonderful. Even as I read about the Kona fishermen. During my time...Palakiko Kamaka was a young boy during Ka'elemakule's time.

KM: Yes.

VA: And in my time, he was one of the top fishermen during our days. I was a young kid when he was. He always came home with a lot of fish. And you know when I think about *Tūtū* Palakiko they had an inkling of what we normally have today, sprinklers. They would make the pole.

KM: Yes.

VA: Like one cup. And the son would scoop the water and then sprinkle behind of the boat.

KM: For real!

VA: Yes. That family...in other words they were trying to think of better ideas. Whereas today we have the sprinkler system.

KM: Right.

VA: That's to entice the fish.

KM: They think there's little *nehu* or something jumping in the water.

VA: Yes.

KM: Is that why?

VA: Yes. The old man, his *pā* were so precise. That's why they came home with fish all the time.



KM: They were going out in canoe?

VA: No.

KM: Small sampan?

VA: Yes. Sampan. You know for some reason in the Kona area the fisherman from Kawaihae never fished outside Kawaihae. They always came to Keāhole.

KM: For real! You were telling me once when we went *holoholo* that you think outside of Kawaihae or something there's a dead area?

VA: There's a dead spot.

KM: What is that about?

Fishermen respected other's *ko'a*:

VA: I don't know. We never did fish in that area. Neither did the old fishermen from Kawaihae. They always would come down to Keāhole, Makalawena, then they go back to Kawaihae.

KM: In those days when you were young, the fisherman, if someone was out fishing in an area did other people just come in or did they respect?

VA: No. They always respected each other. If you were fishing for *aku* you'd go abreast of each other you never crossed. If you ever crossed boy you going to want to go home.

KM: Throw blows?

VA: They give you the [chuckling]... It was a gentlemen's agreement. What was nice about during our time, we took so much pride in our boat engine although it wasn't as fast as the boats today and it was very hazardous. All gasoline.

KM: Gas, no diesel hardly.

VA: The engines were what we called standard engines. It was simple, you could see the crank case moving. You had to oil it and on top of that you get the gas and oil mixed together it gave you a hell of a bad smell. They knew the danger in that gas that's why you never hear any of the old-timers, that their boats exploded. Although, if they had it at that time you never had the Coast Guard to inspect.

KM: Right.

VA: They had enough sense when they jumped on the boat to wait about half an hour. You would open the hatch cover in front, and you opened the engine room cover and let it stay open. Then you go inside.

KM: Air out?

VA: Yes. Clear out the fumes. And there was a guy, he's a well-known sports fisherman, "Rope" Nelson, I think he was *hao'le* but the wife was Hawaiian. He started his engine and the boat exploded. I think he died.

KM: Was this after the war?

VA: After the war. Our *kūpuna*, the fishermen knew how dangerous gasoline was. And to start the engine was really crude you know. [chuckles] Dry cell batteries, when you get on board after the fumes are gone you connect the dry cell batteries and there was a place on the engine that they called spark. You would open the spark and then you'd reverse the compression backwards. And when she would build pressure then you pull it like that and the guy would run. And when you start pushing that way...

KM: Push away and then you pull it towards you?



VA: Yes. And we used to use dry cell batteries. There was one time my buddy and I, a Pākē-Hawaiian fisherman we got into trouble. We had a leak in the engine block, we started drifting. He told me, “No worry, I know how to do ‘em.” And that head block is heavy you know, you got to bear-hug ‘um. And it was warm. He said, “We wait until the thing cool off.” He took the four nuts off, he lifted it up and we saw the *puka*. He had a cloth and the piece of wood, plugged it up and we came home [chuckling].

KM: Amazing! Simple to repair.

VA: Yes, simple. Akui Wa his name was.

KM: Yes.

Discusses the currents of Keāhole and Ho‘onā:

VA: That’s how much we knew. One time we got into a Kona storm out there. We were down at Keāhole, the wind started blowing it was about 1 o’clock in the afternoon. He told me, “We can’t go home, we’ll go down inside Ho‘onā. We anchored the boat in Ho‘onā and we waited until 4:30. He said, “We got to go home,” that’s the mistake we made. We got inside, and he knew... Like Keāhole during those days, they always told us “if you want to pass Keāhole, if you’re heading to Keauhou, is to go right adjacent to the *pali* no scared the waves.”

KM: Yes.

VA: Because the thing would bash. We stayed outside. I was in the engine room and when I looked at the shoreline and you look at the boat, it’s going like anything. You look at the shoreline and the boat doesn’t move.

KM: No move, it stays in one place.

VA: I tell, “Akui, we not moving. What are we going to do?” “Hey, no worry boy.” [chuckles] He turned the boat right next to the *pali*. I seen the waves. He said, “No, scared boy we going to get out of this.” As soon as we went near the *pali* we were able to get away from that current.

KM: Wow!

VA: It took us from 4:30, we didn’t reach down Keauhou because the wind was still blowing. Until about 10:30 that night. And now it was all blackout because it was during the war. Outside Keauhou on the right hand side before you get into the bay get plenty waves.

KM: Yes, right.

VA: We got caught inside of that wave and the engine went *make*. I was in the engine room and I was thinking, “Akui no can swim, but I can swim but the waves are too big.”

KM: [chuckling]

VA: Akui told me, “Get out of there.” And in the dark he started the engine. [chuckles] We went out about a mile... We finally got in the bay [chuckling].

KM: You know, when you’re fishing are currents important?

VA: Yes. The best current was the Kohala current. We don’t like Ka‘ū, the Kohala current was the one that brought the fish in.

KM: Yes.

VA: The current and the tide and the weather. Although we liked the south wind, not the north wind, because if you had the north wind it would blow us out.

KM: Yes, it would take you away.



Kūkaula fishing for *‘ōpapakapa*, *ehu* and other species, to depths of more than 900 feet:

- VA: The Ka‘ū wind, the south wind we used to like that. As far as the current, yes the Kohala current. We didn’t like ebb tide, the kind of slack tide. That was very important. I used to ask my captain of the boat, “Why do we have to put too much hooks?” He told me, “You know boy, when you put a hundred and fifty hooks, hundred fifty fathoms, you not wasting your time.” Because when you send them down there as soon as it hits the bottom we get *palu*, we have a *palu* bag.
- KM: Right.
- VA: You jerk the *palu* bag and it opens, then you can feel the nibbles. You count from one to fifty, and if you hit the fifty then start pulling up because the whole batch is ready.
- KM: Amazing!
- VA: I was a young boy, “What the heck is this guy talking about.” And sure enough.
- KM: You could feel the hits?
- VA: Yes. And he was telling me, “You know when you *huki*, you no can stop.” And hundred fifty fathoms is a hell of a long depth (900 feet).
- KM: That’s long.
- VA: I used to pull hand over hand, although he used to help me. And boy I tell you when you catch all that cluster of fish out of a hundred fifty hooks, nine out of ten you going to get hundred thirty. You know the big kind *‘ōpapakapa*, *ehu* all snagged on top of there and they float away. And I look behind and I see the fish all floating. He tell me, “Boy, no worry we get enough.” Sure enough when you pull ‘em all on deck we fill up everything. And average about ten pounds one.
- KM: Wow!
- VA: And you know the kind of hooks we used to use, small hook you know?
- KM: Uh-hmm.
- VA: The leader was store string.
- KM: Amazing!
- VA: Those days we couldn’t afford stainless steel. You know how too, I couldn’t imagine the ones before us, they used *olonā*.
- KM: ‘Ae. Imagine twining all of that rope that the *kūpuna* made.
- VA: Yes. The only problem we had sometimes, is the current on top is good but the current underneath is no good. The whole batch of your line snags the *pali*. When you snag the *pali* you only bring the line back, all the hook line is *lilo*. There was no loss you know, because we expect that.
- KM: Yes.
- VA: But if you hit it on the right time you get blessed.
- KM: You knew that if you went out to a certain location there were under ocean *pali* and things like that too.
- VA: Yes. Through our landmarks.
- KM: Yes. Through the landmarks.
- VA: When I used to fish for *‘ahi* there were times we’d catch a ninety pound *‘ulua*, the white big head *‘ulua*. My captain would tell me, “Hey boy, we stay in shallow water we stay away from the ground.” We catch our *‘ulua* and then we moved out and then fish again.



Discusses *ko'a* and types of fish caught in the North Kona region:

KM: How far out would you go?

VA: The Keāhole lighthouse, about a mile outside of Keāhole lighthouse.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: These were our fishing grounds and beyond that. It all depends on the current.

KM: Amazing!

VA: We used to fish down Keauhou. What was different about Keauhou, there were times the ocean would swirl, just like it's sucking everything down. Different places.

KM: Funny yeah?

VA: Even my captain couldn't explain. He would tell us, "No good."

KM: Who was the captain?

VA: Akui Wa.

KM: Akui Wa. Do you happen to remember the name of his boat?

VA: *Nehu*.

KM: *Nehu*.

VA: Yes.

KM: What kind of boat was it?

VA: It's a 34-foot sampan. He bought it from a fisherman in Hilo during the war because the Japanese couldn't fish. The name was *Ebesu*.

KM: The name of the boat was *Ebesu*?

VA: Yes. He changed the name to *Nehu*.

KM: Interesting.

VA: He and I used to...when no more bait we used to tow the canoe to 'O'oma. We used to anchor the boat and fish in the 'O'oma *ko'a* and then catch our '*ōpelu* and then we would anchor the boat and go outside for '*ahi*. We could catch our '*ahi* and then come and pick up the boat and tow the boat back.

KM: You would leave the canoe at 'O'oma. May I ask you a question, you and some of uncle *mā* when we got together in Kona spoke about '*ōpelu* fishing or maybe *akule* like that over there. Did they fish for '*ōpelu* over here and was it different than you folks did in Kona?

VA: Yes.

KM: On Kaua'i it's different.

VA: Uncle Walter went show one Japanese guy how to go catch the Kona style. Our ocean is so exposed in the deep.

KM: Here on Kaua'i?

VA: Yes. The current is so strong, they only hook.

KM: They hook '*ōpelu* or else when the schools come in they *ku'u*?

VA: *Ku'u*.

KM: It's near shore and *ku'u*?

VA: Yes.



KM: Not how you folks go with *apo*, the kind and drop like you described to me with the *'ōpelu*?
VA: Yes, thirty fathoms and what.
KM: Amazing! Interesting!
VA: And you know over here it's so different.
KM: It's because of the current and the rough ocean here?
VA: Yes.
KM: Okay.

'Ōpelu fishing on Kaua'i different than in Kona:

VA: There were times the *'ōpelu* would come in by the tons.
KM: To the shore?
VA: To the shore. Especially in Pīla'a. One time I went down there, it was during the winter months, to pick *limu kohu*. I knew the tide was going down and when I looked towards the shore, I was on the *'āpapa* way outside the edge. I seen the water all boiling, but I seen this one guy throwing his net. And he was dragging the fish on the dry part. I walked up to him and I told him, "Hey, what you catching?" "*'Ōpelu*, you no see all the *'ōpelu* over here?" And the *'ulua* was chasing them.
KM: Oh...so the *'ulua* maybe drove them in close?
VA: Yes. And had *'ahi* inside the channel.
KM: Oh, you're kidding! So shallow.
VA: Yes. The *'ahi* was running crazy inside there.
KM: Feeding on them?
VA: Yes. I took home about a hundred forty pounds.
KM: Amazing!

Kina'u tuna fishing:

VA: Now you take the Hanalei area at one time they had plenty *kina'u*, we call the nickname in English, I think they're called dog teeth tuna.
KM: Dog teeth tuna?
VA: They had like that there you know [gestures the growth of teeth protruding out]. They grow about this size.
KM: Fifteen inches or so.
VA: Yes. Hanalei used to be loaded with it you know, right in the bay. And also mainland sardines, but they were not fat like the mainland kind.
KM: Would come in?
VA: Yes.
KM: Wow!
VA: And mackerel we would catch them in Hanalei Bay.
KM: Not the Hawaiian kind?
VA: No. The mackerel although they look like the mainland kind, but no more oil. It spoils quick. Even the sardine but the sardine was exactly what you find inside the California can



of sardines. Being a navigator I used to study the currents in Hawai'i evidently it was something like the El Nino.

KM: Ahh.

VA: Whereas certain times when the water gets cold in our latitude because the current swirls on the northern latitude right and on the southern latitude you go in the opposite direction.

KM: Yes.

VA: I'm assuming that when the current comes down so far especially in the Hawaiian islands. Kaua'i being on the northern part of the Hawaiian islands these sardines come down together with them and Hanalei is the most northern part.

KM: To catch and it's wide open?

VA: Yes. And that's how they came inside.

KM: Amazing!

VA: I tell you, you know we used to catch 'em by the... You hook until you stop hooking. Then you have to ice them all up, otherwise it would spoil... But the *kina'u* was unique. It had, you know the front part?

KM: Just like the teeth overlap, the top and bottom?

VA: Yes. If you catch them you have to be careful.

KM: They bite you? [chuckles]

VA: Behind get teeth you know. That's what we used to call them, *kina'u*.

KM: *Kina'u*, but dog teeth tuna?

VA: Yes. [discusses another fish the call dog teeth tuna, down under]

KM: How big would the *kina'u* get?

VA: About [describing with hands]...

KM: Fifteen inches.

VA: About six, seven pounds.

KM: Six, seven pounds.

VA: Yes. We used to troll inside the bay. When we put our *nehu* net we used to catch them in the *nehu* net. Boy that place used to be just loaded with *nehu*. And we, I think it was us who depleted the ocean, plus the pollution.

KM: Yes.

VA: [pauses] Kona crab.

KM: Yes, Kona crab, good.

VA: The Kona crab was loaded in Hanalei you know...

Discussing the preparation of fish as food; and conservation of fishery resources:

VA: They had a knack of preserving food.

KM: Yes, how you could *kaula'i* because there were times when you couldn't go out into the ocean.

VA: That's another story about that one. My *kūpuna* during the winter months, it's real rough. They would *kaula'i* all their *i'a*, different species and take them home and they hang 'em up inside the *'eke palaoa* so the flies can't get it.



KM: 'Ae.

VA: They would use that during their winter months. If any of the family had throw net, that's when they used to use the *imu*.

KM: 'Ae. They would go down *lae kahaka*?

VA: Yes.

KM: Sheltered areas and make *imu*?

VA: And make the *imu*. And when high tide they would go where the *manini* feed so they make the *imu*, in the *lua*, and then when high tide they jump inside the water and all the fish go inside the *imu*. Then they *kiloi* the '*upena*. There were times the *pūhi* stay inside, but they were very careful they knew how to get rid of the *pūhi*. They always came home full of *manini*, *maiko*, *halahala*.

KM: They went in from the shore side?

VA: Yes.

KM: They were able to still get fish even during the rough time.

VA: Yes.

KM: I understand that in *wā kahiko* as you say, when the *kūpuna* time that there were even seasons like six months they would get '*ōpelu* no touch *aku*.

VA: Right.

KM: And then *kapu* that '*ōpelu* and they could take *aku*. It's like they were letting the fish rest.

VA: That's how we conserved and preserved. Whereas when the other ethnic groups came inside, it's "all for me and the hell with you," you know.

KM: 'Ae. Well, that's the thing about the Hawaiian conservation, *kapu*, ethic or *konohiki*. Just like you said even out here at Hā'ena or at Kona, people knew who was fishing where and they don't bother. When it opened up the American system said, "no, you can't have private fisheries, it's opened to everyone."

VA: Yes.

KM: No more responsibility now.

VA: Yes, you're right.

KM: So, people would take everything.

VA: Everything!

KM: And from outside our own people. If they took all their *he'e* from where they are they come down and take all your *he'e*.

VA: Yes... You see the one interesting thing about the *konohiki* was that in the old days in that system, everyone had responsibilities.

KM: Now, again that it's all free, no more responsibility.

The moratorium on fisheries that is in place, accomplishes short-term objectives, but does not provide lasting benefits. The old Hawaiian system of management was best:

VA: When you talk about replenishing the ocean. Jeremy Harris, when he lived here on Kaua'i he was a council man, he is a biologist by profession... He had spoken of setting up a moratorium in certain areas so fish couldn't be taken. I was the only Hawaiian there, and I asked him... Like Wai'alae-Kāhala they had the moratorium. I asked him, "How soon will



that Wai'alaie-Kāhala moratorium open?" He said, "within four years." Then I asked him, "Do you have any regulations after the four years?" "What do you mean?" I said, "After the four years, under the freedom act we have, there's no way you are going to tell me no go, and in one month's time, all that four is years is going down the drain."

KM: Because they didn't regulate how you're going to take?

VA: Yes, they didn't regulate.

KM: And that was what the *konoiki* did basically before.

VA: Yes.

KM: They knew of the *lawai'a nui*. You can go here now, or "no, so and so went already.? They were dividing the fish among families in the old days?

VA: Yes.

KM: Everybody had, right?

VA: And I said, "You know I can go from here to Honolulu, Wai'alaie."

KM: Because of the freedom act?

VA: Yes. And you have no control.

KM: Yes... Your *mana'o* is very important in this because even if we set up a moratorium and you have a *kapu*, "No can fish for this amount of time." What, how you do you care for it when you open it?

VA: Yes. That is the most important part.

KM: That's right.

VA: To control. You just don't have a moratorium and then after that certain amount of years, and then you're going to open 'um.

KM: It kind of reminds me of what happens on the land they say, 'oh, the sheep or the goats, pigs are all bad in here. We go fence 'em off, get them all out.' But if you don't take care of the inside.

VA: Yes.

KM: All the weeds, everything.

VA: Yes.

KM: You can't just lock it off, you have to manage it.

VA: Yes...

Does not believe that fish aggregation buoys are good for the fish:

KM: ...Now uncle, one of the things we were talking on the phone and then we spoke briefly of it. You were talking about these fish aggregation buoys that had been put out.

VA: Yes.

KM: You've fished all of your life?

VA: Yes.

KM: You've been with *kūpuna* all over.

VA: Yes.

KM: And you have strong feelings about FADS [fish aggregation devices], fish aggregation devices?



VA: Yes, FADS.

KM: How did that come about?

VA: The sports fishermen, they're lazy to go look for the fish. It happened with the sports fishermen. They took those buoys out there, and at one time what they did was put, you know, one of those nets that you find down the ocean?

KM: Yes.

VA: They tie 'em right alongside, below the buoys.

KM: Just drop down?

VA: Yes. That things sways together with the current.

KM: Right.

VA: That eventually brought in a lot of fish. And those guys they knew later on that these buoys as they keep on doing that, is going to bring in a lot of different species coming and feeding on those plankton that lived between...

KM: Attached on the nets like that.

VA: Yes. They decided to cut it down. I don't know what they get now. But we as *kūpuna* were always against them putting that. The sports fishermen, they get their *hui*.

KM: Yes. They lobbied in the legislature or something.

VA: If they had those regulations on those species, then it would have been a different story. So now in the modern way you don't have to become a fisherman. You have a depth recorder, you have GPS and you have those buoys.

KM: Right.

VA: What more do you want? One thing in particular is the buoys, they should get rid of those buoys, it would save the taxpayers a hell of a lot of money. Because the taxpayers are paying, but the few are reaping from it.

KM: Right.

VA: It's only sports fishermen. The average citizen is not reaping from it.

KM: The buoys are set how far off of the islands?

VA: I had the map. There's one in Anahola, one outside Nāwiliwili and one outside of Port Allen.

KM: Yes. About a mile...?

VA: No. Four or five miles out.

KM: Four or five miles out.

VA: And they put those buoys...they didn't really, under assumption, they put those buoys expecting the species to get attracted to it. Lately it hasn't done any good, which is nice. Because our fishermen can grumble like hell. Go down the pier they say, "Oh, the damn buoy no good for nothing." And each buoy cost four hundred thousand dollars.

KM: Wow!

VA: What the taxpayer don't know, no harm eh.

KM: You said something really important. Now to be a fisherman, what do you need to know? Because you get your GPS, your mapping stuff, you get the buoy. Before, if you knew where the *ko'a* were you had to go on what? What did you have to know?

VA: Your ability.



KM: Your ability to think.

VA: You got to study the weather, you got to study the current, and you got to study the depths. You're doing it by your knowledge. Whereas the depth recorder today, you can go find all the grounds.

KM: Right.

VA: You can find grounds that we didn't even know that the grounds were there. That alone is sufficient where you got to...but you still don't know what kind of species down there.

KM: Yes. Until you identify it.

VA: Yes.

KM: And then you establish it as a *ko'a*.

VA: Yes.

KM: This is *kāhala* or this is *'ahi*.

Technology, has improved the ability to take, but led to depletion of fisheries:

VA: The bad part about these depth recorders. Whereas we, during our days we know a certain *ko'a*, you don't go fish. If you fish today you no go fish over there for two or three months. You leave them alone to replenish, then you go back.

KM: Yes.

VA: Whereas these guys they go week after week.

KM: And not only them, plenty guys, right?

VA: Yes. Four or five boats at one time. Naturally, you're going to fish out that *ko'a*, and they blame each other.

KM: Yes. Do you think that the improved and I use quotes, "improved" technology. You said depth recorder, the GPS, the FADS, the amount that you can take. Do you think that these things have also impacted the well-being of the fish?

VA: Yes, yes! All this modern technology has screwed up everything.

KM: It's improved the ability to take.

VA: Yes.

KM: What are they giving back?

VA: Nothing. When you catch the small kind of *aku* [gestures size].

KM: Nine inches.

VA: We used to throw it back.

KM: Yes.

VA: Now what they do, no more regulation inside the market.

KM: They're taking nine, ten inch size *aku*?

VA: Yes. As long they get commercial fishermen's license you're entitled to it.

KM: You're kidding!

VA: And you get [thinking] that book for tax?

KM: Yes, your general excise, yes.

VA: You get that, you get commercial fishermen license.



KM: You can go.

VA: There is no regulations on the sizes on the species until today.

KM: So for money, we've sold out our future.

VA: Yes.

KM: Because if you take everything.

VA: You not going get nothing. And it has happened throughout the world.

KM: Yes. When did this FAD first come up you think?

VA: [thinking] In the early '80s.

KM: Fish Aggregation Devices.

VA: Yes. We old-timers objected on it, but the majority was against us.

KM: It's those commercial interests.

VA: Even today, commercial fishing, it's your livelihood. Whereas the government forces upon you to report where you caught certain species. It's our livelihood, you know when I used to make the reports, I never used to give them the right, where we used to catch them. If you caught the fish off of Nāwiliwili I would say down at Port Allen. I never wrote...it was my livelihood.

KM: You didn't want to give away your spot?

VA: Yes. Just like in Kona when you go sports fishing today, it started way back in the '80s. If you catch a certain species, you have to give them the report as to where you caught the fish. I'm pretty sure the sports fishermen are not going tell them where they got the fish.

KM: Sure.

VA: This I feel by not telling them, keeping the government in...what you call that?

KM: The dark.

VA: In the dark [chuckling]. Because this man is sitting at home and asking for 'em...

KM: ...Things have changed today, significantly?

VA: Yes.

KM: The skill and knowledge that you had as fishermen, it was not just the knowledge to take.

VA: Yes.

KM: What I hear from you and others, like uncle Walter *mā*, is that you knew limitations, take so much and leave.

VA: Yes, we knew. You take like Ka'ūpūlehu, Kūki'o, Kalaemanō.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: You know those places were loaded with every different species but the last time I went down there was all barren, no more.

KM: Yes. And you know why? Because everyone could go and take whatever they want.

VA: Yes.

KM: And even when get *kapu*, they still take.

VA: Yes.

KM: You know *kala mai* and that's sad. If our own people don't respect. They take because it's their right.



VA: You know what they said, "If the other guys can take, I can take too."
 KM: That's right. *Aloha*.
 VA: I feel real bad but like I said, you cannot, if I keep on talking, I going cause hard feelings. I just got to sit back and at our age, it isn't worth fighting.
 KM: That's right, you're right.
 VA: I always tell them I said, "You know you're not looking to the future, your children."
 KM: That's right. And I guess that was your folks way of life and what was handed down from your *kūpuna*. Not just today?

Take only what you need, and share with others:

VA: They always told us, "Take what you need, and if you get too much, give to your neighbors."
 KM: Yes.
 VA: That's what I learned until today... ..That's how we used to live, sharing and caring.
 KM: Like how brother Kinoulu would says, "*kuapo*" that way of how they exchange. What the people of the ocean had with the people of the uplands they would *kuapo*, exchange.
 VA: Yes.
 KM: Take care of one another.
 VA: Yes.
 KM: That's a good way of life.
 VA: We were always sharing with one another. That's the way my daddy and mama used to do...

Kupuna Ako discusses *ko'a* of the North Kona District; marking map, indicating depths, types of fish, and baits:

KM: [Opens annotated map of *ko'a* along the Kona coast, prepared by uncle Val] ...So here, we're trying to record traditional, *kūpuna* knowledge of fisheries so that we can...because the next part of our question is how do we take your knowledge and what you folks believe should happen, so that our children will have fish in the future? Lets look first, you drew out this wonderful collection of *ko'a*. All the way from Kalaemanō section.
 VA: Yes.
 KM: Down into Keauhou. If I start up at Ka'ūpūlehu, Kalaemanō. You mentioned that the *palu* is '*ōpae 'ula* and *lepo*.
 VA: Yes.
 KM: This is for '*ōpelu* this *ko'a* out here.
 VA: Yes.
 KM: And you mentioned 41-fathoms. You marked this off of the depth map, the map that had all the depths given.
 VA: Yes.
 KM: All these different *ko'a* that you've marked here are primarily for '*ōpelu*.
 VA: Yes. There were some for you come in the La'aloa area. I think I wrote it down.
 KM: I'm following it all through Kekaha, Pu'ukala...*palaoa* I see *palaoa* is flour yeah, or bread and *lepo*.



VA: Yes.

KM: *‘Ōpae ‘ula, palaoa.*

VA: Those areas when they used the *palaoa* and the *‘uala* they never had *‘ōpae ‘ula*.

KM: ‘Ae. That’s because no more the *‘ōpae ‘ula*.

VA: Yes.

KM: Did you notice by chance, was there a division line? Were the fishermen up here going down as far as Keāhole and then fishermen from this side go up this way?

VA: Yes.

KM: It was kind of a division?

VA: Everybody had their own *ko‘a*. That’s the way they were able to maintain, by feeding and keeping of the *ko‘a*.

KM: Okay. Now that’s an important thing too. Because if you train your *ko‘a*, your fish like this, you go out and you feed.

VA: Yes.

KM: In fact I think you said they would go out sometimes quite...

VA: You know the winter months.

KM: And feed only and no take.

VA: No take, just feed. Uncle Walter would verify that too.

KM: Yes.

VA: During the summer months or like for *‘ōpelu* is in July, August and September the latter part in the fall. That’s when get plenty *‘ōpelu*.

KM: ‘Ae. They didn’t mess up their *ko‘a* by throwing other kinds of baits inside?

VA: That’s why you never go into another *ko‘a* otherwise get big fight. Like the La‘aloa area, the Kane family had it. That La‘aloa area was famous for *‘ō‘io*, *lilo*, and that *pāpio*, *nukumomi*.

KM: Yes, you’d mentioned *nukumomi*.

VA: This particular area was...

KM: *lilo*, *kawele‘ā*, seasoned October thru December. Kona crab.

VA: Kona crab, yes. Good thing that I had it written down.

Use of dirty or *pilau* baits, contaminates the fish and *ko‘a*:

KM: Yes, it’s so important. Earlier you shared with me when we were in Kona, one time too, now they call *make* dog or chop-chop like that?

VA: Yes.

KM: Can you poison your *ko‘a* or make it *pilau*?

VA: Yes, they use all that kind leftover bait. We never did use, everything was fresh you know. That was to retain and prevent the sharks from coming.

KM: Yes, the *pōwā* they no come in?

VA: Yes. We never did, that’s the reason why we never used leftover bait.

KM: Yes. Particularly I guess if it’s *pilau*, if it’s already *hauna* and the fish eat it, then you eat the fish.



VA: Yes. You're eating *'ōpala* [chuckles].

KM: 'Ae. And you've always told me that for you folks you only gave the best. You never give the *koena*.

VA: Yes. Never gave the *koena*, that's one of the things, if you're going to share whatever you have, you give the person what you're going to eat you never give the *koena*.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: That's the way we were brought up. And if you no can share, don't share because you don't have nothing...

KM: ...Here as an example you've marked this. And to me this is so important...

VA: It will be important. What other way I can express my...

KM: Yes. What I'd like to do is as we're working on this. I'd like to modify it, not to give out the exact places but to be able to annotate another map like this one that can just indicate that off of this *'āina* there was *'ōpelu ko'a* and here are the kinds of baits that were used. At least you can demonstrate how broad the knowledge is.

VA: Yes. You do whatever you want, I have no objection.

KM: *Mahalo*, it's so important. Here's what's happened. You and uncle Kinoulu, other *kūpuna*, uncle Walter or Eddie Ka'anā'anā them.

VA: Yes.

KM: Want to share... like aunty Melapa. You heard her yeah, she said, "I want to share what I know."

VA: Yes.

KM: "When I die, for what." It's gone right?

VA: Right.

KM: The idea is to bring this *kūpuna* knowledge together so we don't lose it. In the meantime plenty guys lost, they are not interested.

VA: Yes.

KM: What has happened to our fisheries today. As an example are there fish like there were when you were young?

VA: No.

KM: No.

VA: Not anymore.

KM: What can we do?

Ko'a developed and worked by *kūpuna* for many species of fish; different *palu* used at various locations:

VA: There are *ko'a* in this particular area.

KM: Yes, in the Kona section.

VA: The Kalaemanō area.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: That hasn't been touched yet. Everybody is hooked up watching each other.

KM: Right.



VA: But they not going find. Even with modern days they have depth recorders, they haven't used it to it's full extent.

KM: You see, they don't know.

VA: Yes.

KM: It's only by chance if they catch and they snag the fish there.

VA: Yes.

KM: I also get this sense from the stories that you and some of your friends, your peers have shared, is that the Hawaiians made the *ko'a*.

VA: Yes.

KM: By going out and feeding. You feed, you feed, you train the fish.

VA: Yes.

KM: Just like you said before you folks tap the side of the canoe.

VA: Yes.

KM: They know when it's chow-chow time right. Come eat, *kaukau*.

VA: They going come certain time. That was one of the ways...we never used any kind bait because certain families couldn't afford.

KM: Right.

VA: Like in the Kahalu'u area maybe aunty Lilly them's family had a *pūnāwai* where they could get the *'ōpae 'ula*, and the Kahalu'u area. In most cases in these particular areas they always used *pala'ai*, *'uala*, *kalo*.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: And *'ulu*. They would mash it all up.

KM: Those were the *palu* that they used.

VA: Yes.

KM: What's amazing about it though again is that if you feed your fish good food, when you eat them you no need worry.

VA: Yes. You take like in the Makalawena area.

KM: Yes.

VA: Because they feed *'ōpae 'ula*. For some reason when they *lāwalu* the fish the *'ōpae* is *'ono*, inside the *ōpū*.

KM: 'Ae must be.

VA: Yes. It was so nice to respect them and how they prepared their dinners. Salting their fish. The best dried fish used to come from Makalawena.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: When they had the old-timers down at Miloli'i, Hōnaunau they had nice *'ōpelu* even at Ka'ohe. There were big fishermen over in Ka'ohe.

KM: Yes.

VA: Uncle Louis Hao.

KM: That was so wonderful that we were able to interview him.

VA: Did you record him?



KM: Yes.

VA: Good.

KM: We got a couple of good interviews with him.

VA: Uncle Louis had a lot of knowledge you know. He and I were good friends and we worked together. I *aloha* him...

KM: For your kind of knowledge like you and uncle Louis, he was about 92 when he passed away.

VA: Yes.

Discusses thoughts and recommendations on how to take care of fisheries for future generations:

KM: How do we take care of the fisheries so that there will be fish in the future?

VA: First of all get rid of those FADS and to control the depth recorders. Not to abuse if you found a certain species for each fisherman to respect. If you fish in a particular area stay away from it for about three or four months.

KM: Yes.

VA: And when they see another fisherman in that particular area don't go over there and join the guy. That's where depletion comes in.

KM: Yes.

VA: And whoever is fishing over there take what you can afford to sell but not more than normal. That's when selfish comes in. As a fisherman, a fisherman can be a millionaire over night if he is knowledgeable in controlling his thoughts about business. Whatever he makes, put it away.

KM: Yes.

VA: Don't get the idea like every fisherman that I know. "There's plenty where it came from so I going spend this money." You know as a fisherman not every day is a merry day.

KM: That's right.

VA: When you make a certain amount, put it aside for a rainy day. But on an average in my experience as a commercial fisherman, I wasn't like that. Whatever I made I tried to save.

KM: Right.

VA: That's how we got our home.

KM: If you earn it today and you spend it today, you got to go out... You were talking about some thoughts as to how we might improve the fisheries to ensure that there's going to be fish for your *mo'opuna* and those that follow. In the old system and you've described it and you said it, it's not enough to just set a *kapu* period for a while and then open it up.

VA: Yes.

KM: If someone goes fishing at this *ko'a* today, you said don't go back for three months.

VA: Yes.

KM: But what happens if there's twenty people lined up to go to that *ko'a* or thirty? You get thirty days in one month, so it means that someone's taking from that same *ko'a* every day of the month.

VA: Yes. That's how we get depletion.



KM: That's right. That's why I see such wisdom in the old system. And I don't know how we can do this now. There has to be a way. The *kūpuna*, it was set, if you didn't live in this area the fishery comes out into the ocean. You couldn't take fish there.

VA: Yes.

KM: And you look at your *kūpuna* in the 1800s and the Boundary Commission many of their testimonies are, "I needed to know the boundaries because if I went and took fish or if I took birds or wood," from there, they would fight us for it because we had trespassed.

VA: Yes.

KM: Do you have some thoughts? Should they try and revive some aspects of the old system of *konohiki* or stewardship and fishery?

VA: Yes. Like I said but it's hard, that's where education comes in. Because of the different ethnic people that are moving in. The immigrants who have no knowledge of conservation and preservation.

KM: You're right.

VA: You take like, the Filipino's, they fished out the Philippines and the different islands. And they're starting to move into the barrier reefs and they were ushered out.

KM: That's right.

VA: Then they went to Indonesia. They took everything, they never left anything back... There's an example now, during my time we had only local fishermen fishing here.

KM: Yes.

VA: Then in the '80s and the '90s you had fishermen from Florida. They fished out of Florida and ripped them all out. Now you have Vietnamese fishermen who have no knowledge of conservation and preservation.

KM: Yes.

VA: They come to Hawai'i and they bring their boats with them. Then all of a sudden we get hundred fifty fishing boats whereas at one time we had only about twenty or thirty. That's where in conservation and preservation, we were able to sustain. Nobody took more than what they could afford.

KM: Right.

VA: But when you have these outer people coming in and when they fish they get so lazy, the FADS. They put their fishing lines right next to the FADS and then they take everything.

KM: Gosh!

VA: Hawai'i is not old Hawai'i where we fished the hard way and gained our knowledge. Whereas today you don't have to be a fisherman. Go to school learn about the depth recorder, the GPS. That's another drawback having the depth recorders and the GPS. These local fishermen they only put 'em in their head they don't write it down. They're using these depth recorders there's no proof or something to sustain where they can pinpoint it. They go with the assumption and write it down the certain depth.

KM: Right.

VA: They still never learn about the currents.

Currents determine the locations at which fish may found:

KM: I wonder if the currents even affect not only regional in a Kona district like you said you go Kohala or Ka'ū current. I wonder if the currents, if there are fish that are even affected by the currents from Hawai'i to Maui.



VA: Yes, it affects. I'll give you a good example.

KM: Okay.

VA: If the *'ahi* is running over here by next week the *'ahi* is down in Kona.

KM: Ahh, wow!

VA: Evidently the migration comes from Kaua'i and moves over. But it depends on the current and the time of the year, like summertime.

KM: Yes.

VA: Most of the migration starts from Kaua'i and ends up in Honolulu.

KM: From north going south?

VA: Yes.

KM: Talking about currents, you shared with me a story when we were in Kona regarding the CO2 experiments and your opposition to that because of it's proximity to fisheries and the unknowns.

VA: Yes.

KM: Then they said, "Oh well no can do 'em in Kona lets go to Kaua'i." And you were talking about current and how quickly a current takes you past Ni'ihau or something? What was that?

VA: Yes. We'd lay the fish line up at Anahola at seven o'clock in the morning. At one o'clock in the afternoon we'd pick it up down at Ka'ula.

KM: You're kidding!

VA: And that current is still in existence. You stay twenty miles off from shore, the profile of the land you no can see the houses. You can only see the island.

KM: The island just the peaks I guess.

VA: After we're *pau* laying that, all of a sudden we see the shoreline of Kapa'a, you see the waves are breaking. That's how shallow it is and then all of a sudden in one hour time you don't see nothing, and then you find yourself down at Ka'ula at one o'clock in the afternoon.

KM: Wow!

Long line fishing off of Kaua'i and Ni'ihau:

VA: That's why I told those guys if you guys go and buy the army engineer's data from 1977. That's a hell of a lot of bunk and I told that scientist, "Do you remember me? When I asked you the question in Kona. What affect it would cause?" You said, "It's just an experiment." And now you come to Kaua'i and you want to dump the dam thing only about a mile and a half from shore and 2500 feet.

KM: When you would drop a net at Anahola you said you were twenty miles off shore?

VA: Yes.

KM: What were you fishing for out there?

VA: *'Ahi*.

KM: *'Ahi*.

VA: By long-line.

KM: Okay. You drop your long-line?



VA: Seventeen miles of long-line.

KM: Yes. And by the time of one o'clock in the afternoon.

VA: We're down at Ka'ula.

KM: At Ka'ula, past Ni'ihau?

VA: Yes, past Ni'ihau.

KM: Geez!

VA: That's why we had to pull the line. Figure and no more fish, that current is so vicious.

KM: So fast. Did you ever fish north or *mauka* of Ni'ihau, Nihoa like that?

Worked Hawaiian and Pacific Island fisheries with DLNR-Fish and Wildlife in the 1950s-1960s; describes operations and findings of fish habitats:

VA: No, never did. I did with Fish and Wildlife down in the South Pacific.

KM: Do you want to share a little bit? Are you okay that we still talk some?

VA: Yes. With uncle Walter when we first started.

KM: When was this, in what year about?

VA: [thinking] In the '60s.

KM: With uncle Walter and you were on the Fish and Wildlife boat?

VA: Yes. John R. Manning, twelve of us, the skipper, me, I was the navigator and uncle Water was the fisherman. They had the brother, his brothers name was Paul I think. His half brother, he died.

KM: Okay.

VA: Had Sam Kikiloi, Charlie Pohaku.

KM: Lee?

VA: Lee. Yes, he was on there. Sam Kikiloi was a fisherman too. Our chief engineer was Pierce I think, a *haole*. There was twelve of us.

KM: Did you know a guy named Bob Iverson?

VA: No. He was later I think.

KM: Twelve of you on the John?

VA: John R. Manning. Uncle Walter was always a nice man. You never hear any bad things about him. He was a very strong man... Oh, George Lindsey... was a good fisherman...

KM: Hmm. What was the purpose of these ships that you were on?

VA: Research for the atomic submarine. We were doing hydrographic sounding under the name of Fish and Wildlife.

KM: To know the depths and things of the sea like that?

VA: Yes. That's where I worked hard you know. I used to work fourteen hours a day. That's why, when I met Sam Kikiloi he didn't remember me and I said, "You know Sam, were you on the John R. Manning?" "Oh yeah, I was on." I said, "You don't remember me, I was the navigator on top there." "No, no." Then I started mentioning about uncle Charlie Lee and he said, "Oh, yeah but I no can remember you." I said, "You remember brother Walter?" "Yeah, I know brother Walter." "And brother George Lindsey." [chuckling] We



were laying fish lines, and my job was to do the day's work, where ever we laid, we used to lay twenty-four hours around the clock. Also for the local fishermen, the different areas where we found...

KM: Different islands like that?

VA: No, no. The fishing grounds where plenty tuna.

KM: I mean the fishermen of various islands in the South Pacific.

VA: Yes. For us here in Hawai'i.

KM: Oh, for us here in Hawai'i.

VA: Was strictly for Hawai'i.

KM: You were just around Hawai'i at that time?

VA: No. We were fishing down under with the hope that our local fishermen would go down in these various areas.

KM: How far would that be?

VA: Marlin Island and Kurabati.

KM: Far away.

VA: Yes. And that's where at one time on the island of Hawai'i in South Point, Ka'alu'alu.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: We used to catch, usually we would stay about twenty miles off from shore, and we used to lay twenty miles of line. We used to catch seventy-one fish per hundred hooks. At an average of three-hundred fifty pounds.

KM: Wow!

VA: We used to be loaded. And the way the boat was made, all the hatches where we put the fish in. When we go out to sea we filled those hatches all full with diesel oil in the tanks, 1,500 gallons each. And as we catch, we pump the diesel oil and throw 'em away. Wash 'em down with, there's a chemical that they call bulmonite, it's in a granulated form. You throw this fifty pounds of bulmonite and fill up the tank full with water and that will deteriorate, take all the oil out and it becomes just as clean as... No more diesel oil smell. Then we put the salt water inside right up to the top and throw brine salt inside. And as we catch the fish we dump 'em inside there for four hours and then pull 'em and put 'em in the freezer. During those days there was no such a thing as thinking of the environment.

KM: You folks had a big freezer unit on the ship?

VA: Yes. At the same time we was doing the hydrographic work.

KM: You would sort of brine get a dose of salt on the fish?

VA: Yes.

KM: And then freeze 'em?

VA: Freeze 'em. And they were experimenting, we had the biologist on board.

KM: Yes.

VA: They would gut the fish out.

KM: Check to see what they were eating or...

VA: And throw it overboard after that. [chuckling] If you wanted fresh fish you just cut a chunk and give it to the cook. We did all...certain boats that we went out. You take like that salt-water shrimp the *ōpae lōlō*, the red one.



KM: Right.

VA: We were the one who went find 'em, we found 'em outside of Ni'ihau. We used mainland style and we snagged into that school of 'ōpae. Uncle Walter was with us.

KM: Your whole thing is you folks would catch the fish bring 'em home and then... You were doing other things but a part of it was to see where the fish were also?

VA: Yes.

KM: You would bring fish home and then you'd donate it?

VA: I used to mark 'em all up on the charts. Like I said you know, in spite of the knowledge that I had, I didn't have foresight, marking down all these grounds. You know that could have been beneficial to me.

KM: Oh, yes.

VA: All the fishermen. There's a lot of things that I've experienced.

KM: You never keep a copy.

VA: That's true. It helped me in many ways. I'll tell you a story of what made me get into Fish and Wildlife. Did I tell you?

KM: No.

VA: I just came back from the Korean war and I was all hot. We were having mom's problems with the land. I decided I'm going to work for Fish and Wildlife because I heard of Fish and Wildlife. I was staying with my sister Rachel at Papakōlea... [describes his trip to Hilo and meeting with Judge Martin Pence, and securing job with Fish and Wildlife.]

Objected to introduction of *taape*; *taape* now impacting native species

KM: ...It was Vernon Brock right who bought in the *taape*?

VA: Yes, during our time.

KM: Was that a good thing?

VA: I tell you, no. We really objected on it. But the majority was against Ernest Kinney and I. The rest...

KM: Everyone thought it was a good idea but you and Ernest thought, "No."

VA: No way.

KM: And it ended up being a terrible thing?

VA: Yes that's the worst thing.

KM: It's a great competitor for all our other native species.

VA: He also bought in the *tilapia* for the plantations.

KM: So that *taape* that's the one thing about introducing new species to Hawai'i. It's dangerous right?

VA: Another thing they were going to bring the *onagi* in and I fought against that. Representative Richard Kawakami, had a hearing and they had the state biologist recommending that we bring in the *onagi* and I told the biologist, "You know I want to let you guys know. You guys screwed up." And he said, "What do you mean I screwed up?" I said, "You guys brought in the *taape* and the *tilapia*. That *taape* has replenished throughout the state and it's eating all our Kona crab eggs, and that you cannot control. And then you folks brought in all the *tilapia* to eat all the scum in the plantations, and then they move out into the ocean and started eating our local..." I spoke to Richard Kawakami, "Don't bring in the *onagi*." And then they stopped it, I was glad.



KM: I know Vernon's son I guess, Richard or Dick Brock is a marine biologist also. People don't think, they don't realize that if you bring something in, the potential for problems. And you look at our ponds and our streams where the *tilapia* go in, the *'ōpae*, the *'o'opu*, *'ai 'i'a*, all gone.

VA: No more... ...Now, these here [pointing to map] are all the Kona fishing. I went bottom fishing, long-line fishing and in that Kawaihae area was always a place that was never fished. The Kawaihae people used to head over to Kona.

KM: Keāhole section.

VA: Yes, Keāhole. The main fishing ground was Keāhole.

KM: Your knowledge of the places.

VA: Luckily my knowledge, I still have it.

Discusses *pai'ea* and Kona crabs:

KM: Your mind is clear. Did you think of that crab?

VA: [thinking] *Pai'ea*.

KM: *Pai'ea*. Oh! That's the one in the big ball?

VA: Yes. *Pai'ea*.

KM: The mind is sharp, so *pai'ea*. You said it's brownish?

VA: *Huluhulu*.

KM: *Huluhulu*.

VA: They stay near to rough place.

KM: And this whole thing about coming in a ball like. Real intriguing. That's why I was wondering if it was mating or...?

VA: Even the biologist couldn't...when I told him he said, "There's no such thing." The name of that crab is *pai'ea*. It has a sweet taste we used to love to eat it raw. And if you cook 'em it's sweet just like the Kona crab. That was a delicacy for mama, in Kona, very few. It was over here that I saw the *pai'ea*.

KM: The *pai'ea* about the same size like?

VA: Like the *'a'ama*.

KM: *'A'ama*.

VA: Or little smaller than the big *'a'ama*, kind of medium size. *Pai'ea*.

KM: Good.

VA: And the other one is *alalauā*. [chuckling]

KM: *'Alalauā*, yes. Most people don't have that name anymore.

VA: Yes. *'Alalauā* and *pai'ea*.

KM: Good, You're sharp!

VA: It's good that you discuss it with me so I can recall.

KM: It's wonderful. Thank you so much...!



Valentine Ako
Interview with Kepā Maly
June 21, 2003 at Wailua, Kauaʻi

Recollections of the old fishermen and village of Kailua, Kona, in the 1930s-1940s:

- VA: ...My *manaʻo* about Kamakahonu. When we were young in Kamakahonu, there were a lot of fishing boats. They couldn't go to Kawaihae to dry dock their boat or Keauhou. It was real strict before. I don't know who was the owner of that but they used to use Kamakahonu as a...they would bring all their sampans in at high tide.
- KM: Yes.
- VA: And then the whole village would come down, and because the sampans, on the bottom, the keel was flat. Had the rollers on planks and everybody would pull you know. They would secure, had one *kiawe* tree. They used the *kiawe* tree as an anchor. Everybody would pull. We kids used to go help roll the roller.
- KM: And put the *lona*, the roller down?
- VA: Yes, it was called *lona*.
- KM: *Lona*, yes.
- VA: That's how we used to pull the boat.
- KM: Wow! Right on the *one*, right in the sandy beach?
- VA: Right at Kamakahonu.
- KM: Right at Kamakahonu.
- VA: In the center.
- KM: Yes, in the center. The pier would be on the, daddy's house side?
- VA: Yes.
- KM: Okay.
- VA: And over there had one *hālau*. The *hālau* was for *Kai Opua*.
- KM: Oh, for real?
- VA: Yes. AmFac went make it. The sampan, they would put two or three. The sampans were about 36-footers, pretty big you know.
- KM: Yes.
- VA: It was so wonderful to see the village all... [pauses]
- KM: Come together?
- VA: Yes, come together. That's how everybody, the old people would pull with the block and tackle. Never had car, they never...
- KM: Right, right.
- VA: Little at a time, and when they got the boat way off from the beach they would put braces on the side and they would wash it all up. Was all by hand you know, with buckets take all the barnacles out. Then if it needed to be patched they would patch it.
- KM: Who owned those sampans?
- VA: Kamaka, Tūtū Kamaka.
- KM: Palakiko?



VA: Yes. Keoki, that was Ka'iiliwai.
 KM: 'Ae. The old man, their papa?
 VA: Yes, the papa.
 KM: He was *mumu'u*?
 VA: Yes. Him, Henry Akona had two boats.
 KM: Oh!
 VA: The *Kamaaina* and *Aloha*. This Kamakahonu was always clean, if the beaches had *'ōpala*, the whole village, everybody used to help each other. And *Kai Opua* like I said on the left side near that *hālau* they get today.
 KM: Yes.

Names various fish caught in the waters of Kailua, Kona:

VA: On the sand side, that's where the canoe *hālau* was. And adjacent to it like I told you there was a square slab of stone where they said the original *hālau* was right on top. I don't know how the heck they went put 'em over there you know...
 ...Had all plenty *pōhaku* and right on the edge in those days had plenty *hīnālea*. And *hīnālea* was one of the fishes that our *kūpuna* loved and we loved. They used to *pūlehu*, they used to fry 'em and you know *kaula'i*.
 KM: 'Ae.
 VA: You know when that's kind of slippery, with the *unahi*. We used to eat everything with the *unahi*.
 KM: For real!
 VA: Yes. Because *unahi* was tender.
 KM: Yes.
 VA: There was a lot of *kole maka onaona* over there.
 KM: Right in that section?
 VA: Yes, right in that area.
 KM: How big did you say the *hīnālea*?
 VA: The *hīnālea* is about this size. [gesturing with hand]
 KM: Eight, nine inches kind?
 VA: Yes. Plenty.
 KM: What kinds of color?
 VA: Blue and red. The red *hīnālea*.
 KM: 'Ae.
 VA: And then the *kole maka onaona* was this kind size. [gesturing with hand]
 KM: About seven, six.

Akule fishing at Kailua; *Tūtū* Maunupau had the *Kū'ula* and fished with a shark:

VA: We took what we needed, we never take everything. What was unusual about Kamakahonu was the *akule* time. That's the beach we landed them on.
 KM: Oh. You surrounded outside?



VA: Surround outside, then you bring the fish in.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: And then the fish wagons would come. The fish wagon would go into Hilo, they iced everything and take to Hilo.

KM: Did someone have *Kū'ula* to call the fish in?

VA: *Tūtū* Thomas Maunapau, Sr. He was the one that had the *Kū'ula*.

KM: His house was over on the other side of that Pua'a Bay?

VA: Yes.

KM: Right overlooking by what they call now, Huggo's?

VA: Yes. You know the big hotel?

KM: Yes, the hotel.

VA: Over there get one place that they call...the Royal Bath. It was for the ali'i's but *Tūtū* Maunapau, he was the one that had the *Kū'ula* so the fish will not come into Kailua Bay you know. They only go where his house is.

KM: Oh, yeah?

VA: Yes. You know where Huggo's is?

KM: That's right.

VA: Right inside that small little bay, the *akule* would just come over there and they used to *ku'u* and keep them for about four days. *Tūtū* Maunapau was the only one that swam inside there because there was a shark in there all the time.

KM: That was his shark?

VA: Yes. Nobody would go in but *Tūtū* Maunapau. And you know the old man, he was a very intelligent man. ...That was where all the fishing boats went, we used to catch our fish outside and anchor our boat outside Kailua Bay and go inside Kamakahonu.

KM: When *Tūtū* Maunapau would call the *akule* in, and he had a *manō* that would basically drive them?

VA: Yes.

KM: You folks could pull them over to Kamakahonu side?

VA: No, no.

KM: That was just his section.

VA: Right where that hotel is, right outside there.

KM: Okay.

Discusses various *ko'a*, and fish caught in the North Kona region:

VA: That's where we used to catch all the *akule*, right there. When *Tūtū* Maunapau died, Henry Akona had one *akule* gang. You know the *akule* school, went all the way down to [thinking] beyond Hōlualoa beach. You know that Hōlualoa Bay?

KM: Yes.

VA: And the next one, what was the name?

KM: Kaumalumalu or Kāpala'alaea?

VA: Yes, Kāpala'alaea.



KM: Okay.

VA: I remember sitting in Akona's boat, ten o'clock that night putting up all the nets. The next morning they chased the *akule* all the way to Kawaihae. Had two sampans pulling the canoes and...

KM: No can get 'em?

VA: No can, and nobody went catch fish ever since.

KM: For real!

VA: Yes.

KM: When he went *hā'ule*, he just like never call the *Kū'ula*?

VA: Yes, no one.

KM: I wonder what happened to his *Kū'ula*?

VA: You know that's a big question. Then Mahai'ula, *Tūtū* Una, had his *Kū'ula* for Mahai'ula. That thing happened during my time, and I was very observant about all these events.

KM: Do you remember about when *Tūtū* Maunapau passed away? Do you think, about? Was it before the war or?

VA: Yes, before the war.

KM: Before 1941?

VA: Yes.

KM: You *hānau* in 1926, right?

VA: Yes. He died maybe in 1941.

KM: Okay.

VA: ...I cannot forget him. He used to come to me and he tell me, "*Keiki 'ano 'e.*" '*Ano 'e* means mysterious child?

KM: Yes.

VA: He was a very loving man. I used to like, although he talked in Hawaiian, and we were taught to respect the elders.

KM: 'Ae...

VA: ...Inside that little bay by Kamakahonu, get little flat stones, that's where I used to catch my *he'e* inside there. Now when the *'ōpelu* fishermen come in, they leave early in the morning.

KM: Dark time right?

VA: Yes. And Kolomona Ka'elemakule and George Ka'iliwai and *Tūtū* Kamaka them used to go catch *'ōpelu* for bottom fishing.

KM: Was this in canoe or sampan?

VA: In canoe.

KM: And so the big net, drop?

VA: Yes, same as Uncle Walter. I used to go and help them. I get up early in the morning, take off from the house. You go down, when you help them, they going give you fish.

KM: Yes.



VA: I was always, I wanted it for my mom and my dad. What I used to do, you got to get string and you know the coconut boat.

KM: Yes, yes.

VA: I used to go find it and I would take it down and bury them under the water over night. Then the next morning I would run down and open it and you shred it.

KM: Right, so you get these lines?

VA: Yes. So the soft part, that's the one you tie and then you know the sharp part that's what you *kui*.

KM: Through the *maka*?

VA: No. Through the gills.

KM: The gills, *pihapiha*.

VA: Yes, through the *pihapiha*. They used to like that because they used to sell, I think it was half a dozen for seventy-five cents.

KM: Wow!

VA: That's how Kolomona raised his children.

KM: What was their *palu* in Kailua, you had shared?

VA: Kailua, the only one's that used to use 'ōpae 'ula was Kolomona and Ka'iliwai because Ka'iliwai was living down Pawai

KM: 'Ae, towards Keahuolu right?

VA: Yes.

KM: Okay. Where did their 'ōpae come from?

VA: The Old Kona Airport.

KM: Yes, Maka'eo section?

VA: Yes, Maka'eo.

KM: Had the ponds all in there?

VA: Yes.

KM: Before the airport went in?

VA: Before the airport.

KM: The airport filled in some of those old?

VA: Yes, they filled everything.

KM: Everything.

VA: That's where the 'ōpae were.

KM: Had *wai 'ōpae* all in here?

VA: Kolomona and Keoki Ka'iliwai, had the *konohiki* on that. The others like Henry Akona's fishermen, they would use *pala'ai*, *palaoa*. That's right in Kailua.

KM: Yes.

VA: Then if you go further south then, you have the Pelekāne's in Hōlualoa.

KM: Yes.

VA: Puapua'a.



KM: 'Ae, Puapua'a section.

VA: Yes. They had one *ko'a* over there and that the Pelekāne's used. And you know they never used to indulge in big amounts. They just catch enough for them, for the home and to sell, to *kaula'i*. Most times they used to like that, what they used to purchase was flour, bag flour.

KM: Yes.

VA: Like the *pala'ai*, they used to raise their own.

KM: 'Ae... Now, the, *lepo* like you said. Was anyone getting 'ōpae 'ula that you know of from Kohanaiki side?

VA: Okay, Henry Akona's boat, the *Aloha*.

KM: *Aloha*.

VA: Yes. The fisherman was the Filipino they called Benito and Aunty Hattie Hart...

KM: Benito was working for Akona?

VA: Yes.

KM: You told me about going out *holoholo lawai'a* with Aunty Hattie *mā*, like that?

VA: Yes. Aunty Hattie was the one that taught me too.

KM: Hmm. They would go gather 'ōpae or someone, Benito?

VA: No, they had a man, Poto.

KM: Poto.

VA: Down at Kaloko, to go get.

KM: Yes. He was right by the Kaloko Pond section right?

VA: Yes.

KM: On the Kohanaiki side?

VA: In the center of Kaloko fishpond.

KM: Oh, yes.

VA: Old man Poto was raising *pu'a*.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: He would catch, gather the 'ōpae 'ula and then we would go over there. And Uncle Benito with the canoe, would go inside and get the... Sometimes I used to go with Uncle Benito.

KM: Wow! You know it's amazing at how the old Filipino's, the old Japanese, a number of them seem to have really adopted the Hawaiian kinds of style and the practice.

VA: Yes. And you know with those immigrants you never hear any bad things. They never did, I never heard of any of them fighting. They always helped each other. That's what I remember. There was a couple, the husband was 95 years old, very skinny, the wife was 90 years old. They used to make the canoes Filipino style, skinny and instead of two *ama*, one *ama*.

KM: Yes.

VA: Something like the Marshalee's.

KM: They get one on each side?



VA: Yes. And their paddles were long, sharp and they had a sail, they used a sheet for the sail.

KM: This was in Kailua?

VA: Right in Kailua. They used to go outside. What the old man used to do is to get the *pā'ō'ō*, *weke 'ula* and you know they used to catch you know and come home. But what kind bait they used, I don't know.

KM: And this was an old Filipino couple?

VA: Yes.

KM: And you were young?

VA: Yes. And the wife used to stay on the shore.

KM: Oh, wow!

VA: Like I said, I used to go around with everybody. I used to admire, you know at that age, still fishing.

KM: Yes.

VA: And they used to use 'awa. They used to roll the 'awa in lime. You know the regular kind lime?

KM: Yes.

VA: The 'awa leaf. But the lime they have it inside a little bamboo where they *wili* and they put it on top the 'awa leaf, roll it up and they used to chew.

KM: You're kidding!

VA: Yeah.

KM: Wow!

VA: And you know I was curious! When I went down under in the Solomon Islands...all the people did that...
...Palacat, was smart, he was just like Benito. He was a self made boat carpenter, he would make boats. Very sturdy and a good fisherman. He taught me a lot too.

KM: Was anyone living at Kaloko, you mentioned?

VA: Poto.

KM: Poto was living at Kaloko.

VA: Yes.

KM: Was anyone living at Honokōhau in these early years before the war?

VA: *Tūtū* Pali.

KM: Pali Ka'awa?

VA: Yes. He was the one that stayed in Honokōhau.

KM: Near the pond?

VA: Near the pond, had one extra pond.

KM: Yes.

VA: You know on the south side of the Honokōhau fishpond.



KM: Yes. The one that goes out Maliu Point, which goes out to the bay a little bit more.

VA: Yes. You know that water over there, it's just like Mahai'ula. You know on the north end of Mahai'ula Bay.

KM: Yes, yes.

VA: Plenty glow worms. And just like the middle pond, if you go inside there I tell you, you itchy like heck.

KM: 'Ai'opio, they call that pond.

VA: Yes. That's where *Tūtū* Pali was staying.

KM: He was living there. How about *Tūtū* Kanakamaika'i?

VA: Yes. That whole family was over there.

KM: Yes. In near that section, 'Ai'opio?

VA: Yes... And What was unique about Maka'eo, it was all sand dunes.

KM: Yes, yes.

VA: Had *kauna'oa* all in there... ..And in the Kailua area, the Hulihe'e Palace as you come up the breakwater.

KM: Yes.

VA: Used to get, you know *uhu*, big kind *uhu* you know. You know how we used to catch it? Lunch time I tell my brother, "Herbert, I hear one big *uhu* over there, one blue one but I no can catch 'em." He said, "We going catch 'em." At the mother's place, with the big white house, Lihikai. I go get one big stone, can hardly carry, and put 'em on the wall. He tell me that the *uhu* still eating the *limu*. He throw the big stone on the *uhu*.

KM: You're kidding!

VA: Yeah. Knock the *uhu*, I jump inside the water go get 'em.

KM: Geez!

VA: That's how we used to catch all our fish.

KM: Wow!

VA: And like right in that Kailua Bay you know outside Lihikai, the stone, *Māhealani*. When *Māhealani* and usually in December when the tide is *malo'o*.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: In the evening. I used to wait for *Māhealani* then I go get all the *leho*. The *leho* used to come all on top there.

KM: On top of that one stone. You were pointing it out to me just on the side of the wall they put up now.

VA: Yes.

KM: When did that wall that's there now like in front of the old house. When did that wall go in? Do you remember?

VA: The breakwater?

KM: The breakwater wall?

VA: That was during Uncle Kino them's time, I left home.

KM: You left home, that's right because uncle was saying...



VA: When I left home the old wall was still there and in order to go to the stone...there was a wooden platform we used to walk across. That's what I remember all the time.

Collection and preparation of *leho*:

KM: And the *leho* would all come up *Māhealani*?

VA: Yes.

KM: And particularly?

VA: In the evening. That thing was loaded.

KM: How did you prepare the *leho*?

VA: I used to take them home, I used to boil them.

KM: For real!

VA: Yes. But don't boil it too long otherwise going come tough. I take off the shell and wash them real clean because the thing *walewale*. I chop them all up and eat with *poi*.

KM: For real! Like abalone kind?

VA: Yes.

KM: Did you sometimes *kō'ala*, did you broil them?

VA: Yes. And you crack them.

KM: Yes.

VA: That thing is 'ono you know. And the big kind.

KM: Wow, four inches!

VA: And beautiful colors.

Discusses *leho* and *lūhe'e*:

KM: Did you ever go *lūhe'e* with that?

VA: No, no.

KM: You never did. They said certain one's the color, the *he'e* loves.

VA: Okay. The color that you're talking about, my dad had my grandfather's one in his office... It was the old style way, you know with the two... [gestures]

KM: Double prong?

VA: Yes, double prong. Had the stone underneath.

KM: Stone weight.

VA: Yes. And the *leho* was right on the top.

KM: Did it have bristles on the side?

VA: Yes, right.

KM: *Pu'a*, the hair bristles.

VA: Yes.

KM: Wow! [...So you never went *lūhe'e* fishing like that?

VA: No, no we always dove.

KM: You would dive.



VA: I used to use the *nēnē* feathers. If it's real deep and the *he'e* is down there, I use the *nēnē* feathers.

KM: How do you use that?

VA: It's a trolling lure.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: I take 'em by the hole and I push it up and down and the *he'e* jump on top and I yank 'em.

KM: For real! Where did your *nēnē* feathers come from?

VA: We used to raise.

KM: Oh, for real!

Discusses making and use of *pā* (lures); fishing for *aku* and other deep sea species (island of Hawai'i):

VA: That was one of the things that was so affective. But today, the kids don't know. Today get all these fancy plastics. That's why I always tell the young kids, we didn't have those things because we couldn't afford it. We had to supplement, with different things.

KM: Yes, you had to use the ingenuity...

VA: We got to use our head. And you study the fish, how the birds fly and when you see the school.

KM: Yes, when the birds are overhead like that.

VA: When it's overhead the fish is way down.

KM: And when they are on the water?

VA: Yes, they are all on the surface.

KM: At the surface.

VA: Yes. And then if we go catch *aku* and all of a sudden the *aku* disappear, the only thing we do is to hook one *aku* that we caught with a big hook, and throw it behind the boat. Then the sword fish will go after it.

KM: Of course.

VA: We used to pull it right next to the boat and the sword fish come up just like one dog. He would pick it up and he run behind about twenty yards and then he spit it out so you think you lost it. He spit it out and he suck 'em in with his head, fish head. That's when we used to tie and run the boat fast and hook 'em.

KM: Amazing!

VA: These are tricks these kids don't know... But you know, the old fishermen don't like to give the location of their grounds.

KM: Yes.

VA: That's why I was telling, when the state started implementing reports, we never gave 'em our grounds. I told one of the state guys I said, "Why should I reveal my area when you going just sit on the dam chair in the office and take all the data's and then you going give 'em to somebody else." I said, "That's our livelihood."

KM: That's right. You folks would go out for *aku* like that with *'ia* or *nehu* or something?

VA: No. We used to go, we only use the *pā*.

KM: Amazing!



VA: And you know what's amazing about that *pā*, you know when the *aku kīhā*, comes up, You got to watch, you don't go inside the school but you go on the outside. What you got to do is to beat the *aku*. Say if the fish going like this and I'm over here.

KM: Yes.

VA: I run out in front.

KM: So that you would catch it in front and run across?

VA: And then you slow down the boat. And you know what happens, the school of *aku* goes underneath the boat and then you can hook 'em.

KM: Wow! All with *pā*?

VA: All with *pā*.

KM: And was still the old style *pā* or?

VA: Yes, the old style. And you have to catch them under your arms.

KM: When you *huki*, pull them up, you got to catch them?

VA: Yes. The measurement is three spans of your hand for the individual. Then you tie the hook over there. When you bring them up the *aku* will come right under your arm.

KM: Amazing!

VA: And then you take the hook off and then open your arms and the fish is there. Now, they snag 'em in.

KM: Yes. You must get bruised up sometimes?

VA: I used to get pokes all over. But the good part, that's the reason why we... [thinking] you know the hooks. We used components to make them shine.

KM: Yes.

VA: But sometimes the dam thing is stuck inside you, and you got to pull it out.

KM: 'Auwē! And are these barbed hooks?

VA: No barbless.

KM: Barbless hooks so it's a smooth hook.

VA: You ever seen one of them?

KM: No, I've never seen one.

VA: I show you one [gets some of his *pā*].

KM: Wow!

VA: These are original.

KM: Amazing! Uncle, who is this *pā* from? You made this one?

VA: This is from Uncle Benito, that's how old it is.

KM: May I photograph this?

VA: Yes, you can photograph this one here. This is from Tahiti you know, exactly like ours. And this is one from Francis Fu, these are the originals.

KM: That's amazing! And this *pā* is from Hawai'i?

VA: Yes. And this one here is from Tahiti.

KM: Okay [taking photos].



VA: [showing different pā] This, I made my own.

KM: You made this one? Wow!

VA: These are originals.

KM: This one is from?

VA: This one I made.

KM: That's amazing! And these, you are still making these?

VA: Yes.

KM: This little one, this is?

VA: My Uncle Benito's.

KM: Benito. I'm going to put this at the first one... [taking photos]

VA: ...I was only about 30 years old, that's how old it is.

KM: The bristle here though is?

VA: The pig hair.

KM: This is the pig hair. This *pā* is Hawaiian *pā* then?

VA: Yes. The Hawaiian *pā* has little pukas.

KM: I saw it on Benito's one I think.

VA: When you touch it, smooth, that's the best *pā*.

KM: The *mūhe'e* one you said, this one *ma'ane'i*, this is from Tahiti but this is like the *mūhe'e lenalena*?

VA: Yes. And you know these hooks these are the best tuna hooks. They are short, but when you feed it with lot of chum, like the kind *nehu*, that's what you use for bait.

KM: What fish skin is this [indicating a lure with fish skin attached]?

VA: This one here is *lae* skin.

KM: *Lae* skin... How would you compare using this to your more traditional Hawaiian style?

VA: This one you got to use live bait. Like anchovies or *nehu*. This one here that's why what we used to do. The first *aku* you catch you cut the stomach and see what they're feeding on.

KM: Yes.

VA: Then you make a lure, get a lure that is similar to that.

KM: The coloring?

VA: Yes.

KM: Ahh!

VA: These are all the tricks.

KM: You learn?

VA: That's why we had to learn the hard way. We appreciate it.

KM: That's what you were saying like now with all the depth gauges and the scan things that they can do and GPS it's just like you don't need to have much knowledge about, you just...

VA: Yes.



KM: It gets harder on the fish no more chance.

VA: I made all these different colors. This is the *melemele*.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: Just like mother pearl inside.

KM: It is, yes.

VA: ...You know I have one lure... [looking] I haven't shown anybody yet. Only me has...

KM: Your design?

VA: No, was designed the way Akuiwā made it. I used to guarantee catch all the *mahimahi* and everything.

KM: Amazing!

VA: We used to use for 'ōpelu or *akule*. The hook is like that, you put the fish right in the center and you have a lead head in front and the way the lead head is designed where the lure can go down and go all over.

KM: You're kidding! Just moving like the fish?

VA: Yes.

KM: It's double, it has a...?

VA: Double hook with the fish in the center and then you have another extra hook that's on the tail. That thing is deadly.

KM: Wow!

VA: I like take 'em to Kona, but I don't know. These kids once they get, they like show everybody.

KM: When did Akuiwā make this hook, that kind of *pā*? About when?

VA: About 1935. Mentally I can name all this... I still have the knowledge.

KM: 'Ae. It's amazing!

VA: Sometimes I like go out but I'm afraid of my legs.

KM: Yes.

VA: I know the kids going ask me to go with them and show them. I don't know for some reason the *aku* likes these colors.

KM: Yes. Well, it looks like their food right?

VA: Yes.

KM: They said sometimes even the time of day, certain color right?

VA: Yes. That's why we used to have all different ones. I used to get about six hooks on a pole. And you hook that one out and you cut the stomach and then you see what the fish is feeding on, then you go look for one lure that has a similarity.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: And you throw 'em inside the water.

KM: What do you usually see them, what do they eat?

VA: They eat fishlike the *nehu* and *tao* and what they call *pīhā*.

KM: 'Ae.



- VA: *Pihā* is the anchovy family, they look like miniature sardines, blue... You know the fish don't live too long, you got to catch them and go outside. These were my *aku* experiences from going with the *tūtū* them. And you know when I think back, you know the regular *aku* boat, or tuna boat, behind the stern, and *Tūtū* Palakiko had a pole, he and his son Hanalei. They had a fork like this here [gestures a forked *'amana*]. It has a Japanese name, and they had like a small size can.
- KM: Condensed milk kind or?
- VA: No, like pork and beans. They would go through all the trouble, put the can on the fish pole with the stick. When they get by the school, *Tūtū* Palakiko, he steers the boat, at the same time he used to scoop water and throw.
- KM: He would throw the water to sprinkle?
- VA: Yes, he would sprinkle.
- KM: And this was before the Japanese were doing that over here?
- VA: Yes. It was amazing, and even his family never knew. But I was very observant, *tūtū* used to like me. He never spoke English was always in Hawaiian. I only listened and if he told me something because I didn't understand I said, "*A'ole ho'omaopopo.*"
- KM: 'Ae...
- VA: That's another thing, when the *aku* boats come inside and we got to carry the *aku* and put it on the fish wagon. *Tūtū* Palakiko always gave me one. I would feel so happy, I would run home and show my mama. That time I was young see, so I couldn't clean the fish. My cousin used to clean the fish. And you know when we used to make *poke*, we don't make the kind. Big chunks you know, we just cut the *aku*, the red blood and all. They cut 'em in big cubes. And that's what they called *poke*.
- KM: Uh-hmm, it's cubed.
- VA: Yes. And when I went on the *aku* boat, that's how I learned how to...if you going eat any raw fish, knock off the red blood and you eat only the center. The behind get plenty strings, that one we use for fry.
- KM: Right.
- VA: You never use the red meat...
- Discusses fishing for *aku* and other deep sea species (islands of Kaua'i and Ni'ihau).
- KM: ...Tell me, when you were going up, you folks fished around Ni'ihau. Did you go to Nihoa like that or?
- VA: No, that's one thing we didn't go to Nihoa. Only when I was with the Fish & Wildlife. When I was *aku* fishing, those days had loads of *aku* all over. Even outside here and you know at Kalalau?
- KM: Yes.
- VA: [thinking] What's the first bay, I kind of forget already.
- KM: Nu'alolo section, going that way?
- VA: No, after.
- KM: Hanakoa.
- VA: After we past Kē'ē.
- KM: Hanakāpī'ai section?



VA: Hanakāpī'ai. Over there get *pali*, and they had shearwaters, they used to feed all on top there. But now no more, you know the reason why? The helicopters.

KM: Oh, yeah?

VA: That was one *aku* ground. We would catch this kind size *aku* over there.

KM: Fourteen, fifteen inch kind, eighteen?

VA: Yes. By the thousands those birds used to...we used to go over there when it's strong wind and they fly out.

KM: Yes.

VA: And they feed on our bait and the ocean one. Now the birds no stay. That's what happens you know.

KM: Out that Hanakāpī'ai section though had *ko'a* then?

VA: Yes, there was one *ko'a* over there. We never go further down. You know in that Nāpali coast area is kind of dead so if you go down by Mānā then the *aku* start feeding over there. Feed outside Kīlauea.

KM: You know Kinney, you mentioned. I found at Bishop Museum, a *mo'olelo* that a W.H. Kinney, the one from the Waimea side. They are same family with Hā'ena, with Uncle Charlie, but remember you were telling us one of the brothers went to Waimea.

VA: Yes.

KM: In 1907 he was writing a story about shark gods of the Ni'ihau, Nihoa, Kaua'i section. He names two of the shark god's out in that Nāpali section. One is Mākua and the other is Kaluaikaikona.

VA: Ohh!

KM: He was talking about fishing in this *mo'olelo* about the shark Kuhaimoana is the chief shark god, he lives up in the Nihoa section. He was also talking about a fish called *mā'ula'ula*.

VA: *Mā'ula'ula*?

KM: He said it's a small little fish, bright red with a goldish colored tail that is not seen very often. Do you recognize that fish name by any chance?

VA: We used to catch that kind fish you know in Kona. You know that fish, golden looking and right above the eyes had two... [gestures]

KM: Whisker like?

VA: Like lights.

KM: Ohh!

VA: It's night time you looking at it, get...

KM: Almost iridescent?

VA: Yes. You know, we didn't know what the fish looked like. We caught the fish, but nobody had any inclining it was a prehistoric fish. We used to get them in Kona.

KM: Red, but goldish?

VA: Yes.

KM: Small fish?

VA: Yes.



KM: He describes it...

VA: Just the size of one small *manini*.

KM: Okay. Good, good, that's wonderful! You'll like this story, I'll send it to you. I'm going to send it to Uncle Charlie too because that's *'ohana*.

VA: Yes.

KM: And you fished with?

VA: Ernest.

KM: Ernest and Richard them. But I thought *mā'ula'ula*, and that's the name I don't see. It's not recorded but it's in his *mo'olelo*. He said red fish, small. It ends up though that this *mā'ula'ula* was also a body form. You know how they *kupua*, they can change?

VA: Yes.

KM: A body form of one of the shark gods. They said it was good eating evidently.

VA: You know one fish that even today the young generation no like eat is the *walu*.

KM: 'Ae.

Fishing for *walu*, *hāuliuli*, and other deep sea species:

VA: Like I told you, when we caught *walu* like that there I loved it. The only thing I had to do is to tie them on the tree.

KM: Drain?

VA: Let all that oil go. No more flies, no more *'elelū*.

KM: How deep is that *walu*, how many fathoms?

VA: Got to go about 150, 200 fathoms.

KM: Wow!

VA: And if you like catch 'em, this is what Uncle Louie Hao told me. You go catch the *hāuliuli*. The *hāuliuli* is a prehistoric fish, it's transparent and has two teeth, like that there.

KM: Sharp?

VA: Yes. It grows about this big.

KM: Fourteen, sixteen inches.

VA: Yes. It's transparent, you catch them only night time.

KM: How deep is the *hāuliuli*?

VA: Hundred fifty.

KM: Hundred fifty fathoms?

VA: Yes.

KM: I think uncle told me about... I know he spoke to me about *walu* fishing, and I think I remember him mentioning the *hāuliuli*.

VA: Yes. And outside Kīlauea in a *ko'a* outside there. He always told me, "You know how you catch, the *hāuliuli*, you hook 'em and you set it down. Guaranteed you catch the *walu*." The *walu* feeds on that *hāuliuli*.

KM: Oh. How big are the *walu*?

VA: They go up to 75 pounds.



KM: Wow!

VA: You look at the *walu*, it's not normal plenty *kalakala* but it's a maroon color.

KM: It's kind of bristly or sharp like?

VA: Yes. You know when I used to filet it. I filet all the skin and everything take 'em out and I used to hang 'em out.

KM: 'Cause, if you eat that *walu* without draining it, you can get really sick?

VA: 'Ōkole hī! That's why my friend used to go fish night time, he get big kind. He call me up, "Hey, you like the prehistoric fish?" I said, "*Walu*?" He tell me, "Yeah." I said, "Yeah, I like." "You know how to?" He said his whole family went in the hospital.

KM: Ohh!

VA: The whole family. 'Ono, you know that fish.

KM: For real! It's really rich or it's the oil?

VA: Yes. You hang it outside, the oil is all yellow.

KM: Wow!

VA: You know what I used to do. I used to cut it all in chunks and freeze it and then I make it like butterfish.

KM: Butterfish.

VA: Boil it until all the oil comes out and then I used to fry it. That's why I never get 'ōkole hī. They used to tell me, "How the heck you no get the runs?" I said, "I learned from my *tūtū* them."

KM: How long do you have to drain that *walu*? If you were just to let it hang and let it drain?

VA: Sometimes we used to leave it outside for one month.

KM: Wow! So rich?

VA: And you never see the flies go next to it.

KM: Interesting.

VA: I used to leave it in the rain and all. But you see the thing drip, drip, drip. To determine when it's time then you see the meat come little bit dry.

KM: Imagine the first people who figured that out. They must have had some hard lessons right?

VA: Yes.

KM: Your *kūpuna*, that's amazing!

VA: It happened during my time. I used to see *tūtū* them put it on the coconut tree, you nail 'em to the coconut tree. I tell them, "What kind fish that?" "*Walu*." I said, "What about the flies?" "No worry, " he talking in Hawaiian, "*kēia*, no more flies no more '*elelū*."

KM: Yes.

Salt making in Kona:

VA: What they used to do because they never have refrigerator. As soon as it's ready, they used to salt 'em and put it away.

KM: Did you folks gather salt at Kailua at all?

VA: No.



KM: Or did it come from other, Ka'elehuluhulu or?

VA: No. The only ones that used to gather salt was *Tūtū* Palakiko.

KM: And that was his Ho'onā section?

VA: Yes. And everybody thought it was one ice box.

KM: Yes, ice house.

VA: Yes.

KM: But that was his salt works, by Ho'onā?

VA: Yes. At the same time he was a young man, he used to...down at Mahai'ula. What do you call that place?

KM: Ka'elehuluhulu.

VA: Ka'elehuluhulu.

KM: Where the salt works are out there.

VA: Yes. And down at Kalaemanō.

KM: Kalaemanō, all Keākealani *mā*, Alapa'i them.

VA: Yes...

KM: ...I was thinking of something before, when you were talking about Kamakahonu and then your folks house, Lihikai and the *pōhaku* where all the *leho* comes out. One time you were telling me a story about *huaka'i pō*, the night marchers.

VA: Yes. We used to, from the lighthouse they used to come all the way in the bay, come all the way down where Hale Hālawai inside Kona Inn.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: And they march right alongside tūtū's house. Going to *Tūtū* Maunapau them...on the *pō Kāne* night.

KM: I think you shared with me that you folks could hear, or mama them would see the lights coming from behind Ahu'ena section? By the lighthouse you said?

VA: Yes.

KM: To where Thurston has now?

VA: Could see clear.

KM: They would come from that side?

VA: Yes. They always came from the lighthouse side into the bay. And those days no more...

KM: Along the edge of the bay?

VA: Yes.

KM: Just like *huaka'i*, walk, walking?

VA: Yes.

KM: What did mama say about it?

VA: They used to watch but they never wanted us to watch, they put us inside the room. It was sort of like... [thinking] a free show. They used to say the marchers used to go with their torches but when you look at the bottom they are all floating.

KM: That's all *po'e kahiko*?



VA: Yes.

KM: All the ancient old people.

VA: Yes.

KM: Interesting.

VA: It happens on a *pō Kāne* night.

KM: *Pō Kāne*. Did they say how come they're marching? Do you remember, did mama or dad?

VA: No. They never said why. Like I say, I was inquisitive, I used to get spanking for that stuff. And I used to go fishing *pō Kāne* night down at Maka'eo. I usually carry one flashlight, we get the torch, sometimes the torch burn out. Usually I walk in the evening and then start fishing all the way back. Sometimes the buggah burn out...now I got to walk on the trail and over there had two tombs.

KM: Ohh!

VA: They went knock 'em down already, these haoles... Anyway, there was two tombs, had one big *kiawe* tree. In order to walk, you got to walk between the two tombs. Had one little *pāhoehoe* over there. That night the flashlight went *make*, the torch went *make*. But you know, when I look up like that only the stars, clear night but dark like heck. Now for me to pass underneath there, oh boy I stay over there about ten minutes wait, thinking what I going do.

KM: [chuckles]

VA: Because I no like go down the beach, if I go down the beach, I going walk on the *pōhaku* so more better I stay on the trail.

KM: That's right.

VA: I figure hey, if the *kepalō* going get me well than that's it. I walked slowly, when I got on top the *pāhoehoe* and all the tombs on the side, after that I ran. [chuckling]

KM: 'Auwē! But they never get you right?

VA: That is all our 'ohana. Our *tūtū* said, if you hear anybody say, "Make," you hear the voice say, "Make." You going hear one other voice say, "A'ole." And when they say, "A'ole," that's our 'ohana.

KM: Your 'ohana protecting you, "No, not this one."

VA: Yes. They used to tell me, "When you get scared take off your clothes and *pīpī*."

KM: 'Ae.

VA: I never did that you know, that's out of respect for the ground.

KM: Yes. That's what they say it's like to *haumia* make it dirty so they no like you.

VA: Yes. And you know as far as hearing music and stuff, I never did. But I could sense, that's the only gift I had. Like when I used to go and visit people you can sense if it's warm it's okay or if it's cold then you got to...

KM: *Pale*, protect yourself.

VA: Yes.

KM: It's so important, people don't know that now.

VA: Yes...

KM: ...When you were young were people drinking 'awa in Kona?



VA: No. The only people was South Kona. My mama used to tell me stories about for days they used to have parties. And the women and the men as soon as they drink water...

KM: 'Ona again?

VA: Yes. Those days they made provisions so that nobody starved, they always had food. Like I say those *mo'olelo* mama used to tell me, I think I was the only one because I was so 'eu.

KM: You were so inquisitive about it, and catch it at the right time.

VA: Yes.

KM: You know they say with the 'awa, like you said they made sure they didn't starve. One of the *pūpū 'awa*, the condiments or the foods that they liked to eat with 'awa was the *hīnālea*, 'ai *maka* like that. There's wonderful little stories...

VA: Okay, do you remember in one of the *mo'olelo* that we had, I mentioned about the shell we used to pick down at Kalalau?

KM: 'Ae, yes.

VA: It was a *pūpū 'awa*.

KM: It was? That's the one, so *pūpū 'awa* was the one you folks would get?

VA: Yes. The thing is 'ono you know. If you don't take off the 'ōpū and you eat it that thing is bitter like anything.

KM: I see.

VA: We used to cut it off and mix it up with the 'ōpihi. That thing is real 'ono you know for some reason. That's another thing I like teach my mo'opunas, you know. If they get *wana* to mix it up with the lobster. My son-in-law's mother she worked where they sell fish and I used to make *poke*. She told me before she died, they used to supplement the *wana* and they put raw 'ōpae, they mix it up with *wana*. Must be 'ono you know.

KM: Must be... ..Have you heard of a fish called *moelua*?

VA: *Moelua*?

Fishing for *weke 'ula*, *pāo'o*, 'iliole, *nukumomi*, *kawele'a* and other species along the Kona coast:

KM: That, they say is like the *weke 'ula* kind of like, *moelua*? You haven't?

VA: We only caught the *weke 'ula*.

KM: Yes, *weke 'ula*.

VA: Outside Kailua Lighthouse there was one *ko'a* and we used to catch the *weke 'ula* outside there. *Weke 'ula*, *pāo'o*, and in the Kahalu'u area there's a *ko'a* over there during the winter months the *nukumomi* used to come. The black.

KM: Yes.

VA: That *nukumomi*, somebody used to go feed the *ko'a*, and when the *nukumomi* starts to feed the canoes go outside with the lantern and everybody comes home full with *nukumomi*. It's outside...

KM: About twelve or fourteen inch kind, fifteen sixteen?

VA: Yes, black, soft meat. They used to make money on them in those days send everything to Hilo, ice them all up. And *nukumomi* and another fish was *iliole*.

KM: *Iliole*?

VA: *Iliole* was *pāpio*, 'ulua size, it grows about that big.



KM: Eighteen inches.

VA: With yellow dots on the back.

KM: Down the back?

VA: Yes. That's the thing we used to have.

KM: *'Iliole?*

VA: *Iliole* The *nukumomi* and *ilirole*. Those *ko'a* are not being fed today.

KM: Yes. Do you think it's possible to revitalize some of those *ko'a* if someone would go out and feed?

VA: Yes. If you go every day and do it like how *tūtū* used to have, they feed 'em and they don't give up.

KM: Right.

VA: And they *pa'i*, *pa'i* the side of the boat.

KM: So they get *ma'a* to the sound and that it's going to feed.

VA: Let them know...they'll come back. There's no such thing as...you know when I talk about even the old timers, my brother and I used to argue, argue until today. "No can, no can." I said, "How you know no can?" Nobody went try.

KM: Right.

VA: You get to the point where it becomes an issue. I usually tell him, "Hey, forget it."

KM: Herbert?

VA: No, Reynold...

KM: ...You mentioned earlier, about *kawele'ā* out in the Kahalu'u section?

VA: Yes.

KM: *Kawele'ā?*

VA: *Kawele'ā*, small barracudas.

KM: Yes. Sixteen inches kind?

VA: Yes.

KM: That's good eating?

VA: We used to make raw and *kaula'i*.

KM: And the *awa 'aui*?

VA: Yes. The *awa 'aui*, the meat is more tender, looks like it's a cross between *'ō'io* and *awa*. Everybody calls that today *Pākē awa*, the milkfish.

And you know, when you *kaha*, like *akule*, *'ōpelu* it's where you *kaha*, that's where you put the *pa'akai*.

KM: Oh, right in there.

VA: That's the most important part. When you *kaha* you put the *pa'akai* in that place. And the *pa'akai* you just dab a little on top the meat. What happens is the *pa'akai* you have inside will saturate into the meat.

KM: Yes.

VA: That way you can dry 'em right away. And I usually dry in the afternoon.

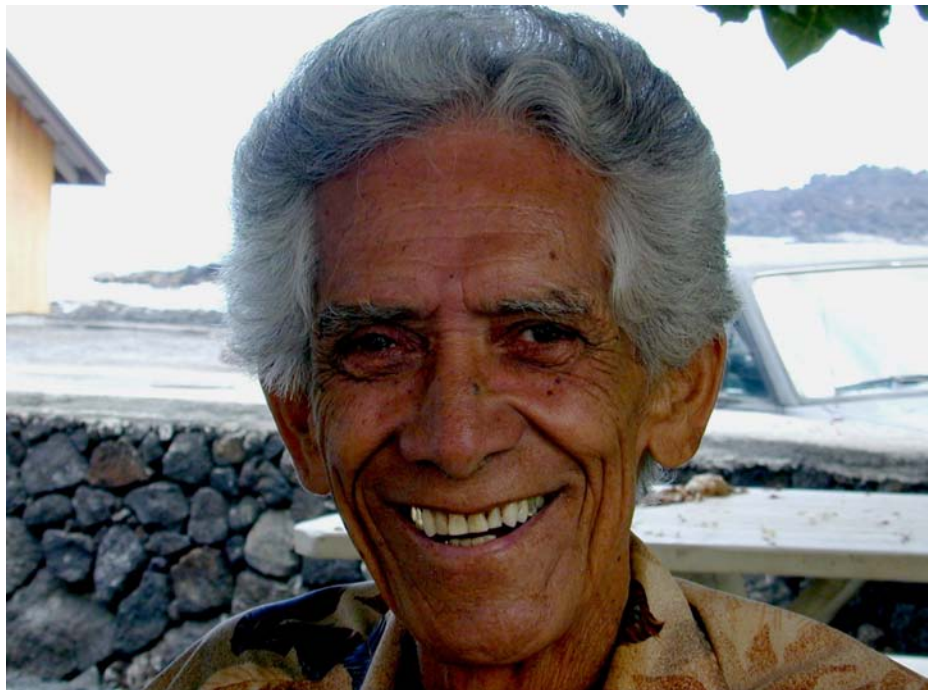


KM: So you no need *kaha* after that?
VA: No need.
KM: Oh, because you're not over doing the salt.
VA: Yes.
KM: You're just mixing it in the meat.
VA: And it comes out just like the Kona kind but you use less salt, and now, I use curing salt.
KM: Oh, curing salt...
VA: ...What happens when you make this salt you don't have to use too much salt. When the thing dries it's a beautiful color. Hard to describe. I use this one...sometimes I get lazy and I use my Hawaiian one...
KM: And uncle, you mentioned cigar 'ōpelu?
VA: Yes. 'Ōpelu pākā.
KM: 'Ōpelu pākā. Is that just a different stage of 'ōpelu or is that?
VA: It's baby 'ōpelu.
KM: I see...
VA: ...You know modern technology and modern...sometimes I say, don't overdo it.
KM: That's right. ...Like it comes back to the old *konoiki* thing. Knowing who took how much now, is it okay for someone to go again. Oh no, let it rest, don't go to this spot go somewhere else. It's knowledge of the land and ocean.
VA: And I hear stories about our *kūpuna* using the shark to bring the fish in and to actually see that it happened down in the South Pacific islands.
KM: Yes. It's a Polynesian kind of trait?
VA: Yes...



Eugene “Gino” Keawaiki Kaupiko
Lands and Fisheries of Kapalilua, South Kona
March 1, 2003 – with Kepā Maly and Gilbert Kahele (KPA Photo No. 4104)

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.



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 is among the founders of *Pa‘a Pono Miloli‘i*, an organization dedicated to the perpetuation of Hawaiian values, fisheries, and fishing customs

Kupuna Kaupiko gave his personal release of the interview records to Maly on August 21, 2003.

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 ma lalo.*

KM: *Ka hale ma lalo, pili me ka hale kū'ai?*

EK: *A'ale, kēia wahi ma lalo 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. Ma laila 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 1st, 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...



'*Ōpēlu* 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 '*ōpēlu* fishing besides running the store?
- EK: He was everything. Everybody here was '*ōpēlu*, 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 '*ōpēlu* 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...

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?

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...

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: Nāpōhakuloloa?

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 'e/leu, 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 *pa'akai*, and then put in the *pākini 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'anā'anās 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*, *kalikali*, *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 fish 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 '*ōpelu* 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 pīlau*.
- 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.*

Kūpuna fished with *manō*; certain ones considered 'aumakua:

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 worshiping 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 (KPA Photo No. S374)

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.



Kupuna Waha Grace gave his personal release of the interview records Maly and Gil Kahele on January 17, 2004.

Discussing his background, and ties to the families and lands of the Kapalilua region:

KM/GK: [asked where *Kupuna* 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: 'Ōpihale.

KM: 'Ōpihale [also known as 'Ōpihiale]. 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 Kukuioapa'e, 'Ōlelomoana, 'Ōpihale, 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'anana [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 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, 'Ōpihale?

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 'Ōpihale 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 'ūpena.

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, and names parts of the *'ōpelu* net:

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'anā'anā, 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 *o '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, o, 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 poina.*

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 Nāpōhakułoła; the stones also marked near-shore fishing grounds and a *ko'a 'ōpelu*:

KM: Here's Kīpāhoehoe, Nāpōhakułoła.

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: *'Eholu 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: *Nāpōhakuloloa?*

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 *'Ōpihale*, 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 Kukuiope'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: *Kūkaula, 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'ilii, 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 the 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, *kīkā*. 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: *'Oko'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, nenuē.*
 KM: *Pehea kēlā nenuē, 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 mākoī, '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'ohē '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, bumby 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...



**Robert Ka'iwa Punihaole with Hanohano Punihaole
Lands, Fisheries, and Customs of the Families of the
Kekaha Region in North Kona, Hawai'i
March 6th and 19th, 2003 – with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. S1623)**

Kupuna Robert Ka'iwa Punihaole was born at Kaukaweli, near 'Akāhipu'u, in 1923. His mother was a descendant of the Kapahukela-Kau'ionu'uano – Punihaole lines of the Kekaha region; and his father was a descendant of the Kalolo-Kamalu lines of Hōlualoa. Throughout his childhood, *Kupuna* Ka'iwa traveled between the uplands, *kula* and *kahakai* (coastal lands) of Kaukaweli (Hu'ehu'e), Ka'ulupūlehu, Kūki'o, Makalawena, across to Kalaoa, 'O'oma, Kohanaiki, Kaloko and Honokōhau. *Kupuna* has fished his entire life, working near shore coastal ponds, to deep sea fisheries. He was raised in a traditional manner, and shares rich descriptions of native practices, values, and beliefs associated with fishing and care for the resources.



He observes that all things are connected, and as a child learned of the relationship between fisheries and land. This relationship is described in a saying, his *kūpuna* taught him—

Ai no ka i'a i ka 'āina! (The fish are known by markers on the land!)

Kupuna Ka'iwa continues fishing to the present day, sharing his knowledge as a way of life with his son Kalei, daughter Hanohano, and other family members. *Kupuna* Ka'iwa has also participated in a number of detailed oral history interviews with Maly, and has shared significant accounts of Kekaha, the people of the land, and their traditions, practices and customs. Selected excerpts from some of his interviews are cited below.

Kupuna Ka'iwa Punihaole granted his personal release of the oral history interview to Maly on July 11, 2003.

Discussion in progress – discussing the impacts of economics on Hawaiian customs and practices associated with the fisheries; and the division in use of 'ōpae 'ula and *palu* baits:

- RP: ...Follow that and do their thing it's okay, but most go *ka'awale* from the 'ohana.
- KM: 'Ae. And see that's what happened, things began changing and what you said, "*pulu ka maka i ke kalā*."
- RP: *Pulu ka maka i ke kalā, a pōina ka pono*. You forget the good.



KM: Yes, and what you're supposed to do.

RP: That's right, you're supposed to take care, but no you sell it out because of money. Money is involved. And the same thing like today, in my grandpa's days all the 'ohana they all worked together. Except when they do 'ōpelu fishing, we get 'ōpae from Keāhole this side.

KM: North.

RP: All 'ōpae, all the way up to Kalaemanō.

KM: 'Ae.

RP: Kīhōlo. You can use 'ōpae but for the lighthouse this side all the way down...

KM: Kailua, Keauhou.

RP: Get nothing. Because they no more 'ōpae, if they get it's only little bit.

KM: Yes.

RP: Pāpā 'ia. Hākākā...

KM: So that was the law? That was basically the law of the people?

RP: The fishermen made the law, the people. Hākākā, they fight because you come inside there they fight, that's no good.

KM: Yes.

'Ōpelu fishing customs:

RP: As we understand it 'ōpae and palu, palu get no chance. When you're 'ōpae fishing you take all the 'ōpelu because the palu no can join the 'ōpelu but the 'ōpae...

KM: Can.

RP: Then what they do is they get enough for the lighthouse, the 'ohana from this side, my family. Then they get molemole, left, they give because it's all the 'ohana too. From this side, from Kailua.

KM: All family too.

RP: All family. We give 'um to them or not this side they ready for ku'u because palu. We no ku'u, we let 'em ku'u. Then "Pau 'oe?" Then you make.

KM: So people respected when someone was using the ko'a?

RP: They respected, that's right. Once you get your 'upena going down you stop feeding, you don't feed.

KM: Everyone stop.

RP: Because the 'upena is down. If you feed you huki the 'ōpelu, it's not right.

KM: That's right.

RP: When the 'upena goes down they kā their palu, then when they huki when they see the molemole come up then you hānai. You hānai for yours, it's your turn because he's not going to go down already.

KM: 'Ae, yes. Because he already got his?

RP: He got his and he's going to huki the 'upena, maybe he get a couple lau, you don't know. He got to huki. He no can huki that couple lau one time. He 'oki maybe he get about fifty pounds, then he 'oki again, sometimes he 'oki two, three times.

KM: Piha?

RP: Piha, the rest let go.



KM: Let go.
 RP: Let go, because they don't 'ānunu. If you 'ānunu you *piholo*.
 KM: 'Ae, *pololoi*.
 RP: You greedy, you *piholo*.
 KM: 'Ānunu 'oe, *piholo ka wa'a*.
 RP: *Piholo ka wa'a*.
 KM: *A kō 'ia paha e ke 'au, ai ma waho!*
 RP: [chuckling] In the olden days they [taps his forehead]...
 KM: *Na'auao*.
 RP: You better believe it. They never go school but they get the knowledge.
 KM: The 'ike, yes.
 RP: They get the knowledge of love, the knowledge of sharing. Today, no more that kind, the knowledge of stealing, yeah. They no share, they try to steal from you.
 KM: 'Ae.

The right to take fish is based on the responsibility of caring for the ocean and fishery resources:

RP: "Hey, I making good over here, no take all." They find a way how they going scoop, take it away from you. But you don't know, you innocent.
 KM: Working on the old system. Just before we started, and we're with *Kupuna* Robert Ka'iwa Punihaole and Hanohano and Aunty Edna. You were talking about how people, "*pono ki'i*."
 RP: 'Ae.
 KM: What's your *mana'o*, if you're going to take the right to go get it, you got to take care of it?
 RP: You have to, from the beginning, the moment, from the beginning, because the thing is there, it's already prepared. The good Lord has set everything there and has given you the knowledge of how to go and take care of it and use it.
 KM: Yes. So that's the *mea ma'amau*?
 RP: *A 'oia!*
 KM: *Inā makemake 'oe e lawe, e hele...?*
 RP: *A'ole pono ki'i. A'ole 'oe pono ki'i, nānā 'oe! Inā pono ka manawa ke hele, hele 'oe, a nui, piha kou wa'a!*
 KM: *Nui ka i'a.*
 RP: *Piha kou mole, ka mole 'upena, piha! Ho'okāhi ku'u 'ana, lawa.*
 KM: *Aloha! I kou wā li'ilii, ua hele paha 'oe ai 'ole kou po'e mākua, kūpuna, hele a hānai wale nō? A'ole lākou i lawai'a?*
 RP: *Lāpule. Pō'aōno hānai wale nō, a'ole hana.*
 KM: *Hānai, they only feed and they give 'ōpae?*
 RP: Yes. *Lāpule ho'omaha. ...Pō'aōno hānai wale nō. Pau ka hana, ho'omaha* you don't do that on *Lāpule*. *Lāpule, hele i ka pule, a ho'i mai, a'ole pā'ani, noho mālia, nenea.* But not the baseball or golfing [chuckling].
 KM: And you don't go fishing on *Lāpule*?
 RP: *A'ole, hele 'oe, hānai, yes.*



KM: That's an interesting thing because if you know your *ko'a*, where you go fish, if you take care and you take fish certain days and you let it rest other days it's like giving the fish a chance right?

RP: You see the *ko'a* changes itself to the current, *ke 'au*. Maybe *kēia lā, 'apōpō maika'i. Pō'akolu, ikaika ke 'au, huki Kohala? Huki i waho? Huki Ka'ū?* Then he go *hele huli, a lo'a 'oe*. That's how they find all the *ko'a*, the Hawaiians.

KM: By?

RP: By sailing and try, they get the current, they look for the *'au* the thing moves, and *hānai*. If the *i'a* down here, and then the *'au* pulling that way and then this *ko'a*. This is the right *ko'a* so that *'au* all the fish down there, come up.

KM: I see so you *hānai*?

RP: You *huki* outside like that this *ko'a*, all the fish, all the strays outside there moving because of the food coming out, they follow that.

KM: Yes. You drop your *ka'a'ai* down here...

RP: Right here.

KM: ...and the currents going to carry it over to the fish because they are swimming in the current.

RP: That's right and then the fish going think hey, they know.

KM: They're going come close to you?

RP: They follow.

KM: Yes.

RP: And when they follow, you see the *'ōpelu* come by the thousands.

KM: Thousands of them, yes.

RP: No take long, black underneath, only *'ōpelu*. Only you take *ku pono ho'i*.

KM: 'Ae, you take only what you need?

RP: What you need, and then the balance of *'ōpae, hānai*, give it to the *ko'a*.

KM: 'Ae.

Discusses the *ko'a* of Makalawena and neighboring lands of the Kekaha region:

RP: Every *ko'a* you do that. Then the *ko'a* got from [thinking – naming Makalawena *ko'a*] Iwi Koholā, then you come outside to Enenuē, one *ko'a*.

KM: [opens map and references locations] This is Register Map 2035. It has the Kekaha region sort of, most of the region. Like you just mentioned, here's...

RP: This is Makalawena?

KM: Here's Mahai'ula, here's Makalawena.

RP: Makalawena.

KM: Pu'uali'i, here's Iwikoholā you just mentioned.

RP: Iwikoholā, it's *'au huki Ka'ū, Maika'i*, so you stay over here all the fish on top there comes back down. And then if this, the *'au* changes and *huki Kohala*, going to Kohala on this *'ao'ao*, you come up into here. Inside here.

KM: Inside the bay?

RP: Yes.



KM: There's that little...

RP: Kaiwikoholā, this here is the bay where Makalawena comes.

KM: That's right.

RP: This is Eenuue, here.

KM: Eenuue is this section, I'm just going to mark it on the map.

RP: That's the boundary of Awake'e and Makalawena.

KM: Okay, Eenuue.

RP: The *ko'a* is outside here.

KM: About how far out do you think? Your *ko'a*? Quarter mile?

RP: No. I think from here to the house.

KM: Oh, three hundred feet, two hundred feet?

RP: About two, three hundred feet. You know where all the *pu'u pōhaku* inside?

K: Yes, yes.

RP: Just outside of that.

KM: Just outside, oh.

RP: They get on this side. And then it comes like that, and then this is Pōhaku Koholā, right in here.

KM: 'Ae, I remember you talking about that. We marked it. That's a stone in the bay kind of around the side there.

RP: Yes. This one here is another *ko'a* outside here. Eenuue is one *ko'a* over here.

KM: 'Ae.

RP: This *ko'a*, *holo pololoi* [gestures, straight out].

KM: Out?

Knowledge of currents important to success in fishing:

RP: Yes. If the *'au huki* all in line. You stay down here, the *'ōpelu* all come. Then if the thing *huli 'ao'ao* [points towards Kohala].

KM: Kohala.

RP: Then you stay up here. And all this stray fish outside here in this *ko'a*, then they follow down and come back up.

KM: So you would be up wind or up current?

RP: Up.

KM: And then you drop your *ka'a'ai*?

RP: You drop your *ka'a'ai* you see how the *palu* moves.

KM: 'Ae.

RP: *Maika'i ke 'au, ke huki nei, huki, Ka'ūpūlehu* or Kalaemanō.

KM: The currents were very important in your knowledge of where you're going to fish?

RP: Very important, the currents. Even *kūkaula*, current is important. No current, no fish. When the current starts to move, then you see the fish start to *'aki*. You only give it a



length of time, when they start biting you better go, you move. When it starts to bite, you move because maybe you only getting half an hour.

KM: Yes.

RP: Half an hour, forty-five minutes then the currents starts getting stronger. All of a sudden you see the line, the line not going down.

KM: Going out.

RP: Straight out. And by that time you have enough already. The current is most important in fishing.

KM: Knowing the current?

Lawai'a kai uli (deep sea fishing) – *Kūpuna* formerly sailed hundreds of miles to fish; during his youth, they still sailed in canoes several miles out on the sea to fish:

RP: Knowing the current. What direction it's going you know where the fish is. If it's pulling straight out, no good. The inside is different they're bucking current, all kind current, they buck one another, but if the current is running straight, terrific. That is with *ōpelu*, *kūkaula*, *'ahi* all the deep sea, *kai uliuli* grounds, all like that. All through current, good current you get 'em.

KM: How did you...like you said *kai uliuli* or *kai lawai'a*, *lawai'a kai uli*...?

RP: Deep sea.

KM: Deep sea. How far out would you go sometimes?

RP: Sometimes they go three hundred miles.

KM: Hundreds of miles out?

RP: Yes on the *wa'a*.

KM: Sail?

RP: They go *huli*, go look and they find.

KM: These are long trips then.

RP: Too far, that's too far. But you come about two, three miles in. Hundred miles is better if you can make it. You got to go with *pe'a*.

KM: 'Ae. That was in the old times?

RP: Oh yes, they were all *pe'a*, don't take long, you stay out there.

KM: They no scared, right in those days.

RP: They no scared. All *pe'a*, they go out there and don't take long they stay home. You no can only fish on the low spot (near shore) only, because a lot of people are watching you. If you go past that, and you get the fish nobody wants to go there. But those who do that, are those that get power, strength.

KM: 'Ae, *mana*.

RP: *Mana*. That's the only kind of guys that can do that. Like Maunupau them, they can do that.

KM: They went out far beyond the sight of land.

RP: Yes. Beyond the sight, you no see land, passed. But their navigation is correct, how they get there.

KM: They know stars, they know the currents.



RP: They know currents. But the Hawaiians tell you, "*Makani ala hele.*" Then rain, thunder, lightning, no trouble the only thing the wind, you got to be careful. If the wind, you won't make it. A lot of boats *piholo* through wind. The *'ale nui*, *'aki*. But if no more, only *'ale*, no *pilikia*, as long as no *haki*. Like us, my youth, when we fish, we go maybe three or four miles, that's the farthest we go, we don't go more than that.

KM: Yes. And growing up you folks were still using canoes?

RP: Oh yes. We used to go with the canoe, paddle.

KM: That's why you strong yet. Your grip is like a vice you know.

RP: All paddle, no more the kind outboard motor.

KM: Paddle.

RP: We paddle from Makalawena to Keāhole. We paddle, we go find *'ōpelu*. We paddle all the way back.

KM: Were your *ko'a* for *'ōpelu* consistently, kind of a set distance out from the shore?

RP: Yes. That's the most, it's about thirty-five fathoms.

KM: Yes. You folks understood, you learned the variations in the ocean?

RP: Yes, the variations of the ocean, the flow of the current and the wind. What wind is going, what wind is not good to go.

KM: Yes. Keāhole has some big currents right?

RP: Ohh! That's the worse place get current. *Holo ke 'au, holo pūpule, lelele ke 'au*. She jump, *lelele* means she jumps, bubbles up.

KM: 'Ae.

RP: About this high when the thing bubbles up.

KM: Twelve, fourteen feet high.

RP: You better believe it! You can see the thing going down, the water is strong.

Family still kept *Kū'ula* for *'ōpelu* fishing:

KM: You know when we went down to Makalawena together with *'ohana*, and like you pointed out to me the *Kū'ula* that's still in the water down there. (KPA Photo RP071098)

RP: Right, *Kū'ula 'ōpelu*.

KM: 'Ae. That's your *Kū'ula 'ōpelu* for your family, before?

RP: Was there for a long time. Before my time.

KM: Long time before, in your time? You no *hānai*.

RP: We don't serve it.

KM: Not in your time.



RP: They told us “If you can take care of it, got to be for life, and then if you cannot, don’t do it.”

KM: Yes. Because if you no feed one time, what?

RP: That’s right ‘aki, that thing bite you!

KM: *Nahu.*

RP: *Nahu.* Joe Kahananui and couple guys was going take that and move ‘em down Kahalu‘u. They were going to fix the *heiau* over there, and was going take ‘em down there. They just got by the *awa*, going outside... [slaps hand on table top] *Po‘i ka nalu, piholo ka wa‘a!* Imagine that stone the next day, it was the same place.

KM: Amazing! Where you showed me?

RP: The same place. From way out there came inside here the same place.

KM: Amazing!

RP: Tidal wave never move ‘em, the same place.

KM: Never move.

RP: Until today.

KM: Wow!

HP: And it’s a light stone yeah dad?

RP: Yes, not too big about like this.

KM: Two feet.

RP: About this wide about that high.

KM: Yes.

RP: Buried into the sand. But that’s *mana!*

KM: ‘Ae, *mana.*

RP: *Mana.*

KM: ‘*Ōpelu* was your main livelihood in fishing?

RP: In Makalawena.

KM: Yes, Makalawena.

Names types of fish caught; depths of *ko‘a*; and methods of fishing:

RP: Shoreline fishing, it’s for the ‘*ohana*, that’s food for the family. But when we go outside, *moana*, it’s ‘*ōpelu*, *aku*, ‘*ula‘ula*, ‘*ōpakapaka*, all this water.

KM: When you *kūkaula* how deep?

RP: *Kūkaula* if you’re going for ‘*ahi* you go hundred twenty, hundred forty for ‘*ahi*.

KM: Fathoms or feet?

RP: Fathoms.

KM: Hundred twenty, hundred forty.

RP: Hundred eighty fathoms. If you go for ‘*ula‘ula*, eighty fathoms. You go for ‘*ahi holo*, not the kind ‘*ahi ‘ele‘ele* is way down, hundred forty, hundred thirty fathoms. The ‘*ahi holoholo*, *holo i waena*, is forty fathoms. You go *kaka* drop forty fathoms. You start from thirty nothing, then you hit forty, you mark your line. As soon as the fish come up you *huki* up,



put in the boat, you bait 'em, put your *kaka*, let go the *pōhaku*. You not going get a *pōhaku*, you going get only the 'ahi [chuckling]

Describes use and making of *pā* (lures) and *makau* (hooks):

KM: And what *pā*...you were still using *pā* this time?

RP: No, we get the regular *makau*.

KM: You using hook, *makau*. And what you were baiting?

RP: Bait, 'ō*pelu*.

KM: Bait, 'ō*pelu*. So you hook 'ō*pelu* on top and take 'em down.

RP: Those days the hook was *keleawe*.

KM: You went shape your own?

RP: They shape their own.

KM: Yes.

RP: You got to *poho* that thing good. Even how big the fish, if *pa'a* inside there, no *mōhala*. But if you don't *poho* good.

KM: *Mōhala*, open up?

RP: Come straight. If you know how to *poho* that, you can stay over there all day. Because go in the mole, the thing no *mōhala*. The *makau* no *mōhala*, until the *manō* come, then open. [chuckling] Because the 'ahi plays too long.

KM: Yes.

RP: The vibration, the *manō*.

KM: The *manō* hears. You folks, like you said in your lifetime, when you were young, you go canoe three or four miles out?

RP: Yes.

KM: And you're describing hundred eighty fathoms, you *kūkaula*. Did you also troll for *aku* like that, canoe troll?

RP: *Hoehoe*, we tried, sometimes you're lucky you catch.

KM: You shared with me like Uncle Una was still making *pā* right?

RP: Yes. But his *pā* is not for *hukihuki*, it's for *kākele*.

KM: *Kākele*.

RP: from the *wa'a* you *kākele*. It's not for *hukihuki*, *hukihuki* the *pā* don't work.

KM: What kind fish does he get when he *kākele*?

RP: *Aku*.

KM: Wow, amazing!

RP: He go *pīpī wai*.

KM: *Pīpī wai*?

RP: Yes, *pīpī wai* with the *pā*. See, the *pā*, *hulali*, and the *aku* see that, oh [slaps hands, indicating, striking the *pā*]!

KM: She comes up and strikes 'em.



RP: The *pā*, certain time of the day, that *pā* in the morning good *pā*. Come afternoon, this *pā* no work already.

KM: Ahh, so you make one different *pā*.

RP: Yes, one different *pā*. Every *pā* get name. Afternoon, another *pā*.

KM: Yes. Some look like *mūhe'e*, others look like...

RP: Get all kinds.

KM: All kinds color or what?

RP: Yes.

KM: Amazing! *Na'auao*.

RP: You better believe it. How they know that the fish like that *pā*, liked that color. Because they practiced, and they go, they try, no good, then they try it again and no good. Then afternoon come they try, this one good then they mark 'em.

KM: It was years, generations of experience?

RP: That's right.

KM: From *kūpuna*, *mai kahiko mai*.

RP: From all the way back.

KM: *A'o nā kūpuna i nā keiki*.

RP: That's what we learned from, them. We never make, we know how the thing would work. They made it, so just follow their pattern all the way out.

KM: Yes.

RP: And then sometimes the *pā* no strike, missed because they have to rub, get the *hulali*. Some kind of covering, sometimes you put that thing, like moss, rub 'em on your pants. Oh as soon as you put 'um in [slaps hands, indicating the fish strike the *pā*].

KM: Get little *waliwali* like, so you got to rub it off?

RP: Yes, clean it off.

KM: And then the fish starts to strike and then holds?

RP: The reflection.

KM: Yes. Amazing!

Kapu and practices associated with making the *pā*:

RP: The glow comes out. My uncle Una used to make, me and my brother come look, he drops everything, he looks away [chuckles]. He no like us know what he's doing. You know, *kapu*, see. Me and my brother watch him. All of it, the stick, the nail, with the coconut, half of the coconut good for balance.

KM: Yes. So he drills it?

RP: He drill.

KM: *Willi*?

RP: *Willi*, yes.

KM: He make *wili*. Amazing! When you make your *pā* it's shaped sort of like this [draws out shape of *pā*]?

RP: Yes. And you get the *pu'u* so you get *mole*.



KM: The *aho* goes through.

RP: Right on top here. From here down it's *makau*.

KM: And what's the *makau* made from?

RP: Use the regular *keleawe*.

KM: Old style where they used to use...?

RP: All *iwi*.

KM: Yes, bone.

RP: They *mole* the *iwi*. The *pā*, when they *mole* the *iwi*, if too big a fish, the thing *mōhala* [gesture hook extending out].

KM: No break?

RP: No break, if it breaks it's no good.

KM: That's right.

RP: They make it so that if, like a big '*ahi*', you no lose 'em. They just bring it up and out it back again. Maybe you get thirteen, fourteen, twenty pounder, no *mōhala*, *pa'a*.

KM: It holds it?

RP: Yes. Anything over that, that thing *mōhala*.

KM: Hmm, so hat's how they protected their *pā*.

RP: That's right, if not you lose 'em. You don't want to lose that. To make one like that, time.

KM: Yes, the time and to get enough shells and stuff like that. When we went *mauka* Hualālai and you shared the story about going to make the *olonā* like that and how they make the *pā*. It was a work of great love. You also said your uncle even went along certain places on the *lae kahakai*, *kikokiko kēlā pā*?

RP: *Kīpo'opo'o* [gestures, pecking at edge of shell]. See, that thing *hulali*, just like one light

KM: You see it open?

RP: Yes, it opens. Only thing is you got to be careful when you go *kīpo'opo'o*, get *manō*, *kia'i*, they watch. If you *nenea*, the buggar might get you, because they protecting this pearl.

KM: Yes. So they would actually do this to thicken the shell?

RP: That's right.

KM: They would actually chip the outer edges like that?

RP: The edge. When you break the edge the thing gets thicker, instead of growing.

KM: Yes, *lahilahi*.

RP: Going back and broadens itself. And every week you do the same thing.

KM: Amazing!

RP: For three months. Then you hope nobody steals 'em.

KM: That's right.

RP: People those days.

Families fished in given areas; others respected their fishing grounds:

KM: In your days, mostly was only '*ohana*', right?

RP: That's right, they no take.



KM: That's what you said, it wasn't people from outside *maha'oi*. If you were fishing Makalawena, did anyone else come and fish Makalawena?

RP: No. But if get *'ohana* from Kawaihae. Like *aku* from Kawaihae, they come all the way up.

KM: They didn't come into your *ko'a*? In other words people respected you.

RP: No they don't *maha'oi*.

Discusses regional use of types of *palu* for *'ōpelu*; *kūpuna* avoided using "chop-chop," as it would draw *pōwā* (predators) to the *ko'a*. Fishing was a way of life. *'Ōpelu* were exchanged for other goods; and always taught not to over take:

KM: People respected the different places. Like you were giving this broader example from Kalaemanō through Keāhole, *'ōpae* this side.

RP: Yes.

KM: From Keāhole, Kailua, Keauhou *palu*?

RP: *Palu*.

KM: What kind of *palu*?

RP: They get *palu* pumpkin.

KM: *Pala'ai*.

RP: *Pala'ai* and they get avocado, pea, they get mush.

KM: Even mush?

RP: Yes, they cook it. They even get *palaoa lulu*, they made that.

KM: Amazing! They trained the fish to like it?

RP: That's right. Just like human being, first you get hard time eat, then it's *'ono*.

KM: *'Ae*.

RP: Exactly. They no put fish, they don't put the kind chop-chop, because for one reason, they like to take care of their *ko'a*. They no like big *pōwā* fish come in like *'ahi*. The *'ahi* come in, and they get the *kāhala* come in. Then they get the *kawakawa* come in, all that kind of *palu*. *'Ōpelu*, as soon as *kawakawa* come, it's gone. *Kawakawa* is so fast. Then they get the *'ahi* come in, you get your *palu* they come inside. Then they get *kāhala*. *Kāhala* always goes with *'ahi*, they always hang around the area. Olden days they were careful.

KM: It was very important.

RP: Because that's their livelihood.

KM: Yes.

RP: That's their livelihood so they take care of it. They don't *'ānunu*. When you fish they come back, even like Kailua you come back, they see you coming in. I don't know you, you're stranger. But you help *hāpai* the canoe, everybody get fish.

KM: They *māhele i'a*?

RP: Yes. They give everybody to take home. Then the balance is there, small kids and all they give.

KM: That's how it was right? It was the *mea ma'amau*.

RP: Yes. You come in or the other guy come in, they going help you, everybody get.

KM: What you were saying, it wasn't, even when you were a young boy, you *hānau* in 1923.



RP: 'Ae.

KM: Even when you were young, among your people in this Kekaha region of Kona, it wasn't so much a thing of economics. It was you folks were taking care...

RP: Love and share.

KM: I know that you folks, you go out *holoholo lawai'a* like that, and I guess at one point you began drying 'ōpelu but you folks would sell some 'ōpelu dried or no?

RP: Yes, we did.

KM: You did right. Before you sold, you folks went *māhele i'a* already everybody got what they needed right?

RP: Yes, everybody get their share and then you do what you're going to do with yours. You sell it, or you want to give it away, its up to you.

KM: Yes.

RP: Like us, we don't sell our 'ōpelu, we trade.

KM: *Kuapo*, exchange.

RP: *Kuapo*, we take them up to the store, we take what we need, how much 'ōpelu we offer, *ka'au*.

KM: Yes. That's how you get goods?

RP: That's how. No more money involved, we just traded.

KM: Was there a main store up here that you folks worked with?

RP: Yes on top here. The Ahuna store.

KM: Ahuna. That was the main store you worked with?

RP: That's a big store. Had only two stores up there Ahuna...no three stores, Ahuna, Akuna and Lee, Korean. Two *Pākē* and one Korean.

KM: Was what area?

RP: Where the Mormon church was.

KM: Just on the side, okay.

RP: Right by the Mormon church was Ahuna.

KM: Is that still Kalaoa?

RP: Yes. That side not to far from Ahuna is Akuna that's on the same side of the road and just *makai* of that, is the Korean.

KM: Lee?

RP: Lee. Small store.

KM: They supplied you folks with the basic things, other food needs.

RP: Whatever you needed flour, sugar and rice, everything. 'Ōpelu, trading time. That's the only way we do it.

KM: It was really your life?

RP: Yes. And then we enjoy, at least we get food. The 'ohana, when they go down, my dad, uncles, Kino Kahananui family, they take taro, banana, *ipu*, whatever they get, you take.

KM: *Kuapo*.



RP: *Kuapo*. They had the kind *poi* the *pa'i 'ai*, they just cooked and pounded two times that's it [chuckling], and put inside the bag.

KM: 'Ae. So real 'ai *pa'a* kind?

RP: 'Ai *pa'a* kind, and then *piha* the 'ōpū. When you eat that you're *piha*.

KM: 'Ae.

RP: And then you can keep that long.

KM: Yes. It crusts on the outside?

RP: That's right.

KM: And the inside is still good.

RP: Inside soft.

KM: Amazing!

RP: They don't throw away the crust, they *hō'ili'ili* and *kupa* that again.

KM: 'Ae. *Ho'owali hou*?

RP: Ho'owali. Then we used to eat *palaoa lūlū*, *palaoa mokumoku*, *palaoa pūlehu*. When we were kids, we got to make that, they taught us how to make it. We were young, you got to make it.

KM: Mama them or the 'ohana out working right, in the field or out fishing?

RP: Only the kids stay home they got to prepare, I cooked for my uncle, I was five years old, when he used to go work. Me and Jimmy Pahe'e, we were staying at Honokōhau Kapehe's stepson. When we were kids at that time, me, Jimmy and Herman, my uncle's stepson, we was staying in Honokōhau.

KM: Along the *mauka* roadside, Honokōhau?

RP: Yes. Right by Honokōhau school.

KM: Yes.

RP: Māmalahoa Road.

KM: Yes, Peahi *mā* and them over there.

RP: Yes. Early in the morning all *kapuahi* outside, you got to cut wood. Every time you go outside work they bring all this pile. Early in the morning it's cold. No more *pā lulu*, all open, only get the top.

KM: Yes.

RP: *Ho'omanawanui*, but today, *pono* [chuckles].

KM: *Pololoi*.

RP: Hard work, at least you gain. Any kind, anything. Then you work on the ranch, 'ai *pipi*, good fun.

KM: Really important though this thing what you said you take care and then it takes care of you.

RP: That's right.

KM: Don't just go take?



Take care of the fishing ground, the fishing ground takes care of you:

RP: As long as you take care of the ground, the ground takes care of you.

KM: Yes. Same with the *kai*?

RP: 'Ae, you *hana 'ino, make 'oe*.

KM: 'Ae. *Mālama ke kai*?

RP: *Mālama ke kai ola 'oe, hana 'ino, make, nele!*

KM: 'Ae. When you were young you folks were mostly Makalawena, Kūki'o like that?

RP: Makalawena, Kūki'o, Ka'ūpūlehu, Kalaemanō.

KM: 'Ae.

Describes practices associated with the making and use of *pa'akai* to dry fish:

RP: The reason why we were to do that is because *pa'akai*.

KM: 'Ae.

RP: The stores no sell salt. If they sell, it's small amounts. Most of the salt coming in, other guys were buying too. The meat company, they buy for salt meat. If you there, you're lucky, if you're not there, then you're out of luck. What we do, my uncles and my grandfather they search for this area in Kalaemanō, and they found Kalaemanō as 'āina *pa'akai*. And big kind *poho* not the kind small kind *poho* it's big.

KM: Big.

RP: When you walk on the side you're on top of the *pāhoehoe* it's just like snow, all white.

KM: Wow! Amazing!

RP: The cap, just like snow. Us kids we don't know what is that. [gestures, dipping finger in and tasting it] Oh, *pa'akai!* We reach over there, that's salt. We never know what the heck that was. Then they tell us we take the white, snow salt, and ka'awale. You scoop only the top, put all in one place. That's to eat.

KM: *Hao mai kēlā pa'akai?*

RP: Yes, *hao ka mea i luna* for eating. Then the balance underneath if it's *lepo* no trouble, it's only for *kāpī 'ia*, no worry, you going *kaka* after that.

KM: When you *kaha 'ōpelu, ka i'a* and then *kāpī*?

RP: You *kāpī*. My aunty does that even if the salt is brown no *pilikia*, as long as *miko*. And then when you *kaka*, the thing shine, hulali. The fish is nice.

KM: Amazing. And then *kaula'i*?

RP: When you *kaka* first, then you got to *huli ke 'alo i lalo*. Leave 'em in the water until you're almost finished, then you take 'em out and put it in the basket.

KM: Yes.

RP: *Kulu ka wai*, and then we got to carry, not the old folks [chuckles]. We got to carry them all the way down, and that's kind of far. I think from here to Warren's house. You know the Matsumoto's house?

KM: Yes.

RP: That's how far the *pūnāwai* is.

KM: Yes. At Makalawena you showed me that, nice from where your house was to where the *pūnāwai* was for *kaka*.



RP: Kind of far. They get this house and one house over here, and this is where we *kaka* the fish. Then one house over here, one house over there; one, two, three, four houses. One of this houses is Mahikō.

KM: Mahikō, yes.

RP: Then he got married to Kahiko.

KM: Tūtū Kahiko.

RP: Kahiko, then she moved to Ka'ūpūlehu. Then they all the same 'ohana with Kilionā, Keākealani.

KM: Keākealani mā.

RP: Then Maka'ai li'ilii moved, Pu'u Anahulu, they had one, two, three, four, five, six children. and we used to go church with my uncle, from Honokōhau.

KM: Church *makai* or?

RP: No up at Pu'u Anahulu.

KM: Pu'u Anahulu yes.

RP: One Sunday we go over here, the next Sunday we go over there.

KM: From Honokōhau you go Pu'u Anahulu.

RP: Pu'u Anahulu, we take chance. But the Pu'u Anahulu people don't come down here they big 'ohana.

KM: They have big 'ohana too.

RP: They get enough up there.

KM: The thing that amazes me is that we find in 1874 like that your *tūtū*, J.W. Punihaole already kind of *elemakule*...

RP: Oh yes.

KM: ...because he started teaching at Kīholo in the late 1840s. In the 1870s he held the lease for like ten years or so on Pu'u Wa'awa'a so part of I think the reason you folks went to Pu'u Anahulu was because you were visiting family too, *pili*. You folks were *pili* with those people.

RP: Yes like Kilionā and then they get...

KM: Alapa'i mā.

RP: Alapa'i, they get Kaholo. And I can't think of all the Hawaiians working, cowboys for Hind.

KM: You folks were *pili*?

RP: Big 'ohana up there, plenty. Had the school, plenty kids over there at that time.

KM: Yes... Amazing though you know, how you folks lived by the wealth of the land and the ocean.

RP: That's why you take care of 'um. The land give you life.

KM: Your saying about how you know where the fish are by the land. What did you say?

Discussing *ko'a* as marked from the land — "*Ai ka i'a i ka 'āina!*" How *ko'a* are developed:

RP *Ai ka i'a i ka 'āina!* The fish is at the land, that's because you find your markings.

KM: Your *ko'a*?



RP: You *ko'a* is marked, you find a *ko'a* you take the bearings. Then you take one over there then you take some on this side. You put that all together, guarantee you're right there.

KM: You know exactly where you are.

RP: As soon as you're there, you just drop.

KM: Yes, interesting.

RP: Just like GPS, they do that. But the Hawaiians get better GPS.

KM: That's right, and now it's like the fish no more chance too.

RP: Now they over fish 'em. Because this way if you don't get it right you're safe [chuckles].

KM: The fish is safe.

RP: You safe, the fish safe. When you good you get 'em right but the other guys go no get 'em right, it's yours. But if they get 'em right, maybe you got to look for a different section. To fish in that kind of *ko'a* you got to *kālewa*.

KM: 'Ae.

RP: You start from one point, you just go, *kālewa*

KM: Then you know.

RP: When the thing '*aki*, you pull up and go back again. You come back the second time, you *kālewa* again. When the buggar '*aki*, sometimes, four or five '*aki*. 'Cause you have three, four or five hooks, and then you check your bearings.

KM: Where you are?

RP: Yes.

KM: So that's how you know?

RP: Your trig-station. And then you're back again you don't take it for granted the first time. The second, you go back again. The third time, then guaranteed. You drop your anchor, make sure that you mark it good.

KM: This is how you identify *ko'a*?

RP: As soon as you hit, you get fifteen hooks, fifteen fish. You get twenty hooks, twenty fish.

KM: Twenty fish, amazing! *Kūkaula* kind?

RP: *Kūkaula*. And you no need pull, more fish on top more better all the thing stays float because the stomach is bloated.

KM: 'Ae. When they start to come up.

RP: From the bottom, they bloat from the bottom.

KM: Yes, deep.

RP: Then they float. Sometimes from here till the *kukui* tree the line.

KM: Floating.

RP: All the fish you just *huki* in.

KM: Hmm. What season did you folks make salt? What time of year?

RP: Usually December, when '*ōkaikai*, the month of December.

KM: They would go and clean the land. They go clean up the area and then?

RP: It's all cleaned, once we harvest the salt, that pond is always clean. No more '*ōpala*, no more *kiawe* no more that kind, before.



KM: It was *ahuwale*?

RP: *Ahuwale* all *pāhoehoe*. No more that kind rubbish, they get now. No more that kind, even the *pōhuehue*, never had *pōhuehue*. All *pāhoehoe*, and then the *pāhoehoe* get all the kind *ha'alu*, *kāheka*. Big kind *kāheka* not small. Then when 'ōkaikai, the water got to come in pretty far to get inside there.

KM: That's right and so it fills it in.

RP: Way up. And then when *mālia*, after December, *mālia*.

KM: Then you let it dry?

RP: No more water can come inside.

KM: Yes, and it starts to make *pa'akai*.

RP: Get plenty *poho* outside where the water comes out. What we do is we take this *pa'akai* and we got to carry water from the *poho* on the *lihi kahakai*, with the *pākeke*, *halihali*.

KM: *Halihali*?

RP: *Halihali* and then we dump 'em inside. Dump then let it stay around three or four days and it comes hard again. That's how we make it.

KM: So December, January something like that?

RP: We stay over there three months. But when *ua*, *pau*, *hehe'e*. as long as it doesn't rain.

KM: Okay. Then you get your *pa'akai*. When do you go out *lawai'a 'ōpelu*, when is the season?

RP: The people at home they *lawai'a* steady. Us, we different, we're young, not the fishermen. The *mākua*, they go fishing, they don't stop.

KM: You could get 'ōpelu all year?

RP: All year, all year. Except for 'ōkaikai, then you rest.

KM: Yes.

RP: Like us, we value the *pa'akai*, we have our own. My aunty, my self, my brothers, we can afford to do that. We do that work then we got to carry the salt from Kalaemanō to Ka'ūpūlehu. We've got thirty-five donkeys. They get five donkeys come to over here.

KM: Ka'ūpūlehu?

RP: Ka'ūpūlehu, and you unload. Ka'ūpūlehu get its own donkeys, come to Kūki'o and unload. Kūki'o get its own donkeys go all the way to Makalawena. That donkey comes back to Kūki'o.

KM: From Makalawena to Kūki'o by your time no one lived in between? No one lived...like Kaha'iali'i *mā* were gone?

RP: No, they were *pau*. But they no *lawai'a* they moved *mauka*.

KM: Okay. In between Kūki'o and Ka'ūpūlehu, only the families at Kahuwai?

RP: Only the families. Only *tūtū* Kahiko and Mahikō.

KM: Hmm.

RP: Kūki'o no, nobody was, only either my aunty or my uncle.

KM: Yes. So you knew the season when you were going to get *pa'akai*. You could get 'ōpelu year round except for when 'ōkaikai?

RP: That's right.



Discusses seasons in which certain fish were caught; seasons also noted by the blooming of certain plants:

- KM: Was there a certain fish that you would only get a certain time of the year? Or was there something about a certain plant you see, like it if it's good for *he'e* now or...?
- RP: Yes. You take like, you come up here and you look at the 'ulu, the 'ulu just right, "*Ē kau ka he'e!*"
- KM: So when the young 'ulu coming up?
- RP: That's *he'e* season. Then when you see the yellow flower.
- KM: The hibiscus one?
- RP: No. I get 'em growing right over there underneath my shade. What do you call that?
- HP: *'Ilima?*
- RP: No. The small leaf, yellow flower.
- KM: Lantana kind?
- RP: Not lantana. The small leaf over there... [thinking] no can think of the name of that plant. Up Palani road got plenty, always flower.
- KM: *Nehe, kōko'olau* kind?
- RP: *Kōko'olau*, that's another thing. *Kōko'olau* is good, because it's yellow, it's good for *wana, hā'uke'uke momona*.
- KM: When the *kōko'olau pua*?
- RP: Yes, then that thing is ready. [recorder off — *Kupuna* goes to look in his yard for the plant — recorder back on]
- KM: Okay uncle, you went look, and what is the flower, the yellow one you said, when bloom? What's the flower called?
- RP: *Kolomona*.
- KM: *Kolomona* that's the name you knew.
- RP: With that one there *kōko'olau* anything yellow even like [thinking] plenty down at on the *ā'ā*.
- KM: Not the *'Ilima?*
- RP: That thing *kūkū*... [thinking] lantana.
- KM: Oh.
- RP: All that kind yellow flower, the *ōpelu* running. *Kau ka 'ōpelu, momona ka ina, momona ka wana, ka hā'uke'uke*.
- KM: Amazing! You folks would get an idea of the seasons of when to go fish?
- RP: Oh yes.
- KM: By what was blooming on the land.
- RP: That's right. The land also designates for the ocean, relation, even *ōpelu*. The coffee season the *ōpelu* just starting to come in.
- KM: *Pua ke kope?*
- RP: Yes. In between nothing. He *'aki*, but only one or two. But the season, ho you go by *mano, lau!*



KM: Amazing! So you folks knew seasons to when to go get certain things like that?

RP: We learned that through the old folks. “*Ā momona ka mea, momona ka wana, momona ka ina,*” all that.

KM: ‘Ae.

RP: We tell, “How you know?” “*Ka pua ho’i, nānā ‘oe i ka pua!*” Kōko’olau, and what. But the tea we used to use is *kōko’olau* and *māmaki* in those days.

‘*Ōhua* fishing:

KM: ‘Ae. *Na’auao*. Was there a certain time, did you know when the fish were spawning and you leave ‘em alone, or did you? The small baby *pua* fish, did you folks go get those kind of things too or did you let those rest and grow?

RP: Well, we used to take the ‘*ōhua*, the baby *manini*.

KM: Yes.

RP: But, the baby *manini* used to come in a pouch.

KM: In a pouch.

RP: Yes. They called it *hūpē koholā*.

KM: How big, your arms?

RP: About this...

KM: Two feet or something across, ten inches deep?

RP: Just about this section.

KM: Wow!

RP: About that thick.

KM: Amazing! All *manini* inside this ‘*eke*?

RP: Millions [chuckling].

KM: Amazing!

RP: Me and my brother Jack, we thought it was that kind tar. You know tar it was black?

KM: Yes.

RP: The *manini* is transparent, you no can see the *manini* inside there, it’s all black. Eneue every week two...

KM: For real, at that little place Eneue?

RP: That place, they used to come in, two. Just happened one day, me and my brother Jack was down there, they slam and hit the rock, ‘*ōwā*. And we see these things dropping off. “Hey, *manini!*” But no look like *manini*. It’s *manini* but no more that...

KM: Only about this kind big, small, inch kind?

RP: Yeah that big but no more the dress up, the prisoner uniform [chuckling].

KM: No more the stripes?

RP: Yes. Me and my brother stay over there and we watch the thing drop, drop, drop then they start wiggling. Hey, when the sun comes out, about 7:30, 8 o’clock, hey the prisoners start getting their uniform. Wow!

KM: So neat.



RP: So we get that kind, we take bunch, we take 'em home. My aunty, they like that they *kāpī* and *kaula'i*. But the only thing *kūkū* the mouth.

KM: 'Ae 'eha ka waha?

RP: If you don't know how to eat [chuckling].

Makalawena previously noted for highly prized *kūpe'e*:

KM: You mentioned Enenuē again, and that the 'ōhua wash up there. Was it by Enenuē that you have a very beautiful *kūpe'e* that used to be down at Makalawena?

RP: Yeah.

KM: Was it near that Enenuē section?

RP: The *kūpe'e*, Enenuē over here, the *kūpe'e* is on this side.

KM: A little further south.

RP: Not to far because all *pāhoehoe*. *One pāhoehoe*.

KM: *One* and where the *kūpe'e* get *one* right?

RP: *One*.

KM: That *kūpe'e* is beautiful, right?

RP: *Hulali*.

KM: *Hulali* and get different colors like the rainbow.

RP: Only the kind that *lele*. Us guys we picking over here [makes springing noise], us guys take off. Nice, rainbow colors.

KM: Beautiful!

RP: That thing is still till today.

KM: You think still has some?

RP: Still till today.

HP: We should go *holoholo*.

KM: Makalawena's *kūpe'e* are the most beautiful that I've seen anywhere.

RP: Only for colors.

KM: 'Ae. The coloring. You folks would gather those when you were young?

RP: Yes. The black kind we used to eat.

KM: 'Ae.

RP: Boil 'em and everything, pull with the safety pin. But the other one my aunty Philomena used to make *lei* with that.

KM: *Lei pūpū*. Must have been beautiful. I wish you still had a *lei*.

RP: I don't know what happened, used to get plenty. She weave hat and put.

KM: Put *lei pūpū* around?

RP: Oh yes.

KM: Must have been beautiful!

RP: The rainbow colors, all kind.

KM: I bet everyone *puni* that, everyone wants that.



Collection of *limu*; seasonal varieties:

RP: Yes.

KM: You folks gathered *limu* out here on these *lae kahakaī*?

RP: No *limu*.

KM: Not much *limu*.

RP: Not much. The only *limu* get is *līpe‘epe‘e*.

KM: *Līpe‘epe‘e*.

RP: ‘*Ōpihi limu*, that’s all. We no more the other kind *limu*.

KM: *Limu pahe‘e* sometimes, or no more?

RP: *Limu pāhe‘e* yes, there’s plenty.

KM: Season right?

RP: It’s only in December when ‘*ōkaikai*, that’s the only time they grow. Then when *mālia* that’s the time to go get, just like the salt.

KM: Yes. Around the same time as *pa‘akai* you get *limu pāhe‘e*?

RP: Right. *Limu pāhe‘e*, and then when it rains, when it starts raining that thing comes *hehe‘e*. The *limu pāhe‘e* changes color come soft, they melt. You got to pick it when it’s dry. Like now rough, you go down there get you pick now.

KM: ‘Ae.

RP: When get sand you no pick because all *one*.

KM: Hard to clean.

RP: Oh, you clean all right, looks clean, but when you eat the teeth stay between the sand. But, when no more sand you pick, you just take and peel ‘em off.

KM: Amazing!

RP: You get one ball like this, you put one pocket full, the *pākeke*... About that much, she swells up.

KM: Just the size of your hands together?

RP: Yes, one pocket full.

KM: Wow! Amazing!

RP: The olden days, we used to make for cook with stew. They make stew and then they put inside. You know the Japanese way of cooking [chuckling]. Shoyu and sugar.

KM: You put *limu pāhe‘e* in?

RP: *Limu pāhe‘e*, *limu ‘ele‘ele*, make stew and then you put ‘em inside.

KM: ‘*Ono*?

RP: ‘*Ono*. But no more choice, you got to eat ‘um. You really enjoy the taste of the *limu*, the taste of whatever is in there.

Fishing today is nothing like previous years – “Where they used to be, nothing!”

KM: From when you were young and you still go *holoholo* today, *lawai‘a*?

RP: Yes.

KM: From when you were young until today. How is the fishing?



RP: 'Oki loa! Very different, it's not like before.

KM: Better now?

RP: *Nele, a'ole lo'a!* I used to go down here, go *kiloi manini*, I come home with all sizable kind. *Uouoa* plenty, mullet, *enenue, pualu*. 'Oki loa *kēia manawa*, a'ole 'oe 'ike! You don't see them! Where they used to be, nothing!

KM: *Pau*, you don't see?

RP: You don't see. Where used to be nothing.

Feels that greed - people have over fished, is the primary cause of the change in fisheries:

KM: Why? Why are there no more fish today like when you were young? What do you think?

RP: *Nui ka pōwā*.

KM: *Pōwā kanaka?*

RP: *Pōwā kanaka!* Because surfing, and *po'e Pilipino*, they make the kind *imu*. They take all, nothing put back. Only take, take, take.

KM: That's an important thing you got to put back.

RP: You got to let 'em go.

KM: Let 'em go?

RP: Let 'em go. You can take, but no take all.

KM: Is that what you said? Even you said earlier with the *'ōpelu*, you took what you could, otherwise *'ānunu, piholo ka wa'a*.

RP: You better believe it.

KM: You took what you needed and you let the rest go?

RP: Let the rest go.

KM: So tomorrow or the next time you come?

RP: It's always not for you, but the next guy.

KM: Recycle the cycle goes around.

RP: Everybody gets a chance to take what they need. But if you be *'ānunu* and you try to take all you sink the day you get nothing.

KM: You see this is part of the problem, when you were young fishing these *'āina*. If we go from Ka'ūpūlehu even just through Makalawena, Mahai'ula.

RP: We only catch what we need.

KM: And very few people were fishing, right?

RP: That's right, and we only take what we need.

KM: Yes. I heard from uncle Wenuke and aunty Kiniha'a them, that even like Kūki'o for Stillman *mā*, Makalawena like that... Now Makalawena was Bishop Estate land right?

RP: Bishop Estate land.

KM: Kūki'o came under Hu'ehu'e. That if someone came in there to fish that wasn't supposed to be there, he *kīpū* above their head.

RP: That time I don't know.

KM: You don't know. That's what Uncle Wenuke said.



RP: That time even Kīholo, but not on this side, because people used to come in with the boat, and Sonny Kaholo used to take care of that for Hind.

KM: Yes, Hind. So it was kind of like *konohiki* fishery?

RP: Yes.

KM: You don't go fish unless you went *noi mua*, ask.

RP: You ask before you go.

KM: And this is a big thing to you because you always said, "*Ma mua o ka hana a pau, ma mua o ka lawai'a 'ana, noi mua.*"

RP: Right.

KM: *Pule.*

RP: *Hā'awi 'oe ke aloha.* Sonny Kaholo when Joe Wenuke talk about that, it's Sonny Kaholo and Kīholo. He used to take care of that for Hind.

KM: For Hind *mā*. So when you were young, there weren't that many people fishing. But at that time there was so much fish and you could take what you needed.

RP: Only take what you need. Then if you going up like that, you take for the *'ohana*.

KM: 'Ae. Today, if you go to these places that you're *kama'āina* to all along here, Keāhole all the way out to Kalaemanō.

RP: You get the word, *nele!*

KM: *Nele.* No more nothing, not like before. You see a little bit here and there. And I recall you had special *he'e* places too, *ula* places?

RP: Oh yes.

KM: Now, *nele?*

RP: *Nele!* You take my daughter and my wife and we go throw net, my boy, but no more like that now.

HP: The *uouoa* would be so big that... [gestures size]

KM: A foot and a half kind.

HP: They would actually try to get under the rock and they couldn't get under the rock because they're too big, we would just grab 'em and throw 'em on the sand.

KM: Amazing!

HP: And now you can't even get 'em... [gestures – chuckling]

KM: Six inches long.

RP: No more even that kind at Kekaha. Mahai'ula, you walk on top it's all the *ula*. 'Āina *ula kelp*. You walk on top it's all the *ula*.

KM: For real?

RP: No more today, no more nothing!

KM: So much lobster?

RP: Lobster. That lobster is gone.

KM: *Ula.* Amazing!

RP: Then you come on this side, the *pā hale, he'e*.

KM: By Keawewai spring?



- RP: Keawewai.
- KM: On the *papa*.
- RP: All *he'e*. Makalawena same thing *he'e*. Kūki'o, Ka'ūpūlehu good ground for *he'e*. All on the *he'e papa*.
- KM: I would imagine even *'ōpihi* like that and stuff must have been?
- RP: Big *'ōpihi kēlā manawa!*
- KM: But now *'ōpihi kō'ele* anything, *'ai 'ia?*
- RP: No more nothing.
- KM: *Pau?*
- RP: All gone.
- KM: *Makalena* all *pau*.
- RP: All gone.
- KM: You get little bit here and there but someone see 'um they take 'em already, right?
- RP: Yea. I used to go night time myself. No good take my daughter, you show her the kind place, I got to go get [chuckling].
- Group: [chuckling]
- RP: We make that kind *'a'ama*, black crab you no need go too far. Me, my brother, my daughter. She see the *'ū'ū*. I see the *'ū'ū* too, but I no throw that kind place. She throw okay, I got to go get, after I *pau* [chuckling]. But, better I go get because I know what I'm doing, so I go.
- KM: So today the fish on this *'āina* is not anything like when you were young?
- RP: No more.
- Pollution and commercial fishing, also problems in health and quality of fisheries:
- KM: So here's the big question of you, *kupuna*. How you folks fished, your manner your style the *kānāwai*, basically that you folks followed was the law of the land, law of the ocean. How do we make it...is there some way that we can make fish come back again here?
- RP: Right now for one thing I can say maybe the water is being polluted. Pollution could have been one factor where the fish cannot stand, they have to move to a different area maybe. A deeper area, the shallow is being compounded by all these chemicals. This is my guess, that's what I think.
- KM: Yes. People taking more then they were before, the water is not in as in as good condition as it was before.
- RP: But people can take fish every day, but the only thing is the commercial fishermen, that's the one, they rob everything. because it's for money. But if you feel that way, they got to find some other area where people cannot go and harvest them. They harvest that kind of area, keep the good area for the people that go for pleasure.
- KM: Oh, so in a way, it's almost like establishing an area where just families can go fish and get fish that they need?
- RP: That's right.
- KM: Nothing commercial like that?
- RP: Not commercial. Commercial may get in the area where the family has no source or means to fish.



KM: That's right, and no other chance to go somewhere else. That's the problem with the economic fishing. You fish everything here till no more, then you move somewhere else till no more. Then you move...

RP: And pretty soon it's everything.

KM: No more.

RP: It's all gone.

HP: Why wouldn't we want to create hatcheries to replenish the ocean?

KM: Yes.

HP: And not predator fish like the *kāhala*. It's easy to raise, but it would kill your *'ōpakapaka*.

KM: Right. So in your *kūpuna's* time they actually had *kapu*, severe *kapu*.
Suggests a *kapu* system similar to that of the past, by which fisheries could be managed:

RP: Oh yes, *Konohiki*. Certain sectors, what they should try to preserve, get the same *Konohiki*, let the area rest for a whole year or couple of years.

KM: Yes.

RP: And then see how the thing works. If the fish are coming back, regenerate itself okay, then we restrict, you only can take so much. Maybe twice a month, a year to establish that, instead of every day. But it's hard.

HP: Is that realist in these times?

KM: It may be that we have to make it realistic, otherwise there will be nothing.

RP: That's right.

KM: In your old days they *ho'omaha*. Here's a quick example, *'ōpelu*, *aku*. These were also fish that had ritual...

RP: Seasons.

KM: That's right, ritual, season. Six months you go for *'ōpelu*, *pau* you don't take *aku*. Next six months you go for *aku*, you don't take *'ōpelu*.

RP: That's right.

KM: You know in the old *mo'olelo* that the *kūpuna*...

RP: They established that.

KM: That's right. and they wrote, if you took your fish out of season, *make*, there was a penalty to pay. You want the *pono* you got to take the *kuleana*.

RP: That's right. *Pololoi ke aloha!*

KM: And obviously we not going kill people if they take fish out of season but somehow...

RP: How could we educate the people?

HP: It's not the old, like *kūpuna*.

KM: That's right.

HP: It's our age and outsiders, that's the key.

KM: Uncle, this is a part of why we're doing this study now because...

RP: We need information, how to compile that.

KM: That's right, gather the information then part of it is...



RP: How you can use it.

KM: That's right. You can educate the young people, the young *kanaka* and the young people or other people from away. Say, "Wow, so that's why they could support 700,000 fishing people here in the old days," or whatever the population was, and still had fish. Now, you can't support it and of course you brought up an important point. If there's pollution affecting the nature of the fishery...

RP: Right.

KM: Your spawning grounds are depleted, you no more your *pua*. Look at O'ahu, Pu'uloa, Pearl Harbor right? And you worked out?

RP: Right.

KM: That was the spawning ground of O'ahu, that and Kāne'ohe.

RP: But not anymore.

KM: That's right. *'Awa'awa*.

RP: *'Awa'awa*. When I was down in Kahuku, I see the *moi li'i*, *'ōhua*, inside the kind *poho*, loaded. The only kind guys was taking it was the Filipinos. They were taking it for *bagaong*. All that kind [gestures size] of *moi li'i*.

KM: The three inch size kind?

RP: They were taking *uouoa*, and *'ōhua*, they were taking all that for *bagaong*.

KM: So the land changed, the method of taking changed, and who was taking, has all changed.

RP: All changed.

KM: Maybe, and I'm throwing this out as an idea. Maybe we have to look at some of the old traditions and the practices you've just described, and figure out a way to re-implement some of those.

RP: To retain it, to get it back in line.

KM: Yes, and that's why we want to talk story with you and these *kūpuna*.

RP: And what about the turtle, the *honu*.

KM: *'Ae*.

RP: They got to make seasons, because the *honu* is all stealing from the fish.

KM: Yes, all the *limu*. *'Ai 'ia*.

RP: All the *limu*, they stay there, they eat everything.

KM: And so if no more *limu* for the other fish who *'ai limu* where are the fish?

RP: Off balance, not balanced.

Formerly ate *honu*, and never saw the tumor growths that now appear on turtles; *honu* formerly used to help care for fishponds:

KM: That's right, no balance now. And since you brought up *honu*. When you were a young boy you folks *'ai honu*?

RP: We get, but no *honu* like today. Yes, we *'ai honu*.

KM: You *'ai honu*?

RP: Was good.



KM: And I know you told me like Ōpae'ula pond like, Makalawena, and at Kūki'o bring them in to 'ai pohō.

RP: That's right. Eat all that algae, then when they were ready for *hānau* they go back to *kahakai*.

KM: So you used it, there was a relationship. You used the *honu* come in they cleaned, kept the ponds clean so the fish could grow.

RP: That's right.

KM: So when 'ōkaikai, you get fish.

RP: Right.

KM: So today, we look at these *honu* get *pu'upu'u* here [gestures around the eyes], on the *kuapele*, all *ma'i* it seems like. Did you see that when you were young?

RP: No, I never saw.

KM: You've seen it now right, how *pu'upu'u*, the tumors growing on them.

RP: Yes, like cancer.

KM: Yes. So you never saw that when you were young?

RP: Not in my days. My days they were all smooth.

KM: Clean.

RP: And then get this [thinking] Ku'unakeakua

KM: Ku'unakeakua, yes.

RP: One place over there at Makalawena, where the turtles, they come and they make mounds, one over here, one over here, one over there.

KM: Yes.

RP: Out of this maybe five only three get eggs. When guys go dig, me and my brother used to dig, sometimes we find thirty-two.

KM: And what you do with the egg?

RP: We put 'em, we no take 'em home we just count.

KM: So you were just looking to see?

RP: Yes. And then one day we go over there, throw net wow, we saw all this little *honu* coming down. As soon as they hit the water the 'ulua, the buggar swimming like that [gestures, back and forth along the shore line].

KM: *Aloha nō*. That's why you only get a few that survive.

RP: Yes. Because the 'ulua balance the thing, but now nothing balances.

KM: Right.

RP: All over.

HP: They're getting sick. I think it's our watersheds.

KM: Water and maybe genetics, the gene pool.

HP: Could be the gene pool.

KM: Combination. It's not one thing, it's all kinds of things contributing to the *pilikia*.

RP: That's right. You go down Kīholo, before no had like that.



KM: Yeah you see *honu*, twenty plus all *'ai ka limu kala* and everything.
 RP: I never seen one *honu* before the one at Kīhōlo, I used to go throw for mullet, this kind size [gestures].
 KM: Wow, your arm's length.
 RP: Right inside the *poho*, right in front the house. No more now.
 KM: You mentioned a very important place name a moment ago, where the *honu* came up, Ku'unakeakua.

Discusses the *weke* of Ku'unakeakua:

RP: Ku'unakeakua, Makalawena.
 KM: You heard the story about that name?
 RP: No.
 KM: Okay. I have a story from *Tūtū* Kihe, I'll get you the *mo'olelo* it's a wonderful story of how that name came about. Now that makes me think of one more thing. Certain fish you eat what, *moe 'uhane* you get dreams?
 RP: You get dreams, yes.
 KM: What kind fish?
 RP: I don't know.
 KM: *Weke lā'ō* or the *weke pahulu*?
 RP: I heard about that, yes. Not the *lā'ō* the other one.
 KM: *Weke pahulu*.
 RP: *Weke pahulu*. I heard about that but...
 KM: *Lohe wale no*.
 RP: Yes.
 KM: There's a wonderful story about how Ku'unakeakua was named, and why that *weke pahulu* at Makalawena, you get bad dreams.
 RP: No kidding!
 KM: If you *'ai po'ō*.
 RP: Yes, yes. Mahai'ula if you eat the head of the *uouoa* and the *'anae, mane'ō*.
 KM: Interesting. At Mahai'ula?
 RP: Mahai'ula, the *uouoa* and the *'anae*. You eat the head, itchy.
 KM: Itchy all over, or mouth only?
 RP: Your whole mouth is itchy.
 KM: Wow!
 RP: But, in Makalawena, no itchy.
 KM: Interesting.
 RP: Only in Mahai'ula.
 KM: Something about the fish and what they eat there, maybe.
 RP: Something of the grounds in that area.



KM: Yes, that's right.
RP: Something about it, it's a legend.

The *Kū'ula* of Pōhakuolama:

KM: Must be. And you know Pōhakuolama, the stone Pōhakuwahine, right in front of there, that's *Kū'ula*?
RP: That's *Kū'ula*, could be because of that. I don't know, but that's true. The people, eat, "Hey, *mane'ō*."
KM: You no eat.
RP: We no talk.

Ciguatera unknown to him until recent years; names types of fish caught along the Kekaha coast line:

KM: Ciguatera? Did you hear of people getting sick when they eat fish when you were young?
RP: Not that I know of. Only lately. We used to eat *'ulua*, *'ōpakapaka*, *kāhala* no such thing.
KM: 'Ae. No problem.
RP: Even that *pā'ou'ou*, and that's the best fish to eat.
KM: *Pā'ou'ou*, yes.
RP: For raw fish, they make raw fish, and *Pākē* steam fish.

The *hou* (snoring fish); how caught:

KM: Yes. *Pā'ou'ou*, when it grows big, they get one fish they call *hou*. You heard of that *hou*?
RP: Yes. They sleep night time.
KM: Yes. And what does it do when it sleeps?
RP: Snore.
HP: Snores.
KM: And you can actually hear it?
RP: Oh yeah.
KM: Amazing!
RP: In Makalawena, us guys go, "somebody's sleeping!" [chuckling] It's the *hou*. What you do is you put your net *makai*, you just tap the head, and he run right into the net [chuckling].
HP: [laughing]
KM: Poor thing [chuckling], no more chance.
RP: Funny, the fish is like that, when you touch it, the ocean, this side, they go this way he no follow.
KM: He goes straight to the ocean.
RP: Straight ahead. You put your net over there, catch 'um.
KM: And you can hear 'em snore?
RP: Oh yes.
KM: Interesting.

The *pūhi ūhā* can be heard to make a sound like sneezing:

RP: You never hear the *ūhā* sneeze?



KM: No.

RP: Just like human being, *kīhi* [mimics sneeze], just like human being.

KM: For real? *Puhi ūhā*?

RP: So once they do that, you know you get one *ūhā* over here someplace.

KM: Wow, cool! Amazing!

HP: It sounds just like a man. When my dad used to take us at night, we can hear him sleeping, he snores just like a man. I thought it was a man, I said, "Dad, dad somebody's sleeping over there."

Group: [laughing]

KM: Funny.

Collection of 'ōpae kowea, and 'ōpae 'ula; describes the pond of 'Ōpae 'ula at Makalawena:

RP: [thinking] Yes, I heard about the *weke* I heard the story but I wasn't too certain but now that you mentioned Ku'unakeakua. And then Nā'ili'ili that's the *weke* ground.

KM: Interesting!

RP: That's where we used to go catch *weke*. And we go catch 'ōpae kowea [gestures, size].

KM: About an inch and a half kind. The 'ōpae kowea is clear color or get color?

RP: Brown.

KM: Brownish.

RP: That's 'ono, you steam and *kaula'i*, that bugga is good I like that 'ōpae.

KM: 'Ōpae kowea.

RP: Me and my brother used to get the *kā'e'e*, you put underneath the water is low and on top we put coconut leaf so the water comes up, and all the 'ōpae is underneath.

KM: Under the...?

RP: Under the leaf.

KM: *Lau niu*.

RP: Yes, *lau niu*. They all nenea, we pick up the net, the *molemole*, *piha* [chuckling].

KM: Amazing!

RP: Right on the trail, get the road going up.

KM: Along the trail?

RP: Yes. The horse pass over here, but right on the side.

KM: Get the little *awāwa*.

RP: Big *poho*. Low tide about that much, when high tide they come about that much.

KM: A little over a foot. This is at Makalawena?

RP: Makalawena.

KM: Coming up the trail?

RP: No more *pohō* inside there, only the kind *pōhaku*.

KM: All clean.

RP: Now I don't know, maybe the *pohō* all *pa'a*. Before it was all clean. *Pāhoehoe*.



KM: 'Ae.

RP: and then get *awāwa*, the crack, *'ōpae 'ula*, it's loaded.

KM: Amazing! That's the wonderful story too you shared even at that for the big fishpond what they called 'Ōpae'ula or Po'ikai, like that. You had small *ki'o*, ponds that you would keep the *'ōpae*.

RP: To take care, for that particular use.

KM: 'Ae, and then the fish can be outside but no can get to the *'ōpae*, so you always had. It's such a good system of resource management.

RP: Right. You make it so the fish can get its share and yet you can get your share.

KM: You can get yours too.

RP: Because *'ōpae* moves here and there. If the fish keeps eating more they move to you. [chuckles] They try to keep away.

KM: So wonderful these recollections. And it's good fun to talk story like that.

RP: Yes. That pond used to be plenty *awa*, *'ama'ama*, and then we had goldfish inside there. My uncle liked that goldfish.

KM: Yes, that's what I heard.

RP: About this big.

KM: Wow, almost twelve inch kind!

RP: Not guppies.

KM: No, goldfish yes.

RP: I used to go throw net for him. He liked me throw.

KM: Did you hear a Hawaiian name for the goldfish?

RP: No.

HP: Do you know what it is Kepā?

KM: I think I heard a name on Kaua'i but now I may *poina* I think they said *kuna* but I'll make sure. I was just curious, you know those goldfish were introduced as early as 1810, from China.

RP: Small, they no grow big. Only about this size.

KM: And they were first planted or put out in Mānoa for Ka'ahumanu.

HP: And they just propagated?

KM: Yes. In fact she put a *kapu* on them, just like how they had a *kapu* on *pipi* when the *pipi* first landed. When the first goldfish were brought in, according to I think it's Kamakau or I'i, when the first goldfish were brought in they put one *kapu* on 'em. They wanted it to *ho'onui*.

RP: Too bad, I don't know if the goldfish is still there.

KM: The pond is so different now.

RP: *Pa'a i ka pohō*.

KM: Yes. When you folks were living there it was *ma'ema'e*, clean all the time because you took care.

RP: Oh yes, and it was deep [gestures].



KM: Three feet?

RP: We go with the canoe inside.

Recalls the tradition of the fishpond, Pā'aiea, covered by Pele in 1801:

KM: Yes. Speaking of ponds. [pointing to location on map] This is Keāhole Point. Did you ever hear about a fishpond that came back through this area before? Before the lava, before the Pele came down?

RP: The one in Pā'aiea yeah.

KM: Yes, that's the pond, Pā'aiea. Below, behind Keāhole.

RP: Keāhole.

KM: Big fishpond before right?

RP: Yes, miles long.

KM: Some big pond yes.

RP: All the way down. It belonged to Kamehameha.

KM: 'Ae.

RP: Because *pī Kamehameha, a'ale hā'awi ka i'a*.

KM: *I'a*.

RP: *Ka i'a, ka unahi, ka palu. A ne'e ka luahine i 'ō i Makalawena*. Then I don't know, I forget the *mo'olelo*. I don't know what she did over there. From there, she walked up, then these two girls were cooking 'ulu. So she asked, "Your 'ulu, who are you going to share it with?" One said, "It was for Pele." That's why has the *pu'u*, Puhiapele.

KM: 'Ae.

RP: The two sisters. That's why the Puhiapele, that section.

KM: 'Ae. When we went remember we even saw the *pā*.

RP: Yes.

KM: The old wall.

RP: Yes, that's the only place get *lepo*.

HP: Pāhinahina.

KM: 'Ae, Pāhinahina.

RP: *Makai*, of that is all *pōhaku*.

KM: 'Ae, *kupaianaha!*

RP: Yes.

KM: *Hoihoi loa!*

RP: Nice when you get the old folks and they tell that, then you know a little bit. More blessing [chuckling]!

KM: Yes. *Mahalo!* You know *kupuna* this is, you've been so kind all the time sharing your recollections, and it's so important because it helps us protect.

RP: Well, like what you try to generate that philosophy, to educate the people how to share, for something that was made by our heavenly father and not to destroy. To build it up, to make it more useful, make it more dependable. Maybe they could get a better life.

KM: Yes, it's *aloha āina*.



RP: *Aloha āina*, from the heart.

KM: *Aloha kai*. And because it's family, they take care of you.

Describes *po'ō holoholo* net fishing; types of fish caught:

RP: That's right. In the olden days, you go down the *kahakai*, they get such thing as *po'ō holoholo*. You never heard that, *po'ō holoholo*?

KM: *Po'ō holoholo*?

RP: Yes. You get a small *'upena*, the small *'upena* get the *'eke*. You get the *kāheka* coming inside, wide and then *miomio*. *Po'ō holoholo* means you take your net right by the *po'ō*, you *ku'u*, then *pākī pōhaku*. Oh, when the fish come down [slaps hands], one run, *piha*!

KM: So they're trying to get out of the *kāheka*?

RP: They're trying to get out in the *kāheka*.

KM: But with the net, you went block the *kāheka* in, with this *po'ō holoholo*?

RP: That's right, *po'ō holoholo*.

KM: *Po'ō holoholo*? You put the net on each side, lock it in?

RP: Yes, each side, and you walk right across.

KM: At the *waha*?

RP: At the *waha*. Put your anchor over here, your *pōhaku*.

KM: 'Ae.

RP: With the bottom, then you walk across and put the *pōhaku* here.

KM: Amazing!

RP: Then you get *pōhaku* inside your pocket, you just kiloi. Ho, as soon as they hit, *pū'iwa*, the fish start coming out. Hey, it doesn't take long, *piha* the net.

KM: Amazing!

RP: But you only can take what you need.

KM: That's right.

RP: And then for the *'ohana*. You take for your *'ohana* and then for you direct, let the rest go.

KM: So in these *kāheka* they open out to the ocean? Is that right, open out?

RP: Yes.

KM: You're blocking the opening?

RP: That's where the fish comes in from outside.

KM: It's like an *awāwa*?

RP: *Awāwa. Hohonu*, they come inside for eat all the *limu*.

KM: Amazing! So anywhere along the *lae kahakai* where it's like that you can do this?

RP: Yes, you can do that. They call that *po'ō holoholo*.

KM: *Po'ō holoholo*, wonderful!

RP: Down at Kaloko, plenty area get that *po'ō holoholo*.

KM: Amazing!



RP: This old man, used to stay up at Kohanaiki, I forgot his name [thinking]... I know him good. [thinking] There used to be Nihi, he stay over there, Solomon...

KM: Kuhaiki?

RP: Kuhaiki used to stay over there. Lee, used to stay over there. Ehu, *Tūtū* Ehu.

KM: Yes. He was at Kohanaiki Homestead, your, *tūtū*, papa was there.

RP: That's all 'ohana. He'd go down only with the grass bag.

KM: 'Ae. 'Eke mau'u.

RP: *Eke mau'u* for bring the fish home. He get his 'upena...

KM: Down?

RP: In the cave.

KM: A little cave somewhere down there in Kohanaiki.

RP: Yes. He *hūnā*. Then he goes and look, and if nobody stay he go get, he *po'ō holoholo*. He put the *kūkulu* on, the sticks.

KM: So the sticks, *kūkulu* on each side, so he locks the mouth?

RP: He lock 'em. One throw, one time, he make, then going.

KM: And then he comes home.

RP: Come home.

KM: *Lawa ka i'a*.

RP: Yes. With his *kēkake*, he come home he give all the 'ohana. Tūtū Ehu

KM: What kinds of fish you get in that?

RP: All you like... [chuckling]

KM: Any kind.

RP: All you can name.

KM: *Manini, hīnālea*.

RP: He get *manini, maiko*, he get *ape, pualu*, get *pālani*. Get all kinds of fish that comes inside that kind *poho*. The only thing no more, is 'ū'ū, because the 'ū'ū is night fish, they no come inside. The 'ala'īhi, yes. They stay but 'ū'ū and 'āweoweo no more, that's night fish.

KM: Night time. You know this is so wonderful, these important histories for your family. But as I said if you agree when we get this transcribed. We'd like to be able to share these...

RP: Sure, definitely.

KM: So that people can learn.

RP: No sense me keeping it. By sharing we can educate the upcoming young people.

KM: And maybe that way *ola ka 'āina*.

Education important in care for fisheries and land; pollution from chemical runoff impacting fisheries:

RP: Maybe you can regenerate our land back, and then in the time to come, maybe you can find a way, how you can balance the chemicals that they are using on land.

KM: Yes.



RP: Because the chemicals are creating the problem. Even like down at Kohanaiki and Kaloko, Honokōhau. You know all the sewage you have on top, water is seeping going down. No way you can tell me the water is not going.

KM: You're right because the nature of your land.

RP: That's right, it's all water underneath.

KM: And the *pōhaku*, all...

RP: Porous, drain. Once you drain, you're taking the bad instead of taking the good.

KM: Yes.

RP: Talking about that I saw in the paper, they are going to try to find out how they can correct that, because they think chemicals are seeping.

KM: Yes.

HP: They know, they don't think they know.

KM: Yes. And it's killing...

RP: The haoles they know but they think. But if they know, they all jammed up.

If you use *pilau* bait, you are going to eat *pilau* fish:

KM: If we go back to *palu* for a moment and 'ōpae 'ula, and you said chop-chop or *make* dog. If you feed your fish *pilau* food...?

RP: No good, *manō*.

KM: Yes, and what are you going to eat? So you eat your fish, what are you going to eat?

RP: *Ma'i!*

KM: *Ma'i!* You eat *pilau*, you going get *ma'i*.

RP: That's right.

KM: Same thing. If we put *pilau* in the ocean the fish going...

RP: That's right, it's a fact.

KM: We're affected as a people. And part of the reason your *kanaka* in your *kūpuna* time, people were so healthy was because of their ocean resources.

RP: That's right. The *limu* that they ate, and all the resources from the ocean that helped to build up their system.

KM: 'Ae.

RP: They had cure, instead of getting disease.

KM: That's right, so you no *nāwaliwali*.

RP: The only disease was when white man came to Hawai'i, they brought the disease that killed all the Hawaiians.

KM: You're right.

RP: Hawaiians never had tuberculosis, Hawaiians never had such thing as leprosy.

KM: *Ma'i Pākē*, measles, small pox even the clap.

RP: We never had that kind measles, small pox. All were brought in, from strange lands.

KM: Yes. *Mai kāhi ē!*



RP: *Mai kāhi ē!* And then the poor Hawaiians they didn't have medication where they can take care of themselves, sick, it's not from home. From home they can take care if they *ma'i* over here, if they injured they can take care, they know what kind of *limu* and what kind of herb.

KM: That's right *na'auao i ka hana lā'au lapa'au*. Even *kahea* kind *lā'au*, *pule*.

RP: That's right. *Lā'au kahea*.

HP: How do you fix it now?

RP: *Lā'au kahea*, they use the kind *kūkae pu'a* and *kōwali*, but they got to feel from the heart. The only person that does that was Keawe and... [thinking] He helped my wife, she had sinus.

KM: Keawe?

RP: Used to have him and... [thinking]

KM: Ka'ōnohimaka?

RP: That's right, Ka'ōnohimaka. He helped my wife, she had sinus. She was young that time, we took her.

KM: Good, *ho'ōla iāia*.

RP: *Ola!*

KM: *Mahalo nui*, this has been, again just a wonderful and informative rich...

RP: *Mahalo*, thank you for coming. I'm glad to share whatever...

KM: *Mahalo nui*. I brought one other thing with me, because what I was thinking to try and do with these *mo'olelo*, that you've shared before, is to bring together important things if possible. So that we can bring it into one account so that they can see. [handing transcripts from Makalawena field trips to *kupuna*] This was our trip that we went to...

RP: Makalawena.

KM: Yes, Makalawena. I brought another copy for you so you could read through it because I think this is going to be really important because you folks have to be able to help Bishop Estate walk a good path over there. I brought this just in case you don't have this still yet.

RP: Okay. They went fix the *pā ilina*.

KM: Good.

HP: What are they planning?

KM: I have no idea.

RP: I never been down there yet though.

KM: We should go again sometime and go *holoholo*.

HP: We should go and stay the night.

KM: Yes.

HP: And look for *kūpe'e*, see if they are still there.

KM: Yes. *Mahalo!*



Robert Ka'iwa Punahaole (with Edna Punahaole)
Oral History Interview on the shore of Kaloko
March 19, 2003 – with Kepā Maly

Speaking of residents in Kohanaiki Village and fishing at Kaloko:

- RP: ...We had *tūtū* Ehu, and [thinking] his son-in-law, Nu'uaniu. All of them were from down there. They used to catch the fish. See, the fish that they catch, they used to take them to Akona in Kailua. Or whoever wanted to buy, they'd sell. But it was mostly Akona. Plenty other people, liked the fish too. They'd go to Akona, but didn't know what he was selling (that day). Then when Nu'uaniu and Wilama *pau*, then came Kahananui, Kino's uncle, Kahananui. He took over for a while, Kahananui, and old man Pali.
- KM: Ka'awa?
- RP: Yes. And Nihi.
- KM: So you remember, was John Nihi, I think?
- RP: Yes, John Nihi. I know all of them, because I used to go up to the house. And the old man Koele. All those guys are all *pau*, they're gone.
- KM: Yes.
- RP: But Koele was the best one for get Hawaiian herbs. But he wouldn't show you. You like, he go get and make for you. He doesn't tell you.
- KM: from where or what, like that?
- RP: Yes. Because for them it's *kapu*, *ki'i kapu*.
- KM: 'Ae.
- RP: And if everybody goes to get, the thing, *pau*. No more.
- KM: Where did this Koele live?
- RP: Kohanaiki.
- KM: By where your grandpa was?
- RP: Yes, but my grandfather stayed further down. He was close to the road mauka, the old road.
- KM: And Tūtū Ehu also, was at Kohanaiki?
- RP: Yes. And Nu'uaniu, Keanaaina was at Honokōhau junction. Where had the store.
- KM: Yes, that was the old man William Nu'uaniu Keanaaina, Sr.
- RP: Yes, they had the store. He also used to raise pigs, work for Palani Ranch.
- KM: 'Ae... ...You know, you mentioned the families that were living in Kohanaiki, like that. Was there Mokuaikai still around?
- RP: No.
- KM: Evidently, at one point Mokuaikai, in the nineteen-teens and twenties, right around when you were born, he had a *hui* of fisher-people out of Kaloko. And then William Keanaaina mā came in, after Mokuaikai.
- RP: Oh, that's before my time.
- KM: Yes. There's another name, Kaiakoili, do you remember that name?
- RP: Yes I heard of him.



KM: Kawaimaka?

RP: Kawaimaka, Kaiakoili. I think that's the same *'ohana* with Nu'uaniu, maybe.

KM: Hmm, and Ha'o too. Kawaimaka Ha'o.

RP: Ha'o, yes. Henry Ha'o, Herman Ha'o. I forget all these old names...

Fishing the Kaloko fishponds:

KM: ...You know, when we down here at Kaloko on Saturday... I guess Keanaaina's had a place just above here?

RP: *Pāpa'i*, yes.

KM: Okay, a shelter area.

RP: And they keep all the *'upena* over there.

KM: Yes, that's what you said, right on the side of Kaloko pond?

RP: They had one basket like. They call it... [thinking] where you put your net on top, *'upena kaula'i*. Had that, a little bit *mauka* of those *milo* trees.

KM: So by where we were sitting the other day?

RP: A little *mauka*. And the *pāpa'i*, you see that *milo* tree is?

KM: Yes, along the edge of the pond.

RP: That's where that *pāpa'i* was. That's where they keep all their *'upena*. All their nets and stuff inside.

KM: What were they doing with the *'upena*?

RP: Fishing in the pond. Then after they fish, they *kaula'i* and put all the nets inside.

KM: Hmm. So when they would fish in the pond, they would actually set nets?

RP: Oh yes, they had to set nets.

KM: You helped do that too?

RP: Yes. In the evening, you don't do it day time, like this. It's in the evening, when *pō'ele'ele*. Then you *pakī*, and all *makanui*. *Mahā*, *makolu*, four inch and three inch, nothing smaller.

KM: So *mahā* and *makolu*?

RP: *Mahā* and *makolu*. They take only the big ones. The small ones can get through, no trouble. and the next time they go, they catch that.

KM: So what kinds of fish were they catching?

RP: *Awa*.

KM: And you said the *awa* were?

RP: Twenty-five, thirty pounds [gestures].

KM: Wow, two feet?

RP: Yes! [gestures diameter]

KM: Almost twelve inch diameter?

RP: Yes. The smallest one you get, is maybe about ten, twelve pounds.

KM: Wow!

RP: But the rest was all big. That's why you have to get *mahā*, *hei*, *pa'a*. Only the head is inside.



KM: Yes. Were there set areas where they would lay the nets, or would you set anywhere?

RP: Oh no, you set, one night, you go out like that, then you go over. [gesturing locations]

KM: So back towards the middle pond wall?

RP: You go over, and then you go up. And then on top the wall here, you *kīpo'o*, and they all run down. Then the next time, you go back up again. Then you go to a different place. You don't go to the same place every time, because bumby, they come *maka'u*.

KM: Ah, so they know.

RP: Yes. And then when they *poina*, you go get 'um. Some times you go straight over, other times, you *huli*, go up. It's a big area. You like straight, you can go straight. And then you make pockets [gestures, circling the net].

KM: So you make a circle at the inside?

RP: Yes.

KM: And about how deep was the water?

RP: Oh, some places, about ten feet.

KM: Wow! That deep in the pond?

RP: Yes, ten feet. So we do one night over there... But you don't go every night.

KM: Yes.

RP: And moonlight night, you don't go, you wait for dark nights.

KM: So moon light night...?

RP: No can, because they see the net, the *īkoi*, they jump. Dark night, they hit it.

KM: Interesting. Now you were coming down here to help go fishing when?

RP: In 1947.

KM: So a little after the war years?

RP: Yes.

KM: Who was running the ponds then?

RP: At that time it was Kim Chong.

KM: Is that Francis Foo?

RP: Francis Foo. Akona stopped taking fish, so Francis Foo took over. Akona was only concentrating on Honokōhau. At that time, still had *mākāhā*.

KM: Hmm.

RP: Had the *mākāhā*, and no more the kind mangrove trees, it was all open.

KM: All open. And still had *mākāhā*, one or two *mākāhā*?

RP: The only one I saw was way down. But they said had another one, but I didn't see it because the *one* came up. The *one* went cover 'em.

KM: Things changed. How about, you were saying this *kuapā* here, what did it look like when you were young?

RP: We used to come down, and that thing was wide. We used to drive across it. And then, when the thing went *hiō*, *pau*, you only can go part way.

KM: Had two or one *mākāhā*, on the wall?



RP: Only one that I remember, a big one, way down .

KM: Way on the other side, Kohanaiki side?

RP: Yes, You see where the waves are breaking?

KM: Yes.

RP: This side. And it was about from here to that tree wide.

KM: Oh, so as much as twenty feet wide?

RP: Oh yes, wide, and high.

KM: So the wall was ten feet high?

RP: Yes, about this high like what they're doing.

KM: So like the restoration.

RP: About that size. Until over there, and then they had a plank on top, to walk across, or you can drive across. Thick plank.

KM: Yes.

RP: So the wall went down, the plank went down too.

KM: Yes.

RP: Oh when *'ōkaikai*, just like nothing.

KM: Yes. It's interesting, because this side of the wall [south side of pond wall], is more protected.

RP: That's right, and curved, so the pressure is in an angle like that. It's not straight, but it hits the corner like that.

KM: Yes, so that's why that side, all *hāne'e*.

RP: You put 'um up, it doesn't take long, it's down. Only when *'ōkaikai*. When mālia, you come on top of the *kuapā*, the *uouoa*, on top all that *'ili'ili*, all loaded.

KM: For real?

RP: All *lele*. One throw enough, go home. You don't need to go look for anymore. There was that much.

KM: Hmm.

RP: I throw for *manini*, right inside here [the area on the south of the pond wall]. You have to get a good running tide, this kind size [gestures, size].

KM: Oh, eight inch, ten inch.

RP: One throw, one and a half buckets.

KM: Wow!

RP: Your heart pounds! You feel good. Us guys, we *māhele*, we go home, we give to family.

KM: Yes.

RP: We don't take all. Or if any strangers happen to pass, we share with them.

KM: That's how it was, eh?

RP: Yes.

KM: How were the fish, like the *awa* out here, was *'ono*? Was it something that people liked to get?



There was a difference in the quality of the water and fish, between Kaloko and Honokōhau ponds:

- RP: Oh yes, and the Japanese liked that. Good *awa*. No *hohono*, not muddy.
- KM: Hmm, because the water circulates?
- RP: That's right, interchange. The movement, and pulling out. But, if you go to Honokōhau, you cannot eat the fish. Well, you could, but you feel like you're eating mud. All you can taste is mud.
- KM: Hmm. So there was a difference in the quality of fish from Kaloko to Honokōhau?
- RP: Oh yes.
- KM: What is the name of the pond over there?
- RP: 'Aimakapā, the big one.
- KM: Yes. You know, in the back of 'Aimakapā, in fact this map shows it here [1961 map of the Honokōhau-Kaloko coastal lands], It has these smaller ponds in the back there?
- RP: Oh yes, they have, but I don't know what the purpose of putting those up was, but they still have that till today.
- KM: Yes. So these were here when you were young?
- RP: Oh yes.
- KM: Because you shared that you used to comedown to Honokōhau when you were young.
- RP: Yes. We used to chase *pipi*, come down in here. They come in here, 'cause it's shallow.
- KM: Yes, the back end of the pond.
- RP: Then we come over here back inside of the kiawe, and they reach all the way down here. Was all *ahuwale* before.
- KM: Hmm.
- RP: We used to chase 'um, rope 'um and take 'um back up. Yes these had [tapping map at location of small ponds].
- KM: Yes.
- RP: Except Kaloko, no more, because the pond is big. Honokōhau had, the little ponds, but I don't know why they made that. Maybe easy to trap the fish?
- KM: Yes. Like you said at Makalawena, some they have *ki'o pua* or *ki'o 'ōpae*?
- RP: Yes, yes.
- KM: If you put all the 'ōpae, all the *pua*, and all the big fish together, 'ai 'ia.
- RP: Right. So you get some way of survival, help it to restore. But, I don't know where they were getting the *pua*. But all the *pua* that used to come over here to Kaloko, was from 'Anaeho'omalū.
- KM: Oh?

Practices associated with restocking fishponds:

- RP: They brought the *pua* from 'Anaeho'omalū. They go on a *wa'a*, they get the *kilo*. The kind they use for *kilo aku*, bait.
- KM: Yes, yes.
- RP: They take it over there, get the *pua*, come back with the *hoe*.
- KM: Wow!



RP: All from 'Anaeho'omalū. Hoo, you look on top that *one*, like from here all the way to that corner down there, at 'Anaeho'omalū. You look on the sand, *moi*, *āholehole*, *awa*, mullet. I used to go down there, that's why I know.

KM: Hmm.

RP: And good place to throw net too. We used to go down to Kapalaoa, that's right next door.

KM: Yes.

RP: That's an *āholehole* place. Keawaiki, that's another good fishing spot. That belonged to Francis Brown.

KM: Yes, Keawaiki.

RP: I'm *kama'āina* to all that area.

KM: So you fished from Honokōhau all the way...

RP: From Keauhou.

KM: 'Oia?

RP: We used to dive for *akule* from Keauhou, and right through. Keauhou, Kailua Bay. Before, *komo i loko*.

KM: 'Ae. *Ka akule*?

RP: *Akule*. When they come inside, the water sparkle, and that spot moves.

KM: It must be beautiful.

RP: 'Ae.

KM: And when you go out get *i'a*, come home, *māhele*?

RP: Oh yes. When we *ku'u* the *'upena*, you no need swim, we get every thing. They stay on the wharf, and help, they get their share. Everybody get their share. Small kids and all, everybody gets a share to take home. Even if they tell, "Oh, my mother get already." "No, no, that's yours." [chuckling] And we used to bring *akule* from Mahai'ula, down to Kailua Bay on the sampan. Some times we had to make five loads of sampan.

KM: Your kidding, from Mahai'ula?

RP: Mahai'ula. And then, we cannot take all, got to let 'um go.

KM: Yes.

RP: Most of the big fish, *pōwā*, *puka* the *'upena*. *Pōwā!* That's like *'ulua* and *kāhala*.

KM: Hmm.

RP: They stay with the fish all the time.

Transporting the fish from Kaloko to Kailua:

KM: Speaking of taking fish from Mahai'ula like that, by sampan. How were the fish taken from Kaloko, out to Kailua?

RP: Either the donkey, or later on, Francis Foo got his jeep. But before, was all donkey.

KM: And was the old *alanui*?

RP: The trail. You can either go from *makai*, or you can go from *ma waena*.

KM: Yes. We saw a section of the old *Alanui Aupuni*...

RP: Right, right, Kamehameha Trail.

KM: Yes, when we came in today.



RP Kamehameha Trail, you take that to one section that goes down, and the trail goes up.

KM: Right in Kailua?

RP: On top. They have trail comes right down.

KM: So it must have been something to load up baskets of fish.

RP: Yes, that kind *'ie*, and put on the *kēkake*. Then they get *limu*. They put *limu*, they put the fish inside. Then they lay *limu* and put fish inside, and more *limu*.

KM: What kind of *limu*?

RP: They get *limu kala*.

KM: So they would go out and gather *limu kala*?

RP: Yes, there was plenty over here, that *limu kala*.

KM: Hmm.

RP: I don't see that *limu kala* now.

KM: You're right, there's hardly nothing now. Why did they put the *limu* in the *'ie*?

RP: To keep it fresh. See, anything that touches flesh to flesh, get heat. But when you put that *limu*, it separates it, it gave it divisions.

KM: Yes.

RP: So it's cool.

KM: 'Ae. interesting.

RP: And it's amazing, how did they know that?

KM: It is.

RP: Then, when they didn't have *limu*, they used the *lau*.

KM: *Lau milo, lau...?*

RP: Any kind of *lau*, so you have the separation. So the *lau* inside, and you put the fish on top.

KM: Yes. Like you said, how did they know this?

RP: The knowledge from doing it.

KM: *Mahalo ke Akua*.

RP: The good Lord showed them all of these things. Then they went ahead and did it. Amazing!

KM: Yes.

RP: Over here, we *lūhe'e*, we take so much, that's it.

Lūhe'e fishing at Kaloko; there was an *'aumakua he'e* known in the Kaloko area:

KM: So in front of Kaloko was also a good *lūhe'e* grounds?

RP: Right in front of here, good *lūhe'e*. And on the outside, I never saw it, but my friends, Herbert Ako, Red Kanuha, and Pedro-Pai, they do a lot of diving. They dive for fish, they dive for *he'e*. They said they saw a big one out here. *Lana*!

KM: Just *lana*, floating on the water?

RP: One big one, the head is so big [gestures, sixteen-twenty inches]. But I never saw it. But they don't mess around with that. They just let 'um go, *'aumakua*, eh?

KM: 'Ae.



RP: Come big like that, that's *'aumakua* already.

KM: 'Ae.

RP: They just let it go, and all the time they go, just good luck.

KM: Hmm. You know, when you were young, you would come down, out of Kohanaiki down here, or...how did you come down?

RP: I used to come with Isemoto, Takahashi, Imada, we would go surround net, night time. They come down here, spend maybe one night. Oh loaded! We start from here, and then end up down at 'O'oma.

KM: From real? Wawaloli section?

RP: Wawaloli. The donkey would be loaded. All kinds of fish. Then we come back, but not all the way. we come to Kohanaiki and back up. We don't come back over here.

KM: So you go up the Kohanaiki Trail?

RP: Go up and come up to Kohanaiki Junction. Then from over there, we go home. They go Keōpū, Lanihau, and Isemoto stayed at Honokōhau. All fishermen.

KM: In your *kūpuna* time, they must have gone *mauka-makai* between *mauka* Kohanaiki and down to the shore?

RP: Oh yes. There is the *ala hele*, even till today. It's still there. The road you come down now, you go by the church. You know that church I told you about?

KM: Yes, the old Kohanaiki church.

RP: Yes, the trail from there, comes all the way down Kohanaiki, and comes *puka* outside here.

KM: 'Ae... Did you folks ever do anything in the ponds over at Kohanaiki, get *'ōpae* or anything?

RP: No. Because we had enough *'ōpae* where we were. We don't fish for *'ōpelu* over here too, we don't need to.

KM: I see. Was anyone living *makai* at Kohanaiki when you were young, that you remember?

RP: Not that I know of.

KM: Okay.

RP: But guys go fishing there, and have *hale pāpa'i* or they just come down for the day and go back.

KM: Hmm.

RP: Tūtū Ehu, when he comes down, maybe a couple of hours, he's going home already. He get too much.

KM: Wow!

RP: Because he uses that *po'o holoholo*.

KM: Yes, that wonderful style of net fishing.

RP: *Po'o holoholo*, all those small kinds of ponds like that. The *awāwa*, inside.

KM: 'Ae.

RP: He puts his *'upena* and *kīpo'o pōhaku*.

KM: 'Ae.

RP: It doesn't take long, you see the *'upena*, all flashing.



KM: Amazing!

RP: Then he takes and put on his kēkake, goes home *mauka*, Kohanaiki.

KM: And what kinds of fish in that *po'o holoholo*?

RP: All kinds, *manini, pualu, uhu, kala*, all those kinds of fish you can think of.

KM: And what is the *maha 'ō'ō* you mentioned earlier?

RP: It's something like a *pualu*, but it's orange color. I think same thing like *pualu*, but only this is orange.

KM: Ah. Has orange stripes?

RP: Yes, orange stripes on the bottom and the top.

KM: So all of these types of fish you could catch in that method?

RP: The *maiko, 'ape, kūpīpī*, what ever.

KM: That was how you folks lived, yeah?

RP: That's it. And you only take what you can use. The rest, you let go. No sense you take all, because all going *pohō*.

KM: 'Ae. May I ask you...you know at Kohanaiki, you didn't go into the ponds there?

RP: No.

KM: You went along the *lae kahakai*?

RP: Only *lae kahakai*, we didn't mess around with the ponds. But, at that time, didn't have those trees.

KM: None of that mangrove?

RP: No, was all open. All *pālahalaha!*

KM: 'Ae. You know at Wāwahiwa'a, there is a platform like?

RP: Yes, but I don't know what it was for.

KM: Okay. It interesting, because if you look in front of it, on the pāhoehoe, there are petroglyphs.

Describes various fishing locations along the coast of Kekaha, North Kona:

RP: Could be, because in the olden days. Do you know why they call that place Wāwahiwa'a?

KM: No. How come?

RP: 'Cause when *mālie*, they cut short, then *kai pōwā!*

KM: 'Oia?

RP: It can be *mālie* like this, *maika'i*, calm. All of the sudden, big *nalu* comes up. *Pōwā*, they keep you off balance. Then that wave, one time goes and you [slaps hands] *pili* to the *pōhaku!*

KM: So Wāwahi-wa'a, Shattered-canoe?

RP: All shattered, yeah. Maybe not only one. One hit and the next one, then *mālie* again.

KM: Amazing!

RP: That's why they call that place Wāwahiwa'a.

KM: So it has that characteristic?

RP: That thing took place, it happened. That's why they named it that.



KM: Yes.

RP: Even like us, me, I go night time, I can't cut short, you stay outside of that.

KM: So you don't cut in?

RP: You don't cut short. And the same thing happened at Mahai'ula. You never cut short at Mahai'ula, *moe 'oe*.

KM: By the Ka'elehuluhulu side?

RP: Yes, Ka'elehuluhulu, They call that Kupiliki'i.

KM: Kupiliki'i?

RP: Yes, Kupiliki'i. And the navy, a 75 foot boat, I think one or two of the navy boats got sunk over there.

KM: Yes.

RP: Was real *mālie*, and right there, they came to cut short. Hoo, as soon as they hit on top of there, that *nalū* came, one after another. And over there is *pāhoehoe*. Get the *ha'alu*, the deep, but once you get pushed inside, *pau*, grounded.

KM: Hmm. So Kupiliki'i?

RP: That's the name of that place.

KM: Interesting.

RP: The wave goes up, and all of the sudden, boom! Ku-pili-ki'i, she stands up, raises itself up, then all of the sudden puts you down. Even day time. You never cut shore over there because you don't know when that thing will rise. And we used to fish just outside of there, for 'ū'ū. That was on rubber raft already.

KM: Oh.

RP: More safe [chuckles].

KM: Yes, no *wāwahi!*

RP: The 'ū'ū there, you stay on top of the *puka*, you see them all coming out [gestures, size].

KM: Wow, twelve inch kind of 'ū'ū.

RP: This kind size. The *ana* is loaded.

KM: Hmm.

RP: Me, my brother Jack, and we took A.K. Magoon once. Oh, he like go every time, we tell him, "No, every time, no can." One time alright. Then you wait to another time when *mālie*.

KM: You really have to know the ocean and the currents and everything.

RP: Oh yes. Like anything else, when you walk on the earth, you have to know it, where the *pukas* stay. You got to know where the *palupalu* earth is, all of these things, you ask the good Lord to guide you.

Always pray and ask first, before taking fish, or working the land:

KM: 'Ae. That's what you've always said, "*Pule mua, noi mua.*"

RP: *Noi mua! A'ale hele wale, a'ale pono hele.*

KM: 'Ae.

RP: Even the olden days when they mahi'ai, they clean. They get two or three acres, they like plant *kalo*. And all the 'ohana in that area come to clean. They clean your place. Then



clean, *kanu*, and when *pau* yours, they get theirs. All in unity, right around. But the only *pilikia*, when yours ready, you eat one whole week, no work. [chuckling] You know, they celebrate.

KM: Yes, yes.

RP: When *pau* that, go plant again. When yours is *pau*, they going take the next one, the neighbors.

KM: So the community supported one another?

RP: That's right. They go all the way down, nobody starved.

KM: Even when you were young?

RP: Yes, even when I was young, we had that working together.

KM: 'Ae... And that's, because in the old days, the *kūpuna*, if that's how you folks were taught...

RP: Oh yes, we were taught that, *a'ole pono hana. Hana ke kanaka mākua, noi mua.*

KM: 'Ae, *noi mua. Mahalo...!* When we were out here the other day, you had such nice recollection of out here. So I wanted us to take the time to record some of your history again.

RP: I'm glad to.

KM: It's so important. So this was a good pond out here, Kaloko?

RP: Oh yes, those days, *nui ka i'a!*

KM: When is the last time you fished in this pond?

RP: Oh, I think the last time I fished in here was in the 1950s.

KM: Hmm. Hu'ehu'e used to have this *'āina* here, yeah?

RP: Yes. But we could come down. My brother, myself, on the horse.

KM: How did you come down?

RP: From Kohanaiki, and on top there [indicating behind the pond] we can cut across.

KM: Yes.

RP: We used to chase *pipi*, there were plenty *pipi* trails. Not manmade trails.

KM: *Pipi.*

RP: Manmade trail, that's the one that comes from mauka, straight down.

KM: From by the church?

RP: From the church, all the way down, that's the main trail. And then when we go from 'O'oma, come down, that's the main trail, all the way down to Wawaloli.

KM: 'Ae...



Island of Kaua'i:

May Melapa Makanui-Corr

**(with Richard Corr, Corrine Leilani Corr-Murata,
Pua Corr, and Valentine Ako) at Hanapēpē, Kaua'i**

October 13, 2002 and June 22, 2003 – with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. 4677)

Kupuna Melapa Makanui-Corr was born at Hanapēpē in 1917. She is the daughter of Ho'opi'i Makanui and Melapa Kalihi-Makanui. Her papa was a noted fisherman of Hanapēpē, who still used a *Kū'ula* while fishing for *akule*. Her family also maintained *'āina pa'akai* (a salt making *kuleana*) at Pū'olo Point (Hanapēpē), and had *kuleana* with *lo'i kalo* in the upper valley of Hanapēpē.

Kupuna Melapa and her son, Richard Corr, share with readers, detailed descriptions of fishing from ocean to the mountain streams, where *kahe* were developed each year for *'o'opu* and *'ōpae*.

They also describe the decline of water and *'o'opu* resources over the years, and lament that they have been unable to teach their *mo'opuna* how to make the *kahe* and perpetuate the family history. *Kupuna mā* also describe practices associated with *ka hana pa'akai* (salt making) at Pū'olo (Konakailio).

Kupuna is a gifted story teller, and shares her *mo'olelo* with great *aloha*, and a desire that her own family and future generations will care for the land, water, ocean, and resources in a way that honors the past, and enriches the future. Initial arrangements for the interview were made by *Kupuna* Val Ako, who also joined us for the first interview. On July 9, 2003, *Kupuna* Melapa took Kepā to the upland *kuleana*, where she further described the system of *lo'i kalo*, *'auwai*, stream flow, and use of *kahe* in *'o'opu* fishing; and pointed out the areas described in the recorded interviews.

Kupuna Melapa Corr and her son, Richard Corr, granted their personal release of the interview records to Maly on June 22, 2003.

MC: ...My full name is May Melapa Ho'opi'i up till fourth grade. My father found out that he was using his first name instead of last name. So when I was in the fourth grade he changed it to Makanui.

KM: I see.

MC: Because that was my father's first name, Ho'opi'i Makanui and I was carrying May Melapa Ho'opi'i.

KM: 'Ae... What year you went hānau, what's your birth date?



MC: December 26th, 1917.

KM: *Ā pōmaika'i nō!*

MC: *Kokoke piha 'ana au i kanawalu kūmālima.*

KM: *'Ae 85, pōmaika'i. Mahalo ke akua!*

MC: *'Ae [chuckling]...*

KM: *...O wai ka inoa o kou makuahine?*

MC: *Melapa.*

KM: *Melapa! A, 'oia kona inoa, Melapa...?*

MC: *'Ae, kahea wau i ku'u mama.*

KM: *Melapa?*

MC: *'Oia ke kumu kahea, kekāhi po'e mamake wala'au me ia'u ai'ole me ku'u mama. A o wau, Melapa li'i'i'i ko'u inoa [chuckling].*

KM: *'Ae...*

MC: *...I think ku'u mama mai Waimea mai.*

KM: *Hmm. But papa, hānau 'oia ia ne'i, i Hanapēpē?*

MC: *[thinking -chuckling] Pēlā paha, a'ole wau 'ike. Kekāhi po'e wala'au "mai Ni'ihau mai ku'u papa." A po'e wala'au wā kahiko, "kīpaku 'ia ku'u papa me kō lākou hoaloha paha. I don't know, that's what they said.*

KM: *'Ae. Kūkū, ua lohe wau i ka mo'olelo, inā hūhū o Lopikana i nā kānaka, kīpaku 'ia lākou.*

MC: *Yes, yes...*

KM: *...So your 'āina is mauka?*

MC: *Yes. My Aunty Kahulu mā lived on one side of the river and we lived on the other side of the river.*

KM: *And this is the one above the Pump 3, Makanui then more high?*

MC: *Yes, yes.*

KM: *And you had a name for that land over there you said?*

MC: *Yes, Kūmimi. But that is just the pond not the land.*

KM: *Oh, I see.*

MC: *I don't think the land, they have a name for that, you know.*

KM: *That pond is by your folks 'āina, kuleana?*

MC: *No, no. It's across, it's almost close to maybe from here, the horse is too far.*

Discusses the significance of the pond of Kūmimi:

KM: *Ahh so just here. And Kūmimi is a pond?*

MC: *Yes.*

KM: *That's an interesting name, Kūmimi, he'aha ka mana'o [chuckles]?*

MC: *[chuckling] Well, Kū-mimi means, "Stand and urinate."*

KM: *Ahh.*



MC: So, that's what I tell everybody. And that's what they used to say, "had one man go up on the hill over there and urinate." But that pond is real eerie, eerie, eerie, eerie!

KM: *Pehea kou mana'o, lo'a mo'o?*

MC: It's a sacred...it's real sacred. That's where they offer, they offer a lot of things in there.

KM: *Mōhai* like that, *ho'okupu*?

MC: I don't know, I hear even babies they offer but I never... My dad just offered taro.

KM: I see, so even in your life time, papa would go to that...

MC: Yes.

KM: ...Kūmimi, to the pond and make *ho'okupu*?

MC: Yes... And my father, was in a fishing *hui* too. He had fishing...he had two Japanese partners, and he was in that *hui* with them.

KM: 'Ae.

Father kept the *akule* Kū'ula:

MC: The reason why, because he get the *pū'olo*, get the *pōhaku i'a*.

KM: *Kū'ula*?

MC: Yes. That's why, *'oia ke kumu mamake lākou*.

KM: *A e hui me ia?*

MC: 'Ae.

KM: *lāia kekāhi i kahea i ka i'a?*

MC: 'Ae, 'ae. You know it's really hard for me I try to forget. I try...I don't want my children...but yet, sometimes things come...

KM: ...'Oia ke 'ano o ka wā kahiko, hana lākou. And pehea o Papa ua hele 'oia i kai, i Hanapēpē, lawai'a?

MC: Yes. Down by the [thinking] you know where the tennis court is? Down here Hanapēpē that used to be a big fishing place.

KM: *Muliwai?*

MC: That's where they *kaula'i i'a* all the *'upena*.

KM: Oh yeah.

MC: All over there. And that's where my father used to go.

KM: What were their fish out there? What did they go *lawai'a*? *Akule*? What kind of fish?

MC: *Akule*.

KM: *Akule*, oh.

MC: Sometimes *'ō'io*, but they used to have plenty, plenty, plenty. Everybody's basket full, we sit all around we going to get a *māhele i'a*.

KM: 'Ae, *māhele i'a*.

MC: Sit down all around everybody throw, throw, throw we keep going, keep going till the basket empty, and that's it, then you take 'em.

KM: So that was their style when they go *lawai'a*?

MC: Yes.



KM: People come help, and they *māhele i'a*?

MC: Yes, a lot of people come.

KM: Did papa take care of the old *kūpuna* like that?

MC: And my mom, and this other lady over here. They were the watch men. Because everybody, when they pull the fish, comes up, and they take 'em put 'em in the bag.

KM: [chuckles] So they would keep everybody honest?

MC: Yes, yes...

KM: ...Hard life yeah at times, but many good memories too, I think?

MC: Yes.

KM: Now you folks so you lived by Kūmimi was mauka?

MC: Yes. We have the pump house, but that is just to come down to go church.

KM: I see. So had house down there to?

MC: Yes.

KM: And that's the one Makanui by Pump House 3?

MC: Yes...

KM: So you folks had two houses here?

MC: Yes.

KM: One by Pump 3?

MC: Yes.

KM: Is there a name for that area that you remember?

MC: They must have one name.

KM: Okay. But then your second house was?

MC: Up the valley, up Kūmimi.

KM: Would you say it's a mile more or, about a mile above pump?

MC: No. More than that I think, little more.

RC: Yes, a little more. See from the fire station over here in Hanapēpē. The house up there is three miles.

KM: Oh, okay.

MC: Yes. Then go up maybe about mile or almost two, mile or mile and a half.

RC: A mile and a half.

KM: Okay. So, you folks had the house *mauka*. Was that where your *lo'i* are? *Mauka*, at Kūmimi?

MC: Yes. That's where, well we work over there and we come down only to go to church.

KM: I see. So you would stay at the *makai* or lower house, or just stop on the way?

MC: No, no we stay. We come, from Saturday we come down, *moe* and all that...

KM: 'Ae... *Kūkū*, you folks were growing *kalo*, *mauka*?

MC: Yes.



KM: How many *lo'i* did you keep?

MC: Hmm, plenty. How many acres, we had plenty.

KM: How were your *lo'i*? Were they *kuāuna*, the dirt banks or...?

MC: Like this [pointing to *lo'i*, kept by the family in lower Hanapēpē Valley].

KM: Like this?

MC: Something like this.

KM: Flat land you dig in?

MC: Yes. Not *pu'u*, just flat.

KM: 'Ae. So, all *lo'i*?

MC: Yes.

KM: With *'auwai*?

MC: Running water we get the first [thinking]...

KM: You folks got the first water out of the *kahawai*?

MC: Well, the rice patches, the rice filled patches, they get. But for taro we were the first ones, then it comes down all down here.

KM: Yes... And plenty water when you were young?

MC: Oh yes.

KM: Plenty of water?

MC: Plenty.

KM: The water flowed out of, they had some *laiki*, *mauka* of you?

MC: Yes.

KM: Into the *kahawai* to your folks *lo'i*?

MC: Yes. The rice was on the other side and we were...because we were at the end of our place because there was nothing. There's another pond right above Kūmimi. And then we were right at the edge of that pond, so across that's where the Japanese used to raise a lot of rice.

KM: Does the other pond have a name? Kūmimi and then the other pond?

MC: The other one, Kūmimi and then [thinking] Waipā I think.

KM: Waipā.

MC: They have.

KM: Oh, I see Waipa'a in fact it's on the map here I think. [looking at map]

MC: Yes. I thought was Waipā.

KM: Let me just see, I saw it on one of the maps. It must be on the other one hold on let me just see. See I see this is an old map it's Register Map Number 158, it was surveyed in 1872.

MC: [looking at map] Manuahi.

KM: Manuahi, you recognize that name?

MC: Yes.

KM: That's way *mauka* yeah?



MC: Yes. That's almost by the waterfall.

KM: Ahh, so the waterfall?

MC: Yes.

KM: Is more *mauka*? So Waipā or Waipa'a. But you heard Waipā, not Waipa'a?

MC: No, Waipā.

KM: Waipā.

MC: Because they say that when you come, you can touch the kind, even though...just like *pā*.

KM: 'Ae, oh. It's on the other map Waipā. [looking at map] See, interesting too the name, like at Pump 3, it says the name of the 'auwai, it says 'Auwai Kuhumu. Kuhumu, I don't know if that's an old name.

MC: Kuhumu?

KM: Kuhumu... So that was the other pond though, Kūmimi and then Waipā.

MC: And then have one, another pond further up.

KM: Ahh.

MC: Just before the rice mill another, the last rice mill.

KM: The last rice mill. You said there were three rice mills?

MC: Four.

KM: Four.

MC: One over here, and Pump 2 get one, and one our place [Pump 3].

KM: By your place.

MC: And one further up.

KM: Wow!

MC: Must be, they had lot of Japanese...

KM: ...You were sharing, you folks had many *lo'i*, several acres of *lo'i*?

MC: Yes.

Stream flow was good before; water pure, no one got sick from the water, like today:

KM: The 'auwai came in. May I ask you, from when you were young and the water. You had good water flow all the time?

MC: We used the water we don't have faucet.

KM: Yes.

MC: We use the water for drink.

KM: Right from the *kahawai*?

MC: Drink. Yes, get the buckets and hang 'em up for when we thirsty we drink 'em. We didn't have no faucet.

KM: And no *ma'i* that time right?

MC: No. We wash our clothes, we bathe, we drink water.

KM: *Tūtū* if you think today, and when you were young or even in the forties, fifties like that. Is the water flow today as good as it was back then do you think?



MC: No.

KM: Different?

MC: Yes.

RC: No more as much water. Before there was a lot of water.

KM: Not as much water?

MC: Now you cannot, you cannot swim dangerous bumby you get that [thinking].

KM: *Leptospirosis*?

MC: Yes. You cannot even drink, dangerous you cannot drink the water. How sad, I wonder why.

KM: Yes, how come?

MC: Well, they claim the cows, rodents, birds, polluting all the place.

KM: The water is not flowing as strong today as it was... Uncle Richard how old are you?

RC: Fifty-nine.

KM: Fifty nine okay, so from when you were born or when you were young the water is not as strong?

RC: No.

KM: And that's a part of it. If the water doesn't clean and circulate well, that's why these *ma'i* come also.

RC: Yes.

MC: Now it's much safer to go down the beach and swim than the river.

RC: Before, I do a lot of hunting, Robinson's give me pass to go hunt on their land.

KM: Yes.

RC: And every year you can see, maybe about five years they extend that dam right by the waterfalls, Manowaiopuna.

KM: Manowaiopuna?

RC: Yes. They extend the dam up.

KM: You mean they keep raising it up and raising it up?

RC: Yes. The concrete, you can tell. Me, I'm a mason, you can see where there's a fresh pour and all that. You can see all the different types of concrete.

KM: So they keep capturing more and more water?

RC: Definitely. What we get coming down here in this river right now, that's not from the main river. You see, you get Manowaiopuna, the big waterfall. And you get this other valley, Hialoa Valley and that's where the lump sum of the water is. That goes all to Robinson. We just get the runoff you know, when they ditch.

KM: Do they release water out of the ditch or is that just leak?

RC: It's just leaking.

KM: So there's not even a system of managing the gates and letting...?

RC: No, no.

MC: Like now, he's raising taro different. We used to raise with fresh water flowing always in the taro.



KM: I see.

MC: But now he have to fill up his patch, and then close the water. And fill up his patch, you know.

KM: 'Cause no more enough water?

MC: No, not only that.

RC: And we don't have an outlet, somebody covered the 'auwai, the State wasn't on top of it. *Māno* previously built in stream to divert water to *lo'i* and to develop *kahe* for 'o'opu fishing:

MC: We have to the kind build *māno*. You know what is *māno*?

KM: 'Ae, *māno*, dams across?

MC: Yes, we build *māno*.

KM: For here or for *mauka*?

RC: *Mauka*.

MC: For our place up there.

KM: For your place so you build *māno*?

MC: We make *māno* like that, and then we cut grass.

KM: 'Ae.

MC: We cut bundle of grass and then where the rock the fill, you go up side and open, all the grass and then the water push 'em down and plug all the holes.

KM: Yes, I see. So you would build the rock wall for the *māno*?

MC: Yes we build the rock wall, and then you got to go cut grass then you go on the opposite, not down side now.

KM: Yes *mauka*.

MC: And spread the grass, let 'em all go down. And let the pressure pull 'em down and go right in the holes. Amazing you know!

KM: *Hakahaka*, fill everything up?

MC: Yes. Fill up, all shut, shut the *puka*.

KM: And so from where your *māno* was then you had a *kahe* where it would go into your *lo'i* or to the 'auwai?

MC: Yes. And then we have other kind, we call it *kahe*, but Waimea call it *hā*.

KM: 'Ae. Same thing basically?

MC: Yes. We put *kahe* inside that ditch.

KM: 'Ae.

MC: Every morning we have to wake up early go pick up all the 'ōpae, the 'o'opu, every morning we take, otherwise the fish shark beat you to it.

KM: Oh yeah, fish shark?

RC: The *auku'u*.

MC: Fish shark yeah, *auku'u*.

KM: [chuckling] *Auku'u*.

MC: The *auku'u* would beat you, you have to go early in the morning.



Discussing *‘ōpae*, *‘o‘opu*, mullet and *āholehole* fishing in Hanapēpē River; fish found three mile inland:

KM: Lay net?

MC: Lay.

KM: What type of *‘ōpae*?

MC: Any time when you get grass, any time. And then when get flood, sometimes they get on the road, they get a puddle and they swim in there you go pick ‘em up.

KM: Yes, yes. How big were the *‘ōpae*?

MC: Big, kind of big, not small.

KM: Two inch kind?

MC: No, kind of big.

KM: Three inch kind?

MC: Yes.

KM: These are *‘ōpae maoli*, native *‘ōpae*?

MC: Yes, not the prawns.

KM: *‘Ōpae kala‘ole*?

MC: No, not *‘ōpae kala‘ole*, *‘ōpae maoli*.

KM: *‘Ōpae maoli*.

MC: *‘Ōpae kala‘ole*, that’s the one from the mountain, but we have sometimes.

KM: I see, from way *mauka*.

MC: Yes. Then you go *hāhā* by the stone, the *‘ōpae* get *pili*. Just like the *‘o‘opu nopili*, you see that *nopili* underneath.

KM: ‘Ae, the sucker?

MC: Sucker, yeah.

KM: So you would get *‘ōpae* and *‘o‘opu* also?

MC: *‘Ō‘opu*, *‘ōpae*, mullet, *āholehole*.

KM: That far *mauka*? Into Kūmimi section?

MC: Yes, because they never had any blockage, all the way. It was open all the way. And then season time, we make *kahe* right across the river. We didn’t have no the kind laws.

KM: Yes.

MC: Right across the whole...we block the whole river. We were busy cutting, we don’t use bamboo we use *koa* sticks.

KM: *Ēkoa* type the *ēkoa*, *koa haole*?

MC: Yes. Cut and put right across. Catch plenty...

KM: And that’s you would lay out like a *hei*, a trap like?

MC: Yes, big. We block off the whole river.

KM: For real.

MC: Put two *māno* this way, and then put the *kahe* inside.



KM: So one on each side. How wide was it?

MC: No, only one *kahe*.

KM: But two *māno*?

MC: Yes, two *māno*.

KM: One on each side of the *kahe*?

MC: Yes.

KM: How wide was the stream?

RC: Wide.

MC: Pretty wide.

KM: Do you think forty feet or?

MC: I don't know, pretty wide. Maybe the size of this taro patch maybe.

RC: Especially when you make the wall from the dryland, and then the water comes.

KM: That's right it would yes.

MC: And we didn't go jail for that.

KM: '*Oia ka noho 'ana o ka Hawai'i!* That's how you folks lived, right? So you would catch '*ōpae*, '*ō'opu* even mullet, *pua*, '*ama'ama*?

MC: Yes, mullet come, *āholehole*.

KM: *Āholehole*.

MC: Yes, *āholehole* come inside. My dad used to throw net catch mullet and all. But, we never sell. We'd get '*ō'opu*, so much '*ō'opu*, we string 'em. '*O'opu* season, every house get leis and leis of '*ō'opu*.

KM: Leis of '*ō'opu*?

MC: Yes, on the line.

KM: Yes, yes.

MC: And then when dry, *pau*, they tied 'um, we put 'em in the rice bag. No more refrigerator.

KM: Yes, yes.

MC: Put 'em inside the rice bag, tied 'um up, and put 'um...hang 'um up on top [pointing to ceiling beam].

KM: Off the ceiling?

MC: Yes. And so when we ready, then we take the bag when we cook taro. Take the bag take out a few strings of '*ō'opu*, put 'em inside the bag wipe 'em up put 'em on top the taro steam 'um.

KM: Oh, wow!

MC: You know, when you cook the taro and you put the '*ō'opu* on top, and then steam 'um. Then that, maybe we steam about three or four strings that lasts for a while.

KM: Yes, yes.

MC: We hang 'um up. And what we kids do, we take only the body, we eat until all gone, the body, so we supposed to eat the head [chuckling].

KM: Then you get the *po'o* and the *hi'u* [chuckles]. And that's '*ō'opu nopili* you catch?



Describing types of 'o'opu, and seasons when caught:

RC: *Nākea.*

KM: *Nākea?*

MC: 'O'opu *nākea*. Not very much 'akupa before, those days.

KM: Oh yeah?

MC: But *nopili* very seldom, you don't get that too much. When get flood, then the *nopili* come down.

RC: Yes when get flood. When the *nopili* come down, and that's *pau*, end of the 'o'opu season.

KM: Oh yeah?

RC: Because the *nopili* can *pa'a* the on the *pōhaku*.

KM: Yes, yes.

RC: So when that bugga come down, *pau hala*, everything *pau*. But that was the saying, because used to catch *nopili* beginning of the season, and you know, anytime.

KM: Yes. Interesting. There's a beautiful old song from the Waimea side, "Ai Wale i ka Hinana."

RC: Oh yeah, beautiful song.

MC: We used to have *hinana* over here too.

RC: Yes. But I never cared for *hinana* though.

MC: You know, you make that *kahe*, and nobody work. And then before the 'o'opu season, June, July, you know the flood come down...

RC: Yes, before days, now no.

MC: And before the flood come down, we used to go with my mom get on the horse and we go way up and meet the fish, 'cause the 'o'opu are all in the pond.

KM: 'Ae.

MC: They get big stomach already, and they just ready for the flood then bring them down here.

KM: Yes, wash down.

MC: Wash down, and then they *hānau* over here. We used to go up and meet them up there in the pond. They have ponds all over and then we go *mōkoi*.

KM: *Mōkoi?*

MC: Yes. Used to be open never used to be blocked. We could go anytime when we wanted.

KM: Oh, for real? But now they blocked it?

MC: All blocked. When mountain apple season, we would always go up and get the horse we put the two five gallon square...

KM: *Kini?*

MC: *Kini*. Put 'em on the horse then go up there, and then get fern, *palai*.

KM: 'Ae, *palai*.

MC: Yes. And then pad up all the cans so no bruise.

KM: 'Ae, *mālama*, and it keeps it cool like that?



MC: Yes. And not bruised.

KM: Yes, yes.

MC: We put 'em with all the *palai* inside the can, and then put so when we go home nice and not smashed. Two cans on the side. We used to go and pick up. And we do shopping on the horse.

KM: Oh yeah, come all the way *maka'i*?

MC: Whoever is assigned to go and buy codfish... [thinking] A few things, not too much.

KM: Wonderful!

MC: We didn't eat rice. Our steady menu is *poi*, codfish and 'o'opu. The next lunch, [chuckles] three meals daily.

KM: *Poi*, codfish, 'o'opu?

Father fished for *akule* and 'o'io in Hanapēpē Bay; father was member of a fishing hui, he had the *Kū'ula*:

MC: Oh yes. And then my dad fished too so. So we had, from fishing, sometimes *akule*, 'o'io.

KM: Was there a main *kilo i'a* before, someone that would point where the school you know how they *kilo*? You know watch and point? Who was the main fisherman like a *lawai'a nui*?

MC: They used to have down here.

KM: On the *pali*, 'Ele'ele?

MC: No. They had one tall, just like the lifeguard you see the lifeguard stand?

KM: The stand.

MC: Yes, the stand. That's how they used to go up on top there.

VA: An 'ahu?

KM: An 'ahu, was it an 'ahu or a tree?

RC: They make with the board.

MC: Right down by the beach they get one house over there and they just look from there.

KM: *Kilo*?

MC: Yes.

KM: And did they use *lepa* or something to signal?

MC: Yes. Somebody used to go and *kilo*.

KM: 'Ae, 'ae. They would direct the canoes where to go?

MC: Yes, where the school is.

KM: Was there a main guy, how about when you were young, Richard?

RC: I don't know that was before my time. What she tells me, they used to have about three or four different people who had the nets. Everybody take chance.

MC: Had two, Japanese owned. My dad was in that *hui*.

KM: Partner like you said one of the *hui*.

MC: Yes.

KM: Because dad had the *Kū'ula* [chuckling]?



MC: Yes.
RC: They take chance you know. This week you, next school come in the other guy go.
KM: Yes.
MC: And they always had fish. They always had fish.
KM: Hmm, so interesting yeah?
MC: Yes. We used to go there swim, because our parents... And then when no fishing, my dad had to go down and patch net with all the people.
KM: 'Ae.

Hawaiian customs and practices observed while fishing:

MC: That was his job. And we would come down on the wagon, and then had one man with blind eye. As soon as my dad spock that man he swear in Hawaiian, "*pakalaki*." The poor Japanese man, he get one blind eye, and my father used to cuss at that man, because hard luck already.
KM: When you see the *maka pō* man.
MC: [chuckling] How terrible, no! Yes when you see the *maka pō* man he get really, really mad.
KM: *Pohō ka i'a?*
MC: Yes, yes.
Group: [all chuckling]
MC: And the kind, *pohole ka mai'a*, is the no banana. Salt pond, no egg.
KM: 'Oia, no hua?
MC: No, no, no.
KM: So salt pond like that?
MC: Yes.
KM: *Pohole ka mai'a?*
MC: Yes. They get mad, they cuss at you and scream at you [chuckling].
RC: Funny, my dad was a pure Irish man, but he had that way too.
MC: Funny no, we talk about it now, but I wonder, they had *mana*.
KM: *Ō mana, no ka mea ho'omana lākou i kēlā mau mea.*
MC: Yes. But you know, why *ke Akua*, he allow that kind? Why he no *ho'opa'i* all them?
KM: We could think the same thing for today and how people you know. 'Cause he gave us this, we got to make our own common sense and use our own yeah.
MC: Yes, that's right.
KM: So *tūtū* you folks would get the 'o'opu? That's how you lived 'o'opu, 'ōpae, the mountain apples, you grew your own *kalo* and things.
MC: Yes.
'Ōpae and 'o'opu populations have diminished; describes 'o'opu fishing:
KM: Are there 'o'opu and 'ōpae today in your stream?



MC: No. When I married, I married and I lived there for a while I had about two or three children over there. And what I do is I put the rice on, was outside stove. You know you put the rice then you take off all...then you leave only the *nahu*, the thing go simmer.

KM: Uh-hmm.

MC: I take my *mōkoi*, my *kini ko'e*, go down to the river hook fish. Get 'o'opu and come back. I get the rice cooked already, and then that's how.

KM: That's how you folks ate. Even with your *haole* husband?

MC: Yes.

RC: He used to throw net too.

KM: Oh yeah?

RC: I used to be his bag boy.

MC: But you cannot do that now, you'd starve.

KM: Yes. So now no more 'o'opu like that?

MC: No. You got to go miles and miles. The *tilapia* ate 'em all.

KM: Ohh, yes. You said *tūtū*, that you would go up *mauka* to ponds with your mother when you were young, to get 'o'opu like that. Was that by Manowaiopuna in the pools?

MC: Below, below.

KM: Below?

MC: Yes, below. There's ponds you know, all the way.

KM: 'Ae. On the way up.

MC: Because they have what sixteen crossing?

RC: Eighteen.

KM: Eighteen. Across the stream, back and forth?

MC: Yes. Because winding, winding, winding you cross that same stream for about sixteen times.

KM: And that's Hanapēpē Stream?

MC: Yes, this river. Before you get up to Manowaiopuna. But we don't go up all the way. We just go maybe about one... [thinking] from Kūmimi, Waipā the other pond, then the other pond about maybe three or four ponds and we fish.

KM: Hmm, only that far *mauka*?

MC: Yes. Then we fish over there.

KM: And are the ponds on the side of the stream or with deep in the steam itself?

MC: Side.

KM: On the sides?

MC: On the sides.

KM: So the water is calm, *mālie ka wai*?

MC: Yes, yes.

KM: Did you ever hear, did your mama them or papa, or some of the *kūpuna* say that there were *mo'ō* in those streams or *kia'i*? And if you saw the water a certain way...?



Father left offerings at Kūmimi Pond:

MC: Yes. That's why Kūmimi, that Kūmimi get.

KM: Why they always *ho'okupu*?

MC: Yes. They said Kūmimi. When we were young, we were really *maka'u*.

KM: *Maka'u kēlā mea*? Sometimes they say the water, you can't go?

MC: It feels eerie, was cold, you know, cold.

KM: Did they tell you to stay away at those times?

MC: No.

KM: They never tell you stay away?

MC: No. But when we used to work in the taro patch, and the taro is big [chuckling]. And then we crawl, crawl, crawl my mom, my dad cannot see, we crawl in the taro, inside there by Kūmimi, and go swimming. Then all of a sudden we hear the whistle my dad used to whistle, then we come back.

KM: You know it's time?

MC: No, but we supposed to be weeding, but we crawl, we crawling [chuckling].

RC: We used to pull the same thing too [chuckling]...

KM: ...*Tūtū*, did papa plant by moon seasons?

MC: [thinking] Yes.

KM: Do you remember what was the good night for planting or good nights for planting?

MC: No.

VA: They don't tell you, eh?

KM: You got to watch only, yeah?

MC: Yes.

VA: I used to ask questions and I used to get slapped.

MC: But I know he used to, every time he take first harvest, he always take 'em down to the river.

RC: Kūmimi.

KM: At Kūmimi? Very interesting.

RC: That place used to give me the creeps. Then I grow up, I used to go diving night time all that.

KM: Hmm...

MC: ...But you know, when you think about the old folks, they go to the grave with their knowledge. They don't want to share.

KM: Sad yeah?

MC: Sad.

KM: Because then we don't understand, you know.

MC: Sad... Hawaiians never shared their knowledge, they go to the grave with that.

KM: 'Ae.



MC: Real sad... ..But my husband worked with Dr. Emory and Kikuchi.

RC: He used to come over to our house all the time...He used to come over here, always visit my dad. He was the person who got my father to start cataloging all his rocks. He had all kinds of collections.

Family has *'āina pa'akai* at Pū'olo Point; describes salt making practices and customs:

MC: But I don't know why some people don't want to share. Like this lady, when they were talking about the salt ponds.

KM: Hmm... It is important that these attachments, and this history be handed down. *Tūtū*, you mentioned *pa'akai* because of some of the *'ohana*. Did you folks from the valley go out and make salt also?

MC: We have a place.

KM: You do? Ahh.

MC: We have *'āina*.

KM: Under Makanui?

MC: Yes, Makanui.

KM: Makanui. So, there were families living in the valley here. Even far *mauka* like you folks, that would come down and go out to make *pa'akai* at the same place where it is today?

MC: Yes. People used to say the mountain people share *poi*.

KM: 'Ae.

MC: And the ocean people share fish.

KM: 'Ae, *kuapo*, exchange?

MC: Yes, *kuapo*.

KM: That's how it was right?

MC: We had a pretty big place, and I thought my dad was real greedy.

KM: [chuckling]

RC: I told my mom my grandfather must have been greedy, and what she told me made sense.

MC: But to me, I thought my father was a hard worker. My father, I cannot describe, he could pass you ten million times and he won't even say nothing. He won't, he just mind his own business. A man of few words.

KM: Yes.

MC: Not sociable.

KM: But *nui ka hana*.

MC: Yes, yes...

KM: ...So *tūtū* when you folks would go down, were there seasons that you would go down or was it a weekend thing or once a month?

MC: No. They have season to prepare the salt.

KM: Yes.

MC: We start in April in preparing, getting the patch ready, April, May and then June. The peak is July.



KM: So what did you do, you would go down and make the small little *loko* like that, *kuāuna* too?

MC: Yes.

KM: Just make the *kuāuna*.

MC: *Kope, kope, kope* [gestures smoothing the surface of the *kuāuna*] , like making ball rice.

KM: 'Ae, 'ae, *lepo*.

MC: Make all the *kuāuna*.

KM: And then you go and *kahe, kahe*?

RC: 'Ānai.

MC: They 'ānai, *pīpī wai, pīpī wai*, and then with the *pōhaku*, 'ānai, 'ānai, 'ānai. *Kope, holoī ka lima; kope and pīpī wai, 'ānai, 'ānai, 'ānai*. Like the inch worm. Hard job.

KM: Hard job and then you let that dry?

MC: Yes. Bake 'em in the sun.

KM: Bake 'em in the sun?

MC: Yes. Bake 'em.

KM: And the ponds are you know what four or five feet across or so?

MC: Maybe about this table little bit.

KM: So two and a half, three feet *paha*?

MC: Yes.

KM: Three feet.

MC: And then they get the *puna* where the water come up.

KM: Yes, deep one.

MC: Yes, and then *wai kū*.

KM: Shallower?

MC: The aging place, you age the water in there. *Wai kū*. And then the 'āina. *Puna, wai kū*, and then 'āina.

KM: Ā, 'oia ka hana. *N 'oukou i 'eli ka wai kū*? You folks had to dig that or was it old?

MC: I guess we had to. They did have small, but if you leave it small you won't have enough water.

KM: That's right.

MC: So you dig the *puna*. Big, get plenty water come up.

KM: Deep, the *puna*?

MC: Yes, deep.

RC: Oh yeah, ten feet.

KM: Ten feet kind?

MC: Dangerous, they get all crystals sharp like knife.

KM: Yes, yes.

MC: Crystal, hard crystal.



KM: The salt kind?

MC: Inside that *puna* so you got to *maka'ala*, bumpy you all cut. That crystals are tough.

KM: Were there *ōpae* in these *puna*?

RC: Brine.

MC: Yes, brine shrimp.

KM: So you would have the *puna*, and you *ukuhi*, you take and dip out?

MC: Yes. And then they have sometimes, mosquito fish. You know that water is not salty enough.

KM: Ahh.

MC: When get brine shrimp then you know yeah. Then it's aged.

KM: Salty.

MC: So, if not salty enough you have to wait longer.

KM: Wait.

MC: Sometimes about one week you can harvest. What we do is we measure [points to the measure of one digit] our finger.

KM: 'Ae, *puna*?

MC: Yes, over here and then we *kahe*. Now they get all new style, they get with the rake. Us, we used to go wash our feet *pau* and then go inside *hehi, hehi, hehi*, all *wāwahi*.

KM: To break it, *wāwahi*?

MC: Yes, the *pa'akai*.

KM: The *pa'akai*. So, *kūkū* from the *puna*, to the...?

MC: *Wai kū*.

KM: And then at the *wai kū*, which is shallower?

MC: Kind of deep the *wai kū*, kind of deep.

RC: It's shallower.

KM: Not ten feet?

MC: If you make shallow, you cannot feed all your patches.

KM: That's right, that's right okay. So you have one *puna*, one *wai kū*?

MC: No, they get maybe about two or three *wai kū*, It all depends how many patches you get.

KM: Okay.

MC: If only one *wai kū*, and then you get about five, six patches, you won't have enough water.

KM: That's right okay. So in the *wai kū* how long does it sit? How long does it stay in the *wai kū*, after you bring the water over?

MC: Well, when you fill up your patch, it all depends on the sun.

KM: How good the sun is?

MC: Yes, how good the sun is.

KM: *Māmalu*, more long, yeah?

RC: Yes.



MC: If the sun is good then maybe every other day. You know but if the sun not good, maybe you can go about two, three days without filling. All depends, usually, it was so accurate those days. Was so accurate. Now days you see...

Seasons have changed for 'o'opu and salt making, from before; Changes thought to have taken place following the atomic testing in the Pacific:

VA: You know, before the atomic bomb, like in the east side, you can tell when the 'o'opu going come, in August, guaranteed. Today no can.

KM: No can.

MC: Look even 'o'opu season too. Before used to get June, July, August, the 'o'opu. Now you wait up till December, even. You know those days was so accurate.

VA/RC: Yes.

KM: There was consistency.

MC: Yes, *ma'a mau!*

KM: 'Ae. So *tūtū*, you go from the *puna* to the *wai kū*. It's going to sit in the *wai kū* for a while to get more salty right?

MC: Yes, yes.

KM: And then into your *loko* or...?

MC: *Lo'i*.

KM: *Lo'i?*

MC: Yes.

KM: Okay that's what you call it, *lo'i*?

MC: Yes, *lo'i*.

KM: Okay. And how long, once it's in the *lo'i* and the water is shallow yeah? Varies?

RC: About four inches.

MC: Yes, because you can see the 'āina get the salt.

KM: 'Āina, that's the term you used, 'āina.

MC: Get salt. So you take the water from the *wai kū* and you go above of that salt. You know if the salt is here [gesturing a certain height], then just go little bit above of that, keep going.

KM: I see, so you keep adding?

MC: Yes.

KM: You going keep adding.

MC: Keep going like that, and add till you think you have enough till *hao*.

KM: 'Ae, and then you *kope, kope, kope*, gather it up?

MC: Yes. Now they have rake, screen rake. We used to do with our hands step, step, step.

KM: Gather with your hand? And then do you take the *pa'akai*?

MC: And then when we *hao*, we *hao* everything. The Hawaiians used to like when the salt was little bit red.

KM: Yes.



MC: Now days white, the salt all white. They take only on top, and they no take the down. But we used to take all down to the dirt where it come down.

KM: 'Cause you like that *'ula'ula*?

MC: We like that little bit color now it's only white, but it's easier to *pa'i* with the *'alae*.

RC: Yes.

KM: Yes, yes, yes.

MC: It's easier.

KM: That's right.

RC: You got to put white.

MC: Yes.

RC: Nice white salt with the *'alae*, then it comes nice. If you get *lepo* kind *pa'akai*, and you put the *'alae*, it doesn't come nice.

KM: For real?

RC: Uh-hmm.

moo: You would think it would b easier to turn.

MC: And before our days, you don't use *'alae* salt any time.

KM: Oh for real?

MC: Only for special occasions.

KM: *'Alae* salt was only special?

Pollution, run off impacting salt works:

MC: When you have party then we'd put on the table. Now we broil steak, salt fish, everything with *'alae*, the kind *'alae* salt. But before no they no use. They don't use *'alae* salt any time, only special occasions.

VA: Yes, that's right.

MC: Only on special occasions. That's why now, I'm kind of *pū'iwa* when I see people *pūlehu* steak, salt the fish with all *'alae*. But good, *'ono*. I make that now. But I no *ma'a* that way, that's why. When I was brought up, it was only for special occasions.

RC: Same like the taro the *kāi*, I eat when I make *poi*. We never did make *poi* [chuckling].

MC: Yes, that's only for eat like that.

KM: Yes. So *tūtū*, April about you go down to?

MC: Yes, April, May.

KM: What is the name of that place? Do you remember?

MC: Konakailio or something,

KM: Where is Pū'olo? Have you heard that name?

MC: Pū'olo?

KM: Supposed to be Pū'olo is the name of that point, but you didn't hear that or not?

MC: Oh [thinking].

RC: Oh yeah, yeah by the lighthouse?



KM: Yes. But you didn't call it but that's the old place where they are today except now there's a road that cuts in the middle?

MC: Yes, yeah. They didn't have the road the kind.

KM: Were people making salt on even on what's now the other side of the road?

MC/RC: Yes.

MC: Yes, but now, cannot they didn't have salt.

VA: They were making salt on the opposite side. One guy had a pump to pump the water.

KM: Yes, yes to pump the water. The quality of the water then is very important. And this is something that I'd like to ask you if I could. There's been discussion at one point they were going to extend the runway over there or put a golf course, you know. What did you think about that?

RC: No.

KM: No good right? Because if you pollute your water if there's runoff rain...

VA: Yes, fertilizer.

KM: From fertilizer and things you wouldn't be able to use the salt. *Kēlā pa'akai, mea nui iā 'oukou?*

MC: 'Ae. No more, *a'ale mea pahu hau.*

KM: 'Ae, *mamua, a'ole pahu hau.*

MC: *A'ole.*

KM: *A o ka pa'akai ka mea mālama i ka 'ai?*

MC: Yes. No more ice box.

KM: Yes.

MC: Only *pa'akai. Kauka'e o nā pa'akai, everything kāpī.*

RC: It's terrible now, from above, all the water is thrown in the salt ponds.

KM: Cane fields it comes down.

RC: They were going to make a wall there, from up by the dog pound, and run the wall all the way down to salt pond pavilion. But the State stopped it, and the County didn't like that because then the water would hit the wall and go in the park.

MC: Yes.

RC: That's what we wanted because the thing stay polluting our salt.

MC: I see in the paper where they're trying to close up all these small airfield.

RC: The airport.

KM: Yes.

RC: I think these few helicopters that are down there, are not polluting nothing.

KM: As long as they don't spill stuff too.

RC: The wind usually blows that way you know [to off shore]. And the trade winds.

KM: So it's blowing off?

RC: Yes, off of the cane. The pollution is from the plantation.

KM: Coming off slope yeah?



RC: Yes. You know they made that holding pond you know and when we get one big rain that pond just overflows over the road.

KM: It fills up all of your area yeah?

RC: That's right. Where you think all the midoca and tilapia's all coming from? In the cane fields, the ditch.

MC: *Ku'u wā li'ili'i, a'ole hele mākou i ke kauka.*

KM: *A'ole?*

MC: *A'ole.*

KM: *No ke 'aha, maika'i ke ola kino?*

MC: No, *lā'au.*

KM: *Lā'au mai ka 'āina?*

MC: *'Ae, mai ka 'āina.*

KM: *Na kou papa i hana ka lā'au?*

MC: *'Ae... ...So every time hele wau, noi. A'ale wau 'ohi wale. A ku'u papa, wahine hānau. My father was the mid-wife for all of us. We never went to the doctor.*

KM: Yes.

MC: And I remember my last sister, I remember when my mom had the baby and both of them they knelt down and prayed and asked God to *pau*, no more, that they didn't want any more children.

KM: *'Ae, pani ka pu'u.* Interesting.

VA: Their *mana* was strong those days.

MC: Sometimes I often wonder, but that's what it is, no matter what way you think, it all ends up that *mana*. I guess they really, really worshiped that yeah.

KM: They believed. But that's why all the time, like you said your papa would go give *ho'okupu* you know at Kūmimi like that and stuff just to take care you know.

MC: Yes.

KM: Even the *Kū'ula*, I guess maybe the fish come back to the *Kū'ula*?

MC: Yes. And then he used to do lot of *kahea* too. *Maopopo 'oe?*

KM: *'Ae, lā'au kahea, kēlā 'ano... Mahalo* for talking story and with your *'ohana*.

MC: I'll be happy to share whatever knowledge I have. I don't expect to go down to the ground with everything.

KM: *'Ae... Mahalo nui, inā hewa wau e hui kala mai 'oe ia'u.*

MC: *A'ole, a'ole. Hau'oli wau i ku'u hā'awi 'ana i ku'u mau na'auao a'u i 'ike ai. Mahape nalo wau, a'ole pū... Maybe who knows maybe my mo'opunas, they going someday they will listen.*

KM: Yes, they can listen to your voice.

MC: Wow, "This is my grandma..." [chuckles]

KM: ...I would like to come back if I may, and we come and go up holoholo, *nānā 'āina* and talk a little bit about these things that are important to you.



MC: Compare this time and age, and your time fabrics was limited, we wash. We go school, one whole week go school take our clothes hang 'em up put our *lole mahi'ai*, hang up our clothes.

KM: And you folks had to go wash in the stream?

MC: Yes. Even when I was married I washed clothes in the river.

KM: Oh goodness.

MC: I washed clothes down the river. But afterwards we had washing machine, gasoline washing machine.

KM: Yes. Noisy? [chuckles] But more easy!

MC: Yes, yeah. You pump the washing machine [sound of machine] washing machine wash, wash, wash. I feel, I might not have money, but I feel rich.

KM: 'Ae, *pōmaika'i nō*.

MC: You can tell me for do everything, anything, anything, anything I can do.

KM: Like you said you work *lo'i*, you can harness up a horse make him plow right?

MC: Yes.

KM: You've done all of that.

MC: Only I didn't know how to...my mom could throw net.

KM: Ahh.

MC: We didn't know how for, she throw net for catch.

Āholehole and other fish traveled more than three miles up the river; netted as food for family:

KM: And most of your throw net was in the *kahawai* or down the shore to? Where she go throw net in the *kahawai*?

MC: Yes.

KM: And what get *āholehole* or *āhole* like that?

MC: Yes.

KM: Amazing yeah!

MC: Yes.

KM: Especially when you think so far *mauka*.

RC: Yes.

KM: 'Cause that's like almost what three miles or something?

RC: Yes.

MC: Yes.

KM: To get the, that's 'anae yeah the 'anae is the mullet up in the steam yeah? That's amazing!

RC: Yes.

MC: 'Ae, and small mullet yeah.

RC: *Āholehole*.

KM: *Āholehole*.



- MC: Yes. We had so many things. And then we'd go school [chuckles] we don't buy food from the cafeteria, we bring our *kini 'ai*.
- KM: 'Ae.
- MC: The kind get *poi* underneath and the fish on top.
- KM: Yes.
- MC: And the cover on top. Then you put 'em in the bag and then we come, we come down the foot of the hill, hide 'em in the grass over there and then when the bell ring run down then we go eat over there. By the time we go get all the kind black kind bugs all [chuckling] we eat it. Bumby, later on had one Chinese Bakery over there, where Dr. Spear's office, he make...my dad pay by the week. French bread, ten cents, and then he cut 'em in half and I don't know where he make the jelly so dark but 'ono...

Melapa Makanui-Corr and Richard Corr (June 22, 2003)

'O'opu fishing was important to the family, customs and practices were handed down over the generations. Family is hoping to be able to teach their grandchildren and great grandchildren the practices – has had difficulty with DLNR regarding *kahe 'o'opu*:

While growing up, 'o'opu fishing was a beloved and important practice of *Kupuna* Melapa, and one that she handed down to her children and grandchildren. Every year, *kupuna* and her parents would go up the stream from their residence, and construct a *kahe*, a lattice-work trap across a portion of the Hanapēpē Stream. They chose an area where they could build a *māno* to dam up the water and divert it to the side towards the *kahe*. This was always done by the beginning of June, and 'o'opu fishing took place during the months of June, July and August.

While she does not specifically remember her father chanting, *kupuna* noted that her father always prayed prior to construction of the *māno* and *kahe*. While building the *māno*, they selected an area in the stream where the water was relatively calm. They set the stones across the stream, and to hold back the water, the children would go gather bunches of *pili* grass from the valley slopes and make bundles in the size they could hold in their hands. They would then go into the water, behind the *māno* and let the bundles of *pili* grass go, as they would be drawn to the *manō*, and areas where water was escaping through *puka* in between the set stones.

In building the *kahe*—called “*hā*” by the people of Waimea—they used woods that had become established in the valley. These included java plum for the *pou*, the main support posts, and 'ēkoa for the cross pieces. The support posts were cut in varying lengths with a “Y” branch at the top, and set into the diverted stream. The longest *pou* being near the opening of the *māno*, and the shortest *makai* of the *māno*, with one on each side of the flow channel. Smaller cross pieces were laid out across the water into the Y branch formations, and the 'aho (lattice pieces) laid *mauka-makai* across them and lashed down. Water was then allowed to flow over the *kahe*, and the 'o'opu were trapped in that matter.

The types of 'o'opu caught in Hanapepe included the 'o'opu *ahina*, 'o'opu *akuna*, 'o'opu *nākea*, and the 'o'opu *nopili*. The 'o'opu *nopili* was the last type caught during the season (August), as it was the strongest, and it's sucker, enabled it to cling to the rocks longer than the other types of 'o'opu. Thus, when the 'o'opu *nopili* were found on the *kahe*, they knew that the season was just about finished.

In those early years of *Kupuna* Melapa's life, small *kahe* were also kept year-round in the 'auwai that fed the family's *lo'i kalo*. She observed, “This is something that we used to do freely every year, and it was so much fun. We always looked forward to it.” 'O'opu was



one of the main fish eaten by the family. *Kupuna* Melapa also recalled that as a child, her family did not eat all of the shore fish and the other types that they do today. The primary fish caught by the family included *'ōpelu*, *akule*, *'ō'io* and *'o'opu*, and these were the ones that she was most familiar with.

Kupuna and her son, Richard, also recalled that water flowed with strength in the Hanapēpē Stream, from *mauka* to the sea, 365 days a year. Because of the ditch system that transports water out of the valley, and subsequent changes in the landscape, the water now rarely flows in the stream. The *'o'opu* have significantly diminished. They have no way to continue their journeys and cycle of life between the mountains and the sea. In fact, *kupuna* noted that the seasons and water flow have changed as well. The times when freshets occur now, is in October, November and December. But, there are so few *'o'opu*, that it is not possible to catch many of them.

Uncle Richard noted that he taught his older children about *'o'opu* fishing when they were young, and took them to make *kahe*, until about 25 years ago. He feels that this custom of his family and the people of Hanapēpē, which spans centuries, is an important one, and he wants to be able to pass the practice on to his own grandchildren.



Beloved Kumimi at Hanapēpē Valley–The water no longer flows as it did in the early days when 'o'opu and other fishes thrived, and the stream fed the lo'i kalo, and families of the land (KPA Photo S1069).

Uncle approached the DLNR (DOFAW) about reestablishing a *kahe* near the family land in upper Hanapēpē, and was told that if built, it would be knocked down by DLNR personnel. He proposes here in this interview, that a demonstration *kahe* be established, and that his family and others interested in the stream ecosystems could learn about



stream health through such a project. It is his belief, and also that of his mother, that such practice is important to the traditions and history of their family. They both want to find a way to return water to the valley, restore that stream habitat, and perpetuate this traditional and customary practice. The family feels that water is integral to life on the land, and *kupuna* repeated her earlier comment, “This is something that we used to do freely every year. It was something that we always looked forward to.”

Kupuna Melapa noted that even Kūmimi spring on their *mauka* property has receded. This *pūnāwai* is a sacred place in their family history. She recalled that her father always took the first harvest *kalo* to Kūmimi as an offering. She also recalled that when her brothers were born, her father performed the circumcision, after which he took the blood to Kūmimi and offered it at the *pūnāwai*.

Kupuna Melapa’s father kept a *Kū’ula* for the *’ōpelu* and *akule*. She remembered that as a child, she would at times see her father take the *Kū’ula* to the shore of Hanapēpē, and that he would pray and bathe the stone in the water. He would then take the *Kū’ula* back up to a place on the beach, and the fish would then be called in.



**Wayne Takashi Harada and
Keikilani Andrade (Haumea) Harada
February 9, 2003 – at Limahuli, Kaua‘i
Oral History Interview by Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. S271)
(with Carlos Andrade, Chipper Wichman & Takashi Harada)**

Wayne Takashi Harada was born in 1948, and raised in Hā‘ena and Wainiha. He is of pure Japanese descent, though was raised with, and for all of his life, has worked with Hawaiian families of the Halele‘a region. His grandfather came to the Halele‘a District and originally settled in Lumaha‘i, where he worked for the Robinsons. Thus, uncle also spent time in Lumaha‘i. His youth was spent among the elder Hawaiian families of the Hanalei-Hā‘ena region. He has worked the land, and fished the coastal fisheries of Halele‘a and Nāpali, and in this interview, he shares some of his personal recollections of the families and the land.



Keikilani Andrade (Haumea)-Harada was born in 1952, and is descended from families with generations of residency in Wainiha and the larger Halele‘a District. As a youth, she traveled the land with her father, fished along the coastal lands, and learned of her family’s association with the *Hālau Hula* at Kē‘ē.

Wayne and Keikilani Harada granted their personal release of the interview records to Maly on June 20, 2003.

KM: It’s February 9th... 8:20 p.m... We’re out in Limahuli. Uncle, may I ask you to please share your full name and date of birth?

WH: Wayne Takashi Harada. I was born on August 27th, 1948.

KM: Okay. Where were you born?

WH: I was born in Līhu‘e at Wilcox.

KM: Okay. Where was your family, where were you raised also then?

Some families relocated from shore line after the tidal wave of 1957:

WH: First I was raised in Hā‘ena and after the ‘57 tidal wave we moved to Wainiha.

KM: Is your ‘ohana old people living out in this Hā‘ena or Wainiha area?

WH: In Wainiha.



KM: Who?

WH: My grandparents were living in Lumaha'i, but after the tidal wave, '57 tidal wave, they moved out to Wainiha. The Robinsons gave the tidal wave victims lots for live. Like they almost gave them away.

KM: So they actually gave fee-simple interest in lots, and you owned it out right?

WH: Yes.

KM: Oh, that was nice. How about the land at Lumaha'i?

WH: Lumaha'i is owned by Bishop Estate.

KM: Yes.

WH: And Robinson had the lease at that time.

KM: I see, okay. Who was your papa and then who was your mother?

WH: My dad was Susumu Harada. My mom was Harumi Harada. My mom was from Kīlauea and my dad was from Lumaha'i.

KM: Okay. If we go to your grandparents generation? You're *kanaka* right?

WH: No, I'm pure Japanese.

KM: You pure Japanese, ohh, okay! So, Susumu is your papa?

WH: Right.

KM: Your papa was born Lumaha'i also?

WH: Yes, he was born Lumaha'i.

KM: Are you talking *makai* or valley lands?

WH: In the valley lands.

Family formerly raised rice in Lumaha'i Valley:

KM: What was your father doing or your grandfather, how did the family come to live at Lumaha'i?

WH: My grandfather, they used to plant rice at one time in Lumaha'i. They had a couple families that grew rice. I guess there was too many birds and stuff so they switched to taro.

KM: Did your grandfather come from Japan?

WH: Yes.

KM: What was his name?

WH: Saburo Harada.

KM: Saburo?

WH: Yes.

KM: Okay. He came. Do you know if his first arrival point was here on Kaua'i?

WH: Yes, he was here on Kaua'i, but was in Waimea. Because actually they came to work for the plantation first, and then he started working for Gay & Robinson.

KM: And so then from there Waimea side he came to Lumaha'i?

WH: To Lumaha'i.



KM: May I ask you a question real quickly? You said "Lumahai." Did you hear it pronounced Lumahai all the time, or was it pronounced differently, that you remember?

WH: I remember, our grandfather called it just Lumahai.

KM: Lumahai, I understand. Did grandfather speak some Hawaiian that you know?

WH: No, grandpa was more half Japanese, half English. You know he used to talk more.

KM: Yes, his language, okay. How about papa? Did your father pick up Hawaiian language?

WH: A little.

KM: A little. What I'm leading to I think is the place name, have you heard any old-time people as you were living there or from your old *kama'āina* friends, always say Lumahai or did you hear people say Lumaha'i at all or no?

WH: Yes, some people pronounce 'um Lumaha'i.

KM: You think old people or people from outside?

WH: I think the older people called it that. I think the younger generation just kind of cut short the way of saying 'em.

KM: Sure, yes, okay. Now you were describing your grandfather basically, coming initially and working Gay & Robinson and then he comes to Lumaha'i and?

WH: Plants rice.

KM: So where you cross the bridge today, the big cement bridge?

WH: Uh-hmm.

KM: On the valley lands from the river back there?

WH: Yes.

KM: Did they ever talk to you about how big of an area might have been, they tried to plant rice or?

WH: I think there was three families that planted rice. I don't know the area.

KM: Do you remember by chance any of the names of the other families?

WH: One of 'em was Kuruhara family, and the other family was Noburi Harada. And Noburi Harada was my grandfather's uncle.

KM: I see, okay. You said that the *tsunami* came in, yeah?

WH: Uh-hmm.

KM: And that's why your family had to move in '57 from Lumaha'i, so the family were living near the shore then?

WH: Actually they were living in the valley, but when the Robinsons gave land to the tidal wave victims my grandfather took a place in Wainiha. They started moving out of Lumaha'i and living Wainiha.

KM: This again is 1957?

WH: In '57, yes.

KM: You were not quite ten, is that right?

WH: Yes, I think I was in the third grade or something like that.

KM: Okay. Now your mother you said was raised in Kīlauea?



WH: Kīlauea, yes.
 KM: Okay. You folks moved into Wainiha then in about '57 or so. How far about?
 WH: About '58 I think.
 KM: Okay. How far *mauka* you think?
 WH: It's maybe about a hundred yards away from the main road.
 KM: The road going into the valley or?
 WH: You know where the first wooden bridge is?
 KM: Okay.
 WH: Right in the back there.
 KM: Oh, okay.
 WH: And we were living in one of the Robinsons house.
 KM: Okay. Are you folks still in Wainiha?
 WH: Yes. We're still in Wainiha...

'*O'opu* and '*ōpae* were found in the '*auwai*, '*lo'i*, and streams:

KM: ...Okay, out of curiosity in these '*lo'i* out here or '*loko kalo* were there fish, any '*o'opu* or things coming into that area? You know sometimes they even talk about '*ama'ama* or '*āhole* something coming into the '*lo'i*. Was there access to fish from '*makai* coming into the '*lo'i* that you remember?

WH: I think so.
 KM: You think so. You remember?
 WH: I don't know what kind though.
 KM: Ahh. But you remember seeing some fish of some kind in there.
 WH: Uh-hmm. I know had '*ōpae*.
 KM: '*O'opu*?
 WH: Probably '*o'opu* I don't know what type. The '*o'opu* that stays down, not in the mountains.
 KM: Yes.
 CA: What kind of fishing did you guys do?
 WH: Fishing was more throw net, spearing, you know not to much gill net until the later part.
 CA: When you folks lived in Wainiha, but you come plant taro over here. You guys, when you come over to plant taro, you guys go fishing afterwards or before or...?
 WH: Sometimes we used to go fishing like net, go catch our fish for dinner or something, and then go home.
 CA: Where?
 WH: We used to now, where we at? [looking at aerial photo]
 CW: This is Kē'ē, this would be the '*lo'i* over here. [pointing out locations discussed]
 WH: Right in front you know where this stream goes out?
 CW: Yes, right here.



Describes locations and types of fish caught, and *limu* gathered, along shore from Kē'ē to Naue:

- WH: Okay. That's where we used to throw net for mullet, *uouoa*, *manini*.
- CA: By the old Taylor Camp?
- WH: Yes, the old Taylor Camp, that area. We worked our way up to Manji. Then my dad would drive his truck by Manji and then we would fish all along, and then come up by Manji.
- CA: That's what, when you throw net?
- WH: Throw net or spearing.
- CA: Must have been you swim up, all the way up? Inside or outside the reef?
- WH: By where we call Manji pond we used to go on the outside reef.
- CA: You can see that? [looking at photo]
- WH: Manji pond is...?
- CA: That's what you call Manji pond, right here?
- WH: Right here in this area. We used to walk on the outside and then come in. Sometimes we used to fish on the shoreline it depends on the tide. If the tide was high we used to fish along the sandbar. If the tide was little low we used to go on the outside.
- CA: And what kind of fish you catch along the inside?
- WH: On the inside *manini*, *nenuē*, *weke*. On the outside was like *moi*, *nenuē*, *kala*.
- CA: And spear fishing?
- WH: Spear fishing was more *manini*, *kūmū*.
- CA: Outside here?
- WH: No we used to, right in the pond.
- CA: In the pond?
- WH: And we used to look for squid right in the pond.
- KH: And *wana*.
- WH: Used to pick up *wana*. On the outside here we used to dive for lobsters.
- KM: Hmm. What area would you call this now?
- WH: This would be called Manji pond.
- KM: Manji, and is there another name that you know of for it?
- WH: No. We just used to call 'em Manji pond.
- CA: Because Manji Ouye used to have a house there.
- WH: He lived right above yeah.
- KM: Okay. Ouye, Manji Ouye?
- CA: Yes, Manji Ouye. That was his name?
- WH: Yes.
- CA: He lived [looking at map]. That was his place Chipper? That's his yard right there? His home was right there.
- CW: Yes.



KM: So, good lobster out on the outside?

WH: On the outside.

KM: *He'e* inside, *wana*?

WH: All on the outside area, yeah.

CA: Only that reef you guys go outside or the other ones too?

WH: We used to go fishing more on this reef. At that time was you could catch a lot of fish. Like before when we used to go fishing was, we caught what we were going to eat. Or if we was going to Līhu'e to visit family we would catch more so they could take it over. But before it was like if you're a family of seven if you catch fourteen *manini*, you going home, two *manini* each. That's how we used to fish in the past. And the *nenuē*, there's a *nenuē* that they call the *lele*, it's more on the yellow side that way when you go fishing night time you could see 'em, the *nenuē* around. The yellow *nenuē* we used to let 'em go back in the water.

KM: How come?

WH: Because that was the fish you look for when you going night time when it's dark, if you see that yellow one passing through you know a lot of 'em in the back of it.

KM: And you said *lele*, you call that one?

WH: Yes.

KM: And it's interesting that you brought up "before time" also. So sounds like plenty fish and it's interesting that you said your style was you take what you needed or if you going to go visit family you would take fish for them.

WH: We would catch for them, yeah.

KM: You would take, but you would share back with people?

WH: Yes.

KM: Is it like that today?

WH: I don't think so.

CA: When was the last time you went fishing?

WH: I didn't go fishing for a long time 'cause I hurt my knee and I cannot walk on the sand, I lose feeling in my knee. So I haven't fished from a little after the hurricane.

CA: In '93?

WH: Yes. One time I went fishing by the YMCA and I had to walk all the way to the anchorage for get up on the hard ramp. When I worked my way up I would lose the feeling in my knee.

CA: You know when you folks used to fish back then, how many of you would fish together?

WH: It depends most of the time when I went fishing was me and my brother, or me and my dad. Not too many people, the only time we had lot of people is when we used to go catch fish for parties. *Nenuē*, we used to go bang-bang and then we would take maybe six young guys and two old guys that would give us scolding all the time.

CA: Who were the old guys?

WH: Was either Walter Chung or Tai Hook. And they used to work us guys.

CW: Uncle Walter, Palani?



WH: Uncle Walter.

CW: Not the one now, not Walter junior?

WH: He's dad.

CW: Right.

WH: And then the old man Tai Hook.

CA: Did they tell you where to put the nets and?

WH: Yes. They used to be the one would take us out on the reef, "Okay, you swim out take the net." 'Cause before was like when we used to go bang-bang, no such thing as boat we used to always swim the net, block the channel. And then the young guys would swim out, chase the fish out.

CA: Can you show us on the map where you guys used to block the channel?

WH: [looking at photo] This would be the channel, this was Manji.

Group: Uh-hmm.

CA: This is Taylor Camp over here.

WH: This is Taylor Camp. Some place over here, we used to block one of the channels [pointing at aerial photo]. And then we used to chase it out and then over here you see this channel right here.

CA: Right in front of the river mouth?

WH: We used to block here.

CA: That's where get Limahuli stream coming out.

WH: Limahuli stream. That where we used to call on this reef right here, I don't know the actual name but we used to call 'em the Iron Pole. Because some of the old guys stuck pipes in 'em, because when you go out here to throw net. When you walk out it's kind of low tide and then when you get done fishing it's high tide. They put some pipes where we could hold and go back into shore.

CA: So, one, two [fishing locations]?

WH: Over here one and then over here, someplace over here I think was one and then here.

CA: Three places.

WH: And in here. Well, actually we used to go to a lot of that type of fishing by YMCA. By YMCA, Ko'onohi.

CA: YMCA?

WH: YMCA is going to be up here.

CA: Right here is the YMCA.

WH: Okay, this is the Ko'onohi reef. We used to swim from here go that way, and we used to chase 'em out that way. 'Cause all the *nenue* and stuff used to hang on the edges of the high reefs.

KM: And what's this, Ko'onohi?

WH: This is Ko'onohi.

CA/KH: Ko'onohi.

KH: It's right in front of the YMCA.



KM: 'Ae.

CA: It's the point.

WH: And we used to pick up *limu kohu* right on this reef too.

KM: Oh yes. On the Hanalei side?

WH: Uh-hmm.

KM: What kinds of fish out this side?

WH: *Nenuē, kala*, more of that.

KM: Were there certain times when, were there differences in tides or? Were there areas where the fish might congregate or spawn sometimes, when you didn't...?

WH: I think was more on the tide and things, and I know we couldn't, the old folks said, "Don't go moonlight night, because the fish...." When you walking up on the reef to go put the net out "the small fish would see you and run and the big fish would be gone by then."

KM: You folks, when you were still a young boy, did anyone have canoes out here yet?

WH: Gone.

KM: No. Other kinds of fishing that happened out here or was it mostly shore fishing that you remember?

WH: Mostly shore, well, had people with fiber glass boats go trolling and stuff, but normally was more, when I was growing up was more on the shore line.

KM: The local families, the Hawaiian families like that. You said *wana* also, *limu*?

WH: *Limu*.

KM: Did you folks ever make salt or gather salt anywhere?

WH: Not on this side.

KM: Not on this side. You did go gather elsewhere?

WH: No, I didn't go but some of our family did on the salt pond side [Hanapēpē].

KM: I see.

WH: So normally what was, they would give us salt from the salt pond and we would give them fish.

KM: Fish. Was there a choice fish out here that you folks really was *puni*, you desired. That fish was noted for this place?

WH: Actually the *moi*.

KM: The *moi*.

WH: But was hard to get. If you cold catch *moi* that was something.

KM: Hmm. What kind of size?

WH: Normally the ones we used to catch maybe was like twelve inches long. We used to catch the small ones too, it's good for the frying pan. Normally was like twelve inches, and then during the summer we had *akule* and *'ōpelu* come in. Before, I can remember we only used to catch *akule* and *'ōpelu* during the summer months.

CA: No need go the other times?

WH: Yes. And we would catch enough to last till the next summer.



KM: You folks would *kaula'i* dry those, some or...?

WH: Put it in the freezer dry some.

KM: Okay. May I ask how you folks went out for 'ōpelu or *akule*, how did you catch 'um?
Hukilau fishing for *akule* with Hanohano Pā; community participated, and shared in the fish:

WH: Couple times I went with this old Hawaiian guy named Hanohano Pā.

KM: Uh-hmm.

WH: I couldn't believe because he had this rope with ti leaves hanging, that they call *lau*, and we would take the rope all the way out with the ti leaf and we bring the fish, bring the fish almost to the shore then we would put the *hukilau* net in. I couldn't believe that.

KM/CA: Where did you do that?

WH: One time we did 'em right by the park. Where's the park? [looking at photo]

CA: Here's the park right here.

KM: Hā'ena beach park section.

WH: Couple times we did it in front Chandler's or Wayne Ellis.

CA: Wayne Ellis is right here.

WH: We did 'em in here, 'cause this is a channel too.

KM: This wash here, yeah. Does this *papa* have a name that you know?

WH: I don't know. We used to call 'em Chandler Kū'au because the old man Chandler used to live right here.

KH: I know my dad guys used to call it Hā'ena Kū'au.

KM: Kū'au?

KH: Hā'ena Kū'au, but they changed it to Tunnels. And when I first heard Tunnels I was, "Where's that?"

KM: You folks would draw the *akule* or like that would come in?

WH: The *akule* would come in this place.

KM: The channel?

WH: Uh-hmm. And they would go out with the *lau* and kind of push the fish almost to shore and then put the real net.

KM: Uh-hmm.

WH: And the fish would just come in, I couldn't believe that.

KM: Amazing!

WH: And you no see that anymore.

CW: Only the old man could call 'em in?

WH: Yes.

CA: Hanohano, when you went with him. What did he do, what was his job like?

WH: He was the guy that watches all, I forgot the name for what they...

CW: The *kilo*?



WH: The *kilo* man. And he would cuss us and everything. We do 'em wrong, he know we're out swimming with the thing and maybe we did 'em wrong and he's like [gesturing].

Group: [chuckling]

WH: When we come in we walk away because we know what's going happen.

Group: [chuckles]

CA: And when they catch the fish, like you said when they catch the fish, who helps to pull the net in and how did they do that?

WH: They used to pull it in almost to shore. And then they used to scoop out the fish and put 'em in bamboo baskets and then they would take 'em under the tree and start, they count how many families there.

KM: So the families would come. If everyone knew Hanohano was going out to get *akule* or something and the people would come down all *hukilau* like that?

WH: Yes. Most of them well, as soon they say *hukilau* it goes down to almost every house.

KM: When's the last time you participated in something like this?

WH: Many years.

KM: You think was in?

WH: High school, when I was in high school.

KM: High school, okay. In the '60s?

WH: In the '60s.

KM: In '65?

WH: About that maybe. Maybe before that.

Describes the division of fish, and who the main fishermen were in the Hā'ena-Wainiha vicinity (1950s-1960s):

KM: Everyone would come they *māhele i'a* they *māhele* everything, families take home. Do you remember, and this was something that Carlos perhaps was going to... Did you ever hear the old man call, in Hawaiian call or *pule*, pray or something before to fish?

WH: No, not really because all the young guys used to be...they had to get everything ready. They tell us what we got to do you know. So the old guys would be in one place and all the young guys would be doing all the work. Getting the nets ready and stuff.

CA: When you say the old guys besides Hanohano Pā, who was it?

WH: Hanohano Pā, Tai Hook, Walter Chung, and Joe Hashimoto used to be.

CA: Tommy's father?

WH: Tommy's father. Who else was [thinking]? We had the old man Tony Tumba.

KH: Uncle John's dad.

WH: He was Uncle John's dad.

KH: Old man Tony.

CA: I never heard.

WH: He was one of the guys.

CA: John Haumea?



WH: John Haumea.

KH: That was his dad, the old man Tony.

CA: Yes, I remember him.

KM: Did you or did you hear people talk about *Kū'ula*? A stone or some place where maybe they would put fish or offer? Like when the fish come in sometimes you hear people talk, "The first fish goes back or something?" Did you ever observe anything like that you think?

WH: Not really.

KM: This was all from the shore, no canoe go out?

WH: No.

KM: Wow!

WH: After a while they had flat bottom boat they had...

CA: Row boat?

WH: Yes, row boat. Made it easier for us.

KM: About how long was the *lau* you think when you put the *lau* out?

WH: It depends how far out the fish was you know.

KM: But you go across it and you said Hā'ena Kū'au, yeah?

WH: Yes.

KM: You go across you think, near the mouth or?

WH: We used to cross this channel. This was a nice channel that comes in sandy.

KM: Yes, beautiful.

WH: The fish used to come in, it wasn't that far out maybe two hundred yards sometimes out from the shore. Then we would kind of wait till they move as far in as they get and then we would go out.

CW: Where would they *kilo* from?

WH: They had pine trees right here by Paul Rice's property. They used to climb the *kamani* tree or the rubber tree or the pine tree and give us yell.

CA: The old man, Hanohano Pā used to climb the tree?

WH: Yes, Hanohano.

CA: And then what Tai Hook guys stay on the ground?

WH: Yes. Tai Hook after a while he used to get up there too. [chuckles]

KM: They direct you folks?

WH: Yes.

KM: They would point where to go and what?

WH: They would be screaming at us.

KM: [chuckling]

WH: Sometimes we couldn't tell what way he was telling us to go up, go more out or go that way [chuckling].



CW: That's when you get the swears. [chuckling]

WH: And then they tell, "You know we telling you guys how to go out in English, maybe we got to talk to you guys in Hawaiian, then you guys can understand."

KM: So one time summer, enough?

WH: No, couple times.

KM: Couple times.

WH: Couple times.

CA: Who was it that told us that the old man used to give fish away to everybody, had enough fish and then after that he would sell.

WH: He would sell, yeah.

TH: Aunty Nancy folks.

CA: When you say he used to sell did anybody come and pick up the fish from him, do you remember seeing that?

WH: When that thing was happening was more with the old man Tai Hook in Wainiha. You know that Wainiha bay he used to catch there. Actually sometimes we used to get mad at him because we used to say, "Oh, that guy never even put one hand in and he get one share you know, because we used to do all the hard work." But the old man Tai Hook was one that would, anybody would come there you going get fish.

KM: He would give.

WH: Yes.

KM: You folks would surround or take the *akule* or *'ōpelu* like that out here to Wainiha?

WH: Yes, Wainiha. Wainiha was more *pāpio*, *moi*.

KM: Schools?

WH: Yes. Before at one time when I was a junior in high school, one summer every morning we used to take about six baskets of *pāpio* and in the afternoon we take another six.

CA: You went surround each time?

WH: Yes. And was like about half a pound that size. Half a pound size was nice size.

KM: Where were the fish going?

WH: To among all the families.

KM: Every day like that?

WH: And if they had extra they would go and sell 'em.

KM: Did they sell locally?

WH: Yes, people from the opposite side of the island hear, we caught fish they would come down and buy 'em.

KM: Wow!

WH: And then the old man guys, going around buy beers and stuff. But we couldn't drink.

KM: Yes.

WH: Too young.

KM: If we come to Wainiha since you were talking about that you said *'ō'io* also?



WH: 'Ō'io, moi, pāpio.

KM: 'Ō'io, moi, pāpio like that.

Lae skin used to make *aku* and *'ahi* lures:

WH: Once in a while we used to catch *lae*.

KM: Oh yeah?

WH: And everybody used to fight for the *lae*. They used to dry the skin and use 'em for lures. Making lures.

KM: That's right. What kind lure, for what?

WH: For when they go trolling and stuff.

KM: For *aku*, *'ahi* like that?

WH: I guess, yeah.

KM: Where did they go trolling out of, this side or outside?

WH: No. Outside Hanalei and they used to come down this side too, on the outside.

CA: But Hanalei is the only good place to launch the boat.

WH: Well you know before, in the past they used to launch right in Kē'ē.

CA: Before it was a state park, you could.

WH: Before never have that many people. When you go down there maybe you get five guys lying on the sand, now you go, no more one empty space.

Group: [all chuckling]

WH: That's the difference.

KM: Yes.

Hanohano Pā and some other area families still traveled along the Nāpali coast to go fishing.

Hanohano Pā instructed people to respect the *manō* (sharks); discusses lobster fishing in Hā'ena:

CA: Did you ever fish with Hanohano Pā and those folks when they would go Nāpali?

WH: No, I was too young. My dad used to go, and my dad told me this story one time. Hanohano Pā had this sampan and they went down to Kalalau, and they always used to carry one 30-30 because when they see goats they would take couple goats. And one time they went fishing. They went to surround 'ō'io down Nāpali and there was this big shark. Longer than the sampan, the head was in front the sampan the tail was behind. And then my dad guys wanted to shoot the shark and Hanohano Pā told them, "Don't shoot the shark, I'll make it go away." He went and he grabbed the biggest 'ō'io, threw the 'ō'io, he gave the shark the 'ō'io. And they never see the shark no more, the shark went.

CA: How big was the sampan?

WH: The sampan was like twenty-six feet long or something like that.

KM: You bring up the *manō*, I was thinking out here. Did you folks ever hear, sounds like Hanohano Pā knew this shark out there.

WH: Well I tell you what...

Group: [chuckles]

WH: When I was going high school we went one day me and my brother and some other guys went out here to get lobster. [pointing to location on photo]



KM: Hā'ena Kū'au, on the outside?

WH: Yes, outside and inside.

KM: Uh-hmm.

WH: Okay, we normally swim across this channel when we come home, 'cause we dive from here go all around.

KM: All the way around.

WH: And by the time we reach this side end, we're knocked out. We would swim the channel right here because it's short. I was picking up lobsters on this side and then I went to the tip and I was going across. I saw this big, I thought was one reef, I call my brother I told him, "You know what come, we go look under the reef guarantee get lobster." Then when I was swimming to that reef like, I saw this shark, his eyeball was about that big.

KM: Seven inches or what across.

WH: With, had barnacles on his back and everything. Then I swam back, I didn't swim across the channel.

Group: [chuckling]

WH: I had to walk all the way back, all the way back to here [indicating the Kanahā section of the 'āpapa].

KM: Oh!

WH: And then I went home and Hanohano Pā was still living I talked to him he said, "No, that shark lives there, actually lives down here under this reef." Right across the Makas, where Makas live.

KM: Oh, outside of Maka's place.

WH: He told us that shark lives under that reef and you know when we was high school age we not going believe everything they stay tell us. So me and my friend we went, we dove over here and we saw the sand [gestures moving sands], you know going out and we went back to see the old man and the old man said, "No, the shark was sleeping under that reef." And he was...

KM: Swishing?

WH: ...Swishing his tail, he said, "That's the sand you going see." He said, "If you see the shark anyplace outside you go over there it's not." 'Cause I told him, "Not, I think that was the wave you know going under the reef." And he said, "No, if you see the shark on the outside, go over there you won't see the sand going."

KM: So there's a ledge underneath the *papa* where he can sleep?

WH: There's a ledge over there. And then afterwards we heard so much other stories that this lady used to feed the shark right there at that beach.

KM: Old Hawaiian lady?

WH: What was that ladies name?

KH: I don't remember the name but my grandmother always used to talk about it. This old lady would go down to the ocean and call and tap the water and this shark would come up and she would breast feed the shark. That's the legend that we heard.

WH: They said that was the shark we saw. Hanohano Pā said that shark wouldn't have harmed us, but that was too big.

CA: You not taking no chances. [chuckling]



WH: No chance.

KM: Did he by chance you know refer to that kind of story, big *manō* had barnacles on top and some of the *kūpuna* they talked when they were children they went out and their *tūtū* would call and clean, scrape the back. Did you hear Hanohano say, like you were saying your grandmother?

WH: No, I didn't hear about that, but I heard about that lady that they said she fed that shark over there at that beach.

CW: What about Pa'itulu?

WH: I heard about him, but I think he was gone by the time.

CW: He was gone already?

WH: Yes.

CA: What did you hear about Pa'itulu?

WH: Pa'itulu they said he was like one grandfather to everybody, you know.

KH: I think Pa'ikulu used to stay with my grandfather, Chandler guys, you know where Joe Paskal's house, that's where grandpa Chandler guys used to have a place there.

CW: Yes, right here.

WH: I think we used to have one old picture of him down in the museum. Had one old guy pounding *poi*.

KM: Yes.

WH: They said was him.

KH: Yes that's Pa'ikulu.

KM: You said Pa'itulu?

CA: She said Pa'ikulu.

KH: My grandmother guys used to say Pa'ikulu.

KM: Pa'ikulu, okay.

CA: And some people call him Pa'itulu.

KH: Yes, they used to go both ways. He used to go and stay with my grandparents.

CW: You never did hear anything about him *mālama* the shark?

KM: Was he a chanter, did you hear?

KH: All I know that he used to pound *poi* for them.

WH: And share with everybody, you know...

Describes cultivation of *kalo* in Wainiha; also fished in the *muliwai* and coastal areas of Wainiha:

KM: ...You know in Wainiha you mentioned that you folks grew *kalo* also. How many *lo'i* there, and how big was the average size you think?

WH: Over there was bigger because before they planted *kalo*, used to be rice fields.

KM: Yes.

WH: You know where the Wainiha store is?

KM: Uh-hmm.



WH: Right there was all rice before and go all the way up.

CA: Flat down below?

WH: Yes. I remember going and chasing birds. We had to keep all the cream cans and string 'em through the fence wire. They used to build one tower, and you would have to go over there and shake the cans and chase the birds. I remember one time we went, we was young kids. Tai Hook had some rice over there and then we wanted to go not to shake the cans, but they had firecrackers. You know where you light the firecrackers and chase the birds. And then me and one of his grandsons we was playing I guess we got tired we was on that tower, and we was sleeping. Oh, we got so much scolding [chuckling]. That birds had so much birds in the rice. Then after that we started planting *kalo*.

KM: *Kalo* like that. Mostly *lehua*?

WH: Mostly *lehua* at that time.

KM: May I ask about this sort of *muliwai* stream area and stuff in here. You folks, did fish come up stream that you remember at any time?

WH: Wainiha river. I think the only fish we really used to catch was the 'o'opu when it used to come down.

KM: Yes.

WH: We had mullet, *āholehole*, we had 'ōpae.

KM: Come up in the streams some?

WH: Yes.

CA: Nobody throw net in the river?

WH: We used to go sometimes. When we used to like eat fresh water fish. I used to like eat raw fish like the *āholehole* or the mullet. Fresh water we used to go in the river.

KM: About how far inland you think went?

WH: You could go pretty way up if you knew the people that owned the land along side.

KM: Yes.

WH: 'Cause if they didn't know you oh, you would get cussed out.

KM: Yes.

Huna, goldfish caught in Wainiha:

WH: And then the Wainiha river I remember, the Wainiha river was the only river that had *huna*, the goldfish. And Hanohano Pā told us, "Yes you can eat the *huna*, but in the past was only for the ali'is, the goldfish." And used to come big you know the goldfish [gestures about ten inches].

CA: When was the last time you saw?

WH: The last time when I was going high school. Where I used to live, had this stream come down. I caught one red and gold one, I caught one when you put 'em in the water it looked blue. And I caught one white one. And the rest, all of 'em was the dark color on the top and the gold on the bottom.

CA: No more now days?

WH: I no see that. I no even see 'em in the river now.

KM: And you said you called it *huna*?



WH: Yes, that's the name they used to call 'em *huna*, the goldfish.

KM: And you said about ten inch kind like that?

WH: Yes. Would come that big.

CA: First time I heard that name. I've heard about people eating goldfish before, but that's the first time I heard the name *huna*.

WH: I think was the old man Hanohano or Tai Hook they used to call that the *huna*. The old man Hanohano used to give us scolding at one time when I used to go catch 'em with the throw net.

CA: Why?

WH: Because that was the fish for the *ali'i*. And then the old man Hanohano told me Wainiha Valley, because I used to go hunting a lot in Wainiha Valley. He told me in Wainiha Valley had thousands of people that lived in there until they got some kind of sickness. But I tell you Wainiha Valley, I went way in you know, and you can see all the taro patches. You climb up above one waterfall you get taro patch, you cannot believe. So when the old man Hanohano told me, I believe it, had that many people living in there.

CA: How about Lumaha'i?

WH: Lumaha'i certain areas only. It's not like Wainiha. Wainiha is almost every valley that you go in, you can see the banks, the stone walls. Lumaha'i Valley, I think only three valleys that I went in had taro patches in it. Other than that, was just you know... [gestures, no more, with hand]

KM: Did you ever hear them talk about old...and I don't know how to say this better, original Hawaiians or almost a different race of Hawaiians living in Wainiha. Did you ever hear anyone talk about that or people different from Hawaiians?

WH: No, was more Hawaiians. And Hanohano Pā told me Wainiha actually was the fishing grounds. You know the people that lived down in Wainiha. They were all fishermen and the guys all the way up in the valley they was like they grew taro. So what they used to do was bring their taro down exchange for fish and then they take the fish back up.

KM: Yes. It's a good system, yeah?

WH: Yes.

KM: People take of care *mauka* lands *kalo* and what.

WH: In the back, before when I was young, I used to make garden and stuff was like if I know the guy went fishing I would take beans, green onions what I used to plant and I used to exchange. I would take him vegetables he would give me one bag fish, and I would go home. And I kind of wanted to do like how the old man Hanohano said you know, you trade.

KM: Yes.

WH: You get too much you go trade with the fishermen. 'Cause the fishermen, he always get more fish then he can eat you know so you trade back. And I always used to do that.

KM: The three fish you named out here other fish come in too just general you know? Or you folks pretty much the 'ō'io, the mullet like that *moi*?

WH: Yes.

KM: *Limu* out this side at all?

WH: *Limu* not too much on this side in Wainiha.



KM: Fresh water I guess maybe.

WH: Yes. But no more reefs...

CW: No more *papa*?

KH: Only outside.

WH: The only one would get is where Hanalei Colony is, that reef.

CA: That's the one outside there, yeah.

WH: That's this one on this point would get. [Pointing out Wainiha Kū'au on aerial photo]

CA: That's the *limu kohu* ground?

WH: That's where I used to go all the time.

CA: That's where Ham Young guys go?

MK-H: Uh-hmm.

CA: You was pointing down here by Ka'onohi [Ko'ōnohi], that another place you guys used to get the *limu*?

WH: *Limu kohu*. And then Kanahā on this side, and then I forget what was the name of the reef between Kanahā and the YMCA, get one more small reef.

CW: Kāmoa?

WH: I wonder if it was that? I know had one kind of hard Hawaiian name.

KM: This one, Kanahā?

WH: This big one is Kanahā and then you see this small one had one name to that too. In fact all that small little reefs, my father-in-law used to tell me about. I couldn't remember all those names.

KM: But the names slowly coming out, you remembering one name and another name here and there.

WH: I guess, maybe I don't go fishing like before, so you kind of forget.

CA: Who else used to fish, maybe not with you but used to fish during that same time?

WH: That time who was our age around there?

KH: Bobo guys.

WH: Bobo guys was way younger than us.

CA: And they came later they weren't living up here.

WH: They was living Honolulu.

CA: Yes. Michael Olanolon.

WH: Yes. Jeremiah Mahuiki was one that knew a lot of reefs too.

CA: But he *hala* already.

WH: Yes.

CA: Samson?

WH: Samson never did go too much fishing. Tommy Hashimoto, he should know pretty much the reefs.

CA: He's the main one, he's the main fisherman.



WH: Right now, yeah.

KH: Besides Uncle Kaipo. He knows a lot of in the valleys.

KM: Chandler?

CA: Uh-hmm. Your father was in the State forestry too, he knows a lot.

KH: He knew from Polihale all the way to Kōke'e. He knew Waimea, he knew Wailua.

WH: Most of the roads up Kōke'e, the dad.

KM: Your father was?

KH: Ipo Haumea.

KM: Ipo Haumea. English name?

KH: Joseph.

CA: And he worked in the forestry.

KM: Territorial Forestry?

CA: Yes, until he retired. So he lived the life, he was always up on the mountain and the ocean too?

KH: He knew every reef, he knew everything.

CA: Did you folks ever go fish with him?

KH: Oh yes, you get scolding the whole time.

Customs observed when fishing and hunting with Ipo Haumea and Hanohano Pā:

WH: You take banana?

KH: You cannot put your hand behind your back, you cannot put your hand on the hips.

WH: You take one banana, "Lets go home."

KH: And it's not, "You going fishing?" You have to say, "You going *holoholo*?" You say, "fishing." "Hard luck, I not going already."

TH: Red clothes.

WH: When Takashi was one small boy, "Oh, *tūtū* where you going, fishing?" "More better I stay home." He take out his throw net from his truck.

KH: Hard luck.

WH: "Oh that kid is hard luck." So we had to teach him all over.

KM: Auntie what you were just saying is very interesting. My wife's *tūtū* was Pukui and she gathered a lot of sayings and this thing about *ku 'aha'aha*, they call that. No sense *'ōpe'a kua*, when you put your hand behind your back. It's just like, here is my burden you take it.

MK-H/WH: Uh-hmm.

KM: So those things were being lived even then.

WH: Hanohano Pā, you put your hand in the back. He would take one drift wood and... [chuckles]

KM: Hit you on the head?

WH: ...hit you on your head. And you go, "What you hit me for?"

KH: Even if you going *holoholo* you are not to take certain kind of food.



KM: Hmm.

KH: Like I was really young and my dad wanted to go fishing, he went to go catch crab down Waimea by Waimea Landing. "Okay," I made some food and off we went. I said, "Daddy you hungry?" He said, "Yes, yes we go eat." And I bust out this banana, ohh man he was ohh, a banana. He packed up all his stuff and we went home.

KM: *Pohole ka mai'a!*

KH: Hmm.

KM: Waste time *nō ho'i*.

KH: And then another time I made like scrambled eggs and rice and took it down to the beach, we went to eat and again I had it, no eggs, no banana. That was the two things you don't take.

WH: Funny those days, even Uncle John when we used to go hunting.

CA: Haumea?

WH: Yes. You take eggs, turn around we coming home. One time we took these guys from Kapa'a hunting and the whole day we had fresh tracks. The dogs were really working and stuff, but the dogs couldn't find 'em. And then we sat down to eat lunch, the guy opened his lunch he had boiled eggs and stuff. And Uncle John said, "You know what you guys everybody make sure you guys eat all those eggs, not one eggs going be left." So we ate 'em all. Rested a while went back hunting, half an hour later caught the pig right where we past. So Uncle John was, "No eggs, pig hunting."

KH: No hands on hips, no hands behind the back either.

KM: Yes. So interesting. Things have changed since you were young yeah? What do you think about, how should this land be taken care of? What would you like to see for your children or your *mo'opuna*, out here or in the fisheries like that and on the land?

WH: Gee, I don't know what to say 'cause it grew so much from when I was growing up. You know it's like, "Gee, what's going to happen?" 'Cause when I was growing up, I think to Hā'ena school, I think we had like six houses. And now once in a while I come down riding, "Wow, look there's another house, look there's another house."

KH: I think what really bothers him the most is the access. We used to have so much access to the ocean which we don't have now. It really upsets him.

KM: So the access to the ocean to the fishing spots is being blocked off?

KH: There's no more and that's really hurting.

WH: You know before get one empty lot, like before I used to do lot of lū'aus. We go and we see one empty lot get pine tree, "Eh, we cutting down that pine tree." And then one time I went, was cutting, I cut all the dry wood first and I was going cut the wet pine tree. This lady came she told me, "Oh, sonny what you doing?" I said, "Well, from when I was a small boy me and my dad used to come here every time we was going to *kālua* pig we come cut wood here." She said, "You know what please don't cut the live one's." I said, "Oh but why, we always did that." She go, "I'm going tell you I own the land." So I couldn't say nothing and that really shocked me.

CW: Where was that?

WH: [thinking] If you going back past YMCA, you know where they building the big houses near the beach?

CW: Hmm.



WH: That area, we always used to cut there. I was shocked. So I said, “If you own the land, yeah, I won’t cut ‘em.” But I said, “We always used to do that.” And what is so funny, like I tell him [his son], and I tell some other young guys, when we were growing up we would have to fence up our lot to keep the cows out, you know.

KM: Uh-hmm.

WH: Before was like cows and horses. I used to tell them cows and horses used to own Hā’ena, ‘cause if you don’t want the cows going in your property you better fence your place, you know. Now you got to fence ‘em in, you got to fence your animal in...

CA: ...You know with fishing and hunting, did you folks ever, you know ‘cause there’s more than one family that’s fishing, yeah.

WH: Uh-hmm.

CA: Is there any kind of a way that if somebody’s fishing someplace, or is this somebody’s hunting ground?

Discusses fishermen who worked particular fisheries:

WH: You know before was, Tommy Hashimoto guys and Henry Tai Hook they used to come take care the Hā’ena side. They used to do...

CA: From where to where?

WH: You know for *akule* fishing from the end of the road to Chandler’s place. And then in Wainiha, the Wainiha bay was like John-John, Tai Hook was living there, so he was there too. Actually was Tai Hook and Hanohano, that guys used to be more Wainiha, Lumaha’i. And then Hanalei was somebody else again. Goo I think.

KM: So they were like the main fishermen?

WH: Uh-hmm. But today you get...

CA: What about like for throw net and stuff like that or even like hunting? Anybody can go hunt anyplace except Lumaha’i of course, Robinson owned that so that’s a different story.

WH: Before had only one handful of hunters that we used to say, “We going hunting in Lumaha’i.” So they would go hunt Wainiha. Then the following week we go Wainiha they go Lumaha’i...

CA: ...How about when you guys fish on the reef like that, if somebody throwing net or...?

WH: Before was, you coming down the road or you see somebody fishing you not going. You not going on the same reef as the guy. But today, you on that reef, I no care what, they be in the back of you trying to look what you looking. That’s the difference.

CA: Kind of like they had an understanding if somebody’s out there then you go someplace else.

WH: Was like you know get lot of reefs so you go to the next one. Before when I used to fish with my dad was, we would come from Wainiha we see the guy out on this reef. My dad would say, “You know what I know going get somebody on the next reef, we go the next reef.” And sure enough nobody’s on that reef. And before never had that many fishermen too. You know was like my dad, John-John, Tommy Hashimoto guys, Jackie Hashimoto. Never had that many. Nowadays you see so many and you get people from the other side of the island fishing too.

KM: Good story.

WH: Same thing like hunting you know. They tried for sneak in, guys from the other side.



CW: You remember any kind of unusual phenomenon that would happen with the fish. Like Wendell Goo went tell me one time all the baby 'āweoweo went all float up, I think it was right before the tidal wave. You ever saw anything like that?

WH: Hanohano Pā used to tell us about that. When that small little 'āweoweo used to come by the pier, get so many. And then after that time we had the tidal wave. And then Hanohano Pā used to tell me, "When you see lot of dragon flies flying around."

KH: *Pinao*.

WH: Go down to the ocean because *akule*, 'ōpelu is coming in.

KM: You knew that?

Pinao, a sign that there would be a lot of fish.

KH: Yes my dad always said, "Ohh get plenty fish, the *pinao* is here!"

KM: *Pinao*, okay.

WH: And never miss, you get *akule* you get 'ōpelu come in. So even now when I see 'em "Oh, look like we going get fish."

KH: But the 'āweoweo to the Hawaiian people was like hard luck.

CA: Uh-hmm.

KM: Those small ones, that was 'alalauā. You heard that name 'alalauā the small one?

WH: Uh-hmm.

KM: Red right?

WH: Red, big eyes.

KM: Yes. Come bad luck or omen right?

WH: Uh-hmm. That's what they say, yeah.

KH: The little bit bigger one's was really hard luck kind. Everybody used to go down to the pier and catch them like crazy with their lanterns and stuff.

WH: We used to put five hooks on our line and bring up five at a time.

KM: What kind bait?

WH: They would bite anything I think you put a piece of foil they would bite.

CW: [chuckling]

CA: But they catch one they broke open they use the stomach so from that one.

WH: We used to use the skin too because they no can bite 'em off then we can hook about ten 'āweoweo before you got to change the skin.

CA: Change bait, yeah.

WH: We used to catch the black crab and take the leg and hook the leg we used to use that.

CA: What about the *wī*?

Wī were once plentiful in Lumaha'i; transplanted *wī* into other regional streams, including Limahuli; also fished for 'ōpae and 'o'opu:

WH: The *wī*, we had in Lumaha'i, that was the place for the *wī*. Had so much *wī* before. Until had people had leased the place and they come and wipe out the *wī*.

KM: How far up you had to go?



WH: Not too far up to get *wī* maybe about half a mile from the main road.

KM: Already the river is a little smaller and there's water flowing?

WH: There's rapids yeah, rapid. Before we used to go when we used to like eat *wī* we used to go fifteen minutes, then you get one nice big bowl for your whole family. Now they tell me you got to go pick for maybe one hour before you get one bowl.

KH: If you lucky.

WH: They come and wipe 'em out, took 'em away.

CA: So, you know when you want to eat *wī*, when is the time to go, what is the time of day and any other considerations?

WH: Normally everybody tell you go day time because the water is so cold. But before, one time my dad told me you got to go night time. Go moonlight the *wī* is all on the top you don't need roll the stones over. We used to go with the gas lamp, one guy carry the gas lamp and three, four guys pick. And the *wī*, actually I took, when I was going high school my dad told me I should let it go in every river. So I went Hanalei river I let some go in Hanalei river, Kalihiwai river, Kīlauea river.

KM: Wow!

WH: He said get some Kīlauea river below the slippery slide.

KM: Yes.

WH: But, I took some below the slippery slide because I kind of checked that area was like kind of, you can't go to the river. You would have to work your way down in the river, or work your way up in the river. So I let some go but I was talking to this Filipino boy he went look for 'o'opu, 'o'opu season he said he picked up pretty much. It was big, real big. Because I guess nobody touched. 'Cause I even let go in this river [Limahuli Stream], and I took some up Maninihōlo, the stream I went to the bottom of that waterfall and I put some there.

KM: Was your father the one told you go do that in the streams?

WH: Yes.

KM: Neat.

WH: He said that way "then everybody not going try sneak in and go wipe 'em out" and stuff. I know in here used to get some.

CW: Yes. Night time they come up on top the bridge up here.

CA: The *wī* does?

CW: Yes.

WH: They had Sam White them did fishpond stuff, I went above that.

KM: You folks would get 'ōpae too *mauka*?

WH: Yes. Wainiha I used to go, my Uncle Henry Gomes. He used to work for McBride and they used to clean the tunnels.

KM: Yes.

WH: That was the most fun thing to do, to go catch that 'ōpae. We would hold one sheet, this guy hold the sheet I hold the sheet. Turn on the flashlight, boom one bag full you get. That would be all on top of the tunnel, when you shine the light they all release and fall in the sheet. That's how we used to catch 'em in the tunnels.



KM: Yes. Uncle Jimmy Hū'eu from Maui you, your Uncle Gomes, spoke fondly of your uncle in going up to gather the 'ōpae like that too.

WH: Used to be fun and then you get that 'ōpae crawling all over you.

CA: Is your uncle from his wife's side?

WH: Yes. Henry Gomes' wife and my mom was sisters.

CA: Oh, okay. He's relative to me too from my mother's side or my father's side, I'm not sure.

KM: You gathered 'ōpae, wī, 'o'opu like that in the stream too?

WH: You know what I noticed now, doesn't have too much of that white 'ōpae. You know the one stays down here? Before used to go down side of the river where the rapids now. You go scoop alongside the river you can catch a lot but now you don't see 'em. I guess since the tilapia came I think they kind of wiped 'em out.

CW: The tilapia and the prawns. The prawns came in.

WH: The prawns, I would think too, yeah.

CW: The prawns eat 'em, yeah. Before never have prawns, was only 'ōpae.

WH: Only 'ōpae. And the only river I notice there's no tilapia is Lumaha'i river. I never saw a tilapia.

CA: Oh, that's interesting.

WH: Never saw a tilapia in Lumaha'i river. I don't know this river here, I don't think so...

Fishing at Lumaha'i:

CW: You guys ever used to hook *moi* at Lumaha'i?

WH: Yes, I used to go with my grandfather. We used to hook 'em with the regular just the bamboo with the 'ōpae. You know the 'ōpae I was talking about?

KM: The clear one?

WH: The clear one. And we used to hook *moi*.

CA: Where, in the ocean?

WH: In the ocean.

CA: In the white water?

WH: Right by that point, the black point used to hook right there. From the rock with the bamboo. And then my grandfather one time, my grandfather told me I was going fishing with him. I was going high school that time. He said, "Go pick up some ripe guava." I go, "What for, I not hungry." He said, "No, we going use the guava for hook the fish." I said, "No way, come on grandpa, I not crazy yet." He gave me good scoldings, so I went pick up some ripe guava. We went by the black rock smash up some guavas. He told me smash up the guavas. We going hook fish. So he told me, "Smash up the half the guava and throw 'em in the water." You see all the *nenuē*, the *palani* they would come eat the guava then he would take the guava skin and hook 'em put 'em down. And we would hook *nenuē* and *palani* with the guava.

KM: Wow! So just like *palu*.

WH: Then I said, "Oh grandpa, how you went learn this?" He said, "I watch when the guava float out the *nenuē* and the *palani* they go eat the guava, so I know I can go hook fish like that."



CW: *Maka'ala*. We were talking about the dragon fly, then you were talking about him watching the guava and stuff. Was there other relationships you noticed between things on the land and things on the ocean. They had the saying like *pala ka hala, momona ka wana*, when the *hala* is falling down the *wana* is ready.

MK-H: Uh-hmm.

WH: The *wana* is ready.

CW: Anything else like that you remember from growing up?

Kupuna Rachel Mahuiki was a *he'e* fisherwoman:

WH: [thinking] I get something in my mind but it cannot come out, I know get something like that my dad guys used to tell us. [thinking] And then before I used to go squidding at Manji pond. And grandma Rachel used to come. And I used to wonder why she's walking so hard on the water on the reefs, splashing the water hard. And like I would kind of dive where I could dive. I picked up some squid but I turn around and I look her she's picking up squid in the back of me.

Group: [chuckling]

WH: I wonder what she's doing. How come she can see the squid. So, because she was older than us, I went to her and said, "You know what grandma, how come you walk so hard in the water?" She said, "Because I let you go first the squid come out, pop up and look what past the squid," and then she said, "I splash the water now the squid going come out look why I splashing the water, then I catch the squid." Then afterwards I tried one time she wasn't there I tried. Sure enough the squid would spit out the water and I would catch. So afterwards was like if I see somebody go, I laughing because, "Yes, you can go. I going come in the back of you and I going catch because they looking who go pass them."

KM: Yes. Cool, yeah.

CW: What else you remember about grandma Rachel?

WH: All kinds, all kind of stuff. [thinking] But that, I caught something from her you know, I learned something...



Greg Kan Sing Ho
February 10, 2003 – at Hanalei, Kaua'i (KPA Photo No. S201)
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly, Chipper Wichman
and Carlos Andrade (also Takashi Harada, Onaona Maly and Hau'oli Wichman)

Greg Kan Sing Ho was born in Hanalei in 1905. He is of pure Chinese ancestry, and descended from families who planted rice in the Hanalei Valley. *Kupuna* recalled that his father learned about fishing techniques and locations from elder Hawaiians of the Hanalei-Hā'ena region, and he in turn learned from his father, and others of his peers. *Kupuna* Kan Sing, kindly shared his recollections of Hanalei over the last 95 years, observing that there had been many changes, particularly as outsiders began moving in.

Kupuna Kan Sing Ho gave his personal release of the interview records to Maly on June 18, 2003.



- KM: So *kupuna*, I'm going to ask you some questions, and we're going to talk story.
- GH: Uh-hmm.
- KM: You let me know if I'm not talking loud enough for you. Thank you so much. It's 8:30 a.m., February 10th, 2003.
- GH: Not [chuckles].
- KM: Yes.
- GH: [gets up to look at his calendar]
- KM: *Kupuna*?
- GH: Hmm?
- KM: What is your full name?
- GH: My English name is Greg, and the Chinese name is K-a-n and S-i-n-g.
- KM: Kan Sing.
- GH: Yes, and Ho.
- KM: Ho. Where were you *hānau*, out here?
- GH: Yes. Right here.
- KM: Out here. Right on this *'āina*?
- GH: Right in Hanalei.
- KM: When were you born?



GH: In 1905.
KM: Oh, what a blessing!
GH: Thank you. And my grandparents they're from China.
KM: Ah. When did your grandparents come to Hawai'i, do you know?
GH: It's a long time ago.
KM: Yes, long time.
GH: I don't know how they get here, but.
KM: Were your parents born here? Your mom and dad?
GH: Yes.
KM: You're pure Chinese?
GH: Yes.
KM: Where did you live? Right on this 'āina here or...?
GH: Right here in Hanalei.
KM: In Hanalei. Closer into the valley or around here?
GH: Right around here.
KM: Not far from the church area or...?
GH: Yes.
KM: Oh. What did your father do?
GH: He worked for the county, laborer.
KM: Yes.
GH: And then he raised some cattle, a few, just to keep busy.
KM: Did he own land, or did he lease the land?
GH: I think he leased.
KM: What was your father's name?
GH: Sau Hen Ho. S-a-u, H-e-n Ho.
KM: Oh. And he was born here in Hawai'i?
GH: Yes.
KM: Do you know when about?
GH: Not too much [chuckles].
KM: You don't know when he was born? How about your mama. When was mama born?
GH: In Honolulu.
KM: Oh.
GH: The place called Pauoa.
KM: Yes. What was your mother's name?
GH: Lilly, I think.
KM: Was she pure Chinese?



GH: Uh-hmm.
KM: Her last name, do you remember?
GH: [thinking] I think Kam.
KM: Oh. So you *hānau* in 1905?
GH: Uh-hmm...

Father learned fishing from the Hawaiians, and he in turn learned from his father; they fished from Hanalei, to Waikoko, Lumaha'i, and out to Hā'ena:

KM: Okay. Uncle, *kupuna*, you used to go fishing?
GH: I used to follow my dad. My dad used to acquaint himself with the Hawaiians here, and so he learned it from these Hawaiians.
KM: Ahh.
GH: And then from him well.
KM: You learned?
GH: We picked it up.
KM: If you lived here in Hanalei. Where was your fishing area? Where did you go fish?
GH: Mostly down this way, Waikoko.
KM: Waikoko.
GH: And Lumaha'i, and Hā'ena.
KM: 'Ae. Good fishing grounds before?
GH: It was really good.

Names types of fish caught:

KM: What kinds of fish did you get?
GH: Mullet, *moi*, *pāpio*.
KM: 'Ae.
GH: [thinking] What you call this reef fish?
KM: *Manini*, *kala* kind?
GH: Yes. *Manini* and *kala*, uh-hmm
KM: You folks go after *he'e*, squid too?
GH: Sometimes.
KM: *Nenuē*?
GH: Yes, *nenuē*. And one other reef fish, I forget already.
KM: *Po'opa'a*? *Lai*?
GH: No. What do you call that reef fish. [thinking]
CW: How would you catch it with a throw net?
GH: Mostly throw net.
CW: That fish?



GH: Uh-hmm [pauses, thinking].

KM: When you would go fishing, you would follow your father go to certain places.

GH: Uh-hmm.

KM: You folks when you fished, how did you fish? Did you go net? You pole fish some or...?

GH: Mostly throw net and sometimes when the evening is good we'd lay our net. Lay across the channel like that.

KM: Yes.

GH: Then you catch *kala* and all the other fish.

KM: You folks knew all of the different fishing locations. Like if you wanted to eat *moi* where would you go? Where did you go when you wanted to catch *moi*?

GH: [chuckles] Where the reef is good.

KM: Ahh.

GH: That is good, *moi*.

KM: And you said you go after 'ama'ama or *anae*, mullet like that?

GH: Uh-hmm.

KM: Were there special places where you could catch the fish?

GH: Yes. If you know where they hang out.

KM: Yes. You like share your secret places [chuckling]?

GH: [chuckles]

KM: Where were the good places?

GH: [chuckling] Well, all along the reefs down here you know.

KM: Yes. When you went fishing, did you folks...you know how sometimes people they take enough for today leave some for tomorrow, or did you folks just take everything you can get?

GH: We not that type to get what. If you have enough you have enough.

KM: Yes. Were there old Hawaiians that you went fishing with? Old Hawaiian people you went fishing with or your generation?

GH: No. With me, mostly with my dad. He teach us what to do.

KM: And you folks made your own nets like that too?

GH: Uh-hmm.

Still makes throw nets; describes net making; and recollections of some of the old fishermen:

KM: And what you still *kā 'upena*, you still make net.

GH: Uh-hmm.

KM: Amazing!

GH: You wait, excuse me, I show you... [goes to get a net that he is making; discusses net] This one is halfway, only.

KM: 'Ae.

CW: *Hana pa'a* already.



Group: [chuckling]

KM: Oh, beautiful! You're still making this net?

GH: Uh-hmm.

KM: Amazing!

GH: [Standing, holding up the net] You got to make it how you want. Six feet or eight feet.

KM: Yes. When you made net before... *Kupuna noho*, sit, you be comfortable. Be comfortable in your chair.

GH: Thank you.

KM: Uncle, when you were young and you were making nets. You no more *suji* when you were young?

GH: No, no such thing.

KM: What did you make your nets from?

GH: With the, we called that *aho*.

KM: 'Ae, *aho*. The cotton type?

GH: Yes, yes. [points out an older net of aho] Here that's the one.

KM: Oh yes, that kind. Okay. Now, *kupuna*, did you use to have to dye your nets, darken the color?

GH: Sometimes.

[Carlos Andrade joins group]

KM: You remember Carlos? Long time. Uncle, you were saying that when you were young you make your nets out of *aho*?

GH: Uh-hmm.

KM: You would have to dye the net to darken the color and preserve it some?

GH: If you want to do that, yeah.

KM: Did you dye your net sometimes?

GH: Uh-hmm.

KM: What did you use to dye it with?

GH: You got to use a certain kind of tree.

KM: You go for *kukui* or...?

GH: Yes.

KM: You would go *holoholo* though. You make your net then you folks go out? You mostly throw net?

GH: Uh-hmm. If we have enough we stay home.

KM: Yes. You said your father learned from old Hawaiians...

GH: Yes, yes.

KM: He followed them.

KM: Do you remember the names of the old Hawaiians your father or you went fishing with?



GH: One was Kaiulani I think.
KM: Kaiulani?
GH: Uh-hmm.
KM: An old person lived out here?
GH: Yes. From down on this side.
KM: Hā'ena side?
HW: Is that Kalani Tai Hook?
KM: Kalani Tai Hook?
GH: Yes, Tai Hook folks. [pauses] Making net you got to know how many eye you want to start.
KM: Yes.
GH: And then go how far, you going add again.
KM: That's right to make it big.
GH: Keep on add, add till you feel you have enough mesh, you know.
KM: Yes. When you folks would go out, about how big was the net you go out with? How long?
GH: About seventy feet.
KM: Wow! And you just go along the shore. And you said you knew different places?
GH: Yes.
KM: Where get *moi*, *kala*, mullet like that?
GH: Uh-hmm. Depends on the tide too.
KM: When was the good tide? Come in go out?
GH: Mostly coming in.
KM: You no go out fishing with some of the old Hawaiians?
GH: I never did. I never had the chance.
KM: Your father though learned, and you followed your father?
GH: Uh-hmm.
KM: What's your favorite fish? You have a favorite fish?
GH: Not exactly. Depend on the season [chuckles]. Like now it's rough.
KM: Yes.
GH: When it's rough, get hard time to get that.
KM: Did you folks dry fish sometimes for rough time?
GH: Uh-hmm.
KM: What kinds of fish did you like to dry?
GH: Mullet and *moi* like that.
KM: Oh. Did you folks make salt or you bought salt?
GH: Mostly bought.



KM: No one made salt this side?

GH: No. [thinking] Maybe you want to make, but no equipment.

KM: [chuckling] Too much rain maybe.

GH: [chuckles]

Discusses difference in weather today, compared to before; there is less rain now:

KM: *Kupuna*, when you were young. How do you think the rain was back then compared to today? Has the weather changed you think since you were young?

GH: [thinking] I think the rain was heavier back then.

KM: Heavier back then.

GH: Uh-hmm. [thinking] Like where we used to stay, in those days it was muddy and all that. And we used to raise bullfrogs [chuckling].

KM: Oh yeah? Oh.

GH: [chuckling] It's mostly for eating.

KM: Yes.

GH: Those days people don't buy too much.

KM: Ahh.

GH: Population is not to great.

KM: You would raise the bullfrogs for home use. Some sell?

GH: Yes, we would sell them, and we'd give to people like you. We give. When they get they give you.

KM: Yes. Was that kind of the way. If you went fishing or if you had bullfrogs or something and somebody came you folks would share food with them like that?

GH: Uh-hmm, yes.

KM: Did you folks...you said you planted rice for your family when you were young.

GH: Uh-hmm.

KM: Did you folks plant taro too?

GH: No, very little.

KM: When you were a young boy, who lived around you? Were there some families or people lived around you folks?

GH: Yes. [thinking] Gee, hard to remember.

KM: Yes. Long ago. Did you folks used to go fish in the streams sometimes, in the river?

GH: Very seldom.

KM: Very seldom.

GH: You got to have a boat.

KM: Yes. Most of your fishing was walk along the ocean shore?

GH: Uh-hmm.

KM: And out on the *papa*, the reef you said?

GH: Yes.



KM: And you would go all the way out to Hā'ena?

GH: All depends you know.

KM: If you went to Hā'ena, what kinds of fish were you going for?

GH: As I told you the same kind.

KM: Same kind. Just different areas along the way?

GH: Yes.

KM: Did you folks gather *limu*, seaweeds like that?

GH: No.

KM: Not you folks?

GH: Too busy [chuckles].

KM: Too busy [chuckling]. Too busy going for fish.

GH: Yes [chuckling].

KM: You no eat *limu*?

GH: We eat, it's good.

KM: Oh. How about *wana* like that? *Wana*?

GH: Very seldom.

KM: Not too often. Were there a lot of people when you were young, living around here? Or not too many?

GH: Not too many. They come and go.

KM: No more sugar or still had sugar when you were young?

GH: Hmm?

KM: Still had a sugar plantation when you were young?

GH: No, the rice.

KM: So no Sugar?

GH: Not too much. Those days when you want anything, you plant your own.

KM: Yes.

CA: What kind of vegetables did you plant, Mr. Ho?

GH: *Kai choi*. You call that *kai choi*, and maybe lettuce like that.

Caught 'o'opu from the streams and 'auwai:

KM: Uh-Hmm. You know in your rice paddy, where you plant rice. Were there any 'o'opu or fish inside the rice paddies that you remember?

GH: We have streams, you know.

KM: Yes.

GH: We get some.

KM: The 'auwai? You know the little channel?

GH: Yes. They come in from the river.



KM: You folks eat that fish, 'o'opu?

GH: Yes.

KM: How did you prepare the 'o'opu?

GH: You want to fry. Mostly fry. Boiling is good but it all gets messy when you boil it. All messy.

KM: Yes. Got to make soup [chuckles].

GH: Uh-hmm, yes [chuckles].

KM: I bet that would be 'ono, 'o'opu with *kai choi* like that?

GH: Yes.

Group: [chuckling]

GH: All depends on your appetite.

KM: Yes...

CW: [pointing out locations on aerial photo] ...This is the reef on Hā'ena, this is the end of the road, Kē'ē. Do you recognize any of the area that you used to fish?

GH: [looking at map] Hard.

CW: Hard to see. This is the big reef by Mākua. Over here, Hā'ena.

GH: Yes.

CW: Did you ever go walk outside there?

GH: No.

CW: Always the shoreline?

GH: Uh-hmm.

CW: This is by the dry cave. You used to go fish on this part? Do you remember any of the names for this reef over here?

GH: [thinking – pauses]

KM: Long time ago, yeah?

GH: Yes.

CW: When your dad used to go with you fishing. Did he ever say certain area you would go?

GH: He would tell you which place is better.

CW: You remember mama Ouye and Manji Ouye? No?

GH: No.

CW: You know any of the people that live down in Hā'ena? You remember them?

GH: Some. I remember some [chuckles]. Especially the Tai Hook family.

CW: Uh-hmm.

GH: He had his son up here., Tai Hook's son.

CW: Ah Fook?

GH: Uh-hmm. [pauses]

KM: Good land though. You like to go out here fishing before?

GH: Uh-hmm...



KM: ...*Kupuna*, when is the last time you went fishing you think?

GH: [thinking] I can't remember.

KM: Long ago. Who are you making your nets for? Just to make now?

GH: I make, but sometimes they want to buy.

KM: Yes. Oh, amazing!

CW: How long does it take you to make one net?

GH: If steadily, about three or four months.

KM: Wow!

GH: If I sit home every day.

KM: Your eyes good yet, yeah?

GH: I hope so [chuckling].

Group: [laughing]

KM: What a blessing!

CW: And your hand is good too, for sew for *kui*.

GH: Uh-hmm... In making this throw net, you got to know everything, you cannot just sew.

KM: Like you said how many eyes, how big you going extend like that.

GH: Yes, uh-hmm.

CW: Who taught you to make net?

GH: My dad.

KM: Wow! Did you make your own *hi'a*?

GH: Yes. We used to cut our bamboo and make our own.

KM: Special place for get the bamboo, or any kind?

GH: Any place where you see the bamboo...

CW: ...What kind of things did you have to buy when you were growing up? Almost everything you could grow, you could catch fish. What things did you have to buy?

GH: Fish?

CW: Fish you can catch your fish. You would buy fish, different kind? Maybe sugar?

GH: Sugar we got to buy.

CW: Could you trade your rice for the sugar? Or you have to buy?

GH: Very seldom.

CW: You have to pay money. But the salt you got to buy it or you can trade your rice or your fish?

GH: You got to buy.

CW: Got to buy. When you were young and go fishing with your father in Hā'ena. How did you get there? You walked, you ride the horse?

GH: We walked or ride the horse, or we have a junk truck [chuckling].

KM: The road was all dirt? All dirt road?



GH: Yes.
KM: How was the road, small?
GH: Narrow.
KM: Narrow road. Along the cliffs some place?
GH: Uh-hmm.
KM: You said you used to go to Lumaha'i to go fishing too.
GH: Uh-hmm...



Stanley Ho

February 10, 2003 – at Hanalei, Kaua'i (KPA Photo No. S206)

**Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly, Chipper Wichman
and Carlos Andrade (also with Takashi Harada, Onaona Maly and Hau'oli Wichman)**

Stanley Ho was born in Hanalei in 1920. He is a younger brother of Greg Kan Sing Ho (see preceding interview).

Uncle Stanley shared descriptions of life in Hanalei, and travel between Hanalei and the Nāpali region. He shares with us recollections of fishing, types of fish caught, and the locations where they were caught.

Uncle Stanley Ho gave his personal verbal release of the interview records to Maly on September 20, 2003.



- SH: ...You guys come too late, all the old guys have died.
- KM: 'Ae... Uncle, may I ask you please, what is your full name and your date of birth?
- SH: Stanley Ho. I was born in 1920.
- KM: Oh. Where were you born?
- SH: Hanalei.
- KM: Here in Hanalei?
- SH: Yes.
- KM: Were you born in this area or further *mauka*?
- SH: Further *mauka*. Up by...what's that restaurant [thinking] the Post Card...
- CA: By the old Hanalei Museum?
- SH: Yes.
- CA: In that building?
- SH: Yes. I don't know.
- KM: You don't remember?
- SH: Maybe Kīlauea Hospital, I think.
- KM: Maybe had mid-wife too, down at home.
- SH: There were plantation doctors at Kīlauea...
- KM: So you were born in 1920?



SH: Yes...
...When I was young, my dad was a farmer, he was a cowboy [chuckles], and a fisherman. Mostly fisherman.

Father fished with the old Hawaiians and spoke Hawaiian fluently:

KM: Fisherman, yes... How did your dad learn to fish out here?

SH: He goes with the Hawaiians. He's mostly Hawaiian than Chinese [chuckling]. He speaks fluent Hawaiian, the whole family does.

CA: All your brothers and sisters did too?

SH: No, no. Just him [speaking of his father] and his sisters.

CA: Okay. His family, his brothers?

SH: Yes. His side.

CA: They were born here in Hanalei?

SH: No, my dad was born in 'Ewa, I think and then they moved to Kaua'i. My grandfather did...[speak Hawaiian]

Names some of the families living around them in Hanalei, when he was young; father was friend with Hawaiian families in the Wainiha and Hā'ena section as well:

KM: Yes. Who were the families that were living around you when you were growing up?

SH: There was the Fu family and Ka'aumoana. I think there was a Japanese family. The Chings, Eddie Ching. They were running the store where the Dolphin is. Ching Ma Leong store right by the river, now it's the Dolphin.

KM: Were there Hawaiian families around you folks? You said Ka'aumoana?

SH: Ka'aumoana and the Fus, they were...

KM Part-Hawaiian?

SH: Part-Hawaiian, yes. My dad's friends were mostly Hawaiians from Hā'ena and Wainiha.

CA: Do you remember their names?

SH: The Makas and... [thinking] It's been so long already. They're all dead. The Kamalanis and the Pu'uleis.

HW: Tai Hook?

SH: Tai Hook, right [chuckles].

CA: How about the old man Hanohano Pā from Wainiha?

SH: Yes. Hanohano, I remember him he was a policeman [chuckles].

CA: He was a policeman?

SH: Yes, he was a policeman. Like everybody else, they all moved to Honolulu when the war broke out.

HW: What do you remember mostly about him? What stands out?

SH: Who?

HW: Hanohano Pā.

SH: He was a big man. We were all scared of him when we were kids [chuckles].



KM: Are those the people that your dad went fishing with you think?

SH: Yes.

KM: The Makas like that?

Hanohano Pā used to fish with a *sampan* along the Nāpali Coast; names types of fish caught:

SH: Hanohano with his sampan, they would go down to the Nāpali coast.

KM: What kinds of fish would they get out at the Nāpali coast?

SH: *Moi, akule, 'ō'io, 'ōpihi.*

KM: Oh yeah. They would go along, you folks...I guess they had different areas they knew if they wanted *moi* they go here, ' *ō'io.*

SH: Yes.

KM: Did you ever go out *holoholo* with them?

SH: No.

KM: Not on the boat.

CA: What kind of fishing did you do with your dad?

His own family mostly threw net and did *hukilau* fishing; notes that there are no fish now in the old areas where he used to go:

SH: Mostly throw net and *hukilau* in the bay.

CA: When you throw net, what places did you folks used to go?

SH: All over. From Hā'ena...you remember the Hā'ena school, all the way to the end of the road. In certain spots.

CA: How did you guys go from here? You guys lived here?

SH: We had a car. Wainiha, fishing at Wainiha, and the Camp Naue area.

CA: How about over here in Hanalei?

Describes *hukilau* fishing for *akule*, and division of fish in Hanalei:

SH: Hanalei, it's mostly *hukilau* and throw net around by where the hotel is.

KM: 'Ae.

SH: That's Waikoko, but there's no fish now [chuckles].

KM: No fish now?

SH: No, hardly any.

KM: Would you describe the *hukilau* here in Hanalei. What was it like when you were young and you folks would have *hukilau*?

SH: Oh yes. We'd have *hukilau* with my cousin Albert Goo. We had a big *hukilau* net. It was a back breaking chore.

KM: Would plenty people come from the community?

SH: Yes.

KM: Hawaiians, Chinese and all the different families?

SH: Oh, yes. Once the fish were surrounded, they all come and pull the net, and afterwards they get this *māhele*.



KM: Yes. Who was the main fisherman at that time you think, when you were young and the *hukilau* was going on?

SH: Albert Goo, my cousin.

KM: Albert Goo?

SH: Yes. And my father.

KM: For real! What kinds of fish you bring, in the *hukilau*?

SH: Mostly *akule*.

KM: *Akule*. Someone would see the school come *kū* inside?

SH: Right.

KM: And they *kahea*, everybody come?

SH: No.

KM: Certain?

SH: They had a regular crew to surround the fish and word gets around, then they all come and help.

KM: Do you remember who was the regular crew? You mentioned your dad, your cousin.

SH: Yes. Mostly Filipinos.

KM: Oh, for real!

SH: Yes.

KM: They come. And about how big you think...and what had one *kaula* with *lau* all on top?

SH: No *lau*. Just one big net.

KM: You're kidding!

SH: Gee, it was a thousand feet, I think.

KM: How? Out on a boat, surround?

SH: Yes. They were big flat bottom boats about 25, 30 feet.

KM: Wow!

SH: The nets weighed a ton, those days.

KM: Yes.

SH: They had about four people rowing and one steersman, and one net person that feeds the net out when we're going.

KM: Yes.

SH: We just surrounded the big school.

KM: Wow! How many people come and *huki* then?

SH: Gee, just about the whole Hanalei.

KM: Wow! Because if so much thousand pounds of net or what, and then wet and get fish inside. Heavy eh?

SH: Yes. They have to use a winch. They have winches on both sides

KM: Was there a particular place in the bay where you would usually set *hukilau*, or was it anywhere?



SH: The whole bay is all sandy. Wherever the fish was, you just surrounded it.

KM: Amazing!

CA: Where did they keep the boat and the net?

SH: You know where Black Pot is? That's where the Gardner family was living. When they left they, still had those buildings there. And the old pier had a warehouse, that's where we stored the boats and the nets.

CA: In the warehouse by the pier?

SH: No. The nets and boats were all set on the sand and ready to go.

KM: Hmm. At any time when the fish come in?

SH: Yes.

KM: Was there a particular time of the year?

SH: *Akule* is seasonal.

KM: Seasonal. When was the season you would go out you think and *hukilau*?

SH: Mostly during the spring and summer.

KM: Who makes the nets? Who takes care of all the nets?

SH: The crew, whoever worked. They patched and repaired the nets.

KM: When you folks got your *akule*. You were saying, then everyone comes and helps, they *māhele* you said?

SH: Yes.

KM: Were they selling fish also?

SH: Oh, yes.

KM: Who were they selling too?

SH: All the peddlers. They come from Līhu'e and Kapa'a.

KM: Trucks come out?

SH: Yes. They were very cheap, *akule*.

KM: Good. Do you remember how much? Did you sell by *ka'au* or?

SH: You know those bamboo baskets they got in China Town?

KM: Yes.

SH: It all varies on a catch. If everybody catches the price is down, but usually, normally if I remember correctly it's about ten dollars per basket.

KM: And a basket is what, how many pounds?

SH: It's big. A hundred fifty pounds.

CA: About that deep?

SH: No.

CA: Deeper?

SH: Deep.

KM: So almost two and a half feet or something and? You think a hundred fifty pounds?



SH: About hundred fifty pounds.

KM: Wow! Ten dollars!

SH: Because during those days five cents, you could buy a lot of stuff [chuckling].

KM: Yes.

SH: My dad was working during the depression and he was a foreman for the WPA Project and the CCC. He was making about only hundred dollars a month. Plantation workers were making about thirty dollars a month, seven days a week... ..My dad built all those cabins in Hanakoa, Kalalau and Hanakāpī'ai.

CA: You said you stayed overnight in Hanakoa?

SH: No, Kalalau. By the time we reached Kalalau, it's getting late.

Describes fish caught out in the Kalalau region:

KM: You said also that you used to go fishing in Kalalau.

SH: Yes.

KM: What was the good fish out there?

SH: Just *moi* and '*ōpihi* and shrimp in the streams.

KM: Did you folks pack up *moi* and bring home? Or did you just eat out there?

SH: We dried the *moi*.

KM: Okay. Uncle, you drying, how are you drying your fish? You *kāpī* or you *kōpī*, you salt your fish?

SH: Salt the fish.

KM: Where is your salt? You brought in or you made?

SH: You have to bring in.

KM: You brought in salt?

SH: Yes.

KM: No one made salt even out in Kalalau?

SH: No.

KM: Off the *kāheka*, in the pools like that?

SH: Not that I remember.

KM: Okay. You got to take your salt in with you. You're out there for a week?

SH: A week or two.

KM: You catch *moi*, you get '*ōpihi*, and same thing, *kāpī*, salt like that.

SH: Yes, but mostly we take for eat. And before we leave, then we bring the fresh ones.

KM: You also said you would go hunting out there.

SH: Yes.

KM: What are you hunting for?

SH: Just goats.

KM: Goats. Up the *pali*, back valley like that?



SH: Uh-hmm. Got lot of goats them days...

KM: ...Did you talk to any old-timer out here that used to live out at Kalalau?

SH: No. Everybody left.

KM: Was Hanohano Pā them..., had they lived out there?

SH: I think they did.

CA: He left when he was 13.

SH: He left a long time ago.

CA: He was the one that always used to go back there.

SH: Yes.

CA: For fishing on his boat.

SH: Yes.

CA: Anybody else go in regular for hunting or anything like that, that you know about?

SH: Yes. Just Tai Hook, and just the local people.

CW: How about Uncle Willie Yadao?

SH: Willie, I think he's from Kekaha or Waimea side. He came afterwards, later.

CA: He's younger. He was in there during the '70s.

SH: Yes.

KM: So you'd go fish out there, and that was a good trip during the summer for you, out in Kalalau?

Hanohano Pā and other families fished in the Kalalau area during the summers; taro and watercress were still growing out there when he was a young man:

SH: Oh yes. That's the only time you can go fishing there anyway. The water is rough.

KM: No more taro wild still yet out there or had?

SH: Oh yes. There was a lot of taro and watercress.

KM: Oh watercress too?

SH: Yes. Beautiful watercress.

CA: Who went with you besides your father and your brother?

SH: That's about it.

CA: Which brother?

SH: He died, Eddie. he was classmate of your father.

CA: So Harry, he was too old already?

SH: Harry, they were all teachers. He was teaching at Hanalei.

CA: Was Harry the only teacher? Was Harry, your only brother or sister who was a teacher?

SH: [thinking] No the rest of my family, they're all teachers, the girls not the boys.

Describes fishing in the Kē'ē-Limahuli vicinity, and types of fish caught:

KM: [pauses] When you would go out, like you said you'd go fishing. Were there areas, where would you go fishing? Like from Kē'ē section and come along here. What areas, do you remember some of the *papa* or the places where you would go fish?



SH: Yes. At Kē'ē and Limahuli stream. But anyway, we walked the whole area.
KM: Yes. Certain *papa* a good place for a particular kind of fish that you knew?
SH: Mostly mullet and *āholehole* and *manini*.
KM: You'd mentioned the streams like that, even as far out as Kalalau. Did you folks go gather *ōpae* or *wī* or anything like that in the streams?
SH: Yes. Just for dinner.

Discusses changes in fishing practices, and diminished catches:

KM: You know, how was it in your time. You folks take everything that you can or...?
SH: No. You just take what you need. There's lots to go around. You rather eat fresh things.
KM: You know it was interesting, you were saying that not too many people went out. Must have only been the families that knew the land, or belonged out there, I guess.
SH: Yes. Now the whole island comes this side and goes fishing.
KM: You said now, no more fish right?
SH: Yes, hardly any.
KM: Hardly any, so it's really changed.
SH: Yes. Changed a lot...

Fished in the Hanalei River, caught various fish like mullet, *āholehole*, and went crabbing:

CA: How about the Hanalei river fishing?
SH: Terrible.
CA: I mean before, not now.
SH: Before, you could catch anything in Hanalei river.
CA: For instance like what?
SH: Mullet, *āholehole*, crabbing.
CA: When you were young, like your father's time. How did you folks used to fish in the river?
SH: Throw net.
CA: Walk feet?
SH: No. We had a boat.
CA: Row boat?
SH: Yes.
CA: Somebody row and somebody throw net?
SH: Yes, right.
CA: Who was the rower and who was the thrower?
SH: My kid brother.
CA: He was the oarsman and you was the throw net man?
SH: Yes [chuckling].
CA: Only throw net or did you use *'upena ku'una*, the set net?



SH: No hardly. You catch enough fish with the throw net.

CA: Any other kind of fish besides mullet and *āholehole* in the river?

SH: That's about it. Until they brought the *tilapia*, then wiped everything out.

CA: Where did you catch the mullet when you go throw net. What area?

SH: The whole river [chuckling].

CA: You can throw in the deep water and catch the mullet?

SH: No. The Hanalei river is shallow.

CA: How shallow?

SH: It's only about five feet deep.

CA: And you still can catch 'em in that deep water.

SH: Oh, yes. They got some shallow areas.

CA: Yes. That's why I was wondering I see them go by the first turn over there, get a big sand bar.

SH: Yes. They got deeper spots.

KM: You know where to go, right?

SH: Yes, right [chuckles].

CA: Do you remember before, somebody caught one big 'ahi with the throw net in the river mouth. Do you remember that?

SH: No, I never heard of it.

CA: You never heard of it. Tex Wilson remember he caught that big 'ahi.

CW: With a throw net?

CA: With a throw net.

SH: Not with the throw net.

CA: Strong hands.

CW: I know Wendell Goo went get one with the pitch fork.

CA: In Hanalei river?

CW: Yes. A two hundred pound 'ahi.

CA: The one that Tex Wilson caught was like over hundred pounds. You never see that when you were young?

SH: I wasn't around [chuckling].

CA: This was when you were back and forth maybe. When you were young they never catch, like 'uluu in the river?

SH: Yes. Even now they get some 'uluu. They come in and then go out.

CA: You never caught any 'uluu in the river?

SH: No.

CA: Do you see 'em?

SH: Yes. You see 'em chasing the mullets.



CW: Uncle, where were you during the war years? During World War II?

SH: I was bombed and strafed on December 7th.

CA: You were working at Pearl Harbor?

SH: Yes. I just started before the war. After I finished, not even quite finished Kalaheo Vocational School, they were calling us to go to Pearl Harbor.

KM: What dock were you working on?

SH: I was working on the Number One Dry Dock, I think.

CA: You were working Sunday morning?

SH: Hey, twelve hours a day, seven days a week before then. We were all preparing the ship. The old ships they all had portholes, remember?

KM: Yes.

SH: Not air-conditioned. We were blanking all those portholes and putting on anti aircraft guns. Twelve hours a day. Every other week you had a day off.

KM: You were at work when the first bombers came in?

SH: I didn't go in that morning, until after the attack. They were still flying around and strafing the people.

KM: That must have been just unbelievable.

SH: Yes.

CW: Did you come back here during the war years?

SH: Only during my days off.

During World War II, Hanalei and other coastal areas were fenced off with barbed wire; fishing decreased during that time:

CW: One of the things that I heard from my uncle was during the war years they were so worried about the invasion they put barb wires on the *papa*.

SH: Even in Hanalei I noticed, when I came back.

CW: Yes. He said during that time people couldn't go fish like before because of all the wire and stuff.

SH: Right.

CW: He said the fish came plenty, the lobster came plenty, all on the reef. I was wondering if you remember that time or what? Because it's just like *kapu* so then the fish has time to come back.

SH: People went fishing, but not... [pauses].

CW: Yes. But not like as much?

SH: Yes.

CA: Where was the barb wire in Hanalei?

SH: All along the shore, I heard.

CA: All along the beach?

SH: Yes.



KM: That's what happened to all of the islands, they say.

SH: All of the islands, yes.

KM: All of the old fishermen, all the old people couldn't go out for the first period and then they started slackening it up.

SH: Yes.

KM: But they never clean up after themselves, too good right? [chuckles]

SH: I guess so. They let the salt take care of it [chuckling]. That was a good experience.

KM: Yes. Uncle, they brought a nice big photograph of the area, sort of from Wainiha through Kē'ē and out like that. If we look at that, can we talk a little bit about maybe your recollections of where you had fished, and what like that?

[opening aerial photo]

CW: Over here is Kē'ē, and the channel.

SH: Right. Hanalei Bay.

CW: This is the beach park by Maniniholo.

SH: Right.

Discusses shore and reef fisheries in the Wainiha and Hā'ena vicinity:

CW: Do you remember any of the names of these *papa*, these reefs?

SH: No.

CW: What reefs would you go fishing on?

SH: All these areas until... This is Hanalei here [this side].

CA: This is Barlow guys place over here?

SH: Right. Limahuli, there is Limahuli?

CA: That's Hā'ena bay.

CW: This is Hā'ena bay here. This is Mākua reef. The dry cave is over here.

SH: Right.

CW: What would you guys call this big reef outside here?

SH: [thinking] I was just talking to Willie... It just slipped my mind.

CA: Bumby, you can remember.

SH: That's out here, Hā'ena. We walked all the way from here to here [indicating on aerial map]. It's not that far. I used to be the bag man.

CA: For who?

SH: For my father, when I was about six years old, I think.

KM: That's a big trip for a six year old.

SH: No. It's just walk slowly, you know.

KM: What kind of fish your gather would go get?

SH: Mostly mullet.

CW: All the shoreline?



SH: Yes.

CW: Right from the beach?

SH: Yes.

CW: You never go on the outside go catch *moi*?

SH: No. This is where we go and pick *limu*.

KM: In front of Limahuli section?

SH: Yes, Limahuli section.

KM: What kind of *limu*?

SH: *Limu kohu*.

KM: Out on the outer edge, by the wave wash?

SH: Yes, right.

CW: You don't remember your dad calling that part, that place anything?

SH: No. You got to get some old-timers over there.

CW: You the old-timer.

Group: [all chuckling]

SH: I'm too young.

CW: You remember what other families would be fishing in this area? Did you ever see other fishermen?

SH: Oh yes, people.

CW: Who would you see over there?

SH: [thinking] All the Hawaiian people would be there.

CW: The Makas? Hashimoto?

SH: Hashimoto. You're right, the Hashimotos mostly.

KM: Maka them. No more Pā or Kila them, Hanohano?

SH: Kila was living down... [pointing to area on photo]

CW: Down here in Kē'ē at that time?

Discusses tidal wave of 1946, and impacts on the residents of Kē'ē:

SH: Yes. And that guy that got washed away during the tidal wave.

CW: Kelau?

SH: Not Kelau. [thinking] It's been so long.

KM: In 1946?

CW: In '46 they lost three people down there.

SH: Fish was plentiful, you just catch enough for the day, and then come home.

KM: If you were out fishing somewhere out on these *'āina*, and these weren't really the places where you lived, you went *holoholo*. If some old-timer came up from that place, did you ever share fish with them? Or did you folks just take your fish and go?

SH: My father was very generous.



KM: He shared?

SH: He shared with all his friends.

CA: On the way home he stop and...?

SH: Yes. If they needed fish. But mostly you already got [chuckling].

KM: Mullet along there. In front of the *papa* on the ocean side *limu kohu* at Limahuli?

SH: Yes. And *moi* and *manini*, *kala*.

KM: How about *he'e* out there? You folks go after *he'e*?

SH: Oh yes. Just around this Limahuli area is a good squid area along here.

CA: You ever used to see grandma Rachel going for squid over there? Or anybody else going for squid?

SH: A lot of people, but you know when you're a kid you don't pay attention to such things. Maybe just "hello and goodbye." [chuckling]

CW: Did you ever go diving?

SH: Not out there, mostly outside Hanalei and Waikoko.

CA: For?

SH: *Manini* and *kala* and stuff.

CW: What about with your boat. Did you ever go down here with your boat?

SH: Yes.

CW: And what would you catch down here?

SH: I go bottom fish. Bottom fishes, catch *weke* and *pāpio*, you know the reef fish. Bottom fished along Nāpali and fronting Kalalau; also went deep sea fishing:

CW: And when you used to bottom fish out here. Did you have your favorite spot?

SH: Yes.

CW: And you follow the line up on the mountain?

SH: Right. Right out here is good fishing all the way to Kalalau.

KM: So Limahuli over?

SH: Yes.

KM: About how far out would you be?

SH: About half a mile, one mile. It's shallow out there.

CA: How many feet?

SH: Sixty feet, eighty feet.

CW: And how did you find those places. Somebody showed you, or you had find your own?

SH: I just went. The people hardly go out fishing, bottom fishing. So I just go and try.

KM: You folks would go *kūkaula*, hand line like that?

SH: Yes.

KM: You folks go trolling?

SH: Yes, trolling for the *'ahi* and stuff out there.



KM: How far out for the 'ahi?

SH: Maybe from one mile out to about ten miles out.

KM: For real!

SH: Yes.

KM: Were there *ko'a* or old stations, certain places you knew you always going hit 'ahi'?

SH: Yes.

KM: As much as ten miles out, you go?

SH: Yes.

KM: What kind of lure did you folks use?

SH: Just fish lures.

KM: You made your own?

SH: No, we go and buy.

KM: You buy.

SH: Not much fish today.

CW: You ever used to fish on this side, by the anchorage side?

SH: Yes. Because my brother was teaching at Hā'ena school. We used to go there, park the car and go up the beach.

CW: Was Harry a fisherman too?

SH: Yes he does, but mostly we catch the fish for him [chuckling]...

KM: ...How would you compare the weather today to when you were young?

SH: It's about the same.

KM: You think it's about the same. Even the rainfall like that?

SH: The rainfall, yes. It's just that the Hanalei river is not getting all the water. Before the Hanalei river was high, but now when it rains we don't even have a flood.

KM: You got to have a good rain.

SH: You notice at the river mouth, you went down to the river? You can walk across the river mouth, it's so shallow. Because somehow the water is going somewhere else.

CA: Not enough to keep 'em clean?

SH: Yes.

Sampans used to be able to come into Hanalei River, about a quarter of a mile:

CA: Before they said, they used to bring sampans in the river?

SH: Yes. There were the Japanese fishermen. Do you remember Joe Nakamura?

CA: Yes.

SH: His dad had a *sampan*. And Kawamoto. He lives in Kapa'a.

CA: Yes.

SH: He moved to Kapa'a, he had a sampan. And Sasaki, I think.

CA: What did they fish for?



SH: Mostly *akule*. They go night time too.

CA: And they go in and out every night, every morning they come back?

SH: After the war, I had a 42 footer, surplus boat. I used to bring it in the river during the winter months and park it up the river.

CA: Where did you park?

SH: Harry's property right after the bend.

CA: Okay.

KM: That's about half a mile up?

CA: About a quarter mile.

SH: A quarter mile, that was a deep area where the water makes the turn.

CA: Yes, by the corner. And flood what, no problem?

SH: No problem. Now you cannot even get a little skiff up the river [chuckling]

CA: And was deep all the time?

SH: Was deep all the time.

CA: Even when big waves, the sand didn't fill it up?

Feels that construction of groins on the shore below the hotel changed the system, and caused sand to fill in the river mouth area:

SH: No. The only trouble was because, when they built the hotel, they built all those groins. They are the ones that caused the sand to back up. The river was running along side the hill..

CA: Right against the bank.

KM: That's Pu'u Po'a side?

CA: Yes.

SH: Right below the hotel. That was a natural flow, the water was against the mountain. But since they built those groins or whatever it changed the flow of the water.

CA: So before that time you could come in and out with a sampan, but after that, right after that happened?

SH: Those people got old and they gave up fishing and meanwhile...

CA: They keep the boats anchored in the bay out here, or they keep 'em in the river?

SH: In the river. They go at night, I remember, at about 6 o'clock in the morning, we used to hear them chugging along, coming in.

CA: Coming back.

SH: You know with those one-lunger sampan. They were big boats, 35, 30 footers.

KM: Do you happen to remember the names of any of the boats?

SH: No. Even Hanohano used to bring his boat and park it by the Canoe Club. Right by that area. I remember him. Akana, Billy Akana's father. He comes fishing, he had his sampan in Hanalei, he parks it in the river.

KM: You get plenty traffic over here [loud traffic noise in background]

SH: Yes. I'm going to move out. This is the main street of Hanalei. Everybody goes down to the pier.



CW: Before it wasn't like this?

SH: No. Once they started opening up the sub-division and people...

CA: But the pier has always been a gathering place for people...

KM: ...Everything has changed?

Changes have also impacted the health of the fish, people now get sick from eating certain fish.

SH: Everything has changed. The fish is not edible.

CA: What fish?

SH: The mullet.

CA: What's the matter?

SH: They all got ciguatera.

CA: The mullet get ciguatera.

SH: Go and catch the mullet in Hā'ena and try and eat it. One day I went down I caught a few 'anae beautiful fish. Nice and fat. Bought it home and steamed it Chinese style, we ate it that night, not even part of it. Then we had nightmares [chuckling]. It's miserable. It's not good dream, it's real bad dreams. This was the same thing in Waikoko. Now, I don't even go fish there. The mullet is not edible. You go and bottom fish, some fish are not edible because they got ciguatera. You don't know which is good.

KM: Scary yeah?

SH: Yes. Even the *pāpio*, the *weke* sometimes.

KM: What's your thought about, how come the fish have changed?

SH: I don't know, it's what they eat.

KM: And so if there's development or something going on, on land. You think it's from run-off or sewage, cesspool?

SH: No, I don't think so. It's all the strange foreign seaweeds or something that floats in, and then starts growing. And then the fish are eating it, I think.

KM: *Aloha*, yeah?

SH: Yes. I think what's killing the reef is all the dumping in the ocean. The treated water, they think it's treated, what about the chemicals in the water? That's the one that's killing the reefs. There's no *limu* on the reef anymore. You notice the reefs, they're all dying out.

CA: Before when had big storm always get plenty *limu kala* on the beach but now, no more, nothing.

SH: Had plenty *limu kala*, now no more.

CA: Not for years and years.

KM: It's amazing you lose one part, it just affects everything else.

SH: I think it's the water they dump in the ocean. Like Kīlauea all that treated water, it's the same thing in Honolulu. I used to go Sand Island go fishing, it was nice. Then when they start dumping that raw sewage in Honolulu, everything is dead.

CA: You used to throw net at Sand Island?

SH: Yes. I used to go fishing there, Kāne'ohe. You guys losing out, the young guys.

CA: Yes. The younger generation.



SH: Even trolling is slow. Hardly any *aku* and *'ahi*.

KM: Uncle, that's a part of why we're doing these kinds of "talk story" with elder *kama'āina* like you. So the children will be able to know. Can read your stories, some of your recollections, and maybe we can do something to turn it around, or at least take care of it. Got to have something left to take care of though.

SH: I hope so.

KM: Yes. Thank you so much for letting us just come and say hello and turn on the camera [chuckling].

SH: Not much help.

In youth and young adulthood, fished at Kalalau during the summers:

KM: No. It's wonderful! And I love your story going out *holoholo* in Kalalau like that.

SH: Yes. It was fun during the summer months. We used to go down there and pick some *'ōpihi*, *moi* and *āholehole*.

CA: You had a cabin, in those days in Kalalau?

SH: Yes. All those three valleys had cabins.

CA: And you guys stayed in a cabin?

SH: Yes. My dad had the key [chuckling].

KM: Did you say your dad had the cabins built, or was it built before him?

SH: He built it.

KM: He built it, as a part of his job.

SH: Yes, well. The Federal... [pauses]

KM: Yes, WPA or CCC like that?

SH: No, it was the Geological Survey.

KM: Geological Survey, okay.

SH: Old man Hanohano took the lumber in.

KM: On the boat?

SH: Yes.

CA: Sampan.

SH: It's just a little cabin. Just float the lumber in.

KM: Just treat it on the way in. Salt 'em up.

SH: Sort of. They had three cabins and then later people tried going in and chopping up...

SH: Using 'em for firewood.

KM: Not too bright. *Mahalo!* We'll transcribe the tape, talk story like this and send this back to you.

SH: Oh. Thank you.

KM: Then we can talk story about putting it together in a historical study for the *'āina* out here. Help people to understand something of the history.

SH: Yes.

CA: How many grandchildren do you have?



SH: Three boys.
CA: Have they come to Hanalei much?
SH: Yes, when they were in high school.
CA: Do you have great grandchildren yet?
SH: No. They're all going to college now.
CA: This can be...they can pass it on in the family and read about it. They used to come here every summer.
KM: Good. *Mahalo nui*.
SH: You're welcome...

Discusses fishing at Kanahā, Hā'ena Kū'au, and Wainiha Kū'au:

KM: ...The name of that place you were trying to remember was?
SH: Kanahā.
KM: Kanahā. And you said you remember Hā'ena Kū'au?
SH: Yes.
KM: The *papa* out there?
SH: Yes.
CA: And Wainiha Kū'au?
SH: Yes.
KM: Wainiha Kū'au, you said was sort of Charro's, in front? And it's a *papa* area also?
SH: Right.
CA: You got to walk.
KM: You ever met sharks out there?
SH: No, not me.
KM: Not you. You ever heard?
SH: Yes.
KM: How, they take care of that shark or is that the shark you watch out for?
SH: No. I heard about the shark chasing Henry Gomes at Limahuli stream [chuckling].
KM: Oh yeah. You're kidding!
SH: He went out there and he couldn't come back in, when the tide started rising.
KM: The shark was out there patrolling?
SH: Yes [chuckling].
HW: He went out fishing?
SH: He went out fishing. We used to go squidding out there. Nothing, nobody, no sharks [chuckling].
KM: Maybe Mr. Gomes made a mistake that day.
SH: No. Just happened, maybe.



KM: Circumstance.
SH: The shark was hungry.
KM: [chuckling]
CA: That's a famous story though, a lot of people know that story.
SH: Yes, good old Henry.
CW: Every time I 'au cross that place, I remember that story.
SH: [chuckles]
HW: Was Henry Gomes a good fisherman?
SH: Yes. He loved to go at night.
CW: He used to go bottom fishing too? He's famous for that.
SH: He used to bother me.
HW: How?
SH: When he goes out he takes a case of Olympia. At about 2 or 3 o'clock he drives his truck into the river. Wakes me up, "Can you help pull me out?" I had a Bronco that time. Oh that guy... [shaking his head]
KM: He give you fish?
SH: Yes he offer, but you know.
CW: You'd rather sleep than eat fish?
SH: Right [chuckling]. That's the best time in the night, 2, 3 o'clock in the morning.
KM: Good dreams. Oh, *mahalo*! Thank you so much!
SW: You're welcome...



**Annie Tai Hook-Hashimoto
and Violet Hashimoto-Goto (in later part of interview)
February 10, 2003 – at Limahuli, Kaua'i (KPA Photo No.'s S306 & S307)
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly and Chipper Wichman
(also with Takashi Harada, Onaona Maly and Hau'oli Wichman)**

Annie Tai Hook-Hashimoto was born in 1933, the daughter Kalani Tai Hook and Annie Kupu Chung. Her family has generational attachments to the lands of Wainiha, and the Halele'a District. Her father was one of the noted head fishermen of the region, and her mother's family ties to Lumaha'i and the Kekaha region.



Violet Hashimoto-Goto was born in 1931, at Hā'ena. She is descended from families with generations of residency in Hā'ena, and lives on land which has been in the family for generations. Her father was a noted fisherman, and Auntie Vi is known for her "eye" for *he'e*.



Sisters-in-law, both Aunty Annie and Aunty Vi, share years of experiences in their community, with knowledge of the lands, ocean, and families in the Halele'a-Nāpali region. They remain active in their community, working on the land, caring for *lo'i kalo*, and making *poi*, and Aunty Vi still gathers *pūpū* for making *lei*.

Aunty Annie Hashimoto and Aunty Violet Goto granted their personal release of the interview records to Maly on June 19, 2003.

KM: *Aloha no!*

AH: *Aloha.*

KM: It's February 10, 2003 and it's just about 1:40 p.m., we're here at Limahuli and *kupuna* I'd like to ask you if you would please share your full name, date of birth. And we'll just start talking story from there.

AH: Annie Tai Hook-Hashimoto. I was born in Wainiha Valley, February 1, 1933, and I just made 70 years old on Saturday [chuckles].

KM: What a blessing. How wonderful...! ...So you *hānau* in 1933?

AH: Uh-hmm.

KM: At Wainiha?

AH: Wainiha.

KM: Who was your papa? And who was your mother?

AH: My father was Henry Kalani Tai and he went go add Hook to make Tai Hook I don't know why but he added the Hook. My mother was Annie Kupu Chung.

KM: Kalani, so papa Henry right was half-Hawaiian, half-Chinese?

AH: Yes. Both my parents, both are half-Hawaiian and half-Chinese.

KM: Okay. Where was papa's family from?

AH: All Wainiha too.

KM: Oh yeah.

AH: Yes.

KM: Do you remember, was one of his parents still alive when you were a child?

AH: When I was a child my grandmother was alive. When I was four years old she died.

KM: I see so you were young.

AH: She actually was from Ni'ihau... ..My father was born in 1911.

KM: Oh, for real?

AH: Yes. And my mother was born in 1913.

KM: Oh.

AH: And I have only one aunt my father's sister living yet. She's in Anahola.

KM: Who's that, Lychee?

AH: Lychee. You know her?

KM: I know of her yes...



Families went *mauka* to gather *wī* and *ōpae*:

KM: Did you folks go *mauka* to gather *ōpae* or *wī* or...?

AH: We used to go get only *wī*. We never used to go catch *ōpae* because we had one Auntie, Ella Doroin, she was Kanei. They only went when get big water, flood, then they go by the side of the stream and catch all the *ōpae*. So every time we wanted to eat *ōpae* we got it from them.

KM: She would take care?

AH: Unless my brother-in-law would bring from up the power plant, you know the tunnel?

KM: Yes, yes.

AH: The mountain, *kala'ole*, that kind.

KM: 'Ae...

Discusses the 1946 tidal wave; impacts on the communities of Wainiha and Hā'ena.

AH: ...When the '46 tidal wave came, you know if it had happened on a Sunday everybody *make* by the park. That park was full to the max with people and cars. And we were having a great time I don't know what was going on but so much people from all around the island. That's why we said, "That if it came that Sunday, all us, I think we all gone." We don't know what to do right? Where you going run? We would have to run down by grandma's place and that would be it.

KM: *Mahalo ke akua* that, that timing worked out then?

AH: Yes.

KM: Imagine a whole community!

AH: Still yes, Monday morning, *'auwē!* Look outside, "Oh, how come the sea stay come over the pine. You know Wainiha beach?"

KM: Uh-hmm.

AH: Used to have pine trees, all. You couldn't see the water.

KM: For real?

AH: From the road side, that was all pine trees. And we used to go fishing down there, *huki* net. But that morning was really funny because at ten to seven my brother said, they "going down the beach because the waves stay coming in the river, it was so rough." My mother said, "Oh, okay you guys go but watch out." Not knowing that was tidal wave. And then I was combing my hair I looked outside I said, "Ma, the waves stay over the pine trees coming in the river. Coming up on the road!" She said, "Oh, where's Lady?" "You know she went." "She said, "You know I better go get her maybe she's stuck by the bridge." Sure enough, she going. She seen the wave coming in the river so she turned around for come back. And my mother was yelling at her to come back.

KM: Walking feet? They were walking.

AH: Walking. My mother went and she had reached her. She said, "Okay, we got to swim." So the wave coming, all coming on the land and they were swimming. And then she said, you know can see the bank when the water go down can see the bank you got to run with me. Get on the bank and then we can get up there by the mountain. Well, Flossy and I were home. So when we saw the wave coming up, and I saw that wave dash on the road and we were halfway almost out the door we turned around and said, "Oh no, the waves coming we better go through here." We had a trail that used to go to our pigpen in back of the Wainiha store. We ran behind there and the wave was coming. The water was coming by the time we got to the pigpen and it was not a very long trail. The pigs were all loose, going swimming all over the place.



KM: [chuckling]

AH: She said, "You know what lets climb on this fence and stay here until the water goes down." But then we were looking, "Where everybody?" Then we saw the kitchen of the store coming to us, the pigpen. And I told, "You know what we got to go save...she stay inside there bumby she drown!" We never know had a grand-uncle was in there and was trying to get her out because his house was already gone. They waited the water had bring in the kitchen put 'em on the bank no can go already 'cause no more water. So get them out then we run because some more we can see the water coming. We got to run to the *pali*, climb on the fence. We get on the fence, the wave come right under us. The pigs under us, oh my God, jump, everybody said, "Jump across the ditch! Jump on top the high side!" The old lady she tell us, "You know this in Japan they call *tsunami*." That's the first time I hear that word, *tsunami*. So we help her, we climb up and get on the flat.

When we look down Wainiha we seen Ellen Harada's house, Robinson's house going. We said, "Oh no, Aunty Luka stay inside the house." Maybe she had died we don't know where she stay, the house had broke up by the mouth of the river. Come to find out the house went close to the fence. There was a *hau* branch that she could get off.

KM: You're kidding!

AH: She had already tied her baby to her and she had jumped out from the house and the house went.

KM: Gee!

AH: And we don't know. Then by and by my father folks come home from Lumaha'i, they had to cross the river. Way up and come up the mountain and come over. Yelling, "Where's everybody? Where's the boys?" Then we see, tell him, "They stay over there, they stay wave their t-shirt. They're okay, they never die." And me on this side.

KM: Did someone die in your Wainiha area?

AH: Had one old Filipino man. [thinking] That was about all in Wainiha.

KM: In Wainiha.

AH: But was Hā'ena by the Mormon church.

KM: Oh. Some people died too?

AH: Yes. Had a Chinese man and some children. The Pu'ulei and La'amea, and who else. I think that was it, was mostly children.

KM: *Aloha*.

AH: And that's how, I don't know if you heard of Mariah La'amea?

KM: 'Ae.

AH: She had only one leg. Because one was broken it got caught in the tree. And then the old man Kelau that lived down here. Kelau Kalei.

KM: Down by Kē'ē?

AH: Yes. The inside part.

KM: Kelau Kalei?

AH: Yes. I think he drowned, must be he drowned in the tidal wave. Because the wave didn't come up over there where the *poi* mill was. Had the high...the wave went that way.

KM: Washed behind or something?



AH: Yes. Maybe he went, you know that old man always went to set net. And then early in the morning he would go pick up his net. So maybe that's what happened, that's what we think happened to him. He was never found.

KM: Never found him?

AH: No. Maybe stuck under the *'āpapa*, cave.

KM: 'Ae. The *'āpapa* or something.

AH: Yes. That's the only one.

KM: That's an amazing story and recollection.

AH: Because how they, they couldn't run away all those people. The Pu'uleis, La'amea, you know where the Colony Resort is?

KM: Yes.

AH: That's where they lived. Nancy Pi'ilani now, was Pu'ulei they lived across the street. And they had no place so this Filipino man his name was Shibroka, Hilario he said they go in the Mormon church the Lord going keep them safe. Well, the waves...I don't know how many waves came. Took that building and break all up.

KM: *Pau?*

AH: They couldn't catch all the kids.

KM: *Aloha.*

AH: So they were drowned.

KM: That's a life memory, experience for you.

AH: Uh-hmm.

KM: Can you see that image? You think of the things you know what you were talking about?

AH: No. I try to forget about it.

KM: Try to forget, yeah. Well thank you for sharing.

AH: Every time when used to get tidal wave, oh boy!

KM: Oh yes. And in the '60s, early late '50s, early '60s was steady, every time.

AH: Plenty. And we lived in Hā'ena. So we had a big green van that we had to load up with food.

KM: [chuckling]

AH: We put all our clothes in the box, leave 'em in there. My father-in-law had the county truck. He would have the rice, the pots, the water, the stove for run away.

KM: Yes. Steady yeah? Onaona was in Waimānalo, we were in Hale'iwa, every night it seemed like.

AH: Oh, when the siren blow it's time to take off.

KM: Yes.

AH: Those were the days. And so finally, "Got to move to high land, lets get outta here."

Discusses fishing and types of fish caught in Wainiha and Hā'ena—*akule*, *ō'io*, *moi* and *pāpio*:

KM: Aunty, earlier you had said that Wainiha, you folks used to go fishing along the *kahakai*. And you used to what, you used to *huki* or?



AH: We used to surround net. We used to catch *akule*, 'ō'io. What else, *moi*, *pāpio*. Schools of 'um at times.

KM: Yes. You know where the *pu'uone*, the dune now and the stream goes behind and comes out over there?

AH: All Wainiha bay.

KM: All that whole bay area?

AH: Yes.

KM: Who was the one directing the people how to take the net out and surround?

AH: Near the road that's what we call the beginning of Kepuhi.

KM: 'Ae, Kepuhi.

AH: Had the Kaneis, Kimokeo Kanei. Then had Chandlers and then had Hanohano, the Pās and my father. They were the four fishermen over there. So whenever one person was around and saw the fish. Like Kimokeo, that's Tom's step-granddad.

KM: Oh.

AH: He only used to *kilo* and patch net. So, whoever was around he could get a hold of, he would call, "Come, go surround get the *akule* stay inside," he used to be the *kilo* man.

KM: Where did he *kilo* from? By their place, Kepuhi?

AH: Right on top Kepuhi.

KM: On top Kepuhi.

AH: On top get one... [thinking] used to have the water, the tunnel. Anyway, on top Kepuhi they would climb on top there.

KM: It's a good place where he could look down into Wainiha? And he would see?

AH: Yes. Into the bay and then *kilo*.

KM: I guess what *ho'olili*, the fish come up they would see the glitter or something on the surface like that?

AH: Uh-hmm. You know get the school fish.

KM: Would he direct the people out how to circle the nets?

AH: Yes, on the boat.

KM: They go out on the boat?

AH: Sometimes get only maybe two people, one got to oar, one got to hold the string over here and wait till it comes across. And then they start calling everybody, go call everybody from the river. Across yell, yell to the store for the old lady Nakatsuji for go call everybody. Get on that telephone, go call everybody for come *huki* net. That was her job.

KM: It must have been some fun though!

AH: Yes, it was fun.

KM: Hard work but.

AH: It was hard work. And then we used to come in front the park.

KM: In Hā'ena?

AH: In Hā'ena. We used to go over there.



KM: Same thing *akule*, like that?
 AH: Same thing. *Akule*, mostly down here was noted for 'ō'io.
 KM: 'Ō'io in front of Hā'ena?
 AH: Oh yes, plenty.
 KM: The same idea you would take net out in a canoe or boat?
 AH: Boat.
 KM: Surround?
 AH: Surround.
 KM: The fish come in *ku* inside the bay?
 AH: Uh-hmm.
 KM: And then you surround 'em?
 AH: Surround.
 KM: And then *huki*. Did you folks *māhele* the *i'a* everyone take fish home?
 AH: Everybody took fish home. If there was enough to sell, then there was one market in Hanapēpē that used to come and get the fish.
 KM: For real.
 AH: 'Ō'io they used to sell for fish cake.
 KM: Fish cake.
 AH: Yes.
 KM: That 'ō'io *maka*, 'ono ē? [chuckling]
 AH: Yes, 'ono. [chuckling]
 KM: Okay, *e kala mai*, so you said Hā'ena. Was there another place where you folks would *ku'u 'upena*.

Family fished along the Nāpali coast for *moi* during the summer:

AH: We would go down the Nāpali coast. My father had a sampan.
 KM: Nāpali?
 AH: Yes. And he used to take all of us used to go. Go catch *moi*.
 KM: Oh yeah? Where did you go?
 AH: Hanakāpī'ai and down, the farthest we went was... [thinking] Honopū.
 KM: Honopū, for real? Wow!
 AH: During the summer, because winter time Honopū, you no can go on the land.
 KM: 'Ae. Kalalau like that all too rough.
 AH: Kalalau is spooky.
 KM: Oh yeah. How come?
 AH: Strong the current, you go *huki* net over there. Not like Hanakāpī'ai. But summertime was good because from here Kē'ē. We used to walk around to Hanakāpī'ai.
 KM: Really?



AH: And swim some places.

KM: You folks would *ku'u* net outside there too?

AH: Yes. *Ku'u*. Jump from the sampan, my father, "jump," and I'm looking at the wave, kind of big scary yet. "I no like jump, I going drown!" I said, "Jump." Jump. we jump and come out, oh my God. Swim on shore and pull the net and after that we're all talking, my sisters, "daddy, he's so mean to us. He like us drown or what, we no can swim good." [chuckling] That's how we learned to swim.

KM: That's how. So daddy had a sampan?

AH: He had a sampan.

KM: What was it's name? The sampan's name, do you remember?

AH: I don't remember. I don't think had one name.

KM: About how big was the boat do you think?

AH: Not very big.

KM: Thirty feet or?

AH: Maybe twenty something feet.

KM: Okay.

AH: It wasn't a very big one because we had to pull two extra boats in case we caught fish.

KM: 'Auwē!

AH: Nobody could sit in the sampan because the sampan had too many guys.

KM: [chuckling]

AH: Sometimes grandpa Hanohano would sit in one boat and La'a, he used to sit in one boat. Everybody used to go down and La'a used to be the one, he couldn't swim, so they had to row him on the boat for go up on the shore so he could go *kilo*.

KM: Ahh.

AH: That man never swim, but he always went to be the *kilo*. And everybody got to help him, take him ashore and then come back.

KM: He had good eye then?

Families regularly fished in Maninihola Bay; La'a Mahuiki, would *kilo* from the *pali*:

AH: Yes. Even above the park that was his *kilo* ground, La'a Mahuiki.

KM: Above the park [Maninihola]?

AH: Yes.

KM: Up on the *pali*?

AH: On the *pali*. He used to watch for the fish over there, and when get fish, he used to run down put his white flag by the *kamani* tree so everybody going past they telling them for bring the net and the boat. And he's back on top there waiting, waiting. And watching the fish.

KM: Would he direct with flags also or just by hand gesture?

AH: No. With white t-shirt.

KM: Depend which way he going [gesturing with his hand signals] and then they would know how to circle?



AH: Yes. To circle the fish. Yes, that La'a was, that's grandma Rachel's husband.

KM: 'Ae. La'a Mahuiki.

AH: Yes. And then we also learned to go at night, you know with the *lau*, the ti-leaf with the rope?

KM: 'Ae.

Used to walk into Hanakāpī'ai to gather ti leaves for *hukilau*:

AH: We used to go pick up ti-leaf go Hanakāpī'ai now, go get ti-leaf and dry 'em.

KM: Walk feet all the way?

AH: Walk feet with the bag.

KM: Yes. 'Eke mau'u?

AH: Yes. That kind and fill up. You fill up your bag how heavy you can, enough for you to carry come home. We used to go all line up, everybody go line up. My father would say, "Okay, this Sunday you folks go church come back. Get your guys bag go Hanakāpī'ai go pick up ti leaves."

KM: Wow!

CW: Over here never have enough that time? How come you had to go all the way down there to pick ti leaves?

AH: Because was easier, never like. My father never liked to go bother grandma, or to go pick up ti Lumaha'i he figure, Hanakāpī'ai trail, the Nāpali trail was more easy, right near the road. So we used to go pick up, pick up our bag. Bring 'em home, dry 'em all and then he used to make the long rope and then we got to go tie on the rope. Night time we go fishing, go catch fish and you just shake, shake, shake. And sometimes you know us we look at the time, when you go that kind night fishing, go *huki* net. Get all the lights in the water. Oh this kind real spooky.

Frequently saw fire balls and other phenomena associated with spirits between Hā'ena and Wainiha:

KM: Did anyone talk to you about that? What that was? Did they say it was *akua* or something? No one talked?

AH: No. But we always used to say it was devils. [chuckles]

KM: *Maka'u*.

AH: Because down here used to be *kolohe*, all from the YMCA come down.

KM: Get fireballs like that?

AH: You'd see fireballs in the *hala* tree, you coming on the road, you coming Wainiha you looking back down by the Colony [Resort]. "Oh, they get big fire?" Oh, then you drive then when you come around, "Oh, no more the fire." You come, you drive all the way, that's funny. We used to tell my mother, my mother used to say, "That's all the kind devil kind."

KM: *Po'e kepalō*.

AH: Yes.

KM: When you made your *lau* even night time fishing so it would be phosphorus, is that right phosphorus in the ocean you would see these lights sparkle.

AH: Yes. And then my father use to tell, "Oh, pull up all that we going home!"

KM: *Pau, pau ka pono?*



AH: Yes. No more fish. That's why he used to tell us, "You know we going fish again, nobody better say anything." I used to tell him, "You the one. When you drink you talk, you tell this person, tell that person." And then you tell, "Oh, go get the net, go get this and go." Sure, everybody going know when you go down the beach and you see all these kind lights in the water. "What is that?" You know we used to ask him. He never used to tell us what it was. We had to go ask. One time we were going, and I never like go, so I go tell grandpa Hanohano, "You know daddy, you like take us go the night time fishing, but we don't catch nothing. Only work hard for nothing." He tell me, "Why?" "I figure all the kind lights in the water, how come?" He tell, "Oh, somebody no like you folks go catch the fish." I said, "Oh, that's why?" "Yes." Oh now I know. And then when I got married and I used to go fishing with Tom night time, same thing you know, and I tell him, "How come get all that lights in the water?" And worse we stay down here. Spooky 'eh! Standing on the sand with the fish. In the dark I'm looking all around if going get something. Oh, I getting mad.

KM: Even in the sand, it comes up in the water? The light?

AH: Yes, I never seen that but they said get.

KM: Yes... Have you seen phosphorus in the water recently?

AH: No. I no go. I don't go night time. Forget it. [chuckling]

KM: I remember in the '70s still yet seeing that in the water like that. Have you seen it recently?

CW: No.

TH: Oh yeah get. Right down here.

KM: Still yet? Interesting.

TH: When we go night time for catch stuff so get.

AH: I got to ask Aunty Vi for when she go hook *'upāpalu*. I haven't gone for hook *'upāpalu* for years.

Discusses *lau* fishing and division of fish; father had a fish stick used to attract the fish:

KM: Okay. So when you would go out set *lau* like that you make big rope and you put the *lau*. How far apart did you space your *lau*?

AH: About twelve inches apart.

KM: Twelve inches apart?

AH: Yes.

KM: And all this length. Hundreds of feet of rope some? Got to go all the way around right?

AH: Yes. Sometimes hundred, hundred fifty feet long. And you know if not enough, we got to go back get some more.

KM: When you folks had taken fish as a community. Say dad, or somebody had called everyone together, the *hukilau*. When you took, when every family took fish. Did they sometimes *ho'oku'u* let the rest go?

AH: No, never. Because there always was somebody that wanted to buy the fish.

KM: 'Ae, okay.

AH: The families would take home whatever they wanted.

KM: That was *aloha*, free kind? Take what they like.



AH: Yes, free kind. There was one man in Hanalei who caught fish, I don't know if you knew him. If never had enough fish he would cut his fish in half or fourths and give to the people who had helped him. I don't know if you heard of him...

KM: Yes, a couple of other *kūpuna* have mentioned him. He would even cut the fish.

AH: Cut the fish.

KM: So *ma'amau* the idea about you got to take care.

AH: Yes, selfish, selfish. He was the only man always cut. And so when they say, "Hanalei get *hukilau*." "Yes, who?" They mention, who, "Oh, we not going over there."

KM: [chuckling]

AH: "He not going give us fish, he going cut up the fish."

KM: *Aloha nō*.

AH: And sometimes no more enough, if you get big family. Yes, that's what that man used to do.

KM: You folks go out *holoholo* like that, share fish. Did you ever hear, did your papa, old man Hanohano them or someone keep *Kū'ula*? You know how sometime the stone, they used to call the fish in?

AH: [thinking] My father had a stick.

KM: Hmm, *kaui*?

AH: What did it look like, it was, I think it was a fish. And I think the old man Hanohano had one, was a stone. But when my father died, I don't know if my sister has it or was put in the coffin with him. I told them, "Anything that he had, we didn't want. Send it with him."

KM: You think he used that stick for him get his fish?

AH: Yes. He used to. But I never see him use 'em you know.

KM: Yes.

AH: But he had it I know. I saw it, it looked almost like it was made out of the coconut.

KM: Oh, for real?

AH: Yes. It was just like the color of the coconut. You know when you sandpaper the coconut get that grain and what?

KM: Yes, yes.

AH: Yes. That's how it looked like. And Tom's dad had something but we never saw it. He had 'em at home and my mother-in-law always said, "Whatever you do in that closet there's a little suitcase, don't even touch it." So, when he died my mother-in-law never go touch 'em. Was Aunty Eliza came from Honolulu and she went go get 'em and put 'em in the coffin with him, burned 'em up. She said, "Brah, you take all this with you, we don't know what you get inside there. But we don't want no part of it." Cremated it with him. That was it. But I know they did have that kind.

KM: Yes. Interesting how they believed in those times, yeah? And some *mana*, yeah?

AH: Yes. That's the kind *mana* they had. And now we no more that kind because very seldom get *hukilau*.

KM: I think the fish, everything has changed. Before when you folks had *hukilau* was mostly people of your families and community came.

AH: Yes.



KM: And even if you went out fishing, like if you went along the lae kahakai, would you see *malihini* out there or was it *kama'āina* people? Anyone came fishing?

Before it was only *kama'āina* families who fished in the region, not like today:

AH: We never had, never had. In fact those days when we were going, hardly had anybody on the beach.

KM: Right, right. Only *kama'āina*.

AH: Because if had the Hawaiians they would say, "Oh, we going down the beach take suntan." "What the hell you take suntan, when you black already!" You know that's what we used to tell them.

KM: Yes.

AH: "You black already!"

KM: No need?

AH: No need. But hardly...

KM: The people that were fishing, were *kama'āina*?

AH: Yes, all over here. You know it's just like and during that time, Hanalei used to have Albert Goo.

KM: Oh yes, we've heard his name.

AH: He used to be the one there, and also, Manuel Nunes and Simeon Dias. That's about all. And then from here you know, if nobody is there fishing, and then somebody saw the fish. My father would go and surround it, or Hanohano would come up and bring their net. Kimokeo like that, somebody. But then the people that used to fish in Hanalei, sometimes they get mad 'cause they say, "That's their area." But my father said, "That's nobody's area, the ocean is for everybody." And so...?

KM: But your father's practice. They always shared. If people came down, they would share fish right?

AH: Yes, yes. We had a beach house in front of Walter Sanborn's place. I don't know if you know the Sanborns?

KM: No. I know the name only.

AH: You don't know Peter Sanborn? Percy died long time. They were at Hanalei.

KM: So fishing was really an important part of your community?

AH: It was fun. Because my father never throw net. Always was *hukilau*.

KM: For real?

AH: Yes.

KM: Steady *hukilau*?

AH: Steady.

KM: Were there seasonal times? Or could you go *hukilau* all year round?

AH: Depends if the ocean was calm.

KM: Yes, yes.

AH: Depends on the ocean.

KM: *Mālie*, so good *mālie* times like that?



AH: Yes. And so we used to go fishing, and then if my father never...because he very seldom threw net.

KM: How about *kā mākoi*, go pole like that?

AH: We had no patience for poling [chuckling]. Sit down over there, no. No more patience.

KM: How about on the boat sampan. Did he go *kūkaula* outside somewhere?

Discusses fishing between Wainiha, Hā'ena and Nāpali; sharks thought of as guardians:

AH: No. Was only go down Hanakāpī'ai go check the *moi* every time or go pick 'ōpihi.

KM: You mentioned, and some other guys had said that your papa, you folks would go out to Kalalau. Did you stay out there sometimes?

AH: No, no.

KM: Only for the day, go one day?

AH: Go early in the morning and come back before the wind come up.

KM: Oh, I see.

AH: We used to go down dark. Surround, get our fish and come home. By the time you reach outside Kē'ē the wind is so strong, if you coming home after eleven. Take you hours for even get into Kē'ē.

KM: Yes. Out of curiosity 'cause you'd mentioned scary you know you go out Hanakāpī'ai, Honopū like that, jump in the water. Ever heard of sharks that were out there or did they talk about guardians?

AH: You know that time we never think about sharks, when we used to go. And we always heard about Henry Gomes. Henry Gomes used to always swim from Kē'ē, go down. And he used to go by water, he used to go dive. If La'a could not go for *kilo*, he used to go swim.

KM: For real!

AH: And then see the fish and he'd go on the sand and wait and tell.

KM: How far from Kē'ē he would go out swimming? How far down the shore?

AH: He swim all the way down to Hanakāpī'ai beach.

KM: You're kidding!

AH: That man was never afraid.

KM: And Henry Gomes was Hawaiian, Portuguese?

AH: Portuguese...

KM: ...That's amazing! The Hawaiians taught him.

AH: He had the guardian. He used to swim from Wainiha all the way go down.

KM: You're kidding!

AH: And one time he had boat trouble, he was hooking 'ō'io and it was kind of rough, the sea. He was outside Wainiha, and he swam in front of the Colony Resort, come in. And that area is shark area, but he get guardian.

KM: He never get problem?

AH: No. He never had problem. That man used to swim all the time.



KM: You never heard of shark guardian or someone take care, feed shark like that?

AH: No, but I seen one in Hanalei.

KM: Oh yeah.

AH: Belonged to the Sanborns.

KM: Oh.

AH: When we used to fish over there used to come and just swim.

KM: Did they feed the shark?

AH: Big shark. Swim near the sand.

KM: For real! They give it fish or something? They take care or just?

AH: I don't know. It just used to swim along the shore and go.

KM: Wow!

AH: And this Filipino guy, Ricardo, he knew about it so he always tell us, "No bother, you guys come outside from the water, let 'em swim. It's going away." Sure enough he go. Then he come back, "Now you guys can go."

KM: [chuckles]

AH: "Oh, how come?" "That's Sanborn's guardian." "Oh," that was it...

KM: ... [pointing to locations on aerial photo] ...This is the Kē'ē section here, and come around. Limahuli section in here, the stream like this so you get an idea. The beach. Were there places along the coastline that were noted to you for certain kinds of fish or things like that, when you would go *holoholo*? And you'd been talking about some of them already.

AH: [looking at photo] In front here.

KM: Limahuli.

Discusses types of fish caught, and *limu* and shell fish gathered at Limahuli, Hā'ena, Wainiha and Hanalei:

AH: Limahuli, used to be noted for *enenue* and *manini*.

KM: 'Ae.

AH: And down here was the *āhole* winter time.

KM: The *āhole*.

AH: Hā'ena the park used to be the 'ō'io always 'ō'io or *moi* inside here. And then Wainiha Bay, every time we used to look forward to when the *akule* came in. We used to love that *akule*, *halalū*.

KM: 'Ae.

AH: 'Ōpelu was very little, 'ōpelu was noted for in Hanalei.

KM: Oh yeah?

AH: Yes, by the pier. That's about it.

KM: That's amazing 'cause shallow, the water clean but the 'ōpelu come in like that?

AH: Yes.

KM: Amazing!



AH: And then when the *halalū* used to run at the time, was no more *kapu* yet. Now you got to certain length, how many inches you can catch. Otherwise you cannot catch it.

KM: Yes.

AH: The *moi*, *moi* used to be *kapu* all the time from June to September. I think now it's May. And what else kind, that's about the only kind fish we used to go catch. *Manini*, *āhole*, *enenue* and *moi* and *ō'io*. That's about it.

KM: How about *limu* out here. You folks would get *limu*, *he'e*, *wana* like that?

AH: *Wana*. *Wana* we used to go outside [thinking] what was it Manji pond?

KM: Oh. *Ma'ane'i*, right out here?

AH: Yes. That's where we used to go get *wana*.

KM: *Aloha*.

[Aunty Violet Hashimoto-Goto, joins group]

AH: Out here, some reefs get *limu kohu*. But even Kē'ē, get but mostly...where is the YMCA area?

CW: Over here.

AH: In here?

CW: Yes.

AH: Get *limu kohu*, get the mixed *limu*.

Pūpū gathered from various locations; used for making *lei* and medicines:

KM: How about *pūpū*. You folks ever went out get *pūpū* anywhere?

AH: No *pūpū* over here. Wainiha get from Lumaha'i when you go past the bridge.

KM: 'Ae.

AH: That area get some, down here Kē'ē get. But mostly down the Nāpali coast the *pūpū*. You eat that raw?

KM: No [chuckling].

AH: They tell, if you like miscarriage you eat raw.

KM: For real?

AH: I don't know if that's true [chuckling].

KM: See, I don't need worry about that anyway.

Group: [all chuckling]

AH: Me, I don't know if it was true or not.

CW: Aunty, you remember the names of the *āpapa* where you did your *limu* and stuff?

AH: I don't know, I just go. You have to ask if Aunty Vi know. Uncle knows the 'āpapas not me. I just go where get the *limu* the one outside by the YMCA further over. I don't know which one that. What is the name of that area now? [thinking] Vi, what is the name of that area? By Stice house?

CW: Kanahā?

AH: Kanahā.

VH-G: Ko'ōnohi.



KM: Ko'ōnohi?

VH-G: Ko'ōnohi.

AH: This is Tom's sister, Violet. This is Kepā.

KM: *Aloha mai.* Ko'ōnohi you think? K-o-o-nohi?

VH-G: All those different places, they have different names. Tom knows.

KM: 'Ae.

AH: Out here get *limu kohu*, here and there, but not like Moloa'a beach, Pīla'a.

KM: Yes, different.

AH: To me, there's a certain time because it depends on the ocean. If the *kahakai* rough, no can go.

KM: *Mahalo.* This is such a wonderful opportunity to talk story.

CW: Aunty, when you were with your dad's time. Your dad would come fish all of this area?

AH: Yes, we were little.

Discussing fishermen in the Hā'ena-Wainiha region, during the 1930s-1950s:

CW: Who were the other fishermen at that time that used to fish on these reefs?

AH: Used to have the Hā'ena one my father-in-law.

VH-G: *Tūtū Hanohano, Tūtū La'a.*

AH: Jacob, Simeon Maka, all them. They lived in Hā'ena.

KM: 'Ae.

AH: La'a he used to go throw net, but he never went in the water.

VH-G: Why?

AH: Because he didn't know how to swim. He would always have either one of the boys or grandma Rachel go in the water and get the net.

VH-G: She was the best for go get squid.

KM: *Lawai'a he'e.* And strong woman too, yeah?

Group: [all agree]

AH: She used to say, "Yes, he throw the net and I got to go get the net." Boy, you alright.

Group: [all chuckling]

AH: I remember that.

KM: Main thing get fish though right?

AH: Yes, had fish.

KM: *Pōhō* if you throw net.

VH-G: Throwing those days, had plenty fish, Hā'ena. The beach had plenty fish, not anymore. Fishing today, not like it was before. There are fewer fish. There has been a decline in the *limu* as well. This is in-part attributed to the tour boats (fuel leaks), and people breaking rocks on the 'āpapa:

AH: Now if you go if you can find one *manini* or one *uouoa* you're lucky. No more!



KM: *Aloha*. How come it's changed, you think?

VH-G: It's really changed, times have changed.

AH: You know when the boats were running, had fish yet, had fish.

KM: Oh, for real!

AH: But when they had stopped, I think all the rocks or what in the ocean all *make*, the reef all *make*. Because they all broke. You want to walk on top there they all broke. I think the oil or the gas has really damage the reefs.

VH-G: They were no good.

AH: No more fish like before. You know one day we went from above of the park, there's a road going inside by the coconut grove by Guslander.

KM: Yes.

AH: From over there, uncle went walk, walk, walk not even one *manini*. Okay come in the car. Bumby he telling me, "You know what, we go down." So we come down Kē'ē go inside there walk, "I wonder if get *manini*." "Get plenty tourist, what you like go down there for?" "Oh, you giving me bad luck!"

KM: [chuckling]

AH: He go bum by he come back he said, "You know I had miss the *enenue*." I tell, "Oh, where your eye was?" He said, "Had past me on the side one big pile I couldn't throw the net 'cause my shoulder was sore." I said, "And you like go fishing?" "Yes." No more nothing, we went home white wash. He was cussing himself, he said, "I never even see 'em went pass me on the side." And by the time I was going throw, I couldn't throw my shoulder was sore." Never catch any *enenue*.

KM: Fishing is different. More people have taken I think from away. You know people who don't live here, but plenty come fish?

VH-G: Maybe it's not that. Maybe it's the time now and maybe how our reefs look. Like before, the reef used to be covered with all kind *limu*. Now we get something like alien kind *limu*.

KM: For real coming on your papa even out here?

Names various types of *limu* and locations found:

VH-G: They have some that I never seen 'em before. And we don't eat that kind *limu*.

AH: Get one green, funny kind *limu*, I never seen that before.

VH-G: It could be that you know. Maybe that's the reason why no more the fish.

KM: What kinds of *limu*...and even if it wasn't eating *limu*. What kinds of *limu* did you folks see out here? You saw *limu kohu*?

AH: *Limu kohu*, *limu kala* was a popular one.

VH-G: Yes, *limu kala*.

AH: The other one we call *pahapaha*.

KM: *Pahapaha*, that's the greenish?

AH: The greenish one like the lettuce color.

VH-G: Had the what you call the black, 'ele'ele.

KM: 'Ele'ele.

AH: *Limu 'ele'ele*.



VH-G: But that's green yeah the *limu 'ele'ele*.

KM: Yes. That's in areas where the water has been flowing good?

VG/AH: Yes.

KM: It has to have fresh water right for *'ele'ele*?

VH-G: Yes.

KM: Did you folks see *limu lū'au* or *pahe'e*?

AH: That's not way inside only come up sometime when you *huki* net.

KM: Certain time.

AH: Certain times I know Wainiha used to get. I used to watch for 'em when we get *hukilau* because that one was *'ono*.

KM: Those *limu* pretty much now you don't see?

VH-G: No more.

KM: Wow!

AH: No more.

KM: You're right, because if no more food for the fish...

AH: I wonder if Maui still get, that one?

KM: It's not like before.

AH: Not like before too?

KM: Not like before.

VH-G: Times have changed.

AH: And what about Hilo?

KM: Not the same thing. All over, the *limu*. One thing they notice *limu kala* is still in places.

VH-G: Yes.

KM: But people don't eat that, fish, eat okay.

VH-G: They eat *limu kala*, but you got to get the young one.

KM: And soft, *palupalu*.

AH: And certain times get *manauea*, and certain time you can get, what is that smell one?

KM/VH-G: *Līpoa*.

AH: *Līpoa*. Now, hard to find.

VH-G: Maui used to get plenty, it comes on the beach.

KM: Yes. Lāhainā side, all the *līpoa*.

VH-G: Lāhainā side.

KM: *Wāwae'iole*, you get?

VH-G: We get *wāwae'iole* down here.

AH: We get, but you got to go find 'em.

KM/VH-G: Yes.



AH: I know Kē'ē get, but you got to go in the deep.

VH-G: Kē'ē get.

HW: Where, on the map?

KM: Kē'ē section. So times have changed.

AH: And of course get the *limu* we always called turtle *limu*. You find 'em in the *limu kohu* just like rubbish you pick 'em up, throw 'em away.

KM: Yes. You folks had *huluhuluwaena* or *līpe'epe'e* out here?

VH-G: No, no *huluhuluwaena* no, *pe'epe'e* a little bit. Always, always, that's the only one you see every time.

KM: May I ask since you folks all stream people out here, did either of you ever hear about using *limu wai*, the river *limu* for medicine or something like that? *Limu* in the streams for medicine or anything?

VH-G: No.

AH: No. We never learned about that.

KM: Okay.

AH: Because get all kinds, yeah, in the stream.

KM: Yes there are *limu*.

AH: [thinking] Lets see. We get one up here, long green one in the ditch. Maybe get some medicine I don't know. Nobody when teach us.

VH-G: Like the *limu 'ele'ele*?

KM: It is yes you're right aunty said like the *limu 'ele'ele*, long kind.

AH: Uh-hmm.

KM: I was just curious if you ever heard, because they say *lā'au*. Good *lā'au*, some of the *limu*. You know if your body is weak or something you, take the *limu* to help strengthen you. I was wondering, but you folks...?

VH-G: Well, just like *limu kohu*.

KM: 'Ae.

VH-G: They eat the *limu kohu* for goiter.

KM: Yes, iodine.

VH-G: When you get bad goiter, when they use *limu kohu*, you can't use the really... Right now, we get two different kind *limu kohu* growing. Get one *limu kohu*, grows any kind place. Looks like *limu kohu*, but you can eat that. They said you can pick 'em and eat 'em. But because we know what is *limu kohu*, we're not going to eat 'em. But they said it's edible. Our real *limu kohu* got to come from where the sea really pounds, you know what I mean?

KM: Yes, really agitated?

VH-G: That's the real *limu kohu*.

KM: *Kai ko'o, kai nui*.

VH-G: You can tell the difference. The real *limu kohu*, the ones that's growing way up here look like the Christmas tree.

KM: Yes, yes.



VH-G: But the real *limu kohu* is fuzzy and you know a little different.

KM: Yes. Is there a difference in the color?

VH-G: The real *limu kohu* is the one that has all that...

KM: Iodine?

VH-G: Iodine, yeah.

KM: Is there a difference in the colors between them?

VH-G: No. They look like the same.

KM: Some *limu* come red, red though and some brownish you know, like that.

AH: We get though, we get the brownish one too, where the sun catch it.

VH-G: In different areas like take for instance Ko'olau. Ko'olau their *limu* is red, because I go down there and pick up *limu kohu* too. But far where you got to go. Their *limu* is nice and red. Ours one is dark brown, kind of little bit purplish.

AH: Sort of pinkish.

VH-G: During the winter time when you get 'em nice color, dark. When come summer time where the reef is always dry, the *limu* going come lighter. Kind of burn a little bit.

KM: Burn I guess, too much sun or something.

VH-G: Yes. But still it's *limu kohu*.

AH: That's when they put food coloring make red. [chuckling]

KM: Oh, you're kidding! That's the secret?

VH-G: That's right. They put food coloring to make 'em red.

AH: Food coloring, I do that sometimes [chuckles].

KM: Oh, shh. We have to 'oki that [chuckling].

AH: [chuckling] But don't taste 'ono, it kills the taste. I went try, but no 'ono.

KM: Hmm. Nice just to *kolekole* and not hard right?

AH: No.

KM: In fact some, I think it's good fun.

AH: [chuckling] Because I know you.

KM: *Mahalo!*

HW: Aunty, this morning we were talking to Stanley Ho and he mentioned ciguatera in the mullet.

AH: Who?

KM: Kan Sing's brother, Stanley.

AH: Oh, Kan Sing. He's how old now? [Also remembers his wife, Clara Ho, a former school teacher at Hanalei.]

KM: He's 97...

Discussing fisheries, the need to make *kapu*, like in the olden days, to restore areas; and the need for education:

VH-G: Well, there is such a way. Only thing is they got to make sure they *kapu*, certain season. Give the fish a chance to come back again.



KM: Come back, yes.

VH-G: But then we get some *kolohe* kind people too. Here we're trying to restore that, but here comes *kolohe* people from the outside who come and *kolohe* 'um.

KM: 'Ae.

VH-G: Which is no good.

KM: No, it isn't.

VH-G: Now days there is such thing. Maybe here we try to the kind, they coming maybe from Kekaha they say, "Hey, you know, over Hā'ena, they get certain place where they trying to restore all the fish to come back." And then night time they going come, they going *kolohe* the fish. Which is no good now days.

KM: Yes.

VH-G: Like before they don't do no such thing because they scared.

KM: That's right.

VH-G: You go *kolohe*, you know what going happen to you!

KM: *Mūmu'u paha ka lima* [chuckles].

VH-G: Yes. They going the kind, so they not going *kolohe*. Then the fish get a chance to restore again.

KM: 'Ae.

VH-G: That's the only way. Like with everything else we got to try it.

KM: We have to educate our children then.

VH-G: That's right.

KM: And it's not just our own *kanaka*, everybody got to be educated.

VH-G: Everybody, right.

CW: Aunt, you were talking about we need to *kapu* and let the fish come back. I was thinking about something Uncle Hobie told me. "The war times they put all the barb wire and things like that so people couldn't go fishing." And he said "During that time the lobster and everything went come plenty." Do you remember anything about that?

VH-G: Yes, we had that. But the reason for putting in that barb wire was to keep you off the beach. We had all these submarines all on our coast line. That's why they put in all those barb wires. But then you couldn't go fish too. We had to have permit to go fishing.

KM: You folks couldn't go down to the *kahakai* initially during war time?

VH-G: No.

KM: What he said, it was just like one big *kapu* period?

VH-G: Yes.

KM: The fish all *ho'oulu* come up again.

VH-G: That's right. That's right the fish had a chance.

CW: Did you notice that? Was there a noticeable increase in the fish that you noticed?

VH-G: Had plenty fish, plenty fish. But there weren't as many people as now days.

KM: People taking, yeah.



VH-G: Never had.

AH: That, you got to ask uncle because every time he throw net.

VH-G: You have the same local people they going get what they need that's all. But nowadays...

KM: Anybody comes from anywhere and take?

AH: They come and even use Clorox.

KM: *Aloha!*

VH-G: Yes. Even sometimes, I was talking to Tom, people come from the other side come get our *limu kohu*. They come rake our beaches of *limu kohu*. One time he said he stay over there he wait for 'em, he told 'em, "I don't want to see you folks come over here and pick *limu* and sell," they get 'em all in their coolers.

KM: Yes, *aloha*.

VH-G: They go pick up their coolers and sell you know that. And he said, "I don't want to see you folks come over here again. You know this *limu* all over here that's for our *kūpuna*. For their home consumption they not going sell." You coming out of no where, and you folks just rake the reef and take all. He said, "That's no good."

KM: No, it isn't.

VH-G: That's what's happening.

AH: You know what I don't see and used to get plenty before. The gray *loli* that the Japanese eat. Used to have plenty.

KM: *Namako* kind?

TH: *Namako*.

AH: No more now. Manji pond no more.

KM: You folks ate *loli*?

AH: Yes, I eat *loli*.

KM: You folks no? You never?

Group: [chuckling]

AH: Kanahā get the *loli*, certain kind. But you got to find the *'ina* to get the gravy.

KM: Yes, the gravy.

AH: Most times we get from Hanapēpē. but I know the gray one they make with the vinegar, like pickles. I don't see 'em, down the end of the road used to have plenty. I don't know if the monk seal comes up and eats 'em.

CW: Maybe certain time you got to go night time go look.

TH: Yes. The monk seal eat everything now.

CW: You know Tony's wife, when they were here last year. They went down Kē'ē night time, they went broke their eye how much *namako* had down there. Yes, they went pick about one five gallon bucket.

AH: Oh.

CW: Maybe they were just lucky the night they went go.

AH: Maybe that was the season?

CW: Yes.



VH-G: Sometimes they say maybe full moon.

Discussing *honu*, and imbalance in marine systems – noting that tumors are growing on the *honu*:

TH: Down by Manji pond get plenty *honu* now.

CW: Now get plenty.

VH-G: No can touch ‘em.

AH: Plenty *honu*. We no like go jail.

CW: *Kapu* that’s why.

AH: You catch ‘em, go jail.

KM: [chuckling]

TH: When you walking on the ‘*āpapa* they come right up to you, the big kind...

KM: ...You know it’s interesting because the idea, the *haole* mind is, “Put *kapu*, don’t touch, ever.”

CW: Right.

KM: Then what happens is, the balance is broken.

Group: [agreeing]

KM: Because then they eat all the *limu*, no fish can live, then there’s too many, and not enough food for them. Now you start to see them come *ma’i*. The balance?

VH-G: That’s right, you’re right.

TH: Get too much now.

AH: Maybe that’s what happened to the fish.

KM: Could be.

TH: And the monk seal eat all the fish.

AH: And you know the turtle get I don’t know...

VH-G: Even the turtle getting sick.

AH: Get some kind of lump.

KM: Wart or something?

VH-G: Wart or something.

AH: And never used to.

KM: And you don’t know what’s contributing to it. Is it chemicals in the ocean? Inbreeding, maybe the gene pool is so small, because of the small population. And you mentioned monk seal. Did you hear a Hawaiian name for that?

AH: No. What is it?

KM: One is *‘īlio holokai* or *‘īlio holo i ka uaua*.

TH: I heard that.

AH: I never hear that.

KM: Okay. Now this is an interesting thing, did you ever hear anyone say they eat that animal?

TH: No.



AH: Oh, we had somebody in the family who went go eat 'em.

CW: How long ago was that?

AH: A couple years ago.

CW: How about before in the old times, was there monk seals, plenty?

AH: I never seen.

VH-G: You know during our time we never heard of monk seals.

KM: You never did?

CW: Now get more, yeah?

AH: Now I see.

VH-G: We never heard of it.

AH: Maybe from the '50s, '60s. All I know is the shark that we used to eat, dried.

KM: 'Ono I heard, dried shark. Was 'ono?

AH: Yes. Was just like cod fish. Simeon Maka used to live up here. Every time *huki* net if get, the kind that they find in the net or...

KM: Yes, yes.

AH: And he used to cut 'em up, he used to bury 'em in the sand for two weeks. Salt 'em and leave 'em in the sand and then afterwards he'd dry 'em. Then they put out to dry in the sun and dry in the bag. And the thing come orange, orange and they *pūlehu*. Used to be good.

KM: 'Ono.

AH: Tell me eat now, forget it! [chuckles]

KM: Did anyone make salt out here from the *lae kahakai*?

AH: No, I don't remember. Everything was Hanapēpē we depend so much on Hanapēpē.

KM: You folks would?

HW: Too much rain.

KM: Yes. Now on the Kona side of the islands this *kaiko'o* has been big, and all the *kāheka* are filled with water. Soon it will be time to go gather salt. Those are dry places. So like Hau'oli was saying it may be to wet here, no can make salt. I wonder in the old days did you hear if they would exchange goods from here for salt from the other side? Or did they just buy salt?

VH-G: I think I heard my dad say that they had their own salt.

AH: They exchange, if you had friend or family, they would give. Even until now.

KM: In some places I guess, and the further you go like towards Kalalau side, it comes more dry you get these *kāheka*, the pools, pockets.

VH-G: Yes.

AH: Ni'ihau get plenty.

KM: *Malo'o kēlā 'āina*.

AH: Sometimes we get from Calvin, it's white and not very salty.

KM: For real?



AH: Yes.

VH-G: You know my dad said when he first came over here, he was only six years old. He was raised by his *hānai* over here. He said before used to get sand you know Kē'ē go all the way to Kalalau get sand.

KM: Walk feet?

VH-G: You can walk.

KM: Walk all the way?

VH-G: Uh-hmm.

KM: Amazing! From Kē'ē?

VH-G: Summer time all get sand, you can walk.

KM: Kē'ē all the way out to Kalalau?

VH-G: All the way to Kalalau, my dad said you can walk had sand. But not now days.

KM: No.

VH-G: No more, it will never open again. Even when we lived up in Hā'ena, right in front grandma Wichman's place before. The sand go way outside you know. And right where I live, the houses used to be built, like now it's all ocean. Had all houses over there, the sand was way outside.

KM: Things changing then?

VH-G: Things have really changed. Used to get the old man Rice, during that time he had one big *lānai* you can go all the way on the beach. And certain times he used to get *lū'au*, he'd invite all the Hā'ena people. And he'd have a *lū'au* and everything. And there was a sand point that went way out, it's not there anymore.

KM: Was this William Hyde Rice or?

CW: Richard?

VH-G: The old man Rice, the one used to own down there.

CW: The one Hanohano Pā saved his life?

VH-G: Where Richard Rice, the one own now, everybody else bought they sold down there. Even I heard Ellis sold theirs, the one own Hale Kauai?

CW: Wayne Ellis.

VH-G: That one is gone now. It's Richard Rice, he's the only one that owns over there. Pitiful no, when all that is all gone.

KM: Yes. *Aloha*.

VH-G: Uh-hmm, *aloha nō*.

KM: Because all these *malihini* come in they no more attachment, no *aloha* for the land. It's a possession not something that's close to them...

Discusses *he'ē* fishing at Hā'ena:

CW: ...Aunty Vi before Uncle Tom comes. Come over here by the picture and show us where, talk to us about looking for *he'ē* because you're so smart for doing that. And who went teach you how to look for *he'ē*?

VH-G: I learned myself because I seen my dad. He doesn't use spear or something, he just pick 'em up, put 'em in the bag. The real way when they used to get *he'ē* like grandma Rachel. They catch it and they bite the eye, not me [shaking her head].



KM: 'Ae.

TH: What's the matter Aunty Vi you no do that?

KM: No 'ono?

VH-G: What if that thing go grab my face.

Group: [all chuckling]

TH: I did one time and never again.

KM: You know how that little 'awe'awe [gesture tentacles on face]?

VH-G: Yes. No way! That's just like my dad.

TH: You no bite they eye?

VH-G: No. I just catch 'em and put 'em in the bag. You look and you see 'em in the hole. And sometimes if you happen to be walking and you miss 'em, they going shoot. They shoot the water like that they giving themselves away.

KM: 'Ae.

CW: And what place you like to look for *he'e* down here?

VH-G: In front of my place all the way to the end of the road. Just go around.

CW: And in front of your place. What is the name for that?

VH-G: That 'āpapa?

CW: Yes.

VH-G: I don't know. Get name, let me tell you all these 'āpapa, they get name. But too bad when you folks came to gather information like this, my dad was gone. You know my dad knew every nook and cranny. They all have names, even all these 'āpapa get names. Uncle Tom know, at least he know some because that's where he went fishing with my dad and so my dad told him this is certain, certain, that's the names. Even like the 'āpapa outside, all get certain, certain names. And Tom knows some of them. You know before we make our own names, Rice 'āpapa. It does have a name. We don't know the names, it's quite sad.

KM: Because you never used it all the time right?

VH-G: That's right...

Discussing Naue and the *hala* trees that formerly grew there; and fish caught along the 'āpapa:

KM: [pointing to location on aerial photo] Naue would be here.

VH-G: Is that Camp Naue?

KM: Out here.

CW: You see where the five acre right to the side. The big open?

VH-G: That's the five acre?

CW: This is Camp Naue, this is the five acre over here. Aunty Helena house behind here.

VH-G: Uh-hmm.

CW: Where was the famous *hala* o Naue, *Na hala o Naue*?



VH-G: Was just above where Naomi folks, right outside of Camp Naue outside where that road and going towards the five acre. That's where had all that *lauhala*. Because I used to go with my *tūtū*, we go pick *lauhala*. Because you know *Tūtū* Ihilani, she used to weave hats and mats, and things like that. We used to go help her go pick up *lauhala*. During the war they used that place for...that's where the marines and the army had their donkey path like. Because it was all *lauhala* and they could hide 'em all underneath there. Yes, had one big camp in that Naue.

KM: Did that destroy the *hala* trees?

VH-G: No. It was the tidal wave had destroyed. The tidal wave of '46 had destroyed all the *lauhala*. That's what happened.

KM: This area here? Here's the five acre.

VH-G: All.

KM: All this section here?

VH-G: All this section, yeah.

CW: And all the way to the *kahakai*, all the way to the beach?

VH-G: Oh yes, yes.

CW: What was the vegetation along the beach? Along that shore line then?

VH-G: Had only the kind, what you call that big leaf. What you call that kind?

AH: That vine, *naupaka*.

CW: *Naupaka*?

VH-G: Yes.

CW: The *naupaka* and the *hala*?

VH-G: Yes.

AH: And that rope.

VH-G: And that rope and that other one they call *kolokolo*.

CW: *Pōhuehue*?

AH: Yes, that's the one.

VH-G: And *kolokolo*.

KM: *Kolokolo* is that *pōhinahina*?

CW: *Pōhinahina*, 'ae.

VH-G: Uh-hmm. That's all had.

AH: Used to have plenty in front the YMCA.

KM: You folks had *kolokolo* down there?

VH-G: Plenty before.

AH: That we used for shingles and chicken pox.

KM: Oh yeah. The *pōhuehue* or the *kolokolo*?

AH: The *kolokolo*.

KM: For *lā'au*?



AH: Yes.

KM: How, make a bath and you wash?

VH-G: You bathe inside there.

AH: What we do is 'au'au first, and then pour that on top you.

CW: Aunt, tell us about this fishing ground what you remember for that?

VH-G: All those 'āpapa out there from Ko'ōnohi in front the hotel. The 'āpapa outside there, all over there. [Uncle Tom comes in] Him, he know because he go fishing over there. All get *limu kohu*.

TH: You telling them that. What if I forget today.

Group: [all chuckling]

CW: Aunt, another fishing you like to do is *upāpalu*, where

VH-G: All these places get *upāpalu*, but you know us over here in Hā'ena, have to be moonlight night, then you can go catch *upāpalu*. But 'Ānini, they said daytime they can go hook *upāpalu*. Over here have to be moonlight then you catch *upāpalu*.

CW: You know the moon, you know the cycle that's why.

VH-G: Yes, we know the moon. Pretty soon the moon good, and then I pick up my pole and I go.

CW: And where you like to go, just in front your place?

VH-G: I go right in front my place. Right over there you hook enough.

CW: The *upāpalu* now is plenty like before? Nobody go catch?

VH-G: Nobody go.

CW: Before I think more people go catch.

VH-G: I don't think so. You folks never used to go?

AH: We don't know how to eat that fish.

VH-G: It was only the Makas, they never used to go.

KM: Not too many people over here 'ono for *upāpalu*?

VH-G: No. Him, he would know... [end of interview; see interviews with Uncle Thomas Hashimoto *mā*.]



Thomas Hashimoto
February 10, 2003 –at Limahuli, Kaua’i (Interview 1 of 2)
Hā’ena-Nāpali Fisheries and Historical Recollections
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly & Chipper Wichman
(LG Photo No. 9040 – Uncle pointing out locations to Maly and Hau’oli Wichman)

Thomas Hashimoto was born at Hā’ena in 1934... He is an older brother of Aunt Violet Hashimoto-Goto, and the husband of Aunt Annie Tai Hook-Hashimoto (also interview participants). Uncle is descended from families with generations of residency in the Hā’ena region, and is perhaps the single most knowledgeable person living today, remembering native place names of fisheries and fishing customs in the Hā’ena section of Halele’a. During the interview, uncle names and describes many fish, *limu*, and locations where found.



Uncle Thomas has also worked *lo’i kalo* in the Limahuli and Kē’ē areas with his father and other elders. He is very knowledgeable of a wide range of native practices associated with life upon the land. He lives the saying “*Hana ka lima, ‘ai ka waha,*” taught to him by his father.

As a part of the present interview, uncle also referenced an aerial photograph, and identified many locations along the coast, as they were being described. On February 11th, uncle also participated in a field interview, walking along the coast, from Ko’ōnohi to Kē’ē, and added to details from the present interview. *Figures 2-a and 2-b* (pages 725-726) depict the approximate locations of named features and fishing localities.

Uncle Thomas Hashimoto granted his personal release of the interview records to Maly on June 19, 2003.

KM: Aloha.

TH: Aloha...

KM: ...May I ask uncle, just while we’re getting started, would you share your full name, and date of birth please?

TH: Thomas Hashimoto.

KM: ‘Ae.

TH: July 13th, 1934.



KM: 'Ae, aloha... So Thomas Hashimoto, *hānau* 1934. Where were you *hānau*?
 TH: In Hā'ena.
 KM: Hā'ena. Family home, old 'āina?
 TH: I think was over here, where she lives [indicating his sister, Violet].
 VH: Yes, in the old house.
 KM: 'Ae. And Auntie Violet, you're Hashimoto?
 VH: Yes.
 KM: You're Uncle Thomas' sister?
 VH: Yes. I was born where Chipper folks are.
 KM: Oh okay.
 VH: We used to live down there, that's where I was born.
 KM: I see. What year you *hānau* ?
 VH: January 13, 1931.
 KM: Oh. So aunty we're going to talk story...
 TH: You got a pen? While I'm thinking about it, I might forget. I'm trying to remember the 'āpapa down there right now, and I don't know if I got 'em written out, Lae Koholā.

Begins giving detailed descriptions of 'āpapa, *ku'una*, and other fisheries between Kē'ē and Wainiha; marking them on the aerial photo; also names the types of fish caught and *limu* gathered at the various locations:

KM: Lae Koholā?
 TH: Lae Koholā. That's above that Ka'ilio point.
 KM: Ka'ilio.
 TH: Ka'ula is below this.
 KM: Okay, good.
 TH: You got 'um. You get Lae Koholā there too? Because I might just forget you know. And the next one you come beyond that on the shore where we go look the mullet.
 CW: Uncle as you talking about 'em just mark it.
 KM: Can we look at this photo kind of and get an idea of where?
 TH: You know what we going do tomorrow, we go down there and walk that beach so you guys know exactly what's there.
 KM: Okay, yes.
 TH: You know right in between there there's a lot of names that I think you guys should know.
 KM: Good.
 TH: In that short area.
 KM: That's right, amazing!
 TH: Like next to that Lae Koholā is Puakala.
 KM: Puakala?



TH: Puakala.

KM: Oh, beautiful. I need to get an idea of where we are.

TH: You get Puakala over there?

CW: Hau'oli went home to get the map, the one we made the last time. Right here we only have the list.

KM: Here's Puakala. These are names that you gave them before.

TH: That's right, yes. The black stone, right around.

KM: Can you see that sort of on here if we start at Ka'ilionui?

TH: Yes, it's right here.

KM: What is this here?

TH: That is black stone.

KM: Puakala, this black stone right here?

TH: No, I think it's further up here. You know right where the water come out?

CW: From the old Taylor camp.

TH: Where Walter went stop one time?

CW: Uh-hmm.

TH: It's right here.

KM: Okay. I'm going to mark it as number 1 for Puakala.

TH: Yes.

KM: Okay.

TH: And then Lae Koholā is out here.

KM: Okay. There's a little *kōwā* right here, channel in this section?

TH: Right.

KM: This section?

TH: This is Lae Koholā right here.

KM: Okay.

CW: Uncle, put a number next to the name as he's putting.

KM: Okay, so I'm going to make number 2, Lae Koholā.

TH: Uh-hmm.

CW: Stay kind of mixed up yeah.

KM: Yes. Okay, well here's Puakala number 1.

TH: There's number 2 over there. Right?

KM: Number 1. Here's Lae Koholā, number 2 right up there.

TH: Just put number 2 on the side?

KM: Number 2 on the side. Good, thank you. Okay.

TH: This one here is Ka'ilio point.



KM: Ka'ilio, *ma'ane'i*? Okay, number 3.
 TH: This is the channel between there.
 KM: Okay, so number 3.
 TH: Ka'ilio that was recorded.
 KM: Here, Ka'ilionui or Ka'ilio?
 TH: I think maybe this one here [pointing to Ka'ilio].
 KM: Okay, so number 3.
 CW: If you think the name is different, change it you know.
 KM: Okay. So Ka'ilio we just marked there, number 3.
 TH: Now Ka'ilio point, and then when you come up this is Kuahine inside here.
 KM: Kuahine?
 TH: Kuahine.
 KM: Okay, right here?
 TH: Kuahine.
 KM: Okay, I'm going to mark that as number 4, Kuahine. Let's see if that name went on there.
 CW: If no more just write 'em on.
 KM: We just write 'em on yeah, okay. Kuahine?
 TH: Uh-hmm.
 KM: Okay.
 TH: That's right above Puakala.
 KM: Okay.
 TH: Then when you come up again this one over here is Pouhau, that's the name of this area over here.
 KM: Pouhau?
 TH: Pouhau.
 KM: Pou or Pu?
 TH: Pouhau. P o...
 KM: Number 5.
 TH: Pouhau.
 KM: Pouhau.
 TH: Number 5.
 KM: Yes, number 5.
 TH: Then you come to Pu'u Kahua (nui).
 KM: Pu'u Kahua okay and *nui*?
 TH: Yes.
 KM: Just out here?



TH: Right here.
KM: Okay, number 6 there?
TH: Number 6. The *nui* is in the back.
KM: 'Ae.
TH: Pu'u Kahuaikei this next one right on the side of this channel.
KM: Right out here?
TH: Yes.
KM: Okay, so number 7.
TH: And this one here, it's known as...they call 'um Double Ditch, but it's Kaloli.
KM: Kaloli. Double Ditch is the nickname now?
TH: Yes.
KM: But Kaloli. Okay, so that's number 8. I'll just write it down. Kaloli number 8, okay.
TH: And then where that stream comes out, someplace over here I think, right over here.
KM: Okay.
TH: That's Koie (Koia).
KM: Koia? There's Kaloli okay.
TH: Kaloli you got 'em over here.
KM: Okay.
TH: That would be Koia.
KM: Koia, you think K-o-i-a, or K-o-i-e...?
TH: K-o-i-a.
KM: Koia. Okay, Koia number 9.
TH: Okay. And then we come to...
KM: And I'm sorry that's right here, right where the stream comes out?
TH: Yes, that's Koia.
KM: Number 9, okay.
TH: And this is number 8 right?
KM: And number 8 was Kaloli?
TH: Yes. And then we come to this deep hole over here.
KM: Uh-hmm.
TH: Wele'ula.
KM: Wele'ula, okay I think I saw that name.
TH: Wele'ula.
KM: Okay, so that's number 10.
TH: Yes. And then we come to Paweaka.
KM: Paweaka, okay. Paweaka, number 11.



TH: Uh-hmm. I let you mark 'em.

KM: Okay, yeah I mark 'em then. And where is that on the map?

TH: Well, you see might get other names over here.

KM: Yes, okay. This is the main name that you know?

TH: That's the main name.

KM: Is that this section here?

TH: This whole thing here.

KM: And you were calling that Manji also, is that right?

TH: Yes, yeah, Manji Pond.

CW: Manji was the name of the man who lived over here in this house.

KM: Okay, so number 11.

TH: Yes.

VH-G: He fished over there that's why.

AH: He used to fish over there every time.

TH: And then you come [thinking] Hauwā.

KM: Hauwā, okay.

TH: Hauwā is this pond right here.

KM: This pond right there okay so number 12.

TH: Yes. And the reason we...my dad; why I remember that is because we used to go bang-bang night time. This is all the *ku'una*, that's what it is. They got the names of the beach and the *ku'una*, but this all in the water, it is all *ku'una*.

KM: *Ku'una*?

TH: Yes.

KM: So you go and certain fish at those various *ku'una* then?

TH: That's right. Like for example like when we go catch *moi* we go over here Pu'u Kahuanui and Pu'u Kahuaiki, that's where the *moi* going come pile up over there. Like if my dad see the fish and we not around he tell us, "Eh, boys you know down Pu'u Kahua get big pile *moi*, go down there and go look for it." And we'd go right over there go look for 'em.

KM: So you knew by the place name, what kind fish going get?

TH: Oh yeah that's how it was, that's how we remember the place. And constantly we go back and forth, so why not. You got to be one dummy not to learn that.

KM: Amazing! That's right. But amazing, yeah?

TH: Yes. Over the years, from when I was young you know, one teenager, we used to go with my dad. And then what we wished, that my dad wouldn't get the fish so that we don't have to carry that weight all the way from there till we're by our car.

KM: [chuckling] Lucky he never think you were bad luck!

TH: No, but the thing is he hit 'um, he always rake 'um in.

KM: Wow!

TH: What we used to do is, if you take the kind *kuikāhi*, string.



KM: 'Ae.
TH: With the needle and string the fish and sometime we go home, shucks maybe we take one *fish* might be from here until that coconut tree. One line like that, one throw.
KM: That's what, twenty-five foot long string?
TH: Yes. Sometimes two. And then go home and go *māhele*.
KM: 'Ae.

It was always the custom to share the fish among families in the community:

TH: Go drop off at Jacobs and the Mahuikis.
KM: You *māhele i'a*, *hā'awi aloha* to the *'ohana*?
TH: Always, always.
KM: Yes.
TH: And then my dad always said to "Share, because when you share you know, you get more luck."
KM: More come.
TH: More come. And then it's not in the way of, "Oh fishing we go eat 'um today, tomorrow we no go fool around that." Unless we get nervous and see 'um again, other than that just let it go.
KM: Yes.
TH: Because we know it's there.
KM: You know this idea you said too, *hā'awi aloha*, share you know. The *kūpuna* they talk they *'aumakua lawai'a*, you *hā'awi aloha lo'a* more.
TH: Yes. And until today you know, when we go catch fish we always share. You know depending on the catch.
KM: Yes.

Only catch what you need and can give away, don't catch and put fish in the freezer:

TH: You catch plenty you just give the whole thing. If I catch today, and I look again, I'm going give 'um all away. It's not a thing where you keep the fish go freeze 'um or something, no.
VH: *Minamina*.
KM: 'Ae.
TH: Or *minamina* you just let it go.
KM: Yes, that's right.
TH: That's the way it was, and that's the way we learned.
KM: It's so important.
TH: Yes.
KM: Okay.

Continues naming *ku'una* and sites along the Kē'ē-Hā'ena shore line; identifying types of fish and resources collected:

TH: The next one is...
KM: We went Hauwā.



TH: Hauwā, Kuahine... [thinking]

KM: No, I think we hit Kuahine over here *ma'ane'i* unless there's another one.

TH: Puakala then... [thinking]

CW: What about Poholokeiki, isn't that the channel over there?

VH: I heard you mentioning names where you go catch *moi*, those names are all on there?

TH: What?

VH: Remember you mentioned those names where you go catch *moi*?

TH: Yes, I did.

KM: Poholokeiki, here's Poholokeiki.

TH: That's the channel.

KM: What channel?

TH: Maybe Kē'ē channel, I think that's the name for that.

CW: Not this channel over here by number 1?

TH: Where? You mean between Puakala and Lae Koholā. I no think so. [thinking] Hauwā, oh, Keaomele that's the next one.

KM: Hmm.

TH: We get 'em over here?

KM: Here it is *ma'ane'i*.

TH: Keaomele?

KM: 'Ae, right here.

TH: That's the one.

KM: Okay. Baby Cannons.

TH: That's the one right in front of your house [Chipper], in the corner, Keaomele.

CW: Uh-hmm.

KM: Okay so that's number 13 so where would that be? Where would that be over here?

TH: [looking at aerial photo]

KM: Here's number 12, Hauwā.

TH: Okay, right here.

KM: Keaomele, so this is number 13.

TH: Yes.

VH-G: You know where I go pick the squid?

TH: Hauwā, over there. Aunty catch squid over there too.

KM: Keaomele?

TH: Keaomele.

KM: What type of *i'a* then you get besides *he'e*?

TH: Oh, it could be any kind.

KM: Any kind.



TH: *Āhole, manini* any kind. And then from here, then it's Maniniholo.

KM: That's the *'āina* here, Maniniholo?

TH: Yes. You got 'em over there.

KM: *'Ae, ma'ane'?*

TH: That's the one that's the bay right here.

[Note: Number 14 skipped in the numbering sequence]

KM: So, number 15?

TH: Yes.

VH: What you call that black rock over there?

CW: Hale Pōhaku.

TH: Hale Pōhaku we get over there.

KM: Number 15, Maniniholo.

TH: Uh-hmm.

KM: Is this you know the bay area or?

TH: Oh yeah it's right in front of the pavilion.

KM: Okay.

TH: And then on this place right here, right on the turn over here, that's Hale Pōhaku.

KM: Okay. So number 16 now.

TH: Yes.

KM: And the black rocks that are on the sand there?

TH: Right, right. We got 'em over here Hale Pōhaku?

KM: No, I'm going to just write it down. Hale Pōhaku, number 16.

CW: Uncle, Maniniholo, how big of an area is that name, the whole bay or just that area in front the beach?

TH: To what I know, might be in between there get some other names, I don't know. But you know that's where they *hukilau*, Maniniholo.

VH-G: Yes.

KM: Okay.

TH: That's how we know, even aunty.

VH-G: Uncle La'a was the fisherman.

KM: Okay. Out of curiosity Maniniholo, the first thing you think of, *holo paha ka manini*. What, good for *manini* or all kinds of fish?

TH: All kinds of fish.

KM: All kinds of fish.

TH: In the past had all kinds fish. *Manini, kala, 'ō'io, moi*. We used to catch *moi* over there too. Go down you know...

VH: In the bay had *akule* too.



KM: *Akule* too come?

Recalls *akule* fishing with *kūpuna* and *kama'āina* families:

TH: Yes. Any kind fish used to come over there. The *moi*, what used to happen, like the old man Hanohano, going go down there raise hell in the cave. The *moi* no can stay over there, they got to run away some place. And big kind pile too. They used to net 'um over there, two thousand pounds, one shot.

KM: Gee!

TH: This was when I was young. And all along here this place over here, all *moi*. So when that happens, you know what we going do we going chase over here, we going look over there. Sometimes you get 'um over there, they run Paweaka. That's how. And what I'm saying, those days was so plentiful, like one pile *moi* can be big like this room.

KM: Gee!

TH: You know when it surfs in the waves, it's silver.

KM: The *pōpō* you just see the ball all the fish, twenty feet high, forty feet long kind?

TH: So we just go wait by the point, wherever we can get to 'um and smash 'em, whatever we can catch, and that's how.

KM: And you surround?

TH: No, throw net.

KM: Just throw net. Wow!

TH: That time we no use surround net. We never know...well, the only net that we had was bang-bang net, for shut the *ku'una*. That's the only kind net we had. But for go surround fish, no. It was all throw net.

KM: So, for you bang-bang net is your *ku'u*?

TH: Yes, you shut the channel.

KM: Shut it off, you cross it over?

TH: You go shut over there and chase because he going home right into the net.

KM: Into the net.

TH: And you know that time we used to do that only for the *kala* and the *nenuē*, not anything else. Everything else was all throw net.

KM: Amazing!

TH: And very seldom we used to use boat for go surround it's most times 'au.

KM: For real? Swim, carry that net out?

TH: Swim, carry that bugga. That's how.

KM: Wow. Strong you got to be.

TH: But the thing was the nets was not that long. I would say maybe from here until this coconut.

KM: Coconut, so about thirty feet *paha*. And how high you think?

TH: Well, normally we had 'em fourteen feet so we can catch any *ku'una*.

KM: Yes.

TH: Some *ku'unas* deep we can use the net.



KM: Yes. So about fourteen feet deep and twenty-five, thirty feet long *paha*?

TH: I would say might be fifty feet.

KM: Fifty feet long okay.

TH: Yes because the *ku'una* kind of wide.

KM: Yes, yes.

TH: And then what we used to do we used to mold our own lead so that we take the net down, and we never used to use cord for the '*alihi* you know, and even for the floater. We used '*aho* like 96 about this size.

KM: Uh-hmm.

TH: This size string, '*aho* that's what we used to use. And then mold our lead, might be about the kind like that.

KM: Yes, so two by four.

TH: And maybe about quarter inch thick, and then pull 'em like this apart so the thing can take the net fast.

KM: Every foot and a half about?

TH: Well, most times we make 'em about three feet maybe.

KM: Three feet across okay.

TH: When you let go, the thing go right down. Especially if you look the fish on the run. [chuckling]

KM: Yes, yeah you want 'em down fast.

TH: You want 'em down fast right. And then no carry the net.

KM: Yes. Wow!

TH: Once all the lead go down. But you see what we do is, you know, you pick half and half. You going slack you give all what you got because you going stand, kind of right on the edge of the *papa* while the swimmer goes across that place. And you give 'em your *alu*.

KM: You feeding him the net? *Alu, alu...*

TH: You feeding him whatever you got and then you get your *kāwili*.

KM: 'Ae, 'ae.

TH: And you unwind and go back on top, so that you no fall inside when the fish come down.

KM: That's right, yeah. How about your '*ikoe*, your float? You use *hau* or?

TH: What?

KM: You folks would make your own from *hau* like that?

TH: That time was all you get, only *hau*.

KM: But you did have lead like that?

TH: We used to mold our own.

KM: You mold your own.

TH: We used to go buy you know the stone that they used to make sharp stone?

KM: Yes, yes.



TH: We used to go cut in that dig in that, shape 'em to what you want.

KM: For real!

TH: For the hole we used to use, cut bamboo pins. You know the bamboo by grandma's house?

CW: Uh-hmm.

TH: That one thick. We used to cut pins, kind of cut 'em in pieces.

KM: Yes, yeah.

TH: And then shape 'em. So you can put pins like this for make the hole.

KM: Sharp. Yes.

TH: On both sides in that stuff that we went dig, the stone.

KM: Right.

TH: So you pour the lead inside, this is the one going make the hole.

KM: Wow...! *Aloha nō*, we see you. [Aunty Violet leaving] *Mahalo nui*.

TH: ...Anyway, that's how we used to do it. In fact, until now I still make my own.

KM: For real? So you *kā 'upena* everything?

TH: Oh, yeah.

KM: You still mold your lead like that?

TH: No, no. I buy.

KM: You can buy easy now yeah.

TH: Because the time element. You go melt lead, oh shucks you take the whole day. And like before what we used to do, we used to mold lead when it's rainy. You know, cold so you go.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: Then you always get that heat.

KM: That's right.

TH: And then the other thing what you got to do is you got to use cast iron pot, 'cause the lead no stick on the pot.

KM: That's right.

TH: And that's how we used to do it. The old Japanese pot.

KM: Yes. Hard work.

TH: Well, not really hard once you get the lead melted. And we used to use the gas torch, shoot 'em right off and get 'em melted and once we get it melted that's it you pour more lead it melts.

KM: But you got to *maka'ala* that?

TH: You got to *maka'ala*. That's how we used to do it.

KM: Yes. So, Maniniholo?

TH: Yes. And then [thinking, looking at aerial photo]. You know the next place we going come to is here.



CW: In front Maka's house, that one?
 Continues naming *ku'una* along the Hā'ena coast line:

TH: Yes. Paweaka, Hauwā, Pouhau, we got Kuahine.

KM: Oh did I make a mistake is it Po'ohau or Pouhau?

TH: What I hear was just Pouhau.

KM: Okay.

TH: That's how my dad used to pronounce it not Po'ohau could be you know but...

KM: Are these the same places you think then duplicated Po'ohau here or Pouhau? Oh I see there's three spellings actually you get.

TH: Right.

KM: So must be that's it, so number 5 which was way back here, Pouhau.

TH: Yes. Pouhau is inside of Pu'u Kahua. Yes, Pouhau.

KM: Yes, okay.

TH: And we get Kuahine right?

KM: Yes.

TH: Right there.

KM: Yes, number 4 that's correct, Kuahine.

TH: Okay.

KM: This name here not Mākua or?

TH: Mākua going come way after this.

KM: Okay.

TH: You going get [thinking] Papaloa... [looking at aerial photo, thinking]

KM: Hard yeah when you no use the names often.

TH: I know, wait let me get to it right now. I think this here is Kapaiki. You know where the, I think this is it. See the big house over here, this is the right of way. This is Kapaiki right here.

KM: Kapaiki?

TH: Uh-hmm.

KM: I'm going to make that number 17.

CW: This is in front old man Chandler's place? This is where Pa'itulu used to stay over there? Pa'itulu?

TH: Yes, yeah.

AH: I never see that man, I don't know how he look like.

TH: Had that picture in the yellow book.

CW: Yes.

KM: So Kapaiki?

TH: Yes, Kapaiki.

KM: Okay, number 17.



TH: I wonder if had 'em over here... [thinking] I wonder if Jack gave you guys that name Waikalua. I think Waikalua if I not mistaken though, Waikalua is right by the place where we go throw for *akule*.

CW: Oh, right back over here then.

TH: Yes, yeah that's way back.

CW: In front of Kopa's place? Right where the beach access is.

TH: Yes. Waikalua is this one right here I think. You know where that big stone stay in the water.

CW: Uh-hmm.

TH: I think that's Waikalua.

CW: Now that stone is way outside, no more beach.

TH: Oh yeah.

AH: Spooky over there, and the drop is so high.

CW: Yes.

KM: So number 18 you think, Waikalua?

TH: Yes. That's right in front here, that's the right of way.

KM: Okay.

TH: Waikalua. And then over here, there's a channel over here.

KM: There's a little channel?

TH: Yes, the little channel over here I think this one here is Muliwai.

KM: Okay.

TH: You know why I remember that. The old man Pa'itulu, that's how he used to paddle out to Muliwai, always. And that's one *kahuna* that.

AH: It's over there.

TH: Right here.

KM: Is it on the list? No more?

CW: Better just write 'em.

KM: So Muliwai?

TH: Muliwai.

KM: And that's number 19?

TH: And then right in between Muliwai. Muliwai and what we said this?

KM: Number 18, Waikalua.

TH: Waikalua. You get Papalooa. Papalooa is that flat place right here.

KM: So in between?

TH: Write 'em on top here.

KM: Number 20.

TH: Yes.



KM: Papalooa?

TH: Papalooa.

KM: Okay. And you think it's Papa or Pāpā or Papalooa? Or long flat?

TH: Well, what I hear from my dad is Papalooa.

KM: Okay, good... It's amazing all of these place names that you're sharing, because each place get...

TH: But in between some over here I forget.

KM: They have *mo'olelo*, get story before I bet. Every place name.

TH: Uh-hmm.

KM: Now you said like Muliwai was *ku'una* I think yeah?

TH: Uh-hmm.

KM: What kind fish?

TH: Any kind.

KM: Any kind. But they set net they *ku'una*?

TH: What I seen was *kala*, *manini* and *nenue*.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: That's all. And of course like when *oama* season, we go catch 'em inside the little sand hole over there.

KM: 'Ae, yes.

TH: But they're seasonal you know...

KM/CW: [discussing numbered locations on aerial photo]

KM: Okay.

TH: And then you know, I know in between here get name over here. But I don't remember the name because there was nothing to attract me to go there all the time.

KM: Ah, I see.

TH: And well over here is Mākua.

KM: Okay, so Mākua.

TH: You know when I was telling you the old man Hanohano catch the *akule* that's the one, Mākua.

KM: Okay. So Mākua, number 21.

TH: Yes, number 21.

KM: Okay. Now this channel by chance did this area have a name?

TH: I have no idea.

KM: No idea. How about this big area, *papa* here?

TH: Get .

KM: Get name?

TH: We going come to that.



KM: Okay, good.

TH: Like this *‘āpapa* over here, on the inside is flat, over here.

KM: Yes.

TH: On top there [thinking] Kalali‘ili‘i.

KM: Kalali‘ili‘i?

TH: Uh-hmm.

KM: Okay, number 22. So this section where your finger now?

TH: Right, right on that flat.

KM: Number 22.

TH: And Keaomele.

KM: We got Keaomele.

TH: We got Keaomele right?

KM: Right.

TH: Kaluaweoweo is where the place you go surf out here.

KM: Okay.

TH: In between here there’s one or two names.

CW: Is Kaluaweoweo on the inside or the outside?

TH: Where?

CW: The *papa*? That you said where you go surf, on the outside or is it?

TH: Where they go surf is, yeah, Kaluaweoweo that’s on the point. You know right around the bend, that’s Kaluaweoweo.

CW: Right where your finger stay?

TH: That’s right, right here. This is the ditch right here?

CW: Uh-hmm.

KM: I’m going to mark number 23.

TH: Yes. In between here get names but I forget.

KM: *Poina*.

TH: Because there was nothing for attract us for go over there. But this is all the *moi* places that we remember, see.

CW: Yes.

TH: And then, Kaluaweoweo, Nahiala‘a [Nahiala‘a, named for Māhele Claimant, LCA 10396]. Nahiala‘a, (also called) Dump Truck.

KM: So number 24.

TH: By the ditch right here.

KM: And again, each of these places on the *lae kahakai* and out on the water here, *ku‘una*, or places where you know you’re going get certain fish?

TH: Right, right. Like Kalali‘ili‘i this place over here was famous for the *manini* and the *kala*. You know the *kala* climb from both sides.



KM: 'Ae.

TH: [phone rings] If we see the *kala* over there tomorrow we going catch 'em. Because most times we go not with the long net because we no more, we get throw net. If it runs away from us the next day we going catch 'em.

KM: [chuckling]

TH: That's how I remember that. And the time when we used to do that we used to catch plenty. Like seventy-five, eighty *kala* one shot.

KM: Wow!

TH: Plenty, but *māhele*.

KM: 'Ae, always yeah?

TH: Always *māhele*. And everybody going smell *pūlehu*.

KM: Hmm 'a'ala?

TH: That's how it was you know. And then we go to the bigger 'āpapa. Oh we out here now okay.

KM: We had Nahiala'a, ditch.

TH: Nahiala'a that's over here.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: See the ditch over here?

KM: Yes.

TH: And then we go Kaluapūhi.

KM: Kaluapūhi first so number 25?

TH: Yes.

KM: Kaluapūhi.

TH: And then Lemopī is over here.

KM: Okay, number 26. Now, is it Lemopī or Lamu...? They get two spellings here. Lemopī you were saying?

TH: Lemopī.

KM: Okay. But it sounds like a long i, Lemopī.

TH: You get 'em number 26?

KM: Yes.

TH: Okay. And after that well going get one big skip then you going come over here. Get one *ku'una*.

KM: Okay.

TH: Actually this whole 'āpapa over here is Ko'okea.

KM: Ko'okea?

TH: Yes.

KM: Okay, I see it here, this is number 27. This whole...?

TH: Yes. And then over here on this side, this end over here.



KM: Uh-hmm.

TH: We call 'em Kanahā that's a *ku'una*.

KM: Okay, number 28.

TH: That's why you know we got to put one name there if *ku'una*, or name of the place. The beach or whatever's you know.

KM: Okay. The fishing spot?

TH: Right. Most times the *'āpapa* on the outside that's different because that's all...it's either to catch that particular type of fish or *ku'una*. And then the shoreline is the name of the place.

KM: Yes.

TH: Like take for instance Paweaka.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: It's from the beach to the breakers beach, is Paweaka.

KM: I see this whole section right here, number 11.

TH: The whole pond. That's where you got to make some kind adjustment over there.

KM: Yes.

TH: So that you don't get mixed up between the *ku'una* and the name of the place.

KM: Hmm.

TH: You know would be nice.

KM: Yes. Well, by your story hopefully we can get it and mark it on the map right.

TH: You just got to mark 'em and make one notation on the side.

KM: Yes, okay.

TH: And then okay, Kanahā and then...

KM: And you said Ko'okea?

TH: Ko'okea is that whole thing.

KM: Uh-hmm.

TH: Then you get Kanahā and Kupopou.

KM: Kupopou?

TH: Kupopou you got 'em over there someplace.

KM: I going just write 'em down to make sure. Ku?

TH: Kupopou.

KM: Kupopou. You think it's p-o-u?

TH: P-o-u I think, just like that.

KM: Okay, number 29.

TH: No, this is Kanahā.

KM: Yes, that's Kanahā so Kupopou is on this side.

TH: Kupopou is over here it's on the opposite side.



KM: Okay. Ko'okea is number 27, Kanahā number 28, Kupopou number 29.

TH: Kāmoa, that *'āpapa* is the next one.

KM: Okay, number 30 this small *'āpapa* there.

TH: Kāmoa, yeah.

KM: Okay.

TH: And then you get Kahaki.

KM: Oh, that's Kahaki.

TH: Kahaki.

KM: Okay, number 31.

TH: Uh-hmm. That's the boundary for Hā'ena.

CW: Oh, Kahaki.

Discusses old location of the Hā'ena-Wainiha Boundary – originally, Kahaki, not Kāmoa:

TH: That's supposed to...it was Kahaki, until they changed 'em to Kāmoa.

KM: Kāmoa, I see.

TH: Kāmoa is...you see like auntie's corner the triangle that bugga going aim straight for this *'āpapa*...

TH: ...That was Hā'ena boundary... And Wainiha used to be outside of this.

CW: So, before the line was from here to Kahaki?

TH: Kahaki. You look at that, you see the boundary?

CW: Yes.

TH: Big difference you know that land is between here. That was the story.

CW: Try point to that mountain, the *pu'u*.

KM: This *pu'u* there?

TH: Yes. The *pu'u* way up here, this one I think... ..And that was the land boundary for Hā'ena Hui. From here outside was Wainiha. That's why now Wainiha stay right inside here.

CW: All the pastures stay in Wainiha now?

TH: Yes. All stay in Wainiha. Because of that. And then the next *'āpapa* is Ko'ōnohi. Ko'ōnohi is here.

KM: Okay, number 32.

TH: That's our boundary. That's where we fish from here, down.

KM: So from Ko'ōnohi, you folks fish out to Kē'ē section?

TH: Right.

KM: Okay.

TH: Or down Nāpali, wherever.

KM: All the way.



Continues describing *ku'una* along the Hā'ena-Wainiha coast line:

- TH: Although sometimes we go out here Wainiha Kū'au, you know. Because outside here used to get *moi* too.
- CW: Get the *limu* too?
- TH: Get the *limu*. When they hit the *moi* in Lumaha'i, they going run over here. That I know.
- KM: So you call this one here, Wainiha Kū'au?
- TH: Wainiha Kū'au.
- KM: Okay, number 33.
- TH: And then this is Hā'ena Kū'au, we used to call this Hā'ena Kū'au.
- KM: Okay. Let me just mark down these names real quickly. Okay, so number 33, number 34. Number 34 is Hā'ena Kū'au so this whole 'āpapa?
- TH: Yes, right over here in the center.
- KM: Number 34. And this one?
- TH: Wainiha.
- KM: Okay, so number 33.
- TH: Uh-hmm.
- KM: Wainiha Kū'au.
- TH: Uh-hmm. And that's this whole thing over here.
- KM: Okay so this whole section I going just go along like this.
- TH: Uh-hmm. There might be some other names I don't know.
- KM: Yes. Well, individual sometimes even family get their own little *ku'una* or *lua* this or something and get name.
- TH: Yes. But these, the names that are known today, all the old people they know that besides us.
- KM: Yes, but not too many old people now.
- TH: Now *pau* already.
- KM: Yes... So generally your fishing grounds, your regular *mea ma'a mau* you folks go from Wainiha Kū'au up to here and out Nāpali?
- TH: Uh-hmm. But majority of the time is right here.
- KM: Yes all of these areas like this.
- TH: Because you know we get our favorite spots.
- KM: Yes.
- TH: Like me, for fast action, I would rather go down here.
- KM: To Limahuli section?
- TH: I go outside the kind Pu'u Kahua. I know over there, Pu'u Kahua is the 'āpapa over here.
- KM: Oh, oh Pu'u Kahua, yeah.
- TH: Pu'u Kahuaiki this one Pu'u Kahuanui that one, that's where I normally go.
- KM: Ah.



TH: And I guarantee the catch.

KM: Even today?

TH: Even today.

KM: For real!

TH: Yes.

KM: And what you going catch?

TH: *Moi.*

KM: *Moi.*

TH: And then if I go over there if the *manini* or the *nenuē* stay over there I take them too. Because I make sure that they get the kind net fit for him. And even sometimes the net not fit for him, not fit for the type of fish, but I going throw 'em anyway and get some.

KM: Yes.

TH: And that's the way it's been. Sometime you don't get the right weapon for it.

KM: Yes.

TH: But I do have, but I carry only one net, that's how.

KM: So your livelihood, growing up, youth time, you were fishing all the time then?

TH: Well, only now I don't fish like before. I only go fish only for us eat.

KM: Yes.

TH: And then share the catch. Like *āhole*, like now is *āhole*. Rough time.

KM: Rough time?

TH: Rough time is *āhole*. And you know it's not like in the past, where you know I can go and hit, just catch 'em and catch 'em and catch 'em. But make sure I give 'em all away. I give most of the fish away, and take home enough to go dry or fry and *pūlehu* that's it.

Kū'ula still used while fishing by some *kūpuna*, when he was young:

KM: You know when you were young, and you had shared a little bit this morning. I guess maybe your papa them or was it *Tūtū* Kelau or somebody, or Hanohano *mā* they had *Kū'ula*?

TH: Yes.

KM: And they would keep this *Kū'ula*. And did you say that if they went fishing or where they lived the fish always hung around 'cause the *Kū'ula* was there?

TH: I guess, you know they bring the *Kū'ula* with them, the stone with them, to make the fish come over there. But normally you know, what the fish like...now Ka'ilio Point, the fish would stick around outside here. You go over there at any given day, you look outside there you see one pile big like this house, red. And you know when red that's a big pile *akule*, when red. That's how.

KM: Who's *Kū'ula* was that?

TH: Was the old man Hanohano.

KM: Hanohano Pā?

TH: Yes, Hanohano Pā. I guess the brother was the one that take care of the stones.

KM: Kila?



TH: Kila. This was down by his place, and the stone stay over there the fish stay outside there.

KM: Amazing!

TH: I'm sure, like before they go catch the fish you got to go up there for go bring 'em in for *aumakua*, to talk to the stone or something for make 'em go over there.

KM: Yes, yes. By him going talk to the stone or what, his *Kū'ula* then they could have the fish come into this other place?

It is the traditional practice to take the fish you need, and let the rest go:

TH: Right. And not only one pile [chuckles], I would say they go catch the first pile the other one and if not enough to share, get one more pile behind there ready for go catch 'em.

KM: Yes, yes. And what happened when *lawa*, everyone had fish and they had enough?

TH: Oh yeah. The old man...

KM: And then what happened to the fish? Still get fish in the ocean, he let 'em go or what?

TH: Well, they take what they going take.

KM: Yes.

TH: And letta go the rest.

KM: They let go the rest?

TH: Just like now you know, like when Ohai folks, they go catch the fish, and they catch too much, they load up their boat, and the rest they let go. Because why you going kill the fish.

KM: Yes. But plenty guys they put, took so much inside the fish *make* yeah?

TH: Oh yeah, but the thing is like in the past like they used to pen the fish and keep 'em two, three days, no good.

KM: No.

TH: You take only what you going take today and load up your boat, you know. Even if you tired you load up your boat and letta go the fish. The fish strong yet.

KM: Yes.

TH: Because if you leave 'em in the net night time, that fish blind, going bang the net.

KM: Yes.

TH: You go bang, bang, bang all the net no more the scale, the fish going die.

KM: Yes. So come weak?

TH: Come weak.

KM: And then if they *ho'oku'u*, *pau* all the other predator or something come into right?

TH: Well, most times they catch the predators too.

KM: Ah.

TH: They catch 'em too. But you see, if you keep 'em long time, the *'ulua* and the shark come all choked because too much fish they go eat.

KM: Yes.

TH: You know and they need air, the fish need air.

KM: Yes, no can move around.



TH: Gee and the fish half dead.
KM: Yes, *aloha*.
TH: They cannot see the *akule* already, because too much all ready. If you leave 'em some more going *make*.
KM: Yes.
TH: So they go catch whatever '*ulua* they going grab in the bag and that's it. Let go the rest. And you know when they catch they catch by the tons you know.
KM: Yes, *aloha*.
TH: And they know, Like Ohai, they *aloha* you too. You go over there and you like fish brother, you better tell 'em how much you like otherwise they sink your boat.
KM: Who's that Ohai?
TH: Ohai, Leo, they're commercial fishermen, they go purse (net). You like the fish they load you up after they load their box before they letta go the fish they load you up. You get one big boat over there you like make 'em sink one time they letta go the bag inside there and that's it.
KM: [chuckling]

Catch always shared with families in community:

TH: So you take enough what you want. And then like plenty people you know, like you give 'em the fish, they go sell 'em. But, that's not how. Me, I would only take for eat you know.
KM: Yes. Amazing story.
TH: But you know in the past, like the old man Hanohano, he was generous. We used to go fish, like sometimes you know, he used to do his own thing and we used to go Hanalei go get fish from Goo or that man down Kalihiwai.
CW: Akana?
TH: Akana. You go over there work the whole day maybe they give you only five fish. [chuckles] You know what I mean...

Hana ka lima, 'ai ka waha!:

KM: ...And you shared a really wonderful saying this morning that you heard your papa or your *kūkū mā* them about how the hand works, and the mouth eats food.
TH: Oh yeah.
KM: What was that saying?
TH: That was when I was young and around the old people, because they were always doing something. So, they like train us too, go make garden. They used to tell and I used to hear that constantly, "*Hana ka lima 'ai ka waha.*"
KM: 'Ae.
TH: That's one old saying.
KM: 'Ae.
TH: Although get some other funny kind slangs [chuckling] that I used to remember.
KM: Get different twists but each had...
TH: Get some twists and get some for fun.
KM: 'Ae.



TH: You know I would say. [chuckling]

KM: But this is so important "*Hana ka lima 'ai ka waha.*"

TH: Oh yeah.

KM: 'Cause if you work?

TH: What you told me this morning about it?

KM: The other one was "*Maka'i ka hana a ka lima, 'ono no ka 'ai ka waha.*" That was my *tūtū* them on Lāna'i they said, "The hands do good work the mouth eats good food." But of the same idea.

TH: Yes.

KM: You work.

TH: Uh-hmm.

KM: No do this [gesturing with palms open facing up] And now so much "*Kaula'i ka lima i ka lā.*" Before they say "*A'ohē waiwai.*" But now, they put the hand like this [gestures, palm up], they get all kind *kenikeni*.

TH: Yes, yeah.

KM: Easy, debit card.

TH: But before no more, who going give you.

KM: Yes.

TH: You got to go get your own, you know. That's the way I learned it.

KM: 'Ae. I know and it's so important. And I think our children need to know these stories, they need to learn these things. You folks fished all of these places?

TH: Uh-hmm.

Fished in Kalalau and other Nāpali locations:

KM: Did you go out Kalalau side sometimes too?

TH: We do. We go with the old man Hanohano.

KM: Hanohano?

TH: Go catch '*ō'ō* and *moi*, mullet.

KM: How did you folks travel out there?

TH: Well, we used to go down, like the old man Hanohano. Like the last day he had one big twenty-four foot flat bottom, and then they used to get six people oar.

KM: Uh-hmm.

TH: And that's a heavy duty oar you know.

KM: Wow!

TH: The kind sixteen feet oar.

KM: Wow!

TH: Two men on one oar.

KM: You're kidding!

TH: Yes.

KM: And so six guys?



TH: Six guys *hoe* that dam boat because you figure, we get something like might be sixteen people on there, plus the net.

KM: Wow!

TH: And then you go down there, you go catch the fish, and then come back, you going hit the wind.

KM: Yes.

TH: The wind going come up, guarantee.

KM: And you said flat bottom?

TH: Flat bottom, flat bottom boat. And we go down, we catch the fish, you talking about, might be one ton, two thousand pound *moi* or *‘ō‘iō*.

KM: Uh-hmm.

TH: They go down they go look, they see ‘em. Like that boy the one was with us, the father?

KM: Yes.

TH: La’a.

KM: Mahuiki.

TH: Mahuiki. He used to go on the trail, he go look where the fish stay.

KM: Ahh, so he *kilo*?

TH: So he go *kilo* the day before the next day we know where.

KM: Yes.

Continues describing, and identifying fishery sites between Wainiha Kū’au, Kaleina Kauila, Kē’ē, and Hanakāpī’ai:

TH: He go tell us, “You guys go down Hanakāpī’ai or Kaleina Kauila.” Kaleina Kauila is right in the back of Kē’ē, Kaleina Kauila.

KM: Ahh.

TH: So we go over there, we see the fish from the boat already.

KM: ‘Ae. Uncle, lets see we’re on number 34 I think. Number 34 was Hā’ena Kū’au. So number 35 is Kaleina Kauila. Just outside of the...?

TH: Kaleina Kauila is down here. This is Kē’ē?

KM: Yes.

TH: It’s in the back here.

KM: Okay. So I’m just going to mark number 35, Kaleina Kauila.

TH: And then you go down Hanakāpī’ai the next big one.

KM: ‘Ae, yeah.

TH: And then you know...

KM: So you folks *ma’amau* travel out there go fish though like that? You would?

TH: I used to go with my skiff you know, I used to go down there go check it out but got to be real *mālia*. Because the boat is small.

KM: Was Hanohano from out that side?



TH: Hanohano, they were born in Kalalau.

KM: In Kalalau, okay.

TH: Hanohano, Kila, they were the last people in Kalalau. In fact you know, most of the people when come outside here live you know. And Hanohano he went go Wainiha live. But like the old man Kalei and the old man Kila the old man David they all went move outside here.

KM: Oh. Too isolated already out Kalalau like that?

TH: Right. And then, here was getting little more civilized I guess.

KM: Yes.

TH: In the back of their minds, they no can forget that place because they know the ground.

KM: They *hānau* up there?

TH: They *hānau* over there.

KM: Their *kūpuna lo'a ka iwi ai ma'ō*.

TH: And they know, like inside there, they know the cave where the fish stay.

KM: Ahh yes.

TH: They go inside there they take maybe one cave catch two thousand *moi*. *Pau* already, they come home.

KM: And that fish they give and then they sell some, in this time?

TH: Well, the old man used to sell that's how he make his living.

KM: That's right.

TH: You know, fish. And besides that he used to plant *kalo*.

KM: Ahh.

TH: Plenty *kalo*...

Discusses families, where they lived, and some of the events in the community, when he was young. Also revisits some of the fishing grounds discussed earlier.

CW: Uncle lets go back to talking about when you were growing up down here. Who were the other families down here in Hā'ena at that time?

TH: You know Chip there were very little people over here. Like the families was...and they moved away. Like take for instance like Kaipo and Billy Ouye they moved away when they were teenagers. They used to come only during the summer.

CW: Uh-hmm.

TH: And the other haoles used to come out here was the Rices, Paul and Eddie, and besides Billy Morange. That's the only people that we used to know, and they just about my age or younger.

AH: And Arthur Rice right.

TH: No, no. They old style but for kids and then the old people.

KM: *Kala mai*, Honolulu one, that Arthur Rice?

TH: Yes.

AH: He had children?



KM: Yes. He had one boy, Arthur Hyde Rice, just passed away a couple years ago.

TH: I think that's the son.

KM: Yes... Nice man, he was a nice man. But they were mostly Honolulu side. So they had a place out here too?

TH: Yes. They used to be right on the point by Hale Ho'omaha.

AH: Point out on the map where...

TH: ...That's right inside of Wainiha Kū'au.

KM: Oh, okay where your place is, okay.

TH: The point.

KM: I see, right over here then. This section?

TH: Right. Because he used to go fish outside there, and he knew the fish here. He used to out there go catch 'em, Arthur Rice.

KM: Okay.

TH: He was the only *haole* with the throw net.

KM: Hmm. He was a good fisherman though.

TH: Besides Paul Rice. Paul Rice used to go outside there.

KM: Yes. He was the good fisherman.

TH: We usually, we normally used to fish mostly down in this area and leave that for them. Like during the summer when I know they stay out there. We kind of, well this is all our area but we try to share. And let them go there blast 'em, bumby when they *pau* they go home, we go over there blast 'em. That's how it was.

KM: So, you shared? And there weren't a lot of *malihini* from outside to begin with then?

TH: No, no.

KM: Was the families who belonged on the land here.

TH: Like it was mostly, you see like over here at the time my dad was the best throw net fisherman. Like the old man La'a he used to go fish but he no can swim.

KM: Hmm.

TH: So, it's limited.

KM: Yes.

TH: You know he go outside Paweaka and stuff like that, but not outside. If the sea knock him down, the wave knock him down he's jam up already.

KM: Yes, that's right.

TH: That's why Aunty Rachel used to go fish with him.

KM: [chuckles]

TH: In case he fall down she can grab him.

CW: That's the lifeguard, that.

TH: That's the lifeguard.

KM: Yes.



TH: That's how before. La'a he go fishing but Rachel got to be with him. Rachel was always with him, you know. Every where he went go fish, even go *ku'u* like that, she was the boss. Yes, that's how it was. When make *māhele*, like La'a, his style is he going *kilo* all the fish, catch the fish surround everything, *puni*, he go home. He no hang already. Rachel is the one take care and give the *māhele* and everything, that's how it was. It's not like the old man Hanohano and Kila, the old man Hanohano and the old man Tai Hook. They stay over there and give the people the *māhele*, whatever.

KM: They supervise everything?

TH: They supervise everything you know, and make sure the people go home with something for the labor.

KM: Yes.

TH: Because that's the cheapest labor you can every get you know. And give the *māhele*, no need pay.

KM: Yes, that's how.

TH: That's how. The people used to rather take the fish than the money.

KM: Of course.

TH: Because the money was just small you know.

KM: Yes. And no can eat that, the fish, yes.

TH: You can but...you know. You no like that, that's his living, that's how he makes his living.

KM: Yes. How you folks, go out for *he'e* on the *papa*? O *he'e* or what?

TH: We used to dive and sometimes you know like when the ocean *malo'o*, the '*āpapa malo'o*?

KM: Yes.

TH: We go over there go look. That's why the place down there [thinking, indicating location on photo].

KM: Lae Koholā?

TH: Lae Koholā inside that '*āpapa*, we used to go look over there, and we used to just go walk around. And when the *he'e* see you, he's going to squirt the water that's how you can find 'em.

Does not believe that *imu* fishing was practiced in Hā'ena fisheries:

KM: You know. You know when you were talking if the ocean rough like that or something or when *malo'o*, did you folks have places out on these '*āpapa* somewhere where they...you know how they make *umu* or *imu*? Fish house.

TH: Yes, yes.

KM: Did you folks make *imu*?

TH: No.

KM: Too rough on this side or you no need?

TH: No. Because we no need. We no need that's for the lazy man.

KM: [chuckling]

TH: No, really you know. I know like them, what they do, I don't know if they did that on this island. I didn't see that.

KM: Okay. The *imu* or *umu*?



TH: The *imu*.

KM: I know other islands they do.

TH: Like most times they go set up *imu*, down Koie, get plenty round stone. They go make *imu* and then the house, the fish go inside there you go look get plenty *manini* inside there. That's all you do, surround that thing with your net and take the stone all out, and go build outside of that now, the same stone.

KM: Yes. And so you catch all the *manini* kind?

TH: You catch whatever fish stay there, if get anything, you going catch 'em.

KM: Yes.

TH: That's how the *imu* is.

KM: You saw. So someone was doing that?

TH: Well, maybe once in my lifetime I seen that.

KM: Oh, I see.

TH: But this is the old times now. In fact people don't know how to throw net.

KM: Oh see.

TH: They live close to the beach.

KM: But you see uncle that's an interesting thing because the throw net as I understand actually came from Japan.

TH: Right.

Discusses *imu* and trap fishing methods:

KM: And the Hawaiian figured out and took that on. But maybe before throw net maybe people make *umu* then.

TH: Well, *imu*?

KM: Then they surround yeah?

TH: Yes. They go make *imu*, looks just like the *imu* where they make house.

KM: Yes.

TH: All *pukapuka* underneath just off set the stone.

KM: Yes.

TH: The fish just go inside stay inside there. They make big ones small ones, and all what they need to do for catch the fish, you go surround with your net, whatever they had.

KM: Yes.

TH: Whatever kind they had. And go build outside, the same stone you go build outside and then you get another *imu*.

KM: That's right.

TH: By the time you take all these fish, you get enough to eat already.

KM: Yes.

TH: And wait for the next shot. You make plenty like, that guarantee you get.

KM: Yes.



TH: You get fish for eat.

KM: Yes.

TH: And then the other thing I seen people do, was go catch was with the kind, trap.

KM: Ahh, oh you saw trap use?

TH: Trap.

KM: How were their trap, was it wire by your time or they still wove it?

TH: They had the wire. They used to make the kind chicken wire you know that round one, the kind we use.

CW/KM: Uh-hmm.

TH: But the wire was deeper, like eight feet wire. I seen Ishioka and Ohai, they used to make when they were young. Shucks, I was maybe eight, ten years old and these guys were in their teens already, maybe twenty something and that's how they started to go do these fishing things. Just like one fishing co-op, that's what it was.

KM: I see.

TH: They go catch the fish they go lay the trap, four or five traps and then maybe three, four days later they go over there go dive 'em. Go dive 'em. Like the trap used to be like say four by eight, big trap you know.

KM: And did they bait 'em?

TH: No.

KM: No.

TH: Just put 'em on the ground, *'āpapa*. On the *'āpapa*, and no aqua-lung, skin dive. From the beach house, they used to put on the *'āpapa*, the shelf and outside the deep holes, you know. So, I used to see they go catch 'em, plenty fish, Chipper, any kind; *kumu*, *manini*, *kala*. Any kind of rock fish. They think that's the house because they lay 'em underneath.

KM: Kind of like in the ledge or something?

TH: Yes, yeah underneath the ledge.

KM: On the *'āpapa*.

TH: And then the only time kind of jam up is when the eel go inside, the eel raise hell with the fish.

KM: And they no can get out.

TH: The eel can eat so much, *pau*. But they go catch that eel and then the fish, whatever's left inside there. And I used to see them catch tubs, tubs of 'em. Because what I used to do for them I used to go cook... [chuckles] They go dive in the morning I go home, from home. They used to stay by Chandler's house with the haoles stay the big house?

CW: Yes, yeah.

TH: I used to go down there I go cook breakfast for them. Cook egg, sausage, spam like that for them. When they come inside they going drink coffee and stuff like that. Plenty fish but they give me but daddy's one fisherman, I no need their fish.

KM: Yes [chuckling].

TH: I no take, 'cause daddy going catch all the fish. My dad catch all choice fish. We like catch *moi*, go anyplace around here and get 'em.



KM: You know where, you want to eat this fish go there.

TH: You go there. And like us we used to see 'um just like come, because we know where the thing stay. Even today you no hear certain folks talk about *moi*.

CW: Hmm.

TH: 'Cause they don't know. I go even, I go after them I go catch 'em 'cause they don't know, and they're looking somewhere else.

CW: Uh-hmm.

TH: That's something that I don't share because I know how some people are. The kind of people who are going to go for the kill. You know they're going back and back and back and go get 'em.

KM: Yes. You got to let the place rest sometimes, right?

TH: That's right. Like me, like Chipper knows, I go catch the fish, give him some for that time that's it. I'm not going look again until one other time I go inside there go get. Most time it's out here.

KM: But you let the place rest?

TH: Oh yeah. Unless I go up there go make *limu* and I see 'em on the shallow place, I going catch 'em.

KM: Yes.

TH: It's not for me to take the whole catch home, no. I going give around, share you know. Not the kind greedy kind, no.

KM: *'Ānunu*, no good.

TH: No. That's the way we were trained.

Discusses experiences fishing by canoe from Hā'ena; and deep sea fishing from a boat for *'ahi* and *aku*:

KM: Yes. Good history. Did you ever go out fish in the sea?

TH: We used to go.

KM: When you were young?

TH: No. Well, you see we used to go out trolling when my brother had his boat.

KM: Okay. So you went trolling on boat?

TH: On boat.

KM: With brother. How far out did you folks go?

TH: Maybe three, four miles for go catch *'ahi* and stuff.

KM: *'Ahi*?

TH: And *aku*.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: I did not do that too many times. No, because that wasn't my game.

KM: Any canoes out here when you were a child? Did any of the old people still go out fish canoe or not?

TH: Well, you see the canoes were not *koa* canoes. The canoes that I saw when I was growing up, they used to make the kind redwood kind.



KM: Plywood kind?
TH: Redwood, flat bottom.
KM: Flat bottom, okay.
TH: And was always outrigger on one side, that's it.
KM: Kind of like what they call in Kona 'ōpelu canoe?
TH: Yes. Something like that.
KM: Did they *hoe* or did they?
TH: *Hoe*. And we had regular hardwood paddle for that.
KM: Okay.
TH: You know big ones. The paddle used to be big [gestures].
KM: What, sixteen inch diameter blade or something like that?
TH: Something like that and might be like that [gestures height].
KM: Twenty?
TH: My dad had small ones and big ones that he used too.
KM: Before?
TH: And the thing was kind of tapered from the center, come narrow on the outside edge.
KM: Uh-hmm.
TH: But the center was thicker than the outside edge.
KM: Oh.
TH: You know what I mean because that's where you put the power.
KM: Yes.
TH: And it's got to be like that.
KM: Where did they paddle to when they go out?
TH: Go outside Kū'au.
KM: Hmm.
TH: That's where we used to go fishing outside, go out.
KM: On the outside edge here? Outside here?
TH: Yes. [pointing to location on photo] Like inside here like us we used to go out from here.
KM: Okay.
TH: Kapaiki.
KM: Kapaiki.
TH: If you go over there either that or Muliwai, over here.
KM: Uh-hmm.
TH: We used to go outside over here and go fish with the canoe. Not anywhere else only inside here.
KM: Yes.



TH: To get across the channel. That's what it was, or go hook for *hīnālea*. We used to use that boat but we make sure no make mistake, bumby you go upside down [chuckles].

KM: That's right.

TH: Yes.

KM: And I wonder must be more hard to right one of those flat bottom canoes that are Hawaiian canoe.

TH: You see the story was, it depended on the outrigger, you know. Because the outrigger stay like that [gestures]?

KM: Yes, yes, at the angle.

TH: Most times you get 'em down.

KM: That's right.

TH: And then the *ama*, the *ama* get the kind crooked kind going up like that.

KM: Yes, yes.

TH: And then you tie over here.

KM: At the two kind of ends.

TH: You got to know how to tie 'em.

KM: You know it, otherwise you no come home.

TH: Yes.

KM: [chuckling] Swim.

TH: That buggar ever *hemo*, you going upside down.

KM: Yes.

TH: Because the canoe was, I would say maybe eighteen inches wide. They had the thick one in the center, and then the one by itself, one by sixteen on the side.

KM: Uh-hmm.

TH: Only three feet.

KM: Yes. Wow, amazing!

TH: Yes. And then you make your nose with the guava or whatever, or *hau*.

KM: Yes. *Hau*.

TH: That's how dad used to make.

KM: Wow!

TH: And then when had lumber used to make 'em with two by four.

KM: Gee!

TH: You put one piece inside then you shape the other one kind of little bit sharp so you get one nose.

KM: Right, right.

TH: You know what I mean?

KM: Yes.



TH: And that's how he used to make the canoes. The last thing we do is we go find the *hau*.

KM: *Hau* for make *ama*?

TH: For make the *ama* and *'iako*.

KM: *'iako* also?

TH: Yes.

KM: So the *'iako* was *hau* too?

TH: Yes, *hau*.

KM: Yes.

TH: You go find the kind old kind not the young one.

KM: Yes, big and nice.

TH: Bum by broke [chuckling].

KM: [chuckles]

TH: We used to do that when we were young. Never one boat until later in my life when I was on my own, that's when you go buy the fiber glass or aluminum you know. Once you get one like that, it will last you for your life.

KM: That's right.

TH: And then my father-in-law gave me his boat, and I still get 'em.

KM: Wow! Tai Hook's boat?

TH: Yes, his fishing boat. When he went *make* he tell the people "The boat going to me because me the fisherman." I still get the boat, I get my own.

KM: Yes... [pointing to location on aerial photo] This is Loko Kē'ē?

CW: Yes.

TH: That's the reason why I never like the water run inside there, it might fill up the *loko* and then what. Bumby you like go plant this one over here, hard.

KM: Did you ever hear by the way in these *loko* like this, that they plant taro and get fish inside?

TH: I have no idea.

KM: No idea.

CW: When you used to farm over here never had *'o'opu* or *'ōpae* inside here?

TH: Where, inside here?

CW: Inside the *lo'i*.

TH: Yes, had.

CW: And the *'auwai*?

'O'opu caught in the *kahawai* and *'auwai*.

TH: Had *'o'opu* because the water was drawing straight from the river. Like when get the *'o'opu* season, the *'o'opu* used to come in the taro patch.

AH: Only in the season time.



TH: The 'o'opu used to come in the taro and in the ditch. Why I say that is, like what is that big taro patch now? [thinking] Over here like right here where we get our water, where we get our tent...

KM: ...Does this place, area have a name?

TH: Where?

KM: In front of here on the *papa* or something?

TH: Yes. That's the one.

CW: That's Ka'ilio.

TH: Lae Koholā.

KM: So Lae Koholā basically, okay.

TH: Lae Koholā, you look over there you can see it.

KM: I see it here, okay.

Describes the impacts of the 1946 tidal wave on families in Kē'ē, Hā'ena and Wainiha:

TH: That's where the old man went *make* he go set net outside here.

KM: Ahh.

TH: That morning he went go get his net.

KM: Kalei?

TH: Yes. Was Sunday, was Monday morning the thing went, early, seven o'clock in the morning. So you know was the time, he stay in the water already.

CW: And where were you that morning in '46?

TH: That morning I was home, we just went get up. We normally get up early for go race, go school, who get in school first. But that morning something went happen, so we went kind of get up little late. And then all of a sudden my brother George went go look down. Our porch used to be Z-shaped he come like that go like this and go behind. And in the front of that we had one vine with the small white flower, I don't know what you call that vine. Anyway, used to block the sun and then come partly to the front facing the road. And then in the front of that had one pomegranate tree so kind of block the thing you no can directly look right straight through you got to go off the side.

KM: Yes.

TH: So that morning he tell me...and was April Fools. He tell me, "Brah come outside here go look the water climbing along on top the coconut tree," because over there get the dip, you know how the thing stay?

CW: Yes.

TH: So I not going look. I tell him, "Not. April Fools!" He like go tell me April Fools so, he told me, "No, no, no come, come, come, we got to go tell the old man for go get the boat." Because the boat was down the beach on the side. I come over there I look, hey that's right, that water splashing all over the coconut trees, plenty coconut trees inside there.

CW: Right.

TH: So we go run down to the old man Kila and the old man Hanohano and Julia was living there with the old man Kila. So we run down there go tell 'em about that. We go down there, then we all, me, George and Kila and Hanohano and somebody else we go down the beach. The old lady Julia, my mom and the daughter, young, we go down there we never think, "What the hell was this?" We never seen that in our whole life.



KM: You never saw that before?

TH: We go down, we look at the water, we don't know what's that. The water was receding, the water been come inside and go back now.

KM: Uh-hmm.

TH: We go over there, the boat was full with water and you know, and kind of disturb the canvas and the nets little bit outside of the boat because the water been catch 'em. So we stay over there we unloading the boat and the net on the high side. In fact over there, stay like this the boat in front here, we taking over the bag and that place slope down again on the inside. So we taking 'em and putting 'em on the inside. So the net you talking about one seventy-two feet deep net. And this is one heavy duty purse net. So, only for...

CW: That's Hanohano Pā's net?

TH: Yes.

CW: David's net?

TH: Yes. That dam thing was seventy-two feet deep and you know how heavy.

KM: Gee!

TH: And us young 'eh! [chuckling] We struggling, taking that dam thing out. And then we're watching, looking at the water, but that never scare us, we don't know what's that. And we're looking, all the sand, it's just like rapid, the inside channel.

KM: Yes.

TH: The water was just going, going out. Then you look you know the *āpapa* in the center of the bay. Nāmoku the big one?

CW: That's one other place name we got to watch.

Nāmoku (the stones in Maninihola Bay), exposed when the water receded for the tidal wave:

TH: Anyway, stay out here some place [pointing to area in Maninihola Bay].

KM: Where was Nāmoku?

TH: Where the kind?

CW: Would be right here, this one? Not this one?

TH: Yes, yeah it's in the bay, this one right here stay in the deep, Nāmoku.

KM: So number 36, Nāmoku in the middle of Hā'ena.

TH: Get big and small over there.

KM: Okay. You can see the submerged islets in there.

TH: Yes, you can see 'em.

KM: Was that *ku'una* too?

TH: No.

KM: Or *ko'a*?

TH: I don't know it that's *ko'a* but that's where the *akule* used to go and stay on top there because you no can go over there and go get 'em because get plenty coral on the *āpapa*. That's just like Hanalei they get that, what is that *āpapa*?

CW: I forget the name now we used to call it Monster Mush [Monolau]. [chuckles]

TH: Yes, yeah the one way inside.



CW: Yes. Bum by I think of that name.

TH: Yes.

KM: So, you saw the water had washed out and this was usually underwater then?

TH: Aw shucks the water had emptied way out here already.

KM: Gee!

TH: So we knew already. Well, at the time we never know but now we know. That damn thing went pull back like this.

KM: Wow!

TH: So, by the time, we were busy taking out the net then all of a sudden, all of a sudden we hear the houses over here, the Rice house, used to get one beach house up here on the point. You know where Richard Rice house is? Over there had one high house you know. That's where we used to go *kilo* the *kala*. We hear rap, rap, rap because had the big old house and then had cottages about three or four on that side. This water was coming down from that end because he hook like this, hook 'em come down. Shucks, was just like a bulldozer.

KM: Knocking down?

TH: Knocking it. Because below that you know coming down by inside of Mākua on the land used to get plenty pine trees and plenty trees that you know when the house go against the trees you know going broke. That water just crushing 'em. You know coming down, you know just keep rolling, rolling.

KM: Yes, yeah.

TH: When we went look at that shocked, we started to run we never look anymore. We went just run, we run to the corner where the tennis courts was. Was more inside in the corner where Conney Irons lives, we went aim inside there. And just about that time...prior to that happening, Paul Rice had cleaned that place and bulldozed all the guava over there against the false *kamani* trees that lined all from Chandler go up that way. Going the back where Connie Irons stays, get one line.

CW: Okay. You guys was over here? This is old man Chandler's place right here?

TH: Yes, yeah.

CW: You guys were over here?

TH: We were right here.

CW: And then you were running this way.

TH: Yes, we were running...

CW: I think the tennis courts stay over here someplace.

TH: Yes. But we went run one angle go through over here in this corner. Over here the road?

CW: Okay.

TH: And this is the *hale*.

CW: Right, right.

TH: Our *hale*. So we run in this corner over here that's one far run you know. Because you running one angle.

KM: Yes.



TH: We running. Brother George wanted to go climb the mango tree. I told him, “No, because you don’t know high that going come.” If more chance we go run way in the corner and go climb the *kamani* tree. Which we did and then was easy for us, because they had pushed all the rubbish against the tree. And I think that tree, they went push the rubbish over there I think was fifteen feet, I think. All that rubbish pile, the height so we climbed on top that, and I climbed in the tree. But the old man folks, what they did they went climb on the rubbish pile and hold the tree. The water went catch ‘em. So you can figure how high now, and we stay way up.

KM: Wow!

TH: So when we talk to mom she was saying, had this big wave, and they were standing on the back porch and they were going down in the back of the house which was dangerous. And they seen the water in front, one big wave coming inside the corner where the big white house. See, they seen the wave coming over there before they knew they got dragged in, inside the plum bush because in the back of our house get that plum bush and lantana and the barb wire. That’s how mom got all cut up.

KM: Wow!

TH: After the water had receded that was second wave, as the water had recede we had run go home. We had run through the water go home. By the time the rubbish all lay down already from the wave went push inside. So we run through that go home. But not where the road is where you go through Connie Irons folks house, on the inside where the big house stay. We run though there come home. Because old man Chandler had that place kind of clean.

KM: Yes, yeah.

TH: We come over the rubbish pile, we jump down and run, go home. We run go home, the house was against the avocado tree, was up like that. So we started to call for my mom. “Mom, mom.” And then we hear one faint voice in the back of the hill where Aunty Violet stay, in the back side. That’s where my mom and Julia and the little girl was.

CW: Hmm.

TH: She was all cut up and mom was completely nude. And Julia was partly nude, the top side, the bottom side all broke, because they went through the barb wire and the lantana.

KM: ‘Auwē!

TH: And then we found out after that, had the big kind frame for the generators or something, that Chandler had put down there. The kind that get leg, get four leg but big tables, heavy steel and pine stumps, big ones, big stumps they had. Was in the back of our house from down by the beach. So you see how powerful.

KM: Powerful!

TH: The wave was big.

KM: Yes. Had the two waves and then had one more?

TH: No. And then what happened was after that we tried, after I went run home in the house grab one sheet, wrapped mom up. Wrapped her up because she was all scratched. Mom was pregnant with Joe, Joe boy, she was six months, I think. You know she was big already. Wrapped her up then we went aim you know where Tappy’s garage stay?

CW: Yes.

TH: We went aim on that high spot. Went aim, go in the corner and then you know where the fence going across?



CW: Yes, yeah.

TH: You know the outside corner where Tappy get that corner, go straight across?

CW: Right.

TH: Over there had the fence. So we went go climb on the fence we go across the ditch because behind there deep you know. I think that place about this deep, but had water already. So we went swim that and then the old man David and the old man Kila went take the women across and the baby went go before that. And me and George went go hold the fence to go across. We just go on top, here the wave came, the third one.

KM: Gee!

TH: [making sound of wave] And strong because deep over there in the back side. Because in the back of Aunty Vi's place go down you know.

CW: Hmm.

Nā hala o Naue (famed *hala* grove of Naue) destroyed by the tidal wave:

TH: Close to the hill, that's what happened. By the time we got on top of the hill we looked YMCA that's the first place we looked because there was not too much houses around the place, you know. So we look up there balla-head, the roofs...there was bungalow shape houses that were all in the back by the hills. That base of the hills in the back of Bobo folks, the back side. The *hala* that's what went eat up all the *hala*.

KM: For real, so Naue, the *hala*?

TH: Balla-head, balla-head. That and '57 gone. In '57 had little bit left, but that tidal wave in '46 went wipe out that *hala*. That *hala* used to be from the YMCA all the way out till the condominium.

CW: Hmm.

TH: Yes. That's where we used to go pick *hala* inside there you know. And this is from the beach to the front road all *hala*.

KM: Yes. Wow!

TH: That's why they call that place "*Nā Hala o Naue*."

KM: 'Ae.

TH: All gone.

KM: Amazing!

TH: And then maybe that's what killed the people that time, because they went go inside that church. And all the stumps been go behind there.

KM: Yes.

TH: All inside there all full with stumps was.

KM: The Mormon church one?

TH: Yes, the Mormon church. They got smashed inside there and some of them got tangled inside there. That's how broke the leg and stuff.

CW: Hmm...

TH: [End CD 1, begin CD 2] ...Before you know my dad never used to...like every time we had one warning over there, he used to stay home. But when he seen that, '57, shucks he's the first one on his car, and gone outta there. Yes. You know that time used to get plenty small ones. In the '50s and '60s plenty small ones had.



KM: Oh yeah. When your wife, when aunty was talking about that, that's right even I don't know you may not be quite old enough.

CW: Oh no, we remember it was constant.

KM: It was amazing, steady.

TH: Constantly.

KM: Yes, just steady.

TH: And the last one in 1985 or 1988?

KM: That's right.

TH: That was the last. The little one that one foot recession. That was the last one. And that's why the people came tell me; because I had to come home. I live Kīlauea, for come get my net and put 'em on the hill. I tell the people, "Get out of here!" Because I tell you that thing ever happen now, the people that live here going get jammed up because of the tourist. The traffic going be so jammed.

KM: Oh, it is terrible yeah.

TH: Because at that time, I saw the damn *pilikia* already. And I was coming in they was blocking the bridge, I went send the people, I tell the people, "Hey, I don't know if you guys know what is *tsunami*, but get the hell out of here, they're expecting one." And some people they get so...some they don't even know what the hell it is they when turn around right there and dig out.

KM: Yes.

TH: I said, "Because if you guys going go down there you guys get stuck, there's no stores. You guys just *pa'a* in there."

KM: *Mahalo nui*. It's wonderful to talk with you two folks you know, and these stories and these place names. You just look at this. And you know if what you know is a part of what you heard from your father. Look at this, these place names line the coast and each one has a significance eh.

TH: Yes.

KM: Importance to it. Tomorrow we go out *holoholo*?

TH: I figure that way it's more deadly because if I give you guys the name you guys you know go in that area, "This is it. This the '*āpapa*.'" In fact we don't need to know about this [indicating the Wainiha section], all we need know is from Kahaki down, that's all.

KM: But it's all important.

TH: We only know from here down, this we no need know. But it's nice you guys know the place.

KM: Yes, that's right.

Discussing sites and fisheries along coast (Naue to Kē'ē) which will be visited on February 11th.

TH: I going just point out the place for you guys because, like Kahaki inside here get name too, these two places. In fact all in this area, but the only thing we go over there look that time was the *āholehole*. Because all in this different sand area used to get *āhole* school over there. That's the only time we go over there.

KM: Yes.

TH: Or we go look the *nenuē*. And then on top here get *puka* for the *āhole* too.



KM: In Kahaki?

TH: Kahaki. And even Kāmoa get and Ko'okea. All get, but not today, those days are gone already.

KM: *Pau.*

TH: But get once in a while.

KM: But not like before?

TH: You come across but not like before. You know any given time you go over there you go look 'em he stay inside there. Go look inside there black, one time you throw your net on top [chuckles] float the net.

KM: Yes, wow!

TH: That's how.

KM: So much fish?

TH: So much fish.

KM: Wow!

TH: Like over here on the coast line in front Chipper folks place, and he know that but he came over here in fact he got married already. You go whack 'um by Hale Pōhaku, from on top I look at the fish already. And take him with me going inside there, but him I don't know. You tell him throw over here he throw someplace else.

Group: [chuckling]

CW: Amateur

TH: Remember that day?

CW: Yes.

TH: We caught one cooler and he went catch maybe a dozen 'cause he never throw. We like him throw on the spot but he went throw off the side.

KM: No can help.

TH: That was alright. At least you know.

CW: When he stay with you, you get a little nervous.

KM: That's right, yeah. Get the teacher over there kind a *hilahila*. Oh, *mahalo*...

TH: ...Yes. If we go inside there maybe I carry one *'upena* if we see something.

KM: 'Ae.

CW: Where you like start tomorrow?

TH: If you guys like know all the names we got to go to that place. Like Ko'ōnohi I can just point out.

CW: Where you like start walking tomorrow?

TH: From YMCA.

KM: Okay.

TH: YMCA is right behind that's where Kahaki stay.

KM: So we start from Naue section, by camp, Kahaki basically?



TH: Yes. Because Ko'ōnohi is right the other side I could point out. This is what I remember.

KM: 'Ae, *mahalo*...!

"*Kepalō*" used to try and take their fish, or drive fish away from the *ku'una*:

TH: ...Got to put ti leaf, that's the only thing that's going shield you from that kind. Ti leaf.

AH: The *kepalō*.

TH: Me you know I go fish all this area two o'clock in the morning, twelve o'clock at night myself, catch all the fish. But in my mind when I going by my car I stay thinking in my mind bum by something stay in the car waiting for me. [chuckles]

AH: [chuckling]

TH: I get fish inside the car but I carrying fish for go put inside my car. So I looking at my truck you know, I walk straight to my truck. The first thing I do, start up my truck put the light on, that's the way I thinking, but I not saying nothing.

KM: No, no.

TH: But it stay in my mind like that. Although, I know in my mind my dad was scattered out there.

KM: Ahh.

TH: We went throw his ashes from Lae Koholā till outside... [thinking]

CW: Kaluaweoweo?

TH: No, no. We went throw from Lae Koholā to Paweaka, above that by that small place. Outside there get the deep *puka*, outside of where they go surf. Inside that *puka* that's where we went throw the urn box, inside there. But we had spread his ashes from down there all the way down.

KM: That was his wish?

TH: That was his wish.

KM: So he loved the land and the ocean.

TH: But first what we did, was me and my brothers we went go fly with the helicopter. That time, who was the pilot?

AH: Paul Oliver.

TH: Paul. He went take us, what we did is we took dad for a ride outside, Hā'ena Kū'au. Take him all the way right around and while we going around, I was holding the urn box. I was looking at the 'ō'io, I looking at the *akule* under us.

KM: Uh-hmm.

TH: Then we go around circle one time, then we fly straight down outside Ka'ilio, from there we came up. Make that run straight up and tell Paul how we going do 'em. And then we went back down again, fly down then start shaking, me and Joe Boy. He stay one side, I stay one side, showing the urn both sides. And while Jack and George was throwing the flowers, you know was all shredded we went bust 'em all up.

KM: Yes.

TH: So, we went do that, throw the urn box everything, then we went fly back again and go look how everything was. And where we had thrown the urn box we went throw two bags flowers and you know with the helicopter, the [gestures]...

CW: The wind?



TH: The wind going down was so nice. Had double line from down there coming up and right there where we throw the urn box was this big circle of flowers. The helicopter the propeller went track 'em down, had one nice circle on the bottom in that deep hole.

KM: Beautiful!

TH: And that was it...

CW: ...Uncle you was talking about the *kepalō*. Tell us about when you were young, about coming down here night time fishing with your dad?

TH: Well you know, like before the olden times was more spooky. To me was because of the fact there was a lot of old people living yet.

KM: Yes, yes. And they *ho'omana* different kind right?

TH: Not only that, they *ma'a*. The *nākēkē* of the car, they know the Model A. The car make big noise and stuff like that when get little rough and stuff. So they know about it. My dad would always tell us...he used to get his own kind names for these people the ones go make humbug like that because they kind of jealous because we going catch fish. And to me I think they were ignorant because of the fact that they had some of it. Because the next day we would always share.

KM: Yes.

TH: I no care what, maybe not share fish at the time, but give 'em raw fish or something.

KM: Yes.

TH: Or the next morning we going give 'em the *kala* or something that we had catch plenty, you know.

KM: Yes.

TH: And we always did that. And they would send their, I guess something after us. We know already, we hit the first *ku'una*...in fact before we go in the water, when you step, when you step get big kind light you know, when you step. We know already. The darn thing stay around.

KM: Someone send *'uhane* or something?

TH: Yes, the *'uhane* stay over there. So we go inside there we no care. We go inside there we bang 'em the first one. We bang several and even with the *pilikia*, bumbly when we get the fish sometime we stay thinking, "Oh, clean up," because the net you know you can feel the jerk and stuff, and the white water where the fish. We see the net struggling, you can see the white water. So, when we pick up all the net only get little bit so we know already something's wrong. Bumbly in the mean time, we pick up all the net we *au* inside there go help whoever went *au*. We go *au* inside too, for go *hemo* the stuff, pick up the lead, help. Grab the lead and the floater put 'um together so the fish stay inside the bag.

After doing that, while we going up to the beach to go *hemo* the fish because sometimes we open in the water and sometimes we go up. It depends on how far the *ku'una* is. While we go up we stay looking in the trees [chuckles] because you look inside the trees you see this kind fireballs inside the tree. And then sometimes we see some characters you know, from small you look on the beach bumbly pretty soon, the bugga come big pass the pine tree.

KM: Wow!

TH: You no can see the top. You see these and you know, like us we used to already the land, the landmark. You know what I mean?

KM: Uh-hmm.



TH: And you look this strange thing happen like that. First we see the ball and pretty soon the ball, two balls in the tree and then you see these things. You know already, so my dad used to say, he used to talk in Hawaiian, "Ah!" You know "We going stop here, and we going up that a way," but we keep go down this way, so that thing go by there.

KM: 'Ae. Go off in the wrong direction.

TH: But, in the meantime while he's saying that he would say some bad things. You know, swear "*Ā paila kukae kēia po'e...*," or something like that you know. And he tell us in Hawaiian, "Ahh, we go up there." But no, we go down so by the time that thing is off track, and we go up that side. We go down, after that no more *pilikia*.

KM: So he misdirect them just like?

TH: Yes, he throw 'em off.

KM: He knows they're hearing, they hear yeah?

TH: So they go up there and we go down there.

KM: Yes.

TH: Because if not that bugga going still humbug you.

KM: Yes.

TH: Like one time we went over here, but we never know that night went humbug the old lady Rachel already. Inside by Paweaka. Because La'a went go outside, she been walk by the beach with the fish. So the thing was climbing on her back over there.

KM: Ahh!

TH: But we don't know, so we went go catch at Hauwā, you know that *ku'una* over there. We went catch two sides, up and down in the corner. So we had some fish, then we went go catch at Wele'ula, the deep hole.

CW: Hmm.

TH: We go over there. Then, from over there that's when we see this kind. So my brother Jack tell me, "Brah, you see something?" "Yes, I see something I see two balls inside the pine tree by that house." The house in front the swamp. "Ahh, no bother us," look like was coming to us. But we look that kind all the time when we go *holoholo*. As long we pass by Jacob all his place over there, hot already, the only time we notice is when we go upside, 'cause nobody live up that side. You know by the YMCA?

KM: Yes.

TH: Nobody live up there, but down here.

KM: Yes. Everyone *lili* or what?

TH: That's what happened. That night never humbug and we came down here go hit Pouhau. We went hit two sides, Pu'u Kahuaiki, two sides of the channel and then we get more fish in my bag. I stay hold the bag. So now, brother George and daddy go down Pouhau, so they shot over there and I stay way out on this side. That's one long run you know that, from this flat outside the river to the Pouhau, that's far. I waved and I yell to George, "Brah, ready?" "Okay." I start going through, I go inside there from this end now I stay going inside going down, this thing climb on my back pulling the bag, I no let go the bag. I hold the bag like that and just go and just make noise. In the mean time I call my dad. "Dad, get something over here humbugging me!" So brother George went hear that, he let go of the net. He came up inside, come around. He let go the net because the net going stuck on the coral anyway. So he come by me, "What's the matter?" "That damn thing, he like take the fish but I no give in, I hold the bag." We get out, it's just like the net get plenty



fish, all the white water the whole thing. So we never get that much, although we had one bag fish but from all these places till we get down here. So while we were making the attempt to go pick up the net, you know we was coming in the center of the net. We look two head in the back of the net making like this, *pa'i* behind the net. And we know over there no more stone behind there. We go pick up the net the head move down below the net make the *pa'i* like that [slaps the table twice]. We go tell my dad, we *hemo* the fish over here the thing stay right like that over there from us. And we're looking at it.

KM: Hmm.

TH: These two stone heads inside the water.

KM: You know what's amazing these stories that you're sharing, we know there are *mo'olelo*, native traditions that talk about that. On Lāna'i, or same thing in Makalawena in Kona. The *pāhulu* in the water, you know.

TH: But get over there like that.

KM: It's living you know. People look at that they say, "Oh, that's legend." But people still...you still experienced it.

TH: Yes, we experienced that. That's why I say up side we used to see the kind tall kind like the tree on top like that. But never in the water like over here. And used to be worse before our time like the old people used to tell me, we tell them, we see that. The old people tell, "Yes, before used to be nasty, would be worse." And now the old people telling us, was beyond, before their time.

KM: That's right.

AH: Maybe was all Kamehameha's warriors [chuckling].

TH: That's the *kama'āina* for that place, we don't know. Like Kaloli is noted to have bones, and some, the whole framework of the bodies stay sideways, upside down or whatever in the bag. Used to be before like that when get high sea you go play sometime you see upside down, set in the sand.

KM: Yes.

TH: Until the water go, go, go and all fold up. But so far I never did see that long time, but that place get you know in front.

AH: What about Freddy Kaufman's place?

TH: Get over there.

AH: Still have.

TH: You know where they went put the net?

CW: Yes, yeah.

TH: By that coach house all inside there.

AH: Freddy.

TH: Get inside there, guarantee. Because before when they go bulldoze in that place in 1957, oh *kukae paila*, *kukae paila* inside there. And they had cut all the pine trees and leveled that ground, the Rice place, before used to be all like that you know.

AH: All dunes.

KM: *Pu'uone*.

AH: Good fun.



TH: Not level until they went go bulldoze that place in 1957, the county. I don't know who got the contract they went bulldoze that place. Before used to be so nice.

AH: And they found bodies all in sitting positions. Bones...

TH: Had coconut, had *laua'e* loaded all inside. Before you no can go in the sand and go straight like that you got to go around the beach side, because was all like that *laua'e*, you name it.

AH: Sand dunes like.

TH: Was all the gentle kind, rolling kind.

KM: Yes, rolling hills...

TH: ...When your hair stand up, you know already had something funny. You get plenty people around, not too bad but if only one or two like that, going happen. But like me all my years I go *holoholo* like that night time that never did spook me. I go two o'clock I go outside Pu'u Kahuanui, go look *nenu* night time. I go *au* outside there until Henry Gomes went tell me about the shark one night went go chase him.

KM: [chuckling]

TH: All *pau* all ready. I no go, I no need reach over there, because I go up Kanahā, Ko'ōnohi, Paweaka, and in front of Murphy folks place plenty already. I catch four garbage barrels fish. You know for somebody, for *lū'au* like that and that's enough already.

AH: Not now, now days you no can find.

TH: Today I don't do that.

AH: You no can even find one.

TH: Before I go in front Murphy folks place one time I hit 'em, Kepā, two garbage barrels already.

KM: Gee!

TH: I no kid you, that's how. And I got to run go home get my jeep, because I walk go down.

KM: [chuckling]

TH: I got to go home get my jeep for come down the beach for get the fish. Heavy the fish!

KM: Yes.

TH: I stay drag the net go inside and go *hemo, hemo, hemo* and then I go back outside there, I look 'em again, whack 'em again. I come Paweaka two, three times I throw over there my jeep is full already.

KM: *Lawa.*

TH: But, that's for somebody, not for me. Somebody like Auntie Emily Kealoha, the daughter get married they like fish, I go catch. One tub, I give 'em, like nothing. I go one night, enough fish already. And like when Dixon when get married, Marie's boy he like fish I give 'em the big round tub the one we put beer inside the aluminum tub. One like that I go outside Kalali'ili'i I hit 'em one shot that's all, choke already. Yes, bring 'em back. I call Junior folks come down, La'a boy go come down for get the fish so that they can go clean 'em. Till four o'clock in the morning they go scale fish.

KM: Hmm.

TH: Yes, come down six o'clock guys carry that whole tub, unload from the boat put inside there and carry 'em go up. You know by the right of way?

CW: Hmm.



TH: By the white house, that's it. But today I no do that.

KM: No. I don't know if get that kind fish, like your wife was saying.

TH: I don't know. I never did make one attempt to go out there.

AH: No more fish now, like before.

TH: I throw one pile over here Chipper, I gathering my fish I look on the other side I see 'em again, I see the pile like that right on the side of me. I take that fish inside I come back and I whack 'em again because that's not for me, that's for party. You know before got to get the *nenuē*, the raw fish.

KM: Uh-hmm.

TH: I go catch 'em. But today I no guarantee anybody like that, no. I don't know if get.

AH: We don't see 'em.

CW: Not like before.

TH: And me I no go fish that much too, I only go fish when I see 'em.

AH: Last week Russell had some, was about this size. "Oh, the poor thing, not going grow." And they were having the sister's one year...

TH: If I go outside and we see the fish like *menpachi*, 'ū'ū or *kūmū* and the kind good size kind like that, I like that if you fry 'em.

KM: That's seven, eight inch kind. May I ask you a question you know 'ū'ū that you mentioned? You hear the 'ū'ū make noise?

TH: No.

KM: No. You know what's the *hou* [pā'ou'ou] fish, they call snoring fish? You ever heard noise from fish in the water?

TH: No.

KM: Okay, I was just curious.

TH: Why, why is that?

KM: You know they say 'ū'ū, 'ū is to grunt or moan, and they...

TH: Now you telling me that I been hear somebody tell, what is that fish they said make noise. I know the *pāpio* make noise when you go dive under the water. You hear 'em [makes sound].

KM: The *hou* fish is kind of like one of the...

TH: What was the fish that I heard not too long ago somebody was...

AH: Somebody was talking about it.

TH: Somebody was talking about it right? About that snoring fish.

AH: But I never find out what kind of fish it was.

TH: I never ask.

KM: It's like in the *hīnālea* kind family too, but more bigger, *Thalassoma*. *Hīnālea* kind fish but bigger the *hou* fish, they call it the snoring fish.

AH: Is that the kind my brother eats raw? Get the one we call Uncle Sam, then get the brown one similar to that the same shape.

TH: Now you making me think now.



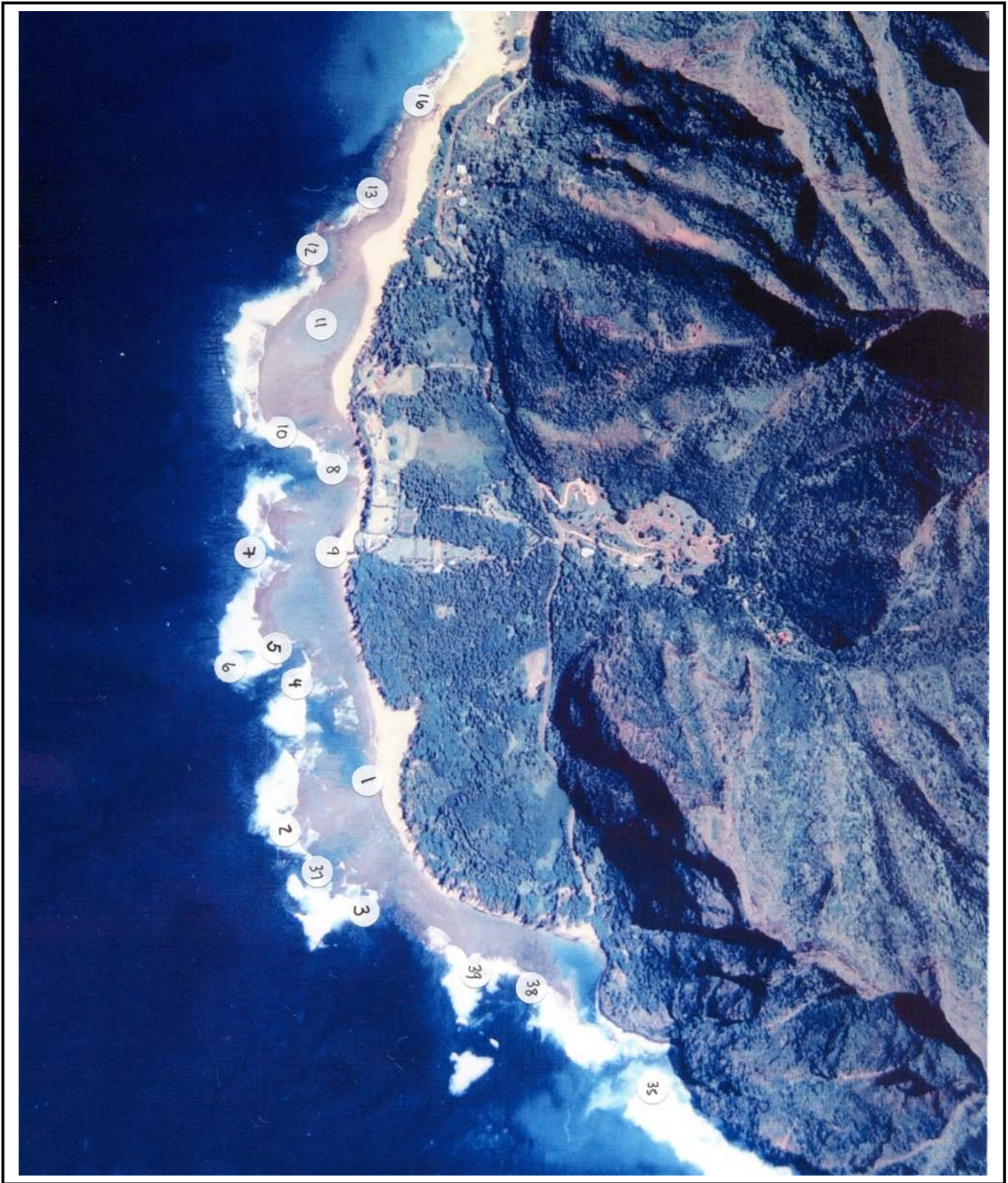
AH: That's not the 'ōlali [young stage of *hou* fish]?
TH: 'Ōlali, that's from the same family with the 'ōlali, the *hīnālea*.
KM: Okay.
AH: My brother loves that raw.
TH: The soft meat, the 'ōlali like that. The 'ōlali is the one orange and green. If you go on the *āpapa* that bugga he run all over, that's the one.
KM: Okay.
TH: And the *hīnālea* same thing. And then they get one more, my grandma used to tell us if the mama...like now somebody going get...
AH: The *hilu* I think, the name of the fish.
TH: ...if they going have baby, and they 'ono that fish the baby going come quiet.
KM: Ahh.
TH: If they 'ono for that fish and that fish is almost like the 'ōlali family. What would I say now?
KM: It's a wrasse?
CW: I don't know what's that.
TH: You know it's gray. Like now you saying about the *hilu*, the *hilu* is another fish, but this fish.
AH: Wasn't that the one she said?
TH: I forget. But that fish if the mama the one going give birth.
KM: Yes, she 'ono that *puni kēlā i'a*?
TH: Yes. If she *ono* that fish than the baby, good baby.
KM: Ahh.
TH: That's what my grandma used to tell us. Before you know I guess the old Hawaiians they eat lot of fish.
KM: Yes.
TH: So they know already.
KM: Just like they say if the mama *puni manō*, the baby going be shark right?
TH: [chuckling]
KM: Good! *Mahalo*, wonderful...! [end of interview]





**Figure 2a. Wainiha to Maniniholo – Annotated Aerial Photograph;
Notes from Uncle Thomas Hashimoto**





**Figure 2b. Maninihola to Kē'ē – Annotated Aerial Photograph;
Notes from Uncle Thomas Hashimoto**



**Thomas Hashimoto (Interview 2 of 2)
February 11, 2003 Ko'ōnohi to Kē'ē– Field Interview with Kepā Maly,
Chipper and Hau'oli Wichman, and Takashi Harada**

Readers please note: At certain times during walk between Ko'ōnohi to Kē'ē, the recorder was turned off when the conversation lapsed; it was turned back on as the conversation began. Thus, the flow from one topic to another is not always connected. This interview follows the interview of February 10th, 2003, and most conversations—descriptions of sites, practices, and quality of the resources—is based on the earlier discussions. (See *Figures 2-a and 2-b* for selected site locations.)



**Uncle Thomas Hashimoto – Upena Ho'olei at Keaomele
(KPA Photo No. S265).**

The first seven pages of transcript were transcribed from a tape recorded by Chipper Wichman.

- CW: Here we are it's 2003, February 11th, and we're with Uncle Tom and we're going to be walking the beach here from Naue to Kē'ē.
- TH: From Ko'ōnohi¹ to Kē'ē.
- CW: Yes. What are we going to be doing today, uncle?
- TH: We'll be checking out the spots that we talked about last night. The exact spots of the *ku'una* and the *'āpapa*. That's what we are going to do and we're going to start right now.
- CW: Okay, let's do it!
- TH: Let's do it and go for it.
- KM: So where we're standing right now, this is what you call a part of Naue?
- TH: Yes, this is Naue.
- KM: Naue.
- TH: But you see, like I said, this place here, the *ku'unas* got names for it but I *poina*.
- KM: *Poina*.
- TH: I'll point it out and then you guys will get them recorded on the maps.

¹ Ko'ōnohi as generally pronounced, is written "Kaonohi" on historic maps—see Register Map No.'s 1395 (Harvey, 1900) and 2246 (Gay, 1891). Ka-'ōnohi may be literally translated as "The-center" or "The-eyeball,"



KM: Yes, mark them on the maps. Yes, that's wonderful. It is so important to see it from you and from your eyes.

TH: And this is, well its more realistic because we're actually by the spot.

KM: Right.

TH: And we'll walk right through it. And I'll point out the *ku'una* and the *'āpapa* names.

KM: And the kinds of *i'a* that you were familiar with at those *ku'una* if you can.

TH: Yes, sure.

KM: Or if *limu*, *pāpa'i*, *pūpū*?

TH: Well if you're talking about *limu*, all this *'āpapa* here over here get *limu*. It's just the spot.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: You know, it's not the whole *'āpapa* but it's just spots here and there. Like up there.

KM: Ko'ōnohi?

TH: Ko'ōnohi is on the front section where the breakers are.

KM: *Limu kohu*, *paha*?

TH: *Limu kohu*. Get other kinds of *limu*, but most times we go for the *limu kohu*. Like over here, outside here get *limu kohu*. You know all this *'āpapa* get. And then it depends on the time of year you go to get 'em. Because when *nalu* the *kai*, you cannot get there.

KM: That's right, or if it's too *malo'o*.

TH: *Malo'o* is the time you go out there, you got to wait until the water comes in so that the *limu* kind of rises up.

KM: Rises, yes.

TH: Rises up. What I'm saying is it stands up instead of sleeping down, you know what I mean?

KM: *Kū*?

TH: Yes.

TH: As we go down, I know over here has a name. I know these places have name, but I *poina*, forgot.

KM: Well, you know it's...

TH: What I remember is the kind we are going through today.

KM: 'Ae, that's right. You know when you were talking, and behind us here, Naue?

TH: Yes... ...This whole place, what we used to do like when we used to go fishing, and my dad used to go fishing, mama used to go inside the *hala* because it was right there.

KM: That's right.

TH: And all inside here we had all, we made our own roads inside.

KM: Little *ala hele* trail for go access things?

TH: With the *ka'a*.

KM: With the *ka'a* too?

TH: With the *ka'a*...



Walking along beach from the Ko'onohi-Naue section towards Kahaki and Kāmoa. Discusses the alteration of the boundary between Wainiha and Hā'ena; and types of fish caught and *limu* gathered in the area:

TH: Kepā, you see that point there [point to a peak in the uplands above Hā'ena]? The tallest point over there?

KM: Yes.

TH: That's the one.

KM: And you said had a trig station on it before, a flag?

TH: Had a flag on it. That was the mark on that *pu'u*.

KM: That's the division between Wainiha and Hā'ena?

TH: Yes... That was the boundary coming straight for Kahaki.

CW: And which *papa* is Kahaki from here?

TH: Right here. This is the '*āpapa* right here.

KM: Nice *papa*.

TH: Yes.

CW: And this small one here, does this have a name?

Before, every '*āpapa*, and fishing site along the shore had a name, but many have been lost:

TH: I don't know. I know there were names for it but I *poina*. I forget. I only know the main '*āpapa*. I know get name, I know that because I hear, you know. But I never can recollect that.

CW: The point out here on this side?

TH: Ko'onohi. And out on the other side that's what we call Wainiha Kū'au.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: That's from over there all the way up to the point. Up to the hotel, the condos. You know all this, on both sides of this '*āpapa*.

Group: [Walking towards Kahaki and Kāmoa.]

KM: 'Ae.

TH: *Ku'una*.

KM: *Ku'una*.

TH: This is one *ku'una* for *kala* and *nenuē*.

KM: *Kala* and *nenuē*.

TH: Yes. Same like the other side, that's *ku'una* all on this side of these '*āpapas*.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: That's all *ku'una*. We call it Kahaki because it's right in this area.

KM: Kahaki is the middle.

TH: That's the main '*āpapa*.

KM: Yes, the main '*āpapa*? This *limu*, this small green *limu* down here do you use that at all?



TH: I know the old people used to use it, but it's got to be young. Like when the thing is just starting to grow. They call it *limu 'ele'ele*, when it's just starting to grow. When it's green in color and then they cut it or grab it, or whatever.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: I know it's kind of tough to go break it off from the 'āpapa. They like to mix, to eat with their raw fish. I've seen that, but only the old people. Now, they don't do that. Strictly they use *limu kohu*, most of the time. They, the young people don't know about this, the *limu 'ele'ele*. And the other green one is the *limu pahapaha*, the flat one, but they don't eat that.

KM: And *limu pahapaha* is good?

TH: *Limu pahapaha*, it's good depending on what you're making. Most time they *wili* with the raw fish. But there's one different taste, more of a sharp taste this *limu*. You break it you bite it, it's kind of hairy.

KM: So Kahaki?

TH: This is Kahaki. [speaking about types of fish] ...Sometimes maybe you know, because they get two kind *āholehole*. They get the night one the striped head, they call that *laeki'i*.

KM: *Laeki'i*?

TH: *Laeki'i*, the striped head and the body is narrow. Then they get the regular, the black one, regular *āhole*. I think over here they get three kinds. They get the half ocean and half river *āhole* too.

KM: Yes, there's plenty of fresh water.

TH: That one there is... [begin transcript from KPA recording] ...fresh water and brackish, more brackish. And that one to eat raw, people eat it because it's soft.

KM: Yes.

TH: Just like the river mullet, it's the same thing.

KM: 'Ae. The *laeki'i* out here is *āhole*?

TH: *Āhole*. *Laeki'i*, and most times the regular *āhole*.

KM: 'Ae. [photo of Kahaki vicinity]

Group: [Continues walking towards Kāmoa.]

TH: This kind of area, when we were young, that's where we used to catch the *āholehole*. That time it was slightly different, because of the fact that we had to wait for the 'ulua to go and whack 'em, and to go bite at them.

KM: The 'ulua would come and chase them and drive them in?

TH: Chase them in. When the 'ulua goes into the pile, the pile goes crazy, and that's when we throw the net, if it's close enough.

KM: That's right. Yes.

TH: And all this in between, has piles of *āhole*, but not today.

KM: And then near the Lae Kahaki or the *papa* like that, you said on the sides that's where the *kala* and the *nenu* are like that?

TH: *Kala* and *nenu* all this.

KM: Yes. Amazing!

TH: All this you know.



KM: You know uncle, these *pūko'a* here, these coral heads like that [pointing out coral foundations along shore line]. Did you hear *tūtū* them talk *mo'olelo* or anything about any of that?

TH: You know, that was from the tidal wave in '46.

KM: Ah, so it broke up and carried up here?

TH: Carried up. All on top of the *'āina* had. But you see, the people, what they did is they went and gathered them and took the jack hammer and busted it all up to make cesspools. Because of the *pukapuka*.

KM: Yes.

TH: They used to use that for make cesspools instead of buying tile. They used it all up.

KM: Yes. So this from the *'āpapa*, broke in the tidal wave then?

TH: Right. The coral heads broke, and that's how this all came up.

Group: [Continues walking towards Kē'e.]

TH: ...to Kāmoa.

KM: This small little *papa* here?

TH: This small *'āpapa* here is Kāmoa. *Ku'una* on both sides. What the names are, I don't know.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: This is where the land boundary is.

KM: Now?

TH: Hā'ena. Yes, now.

KM: That's right.

TH: That's where Aunty Vi's *'āina* is, in over here...

Group: [Walking towards Ko'okea.]

TH: [looking for fish] ...Still looking for it.

KM: And it's hard when you have us all tagging on to you.

TH: I know. [chuckles] And like now *mimiki* the water, you go over there, ahh!

KM: It is. But before when you would walk here when you were young, was there fish? You could just see the fish all over?

TH: Oh yes! You could see them in the waves.

KM: Yes, all over.

TH: The *kala* inside hanging right on the edge. In fact, we used to throw them from the beach, the *kala*.

KM: No question, yeah?

TH: No question.

KM: You'd walk down here and you'd see them already?

TH: I would see them already.

KM: Today is real different?

TH: Different.



KM: Nowadays?

TH: You see, when the zodiac was running around here, you know. From that time on it became less and less.

KM: Yes.

TH: Whether the oil was affecting the fish or what, we don't know. But that's when the fish started *nalowale*, gone. I don't know if they were scared of the oil or what, or *make*.

KM: 'Ae. You know some of it may be too if over the years, if you're losing chemical into the water, the *limu*, their food source is *pau* too, right?

TH: Oh yes!

KM: So your *papa* is different.

TH: You kill the *limu*...like at one time you know, the *wana*, no more *wana*. Because the oil all *pilipili* on top of that and he *make*.

KM: *Make*.

TH: Yes. Now I see them again, because we no more the boats. They stopped that.

KM: That was a good thing then?

TH: That was a good thing.

KM: Yes.

TH: And the Hawaiians always went fight for that. For kind of kill that thing, because it's killing our fishing grounds.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: And then not only that, like if you're fishing and the boat passes over there, and then you're going start yelling already. Because by the time you yell, the fish is gone. And then you know what happens, then you like throw blows after that.

KM: Right, right.

TH: [chuckling] That's right, because that was our game.

KM: Yes, your livelihood and how you took care.

TH: Our livelihood and food.

KM: Yes, for family.

TH: Yes. This is Ko'okea this whole 'āpapa.

KM: Ko'okea.

TH: This is Kupopou, the *ku'una*.

KM: Yes I remember you mentioning it. Kupopou.

TH: Kupopou is the *ku'una*.

KM: What kinds of fish at Kupopou?

TH: Kupopou, well, I would say any kind. But it's mostly for *nenue* and *kala*, inside here.

KM: Okay. Beautiful!

TH: You know at the time before you know, you see the *kala* right here. The *nenue* like that.

KM: Right inside here, in this little *one* section?



TH: Right inside here. We used to go around and then shoot from over there, you see how that stone is?

KM: Yes.

TH: Just swim across and *pau* already, fifty *kala* whatever.

KM: Wow!

TH: Because the *kala* goes on top of there too.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: We go way around and shoot over, short, here and that's it. One shot, *pau* already.

KM: How about *he'e* on this *papa*?

TH: Get *he'e*. Like now it's rough and then *mālia*. When it comes *mālia*, aunty [Annie] is the one that catches the *he'e* over here. Yes, get *he'e*. Like before you know, the fish was plenty. Not now, not today.

KM: Were there areas along this shore that you knew were little nurseries, or spawning places that you wouldn't go bother?

TH: Well over here when you talk about 'oama. When you talking about *moi li'i*, you talking about *piaea*, the small *manini*. Over here.

KM: You would see them around?

Group: [Walking towards Kanahā]

TH: Yes. When I was growing up, young, had plenty. You go with the 'oama net, one time you surround, one *pā kini*. I wouldn't say... 'Oama, *pā kini*. By the *pā kini* they catch and *kaula'i*, dry. That's the only way that you can preserve them. And then you know, you can eat them in different ways, like boiling, raw, fried, you know.

KM: Yes.

TH: That's the only way. I never did see them go *pūlehu*, mostly it's dry.

KM: For real!

TH: Dry, fry and raw, that's it.

KM: So all these little areas, they're protected places too, I guess. The fish would go up all, the *pua*, along the *papa* like that?

TH: Right.

KM: 'Ōhua, you know the baby *manini*, 'ōhua? You folks would...they would come in bags, sometimes, it comes out of the ocean. Did you ever hear of that, 'ōhua?

TH: No.

KM: Okay.

TH: We see it already when it's glassy.

KM: Yes, yes.

TH: That's the young *manini*.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: And over here doing the summer, that's when it comes. I guess that's when the *manini* are born.



KM: Summer time like that?

TH: Yes. And of course it might be the eggs is all in the sand.

KM: Yes.

TH: Yes, this is Kupopou... [thinking]

KM: Ko'okea?

TH: Ko'okea. And then we're going come to Kanahā, the channel over there. So you guys get the idea?

KM: Yes.

TH: Like the ku'unas and the 'āpapa. Because the 'āpapa is one wide area. Ko'okea is this whole 'āpapa you know.

KM: 'Ae. Big area then?

TH: Yes. Like at this place I catch *nenuē*, *kala*, *manini* and *moi*. Over here, most times I come over here, I go catch the *moi* outside Kū'au and down by Pu'u Kahua.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: And then accidentally, Paweaka, if I'm walking outside there and go look *nenuē*, I see the *moi*, I'm going to catch them and that's how. Other than that, these are my favorite spots. And I can guarantee that if I walk outside here, if it's *mālia*, I'm going to see them.

KM: You going to get?

TH: I'm going to get.

KM: *Ma mua?*

TH: That's how.

KM: Now, no more chance.

Pūpū were gathered by family members for making *lei*:

TH: Like now in this kind of water, no can. Like now maybe *āhole*, maybe. This is all outside, outside the breakers. When we were young too, my mom used to come up here, this is the most famous place for pick up Ni'ihau shells.

KM: *Pūpū.*

TH: Yes the *pūpū*. Plenty *pūpū* over here, but there's always a timing for it.

KM: Yes, yes. Certain time of the year or...?

TH: The shell moves according to the ocean, the currents. When aunty comes she looks at that and she sees plenty, she starts picking already. Aunty Vi she has tons of them.

KM: Ahh!

TH: [Looks in sand and picks up a *pūpū momi*.]

KM: 'Ae, *momi* it's beautiful.

TH: But you know, to go and collect, it takes a while.

KM: Big time.

TH: Sometimes it's all in a line like this.

KM: Along where the *lihi kai*. Where the water wash line?

TH: That's right. Like when the water is cutting off, it piles it on just like this. As the tide recedes you know, it's going to be lines of them.



KM: 'Ae. Even when you were young, you folks would gather?

TH: Oh yes, we'd get them and go make money. This thing, we used to make all kinds of ways. This was, I would say not the kind of price for what you'd buy them today. We used to sell them for fifteen, twenty dollars to the Army people. In 1942 to 1944.

KM: Yes.

TH: We used to sell it to them and they used to take them as souvenirs for their moms and whatever. They were the people who used to market that. The *pūpū lei* and the dinner napkins.

KM: So for weave *lauhala* and all that?

TH: Yes. They used mail them home for their parents. That's something that they don't see. My mom used to do that, that's how she used to make her actual money, because there was no employment. Only daddy used to work for the County and then after that he left the County and went work to go take care of the yard. Like where the Rices are, right around in the back here.

KM: Yes.

TH: We used to take care of all their property. And down across the Hale. Across there, that used to be owned by Dora Jane Cole. We used to take care of all that place, and all the walls inside there, my dad made that. That's what gave me the idea, how to go make the kind stone wall like how you see we're doing.

KM: I see. You learned by following dad and doing?

TH: By look and do. Look and do, you get the idea already. And that's how I do my thing. Even net, I got to look, and you got to actually do the practical part.

KM: That's right.

TH: That's how I make all my nets. Not anybody, a young person today going make. The only one I know is Moku folks, because they fish. They don't make in quantity though. Like me, I would say when I'm in the mood, I sew five, six seven, whatever, as long I get material. That's on my mind, like I wake up four o'clock in the morning, I go sew the net. And that's why I can finish plenty.

KM: That's right.

TH: And then after that you know, people, I would say like sweet talk me and then pretty soon I feel sorry for them and I give them the net.

KM: Give the net.

TH: It's not all money.

KM: That's what you said.

TH: If you're talking about labor, it's big bucks, because of the time element you're using to make that, hours. Like me I make them in a short time because I know how to do it. Like other people if I tell them I make one net in one day, shucks, they no believe me.

KM: No.

TH: They don't believe me. I put them together in one day.

KM: You get the technique that's why.

TH: That's right and I get everything all prepared already. Just like the food, when you going to put everything together; you throw the cabbage and whatever. It's all the timing.

KM: Right.



TH: The last thing you do is sew the skirt on for Hawaiian pocket. But most time we don't use Hawaiian pocket now, I make the skirt.

KM: Yes. Uncle, you mentioned before that during World War II in the '42, '44 period like that, the Army was here. Mama them would sell *pūpū* and the *moena li'i* for the *papa 'āina* like that.

TH: Yes.

During World War II, the beach was fenced off, families had to get permission to go fishing:

KM: Was this area barb wired off during the war?

TH: Yes.

KM: When they barbed wired off, were you folks allowed to go fishing?

TH: Well, we had to go get a permit. You had to wear the permit, and the thing was, there was Army people all over the place. I can point out where the machine gun nests, and all that was along the beach. All on the points they had that you know, machine guns and it was manned constantly.

KM: Was it local families that sort of had responsibility to help man them or was it all military?

TH: You see what happened was, what they did was they activated the National Guard. Just like now, there was National Guard, but not as big as now.

KM: Right, right... ..Yes. You know, when the military was out here you said they barb wired, they had machine gun nests along the shore?

TH: Yes, they had.

KM: You folks had to get permission to go fish?

TH: To go fish, you had to go get permit.

When he was young, there were plenty of fish, not like today:

KM: From that time when you were young, did you notice after the war was *pau*, when the ocean opened up free again, had there been a difference from the fish when you were young to now? Had they let it *ho'omaha* or you know what?

TH: Well see, when we were young, there was a time of plenty.

KM: Yes.

TH: Not today, today no. So I wouldn't say.

KM: So you didn't really notice a change in the fish from... You know sometimes the families were blocked off from the ocean and couldn't go, so all the fish rested and grew up the population, and then when you come back was there more fish? Or you think it didn't...?

TH: You see there was lot of fish at that time.

KM: Yes. So you didn't notice?

TH: You can catch them at any given time, it doesn't matter.

KM: Yes.

TH: And then the other thing too, there were just a few people fishing. Few!

KM: You really didn't see a change in the quantity of fish?

TH: No. But now yes. It's drastic. Drastically, no more. You have to go hunt more hard to catch fish. It's not like before.



KM: Amazing! That's why we were wondering, because before your *kūpuna* time, they would have *kapu* time where you couldn't go fish, or the *konohiki* would direct?

TH: Yes.

Kapu were observed, mullet, *moi* and *pālā moi* were caught:

KM: Are there times to make the fish so that you know, people don't?

TH: Well, over here the only one was *kapu* was the mullet. The '*ama'ama* that's the only one. Other than that no more. And like now they *kapu* almost any kind fish like the *moi*. The *moi* got to be eleven inches before you can take it. But before, we catch the *pālā moi*, that's the best, I like.

KM: *Pālā moi*?

TH: The *pālā moi*, that's the best I like to eat. Not the big one, I don't care for the big one, I give them all away.

KM: Yes.

TH: People like to eat them differently. Like they make chowder and stuff like that. You know, but I don't. I don't '*ono* that, I like the small one. Even the *moi li'i* that's what I like. The kind you just throw in the mouth.

KM: Yes, everything.

TH: '*Ono*!

KM: Wonderful!

TH: That's just like '*oama*. '*Oama*, you eat, I'd rather eat the '*oama* than the *weke*.

KM: '*Ae*.

TH: You know, it's '*ono*. You fry crispy and that's it. That and the *poi*, *pau* already.

KM: *Lawa ku pono*.

TH: Yes. We go...

Group: [Continues walking towards Kanahā.]

KM: [asks if he or family members have any old photos of the area]

TH: ...But before you know, us, I'll come to that *ku'una*, Kapaiki, I'll tell you the story over there.

KM: Okay.

TH: It's just sad that at the time we didn't have cameras where we could take pictures of all the old houses.

KM: The old family too, yeah.

TH: Over here before, when we used to come over here. Used to get one big bank over here, you know. Had the bank and then the houses, only a few.

KM: So it was *pu'u one*, a big dune?

TH: Yes. And the house used to sit high, that's how we'd go over there for *kilo*. *Kilo* the *kala* on top, see this flat over here.

KM: Who was living in front of here before?

TH: Rice.

KM: Rice. Which Rice?



TH: That one was Sheriff Rice.

KM: Sheriff Rice okay.

TH: Yes. But they weren't living over here most of the time.

KM: That was a vacation house?

TH: That was a vacation house right, a summer house.

KM: The dune was so high that you folks would go up *kilo* from there for the fish.

TH: *Kilo* from there the *mullet*, the *kala*, the *manini*. We see the *manini*, we just run down from over there and go over there and broke his ass. Throw the net on top.

KM: And catch them?

TH: Catch them.

KM: This is the end of Ko'okea here?

TH: Yes, this is Kanahā, *ku'una*.

KM: Kanahā comes up here?

TH: The *ku'una* Kanahā. Used to get *kala* all over the place on this 'āpapa. On the 'āpapa over here and on the sand. We look at that, *pau*, we come, go outside there 'au at one time that's all, fifty, sixty *kala*.

KM: Gee.

TH: And give the people.

KM: You don't see that anymore?

TH: No more. I don't know, I never see *kala* for ages.

KM: Yes.

TH: Yes, long time I never see *kala*. In fact I no fish that much because I'm busy at work. I get my own work, plus I work. I get side work, I do Chipper folks' yard and all that. Plenty *hana*, so I don't miss the fishing. I go catch them when I like eat that's all.

KM: When you like eat.

TH: Yes. Like before you come over here, you look all the *kala*, all green on top the 'āpapa, on the sand.

KM: Amazing!

TH: Yes. Like now might get some I don't know. I never looked for *kala* long time.

KM: Before, you would just see them?

TH: Yes. It would come on top here.

KM: You no need look to hard?

TH: No need look too hard. Today, like before we come over here we look if worth it, we would catch them, we go get them. But if not even worth it, we don't even bother. Because there are other places we can go to, and that's how we did it.

KM: Yes and that's really good because you knew you no need fish out one place.

TH: No.

KM: You could rotate in the region, rotate around.



TH: Right. But I no care how you take the fish, plenty come. And then we used to throw them with the net yet, just like the *nenuē*.

KM: Amazing!

TH: Before, but not today. You no can even see the tail.

KM: That's why people think *kala* you 'ō, you go spear not throw net.

TH: No. Like before there was no time where we go with the throw net go catch the *kala*, was all *ku'u*. But like today, I don't know, because I no go hit the *ku'una*, only Calvin. Only Saffery go do that. And that's the only time I go eat the *kala*, when I go with him. We go together you know and go shut the channel. Me, I'd rather go with the boat. You know, it's easy.

KM: Easy. [chuckles] For *ku'u* the net?

TH: Yes because I get boat. I get net down here by Aunty Vi's place. The only thing is the place to get to the beach. Today all *pa'a*, all haoles.

KM: So your accesses have been cut off?

TH: Right. But we get this access right here by the gray house. We come right though there because, that's why I kept that place, take care of it and then I passed it over to my daughter Nālani to take care of it. So we can get access to the beach.

KM: Yes.

TH: And I know the people and that used to be half and half with Chipper's cousin who used to own part of it, and then they sold their share to these other people. We are in good relation though.

KM: That's good.

TH: We always look out for the place. If they need little help I always go help them. It's nothing, it's just to pass that place. Like summertime we like *holoholo* you come over there and you get place to go park and rinse off.

KM: It's important that the people that come in understand something in the ways of the families and how you would regularly go. It's nice to be friends with your neighbors right?

TH: Yes. I'm not hard to get along with and I know the people. You feel comfortable. And I'm not one temperamental person when they get me wild, something. Yes. but other than that [shakes head, no]. We get *pilikia* like that, over the months and years, like what we went through this past week... [discusses a situation at work] ...I'm older and more understanding...I always think good.

KM: That was the good thing about the old system when your dad and grandparents them were still alive, everyone knew that you listened to your elder, your *mākua* or *kūpuna* and things were *pono*....

TH: [discusses differences in attitude and approach today, from when he was young] The first thing you learn is respect your elders...

Group: [Walking towards Mākua]

TH: ...The sand used to be high.

KM: So the dunes were all high?

TH: The land, in fact over here where we're standing, was all land before and then the *hale* used to be outside here.

KM: So what's this cement here?



TH: This is Mākua. Like the Wayne Ellis' house, the first house, it used to be outside of the fence, over here. But over the years after the tidal wave in '46, the high seas that's what went eat the *'āina*.

KM: Maybe, you see these big pieces of *papa* out here, some of the *papa* has broken and changed too, so the ocean maybe comes in?

TH: To me no, the *'āpapa* is still the same because we used to see all the mullet from this *'āpapa* when *hemo*, *hua'i*. Like now, stay *hemo*. You going see all the...that's where the mullet comes the *manini* the *kala*. In fact like this if the *'āpapa* no *hemo*, guaranteed get *manini*. Used to be good pile you know. I used to go over there and blow it, and that's it, one five gallon bucket, one shot. That's how it was that time. But now no. I see a little bit, I no like throw because not even worth the throw. If I see one green pile, I going throw on top them, but if only little bit I no like throw, for what, only waste your time. Yes, this is Mākua.

KM: Mākua.

TH: Now, I'm going to show you guys the places, just pointing out then you can look at it. [pointing to various from Mākua, to outer edges of *'āpapa*] Chipper, this is Lemopī. Lemopī is up there.

KM: Out as far as the wave?

TH: That high *'āpapa*.

KM: High section.

TH: It goes in kind of half moon up until there, that's Lemopī.

KM: Okay.

TH: The fish that we catch out there is *moi* and *nenuē*, *manini*, that's the kind of fish you go out there and catch. Beyond that right in that area get lot of pukas over there we call that Kaluapūhi.

KM: Hmm.

TH: The-eel-hole because over there get plenty shelves and lobster, and whatever's. Get a hole over there, you got to go...when we go out there, we go on the inside. As you go the thing going lead you inside the *puka*.

KM: The ledges and what inside?

TH: Right, and get plenty coral and you get cut up. So we always hang on the lower side. If we get knocked down we get knocked down on the inside. When it's little bit *mimiki*. You not going be dumb and go outside here when it's like this.

KM: Like this *pau*.

TH: I wouldn't go out, for what I can get the fish right along the coastline. But if it's *mālia*, we make the attempt to go out there, and depending on the water, the tide. All these places like over there the deep hole out here there's all names for that and even up on this end. These are my popular spots. Lemopī, Kaluapūhi, we catch *moi* over there, that's what I used to go look for.

KM: Okay.

TH: Kaluapūhi and over there is... [thinking] Nahiala'a.

KM: Nahiala'a.

TH: Yes, that's where the ditch is there is a ditch in that area, Nahiala'a.

KM: Okay.



TH: All the rest, like the place where the people surf, that's Kaluaweoweo.

KM: Kaluaweoweo. Is that for the 'āweoweo fish?

TH: Plenty 'āweoweo, because I know the old man Gomez, uncle, he used to go out there and hook night time. And then in between there, there's names from Kaluaweoweo, that whole flat over there. And then you come to the big one. Kala-li'ili'i, Small-*kala*. That's the one on top that 'āpapa over there.

KM: Okay, so the ground right in front?

TH: Yes the ground, the whole flat over there that goes to the point. That's Kala-li'ili'i. And that place we go out there we go catch the *manini*. Like the *manini*, you can fish in or out. I go out there, like now choppy is the best. Dead shot the *manini* and the tide going down, dead shot. If I see them, it's *pau* already.

KM: How is the *manini* out here? *Palupalu* or tough or...?

TH: No, it's good. From what I learned in the past, where there is fresh water the *i'a* is soft, and where there is no rivers like Ni'ihau the fish are tough. When you fry, as soon as you throw it in the frying pan... [gestures curling up in the pan]

KM: Curl up *nō ho'i*.

TH: You got to turn them the other way already, so it would stay a little flat but still going get that curl.

KM: Yes.

TH: That's how it is. And that's what I was told. The kind places where get river and stuff like that and get fresh water, the fish is *palupalu*.

KM: *Palupalu*. 'Ae.

TH: The ones over here that I know, it's good. Then you know as far as getting sick to eat the *manini* over here, I never did hear about anybody getting sick.

KM: Oh yeah.

TH: I know Moku folks they eat with the guts, they eat the guts and all. Even the *kala*, they eat the guts. Not me [chuckling]. When we go *pūlehu* the *kala*, we clean the guts and maybe clean the guts for the fat and put it back in the stomach, and then *pūlehu*. Like them, the whole thing is like that. I look at Murphy at how he eat the guts, oh I tell him that's how he gets gout.

KM: Could be because it's rich.

TH: He go eat, he just grabs the dam guts and tears it open. [shaking his head]

KM: It's good to see these places that you said, Lemopī, Kaluapūhi, Kaluaweoweo. Then Kalali'ili'i?

TH: Kalali'ili'i down there.

KM: 'Ae. And this general bay here is Mākua?

TH: Mākua. That's where Hanohano used to catch the *akule*.

KM: Oh yeah?

TH: Right inside here, right inside here.

KM: He would *kahea* you think, *Kū'ula*?



TH: With that *pōhaku*. Yes, when we were young, not even teens yet, that's when that thing used to take place, we were young. My dad used to take care of this place, used to belong to the Rice family. This place right up here. This whole place was Rice, but they sold it over the years. We used to stay over there, used to get one beach house over there. And how we worked over there, we worked for Mrs. Isenberg.

KM: Yes.

TH: And they were the old family because they came here as missionaries.

KM: That's right. She was Rice who married Isenberg.

TH: Right, yes. That's how you know, and Mrs. Isenberg was almost like Chipper's grandma. You know a real nice woman. You see, when we were growing up, they were the kind all white already, their hair was all white.

KM: Old already?

TH: Old already. And then we used to go up to their house, you know up in Līhu'e, above the mill. That's where she used to live.

KM: That's right, up above...

TH: Up above the Lutheran church. We used to go there.

KM: Yes, yes.

TH: At Christmas he would call us to go over there and bring home one big box of toys, clothes, whatever's.

KM: How nice!

TH: She was nice. And then that's how, you know, my dad used to get his cars.

KM: Oh yeah, from them?

TH: Yes. Because she had one big share in Ford Motors.

KM: That's right, you see Isenberg was a partner with Hackfeld them also.

TH: Yes.

KM: They had all this business going on.

TH: Right. And that's how we used to get them and pay so much, and then after that, just forget it.

KM: *Aloha?*

TH: *Aloha*. That's how my dad used to get his cars. I would say when we were young, we had about five or six cars over the years.

KM: Wow! Maybe that's why some people *lili* [chuckles]. They get car, how come they no walk feet.

TH: Not everybody had cars.

KM: I know.

TH: But we had them.

KM: This cement is from what?

TH: They laid this, that's from the movie South Pacific. They laid it over here so it doesn't eat the bank.

KM: Oh, you're kidding!



TH: That's what it was. Where they laid it the water is strong it dragged it away from there. Yes.

Group: [Walking towards Kapaiki]

KM: [pointing out a shell fish on the 'āpapa] ...These little things, did you know what this is?

TH: *Kauna'oa.*

KM: That's *kauna'oa*. Did you folks eat *kauna'oa*?

TH: We got cut before from *kauna'oa*. You see that thing it curls up.

KM: Yes, that's the one get the white runners goes out, right?

TH: I don't know but certain times that thing grows and the sharp edge is just like one circle.

KM: Yes, that's right.

TH: If you get cut, it's round like that.

KM: Yes. Did anyone out here eat *kauna'oa* that you remember?

TH: No.

KM: Okay. Because you hear some people they go, they get *kauna'oa*, or they call it 'ōkole also?

TH: That's different that, the 'ōkole. The 'ōkole they go get from the black rock. When they go get 'ōpihi. You know, you got to go under there, but you got to watch out when you go *hāhā* for that because the eel is going to get you.

KM: Yes. *Hāhā pūhi.*

TH: Yes that's how. You cannot go *hāhā* any kind. You got to watch out for your finger.

KM: Really, you have to *maka'ala*.

TH: You have to *maka'ala*. All these 'āpapa same like when we were young.

KM: Yes, so it still looks the same?

TH: The 'āpapa is same.

KM: Except for the fish?

TH: Only like now it's more *hua'i*, because the ocean is way inside.

KM: Yes.

TH: Like before, from the 'āpapa out that's it. Like now the *kai*, the *nalu kai* that's all. That's how it came like this. And this used to be where the Rices used to have their beach house, right here. And then Mrs. Isenberg's house used to be over there.

KM: By the coconut tree?

TH: Yes. Used to get bungalows and the main house for summer.

KM: This is still Mākua?

TH: Yes. This is Mākua yet.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: We used to take care of this place. What we used to do, we used to go watch the *kala* from over there, watching the *ku'una*, Kapaiki.

KM: From high above you could see the *kala*?

TH: Yes right above here, right above that. This is Auntie Vi's *he'e* ground.



KM: Oh!

TH: Aunty Vi's *he'e* ground.

KM: How does she go, 'ō *he'e* out here or she just?

TH: She just walks around on the 'āpapa.

KM: She goes with spear or she just?

TH: Spear.

KM: Right in the *lua he'e*?

TH: Yes. She, this is her place this. Like me over the years I seldom fish over here. The only time I come over here is when it's raining, when no more tourists. Because like now, get plenty tourist, this kind nice day. They go inside the water *pau* already.

KM: Yes, they scare the fish away.

TH: Scare the fish. And not only that, the *hauna* too.

KM: 'Ae.

Group: [all laughing]

TH: Maybe that's why no more the *i'a* because of the *hauna*.

KM: Maybe so.

Group: [chuckling]

TH: You know like before, when you come on top this kind area, when you look on the side, when the wave lifts up on the edge.

KM: Yes.

TH: You look only *kala, manini*. You know, but not today. You don't see anything out there.

KM: Yes.

TH: It's not like before. Before you see all the green color over there, and color over here. Today, well maybe the people come you know, and go *ho'ōkae* maybe.

KM: 'Ae, could be.

TH: That's why no more the fish. But that's why I come over here when it's rain time. I come over here. But lately I haven't done that, it's not even worth it.

KM: You folks no more *uhu* grounds out here?

TH: Inside the deep, yes get. Today mean, *miki* the water.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: Real *mimiki*. Like over there look. [pointing out area where ocean has washed out beach] We got to go up on the *haole* place I think.

KM: 'Ae. You're right.

TH: Chipper, you not going *au* inside the water over there?

CW: Got to go up.

TH: Yes, we go up. I don't know if anybody is out there. This is Kapaiki, right here.

KM: Okay. Right on the side. Isenberg's house was basically right in front?

TH: Right here, should be right here.

KM: Yes. Kapaiki.



TH: Kapaiki is this. And then the next one over there is Muliwai. Muliwai is right there.

KM: Yes. The opening in the *papa* or just past?

TH: No, get one little channel over there.

KM: Okay, yes.

TH: That's Muliwai and this is Kapaiki. And then Papalooa is right on that whole flat over there.

KM: Yes.

TH: And then beyond that got a name, but I forget.

KM: *Nalowale*.

TH: *Nalowale*, I forget. But I know there's a name, because over there get two ku'unas.

KM: Papalooa?

TH: Get one right where the big stone stay and one on the other side. Opposite of the person that's over there.

KM: Yes. And *ku'una*?

TH: *Ku'una* for *manini*, *kala*, *nenue*.

KM: 'Ae. Kapaiki you go fish all that same kind?

TH: Kapaiki over here we used to watch the *kala* from the house. Because used to get the *lanai* on the side with the table. We used to stay right there and watch. We looked at that and go over there and *au*. Go outside there and *au* across.

KM: Right across?

TH: Yes right across through the 'ā*papa*. You see that round hole over there?

KM: Yes.

TH: Right through there because the *kala* way inside.

KM: Yes. They are inside right here so you just blocked them off.

TH: We just blocked them off. That's why the net normally is 400 to 500 eye, mesh across, that's the length of the net, plus with the *kāwili* we let it go so it comes extra long. The fish not going come right by you, he's going straight in the center. He's not going to come by you because you're going to *kāpeku*.

KM: Yes.

TH: And that's what happened. And that's something I was going tell you the story. Me and my brother Joe, Jose Mahuiki and Jeremiah Mahuiki, they were two brothers. When we go over here, we never see the *kala* in the ditch over there, we seen the one inside here. Me and Jeremiah, Moku's uncle, I made him hold the net, hold that side. Then I 'au, go on that *pūko'a* over there and *pa'i*. The two boys *pa'i* from here, go outside. You know how much *kala* we caught? Ninety-two *kala* that was a record!

KM: Gee! Ninety-two *kala*!

TH: Ninety-two *kala*, that was a record with the bang-bang net. Jerry couldn't hold the net, so the two boys had to come over there and help us. What they do is, they feed the lead and the floater just like one bag because the net was 14-feet deep and then we'd swim it in, slowly. We came over here on the beach and we couldn't even drag it on the sand.

KM: Amazing!



TH: Was so much! And the *kala* cut all each other up.

KM: For real!

TH: Yes.

KM: Their knife go cut everywhere.

TH: But we had plenty, plenty. I gave them half, I tell them to “go share with the Makas. Take half and we take half.” Plenty! Ninety-two *kala*. [chuckles]

KM: Good size?

TH: We *kaula'i*. Yes, all good size [gestures].

KM: Fourteen inches.

TH: And me, most times I give the big ones away. Like people they look the big ones they like the big ones. No, the *'ono* one is the...

THa: The small one.

KM: The small is *palupalu*.

TH: *Palupalu*. The big kind what we do we *kaula'i*. And then I asked my dad, what was the record you guys when catch with the bang-bang net? Not the *ku'u* net, the bang-bang net. He tell me one hundred and ten over here in Muliwai. Right next to where we caught plenty.

KM: Yes.

Group: [Walking towards Muliwai]

TH: That's why at the time you, could see we had a lot of fish, lot of fish. You go outside Kū'au at any given time, you go look under the wave you see the *kala*, the *nenue*, the *manini*. All kind of fish you see. You go outside there and get the kind *maiko* the black fish with the white on the side.

KM: Yes.

TH: You see all kind piles of them. And we used to avoid throwing the net on those. When we go throw for the *manini*, we tried to miss them.

KM: [chuckling]

TH: Because we didn't like to end up with the black fish, we only liked the *manini*. But that's the *'ono* fish.

KM: *Maiko 'ono?*

TH: The *maiko* is *'ono*. That was always fat, you fry that and it stays flat in the frying pan like that.

KM: You folks get *kole* out here?

TH: We get *kole*. You know we used to go spear before when we were young, when we were in our teens. We go and spear we would make wire spear with the fence wire. We would cut and we go make lance about four feet and go use the kind bamboo for the sling, and make the tube rubber to go shoot fish. And we used to catch.

KM: Wow!

TH: We used to catch with that bugger. But what we used to do, you see the front part what we used to is bend it like this, bend it back so we get a barb. And then file it and sharpen so it doesn't blunt when you hit the *kole*.

KM: Right.



TH: Sometimes we used to go look for the *akule* and sometimes you come across a *manini* pile, they stay under the *'āpapa*. You go look under the *'āpapa* and if it's green you fire under there you catch four or five in one shot.

KM: In one shot?

TH: One shot. And that's what used to happen before. Like over here get plenty shelf.

KM: They just line up?

TH: Look underneath the *manini* only hanging around there and you gun it inside the hole and you come out side with four or five. That's how people used to eat the fish, if they are lazy, they don't throw net, they go spear. Only enough to eat, and that's how they used to fish before. Not the kind you go for the kill no, in fact in my life we never did do that. We were always cautious. Thinking about that, you leave some back.

KM: Tomorrow can go right, or the next day?

TH: Right, so you get, you always get. And this place was always like that. To me you know like now, with less guys fishing, only Moku folks fish besides me, and you don't see fishermen on the *'āpapa* only us. But less fish, why? I don't know.

KM: Yes. Something's gone on yes?

TH: Something went on. The only solution I come to is always locked in my mind is the boats, the oil.

KM: Yes.

TH: I know we used to go down Nāpali to go get *'ōpihi* for parties. The last time that I went Nāpali to get *'ōpihi* was for his wedding, Chipper's wedding.

KM: Wow!

TH: This was in 1984. That was the last time and I never did go down there and look again for *'ōpihi*. But I know get, get. But you got to know your spot. Before I used to think, you know like Ho'olulu, the twin caves?

THa: Yes.

TH: I used to think, you go down there easy place to get, people can come from the top of the mountain and come down by over there at Ho'olulu. We go inside there and we pass with the boat and I look, plenty stay *pa'a* on the *'āpapa*. What we do is we spin around and go in the cave and anchor and get them. Then we end up throwing the *moi* inside the *puka* over there too. Down there not anybody will, only the *kama'āina* that's all.

KM: Yes. It takes a big commitment to go?

TH: Oh yes. Chipper, Muliwai is right here.

CW: Right here.

TH: Yes.

KM: May I ask a question. Why this sign would say, "No swimming here?" Who owns the beach?

TH: The state.

KM: The state put the sign up?

TH: The lifeguard. So that, I can see what their point is. Because they go inside there and they *lilo*, what?

KM: Yes, then sue *'ia*.



TH: Sue *ʻia* and not only that they make you got to go and work.

KM: Yes. [chuckling]

TH: You know what I mean, for go and save them. You know what is the big help for the guard, for the lifesaving people? It's the surfers. The surfers see somebody in distress they go and help them.

KM: That's right.

TH: That's what saves them. Any where on this island, the surfers here are helpful. They think good. Although some they put their hand out, for the *lūlū*. That's what it is, and some do, do that.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: I know one kid over here, he went and saved a *wahine* and the *wahine* gave him \$7,000.00.

KM: Wow, nice!

TH: Nice! Yes, you know the guy Sandy Mahuiki. They gave him \$7,000.00 for saving her. He was big time for a little while

KM: So Muliwai is in this section here?

TH: Muliwai, right here.

KM: Get the little *kahe* going out, right there?

TH: Yes. Before, we stayed over here, you look the *kala*, you know when the waves started coming in and going out like that. You look at all of them underneath. The *kala* is coming and trying to get in. Like today not going to get because maybe it's going to be way outside there. The only thing was to bring the fish in like the *nenue*, the people go and feed the fish. You know peas?

KM: Yes.

TH: They would feed the fish, that's how the fish came over here. Sometimes the fishermen, the kind that are away from here, like my nephew in-law. He comes over here and he looks at the *nenue* over there floating around. He starts whacking but the fish is busy inside eating all the peas.

KM: The peas and everything?

TH: The peas, yes. The people can actually feed them with their hands, they are that tame, the fish.

KM: This little *kōwā*, this little channel here?

TH: That one there was the one from the South Pacific movie, they dug that.

KM: They did dig that in, I was wondering because it looked it.

TH: They made plenty small kind, you know like it is down in Bali, they have small piers, and their canoes anchored on both sides.

KM: Yes. Like a little *hale kai*.

TH: Right. That's what it was, they had them over here, over there and over here.

KM: Okay.

TH: We liked that because we would go on top of there and go line night time.

KM: Yes. Easy yeah?

TH: Get the *ʻōʻio*. Outside here has the *koʻa*, the *ʻōʻio koʻa*.



KM: Yes. So right outside Muliwai?

TH: Yes. The *ko'a* is the small kind like this. [gestures]

KM: Twenty inch kind, eighteen?

TH: Maybe, I would say five or six pound kind.

KM: Yes.

TH: Not the bigger one.

KM: Yes.

TH: In there they get the big ones too.

KM: Just outside here?

TH: Right inside the channel over there, used to have one *ko'a* inside there for 'ō'io.

KM: Wow!

Group: [Walking towards Papaloa]

TH: Like I was telling you guys the story about when the time we took daddy for the last ride around Kū'au [Hā'ena]. Right inside there we seen the 'ō'io. While we were passing over sideways like this we were looking at the 'ō'io and the *akule* pile over there.

KM: Just waiting for him.

TH: Just waiting.

KM: Yes.

TH: After everything was done we whacked it. We whacked the 'ō'io and then the *akule*. It's not to sell.

KM: *Hā'awi aloha* and eat?

TH: *Hā'awi aloha* and eat. That's what it was. It wasn't the kill, we catch enough then *pau*. After all the time, being here, we throw net for *akule* during the summer time. That's how we would catch them. Very few times when we would go in there and net them, we don't need that much. If I go and catch today, tomorrow. If I catch, whoever is around there I would give them the whole thing. Because I get already *lawa*, plenty. That's how you do it, you don't go for the kill.

KM: Yes.

TH: You catch for somebody. Like us, I used to go catch for somebody and give them. Some people come from O'ahu they come over and they're going to pole, *mōkoi* and they come over. I ask, "Where you people come from?" "We come from O'ahu." They look at us and we get plenty fish, we stay *hemo* the fish inside the water so no *palahē*. They tell us, "You get plenty *akule*!" "You get cooler?" "We get small one, the picnic kind, the foam one."

KM: Yes.

TH: You know what, I give them one of my coolers. Little old, but you know it's good yet.

KM: Yes, *lawa*.

TH: I fill it up and I tell them, "You know what, go home already. You take this fish." I iced them down and everything. When I come from Hanalei I buy from the service station, from Princeville, the ice, two bags like that. I ice it down for them. I tell them, "You know what, get out of here, go home."

KM: [chuckles]



TH: Ohh! A lot of *mahalo*. Plenty people, they never seen like that. I go inside the water again and bang them again. And I am going for the fun that's our game.

KM: Wonderful! Your idea what you said, you don't just go for wipeout?

TH: No.

KM: You leave for tomorrow?

TH: There's always every day. I don't go every day, I only go when I get time because I *hana*. Like the kind *moloā* kind guys they only stay over there and look.

KM: Yes. *Nānā ka maka*.

TH: *Nānā maka*. But no can eat because no more, they have to get from somebody else.

KM: *Pololoi 'oe?*

TH: Yes. We go climb up over here and go in that property.

CW: Uncle, we can go from the beach, we can make it?

TH: I don't know sometimes the water, he comes stupid. It's up to you, you like we go up we go through that. We go...

Group: [recorder off walk in water past area of beach erosion]
 ...The mullet over here, Papaloa. We go walk inside if anything shake look out, we're coming. And we used to catch mullet, plenty mullet night time.

KM: How did you folks prepare your mullet usually?

TH: How we used to eat it when we were young, if we were going to eat it raw we cut it straight through like round. When you cut you cut it straight through.

KM: Straight across?

TH: Round kind and thin pieces, and put it in shoyu and chili pepper.

KM: *Lomi?*

TH: No, just like that. We soaked it in shoyu and chili pepper, you know the kind red kind and you eat it with hot rice, *'ono*. We used to fry 'em, and mom used to make a brown gravy. Put water and make flour just like flour soup?

KM: 'Ae.

TH: Put it inside there with green onions and it's *'ono*. You place that on your rice and that's it, that's one meal already. That's how we used to eat it. And then came to our time as I was growing up, I go catch the mullet and I give them all away. Because I don't like the smell. You know the sea mullet get one funny smell and stuck all on the net too. That's why I used to give them all away, it's just the way I was thinking.

KM: It's your own desire what you taste.

TH: I give the fish away because people they going steam it.

KM: They love that yes, of course.

TH: Now you steam it with salt cabbage and black beans. Who not going eat that? In the past like now, we only make the *moi* like that, we don't make mullet. I give them all away, the mullet. And people they *'ono* that.

KM: Hey, when hard for get fish, people appreciate all.

TH: Any kind of fish. Like now any kind of fish they eat raw. I look my cousins up on the Big Island in Kona, they eat the black fish raw.



KM: Yes, danger though.

TH: The *kūpīpī*, the one just like the *manini*, the gray one. They eat that raw. That's the fish that they get over there. When I look at that, the kind rubbish fish, me I grab it from my net and I fly them, I throw away that fish.

KM: Just like what they call that *umauma* and all the different black fish or *pāku'iku'i*. When they get they get, you know that's all.

TH: Yes. I went over there down at the beach to go look at their fishing grounds where they fish like in Ho'okena.

KM: South Kona?

TH: Yes. When I go down there, I looked. I can see all the fish underneath, more fish than over here. I looked at them all underneath. Over there get mostly solid 'āpapa.

KM: It is.

TH: Solid 'āpapa not sharp. I would say beaches, but it's irregular going like that.

KM: That's how it is.

TH: You go over there and you stand on the high point, you look at all the fish inside there. I see some people they go over there and throw and they catch little bit fish. I don't know if they know how to look fish. I look at that. So when my cousin came down, and I asked him when I was up there for our reunion in Ho'okena. I asked him, "You guys like net?" "Yes, uncle." When they came I wanted to give them two nets. "No, I take one is enough." "I give you two nets, one small eye for you to catch the *uouoa* and bigger eye for the *manini* and the *nenuē*." They took only the *nenuē* one they no like this. Over there get plenty *uouoa*.

KM: Yes, good size.

TH: I said, "Not going cost you nothing. The only thing going cost is to *hāpai* the net going home."

KM: Good, we go then.

Group: [Walking along Papaloa and towards Maniniholo]

Discusses shifting sands; comments on cycle of sands between Lumaha'i and Nāpali.

CW: Uncle, did you ever see this part of the beach eaten up like this before even like tidal wave time?

TH: No, this is worse. This is unusual, most times used to eat up but not way inside like this. You know why, because the last rough we had, constantly one after another. It didn't slow down. And downwind that's what happens, it blows them directly in here.

CW: Do you think the beach is going to come back?

TH: It's going to come back, but maybe it won't. But you don't know, sometimes it stays like this in the summer.

KM: It will probably never be like that again.

TH: Yes. It's going to stay like this.

KM: Yes.

CW: When it eats up like this where does the sand go?

TH: The sand goes Nāpali or Lumaha'i. That's why you see Lumaha'i has all the sand, this sand moves around. That's why when you go down there has the same kind of sand. Over, Lumaha'i and Nāpali, the sand. Like now you go inside there all filled up with sand, that's this.



KM: The current is taking it out past the *papa* and out?

TH: Right. Certain times when it's rough, you can see the sand sailing like. Almost the time, like the last time it was rough, when the sand goes back down Nāpali. This sand goes down there too. Same kind sand this is, the only sand that doesn't move around to much is the one where I go get sand that's pine sand. It only goes over there and back to Kē'ē, like that. Because that sand only belongs over there. But this one travels and this is bad. We go...

Group: [Walking along Papalooa]

TH: [looking at a small area of 'āpapa] ...This one, I don't know that name.

KM: They still go out and set?

TH: Yes. *Manini*, *kala*, *nenu* and of course 'āhole like, when it's *nalu* like this, it's 'āhole. Like this it's spooky when the water goes that way, *huki*.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: That's why you have to play the sets. Like me if I see the fish, I go outside, I blast them and get them fast out of there, and get out of there.

KM: Yes. And you can just see it you know, you can see it moving.

TH: Yes I can see them floating. Just like before the 'āhole over here was plenty, I go inside there and blast 'em with the throw net, the net floats.

THa: Lift up the net?

TH: Lift up the net. Had plenty, sometimes you throw when the wave come like this and the net goes upside down it's so heavy inside. Upside down the net, and you end up throwing this big pile and end up with only half bag.

KM: [chuckles]

TH: That's the way it is.

KM: No can help.

TH: No can help. But I don't care, "okay it's enough already go home..." ...Go look at the shells the *kahelelani*, on the point. That's where they get all the different colors, *kahelelani*. It takes days...

KM: Forever.

TH: Yes, forever.

KM: Especially for nice ones.

TH: And then you got to *wae* the different colors. Yes, it's forever. Else where they get, but over here get more.

KM: Yes.

CW: Uncle, what was the 'āpapa name in front of here?

TH: Papalooa.

KM: Papalooa.

TH: The big flat over there where we were crawling under the trees. Where you asked me about if that thing happened before, that's Papalooa. Over here, over there and by that point over there has names but I forget, *poina*.

KM: Yes.



CW: Amazing, that the big stone was out on the beach before.

TH: Yes. Look how much sand has been lost over here. Summer time the sand is way outside there, you know.

KM: Amazing!

TH: Yes. This whole place you look over there look at all the sand banks. That's how much the water eats it. Whether it's going to come back this summer, I don't know. This sand, that's the same sand that Lumaha'i has big sand, and Kalalau, and Hanakāpī'ai. All these sands. This sand moves around.

KM: It's amazing that the ocean will carry it this distance.

TH: Yes. Carries it back and forth every year it does that, and sometimes the sand doesn't move. Like in Kē'ē sometimes, is *pa'a*. All sand, only get one small channel along the 'āpapa goes out in the channel. Sometimes the whole summer is like that because no more...less rough for carry it out.

KM: Right.

TH: You guys ready?

KM: Yes.

Group: [walking towards Maniniholo Bay]

TH: This is a long stretch, then we are going to come to Hale Pōhaku.

KM: This is Maniniholo that we're coming into?

TH: Maniniholo, right in that area.

KM: This was another place where they surrounded *akule* like that?

TH: *Akule*, 'ō'io, *awa*.

KM: 'Ae, okay. Good.

TH: We were looking at the 'āpapa, Nāmoku.

KM: The islets.

TH: It's out here.

KM: In the center area.

TH: See where the waves are. That's why the waves are shallow.

KM: Yes it rises up.

TH: Over there the 'āpapa is high.

KM: Nāmoku. Okay, good.

TH: That's why you look at that dark spot underneath there on the map, that's the one.

KM: Okay.

TH: That was the name that my dad gave us, Nāmoku.

KM: 'Ae. And you said sometimes the *akule* would *kū* right on top of there?

TH: Right. Because they no can go get 'em. Because before they used to go get 'um with the gill net. Like I said a seventy-two feet deep net. They going *pa'a* them over there but not on the 'āpapa. The 'āpapa no, because later on it's *pau* they would have to throw away the net.



KM: Yes. Okay, good lets go and make our run.

TH: We go... [recorder off – back on]

TH: ...But now, you can throw and throw and throw for get one bucket of fish.

CW: [discussing a place name error on a draft project map]

TH: ...What I know is Maniniholo not Māmalahoa.

CW: She put the wrong name. Laurie didn't have time to check with us before she printed it.

TH: I was looking at that on the map. I just questioned...

CW: No. That's a mistake that.

TH: Okay.

Group: [Walking along Maniniholo Bay. Recorder off – back on]

TH: ...Some people, they like *ho'onānā* they go in places like this, like down at Hanakāpī'ai, lilo.

KM: Oh yeah?

TH: Yes. Stupid...you see the kind like that. When it comes back, strong. They go with the baby like that, they got to take themselves and the baby no can. *Pau...!*

KM: ...Right on the edge of the *papa*?

TH: Yes. What is the name I don't know, Maniniholo I guess.

KM: Maniniholo.

TH: This is the whole area.

KM: This main area?

TH: Yes.

KM: What was it like when the *akule* would come into here? How did they call the families? And everyone *huki* together or...?

TH: Most times they would call them up and let them know that we're going to *ku'u*.

KM: 'Ae. Where was the *kilo*? How did they know the fish came in? Above the *pali* on Maniniholo?

La'a Mahuiki would *kilo* the *akule* school from atop the cliff overlooking Maniniholo.

TH: Right on top here. That's where the old man La'a used to go. Moku's grandfather, La'a. That's where he used to go right on top there.

KM: How did he go up the *pali*?

TH: He went from over here. [pointing out location on cliff of Maniniholo cave]

KM: On the side go up?

TH: He went over here go up there on the side.

KM: Kē'ē side.

TH: Come around on the rim over there right down below that.

KM: Along the edge.

TH: Come around over there and then climb on top.



KM: By these *pu'u pōhaku* up there?

TH: No, right up here.

KM: Just lower down.

TH: The *pu'u* right on top here.

KM: Okay.

TH: He can look right down.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: You go over there you can look outside there too.

KM: You see everything?

TH: Everything.

KM: He would see the *akule* or what come in, and he would flag people?

TH: He see the *akule* and he's going to flag people. He watches the movement, sometimes the *kāhala* chases them, he runs way up there in the channel. Then he waves he tells the people, "Okay, you know what, go over there, put the boat and make ready." When the fish moves down here, when you see the flag comes down.

KM: Oh, you know right there?

TH: They stay right in front of here, and then they start going out. By the time the fish starts moving and going up, *puni* already. He's going right in the net, right around, and comes right back inside here.

KM: And it's a good, big catch?

TH: Yes.

KM: And how was it one day kind they surround and they *māhele* and everything, and then let some go or?

TH: They used to take the whole thing but they gave all the people the fish.

KM: Yes.

TH: And of course I guess maybe they sold some, I don't know. Because at the time we were young, so we just go *pā'ani*.

KM: It must have been something to see him. Didn't have all these trees up here like this then?

TH: Used to get one point on top there right where the *hala* stay, he used to stand right against the *hala*.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: With his white flag, you can see the white flag up there because the people are looking at that. Either from there or from up here it's depending on the time of the day.

KM: Yes.

TH: Most times its done early.

KM: Early?

TH: Early and you get the time to go harvest. You know what I mean?

KM: Yes.

TH: For go pull in the net and take care of the fish.



KM: You don't go night time, you no can see?

TH: It takes a lot of time. And at the time, there was no ice like now.

KM: That's right.

Salting and preservation of fish:

TH: Most times you give the people the fish, they go *kaha* already, they go cut them up and make dry.

KM: They went *kaha*, *kāpī* like that *kaka*, rinse and then *kaula'i*?

TH: They *kaha* and they leave them maybe two or three days, and then go *kaula'i* with the salt so that the fly won't go and bother with all the salt.

KM: With salt.

TH: When the thing *maemae* that's when they go *kūkulu*. They *kūkulu* that thing and then go dry again and they do that maybe two or three times until you taste the meat. And if it's not sour then you dry, *malo'o*. Most times they make *malo'o* because that's the only way you can preserve the fish.

KM: For a long time.

TH: Because you can't make it half dried, because you no more ice box. This was the early times.

KM: *Maemae* doesn't last long right, you got to *kaula'i pono*?

TH: Doesn't last long. You have to *kaula'i*, if not, going taste musty.

KM: Yes, that's right.

TH: The thing is going to come all mildew because it's half dry. You can make it *malo'o* and put in the bag. All the Hawaiians, like to what I've seen, they put it in the flour bag.

KM: Yes.

TH: You know the rice flour bag?

KM: Yes.

TH: They put it inside there and they hang it in the center of the table. You like eat *kaula'i* fish? And what I'm saying is they get all kind. They get *'āholehole*, they get *moi*, they get *ō'io*, any kind stay in that bag. When you go inside there you go *lu'u* inside that bag [chuckles], whatever you like eat that's what you're going to eat.

KM: Yes.

TH: *Akule*, plenty. Like *'oama*, what they used to do is *kaula'i*, but they used to get the kind, *kuikāhi*, string them all by the eye. Lines of them...

KM: Leis of them around?

TH: Leis. You've seen that?

KM: I hear *kūpuna*.

TH: Leis of them. They put them in the bag, and the table is ready and whatever you get to eat with the *poi* this is extra. So you go broke maybe five or six, you like eat. You only going bite right through the bone and all that's the way they do it. You get lines and lines of it.

KM: Amazing!

TH: When you pulling out, you pull out the *aho* with all this fish on top. That's how we used to do it, lines and lines. I was telling you about the small *manini* the *piaea*.



KM: *Piaea*.

TH: We used to dry them on the screen or a small mesh hardware, and dry them. Then you roll them...what we used to do when we were young, we used to take them around just like candy in our pocket. Put them in our pocket and run around for play and put them in our mouth and chew on that, and it's 'ono.

KM: You call that *piaea*?

TH: *Piaea*, no more color

KM: Small *manini*?

TH: Small *manini*. The glassy one.

KM: Yes.

TH: Mama folks used to eat them raw like that.

KM: The bone no come hard?

TH: They chew all the bones.

KM: Yes.

TH: That was nothing...

TH: [Points out Kaluaweoweo, as viewed from mid Maninihola]

Group: [Walking towards Hale Pōhaku]

KM: ...so from there, it goes into Kaluaweoweo?

TH: Yes. But the haoles they call that over there Tunnels.

KM: Tunnels, *pohō*.

TH: When people say that, I would always try to correct them. "In our language that's Kaluaweoweo."

Discusses misuse of Hawaiian place names; it is important to keep the old names.

KM: In your *mana'o* is protection or preservation of these place names important?

TH: The haoles, even if they know they no can pronounce the words that distinctly, so it's no good. I would rather they not say it...

KM: For real?

TH: For real.

KM: But it's important to keep the names alive right?

TH: For the Hawaiian people.

KM: The Hawaiian people, the *kama'āina*.

TH: Right, the *kama'āina* but not the *malihini*. The *malihini* they only have time to go on the raft like, that and then *pau* already, they forget unless they marry one Hawaiian *wahine*.

KM: Kaluwewe or something, they change everything?

TH: They change everything. Like they are telling, because you know the Makana Point.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: Makana Point, they tell them that's Bali Hai. When I was working in the bar they always tell me and I get pissed off. I tell the people, "Hey, I'm sorry but you know what is the name of that point."



KM: You would tell them?

TH: I would tell them.

KM: That's important though because you know maybe if they hear it, Makana, if they hear Kaluaweoweo often enough, maybe they would catch it.

TH: Yes. The thing is they were carried away when they saw that movie, Bali Hai was the point.

KM: Wrong place?

TH: Bali Hai is the wrong place.

KM: That's somewhere else.

TH: That's down in Bali. The difference from that one there, is that they had the lagoon inside there. I seen that movie, but that I guess they did it in the studio not out here. It's hard to find one place like that.

KM: Yes. I see these *po'e pōhaku* here.

TH: Yes. Hale Pōhaku.

KM: This is Hale Pōhaku?

TH: Hale Pōhaku.

KM: Do you know how that name came about?

TH: I don't know.

KM: No idea. I wonder if had a *hale* out here *mamua* or...?

TH: Maybe or maybe had more land than this, we don't know.

KM: 'Ae, yes. So we're really on the edge of Maninihola Bay, just come on to the 'āpapa.

TH: Just passing.

KM: Now look it's *mālie* for a few moments.

TH: No good, that's how the haoles look and they always get jammed up.

KM: They think, oh look it's easy, now we go.

TH: They go outside there and then it's *pau*.

KM: 'Ai 'ia.

TH: Once they get *lilo*, all *pau*.

Group: [Looking at petroglyphs at Hale Pōhaku]

TH: [mentions a ghost dog known to frequent the area] ...it goes back and forth here.

CW: Uncle, what about the dog over here?

TH: The dog runs from over there until here and then it disappears.

CW: The spooky dog?

TH: The spooky dog. Before we used to come back from the taro patch. This wasn't that long ago, when I was planting taro in the '50s... [comments on petroglyphs] This was from a long time, I don't know.

KM: Long ago, from before when you were a child?

TH: Long ago. Yes, but we never took notice of this until people started to talk about it.

KM: Interesting. This is Hale Pōhaku area?



TH: Hale Pōhaku yes.

KM: Is this a *Ku'una* or...?

TH: *Ku'una* but I forget. Then we are going to come to one more over there.

KM: Okay.

TH: And you know when we talked about the *'āhole* the one that Chipper missed over here.

KM: Yes. [chuckles]

TH: I looked at the *'āholehole*, I tell him, "You throw over there, I going throw over here because the *'āholehole* all over there." I don't know, he went throw somewhere else and he catch only little bit.

KM: Catch *pōhaku*?

CW: Now you know what he's going to call the name of this place... "Kalua hewa o Chipper" [chuckling].

Group: [laughing]

KM: Yes, you got it.

CW: In a hundred years they going say that's one ancient name.

KM: Old name...

Group: [walking towards Keaomele]

TH: ...This is Keaomele.

KM: Keaomele, it's a beautiful name. What do you think, you heard any stories about Keaomele?

TH: No... Like me, I don't like to talk to my father about that kind of stuff because he would give me one *kolohe* answer. That's how they get their fun you know... I kind of respect depending on the people around us.

KM: Interesting. You think what kind of name Keaomele or what is the story behind Hale Pōhaku.

TH: Hale Pōhaku.

Not many *mo'olelo* were spoken of during his youth. He did hear of *Tūtū* Pa'itulu caring for a shark in the Papaloa vicinity, and his riding it to Kalalau:

KM: Did you ever hear a *mo'olelo* about Maninihola?

TH: No.

KM: So they weren't talking those kind of *mo'olelo* to you folks?

TH: No. Maybe the people were gone already. That's the way I think, that the people were gone already. My dad folks they carried on because they live in the area.

KM: How about *manō* out here, did you hear stories about *manō*?

TH: You mean the shark?

KM: Shark.

TH: Yes. Before they used to say this, Pa'ikulu or Pa'itulu. He used to ride the shark to go down to Kalalau, and the shark is *kama'āina*, used to live inside one big cave.

KM: By?



TH: Papaloo.

KM: Papaloo.

TH: Outside Papaloo.

KM: There's a cave there?

TH: Get one cave there.

KM: Pa'ikulu *kahea* the shark and he goes on the shark out to Kalalau?

TH: Rides the shark to Kalalau. That was the story that we heard when we were growing up. This is when we were young.

KM: Yes.

TH: The old man Pa'itulu was gone already.

KM: He was gone by the time you *hānau*?

TH: No, he was still around but.

KM: You were too young?

TH: Us young, we didn't pay attention to that kind old people. But the thing is my parents would always remind us to respect.

KM: Respect.

TH: Respect. That's why all the old *kūpuna*, we called them grandma and grandpa, never by their name.

KM: You always *aloha* them.

TH: Aloha, that's the way. Because the reason for that is, as my dad used to say, like "over here there was a bunch of kahunas." So you have to watch out you have to be gentle.

KM: Yes.

TH: Because if you, what I'm saying is... Oh, you see this *manini* right here? Let me whack that. Remind me what I was talking about... [throwing the net]

KM: 'Ae... So Keaomele this little *kōwā* right inside there.

TH: Yes, right inside here. This place is for *nenue, kala, manini*. Over there is Hauwā.

KM: Hauwā.

TH: Hauwā.

KM: Out more on the...?

TH: Inside the *ku'una*. In fact that whole *nuku awa* over there that's Hauwā. In fact the whole thing over here the 'āpapa, Hauwā. I'm going to walk like this till over there okay?

KM: Okay...

Group: [Walking between Keaomele and Hauwā; with uncle fishing]

TH: ...I talk to people, they don't know that. But me I know plenty fish sites.

KM: Yes. A lot of seasons you've been out here.

TH: Yes. Even now if I'm going to look for them, I'm going to catch them because I know the grounds over here.

KM: You said that during rough time the 'āhole like that.

TH: 'Āhole, *manini, uouoa*, mullet.



KM: 'Ama'ama, all come inside?

TH: All come in.

KM: This *papa* is Keaomele?

TH: Keaomele. All over here get names, but I never asked my dad.

KM: Just certain key one's where you knew where to go.

TH: Right. My favorite fishing spots. My dad, when he was dying the day he died, he died in the afternoon. In the morning he was trying, he was thinking hard to tell his stories, but I think it was kind of a little too late. He asked me and his doctor, "Would you like to know the names of the islands?" He would tell him. But again, if you don't know the island, you don't know the location of where he is talking about.

KM: That's right.

TH: The doctor said it was because he didn't want to trouble his mind. My dad went snap off. And then they gave him something, orange juice or something, and he came right back again. He was dying and his mind was still sharp. Looking at me and telling me this and that, promising... That's why when my dad was dying [in 1973]... [discusses family matters and promise to build a house on the Hā'ena property]
...[the urn went into a deep puka out here (counter 15 3:45)] This is Hauwā.

KM: By Hauwā you dropped the urn?

TH: Outside of Hauwā. That *puka* is deep, Joe boy went go aqua lung, he said, "Hey, that is deep." He and Kenny would aqua lung inside here to poke 'ū'ū like that. That's where Pōhaku Kāne, Pōhakuloa and the sister stay inside here. What is the name for the sister?

KM: What's the name of the sister stone?

TH: For Pōhakuloa?

HW: 'O'o'a'a.

KM: So she's out there?

TH: She's out here.

KM: Past Hauwā?

TH: Past Hauwā. All in line.

KM: 'Ae. You get Hauwā, Pōhakuloa, Pōhaku Kane.

TH: Pōhakuloa is right outside here on the side of the road by the rubbish pile.

KM: Yes. Up there. Amazing!

TH: I guess, might be how they did it is, maybe they stay evenly spaced in between. Maybe the distance from Pōhakuloa out there is the same distance from here to there out in the ocean.

KM: 'Ae, could be.

TH: Could be, who knows.

KM: Interesting.

TH: Sometimes you read legends, the legends are not accurate, I would say. It's down the road kind.

KM: It comes *huikau* with some people, they translate wrong or they never heard it right you know.



TH: Yes. And that's how these things change. If they say it all over they are going to believe themselves.

KM: Yes, you're right. If you say it often enough it's truth.

TH: You talk BS you going get BS all the time, and that's bad that.

KM: Yes. So you're only telling us the real stuff that you know, right?

TH: I'm telling you guys the real stuff.

KM: That's right.

TH: This is it, today is the day. Must be, because we're catching plenty fish only in this area right here.

KM: *Mahalo ke Aka.*

TH: What's going on [chuckling]?

KM: The *'āina aloha* you, you take care of it, so it's going to take care of you...

CW: [runs up to house to get a bag for the fish]

KM: ...and then we are going to finish up our *mo'olelo* about Pa'itulu, Makana and the *manō*.

TH: Yes. He get two kind names, like in Ni'ihau it's Pa'itulu...

Group: [pauses as Chipper restarts video equipment – walking towards Paweaka and Hauwā]

KM: ...So you were talking earlier about *kūkū* Pa'itulu and the *manō*, and also *kāhuna* out here. You were going to tell us something about that he would go out on the shark all the way to Kalalau?

TH: Yes...

Families cared for one another; sharing was a way of life.

KM: ...In your folks respect and *aloha*, care for the families around here. Was it automatic when you folks caught fish if it was old *tūtū* folks like Pa'itulu *mā* or somebody you would automatically take fish to them? They no need come and ask?

TH: Nobody, they were gone already.

KM: What about the other old *kūpuna*?

TH: We give them.

KM: Automatic, you go and give them fish?

TH: We drop off everything on our way home.

KM: That was the way, right?

TH: That was the way.

KM: They don't need to come ask?

TH: No. And even if you look if they need help you don't ask.

KM: 'Ae. *Kōkua* is automatic.

TH: You go over there and *kōkua*. By the time they go and look for you, you are working with them on the side.

KM: That's important too, and the work ethic from when you folks were young, and your parents, *kūpuna* generation. You no go up and ask, "I can help you." You go automatic right?

TH: Automatic, you jump in. That's the way it went.



KM: That's how you were raised.

TH: Throughout my life until now that's the way it is...

CW: ...Uncle, this big pond is Paweaka?

TH: Paweaka.

CW: What about this small pond?

TH: This one over here is Hauwā.

CW: Hauwā, the pond?

TH: This whole place over here. From Keaomele this whole thing right here is Hauwā.

CW: The small pond over here no more name?

TH: No more, we call it Hauwā. This whole place, the *nuku awa* and all this. And then from over there down [gesture towards Kē'ē] that's Paweaka.

CW: Paweaka.

TH: From here going down, it gets broken up. Like the big pond down there, that's Wele'ula and then you go down Kaloli. This is down the beach and get the channel because they call it Double Ditch.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: Later, we are going to come over there. This is what they call Manji Pond.

KM: Manji.

TH: Because Manji used to live inside here.

KM: Paweaka?

TH: Paweaka.

KM: That's the name you remember?

TH: That's the name I remember. Never knew another name.

KM: You never heard a story about how come, or what's that?

TH: No. We never questioned.

KM: Yes. You just knew the name.

TH: We just used that name. We used it only when we went fishing. We see the *nenuē*, "Hey brother you go over there for us," and get one big pile *nenuē* over there. That's how we used to talk but it's only fish and nothing else.

KM: Yes.

CW: *Kepā, pehea kou mana'o o ka Paweaka?*

KM: Hard to say what's the *mana'o*, Paweaka. The pronunciation [discusses possible pronunciations]

TH: Could be *uwē*, to cry; and *aka* can be happy.

KM: Maybe from the water rippling *paha*? But it's hard, we don't know already because evidently no more *mo'olelo* now.

TH: When we were growing up, that was the best time because had old people around yet.

KM: 'Ae. If only we knew now yeah.



TH: Now it's too late, already. My dad was the one he knew everything, he knew because he moved all along this island and lived with the old Hawaiians. And that's how he learned that, by hearing. And he talked fluent Hawaiian too, better yet.

KM: Yes.

TH: I don't know if the language is still the same. Like when they question people and stuff like that. *Heiau* and all that kind stuff, that's what you hear.

TH/KM: [discussing changes in language]

KM: ...Nice too when you when listened to your mama and *kūkū* them?

TH: My dad when he talked it was so smooth, his mouth.

KM: Yes, it's *nahenahe i ka pepeiao*...

TH: Oh yes. All in all my dad was a big joker too. It was only for fun.

KM: Maybe in a way it was kind of a way of him protecting himself too.

TH: Maybe he like make the wahines *maka'u* or not I don't know. [chuckling] I don't know what his game was.

[goes to throw net for fish]

[disk #1, recorder off – disk # 2, recorder back on]

Group: [Walking along Paweaka towards Wele'ula]

TH: ...Over here, plenty *he'e*.

KM: What kind size of the *he'e* you folks get?

TH: Any kind size. But now it has to be three pounds. Three pounds the head got to be pretty big you know.

KM: Your *he'e* before was good size?

TH: Good size. That time you see the Hawaiians were more reserved kind, they would catch only the big kind.

KM: Yes.

TH: They don't fool around with the small one's because they think for tomorrow.

KM: *Pololoi*. They tell *hāpuku*, *'ānunu*, *pau*!

TH: Uh-hmm. Before when we were young, one time my dad he threw his net on the mullet *pau*, one bag.

KM: *Lawa*?

Families exchanged fish and *kalo* and other items among themselves, for supplies.

TH: *Lawa*. That time that was part of our living too. We used to eat them and we used to exchange for money.

KM: Yes.

TH: To buy from the store.

KM: For goods like that?

TH: Yes.

KM: That's how plenty people, they say you know, like if you're *makai* and you *lawai'a* you *kuapo*, you exchange?

TH: Yes, exchange.



KM: If someone get *kalo* or something, from *mauka* lands.

TH: Yes. That's how, that comes automatic. We would always give so they give theirs and you give yours.

KM: 'Ae, yes.

TH: Plus, on top of that we raise our own things. We plant our own taro. Never had one time where my dad was, when his eyes were open, that we never get taro. Because with him we always had it until he came old.

KM: Always had.

TH: Then I had. Because I went go into that farming business. I did that part of my life from '59 to '76.

KM: Out here?

TH: Down in Hanalei.

KM: In Hanalei.

TH: After the State bought this land over here [Kē'ē section], we moved to Hanalei with my brother Jack. He had one eight acre parcel. We planted on that eight acre parcel. We were doing good, but actually for me I was doing alright because I was working at the hotel and I was working for Chipper's grandma.

KM: *Kalo*, one 'eke *kalo* in the '50s how many pounds was one 'eke *kalo*?

TH: In 1959 we started it was three dollars a bag.

KM: And how big was the bag?

TH: Was four cans not three cans like now.

KM: Eighty pounds, a hundred?

TH: Over a 100.

KM: Hundred pounds for three dollars kill fight right?

TH: Yes.

KM: How can you survive?

TH: We went up until in the '60s, and the price started to change it came to five dollars, then six dollars. When I gave up farming it was eight dollars. Now it's forty-two dollars.

KM: And it's not a hundred pound bag any more?

TH: No.

KM: Eighty pounds, or something?

TH: No, because the thing was only three cans.

KM: Right.

TH: And then the people get little *manini* because they like stretch their crops.

KM: Yes.

TH: Like us when I was planting down here it was four cans. To fill them you have to get the barley bag to pick your *kalo*. And the *kalo* down there when I went plant; the first time we went plant the *Maui* [*kalo*], the *Maui* came like coconut.

KM: For real that big!

TH: Big, the taro...!



KM: ...So this is Hauwā?

TH: Yes. Then we are going to come to Wele'ula. Wele'ula is the deep hole right there.

KM: The deep hole over there, Wele'ula.

TH: Wele'ula and then we are going to come to Kaloli. And this whole 'āpapa over here is Paweaka.

KM: Paweaka.

TH: Yes. I looked on the map, and they get Pu'u Kahuanui and all that, I would say in the center or the whole thing. It's the whole thing it's not one particular spot.

KM: Right.

TH: That's the way I was thinking the thing used to happen.

KM: You heard that name?

TH: No. Only Paweaka.

KM: And what was the other name you said they put? Nui?

TH: Nui, on the map get.

KM: What is the name?

TH: Pu'u Kahuanui or something, was down there. Sometimes you keep talking and talking and talking and pretty soon the thing slips your mind. Chipper, Wele'ula.

CW: The pond?

TH: The pond. This all on the map it's going to show the *puka*.

Group: [Walking towards Kaloli]

TH: ...That's the way it is, things have diminished. Over here you have to go with the tide. I guess we are right on the rising tide...

KM: Just turning.

TH: That's why get the *manini*. I see them, but I don't like to take the thing out and put it back on. If I see big pile I'm going to whack them, I'm going to throw. I know where get *manini* I see them right here. Kaloli.

KM: Okay.

TH: I don't know, like they say, they talk about Double Ditch maybe they mean this ditch going out, and the one on the other side. They always say that, Double Ditch.

KM: Kaloli?

TH: Kaloli. ...About the framework of the skeleton. See with the sand like this.

KM: Yes.

TH: Against the bank like this. Like now the water eats 'em. All in this area used to get that kind.

KM: This is Wele'ula in front?

TH: No, this is Kaloli.

KM: Kaloli already?

TH: Yes this is Kaloli right here, right in this area... ... Now get sand. Right over here is all *manini*...

Group: [Walking towards Pu'u Kahuaiki]



TH: ...Pu'u Kahuaiki.
 KM: Pu'u Kahuaiki.
 TH: Pu'u Kahuaiki is this '*āpapa* right here
 KM: Just this in front of the big?
 TH: This whole '*āpapa*.
 KM: Okay.
 TH: This '*āpapa* over here, Pu'u Kahuaiki.
 KM: Out to where the wave agitated?
 TH: Yes. In fact this whole flat over here.
 KM: 'Ae. Pu'u Kahuaiki?
 TH: Pu'u Kahuaiki. That down there is Pu'u Kahua (nui), the one down there.
 KM: Pu'u Kahua, out on that side?
 TH: Yes. That's why that one has Pu'u Kahuanui, Pu'u Kahua. No matter if the *nui* is in the back. It's just big...
 KM: Yes, the bigger section versus the little one.
 TH: And the little one.
 KM: You come out here *lawai'a* too?
 TH: Yes. That's where I go catch the *moi*.
 KM: *Moi*. Outside or inside?
 TH: Breakers.
 KM: Breakers.
 TH: The *moi* all travel in rough water. It's in the holes where the water is all foaming.
 KM: 'Ae.
 TH: That's where they are going to stick around because the '*ulua* can't see them.
 KM: Yes.
 TH: When the '*ulua* patrols he dives right in that hole and that's it.
 KM: [chuckles] In the foamy water they are going to try and hide like that?
 TH: Yes. And over here is Koia, this one here.
 KM: Koia².
 TH: Koia.
 KM: By this little *kahawai*?
 TH: Yes, That's Limahuli stream, Koia.
 KM: Koia.
 TH: That's the name of this place here.
 KM: Okay.

² Koia: as pronounced; written "Koie" on Register Map No. 2246 (Gay, 1891).



TH: Before over here that's where my dad used to go throw for mullet. Anywhere around here, he would throw for the mullet, one bag he go inside the water and go pick up the bag. We used to get pissed off, because we thinking, we like him miss the fish so that we no need carry.

KM: [chuckling]

TH: But you know, it's wrong. But because we no like carry, we lazy. But we're small at that time and we had to go carry the bag. My brother carried one side, I carried the other side, just like the taro. That's how we used to do it. We used to go home behind here inside the bushes, we were staying by where Chipper's Uncle Hobie lives. That used to be our *hale* over there, the workman's *hale*.

KM: Yes. Koia?

TH: This is Koia. And that's Pu'u Kahua.

KM: 'Ae, Pu'u Kahua. Right in between and then get the channel almost going out there?

TH: Right, get the channel right here, you see it on the map.

KM: Yes.

Group: [Walking towards Pouhau]

TH: This place was famous for mullet, the river was for 'o'opu.

KM: You folks would get 'o'opu in here too?

TH: Yes. When it's 'o'opu season, you come down here, *kukapaila*, that time. Plenty.

KM: Particular type of 'o'opu?

TH: *Nākea*.

KM: *Nākea*.

TH: The *nākea*. Over here is the *mullet* place too. It's a wonder I don't see them shining over here, the mullet. But get. That's why you never come across any fishermen anywhere like now, only up there. No more fishermen like before. That's why the fish is tame, tame the fish. I see them, I don't care how long. But, I don't know how long, I can still do it, throw the net and stuff, especially in the breakers. In the breakers you work like hell.

KM: Yes. *Maka'ala*.

TH: Yes you work like hell too. That *ku'una* we were talking about, Pouhau?

KM: Yes.

TH: It's right there.

KM: Just in front of the waves?

TH: Just between that 'āpapa and the 'āpapa outside there.

KM: 'Ae. Pouhau.

TH: Pouhau is the *ku'una*. That's where I was telling you folks about the boogie man. The boogie man behind the net, over there?

KM: Yes. In the trees up here? He holds them down in the waves?

TH: No, he stays behind the net, *kāpeku*.

KM: Yes. *Kāpeku*.



TH: That's the place over here. That time we catch all these small ones, we collect the fish and we put them in the bag, and then I got to wait on this side over here. My dad folks go down there and shut the net. That's far you know that stretch.

KM: It is.

TH: While I'm here, and I hear the call, my brother telling me, "Tom, come!" I start going through, that's where the dam bloody... [thinking]

KM: *Kepalō*?

TH: *Kepalō* climbed on my back inside here.

KM: 'Auwē!

TH: I no care about him, I just hold my bag and just like one mad bull, and just charge! You know, just *kāpeku* and whatever's. My brother comes up and meets me.

KM: This is the side of still Pu'u Kahua, over there?

TH: Yes.

KM: Over to Pouhau?

TH: Yes.

KM: You go across?

TH: Yes, we chase right through because the fish is all in the back.

KM: Was it in the middle section by there where he went on top and *kāpeku*, make like that?

TH: No was by there, behind the net. After the catch.

KM: Yes. Is this the place too where you see the light in the water?

TH: No, it can be anywhere. We used to look in the pine tree and you see the ball.

KM: Glowing?

TH: Glowing. Over here and up the other side. Like that night what had happened when I was talking about Aunty Rachel?

KM: Yes.

Group: [Walking towards Kuahine, below Limahuli]

TH: What happened up there, inside Paweaka. She was in the center, but you see we never came upon her until we were *pau* bang-bang already by Hauwā.

KM: Yes.

TH: When we came down that's when she told us because something climbed on her back. We never think nothing of it. We came down and we hit Wele'ula. That's when we were going in and we saw the thing in the trees. That's where, right there by that, my dad tell, "*Ho'i kāua!*" We go *i luna*, up there so we threw the *kepalō* off. We came down over here. Like the *kepalō*, we seen behind here was another time. In fact all these places over here was like that. I guess they have graves inside here, you know what I mean. But we don't know.

KM: Yes.

CW: Was it over here where the shark was keeping Henry Gomes from coming back across?

TH: Yes, over here. He would go down there by Pouhau and the shark stay over there. He come back over here and the shark was waiting for him. He never give a rip already, he just went 'au that's all. He threw the fish and 'au inside.



KM: For real!

TH: For real.

KM: He just gave the fish up?

TH: He just gave the fish to the shark, let him go eat the fish, rather than eat him.

KM: Yes.

TH: He was the one would tell the story. I never did get chased by the shark. I come down here 2 o'clock in the morning to go look at the *nenu* and lick the fish, solid. I get the net and the fish with me, coming in. I never get affected by the shark. But you see, like my dad, he's a fisherman, his '*aumakua*' is the shark. Maybe that's the why it is, they no bother. Like plenty people, it's either the *pueo* or the shark, their '*aumakua*'.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: I know Hanalei their '*aumakua*' was the shark too. I guess most of the Hawaiians whether they were fishermen or not, their '*aumakua*', they had one '*aumakua*'.

KM: 'Ae...

TH: ...This is Kuahine.

KM: Kuahine?

TH: Kuahine is right here. Pouhau, Kuahine.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: Why I remember that, is because before when the *moi* was plenty, we whacked the *moi* over there, he run away and the *moi* would go hide.

KM: In Kuahine?

TH: Kuahine. My dad would tell us, "You go Kuahine the *moi* would hide over there." We come right there, that's how we learned it.

KM: Sure enough?

TH: Sure enough. That's how we learned it. He would tell, "You go Nahiala'a the *moi* stay over there." A big pile. We go outside there and sure enough, we look between the waves.

KM: Amazing!

TH: All blue inside the pukas over there.

KM: Yes.

TH: We just go over there and pump them. Like how you see, I threw for the mullet, just pump them right on. Not the genuine net like now, that time was '*au*' and limit not this.

KM: Hard work. When you folks were making nets before, did you dye your nets sometimes?

TH: We used to use the sap of the tree from Japan, the *sibu*?

KM: *Sibu*?

TH: *Sibu*, it makes the net come hard.

KM: Yes. More durable, lasts long?

TH: The idea was so that it doesn't tangle, that's what it was.

KM: I see. You folks didn't use *kukui* in your time?

TH: We would use the *kukui* for the *ku'u* net, for dying the thread because the thread was all white, and was mostly *aho* that's how we used it.



KM: You still used *kukui*, but for other nets you used the *sibu*?

TH: That time we used to use *kukui* and [thinking] we used to boil the *kukui*, you know the bark.

KM: *Hili*. You *hili* the *kukui*?

TH: Yes. And we used to use the banana you know when it's *pilipili*, when it dries up on you and comes a little stiff.

KM: Yes.

TH: That's how. If you want to make your *mea* like that you got to go put it... [chuckles]

KM: Alright [chuckling].

Group: [Walking towards Puakala]

TH: I used to hear the Hawaiians before, "*Kolohe maoli 'oe!*"

KM: *Pololoi!*

TH: *Kolohe...!* ...Now, it's real, (we've walked the land) we get *i'a*. The only thing is you have to know how you're going to catch them. Like for me, it's just fun for me.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: That's the reason why I keep doing it, and of course I eat the fish. And share, that's the whole object to it.

KM: To me I think for you, fishing is a connection to your past and your heritage and who you are. You eat, and you *aloha* people, you know.

TH: Yes.

KM: This little line of *pōhaku* in here, did it have a name that you remember?

TH: That was standing there for a long time from day one I remember this place. Was the same with all these big stones like this.

KM: You never heard of a special name or something?

TH: No.

KM: Interesting to see these little cluster of stones here where most no more.

TH: That's where the name Puakala is right here. Puakala.

KM: Puakala?

TH: This is it.

KM: Oh!

TH: This is it Puakala.

KM: I see.

CW: I was just changing my tape, what did uncle say?

TH: Puakala.

KM: I asked uncle about the stones out here, if there was a name for this place or something, you know. And so you said Puakala is the name you know here.

TH: Right, Puakala. And what was the other one we were looking at?

KM: Poholokeiki?

TH: Poholokeiki is right there.



KM: Out there.

CW: The channel?

TH: Yes, the channel. And outside is Lae Koholā.

KM: On that section, the *pōhaku* up there and out is Lae Koholā?

TH: Lae Koholā. [thinking] No Poholokeiki, I think is the one on the other side over there.

KM: On the other side?

TH: Inside of Kaʻīlio. In between, you try look at the map?

KM: What's the...?

CW: I think Carlos said was this one because you can bring the canoe in here, in the channel. Poholokeiki.

TH: Maybe.

CW: By and by we can look.

TH: The other side get one channel too you know. You try look at it Poholokeiki, between Kaʻīlio and... [thinking]

KM: [referencing a site map from the Limahuli collection] Puakala?

TH: This is Puakala.

KM: Poholokeiki....Unless this isn't yours. Was this from the names you gave?

CW: No, this is from a different source.

KM: I see.

TH: You know, that this place Puakala, we're looking at it like this, right.

CW: No.

KM: We've got to turn it around.

TH: Okay.

CW: Kē'ē is straight down here.

TH: This is Puakala.

KM: 'Ae. These *pōhaku* here?

TH: Got to be this channel over here. Get one channel over here and get one on the other side too you know.

KM: Poholokeiki?

TH: This one here is more like one channel, this one right here.

KM: Yes, you can see it. You think that's Poholokeiki?

TH: I think that's Poholokeiki.

KM: Is that *poholo* like *poholo ka wa'a*? The canoe *poholo* or what? For a canoe that went *poholo* or?

TH: You can do it only during the summer, not now. You no can go over there like that now because outside here you going to get pounded.

KM: Yes, *mimiki*.

TH: Yes, *mimiki*.



CW: Not now.

TH: That big breakers out there is Lae Koholā.

KM: Lae Koholā.

TH: Lae Koholā and Kaʻīlio point.

KM: ʻAe.

TH: Kaʻīlio point down there, and Lae Koholā. That's the pair of names that comes right after.

KM: That's right. Yes.

TH: That one you were talking about, I think it's this channel right here.

KM: Poholokeiki?

TH: Because over here get one channel, and the other side get one channel too. In between.

KM: Lae Koholā and Kaʻīlio?

TH: Yes. I thought it was in the *ʻāpapa* over there we were looking at. Because over there get one point too you know inside of Kaʻīlio. Kaʻīlio is down there. You know in line with that person right there.

KM: Yes.

TH: That's Kaʻīlio.

KM: Okay.

TH: This is to what I know. because my dad would...like over there I used to catch the *ʻāhole* all the time. So if I'm going catch *ʻāhole* I tell him Kaʻīlio, he would know already where I caught it. That's how and that's what made me remember all these names.

KM: That's right. Very specific fish or go to this point.

TH: Yes, that's right. And over here, talking about this Puakala over here, was mostly because of the mullet. Plenty mullet used to come over here and we used to catch the mullet over here all the time. It's a wonder today, I don't see the mullet. This is the mullet place, this. Might be the *ʻāpapa* not *huaʻi* enough, it's all covered with the sand.

KM: Yes.

TH: But if not you would see them shining all over the place. Although it's not as plentiful as before.

KM: Just *hulili* everything, glittering all this?

TH: Yes. The mullet and the *uouoa*.

KM: ʻAe.

TH: It's a wonder it's not shining or something. If not we have to *hemo* this *mea* [indicating the video microphone] and blow them.

Group: [chuckling]

TH: Poholokeiki. I wonder where he got that name?

KM: You had that name right?

TH: No, I think my brother. It's not to my recollection, I don't remember that.

KM: Oh, that's not a name you're *kamaʻāina* to?

TH: No.



KM: I see. Well that explains to me, because last night that was one of the names you never mentioned.

TH: No, I never mentioned that.

KM: And you went into such detail...

Group: [Walking towards Kaʻilio]

TH: Until you guys talked about that name, and maybe Carlos is right, I don't know.

KM: Yes.

TH: You see, the names that I'm giving you guys is the names that I know.

KM: The names that you know personally?

TH: Yes. No mistake, maybe that's his own, you don't know [chuckles].

KM: So this little *kahawai* comes...?

TH: Limahuli.

KM: This?

CW: That's the river mouth.

KM: I see.

TH: And it comes on the side, side action that's Limahuli [there are two branches]. And then inside there, that's from where the *lo'i* stay.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: Used to get that water too. It used to come out over here, the exit.

CW: ...Over here you come to the place where we are restoring the *lo'i*. Where we are going to walk it's an easy...

TH: We're going to walk inside that area and then you can look.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: Plenty *i'a*... [inaudible] ...Before you come over here and the *wai* is little bit more, higher than this. The *manini* comes through the *pahapaha* or the *'ele'ele*. Now is the time for that the *pahapaha*.

KM: I see the *pahapaha* over there.

TH: Yes.

KM: You folks eat that *pahapaha*?

TH: Not that I know of, maybe my grandmother folks used to eat it, but I don't know I never did. We kind of scared you know. We're kind of scared to go and eat any kind when we don't know.

KM: Yes.

TH: That time you go to watch out for what you eat by and by you come funny kind [chuckling]. We go and walk right through?

KM: Yes, wherever you want.

TH: Right on the point I can point out to you guys.

KM: Good.

TH: And then we don't need to go that way, we can go back by the *lo'i*. We can go in there and go in the *lo'i*.



KM: Okay.

TH: This one over here you guys got it on the map, Ka'ilio Point.

KM: 'Ae, Ka'ilio.

Group: [Walking towards Kē'ē Beach]

TH: I know inside here has a name but I forget. I'm just giving you guys the main 'āpapa. [pointing to area along Nāpali coast line] Kaleina Kauila is right in the back of there.

KM: Just around that other corner?

TH: Just about I would say halfway between Hanakāpī'ai and Kē'ē.

KM: Kē'ē.

TH: Yes, it's in there. I know if you go just behind this point and then the next one that's where all the *moi* was. We used to catch them over there, Kaleina Kauila.

KM: You used to go catch *moi* at that place?

TH: Yes. From outside, from the boat you would see them. We would swim the opposite side, if the current is coming this way, we would go the other way.

KM: You would go back upside?

TH: Opposite side.

KM: Yes.

TH: The smell, they can't smell you.

KM: That's right.

TH: As soon as they smell they start running around. They are ready to run away so you go the opposite side. When you climb on top and look for where he stay, you blow 'um. He doesn't know anything, you catch them by surprise. And that's what it is. You know when we were talking about the Honu Point [a contemporary name given to the location], it's that one right there.

KM: This section right here?

TH: Right there, that's the one I was talking about, Honu Point. Then the other one, Puka'ulua?

KM: 'Ae.

TH: Puka'ulua is right inside, you see the dry 'āpapa right there?

KM: Right there, this side?

TH: Yes. It's right inside it's just like one V; get one narrow waterway coming on this dry 'āpapa that's Puka'ulua.

KM: Okay.

TH: And then of course Kē'ē.

KM: 'Ae.

Discusses fishing sites along the Nāpali coast:

TH: And like I told you Kaleina Kauila is behind there, and then you're going to come to Hanakāpī'ai and then you're going to Ho'olulu the twin caves, and keep going down. There's a lot of names.



KM: Hanakoa or...?

TH: That's the big one, Hanakoa and Kalalau.

KM: Yes.

TH: Kalalau is behind that point over there [pointing along the Nāpali coast line].

KM: 'Ae. I think it was you who said that Hanohano Pā used to swim did someone used to swim?

TH: He would swim in those caves to set the net. To set the net, he would go swimming inside. They *pale* on the side of the cave, and then shut, and *pale* on the side again to surround and go inside and chase the *moi* out in the bag. That time they used to use bag. The kind they use to bag net.

KM: Yes, big bag.

TH: They drive, drive, drive, go in the bay and they lift them up.

KM: Wow!

TH: It's all done, I would say just diving, no more the kind aqua lung stuff and the caves are deep you know.

KM: Yes. They go by themselves and they don't need lungs or anything.

TH: Just like that. Skin diving. That's how I seen, like the Hawaiians, when we used to fish with them, they only had those goggles made from *hau* with the glass.

KM: Yes.

TH: That's all they had. Not the kind goggles we have now.

KM: Yes.

TH: Was the socket, socket on the eye. It's either that or the Japanese one, you know, the turtle shell? They had with the rims like that.

KM: Yes.

TH: And the only problem with that it was going to dig your eye. It's going sink inside your eye if you go deep. Not like the *hau*, the *hau* is kind of gentle on the eye. It would suck your eyes but not where it hurts. And after you're *pau* diving there's a scar right around your eye.

KM: It looks like you have rings on your eyes?

TH: Yes. If you dive the whole day and you dive deep.

KM: Yes.

TH: That's what they used to use, that's what I've seen. And we used the same kind too, that *hau* kind.

KM: Yes.

TH: You made your own.

KM: You make?

TH: And glue the glass on it and waterproof that thing so that the water doesn't go inside as soon as the water goes inside you know it's going to come blurry.

KM: That's right.

TH: You can't see anything.

KM: But imagine in the old time, they only went eye alone.



TH: Yes, they dive bare eye.
 KM: Yes.
 TH: You know it's strenuous for the eyes.
 KM: It is.
 TH: Yes.
 KM: May I ask you a question as we're walking here. Has the channel that goes out at Kē'ē, did you ever hear about a shark out at this side?
 TH: That's a different story again. Like my dad used to talk about...
 Group: [interrupted by a Dollar Car Rental driving recklessly on the beach; trying to find a way off.]

Recalls the shark that swam in the waters fronting the *hula* platform at Kē'ē:

TH: ...They used to talk about the shark, like the *hula hālau*. When people went to the classes there, like the old lady Wahinekeoli, she was one of the teachers.
 KM: 'Ae.
 TH: The *kupuna* and teacher for that. Upon graduation, to find out whether they were not telling a lie, would determine when they would swim that channel. And if they fooled around, and go.
 KM: 'Ae. *Moe kolohe paha*.
 TH: *Pau* already.
 KM: 'Ai 'ia na ka manō?
 TH: 'Ai 'ia na ka manō!
 KM: *Ua lohe oe kēlā mo'olelo?*
 TH: Yes, that was the story about that place. They would go and swim the channel.
 KM: Out, and then they would go up the *pali*. If they swim past, they are free?
 TH: It's alright.
 KM: They can walk up and go to the *hula*?
 TH: I guess maybe they go...
 KM: *Kolohe paha?*
 TH: Go make their...what hey say, "yea."
 KM: Yea or nay? [chuckles] And if nay the shark 'ai 'ia?
 TH: 'Ae.
 KM: Oh.
 TH: Because it's *hauna*.
 KM: 'Ae. Catch the *hanu*.
 TH: Yes, that's how. If they go fool around and they swim over there...
 KM: You heard that *mo'olelo*?
 TH: Yes. Had a few people graduated from that school, that lived in Kīlauea.



KM: 'Ae.

TH: *Make* already.

KM: 'Ae. Long gone.

TH: Not too long ago. Mrs. Au and [thinking] You know Phillip Baclayon?

THa: Uh-hmm.

TH: The mom, she graduated from that school over there. That's why they took the old classes where they don't stand and dance, it was all on the ground.

KM: *Hula noho*.

TH: Yes. That's how, the old people were all *hula noho*. And that's how Kam [Kamehameha] school used to do it, all *hula noho*.

KM: 'Ae. Interesting...

TH: *Hula noho*, the sit down kind, until Mrs. Brandt changed it. Right?

KM: Free them up?

TH: Free them up! And then that's how they came to the modern kind of dance. Right?

KM: Interesting. Good to know, so you heard that story?

TH: Was all the sit down kind.

KM: Uncle, you talk about this channel, they swim out and the shark would let them go if they tell the truth.

TH: Yes.

KM: Did you hear a name?

TH: No.

KM: Can I say a name, to see if it rings a bell?

TH: You mean for the *manō*?

KM: No. For the channel that they swam out?

TH: I have no idea.

KM: Okay. You never heard of Kealahula?

TH: No, I never heard of anything of any name. Only the Kē'ē channel.

KM: Okay...

Walk from beach to area of old *lo'i kalo* at Kē'ē; uncle and families working on replanting several *lo'i*, and developing the *'auwai*. Discusses past uses of the area, and features formerly seen, and return to Limahuli house...



Valentine K. Ako
February 14, and June 21, 2003 – at Wailua, Kauaʻi.
Recollections of Kauaʻi Fisheries and Native Practices
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. S987)

Valentine K. Ako was born in 1926, at Hōlualoa, Kona, Hawaiʻi (see additional interviews in the section under Island of Hawaiʻi). He was raised as a fisherman, and upon moving to Kauaʻi in the early 1950s (having married a Kauaʻi woman), he became acquainted with many fishermen of the island. Among his close friends was Barlow Chu, a native of the Limahuli section of Hāʻena. *Kupuna* Ako spent years fishing with Barlow and other *kamaʻāina* of the Haleleʻa-Nāpali region, and is recognized throughout the state of Hawaiʻi for his knowledge of Hawaiian fishing customs and practices.



Kupuna Valentine Ako granted his personal release of the interview records to Maly on June 21, 2003.

KM: *Mahalo* uncle. It's February 14th, 2003. We're here with Uncle Val Ako in Wailua on Kauaʻi today, and we're talking story like you said about your life experiences from your youth through your years as a fisherman.

VA: Yes.

KM: Hawaiʻi, Kauaʻi and various areas.

VA: Yes.

KM: *Mahalo nui, hauʻoli kēia hui ʻana!*

VA: Yes.

KM: God bless you. So you were saying, and we were talking of Kauaʻi. I have a 1901 map of Kauaʻi here with us [Register Map No. 1395] which we may mark as well, and then we'll talk story. [opening map] *Mahalo*. Uncle, when did you come to Kauaʻi, you were saying?

VA: In 1953. And I met a dear friend of mine who's past and gone, Barlow Chu.

KM: Barlow?

Fishing from Wainiha to Kalalau with Barlow Chu:

VA: Barlow Chu. He loved fishing and diving. We fished all along side from Wainiha, all the way down to Kēʻē and Kalalau.

KM: ʻAe. I'm going to flip this map over so that we have that area marked. [turning map over] So we have this section of the map for the island of Kauaʻi.



VA: Yes.

KM: Hanalei coming out to Waikoko. Here's Wainiha.

VA: My experience is all from Wainiha all the way down to Kalalau.

KM: Kalalau, okay. Here's Kalalau so this section here. [indicating on map] You would go with Barlow?

VA: Yes. And we fished in the Hanakoa area, what's the other one... [thinking]?

KM: Hanakāpī'ai.

VA: Hanakāpī'ai, Hanakoa, Honopū.

KM: 'Ae.

Regularly went to Kalalau every May to go fishing; *hinana* came down the Kalalau stream by the millions:

VA: All the way down to the Kalalau river mouth. And during those years, every May was the time to go in. Because these are the times when the tide was just right and the weather, that was so important. In the Kalalau area at the present day, there's no sand in the Kalalau river mouth.

KM: Yes.

VA: And when it takes the sand out, you're in the winter months. You can swim in between the boulders, large boulders, when the tide is low. And that's when in May the *hinana* come down. By the millions.

KM: From Kalalau stream, come out?

VA: The river mouth, yes.

VA: Yes. And that area used to have...I don't know if today but the *hinana* used to be just black and fighting to go back up.

KM: Up? Into the streams again?

VA: Yes. And because we respected what the *kūpuna* had at their time, we didn't go catch the *hinana*. Because normally if anybody else saw those *hinana* they would go get the *'upena* and catch them.

KM: What is the *hinana* and the type of fish it grows up to be?

VA: 'Ō'opu.

KM: 'Ō'opu.

VA: The *nākea*. This is my personal experience.

KM: 'Ae, yes.

VA: We used to dive all along side here.

KM: All along the *pali*?

Kama'āina of the area had no problem with the sharks:

VA: Yes. And we never did see any sharks but if anybody dove in those areas, I bet they would see sharks.

KM: They weren't *kama'āina* to the place?

VA: Yes. Because Barlow was a part of that area.

KM: You'd said that Barlow? Was he raised with his *kūpuna*?



VA: Yes.

KM: Who was his *kūpuna*?

VA: Hailama.

KM: Hailama. And they were native, they were *kama'āina* to these lands?

VA: Yes, they were. And that's the reason why we didn't see any sharks. But Kalalau was noted for big sharks. There were no sharks every time we went. We used to pick from Hanakoa all the way down.

KM: 'Ae.

Discusses method of collecting and preparing 'ōpihi and pūpū from Nāpali:

VA: What I experienced is thousands and thousands of 'ōpihi.

KM: Oh yeah?

VA: We only pick the yellow 'ōpihi, and then the one up *mauka* the black one.

KM: On the stream?

VA: No, it's above the [gestures up higher]?

KM: *Kō'ele*?

VA: Yes, the one's there.

KM: Yes, up high.

VA: Above the rough.

KM: Yes.

VA: There were big one's like this there [gestures with fingers].

KM: 'Ae. Two inch across.

VA: I used to love to get that. Because eventually that black 'ōpihi will go down and settle. Because it's near the water, then *limu* starts growing all over. That is one of the experiences I had. There was a shell about that big... [gestures with fingers]

KM: Almost two inches across.

VA: Just like a cowry shell. We used to pick it all up.

KM: *Pūpū*?

VA: Yes, *pūpū*. If you made the raw 'ōpihi, if you mix up that thing. Oh, that thing is so delicious.

KM: I don't know if anyone does that anymore. Was it actually like a cowry or was it?

VA: Yes, like a cowry.

KM: Was it rough or smooth?

VA: Rough.

KM: Bumpy?

VA: Yes.

KM: Okay.

VA: It was green, get green *limu* because it stays near the edge.



KM: That's not *pūpū 'awa*?

VA: No, no. There's a name that they call, I forgot. Uncle Charlie might remember if you mention it.

KM: Okay, when we go see Uncle Charlie.

VA: Another thing that was unique, on the side of the *pali* if you busy picking because you're concentrating on the *'ōpihi*. And when you fill up your bag and then you rest. Now you expect on the *pali*, you can see the sky, it has a ledge that sticks right over you know. And boy I tell you make you *maka'u*. Like from, what's the first village over there?

KM: Hanakāpī'ai?

VA: From Hanakāpī'ai on. Over here get one *pali*, that you got to scale the *pali* to get over the other side. In the mean time the waves hit that cove like, and go all the way up.

KM: Splash up?

VA: Yes. And high you know.

KM: Hmm.

VA: There was an experience with Barlow and his Pākē brother who always begged to go fishing there. And this experience that they had. Barlow told him to stay on the Kalalau side but because he saw so much *'ōpihi* on the Hanakāpī'ai side. It was one of these crevices.

KM: Little valleys they go in between?

VA: Yes. Barlow kept telling him, "Stay on one side don't come over there." They climbed up on the *pali*, alright, they went on the other side to pick up the *'ōpihi*. They got plenty *'ōpihi* but now to return the tide is coming up and the waves is bashing. They climbed up halfway and got locked on the *pali*. They were afraid because if they fell down going over. Barlow had to go over there and take them away and take their hands off the *pali*.

KM: Oh yeah?

VA: That's how dangerous it was. And in Hanakoa, Hanakoa has a little cove there where we caught lobsters. Lobsters used to be all on the *papa*.

KM: For real!

VA: Yes!

KM: Just in that little cove has *papa* in front and the *ula* all inside?

VA: All over. If you get over there the right time you don't have to go dive. It's all on top the *papa*.

KM: Amazing!

VA: Then you go further down. If you get in the Kalalau area when you pick the *'ōpihi* after May, the *'ōpihi* get all sand.

KM: Oh. So the sand starts coming in after the winter season like that?

VA: Yes. And you know when July, the place is all sand. Nobody would think that there was boulders over there.

KM: For real!

VA: And by then the *hinana* is all up.

KM: All up in the stream already?



VA: Yes.

KM: Amazing...!

Fished for various species along Nāpali, May through August:

VA: ...We would fish only until August.

KM: Sort of May through August?

VA: Yes. Never, right through the summer months.

KM: Right. Space it out?

VA: Yes.

KM: What types of fishing would you do out at Kalalau?

VA: At Kalalau at the *pali* side we would pick *‘ōpihi*. And we'd spear *nenue*. We were very selective with our fish.

KM: What kind size of *nenue*?

VA: The big kind.

KM: Twenty inches.

VA: Yes.

KM: About what do you think, four or five pounds?

VA: Yes.

KM: Four or five pounds kind?

VA: Yes.

KM: Oh.

Nenue were plentiful along Nāpali, and were an important fish to be served at *pā'ina* on Kaua'i:

VA: In fact that was the only type of fish that was in that area. The *kūpuna* of *wā kahiko*, if we had any *pā'ina* without the *nenue* your party is not complete.

KM: For real?

VA: Yes.

KM: They really cherished that *nenue*.

VA: Yes. The *nenue* was noted throughout the island. They always expected *nenue* on the table. If never have the *nenue*, it is not complete.

KM: Just like the party is not...?

VA: Just like us at home in Kona, if no more *awa*, *lāwalu awa* or *kālua awa*, the party is not complete.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: You can have the pig and the *poi* and everything.

KM: But if no more that one item?

VA: Yes.

KM: Kind of shame then, you got to make sure you get? [chuckles]

VA: Yes. [chuckles] As the time went by the *nenue* got scarce and having these other ethnic groups come in.



KM: Is that why you think it became scarce then? They just took?

VA: They never respected the traditions that we had.

KM: The time to take and how much?

VA: Yes.

Through the 1950s, it was mostly only *kama'āina* who fished along Nāpali; the *moi* grounds were highly valued:

KM: That's the thing, I know when you folks were young. As an example you're talking about Kalalau, Hanakoa, Hanakāpī'ai and this section. Who went out here fishing?

VA: Very few of us.

KM: Very few. It was the *kama'āina*. You went only because you were going with Barlow *mā*?

VA: Yes, Barlow. And Barlow showed me all the *ku'una* all along down Kalalau.

KM: They would make *ku'una*, lay net? Were there *akule* or *ōpelu* that came in?

VA: *Moi*.

KM: *Moi*.

VA: They had *moi* grounds, even down at Hanakāpī'ai.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: They never went just anytime you know. They had a schedule when the *moi* came in. You take beyond Kalalau there's a... [thinking]

KM: Nu'alolo like that?

VA: Before Nu'alolo. [thinking] There's a cove that you can put the boat in. Old man Hanohano Pā was the only man that used to catch the *moi* inside there.

KM: For real!

VA: Yes. Hanohano Pā had a rich history of his fishing experience and nobody recorded him.

KM: 'Ae, *aloha*.

VA: He was a wonderful man, soft spoken. He was the one that took care of that particular cove.

KM: Not Honopū?

VA: No.

KM: Past Honopū, but before Nu'alolo?

VA: Past Honopū. Yes. Oh, I forgot that name. You go inside there it's one crater, when you look up it looks like the top of the crater broke and fell down and formed one island.

KM: Inside it?

VA: Yes. For the tourist I noticed.

KM: Okay.

VA: The reason of the depletion of the *moi* is because of pollution.

KM: For real!

VA: Yes.

KM: You think from the boats and stuff like that?



VA: Yes.

KM: The engine and stuff?

Discusses impacts of pollution on the Nāpali and Kekaha fisheries:

VA: Yes. The first pollution happened, there was a Navy LST went aground in PMRF [Pacific Missile Range Facility].

KM: Manā side?

VA: Yes, Manā. That particular summer all the diesel oil drifted all the way down the *pali* and killed all the 'ōpihi and everything. For about three or four years and then the 'ōpihi started coming back. It was after that time I quit fishing over there.

KM: Do you remember about what year that landing craft, the boat went?

VA: I think it's about 1960 something.

KM: Early '60s?

VA: Yes. That LST went aground and all the diesel oil splashed the whole *pali*.

KM: Yes. I guess it takes out the *limu* and everything that would survive?

VA: Yes.

KM: All the *limu*, any sea creature, the shells, *pūpū*, 'ōpihi like that, all *make*?

VA: Yes.

KM: And obviously that would affect the fish because if the fish, *moi* like that they graze right? They eat *limu*?

VA: Yes. And another place that was noted for *moi*... After Hanohano Pā's time, it was Barlow and me, and we'd go in just to camp. Lui started going in with a bunch of Filipinos. The people who get there first after spring, are the ones going to get. Lui had a lot of nets. He had a twenty-four foot skiff, he would pile the nets and take all these Filipinos and go down there and catch.

KM: Were they selling? It was all to sell?

VA: Yes, sell. He was the first guy that screwed up that whole *pali*. Usually that *pali* was for the Hā'ena people.

KM: Yes.

VA: They took what they needed.

KM: 'Ae. For their own family.

VA: For their own family, they never sold.

KM: They didn't sell?

VA: No. And if they had extra they would share it.

KM: *Māhele*. They would share out.

Preparation of 'ōpihi:

VA: Yes. It was a wonderful place to fish for 'ōpihi. Barlow and I never did sell the 'ōpihi... Well occasionally we would sell. As time went by we started selling it because other people were selling it.

KM: Yes.

VA: During our hardships, people would like to buy a gallon 'ōpihi. Just for one gallon 'ōpihi, if you going down there not worth it.



KM: Yes.

VA: He and I one day sat down together at his house and we scaled the amount of *‘ōpihi* that we had. We *kua‘i* the *‘ōpihi* at the same time. Prior to *kua‘i* the *‘ōpihi* we’d scale them. We started with ten pounds and scaled the ten pounds, and put them in the gallon. And then scaled another ten pounds. The ten pounds went up to three quarter gallon. That’s the quarter size.

KM: Oh, you’re kidding!

VA: The quarter size *‘ōpihi*.

KM: Quarter size *‘ōpihi*.

VA: Yes. Then we finally found out the recipe. You scale twenty-seven pounds of quarter size *‘ōpihi*, guarantee you make one gallon. And thirty-two pounds of the button size *‘ōpihi*, guarantee.

KM: What was it for sale at, at that time? What would a gallon run?

VA: Eighty dollars at that time.

KM: In the ‘60s?

VA: And then it went up to a hundred dollars. Now somebody is selling in Hilo for hundred-eighty dollars a gallon.

KM: Oh!

VA: These are practical experiences, that’s why when the young kids tell me they are going to pick up *‘ōpihi*. “How many pounds make one gallon?” They say, “Forty-five pounds.” I said, “You know brother, no lie.” They look at me and they tell, “You think you know?” I said, “Yes. I going tell you this recipe and I want to share with you folks to make you realize that what I learned was not through anybody. It was practical experience.”

KM: Right.

VA: I told them, “Twenty-seven pounds quarter size, thirty-two pounds, button size. You get one gallon *‘ōpihi*.”

KM: Wow!

VA: And the kids go and they come back and they tell me, “Uncle, you right!” I said, “You know how to clean them?” “Oh, yeah we got to salt them right after we *pau* clean.” I said, “You don’t clean the *‘ōpihi*.” He said, “Oh, how are you going to clean the *‘ōpihi*?” What we do, that’s another thing, if we sold, we wanted to sell the good stuff.

KM: Yes.

VA: That would last. Through our own personal experience it was when you *kua‘i* the *‘ōpihi* you don’t break the stomach. All the one you broke you put on the side.

KM: Oh. For real!

VA: Yes. We had three big bowls and the three big bowls we put one handful of... [thinking]

KM: *Pa‘akai*?

VA: ...*pa‘akai*. And you fill the bowl up three-quarters full, then you throw the *‘ōpihi* inside. Whenever you think it’s full then you transfer the *‘ōpihi*, you don’t *kalana* with the colander. You pick up with your hand and you put from one bowl. On the third bowl the *‘ōpihi* is nice and clean.

KM: Ahh.



VA: And when you put it in the gallon if you were to freeze it we, would most normally put it in a plastic gallon. That will last one year. If you bring it out and thaw it out and you eat one fresh 'ōpihi everything is still the same because you don't break the 'ōpū.

KM: 'Ae. You really have to *kua'i* carefully then?

VA: Yes.

KM: You don't want to break the 'ōpū like you said.

VA: Yes.

KM: One handful *pa'akai* in the first bowl, *lawa*?

VA: Yes.

KM: It's starting to weep out?

VA: And then you put for every bowl that's one hand.

KM: One hand, okay.

VA: Because when you reach for the third bowl the thing is *li'u*.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: And it comes nice and firm and everything.

KM: Yes.

VA: When you eat the 'ōpihi it's 'ono.

KM: 'Ae nice and firm.

VA: Not too much salt.

KM: Yes.

VA: It's all regulated.

KM: You folks would go out gather 'ōpihi? For family and for home use?

VA: Yes.

KM: And eventually because of the economic times and things you did begin selling?

VA: Yes.

KM: Were there areas that you noticed? Were there nurseries for 'ōpihi, places where you didn't pick, where the 'ōpihi were...?

Before, the *kama'āina* families regulated the picking of 'ōpihi; seasons were observed and the stock allowed to replenish itself. Outsiders did not impact the grounds:

VA: Once you picked during the summer months, you don't go back.

KM: You don't go back to that place again. You leave alone.

VA: The next summer you get, it's loaded.

KM: Yes. That's the thing too, when it's only *kama'āina*, the native families like you said, say Hā'ena people this was their 'āina, their fishery, they go along the *pali*.

VA: Yes.

KM: But then when everyone else, or Lui, or others from outside would come, you've already been there and then they take.



VA: Yes. They scrape up everything.

KM: Everything.

VA: Yes.

KM: Nothing is left behind. Your nursery itself is depleted.

VA: Yes it gets depleted. I've learned a lot through the Hā'ena people but there were 'ānunu families who were very jealous because Barlow was one of the top *kiloi 'upena*. He made his own nets, he had certain nets for certain type. Like *nenuē*, *manini*. We very seldom ate *manini*. *Kala* was one of the delicacies.

KM: *Kala*?

VA: Yes. Outside of the Wichman home?

KM: Yes.

VA: Over there get long crevices.

KM: On the side of Maniniholo you mean?

VA: Yes.

KM: And then coming over right in the front of there?

VA: Yes [Hale Pōhaku – Hauwā].

KM: Okay.

VA: Over there get about four long crevices.

KM: Yes, yes.

VA: We would walk. That was one of...I hate to say it but some of them were very selfish, because when they see Barlow and I going for *nenuē* and they know we know where the *ku'una* are. They would run on the *papa* and chase the fish away.

KM: For real!

VA: Yes. I remember the elder Hashimoto, Joseph, and their mother was a wonderful Hawaiian, her name was... [thinking] They were very strong in Wai'oli, Dora, she had a Hawaiian name. She was all 'ohana with the Maka's and everybody else.

KM: 'Ae. She was *pili* to the families there?

VA: Yes. The connection.

Barlow Chu used to use the Hawaiian names of the places where they fished together:

KM: Yes... Uncle, like you've mentioned in front of Wichman's place they have a place called Halepōhaku. I don't know if you've heard that name?

VA: Yes.

KM: Then it has the *papa* and you go a little further down, and it has the place they call Manji? You heard of that?

VA: No. When Barlow used to tell me, it was all Hawaiian names and he learned it from his grandfather, Hailama.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: And you know that's another story about that Hā'ena area. Way back during the Kaumuali'i's time, the Kinney family was sort of... Grandfather Kinney was close to the king. The king gave him the whole Hā'ena area. The king willed it over to Kinney.



KM: Is it K-i-n-n-e-y?

VA: Yes. He wasn't a pure Hawaiian.

KM: *Hapa?*

VA: *Hapa*. He had plenty children throughout... Hāna, the Kinneys over there are the same with the Kinneys over here. He had sons Arthur, Ernest and there was another one. Arthur and Ernest I knew well. Arthur was our Hawaiian Homelands manager here on Kaua'i. Ernest was an *akule* fisherman. He has a rich history on the *akule* fishing on Kaua'i and O'ahu. [discusses Ernest Kinney's fishing ventures and rich *akule* resources] ...During the war, they would make so much money...

KM: So the *akule* was that plentiful?

VA: Yes, plenty *akule*! He made his money at the markets. Arthur, who was a chemist with McBride, would tell me stories about how the father had acquired the whole Hā'ena before the Hui became as it is today, the division of the Hui. Prior to that his father owned the whole area. But the father felt that it wasn't appropriate for him to have it so he threw it all out, and that's when the Hui came into it.

KM: The Hā'ena Hui came in?

VA: Yes. The *Hui* started in the time of Barlow's grandfather, Hailama. He was well known, and a very nice man. There were the Makas and the Mahuikis. And they looked up to Jacob Maka, he was the educated Hawaiian there... But the old man Mahuiki was a good fisherman.

KM: Hmm.

Hā'ena noted for the *ka'ala*, a large 'āweoweo:

VA: Uncle Jacob would go down to the boat and just take the fish... He'd give everybody else. Hā'ena was noted for the *ka'ala*, the big kind 'āweoweo.

KM: *Ka'ala?*

VA: *Ka'ala*, that's what they called them. The large 'āweoweo they called that *ka'ala*. They grow about that big you know.

KM: About sixteen inches.

VA: Yes. The last time, when I was in the service in Japan, I used to go around looking for fish... [chuckling] And the *kūhonu*, they're big like this [gestures], five pounds one.

KM: Wow, 30 inches across?

VA: Yes...

KM: Now, you'd mentioned 'āweoweo there is actually a *papa* out or a place out in this photograph that we were looking at earlier [points to aerial photo of the Hā'ena vicinity]. I believe...

VA: You know where the Maka's house is?

KM: Yes. Maka's house.

VA: Right outside.

KM: Oh, just right outside of Maniniholo bay then?

VA: Yes. Right on the side by the *pali* over here that's where the... [thinking]

KM: *Ka'ala?*

VA: ...the *ka'ala*.



KM: Because just outside there is one of the *papa* names is Kalua'āweoweo.

When large schools of 'āweoweo (*'alalauā*) come in, it is a bad omen:

VA: Yes. That's where. Another thing that was unique about this island was the baby 'āweoweo which we called... [thinking] when that school of 'āweoweo come around the island, that's a bad omen.

KM: Yes, omen. May I say a name or you got it?

VA: Wait. [thinking] The name that they called it, see that's why I got to write it.

KM: Because you don't use them all the time that's why.

VA: Yes. It comes only when bad omen, like the Vietnam war, the Korean war.

KM: And it went *kū* near the shore?

VA: Shucks, that thing is by the millions!

KM: Wow!

VA: Baby 'āweoweo.

KM: May I say a name and see if that's it?

VA: [thinking] What is the name? The place used to be flooded all over here. We used to go down the pier and hook, and I used to go catch them at Moloa'a.

KM: How big do they grow?

VA: About like that big.

KM: Two and a half inches or so.

VA: Yes. By the millions I tell you, the whole island.

KM: Wow!

VA: And eventually when they grow, then they go inside these crevices, and when you get the *ka'ala* that's the only place used to get plenty *ka'ala*.

KM: Outside of there, in front of Maka's place?

VA: [still thinking of name] And every time if you catch them they say, "Bad omen, something is going to happen." And you know... [thinking] What do you call that name, baby 'āweoweo? [recorder off – back on] 'Alalauā!

KM: A 'oia, 'alalauā. Good for you.

VA: [chuckling]

KM: Yes. This 'alalauā is this baby 'āweoweo.

VA: 'Āweoweo.

KM: And there was an omen associated with it.

VA: Yes.

KM: That when they schooled plenty.

VA: When the school come in, it's a sign of a bad omen.

KM: Something is going to occur?

VA: Yes. It happened in the Korean war and the Vietnam war.

KM: Amazing!



VA: And you know, that was an omen that Kaua'i had, the *kūpuna* older than us would say that "something is going to happen." They don't know what's going to happen. And you could catch them with anything.

KM: Amazing!

VA: It was so amazing! Port Allen, Nāwiliwili, Ahukini.

KM: 'Ae. Amazing!

VA: Outside of Hā'ena for that place you're talking about.

KM: Yes. Kalua'āweoweo.

VA: [looking at photograph]

Discussing fisheries outside of Maniniholo:

KM: It's a little reduced. This is Maniniholo, this is the big *papa*, Hā'ena Kū'au.

VA: You come over here, the deep spot it's about thirty feet deep. Lobsters, millions and millions of lobster.

KM: So on the Wainiha side.

VA: And that's the reason why, you know when I left Kona our *tūtū* always told us, when you go in strange place and they show you the *ku'una*. Do not take advantage, you go by invitation.

KM: Yes.

VA: Since Barlow showed me all these *ku'una* over here I felt it belonged to those people.

KM: 'Ae, at Hā'ena.

VA: I told those people down there. "You know all these *ku'una* down here," I said, "These *ku'una* belong all to you folks not to us."

KM: 'Ae.

Lobster fishing at Hā'ena Kū'au:

VA: Right in this cove over here get one big, for lobster.

KM: This *papa* here is called Ko'okea.

VA: Yes.

KM: Right in between there.

VA: Yes. Out in the deep.

KM: Deep. The lobster hole, I'm just marking a little dot here.

VA: On top here.

KM: Yes. On Hā'ena Kū'au.

VA: Yes. The lobster hole is only up to your knee.

KM: Up to your knee.

VA: Get plenty *limu kala*. One day with Barlow, we caught one basket full of lobster, and the waves was so strong it slipped from my hand. For about four days we couldn't find it, but Barlow finally found it.

KM: The basket?



VA: Yes. In the basket, still alive.
KM: Oh!
VA: And you know what an experience that we also had and Barlow taught me was the lobster. If you catch live lobsters put them together and throw them on the bottom of the ocean and go get some more lobster, and put them on.
KM: And they stay there?
VA: They're *pa'a*.
KM: For real?
VA: Yes. We don't know why.
KM: The two hold on to one another?
VA: They hold on to one another.
KM: Stomach to stomach side.
VA: Yes. They *pa'a* like that and you keep adding.
KM: Wow!

Discusses *honu* fishing:

VA: It was a wonderful experience that he taught me. Another experience that I had was the *honu*.
KM: 'Ae.
VA: We used to dive for big *honu* inside there the kind three hundred pounders.
KM: Out here?
VA: Out there and outside here.
KM: Wailua.
VA: You know the *honu* everybody figured, you'd go spear them. But the three hundred pounders what we used to do is make one stainless steel noose with the cord behind.
KM: Yes.
VA: Tied from the boat out. This man is still living, McKinley Kim, he's *kama'aina* for fishing all over here. Maybe that's another man if you like. I should get in touch with him.
KM: Yes. Try see if we can go talk story.
VA: He's in his nineties now.
KM: Wow!
VA: Still strong.
KM: Amazing!
VA: You know the *honu*?
KM: 'Ae.
VA: I used to go with Barlow and he taught me if you want to dive for the *honu*. Even if it dives away from you, you power dive straight down and you concentrate on his...you know all the *honu* get a white line right above the eyes. You concentrate on that, and the *honu* can't see you. You can go right up to them. And that's how we used to dive and catch the *honu*. You power dive and you concentrate on that, when the turtle moves like that you go together with the turtle.



KM: Yes.

VA: And we go right up to the back and we put the noose right over there and choke them and bring them up.

KM: When you folks were taking *honu*. Were there plenty *honu*?

VA: Yes, was loads.

KM: And how would you...?

VA: We would sell them. There's another story about the *honu*. We took them only when we had orders.

KM: Yes.

VA: Then the outsiders started coming in and started raping the whole area.

The first time he noticed tumor growths on *honu* was outside of the Kalaeloa-Barber's Point area:

KM: It was really different. You know on the *honu*, today we see the *honu* come up and they have plenty growths, like tumors and stuff?

VA: Okay. That growth started from second World War. I had a very good friend who was a good friend of the watchman who took care of the Barber's Point area. Campbell Estate, they own all that.

KM: Yes.

VA: He took me that night he said we go camp down there.

KM: You were Barber's Point side?

VA: [chuckling] Was all restricted, never have anybody. That evening we go set net, the net was one mile long.

KM: Wow!

VA: From Barber's Point all the way down where that Turtle bay.

KM: Yes, Ko'olina side.

VA: Ko'olina, okay. That time no more bay they went cut the place.

KM: That's right they went 'oki all that.

VA: We went dive and all the guys I found out was all pilute, all drunk. Those days I could dive though, I dive and dive until I got so dam tired that I told them, "You guys go dive for 'em." By then we had a rubber raft.

KM: Yes.

VA: We piled the net and the turtle and everything. We got back to shore took all the net out we caught all kinds fish, sharks and everything. We caught plenty *honu*.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: When I looked at the *honu* I tell my friend, "Andy, we going eat this *honu*?" He tell me, "No need worry, they going do the work." I go ask the Hawaiian, I told him, "Eh, brother you going to eat this *honu*?" He said, "Brother, don't worry the fire is going to eat it up." [chuckling] They went butcher 'em. I said, "How you folks going make?" "We going take home to Nānākuli we are going to put it in the *imu* we are going to *kālua* it." They *kālua* 'em with the shell.

KM: With the shell. Ohh!



VA: It was so unsightly, I tell you.

KM: The tumors, that's the first time. Because when you were young you would go in Kona and gather.

VA: Kona no more nothing, never did have.

KM: Get now though?

VA: Yes.

KM: It's amazing. You never saw the tumors, the growths that are on the *honu*?

VA: No. Not in Kona.

KM: Before the '40s?

VA: Yes.

KM: After the '40s after the war you started seeing that?

VA: Yes. It started from Barber's Point.

KM: It started from there. Pollution again?

VA: Because I had the biologist question me and I said, you know you guys talking about all of that. From Pearl Harbor entrance all the way, had all that.

KM: Towards Ko'olina?

VA: Yes. The tumors were on those *honu*. But never in Kona.

KM: How about here on Kaua'i?

VA: We get loaded.

KM: Already because you came up here in '53.

VA: Yes. When Barlow and I used to dive for the *honu* never had. Was all clean.

KM: Clean *honu*.

VA: Now down at Pila'a, you know because they have that restriction the *honu* is tame now. They come up and lay their eggs.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: They all get *pu'upu'u*.

KM: 'Ae, *aloha*.

VA: *Pu'upu'u* on the eye, *pu'upu'u* under. The soft parts. I talked to the biologist and he said they cannot determine. Different parts of the world they have the same way. The thing was so unsightly.

KM: Yes, well you feel *minamina*.

VA: That's why I told myself, "No way, if you like eat that, you go eat that but not me."

KM: *Ma'i*.

VA: I'm not starving that bad...

Fishing for *kawele'a* out of Wainiha:

VA: ...We'd fish, you know outside of Wainiha?

KM: 'Ae.



VA: We used to dive deep, and there is a place right outside here.

KM: Out at the point, kind of.

VA: Had *kawele'ā*.

KM: *Kawele'ā*?

VA: Yes. By the thousands.

KM: How far out?

VA: These Wainiha younger people do not know, only Barlow and me.

KM: Lae Kepuhi, or about there, outside of Wainiha?

VA: Yes. Plenty you know.

KM: How far out?

VA: I think about... [thinking] I would say about 800 feet from shore.

KM: How deep?

VA: Thirty feet water.

KM: For real!

VA: Yes.

KM: And the *kawele'ā* all out there?

VA: All loaded with *kawele'ā*. This place was kind of unique. Jack them couldn't dive like we did, that's how we found them.

KM: One of the things that was really interesting in talking with the different families is, there weren't many canoes out there in their lifetimes and they fished a great deal, all near shore.

VA: Yes.

KM: Off of the shore or *ku'una*, set net out in areas.

Recalls that Henry Gomes was a well known fisherman in the Hanalei region:

VA: One man, although he was from Hanalei, Henry Gomes. Have you heard of him?

KM: Yes.

VA: He was one of the top 'ō'io fisherman. I talked to the daughter and I said, "Did your dad share his fishing grounds with your brother?" She said, "No, my brother wasn't interested in it." Uncle Henry took it with him.

KM: Took it with him. *Nalowale*. Was Henry Gomes part-Hawaiian?

VA: Yes.

KM: He worked the water ditch too right?

VA: Yes. He's part-Hawaiian, I think the wife is related to aunty and them or Henry is, I don't know.

Akule came into the Hā'ena-area coves:

KM: Uncle, out in the Hā'ena section or Wainiha did the *akule* come in? Did they fish *akule* too out here, or *ōpelu* that you know?

VA: Outside Kē'ē.



KM: Out of Kē'ē.

VA: Right in the bay. The *akule* used to come inside. During those days never had people over there. It was only the Hailama family. The place was fresh and we could predict what kind of species would come in at certain times.

KM: Yes.

Kama'āina families knew the seasons and locations to fish for various species in the Hā'ena region; discusses seasons in which fish were caught:

VA: And even at that like I said, they had *'ānunu* families. But in spite of being *'ānunu* there's a lot of things that Barlow and them...was passed on by Hailama, that they knew certain times when to go get the fish.

KM: Yes.

VA: Even when rough time we go and catch *nenuē*.

KM: Is it possible to think about, were there...like you know say it ties in with the months of the year?

VA: Yes.

KM: What kinds of fish would you go get in January?

VA: In January, *nenuē*, because it's rough.

KM: If you go down the months of the year, what kinds of fish do you think?

VA: *Manini* on the *papa*.

KM: Yes.

VA: *Maiko*, which we call it has a different name over here, they call it *pōpolo*.

KM: *Maiko* and *pōpolo* basically the same?

VA: Same fish. What I found out over here you know the *piaea* is the *'ōhua*?

KM: 'Ae.

VA: There wasn't very many. Even during *kai make* time.

KM: Low tide, shallow?

VA: Yes.

KM: When did the *piaea* come in?

VA: April. All the islands, which we always remember. The Kaua'i island people never knew where the *manini* came from. The *manini* never hatched *manini* you know the *koholā* would bring it in.

KM: That's what you heard from *kūpuna mā*?

VA: Yes.

KM: That the *hūpē koholā* and all these *piaea* or *'ōhua* come inside that?

VA: Yes. In that sack.

KM: Sack.

VA: The sack about that long.

KM: A little over a foot long.



VA: Just like one jelly-fish.

KM: Yes. A jelly bag?

VA: Yes.

KM: And all these *piaea* all inside.

VA: If you have the bag, you look through it it's just like you're not seeing anything, the only thing you can identify is the *'ōpū*.

KM: Because it's a dark dot?

VA: Yes. And the eye. All transparent you know.

KM: Thousands of them in one bag?

VA: Thousands of them. When it hit the *pali*. And when the thing breaks that's when it all comes on shore. And they stay like that until the sun. And when the sun rises and hits them that's when it turns green.

KM: They start to get color like that?

VA: Yes.

KM: And they're small, very small?

VA: Yes, about that big.

KM: Oh, an inch or so.

VA: Yes.

KM: And *piaea*, those are all *manini* basically?

VA: Yes.

KM: In Kona or other islands they call *'ōhua*?

VA: *'Ōhua*. I guess *'ōhua* means many.

KM: Yes, it means young too.

VA: Yes.

KM: That's an interesting point you bring up because *'ōhua* are also those that cluster together and are attached to something.

Describes *pa'iea* crab fishing:

VA: Yes. You know another thing that I found out over here too was a crab that lives next to...the underwater. But certain times for some reason it's unexplainable near as the biologist can say. This brown crab looks like an *'a'ama* but it's hairy.

KM: Oh.

VA: What do you call that now... [thinking] *Pai'ea* I used to love that crab to eat because the meat was sweet. It's a hard shell, they used to come in clusters, big clusters. One whole big ball [gestures].

KM: A foot and a half across kind?

VA: Yes, that big. All *pa'a* together and it rolls in on the sand.

KM: You're kidding!

VA: Yes.



KM: Here on Kaua'i?

VA: Yes. Down at [thinking] that famous beach, before you get into Wainiha...

KM: Lumaha'i section?

VA: Lumaha'i. You know that strip of sand?

KM: Yes.

VA: We have it in Kona but I haven't seen it like it is here on Kaua'i. It's hard to...it's unexplainable.

KM: They all cluster together into a big ball?

VA: Yes. They just roll inside the waves.

KM: Amazing! I wonder if that's their breeding time or something.

VA: I don't know. I tried to ask the biologist.

KM: You folks would go gather this *pāpa'i*?

VA: We scoop them.

KM: Must be easy you get the whole thing one time.

VA: Yes.

KM: Amazing!

VA: People never knew.

KM: Yes. You said sweet that meat?

VA: Yes.

Discusses various types of *limu*:

VA: Also, there is certain species of *limu* over here that don't grow as much as we expected it to grow. The different species that doesn't grow here is the *huluhuluwaena*.

KM: For real!

VA: Yes. And no more *limu pe'epe'e*. Those limus were a delicacy for us.

KM: Yes.

VA: And *limu*, they call over here *limu lū'au*.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: We used to call that *limu pahe'e*, they call it over here *limu lū'au*.

KM: Get little bit?

VA: No. I haven't found a place where there was enough to pick. I guess it's because of the latitude that we are in.

KM: Maybe so. The ocean is just different enough.

VA: Yes. Because in the Kona coast all along side the *pali* where it's rough, you will find the *limu pahe'e*.

KM: Yes. Seasonal though right?

VA: Yes, seasonal it comes in April.

KM: In April. After the winter rains and things like that.



VA: Yes. And when get big rain, that's when the *limu* grows fast. Same thing with *limu kohu* over here. You know a storm like these here?

KM: Yes.

VA: You go right after that you see all the *limu* about that long.

KM: Long then.

VA: Yes. And as long as not rough you can pick it long.

KM: When you pick *limu* and this is important. You said after the storm maybe the *limu* is six inches long or something like that.

VA: Yes.

KM: When you pick *limu*, what is the good way to pick *limu* so that you can ensure continued growth?

VA: If you pick the *kumukumu* and all, the roots and all.

KM: For real.

VA: Yes. You know the Hawaiians in Anahola they say, "Oh, you know at a certain time you go pick the *kumukumu* the *limu* not going grow over there." Then I used to tell them, "You know I've been picking *limu* for thirty years, I disagree with you folks." "Oh, why? We went pick more long than you." I said, "You no study the *limu*." *Limu* has seeds from the tips of their growth and these seeds, if you have a magnifying glass that's the only way you can identify it.

KM: Yes.

VA: And what happens when you pick the *limu* in certain places you pick clean. In most places get plenty sand. What you going to do is you pick the *limu* and then you rub 'em on the side.

KM: When you're in the water to clean?

VA: Yes. To take the sand off.

KM: Yes.

VA: In the meantime not knowing it, these little seeds adhere to the reef and go back into the crevices.

KM: 'Ae. In the water.

VA: And then she grows again. And that's the only way. The *kumukumu* grow once, if you pick just the top the rest is going to be all gone forever. Not going grow again.

KM: Yes.

VA: That's my experience.

KM: That's your experience.

VA: That's why when I used to go pick the *limu* I used to pick the *kumukumu* and all. The people, they pick right next to me, "Don't do that! The *limu* not going grow again." I said, "Hey, I've been picking *limu kohu* long time." I shake 'em like that. And they tell, "What you doing?" I said, "I shaking the seeds." "How you know get the seeds inside there?" I said, "You know next month when we come, going get plenty *limu*." Sure enough. These are my personal experience that I had. Now, I'm talking about Kaua'i fishing.

KM: Yes.



Discusses deep sea fishing, and methods of fishing at various locations around Kaua'i:

- VA: Deep sea fishing. When I used to go long-line fishing. We had experiences out at sea especially in the Kīpūkai area. Had plenty 'ahi twenty miles off from shore.
- KM: For real! twenty miles out.
- VA: Yes.
- KM: May I ask you a question before we go into your time of this. Were any of the fishermen out in the Hā'ena, Wainiha section doing deep sea fishing or was it mostly near shore?
- VA: No. Only us.
- KM: Only you folks. Now when you said you came to Kaua'i in '53 and when you would go out deep sea fishing. Who were you going with? Was it Hawaiians or was it others?
- VA: The Japanese, who had the boats.
- KM: Yes.
- VA: But, they fished Hawaiian style.
- KM: Okay.
- VA: We went long-line fishing and long-line fishing, we used to lay about seventeen miles. The wonderful part about it was we had a long line machine that would pull the line in better than what we could do by hand.
- KM: It was a winch like, it would roll, wheel up?
- VA: Yes.
- KM: On a long-line how are your hooks spaced? How many hooks do you have?
- VA: Six hooks to a basket.
- KM: Okay.
- VA: And the length of the...the depth of our hook line is hundred-eighty feet.
- KM: Wow!
- VA: A hundred-eighty feet long. The branch line is a hundred eighty-feet.
- KM: Between each basket area?
- VA: Yes.
- KM: Hundred eighty feet and it would drop a hundred and eighty feet as well.
- VA: No. That's the depth.
- KM: Yes.
- VA: Then you have the branch line going that, hundred eighty feet.
- KM: I see.
- VA: And then the floats, another hundred eighty feet.
- KM: Ahh.
- VA: When you retrieve them, you pull the main line in and in between you have to take the floats, hundred eighty feet. That one you pull it in by hand. But the main line is always run by machine. When you catch the fish, the hundred eighty feet you have to fight it all by hand.



KM: For real! What kinds of fish were you catching with long-line?

VA: *'Ahi, ono, mahimahi*, sword fish. They all get tangled to it.

KM: Are these baited?

VA: Yes. We use sardines, smelt and fresh *īkā* if we can get it.

KM: Yes.

VA: With the *īkā* and the sardines we salted it. Even the smelt and we used to buy it, I think it was \$200.00 a ton.

KM: Wow!

VA: We used to keep it in refrigeration and we go get what we need and then we salted it. We salted it the day before we sailed.

KM: Yes.

VA: These were the baits that we used.

KM: You would leave from Nāwiliwili?

VA: Yes. You know that was another trick that we used to do. Because my friend and I, the owner of the boat.

KM: Who was that?

VA: Ichiro Ishiguro. I told Ichiro I said, "You know I got to make money for my family." Those days if you made three hundred and fifty dollars a month you can survive. We used to go out red flag and all. When they put out the flag for the storm we go fishing anyway. I used to fish about thirteen days out of every month, that's the minimum. When the weather is good we would fish twenty-five to thirty days.

KM: Wow!

VA: In the process of fishing I had to catch thirty shibis a month weighing a hundred and fifty-five pounds for me to make a living.

KM: Yes.

VA: Within that fifteen days of each month we had a lot of fish at that time, so I was able to survive. I fished four years until I got tired.

KM: *Shibi* is what kind of fish in Hawaiian?

VA: *'Ahi*.

KM: A different kind of *'ahi*?

VA: Yes. *'Ahi* [thinking] ...you see there's several different species of *'ahi*. In Kona we catch the bank *shibi* which the Japanese call *kabachi shibi*. This type of *shibi* doesn't have any long fin, it's slender and it goes up to eighty pounds at the most.

KM: Two and a half feet or something?

VA: Yes. That type of fish if you gut them, that bugga is stink just like shark. You got to get rid of that blood.

KM: Yes.

VA: In spite of it the market used to love it because it was tender. Then you have the yellow fin, the big eye. The big eye tuna that they call blue fin tuna.

KM: *'Ae*.



VA: Then you have the *maguro* is the, that's the one goes up to fifteen-hundred pounds.

KM: Wow! *Maguro*?

Recalls the *kina'u* tuna used to come in to Hanalei; also the mainland mackerel:

VA: *Maguro* that's what they call it. The joint tuna. In Kona we used to catch it during the winter months. Deep, deep, deep... ..Now you take the Hanalei area at one time they had plenty *kina'u*, we call the nickname in English, I think they're called dog teeth tuna.

KM: Dog teeth tuna?

VA: They had like that there you know [gestures the growth of teeth protruding out]. They grow about this size.

KM: Fifteen inches or so.

VA: Yes. Hanalei used to be loaded with it you know, right in the bay. And also mainland sardines, but they were not fat like the mainland kind.

KM: Would come in?

VA: Yes.

KM: Wow!

VA: And mackerel we would catch them in Hanalei Bay.

KM: Not the Hawaiian kind?

VA: No. The mackerel although they look like the mainland kind, but no more oil. It spoils quick. Even the sardine but the sardine was exactly what you find inside the California can of sardines. Being a navigator I used to study the currents in Hawai'i evidently it was something like the El Nino.

KM: Ahh.

VA: Whereas certain times when the water gets cold in our latitude because the current swirls on the northern latitude right and on the southern latitude you go in the opposite direction.

KM: Yes.

VA: I'm assuming that when the current comes down so far especially in the Hawaiian islands. Kaua'i being on the northern part of the Hawaiian islands these sardines come down together with them and Hanalei is the most northern part.

KM: To catch and it's wide open?

VA: Yes. And that's how they came inside.

KM: Amazing!

VA: I tell you, you know we used to catch 'em by the... You hook until you stop hooking. Then you have to ice them all up, otherwise it would spoil.

KM: For real.

VA: Yes. The mackerel... And it was mainland mackerel, sardine. But the *kina'u* was unique. It had, you know the front part?

KM: Just like the teeth overlap, the top and bottom?

VA: Yes. If you catch them you have to be careful.

KM: They bite you? [chuckles]

VA: Behind get teeth you know. That's what we used to call them, *kina'u*.



KM: *Kina'u*, but dog teeth tuna?

VA: Yes. [discusses another fish the call dog teeth tuna, down under]

KM: How big would the *kina'u* get?

VA: About [describing with hands]...

KM: Fifteen inches.

VA: About six, seven pounds.

KM: Six, seven pounds.

VA: Yes. We used to troll inside the bay. When we put our *nehu* net we used to catch them in the *nehu* net. Boy that place used to be just loaded with *nehu*. And we, I think it was us who depleted the ocean, plus the pollution.

KM: Yes.

Pāpa'i "Kona Crab" were also caught outside of Hanalei:

VA: [pauses] Kona crab.

KM: Yes, Kona crab, good.

VA: The Kona crab was loaded in Hanalei you know. Even along shore, you would find the Kona crabs.

KM: Amazing!

VA: Yes.

KM: Usually you go pretty deep right?

VA: Yes. Kona crab is thirty fathoms. Everybody is hooked on 30-fathoms, even here on Kaua'i. And when I tell the fishermen, "Why the heck you guys go only 30-fathoms, the most I went is 75-fathoms."

KM: To get Kona crab?

VA: Yes. Sometimes 100-fathoms you know. That's when you catch the big kind.

KM: Twelve inches across?

VA: Yes.

KM: Wow!

VA: They never believe me.

Walū fishing outside of Kīlauea:

KM: What is the most unusual fish you ever caught?

VA: Oh *walū*.

KM: *Walū*, the oil fish.

VA: Yes. Kīlauea get loads. Like I say you know, we fishermen no like, they don't believe us. And in order to catch that fish, if you want to catch 'em you go fish night time and you catch one other fish. It's a transparent fish that we call [thinking], it's a prehistoric fish, transparent and the teeth are like that. They grow about that big.

KM: Twelve inches.

VA: You hook that and you send it down you catch the *walū*.



KM: You're kidding!

VA: Yes. And the *walu* is about sixty or seventy pounds.

KM: Wow!

VA: If you get that fish I tell you, that bugga get sort of like the dark maroon with... They no more scales but they get plenty something like the *kala*.

KM: It's rough?

VA: Rough. Get little *kūkūs* on them.

KM: Yes.

VA: When you catch them as it comes up the bugga is all lighted up.

KM: For real!

VA: They're phosphorous.

KM: Phosphorous all over the *walu*?

VA: Yes.

KM: How deep do you fish for *walu*?

VA: For the *walu* it's about a 100-fathoms.

KM: Wow!

VA: Lately when they started catching 'ahi night time, my friend used to catch them. And he said "the first time they went they think this is good fish for eat." Half of the family went to the hospital, no can stop.

KM: Yes, no can stop the *hī*.

VA: Yes. Us in Kona when my brother used to catch it he used to filet it and then he'd look for a coconut tree and turn it with the meat out.

KM: The skin facing to the tree?

VA: Yes.

KM: Filet, open up?

VA: And wait until the oil drips.

KM: He would nail it to the tree?

VA: Yes. Nail it to the tree.

KM: And the oil drips out of the meat?

VA: Yes. They leave it out there for one month.

KM: You're kidding!

VA: Yes. The flies, nothing, no even the ants like it.

KM: Wow! One month you have to let it drip?

VA: The meat is white but once it starts to drip out you leave it in the sun she's going to turn yellow. The meat is going to turn yellow. And she drip, drip, drip until almost, it's pretty near all gone. Then they take it off the tree and they put *pa'akai*. Just salt it.

KM: When the filet it first time and dry 'em they don't salt it?

VA: No, no it's just like that.



KM: Let it go just like that.

VA: Let it go like that. No flies or anything is going to attack it, not even the bugs.

KM: How did you cook or eat the *walu* then?

VA: You eat it like how you eat butterfish. Because the salt is inside there and it's firm.

KM: Yes.

VA: You boil it until all the water comes out or you soak it so most of the salt comes out. And the thing is real *'ono*, and you no more *'ōkole hī*. [chuckles] I did something different and it was fileted and then salt 'em and then freeze it, and then steam. Steam until all the oil and the salt come out.

KM: You didn't need to wait for a month then?

VA: No, no.

KM: Oh, so if you filet 'em, salt 'em, freeze.

VA: Yes.

KM: Then you come back out and you steam 'em.

VA: You steam 'em.

KM: Then you can drop all that oil out. You have to steam it for a long time then.

VA: Yes. About two or three hours. That was one way of preventing that *'ōkole hī*. And the same thing we used to do...you know I learned a lot from the Pākē's. You know you get salt beef or salt pork like that, they never did boil 'um, they would steam 'um. They made a big pot and steamed 'um all day, and eventually the salt will all come out, and when you eat 'um, the thing is just right. You know, good thing you record all this.

KM: Yes, it is.

VA: It's still practical today. They had a knack of preserving food.

KM: Your *kūpuna* knew.

VA: Yes.

KM: And how you could *kaula'i* because there were times when you couldn't go out into the ocean.

Discusses Hawaiian values and conservation ethics:

VA: That's another story about that one. My *kūpuna* during the winter months, it's real rough. They would *kaula'i* all their *i'a*, different species and take them home and they hang 'em up inside the *'eke palaoa* so the flies can't get it.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: They would use that during their winter months. If any of the family had throw net, that's when they used to use the *imu*.

KM: 'Ae. They would go down *lae kahaka'i*?

VA: Yes.

KM: Sheltered areas and make *imu*?

VA: And make the *imu*. And when high tide they would go where the *manini* feed so they make the *imu*, in the *lua*, and then when high tide they jump inside the water and all the fish go inside the *imu*. Then they *kiloi* the *'upena*. There were times the *pūhi* stay inside, but they were very careful they knew how to get rid of the *pūhi*. They always came home full of *manini*, *maiko*, *halahala*.



KM: They went in from the shore side?

VA: Yes.

KM: They were able to still get fish even during the rough time.

VA: Yes.

KM: I understand that in *wā kahiko* as you say, when the *kūpuna* time that there were even seasons like six months they would get *‘ōpelu* no touch *aku*.

VA: Right.

KM: And then *kapu* that *‘ōpelu* and they could take *aku*. It's like they were letting the fish rest.

VA: That's how we conserved and preserved. Whereas when the other ethnic groups came inside, it's "all for me and the hell with you," you know.

KM: 'Ae. Well, that's the thing about the Hawaiian conservation, *kapu*, ethic or *konohiki*. Just like you said even out here at Hā'ena or at Kona, people knew who was fishing where and they don't bother. When it opened up the American system said, "no, you can't have private fisheries, it's opened to everyone."

VA: Yes.

KM: No more responsibility now.

VA: Yes, you're right.

KM: So, people would take everything.

VA: Everything!

KM: And from outside our own people. If they took all their *he'e* from where they are they come down and take all your *he'e*.

Akanas formerly held the *Konohiki* rights in the 'Anini section; discusses last *Konohiki* fisheries on Kaua'i:

VA: Okay. You know in the Kalihi Wai area.

KM: Yes.

VA: The Akanas had the *konohiki* over there. That Wanini they call that 'Anini today.

KM: Yes.

VA: The Wanini area, from Wanini all the way down to the end was loaded with *he'e*. The old man Akana used to pick so much and then he sold. Nobody could go over there.

KM: Here's Kalihi Wai section here. [looking at Register Map No. 1395]

VA: Yes. All the way down here you know up to over here at the end. He had the *konohiki* and the guy wouldn't sell the *he'e* to the local people. He would sell it all to Honolulu.

KM: Oh. He kept the *konohiki* until when do you think?

VA: Well, the whole issue came out when I was fishing on the *aku* boat. Nāwiliwili Bay was *kapu* for mullet, *moi*, and the different species. This man Coney, he was the tax assessor also, he had the *konohiki* for the Nāwiliwili area.

KM: Is that Coney?

VA: Yes.

KM: They had a place before down at Nāwiliwili right?



VA: Yes... [discusses land acquired by tax assessor through adverse possession] ...When I was an *aku* fisherman that was in 1958 and 1959. We'd come into Nāwiliwili and fish for *nehu* and there were times we never caught *nehu*. [chuckling] We would catch the mullet, but there's no way because we anchor the boat outside.

KM: Right.

VA: This night we tied the boat right next to the pier. We drifted out and Coney thought we were fishing inside the *konohiki*. We anchored the boat towards the latter part of the pier, not where the pier was. Coney shot at us with a 30-30.

KM: Geez!

VA: That night, our skipper radioed Honolulu, to Captain Kananui. He was a navy commander, and was the president of the Kauai Tuna Boats Association. Captain Kananui decided to go to the legislature and abolish all the *konohiki*s. That's how the *konohiki* was abolished, through us.

KM: In the late '50s then?

VA: Yes.

KM: You were working on a tuna boat?

VA: Yes.

KM: What boat were you working on?

VA: *Tradewind* and the *Holokahana*.

KM: Who was your captain?

VA: Junichi Itakagi, I think. He was the skipper for the *Tradewind*. And for the *Holokahana* was the old man Teramoto...

KM: Hmm. One interesting thing about the *konohiki* was that in the old days, in that system, everyone had responsibilities.

VA: Yes.

KM: Now, again that it's all free, no more responsibility.

VA: Yes.

KM: So Bill Kananui went to the legislature, and they abolished the remaining *konohiki* fisheries here on Kaua'i?

VA: Yes. That included Kalihi Wai.

KM: Akana at Kalihi Wai?

VA: Ahukini. Ahukini had a *konohiki* over there too.

KM: Do you remember what their *kapu fish* was? You told me Nāwiliwili's.

VA: Mullet.

KM: Mullet at Ahukini?

VA: Yes. Mullet and akule. Every time you went into Ahukini the Kelekoma family. Old man Kelekoma was the *konohiki* over there. Nāwiliwili was Coney. At Lawa'i kai there was a *konohiki* over there too.

KM: Yes. Who was the *konohiki* at that time?

VA: [thinking]

KM: Went to the *haole*, Allerton?



VA: Yes, Allerton.

KM: Oh. So, he took the *konoiki*?

VA: Yes.

KM: Interesting.

VA: He had the *konoiki* over there too, at the same time.

KM: Do you remember what kind of fish they took?

VA: There was akule, mullet.

KM: 'Ae. How about the Nōmilu section?

VA: I wasn't familiar with the Nōmilu side because we only fished all this side here.

KM: 'Ae. Interesting yeah.

VA: Yes.

KM: Changes. You see the one interesting thing about the *konoiki* was that in the old days in that system, everyone had responsibilities.

VA: Yes.

KM: Now, again that it's all free, no more responsibility.

It's not enough to keep making regulations; existing regulations must be enforced:

VA: When you talk about replenishing the ocean. Jeremy Harris, when he lived here on Kaua'i he was a council man, he is a biologist by profession... He had spoken of setting up a moratorium so certain areas so fish couldn't be taken. I was the only Hawaiian there, and I asked him... Like Wai'alaie-Kāhala they had the moratorium. I asked him, "How soon will that Wai'alaie-Kāhala moratorium open?" He said, "within four years." Then I asked him, "Do you have any regulations after the four years?" "What do you mean?" I said, "After the four years, under the freedom act we have, there's no way you are going to tell me no go, and in one month's time, all that four is years is going down the drain."

KM: Because they didn't regulate how you're going to take?

VA: Yes, they didn't regulate.

KM: And that was what the *konoiki* did basically before.

VA: Yes.

KM: They knew of the *lawai'a nui*. "You can go here now." or, "No, so and so went already." They were dividing the fish among families in the old days.

VA: Yes.

KM: Everybody had, right.

VA: And I said, "You know I can go from here to Honolulu, Wai'alaie."

KM: Because of the freedom act?

VA: Yes. And you have no control.

KM: Yes.

VA: And I said, "Do you expect to do that here in Kaua'i...?"

KM: ...Your *mana'o* is very important in this because even if we set up a moratorium and you have a *kapu*, "No can fish for this amount of time." What, how you do you care for it when you open it?



VA: Yes. That is the most important part.

KM: That's right.

VA: To control. You just don't have a moratorium and then after that certain amount of years, and then you're going to open 'um.

KM: It kind of reminds me of what happens on the land they say, 'oh, the sheep or the goats, pigs are all bad in here. We go fence 'em off, get them all out.' But if you don't take care of the inside.

VA: Yes.

KM: All the weeds, everything.

VA: Yes.

KM: You can't just lock it off, you have to manage it.

VA: That's like what's happening in Kona. You know the donkeys, the wild donkeys?

KM: Yes... ..Things have changed today, significantly?

VA: Yes.

KM: The skill and knowledge that you had as fishermen, it was not just the knowledge to take.

VA: Yes.

KM: What I hear from you and others, like Uncle Walter *mā*, is that you knew limitations, take so much and leave.

VA: Yes, we knew...

KM: You know, if our own people don't respect. They take because it's their right.

VA: You know what they said, "If the other guys can take, I can take too."

KM: That's right. *Aloha!*

VA: I feel real bad but like I said, you cannot, if I keep on talking, I going cause hard feelings. I just got to sit back and at our age, it isn't worth fighting.

KM: That's right, you're right.

VA: I always tell them I said, "You know you're not looking to the future, your children."

KM: That's right. And I guess that was your folks way of life and what was handed down from your *kūpuna*. Not just today?

VA: They always told us, "Take what you need, and if you get too much, give to your neighbors."

KM: Yes.

VA: That's what I learned until today... ..That's how we used to live, sharing and caring...
Revive the old *Konohiki* system to restore the fisheries:

KM: Do you have some thoughts? Should they try and revive some aspects of the old system of *konohiki* or stewardship and fishery?

VA: Yes. Like I said but it's hard, that's where education comes in. Because of the different ethnic people that are moving in. The immigrants who have no knowledge of conservation and preservation.

KM: You're right.



VA: You take like, the Filipino's, they fished out the Philippines and the different islands. And they're starting to move into the barrier reefs and they were ushered out.

KM: That's right.

VA: Then they went to Indonesia. They took everything they never left anything back... There's an example now, during my time we had only local fishermen fishing here.

KM: Yes.

VA: Then in the '80s and the '90s you had fishermen from Florida. They fished out of Florida and ripped them all out. Now you have Vietnamese fishermen who have no knowledge of conservation and preservation.

KM: Yes.

VA: They come to Hawai'i and they bring their boats with them. Then all of a sudden we get hundred fifty fishing boats whereas at one time we had only about twenty or thirty. That's where in conservation and preservation, we were able to sustain. Nobody took more than what they could afford.

KM: Right.

VA: But when you have these outer people coming in and when they fish they get so lazy, the FADS. They put their fishing lines right next to the FADS and then they take everything.

KM: Gosh!

VA: Hawai'i is not old Hawai'i where we fished the hard way and gained our knowledge. Whereas today you don't have to be a fisherman. Go to school learn about the depth recorder, the GPS. That's another drawback having the depth recorders and the GPS. These local fishermen they only put 'em in their head they don't write it down. They're using these depth recorders there's no proof or something to sustain where they can pinpoint it. They go with the assumption and write it down the certain depth.

KM: Right.

VA: They still never learn about the currents...

KM: 'Ae...

Recalls hearing that Barlow Chu's mother was a skilled *he'e* fisherwoman:

VA: ...Barlow's the mother by the way, is one of the old man Kinney's daughters.

KM: Ohh.

VA: And she was one of the top *he'e* fishermen down Hā'ena.

KM: I guess the *he'e* was a big thing on the *papa* out in the Hā'ena area.

VA: Yes. That's why Barlow was telling me, you know we used to go with his mama. He walked in front and she come behind she catch the *he'e* all behind him.

KM: [chuckling]

VA: She no spear, she go catch 'em by hand. She was one of the best squiders in Hā'ena. She was well-known for that...

Recalls Kalani Tai Hook as a fisherman in the Halele'a District:

KM: Hmm. You knew Tai Hook also?

VA: Yes. Kalani was the mayor for Hanalei [chuckling]. He tell our fishermen and captain, he own all of Hanalei. And no worry come over here I catch 'em, I go *kilo* for you. They had one *ahu* down at the park they had one tall *ahu*. Kalani them went make it for them for their own.



KM: In Hanalei bay, the park?
 VA: In Hanalei bay.
 KM: They made a big stone pile?
 VA: No. Made out of 'ōhi'a.
 KM: Ahh.
 VA: He stay on top there and he tell us where all the fish. We knew where the fish was but...you throw the act [chuckles]. He was a wonderful guy you know!
 KM: Yes.
 VA: Naturally when we get big kind *aku* we give him. So he'd disappear.
 KM: Aunty Lychee is his sister?
 KM: Sister.
 VA: Lychee is the sister... [discussing preparations for interview with Lychee Haumea Agnes Chun] [end of interview]

Valentine Ako
Supplemental Oral History Notes
June 21, 2003 – with Kepā Maly

Discusses a *ko'a aku*, fished outside of Hanakāpī'ai, Nāpali.

KM: ...Tell me, when you were going up, you folks fished around Ni'ihau. Did you go to Nihoa like that or?
 VA: No, that's one place we didn't go to, Nihoa, only when I was with the Fish & Wildlife. When I was *aku* fishing, those days had loads of *aku* all over. Even outside here and you know at Kalalau?
 KM: Yes.
 VA: [thinking] What's the first bay, I kind of forget already.
 KM: Nu'alolo section, going that way?
 VA: No, after.
 KM: Hanakoa.
 VA: After we past Kē'ē.
 KM: Hanakāpī'ai section?
 VA: Hanakāpī'ai. Over there get *pali*, and they had shearwaters, they used to feed all on top there. But now no more, you know the reason why? The helicopters.
 KM: Oh, yeah?
 VA: That was one *aku* ground. We would catch this kind size *aku* over there.
 KM: Fourteen, fifteen inch kind, eighteen?
 VA: Yes. By the thousands, those birds used to...we used to go over there when it's strong wind and they fly out.
 KM: Yes.
 VA: And they feed on our bait and the ocean one. Now the birds no stay. That's what happens you know.



KM: Out that Hanakāpī'ai section, had a *ko'a* then?

VA: Yes, there was one *ko'a* over there. We never go further down. You know in that Nāpali coast area is kind of dead so if you go down by Mānā then the *aku* start feeding over there, and they feed outside Kīlauea.

KM: You mentioned Kinney family, I found at Bishop Museum, a *mo'olelo* that a W.H. Kinney, the one from the Waimea side. They are same family with Hā'ena, with Uncle Charlie. Remember you were telling us one of the brothers went to Waimea?

VA: Yes.

The *mā'ula'ula* fish:

KM: In 1907 he was writing a story about shark god's of the Ni'ihau, Nihoa, Kaua'i section. He names two of the shark god's out in that Nāpali section. One is Mākua and the other is Kaluaikaikona [see account translated in Volume I of this study].

VA: Ohh!

KM: He was talking about fishing in this *mo'olelo* about the shark Kuhaimoana is the chief shark god, he lives up in the Nihoa section. He was talking about a fish called *mā'ula'ula*.

VA: *Mā'ula'ula*?

KM: He said it's a small little fish, bright red with a goldish colored tail that is not seen very often. Do you recognize that fish name by any chance?

VA: We used to catch that kind fish you know in Kona. You know that fish, golden looking and right above the eyes had two... [gestures]

KM: Whisker like?

VA: Like lights.

KM: Ohh!

VA: It's night time you looking at it, get...

KM: Almost iridescent?

VA: Yes. You know, we didn't know what the fish looked like. The fish, we caught the fish but nobody had any inkling it was a prehistoric fish. We used to get them in Kona.

KM: Red, but goldish?

VA: Yes.

KM: Small fish?

VA: Yes.

KM: He describes it...

VA: Just the size of one small *manini*.

KM: Okay. Good, good, that's wonderful! You'll like this story, I'll send it to you. I'm going to send it to Uncle Charlie too because that's *'ohana* right?

VA: Yes.

KM: And you fished with?

VA: Ernest.

KM: Ernest and Richard them. I thought, *mā'ula'ula*...and that's the name I don't see. It's not recorded in fish lists, but it's in his *mo'olelo*. He said red fish, small. It ends up though that this *mā'ula'ula* was also a body form...you know how they are *kūpua*, they can change?



VA: Yes.

KM: A body form of one of the shark god's. They said it was good eating evidently.....
Describes the Hā'ena style of making *lāwalu* fish:

VA: ...The Hā'ena people, Uncle Charlie them, you ask Uncle Charlie them, how they make their *lāwalu*.

KM: That's what I was just going to ask you. You had spoken to me about that before, about the *lāwalu* it was a different style.

VA: You know, that's the Hā'ena style. Nobody else on the island knows how to that on the *lā'ī*. Five *lā'ī*. Did you see how?

KM: No, you were talking to me about it.

VA: Wait over here I'm going to get five *lā'ī*.

KM: I'll come with you.

VA: I went all over the island and throughout the state and nobody, they all get the *wili* one.

KM: Yes.

VA: [demonstrating preparation of the *lāwalu* while talking] Say this is the fish... You hold it like this here, and you wrap this right here. You see where the *puka* is over here?

KM: 'Ae.

VA: You do that the same way, the opposite way. Then you turn it over and you make this...

KM: A third leaf.

VA: Third leaf and turn it over like that.

KM: Uh-hmm. And the fourth leaf is going...what you're doing is you're closing in all the pukas so the juice no run out?

VA: Yes. You turn it over like this here and the fifth is right here. Now, we got to always remember our *kūpuna* never had string.

KM: Yes. You peel off part of the *lā'ī*, you make a loop?

VA: You make the loop. Then you *wili*.

KM: 'Ae. And you stick it in?

VA: Then you stick it in like that and you hook.

KM: 'Ae, and then *pa'a*.

VA: Yes.

KM: Amazing!

VA: And then you know when you *pūlehu* before the *lā'ī* burns out the fourth and fifth leaf is still good, and everything is cooked inside.

KM: Wow, amazing!

VA: This is the Hā'ena method. Every island I went they all would *wili*. Make seven or eight leaves, long way.

KM: Yes.

VA: When I showed Richard Paglinawan them, they were so surprised.

KM: It is and it's logical it's like a *pū'olo* kind of.



VA: Yes. Richard said, “This is going to be the Ako method.” I said, “No way, don’t give me the credit.”

KM: Hā’ena families?

VA: Yes, Hā’ena families.

KM: Who was it that you learned this from?

VA: Uncle Barlow.

KM: Uncle Barlow.

VA: That’s from the Chu family.

KM: ‘Ae. And their *Tūtū* Hailama *mā*.

VA: Yes. Hailama. Today, I don’t know if the younger generation knows how to do it.

KM: ‘Ae. *Mahalo*.

VA: And you can even make it more perfect if you dump this in hot water to soften...so when you wrap it up.

KM: Yes. That’s right, because when you soften the *iwi*, then it won’t crack.

VA: Yes. This is the method.

KM: *Mahalo*. I remember you spoke to me about this years ago.

VA: It’s *pa’a*.

KM: That’s the neat thing, because you just *wili* a couple times but leave...so you can...

VA: Like this one here, you can use this one here and you can use this one here, the opposite way.

KM: ‘Ae.

VA: Even when you make your *laulau* you just make it like that.

KM: How simple yeah...just *pelu* one down, *wili* one time through and then you just pull it down.

VA: Pull it down.

KM: And then it’s *pa’a*. Good, *mahalo!*

VA: That’s how all my *laulau*, I don’t tie with the string.

KM: I noticed you had that style on the *laulau*.

VA: Very few people know about this you know. In one of Richard’s book he and his wife...

KM: Lynette.

VA: Yes, they showed. And I give them credit, I told them, “Don’t you put the Val Ako’s method, you give the credit where the credit is due. The Hā’ena people.” Very few Hā’ena people know about this.

KM: Now, yes.

VA: It’s only the Chu family and I don’t know if the Mahuikis, I never did see them and the Makas. The younger generation they didn’t know.

KM: Mahalo nui, thank you for sharing that. I wanted to ask you...

VA: Anything you like know...

KM: May I hold on to this?



VA: Yes.

KM: That's really cool, nice.

VA: When I *lāwalu*, I always use this one. People surprised, they say, "Who taught you to make all this kind stuff?" I said, "Not from Kona." I've been on Kaua'i 50 years already. You know that's how long we've been here.

KM: I know it's amazing!

VA: Yes. Aunty and I, on July the 10th we'll be married 50 years all together with our extra years of courtship we've been together about 55 years.

KM: That's right because you came up early.

VA: Half of my life was over here. As much as I love Kona, it's not the Kona that I remember. Although I love the ocean... [end of excerpts for Kaua'i fishing customs]



**Agnes Leinani Kam Lun Chung and
Mary “Lychee” Kamakaka‘ōnohi‘ulaokalā Tai Hook-Haumea
February 17, and June 18, 2003 – at Anahola, Kaua‘i (KPA Photo No.’s S316 & S320)
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly and Valentine K. Ako**



Agnes Leinani Kam Lun Chung was born in 1921 at Wainiha. She is the daughter of a pure Hawaiian woman with generational ties to lands of the Halele‘a (Lumaha‘i and Wainiha) and Kekaha regions of Kaua‘i, and a pure Chinese father. Kupuna’s family raised *kalo* in Wainiha, and fished in the streams and near-shore waters. She shares detailed descriptions of customs and practices of the Hawaiians in her youth, and recollections of the Wainiha-Hā‘ena community in the 1920s-1930s.

Mary “Lychee” Kamakaka-‘ōnohi‘ulaokalā Tai Hook-Haumea, was born at Wainiha in 1913. The daughter of a pure Hawaiian woman and a pure Chinese man. Her Hawaiian ancestry ties her to families with generations of residency in Wainiha and the larger Halele‘a region. Her older brother, Kalani Tai Hook, a lead fisherman of the Halele‘a and Nāpali districts was married to *Kupuna* Agnes’ sister; she is also the elder aunt of Aunty Annie Hashimoto (interviewed as a part of this study). *Kupuna* Lychee, shares her recollections of life in Wainiha and Hā‘ena, describing working the land, fishing, the families, and practices associated with *lā‘au lapa‘au*.



Initial arrangements to meet and conduct the interview were initiated by *Kupuna* Valentine Ako, who first met *Kupuna* Lychee in the 1950s, when she owned a fish and Hawaiian food shop in China Town, on O‘ahu.



Kupuna Agnes Leinani Kam Lun Chung and *Kupuna* Mary “Lychee” Kamakaka‘ōnohi‘ulaokalā Tai Hook-Haumea granted their personal release of the interview records to Maly on June 18, 2003.

KM: *Aloha nui.*

AC/LH: *Aloha.*

KM: *Kupuna, e kala mai ia‘u. Hemahema wau ma ka ‘ōlelo makuahine, but inā makemake wala‘au...kama‘ilio Hawai‘i, kama‘ilio Hawai‘i, namu haole, namu nō.*

LH: Yes [chuckling].

AC: I can understand, but.

LH: For talk, cannot.

KM: Yes. Hard because of growing up time...

LH/AC: Yes.

KM: Home, use Hawaiian and go school *kapae ‘ia*, no can right?

LH/AC: Yes.

KM: I have a few old maps of Kaua‘i for you also. These old maps you folks keep. Has old place names and things on it. I’ll leave this here for you. There’s two sets of maps one for each of your families...

KM: *Tūtū* may I ask you your full name?

AC: My full name, now or before?

KM: Before, how you *hānau*?

AC: When I was young I was called Leinani, in Hawaiian and in Chinese Kam Lun.

KM: Kam Lun.

AC: I didn’t have an English name until I went to school. And I spoke Hawaiian when I was young.

KM: ‘Ae.

AC: I had a *haole* teacher, so she couldn’t write Hawaiian, so she gave me a choice to choose Agnes or something else. So she told me to write in the air the alphabet, so I wrote Agnes. Was easy for me. So that’s why I have Agnes Leinani Kam Lun Chung.

KM: Chung.

Kupuna Agnes’ father was a rice planter in Wainiha; describes the season of planting and milling rice:

AC: Yes. My father was a rice planter, a farmer in Wainiha. My mother was Hawaiian. We had our rice patch, was from the store.

KM: Yes.

AC: It was Nakatsuji store before, up to the twin bridge.

KM: Wow!

AC: That was the rice field.

KM: Yes...



Mother taught her to respect the land and sea, you “don’t *kāpulu* the place; and you always ask permission:”

AC: ...My mother was Hawaiian, she taught us to respect the land and the sea. Not to *kāpulu* the *kahawai* and the *kai*. When we go up to the mountain, we must respect, don’t *kāpulu* the place.

KM: ‘Ae.

AC: If we have to do it you, what you call... [thinking]

KM: *Pule, hui kala mai ia’u.*

AC: Yes. You ask permission.

KM: *Noi mua.*

AC: Yes...

Family gathered ‘*o’opu* and ‘*ōpae* from the *mauka* streams, also gathered ‘*uwīuwī* fern. You never just discarded the bones of the fish, but carefully disposed of them.

AC: ...She taught us to respect the place and the *kai*. My mother used to go fishing and catch ‘*o’opu*. She only took salt and *poi* and match to make fire. She’d make *pūlehu*. She’d catch the fish with her hand.

KM: *Hāhā ‘o’opu?*

LH: ‘Ae.

AC: And then ‘*ōpae*. We used ti leaf for plate. The bones she...when you *pau* eat, you put it on the fire to burn.

KM: Ah, so you don’t leave the *koena* behind.

AC: Yes. I remember my mother going, she always took me because I was the youngest. I saw her doing all those things.

KM: Yes.

AC: And catch ‘*ōpae*. We used to catch ‘*ōpae* and eat *uwīuwī*. You know what is *uwīuwī*?

KM: *Uwīuwī?*

LH: Fern.

AC: That’s fern something like [thinking] what do you call that kind now.

KM: *Hō’i’o?*

AC: Yes, *hō’i’o*. This is small.

KM: So *uwīuwī*?

LH/AC: Yes.

AC: That’s on the twin bridge going up.

KM: *Mauka*, going up *mauka*?

AC: Yes. My mother used to go and catch, when she wants to eat *poi* we had *poi*. When she wants to eat fish Hawaiian style, not *Pākē* style. Then she used to go up the *kahawai* and catch.

KM: ‘*O’opu*?



LH: Yes.
KM: So *hāhā*, with the hand?
AC: Yes.
KM: No net?
AC: No net.
KM: She *hāhā* 'o'opu?
LH/AC: Yes.
KM: Oh.

Caught *manini* near the shore and collected *loli* (describes preparation):

AC: And then when she wants to go to the ocean, the *kai*, she catch *manini*, the small kind with her hand. That she *pūlehu* or eat raw. [chuckles] We used to eat *loli*, the hard one.
KM: Yes. Is that the brown one or black one?
AC: The brown one.
KM: *Loli*.
AC: Hard but when she makes it, it comes soft.
KM: How did she prepare the *loli*?
AC: I don't know I only seen her rubbing it [gestures with her hands].
KM: Scraping and rubbing it. *Pa'akai*, no *pa'akai*?
AC: After.
KM: After.
AC: When she rubs, and then when it's ready, then she slits it open gets all the *na'au*.
KM: The *wali*.
AC: Then she slices it and it comes soft.
KM: You eat *loli*?
AC: Yes.
KM: 'Ono?
LH: [chuckling] No.
AC: 'Ono. I eat *loli*, *he'e* raw. I never used to eat *wana* until later on, then I ate *wana*, and I love it.
KM: Love it, yes.
AC: [thinking]
KM: *Wana*, *he'e*, *manini*. You said sometimes 'ai *maka*.
AC: Yes.
KM: *Pūlehu*, *kō'ala*?
AC: 'Ai *maka* or *pūlehu*. The small baby kind.
KM: Small *manini*.



AC: Yes.

KM: Not *piaea*?

Collected *ōpihi*, *limu*, and *wana* from the shore along Wainiha and Lumaha'i:

AC: I think so. When we used to go make *ōpihi*. No eating while they picking up the *ōpihi*, not even the *limu*. She was one of the [chuckles] best *ōpihi* pickers.

LH: [chuckling]

AC: I go with her, she's just like the mountain goat.

KM: All over the *pali*, the *lae kahakai*.

AC: At Lumaha'i. In half an hour she would have a full bag of *ōpihi*.

KM: 'Ae.

Families would only take what was needed; observed *kapu* of not eating *ōpihi* when collecting them, and also never turned back to the ocean:

AC: And then she said, "*Lawa*, we go home."

KM: *Ho'i*. You folks, there was almost like *kapu*, when you out picking *ōpihi*, don't eat?

LH: Yes.

AC: No eat.

LH: You cannot eat.

KM: What happens if you eat *ōpihi*?

LH: The sea is rough.

KM: *Kai ko'o*?

LH: Yes.

AC: And then you don't face your *ōkole* to the sea.

KM: 'Ae.

AC: You look to the sea to watch the waves.

KM: Yes...

Names types of *limu* they collected:

AC: [thinking] ...And we had plenty of *limu*, the kind *'ele'ele*., I forget what's the name... oh *pēpe'e*.

KM: *Pēpe'e*.

AC: And *līpoa*.

KM: *Līpoa. Kohu*?

AC: Yes. *Limu kohu*. [thinking] And then at Wanini there was the Peters, Ka'eo, Paiks, and Kaonas, and Kealoha.

KM: So you traveled to all these places when you were young?

AC: My mother was... [chuckling] I don't know, a gypsy, or what. Must be family, because we always went to visit people. We stayed a week or two. Whatever they are doing my mother helped.



KM: 'Ae. What's is your birth date?
AC: December 15, 1921.
KM: Oh, wonderful, it's a blessing...!
...How about your *limu*? Did you folks gather *limu wai*, you know in the *kahawai* has some *limu* too.
AC: Yes.
KM: Did you folks gather *limu wai*?
AC: Yes. That's at Hā'ena, between where the Hanalei Colony, over there used to have lots of *limu 'ele'ele*.
KM: Yes.
AC: Because the *kahawai*, the ditch.
KM: 'Ae. The *'auwai* or *kahawai* goes down.
AC: Yes, was not *kāpulu*.
Taught to respect the ocean and land:
KM: 'Ae. That was an important thing you said mama taught you folks not to *kāpulu* the *'āina*?
AC: Yes.
KM: And don't *kāpulu* the ocean?
AC: Yes.
KM: You folks would go and gather fish or *limu* but you take just what you need?
AC: Yes.
KM: Not just *hana 'ino*.
AC: No. The *limu* you can take but the fish, no.
KM: Just what you need...
Names types of fish caught with nets, between Wainiha and Hā'ena; families always shared the catch:
AC: From Hā'ena to Wainiha.
KM: He made *ku'una*, he made nets, set nets?
AC: Yes.
KM: What kinds of fish do they catch?
AC: *Akule*, the kind *hukilau* kind.
KM: 'Ae.
AC: And *'ō'io*. What else you catch in the net.
VA: *Awa*.
AC: I don't know if they have *awa*.
LH: No, no more *awa*.
AC: No more.



KM: 'Ama'ama?

AC: 'Ama'ama. He never used to sell I think, or maybe he did. [thinking] Yes he sold to the Japanese fish peddler.

KM: Peddler, yes.

AC: But he gave us our chance first to take home. But like now, you wait for your share until they sell all the fish.

LH: [chuckling]

KM: The *koena*?

AC: The *koena*. You go from five all day long we stay down there.

KM: And when had *hukilau*, everybody would come together *huki*. They *māhele i'a*?

AC: Yes.

KM: Right on the *kahakai*?

AC: Yes.

KM: Right off the sandy beach in front of Wainiha?

AC: Yes.

KM: Oh. How were the families all pretty much close and friendly to one another?

AC: Yes. And in Kalihiwai had Akana.

KM: Yes, old man Akana.

AC: He was kind of stingy too [chuckles].

KM: *Pī* [chuckles].

LH: Yes.

AC: Yes. And then the Goos. We were young kids, we used to take the *akule* from the net we broke the head so we cannot sell [laughing]

KM: Oh [chuckles]. So that way guaranteed you get your *māhele* right?

AC: Yes.

KM: Otherwise *kū'ai aku*. [pauses] Wonderful stories!

AC: Uh-hmm...

KM: ...Wonderful. Thank you so much, wonderful stories!

Kupuna, aloha 'oe.

Kupuna Lychee recalls early life in Wainiha, her mother's tie to the land. Family cultivated rice and taro for home use.

LH: *Aloha* [chuckling].

KM: *Kupuna, 'o wai kou inoa?*

LH: Mary Lychee Haumea. Haumea is my married name.

KM: 'Ae. *A ua hānau 'oe i ka makahiki?*

LH: In 1913.

KM: *Ō pōmaika'i nō! Aloha kēia hui 'ana.*



LH: 'Ae [chuckling].
 KM: 'O wai ka inoa o kou po'e mākua, kou makuakāne, 'o wai?
 LH: Apū, Pākē.
 KM: Pākē kou makuakāne?
 LH: Uh-hmm. Tai Hook.
 KM: He hapa Hawai'i oia?
 LH: No, pure Chinese. My mother was pure Hawaiian.
 KM: I see. 'O wai kona inoa?
 LH: Mālia Laepa'a.
 KM: Laepa'a, oh beautiful! Where was mama from?
 LH: Wainiha.
 KM: Hānau 'oia i Wainiha?
 LH: Yes.
 KM: Laepa'a. Where did you folks live in Wainiha?
 LH: Up the Power House Road.
 KM: Power House Road, oh. Did you folks plant taro or did you folks plant rice also?
 LH: My father used to plant rice, not too much, for home use.
 KM: Yes.

Kupuna worked the *lo'i kalo* and helped to rebuild the 'auwai and māno for the irrigation of fields.

LH: And he used to plant taro, and I used to go help him plant taro [chuckles].
 KM: 'Ae. You would take care in the lo'i?
 LH: Yes.
 KM: You get 'auwai come in?
 LH: Yes.
 KM: Did you folks have to make kū māno somewhere, māno wai, mauka?
 AC: Yes.
 LH: Yes. I used to go fix, throw the stones.
 KM: 'Ae.
 AC: Where we lived, my father made māno so the water comes down, that was our water for washing clothes. I remember [thinking] ...and had lots of, you know when the 'o'opu season.
 KM: Yes.

The families fished for 'o'opu nākea and 'akupa and 'ōpae in the streams and muliwai:

AC: In the muliwai had plenty 'o'opu, the head big like this.
 KM: Like your fist. Ohh!
 AC: And the mouth you can put your...



KM: Ohh! So big 'o'opu then?

LH: Yes.

KM: What type of 'o'opu. Has 'o'opu nākea?

LH: *Naked. 'Akupa.*

KM: And when the *hinana*?

AC/LH: Yes.

KM: Small it comes down, or going up stream?

LH: Going up.

AC: We used to get the *hau* branch and shake 'em [gestures gathering the *hinana*] , and we bring 'em up. Then we either eat it raw or my father used to make egg omelet with the *hinana*.

KM: Yes. Good?

LH: 'Ono.

KM: 'Ono.

Group: [all chuckling]

KM: You folks would go up and gather 'ōpae also?

LH: Uh-hmm.

KM: Small kind 'ōpae or big?

AC: Big.

LH: Little bigger [gestures with fingers].

KM: Two inch almost kind. What type of 'ōpae is that has a name 'ōpae? 'Ōpae kala'ole, 'ōpae...?

AC: 'Ōpae kala'ole is the black one. I don't know what it was.

KM: 'Ōpae kahawai though, in the *kahawai*?

LH: Uh-hmm.

AC: Yes. My father used to catch with the hand or net. He used to shake 'em up.

KM: And how did you folks prepare your 'ōpae?

LH: Take out the shell when *pau* put salt.

KM: *Kaula'i* or 'ai *maka*?

AC: *Maka.*

LH: Eat raw, 'ono!

KM: 'Ono.

AC: Next day you put 'inamona in the 'ōpae, and then it comes kind of pinkish like. Then when you eat it, you just press it against your teeth and the meat in the shell comes out!

LH: [chuckling]

KM: And it's 'ono?

LH: 'Ono.



KM: *'Ai maka me ka poi...*

LH: Uh-hmm.

AC: Then, when never had that river *'ōpae*, so I made *'ōpae kala'ole* the same way.

LH: The mountain *'ōpae*.

KM: *'Ae*.

AC: You pound the head, and then you use the *kai* for gravy.

KM: Gravy, so the *kai*.

AC: Yes.

KM: On *laiki*, *'ai i me ka laiki?*

AC: No.

LH: *Poi*.

KM: *Poi* number one [chuckles].

LH: *Poi*. We used to pound *poi*.

KM: You folks still pounded your own *poi* when you were young?

LH: When I was young, I helped my father pound the *poi*.

Both *Kūpuna* discuss near shore fishing:

KM: Did your papa or mama them, did you go fishing too? You folks go *lawai'a*?

LH: No.

KM: Only *kahawai*?

LH: Yes.

KM: How about on the *'āpapa*, you know when you go out on the *'āpapa* get *he'e* like that?

LH: No.

KM: You folks don't go?

LH: No.

AC: What?

KM: Get *he'e* on the *'āpapa*? You said that you go get *he'e*?

AC: Wanini have. We go and hook *'upāpalu*, the moonlight fish. Either we eat it raw or *pūlehu*.

KM: *'Ae...*

Kupuna Lychee's brother, Kalani, was a fisherman; fished *hukilau* at various locations.

KM: ...Now *kupuna*, your brother Kalani?

LH: He was a fisherman.

KM: What kind of fish he would go for?

LH: Go *hukilau*.

KM: What was that like the *hukilau*?

LH: You pull the net they surround the fish. You pull the net.

KM: Get *lau*, *lā'i* all on top?



AC: Yes.

KM: *Lohe paha 'oe i kekāhi mo'olelo e pili 'ana ka manō?*

LH: No.

KM: No sharks out your folks place?

AC: When I was young, had sharks at Wainiha. The Nakatsuji's son caught one. I don't know how long the shark was. But had plenty *akule* that time.

KM: Hmm.

C: Wainiha got plenty tiger sharks, hammerhead. They give birth in the bay. When you *hukilau*, guarantee you catch plenty.

KM: Catch shark, hmm. You know, *ma mua, po'e kūpuna, 'ōlelo lākou, manō...*

LH: Hmm.

KM: *...he 'aumakua Kekāhi. Kekāhi o nā manō, he 'aumakua.*

LH: Yes.

KM: *A'ole 'oukou lohe, you never heard?*

LH: No.

KM: Like sometimes even when they go out *lawai'a*, maybe they tap the canoe, the shark comes and drives the fish (to the nets). You folks didn't hear those kinds of stories?

Recalls that *Kupuna* Hanohano swam from Hā'ena to Kalalau, the *manō* was his guardian:

AC: No. Hanohano, I think the shark was their *'aumakua*. Because from Kalalau to Hā'ena he swam.

KM: Oh.

AC: And he followed the shark or the shark followed him.

LH: [chuckles]

KM: Wow! And just like take care of him or...?

AC: Yes.

KM: Wonderful...!

Kupuna Lychee, discusses her brother Kalani as a fisherman.

KM: ...Your brother Kalani was quite a fisherman, I guess.

LH: Yes.

KM: You said *akule*. He surround, *hukilau*?

LH: Yes. And he give the fish.

KM: All the families get choice, can come get fish.

LH: Yes.

KM: He sell fish too?

LH: Yes. Whatever balance, then he sell.

KM: He fished at Wainiha?

LH: Yes.



KM: How about Hā'ena? Maniniholo?
 AC: Yes.
 LH: I don't know.
 KM: He'd go Maniniholo like that and fish?
 AC: Yes.
 KM: Did you folks hear any story about how come the wet cave, dry cave, Wai Kanaloa, Waiakapala'e.
 LH: No.
 KM: Never hear *mo'olelo*?
 AC: I heard but I don't remember.
 KM: *Poina*. Just like that name you say you 'ono for eat Manini. What's *manini holo* you think the *manini* going *hala paha*.
 LH: [chuckling]
 AC: I don't know.
 KM: Must have story. You folks don't remember if you heard story?
 LH/AC: No...
 KM: ...Did you folks still have enough water in your stream after they built the *māno*? Still had good water flow, had enough?
 LH/AC: Yes.
 KM: They shared the water enough?
 AC: Yes.
 KM: I know some place they talk about, they built a tunnel...
 LH: Yes.
 KM: ...take the water and then no more enough water if you're *makai*. But you folks had plenty water?

Both *kūpuna* discuss the 'auwai and *māno* system in Wainiha; used to make *kahe* to catch 'o'opu from the streams. When the mountain apples bloom is the season for catching 'o'opu.

AC: At that time we had *māno* so.
 KM: 'Ae, so you take the *māno*.
 LH: Yes.
 KM: And you said you go set stone and make *māno* like that?
 LH: Yes. From the river.
 KM: 'Ae. And feed your 'auwai?
 LH: Yes.
 KM: You get water coming down through your *lo'i*?
 LH: Yes.
 AC: And then they had bamboo... [thinking]
 KM: *Kahe*?



AC: *Kahe.*
KM: For catch the 'o'opu like that. They make *kahe*?
LH: Yes.
AC: At the ditch.
KM: Yes.
AC: That's where the 'o'opu go down.
KM: Yes. They make all, so the 'o'opu stuck on the *kahe*?
LH/AC: Yes.
KM: And you go *ohi* you go take then. All year round or certain times?
AC: Certain times.
KM: When did you catch 'o'opu?
AC: When the mountain apple begins to blossom.
KM: 'Ae.
AC: That's 'o'opu season. That's when it rains. Before, you know Aunty Rena?
VA: Yes.
AC: She can tell when is 'o'opu season by the trees.
KM: *Pua*?
AC: Yes.
KM: *Pua ka 'ohi'a 'ai*?
LH: Yes.
AC: Yes. When it's mountain apple season that's when the 'o'opu comes down.
KM: 'Ae. Wonderful!
VA: That's in August.
KM: August.
VA: Before the atomic bomb. Every August that's when the 'o'opu used to come down. But after they went use the atomic bomb.
KM: Atomic test.
VA: It changed everything.
LH: Yes.
KM: The weather changed. Amazing...!



**Bernadette “Bernie” Ka’iulani Alapa’i-Mahuiki
February 17, 2003 – at Waipā, Kaua’i
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly,
and Chipper & Hau’oli Wichman (KPA Photo No. S312)**

Bernadette “Bernie” Ka’iulani Alapa’i-Mahuiki was born in 1936 on the island of O’ahu. In 1948, she moved to Hā’ena, following her mother’s marriage to Jacob Maka. Aunty Bernie has spent most of her life at Hā’ena, and she married Samson Mahuiki, a native of the area. She learned many things about the land and families from her mother-in-law, Rachel ‘Īlālā’ole-Mahuiki, and from other family members. During the interview, she shares some of those recollections, as well as some of her own personal experiences in Hā’ena and vicinity. Aunty Bernie has a great passion for the well-being of the community, and has worked for years in programs to help the families of the area.

Aunty Bernie Mahuiki granted her personal release of the interview records to Maly on June 19, 2003.



KM: ...Would you share your full name and date of birth please?

BM: Bernadette, I don’t know why my mother named me Bernadette, but I think it was because of St. Bernadette, because she was a Roman Catholic.

KM: Yes.

BM: She named me Bernadette Ka’iulani Alapa’i.

KM: ‘Ae.

BM: I was born February 13, 1936.

KM: What a blessing...! Where were you *hānau*?

BM: I was born in Honolulu.

KM: In Honolulu.

BM: In 1936. We lived, it was called Home Rule Street, and it’s down in Kalihi, it paralleled with Dillingham.

KM: Yes. Papa’s name was?

BM: Samuel Kalua Alapa’i.

KM: And his father was?



BM: His father was?
KM: Kalua Alapa'i. And Mama's full name?
BM: Mama's full name was Myra Elizabeth Neumann.
KM: Yes. And her Hawaiian?
BM: Her Hawaiian name actually came from Jacob.
KM: Oh.
BM: From Jacob Maka.
KM: For real!
BM: Yes. Her Hawaiian name from him was Kau'inohea.
KM: 'Ae...

Discusses Mahuiki family *hukilau* fishing at Maninihola:

BM: ...The only thing that we really got involved with is the *hukilau*. My husband, his dad, had a boat house where... [thinking] at the end of, can't even think of their name now. Every year...

KM: By Maninihola?

BM: Yes.

KM: Just below, on the bay?

BM: Before you get to Maninihola, the house that's up on the beach I can't even think of their name.

CW: Joe Pascual? Is that the one?

BM: Yes, but the original owner.

CW: By the old man Chandler's place?

BM: No. Past going down you past?

HW: Moragne?

BM: Morange, yes Bill Moragne.

KM: Your father-in-law, La'a Mahuiki?

BM: Yes.

KM: He had a boat house?

BM: Had a boat house right next to the Morange's place, Hā'ena side of Moragne.

KM: Okay.

BM: He had his nets there, and down by the beach he always had a boat during the summer with nets in it and ready to go into the water.

KM: Yes.

BM: Right above the Wet Cave, going up to where...

CW: Uncle Bruce's house?

La'a Mahuiki would *kilo* for fish from atop the *pali* overlooking Maninihola; describes the *hukilau*:

BM: Yes. Between the monsterra, he had a trail going up to just above. In fact you can still see the point where he used to *kilo* for the fish. Because he was the caretaker for the park it gave him an opportunity to...



KM: Right.

BM: And he was like a Billy goat, he would scramble there and in five minutes and he'd be down.

KM: That's the big cave behind Maniniholo?

CW: 'Ae.

KM: He would go up the side of the *pali* up to a *kilo* spot?

BM: Yes. Then he would *kilo*, and then he had his old policeman whistle. Every time he saw the fish and if it was within reasonable reach for them to go and surround the fish, he'd blow the whistle. And you could hear that whistle from Hā'ena to Kepuhi.

KM: You're kidding!

BM: Yes. And everybody that heard that whistle dropped everything that they were doing and they would say, "*Hukilau!*" We would drop everything and run down to the beach. And all of the families had a specific responsibility. My brother Murphy, his job was to dive and make sure all the nets were down in place.

KM: Yes, *pa'a*.

BM: Yes. My husband and his brothers had to row the boat. My father-in-law had two white flags.

KM: Ohh!

BM: He would use the white flags to direct them, how to go out to surround the fish.

KM: From up at the *kilo* spot?

BM: Yes.

KM: He would be there, flagging them?

BM: He would be flagging them on how to surround the fish. If they didn't listen to him all you would see is these two flags down on the ground and he would be there in two minutes scolding them and calling them names and then going back up. And in about another two minutes he would be back up at the *kilo* place. He would pick up his flag and start directing them again and they'd bring the fish in.

KM: Everybody, once he went *pilo* give the whistle.

BM: Yes.

KM: Everyone knew exactly what they were supposed to be doing?

BM: Yes, everybody knew exactly what their responsibilities were. Ours, was just getting over there and holding the net and started pulling it...

KM: Near the shore, you would pull on the shore?

BM: Yes.

KM: This was *hukilau*. Had rope with the *lau* on also, the *lāT* or not?

BM: I don't remember having that.

KM: What was the fish mostly?

BM: Most of the time the fish was either *ō'io*, sometimes it was *akule*... [thinking] That was basically what it was *akule* or *ō'io*.

KM: They would take it out around the bay. This is a small photo and maybe you can see, this is Maniniholo Bay here.



BM: Okay. It would be here, just about here.
KM: Right here, okay out here.
BM: And they would go out and come right around and circle in.
KM: Pretty close.
BM: You'd have two people pulling up the nets. Whoever came down to *huki* the net in, they would be in the back.

Fish such as *akule* and *ō'io* were always shared among the families:

KM: Yes. Everyone would *huki*, pull in. How was this, once everyone came to help like that, did they *māhele* the *i'a*?
BM: Yes. There was no limit to the *māhele*, because his idea was to share his fish with everybody. When everybody had their *māhele*, then whatever was left over is what he would sell. He never sold any fish until everybody had their *māhele*.
KM: All of the community?
BM: Oh, yes. And it didn't matter whether you had three or four in the family. Everybody got the same amount of *māhele*.
KM: And all the Hawaiian families, if there were Japanese or other families?
BM: Yes.
KM: Everyone would work together and come together like that.
BM: Yes. But sadly, we didn't have too many of the other nationalities, there were mostly Hawaiians, Chinese, and maybe there was one or two Filipinos. We had a Filipino man, he was our jack-of-all-trades, his name was Shibroka.
KM: Shi?

Recalls Hilario Aquino (Shibroka), who died in the 1946 tidal wave; he saved a number of children:

BM: Shibroka, don't ask me how he got that name. His actual name was Hilario, Hilario Aquino. And he came in from the Philippines and was living in Waimea. Somehow or another he met Jacob, and Jacob brought him over to live in Hā'ena. He lived with us on our place for a long, long time until he died. In fact during the 1946 tidal wave, he saved quite a few kids because what he did is he made them, pushed them up on the trees, and that's how they survived.
KM: Amazing! Was he near the school at that time or was it by the homes?
BM: It was by the homes.
KM: Maka's side like that?
BM: When the tidal wave hit, my husband said they had never seen water receding like it did, and the whole reef was exposed. So it was something that they had never seen so the Hawaiians were all down at the beach and they were looking and wondering what was happening.
KM: Looking for fish or?
BM: And then, my father-in-law made them all run up to the mountain go up as fast as they can. I remember my husband saying, he scaled every fence in Hā'ena. He was the first one up in the cave and even his mom got stuck down in Hā'ena.
KM: Aunty Rachel?



- BM: Yes. She was up in the tree with some of the boys. My husband made it up to the cave and was watching the water come in and go out. Shibroka pushed a lot of kids up the coconut trees, I think. A lot of the kids were saved from him being there.
- KM: Wonderful! You'd mentioned like this event, it sounds like La'a Mahuiki had an idea of what a *tsunami* or a tidal wave was.
- BM: He had never seen one but he kind of, because he knew the ocean so well.
- KM: Yes.
- BM: He knew that if it went back it had to come forward and building it up the way it was building up, it wasn't going to be something gentle it was going to be a big thing. Just from the force of it, a lot of people that had never experienced a tidal wave were swept out. We lost quite a few people...



**Charles Kininani Chu (with Susan Chu)
Recollections of Hā'ena and Kē'ē
March 7, and July 2, 2003 – at Kāne'ohe, O'ahu
Oral History Interview No. 1
with Kepā Maly and Val Ako (KPA Photo No. S384)**

Charles Kininani Chu was born in Hanalei, in 1913. His mother, Uluhane, was descended from traditional residents of the Hā'ena-Nāpali region, and his father was pure Chinese. As a baby, he was adopted by his grandmother, Puaokina, and her husband, Hailama, whom *Kupuna* Chu knew as his grandfather. *Kupuna* Chu traveled the lands of the Hanalei-Hā'ena region with *Tūtū* Hailama, and learned from him native customs associated with—cultivation of



kalo and other crops; fishing; and also about the preparation of wood for the *ōahi* (fire brands) to be thrown from the *pali* of Makana. With his grandmother, he traveled to the inlands of Limahuli, where they gathered *ō'opu* and *ōpae*, and where wild cattle terrorized them. *Kupuna* Chu shares detailed accounts of the families, customs and practices of native residents in the Hā'ena vicinity.

Initial arrangements for the interview were coordinated by *Kupuna* Valentine Ako, a long-time friend of *Kupuna* Chu and his brothers Barlow and William.

While speaking on July 2nd, *Kupuna* Chu shared —

“I have great *aloha* for my sisters, Pua and Kahili, and my brothers, Bill, Kenneth, Teddy and Barlow, for they were the ones who remained on Kaua'i and kept in close touch with the *ōhana* and *āina* in Hā'ena. They made it possible for me to enjoy fully, and to re-live my days in Hā'ena every time I returned home. We all loved dearly, the simple life in Hā'ena.”

Kupuna Charles Kininani Chu granted his personal release of the interview records to Maly on July 2, 2003.

KM: ...*Kupuna*, would you please share your full name and date of birth?

CC: I'm Charles Chu, and I was born on December 16, 1913. I was born in Hanalei.

KM: In Hanalei.

CC: And then I was adopted by my *kūpuna*, grandmother and step-grandfather. When I was very young, I presume.



KM: Yes.

CC: I was born in Hanalei and then they took me to Hā'ena as a *hānai*, I guess.

KM: 'Ae, lawe *hānai*.

CC: My mother had adopted three children already from my father. My father's wife passed away, and left him with my two step-sisters and one step-brother. Then he married my mother. When I was born, she had her hands full, so it was easier for my *kūpuna* to adopt me. That's how I ended up in Hā'ena.

KM: 'Ae. May I ask you please, so you *hānau* in 1913?

CC: Yes.

Discusses family background and ties to the Hā'ena region:

KM: Who was your mother, what was mama's name?

CC: My mother's name was Sarah Kinney.

KM: Kinney, K-i-n-n-e-y?

CC: Yes. K-i-n-n-e-y.

KM: She was *hapa Hawai'i*?

CC: Yes. She was one-fourth. Even Kinney was half.

KM: Okay. Her papa Kinney was half?

CC: Her papa was half, yes.

KM: Sarah Kinney. And your papa was?

CC: He was known as Chu Wai.

KM: Chu Wai?

CC: Yes. He came from China when he was 10 years old, he was an immigrant. At that time, from the little history that I know about the Chinese immigrants, they were assigned to different islands.

KM: Yes.

CC: All the different parts of different islands. Somehow he ended up in Hanalei. And I understand he was a houseboy. Then he got away from that and he started a tailoring business in Hanalei. I guess that's how he met my mother, because they used to travel to Hanalei, so he married my mother, Sarah Kinney.

KM: 'Ae. Sarah Kinney...

CC: ...William Kinney ended up in Hā'ena. His son Kiha that's my mother's father. Kiha married my grandmother, Puaokina... William Kinney, Jr., and Kiha Kinney, my real grandfather, were brothers. From William Kinney the father, the original. Kiha ended up in Hā'ena and William Kinney the other brother ended up in Waimea, Kaua'i. And later on when I got to know things, then I found out he was a fisherman. He had some sons, that carried on the fishing business.

VA: Ernest?

CC: Ernest, yes.

VA: He was the *akule* fisherman.

CC: They were big fishermen. They had big sampans.



KM: Was there a Richard, Ernest and who else?
 VA: Yes. Richard too.
 CC: And Kiha Kinney is my mother's father...
 KM: And Puaokina was a Hawaiian woman of the Hā'ena area?
 CC: Yes. From what I understand she was from Hā'ena.
 KM: They have a daughter who is your mother?
 CC: Right. Sarah.
 KM: Sarah. Interesting.
 CC: And then Puaokina married my step-grandfather, Hailama.
 KM: I see.
 CC: Hailama was from Hā'ena and Kalalau, I understand...
 KM: ...Now you've described the 'auwai and lo'i kalo system at Limahuli?
 CC: Yes.
 KM: The 'auwai comes in, and it fed all of these lo'i and then it dropped back down into the stream area?
 CC: Yes. And then it goes back to almost the end of Limahuli, almost towards the beach.
 KM: Beach side.
 CC: But it entered Limahuli before you reach the beach where all these lo'i streams ended.
 KM: Wow, that's amazing!
 CC: Went back into Limahuli and then it's down to the ocean. All this went back.
 Fished for 'o'opu, goldfish and pūpū in the Limahuli Stream:
 KM: 'Ae. Did you have 'o'opu in the stream here and in the lo'i?
 CC: The lo'i, yes. We had little goldfish.
 KM: Yes, yes.
 CC: Must have been when my mother married my father, they even had the Chinese pūpū.
 KM: The Chinese introduced pūpū?
 CC: Yes. The Chinese call tin lur.
 KM: Tin Lur.
 CC: We just called it pūpū Pāke.
 KM: Did you folks eat that?
 CC: Yes. But the old folks didn't like that. My grandmother liked the goldfish.
 KM: 'Ae. That's what I've heard. Kind of like 'o'opu.
 CC: Yes. 'O'opu small. Oh yes, she cherished that. I didn't like it, to me it was a flat taste, can't compare with the ocean fish.
 KM: Ocean fish yes.
 CC: 'O'opu was good.



KM: Did you folks go back into the Limahuli Valley area?
 Traveled with grandmother into Limahuli Valley to gather 'o'opu; wild cattle roamed the valley:

CC: I'm going to tell you the story about that, because it's one of the saddest memory I can remember about Limahuli and Hā'ena. My grandmother and I, of course my grandfather didn't go too much for the stream fishing. He was specialized in ocean fishing.

KM: Ocean, Hailama?

CC: Yes. Hailama. He was a good fisherman, a good provider, I would say. Look at how many taro patches he took care of.

KM: 'Ae. Amazing!

CC: One man took care of how many taro patches, I forgot how many. The sad thing about Limahuli, when my grandmother and I used to go for 'ōpae and 'o'opu. We used to go in here, and we used to be so afraid of the wild cattle that Robinson had let lose in Limahuli. He did a lot of that. A lot of cattle in Limahuli even as far as Kalalau.

KM: 'Ae.

CC: And even in, before you get into Wainiha?

KM: Lumaha'i?

CC: Lumaha'i, he even had all the cattle out there.

KM: 'Āhiu?

CC: Oh yes... We were so afraid of the wild cattle. So my grandmother and I, while we were fishing in there and watching out for these wild cattle and all that, that was a scary experience for me.

KM: It must have been as a young boy.

CC: Yes. She would say get ready, if they really come for you. All you could do is climb a tree or something. While we were fishing in there.

KM: You would go up Limahuli stream?

CC: Yes.

KM: Way mauka?

CC: No. Maybe halfway.

KM: You would get 'ōpae?

CC: Oh, yes.

KM: 'O'opu like that.

Family regularly made "*pani wa'i*" to direct the stream flow, and trap 'o'opu and 'ōpae:

CC: 'O'opu. One thing, I think that's an old practice I don't know, *paniwai*.

KM: 'Ae.

CC: You heard of that Paniwai o 'īao?

KM: 'Ae.

CC: Sometime they do that to block so that water would be going the other side. So they have some water instead of coming all in one stream.

KM: Yes.

CC: This one here, you see this? [indicating area]



KM: Yes, just before.

CC: We would block the stream.

KM: Is that where the pool is kind of now, and the bridge goes across the road?

CC: Below that.

KM: Below that, okay. You would block that?

CC: The road is here, below that. Must be someplace around here.

KM: Yes, okay.

CC: I remember right by this fork of the river, we blocked it. We blocked our part of the stream with a *paniwai*. Then we would pick up the 'o'opu, 'ōpae.

KM: 'Ae. Did you make a *kahe* like, in your *paniwai*?

CC: That's another thing too, right in the back here, right in the back of the taro cook house.

KM: Behind the *poi* house.

Also made *kahe* from bamboo to trap the 'o'opu:

CC: My grandfather made a bamboo *kahe*. Not too many people know about that. They would fish, 'o'opu trap.

KM: 'O'opu trap, wonderful!

CC: So he had a *kahe*. And of course when they get a little flood that's when the 'o'opu comes out. We don't have that all the time only when they have water, big rain or something. The old man had build a *kahe* there, right behind the cook house.

KM: Cook house. The 'ōpae all caught on top of the bamboo?

CC: Not 'ōpae, just 'o'opu.

KM: The 'o'opu is all on top?

CC: Yes. That's why he's got to know how much slope to put. You cannot put to steep a slope, and then they would wiggle back down. [chuckling] So he made it just slant enough so the 'o'opu don't fall over. And just enough so they have a hard time wiggling back.

KM: Yes. Was there a particular time of the year that you folks would gather 'o'opu out of the streams that you remember?

CC: Yes. Rainy season. Summer time and all that time, no.

KM: No more?

CC: There's nothing.

KM: Into the winter, rainy times?

CC: Only mostly during the winter time when the big water comes down.

KM: Yes.

CC: And let me tell you another story, or experience, I call it a bad experience...

KM: Yes.

Recalls a bad flood from which Ka'ala Kelau rescued the family.

CC: We were talking about the *kahe*, 'o'opu.

KM: 'Ae.



CC: Sometimes had too much water, used to flood all over here.

KM: The house area would all flood?

CC: Yes. And I had the experience where it must have been a bad flood, you know. We had Ka'ala who is from the Kelau family, rescue us.

KM: Kelau, Ka'ala.

CC: Ka'ala, he was close, like a *keiki* to Hailama and Puaokina. He was a young, strong man, and he knew that we might need help. At the time he and his wife, Kina, were caretakers for the Rice vacation home in Hā'ena. Anyway, he came down by the sand dunes, he came down, and we had to evacuate. This stream was coming down so fast, and there was a side stream here.

KM: Yes.

CC: There was one more side stream coming in here, and then joining Limahuli. We were cut-off, we were isolated. So he came in and kind of rescued us.

KM: Saved you folks, Ka'ala Kelau?

CC: Yes, Ka'ala Kelau.

KM: He came from the Mākua side, the Rice place there?

CC: Yes. He must of sensed that we might be in trouble, so he came down and sure enough when we saw him coming. We went across, what he did was he threw ropes.

KM: Oh wow!

CC: Pull each one of us across the rushing water.

KM: Wow, amazing!

CC: This place is prone to flooding.

KM: Flooding.

CC: Was prone to flooding. The good part about Kionolua was the tidal wave couldn't get at us. We were high. Although the other places in Hā'ena were affected but no, Kionolua was safe, we were a little higher.

KM: Amazing...! ...Do you remember *Tūtū* Pa'itulu?

Recalls Pa'ikulu – he was consulted for right times to fish:

CC: Yes. Pa'ikulu [thinking], yes but not too much. Pa'ikulu who's family did he? I couldn't remember that. Was he the one that stayed on the beach?

KM: 'Ae. And he was a chanter also.

CC: Yes. Then Chandler got the Estate from him and now the Wichman's or somebody. Chandler through Pa'ikulu yes, Hailama and I used to go over there because when we hook 'āweoweo on moonlight nights. We would go in our canoe right in front of Hā'ena. Hailama and I used to go to his house. Hailama depended on Pa'ikulu to say when is the right time to go. Pa'ikulu was the expert on this *kā'ili*.

KM: *Kā'ili*, hand line.

CC: Hand line like for 'āweoweo and all that. He would go over there and ask Pa'ikulu.

KM: "Pehea kou mana'o?" [chuckles]

CC: You know how he would tell, he would look through his handkerchief and look at the moon.



KM: For real!

CC: Whether it's *māhealani* or not yet, sometimes maybe it's one or two days before, off or late.

KM: Yes.

CC: He would look through his handkerchief and he could tell, and you could see the shadow.

KM: He was right? You got *'āweoweo* when he...?

CC: Yes. When the full moon. So that's what I can remember about Pa'ikulu.

KM: Amazing...!

Never saw anyone *hula* at the *hula* platform; though they did go gather *'ōpihi* on the rocks below it:

KM: ...You know from where you folks were here, when you come to the end of the road and then has *Ka Ulu o Laka*, the old *hula* platform?

CC: Yes.

KM: Do you remember that old platform?

CC: Yes.

KM: Did you ever see anyone *hula* over there?

CC: No. But right below in Kē'ē the rocks, we used to gather *'ōpihi* that's our favorite, our familiar *'ōpihi* ground.

KM: Just below?

CC: That was our *'ōpihi* spot.

KM: 'Ae.

CC: We used to go over there.

KM: Has the little *kawa* that opens up out of Kē'ē Bay?

CC: Yes.

KM: Through the *papa* there?

CC: Yes.

KM: On the rocks below the platform area?

CC: Yes. Right below the platform area? And at that time I didn't know what it was. We used to pick *'ōpihi* and of course we would wait for them right below. Then they would always tell us, me and my half-sisters especially, Lilly and Kathleen. Sometimes they would be with us they would say, "Don't go up there and play" [chuckles].

KM: Yes, so respect, don't mess around?

CC: Yes. Sometimes we would be curious we looking over there, they know that maybe we want to go over there. "Don't go up there and play." Then later on I found out it was a *pā hula*.

KM: 'Ae. So you never saw anyone *hula* over there?

CC: No. At the time it was a little overgrown already.

KM: I see.

CC: I didn't see anybody. All I knew about the place was they said, "Don't go up there and play it's sacred," or something. [chuckles] Right below that yes, I'm familiar with that area.

KM: Good *'ōpihi*. Did you gather *limu* out anywhere too?



Gathered *limu* from Kanahā:

- CC: Yes. *Limu* was mostly up in Kanahā, the reef. [looking on the map]
- KM: This is Kanahā, Kāmoa area right here.
- CC: Yes.
- KM: I don't know if you remember. This is Wainiha right up here, okay. Did you fish all along these *'āina* here?
- CC: No.
- KM: Where did you fish from generally?
- CC: Mostly right in Hā'ena.
- KM: Right at Hā'ena.
- CC: Right in Hā'ena as far as [thinking]... Is that Kanahā?
- KM: 'Ae. *Ma'ane'i*, Naue right?
- CC: Camp Naue, yes that's as far as we go.
- KM: Okay. Naue is right here.
- CC: Yes.
- KM: And Kanahā, you have Kāmoa, Kanahā and then the *āpapa* over here and the big Hā'ena *papa*.
- CC: Yes.
- KM: Do you remember some of the names?
- CC: No [thinking], see, I've forgotten already. Wainiha is this side?
- KM: Wainiha is this side.
- CC: Wainiha then towards Hā'ena.
- KM: Here's Hā'ena coming over to Maninihola.
- CC: Yes.
- KM: In this vicinity what kinds of fish did you catch? At the Kanahā section or Camp Naue like that?
- CC: We used to have lot of, I remember going there sometimes we'd have schools of *kala*.
- KM: And how did you catch them?
- CC: By that time we had nets already.
- KM: You lay nets?
- CC: Yes, lay nets. I remember going over there with the La'a Mahuiki family, his older kids. Not too much. On the big reef, my mother used to go pick *limu kohu*.
- KM: On the big *papa* out here?
- CC: Yes on the big *papa*.
- KM: Hā'ena Kū'au or something they called it?
- CC: I think so.
- KM: And there's the channel that comes in a little bit over here before you get to the big Maninihola Bay like that.



CC: We had another little cove. Is this Maniniholo?

KM: 'Ae. This is Maniniholo here. The dry cave is here, the park now?

CC: Yes. What is this here?

Hailama launched his canoe from opening in 'āpapa fronting Limahuli, would go *kā'ili* (line) fishing:

KM: It's an indentation in the reef coming towards you folks because this is Limahuli stream here entering in.

CC: I see.

KM: Your fishing, did you folks have canoe or did you all fish from the *āpapa*?

CC: My grandfather had a canoe.

KM: For real!

CC: Yes. I never did go out with him to *kā'ili*, drift fishing.

KM: I see. So he would actually go out on his canoe and *kā'ili* from outside. What kinds of fish?

CC: I was real young. *E'a* and the yellow fish, [thinking] *awa* and all that. Very seldom when I was young, he did most of his fishing on the reef.

KM: On the *āpapa* like that?

CC: *Moi* and *āholehole*.

KM: How was it for you folks when they fished did they, he took care of the family, were they selling or was it that they shared?

CC: Oh no, they shared. Especially when we moved up to Moewai's place where the Maka family.

KM: Was that basically Mānoa?

CC: Yes, it was Mānoa. My grandfather Hailama, I don't know how many years he took care of the Francis Brown Estate. Do you remember that one?

KM: Yes, Francis Brown.

CC: Right in front of Mahuiki's beach property.

KM: 'Ae.

CC: My grandfather Hailama took care for a few years. Before we moved up there, I remember him, while he was cooking the taro going out on the reef. Right in front of there he threw net and *moi* for lunch. [chuckling]

KM: What a life...!

Shares recollections of going to school, and traveling between Hā'ena and Kapa'a with his father:

CC: Oh, what a life! And another thing to I want to tell you about my life. At that time I think, even before I attended Hā'ena School. Before I was of school age my father and mother had moved to Kapa'a from Hanalei. He started a tailoring business in Kapa'a. Every summer, he had an old Model-T. At that time, when he had a Model-T, before that I guess he couldn't come to Hā'ena. He would bring my mother and two half-sisters and my half-brother. He used to bring them to Hā'ena because I guess he knew my mother was homesick. Every summer he used to bring them and take them to Hā'ena. Traveling was far so he would stay overnight and the next morning he would leave and go back to Kapa'a. And before we started up school he'd come back to Hā'ena pick them up, he would do that every year. Every year he used to do that.



KM: Wow!

CC: He must have had a lot of respect for my mother to do all that.

KM: That was very nice. And it was a two day trip from Kapa'a to Hā'ena. Two days it took?

CC: Yes, he couldn't come back the same day, he slept overnight. And then old man Hailama, that's his farther-in-law, before my father goes back he used to always go torching night time and get his slipper lobsters, right in front of the Estate, up on the reef. Slipper lobsters for my father, that's why he didn't mind coming to Hā'ena I guess. And *moi* and all that, whatever he wanted, as far as fish, Hailama would get it for him.

Hailama would fish for lobster on the *'āpapa* fronting Limahuli; mother was an expert *'ō he'e* fisherwoman:

KM: 'Ae. Right in front of your place?

CC: Right in front.

KM: How big are these slipper lobsters?

CC: I'd say about a pound and a half, almost two pounds, big.

KM: Wow!

CC: He goes with his torch and gets his slipper lobsters. Get some *moi*. Chinese like their *moi*.

KM: Yes.

CC: My mother, as soon as she reaches Hā'ena, she's down the beach. That's the life I guess.

KM: What did she go out for?

CC: *He'e*, that was her specialty.

KM: That's the famous fish out there too?

CC: Yes, *'ō he'e*.

KM: 'Ae.

CC: I thought they were quite big. When I came to Honolulu, Kāne'ohe I went out fishing, oh was about five, six pounders. We'd catch a two pounder and that would be considered big *he'e* in Hā'ena [chuckling] But, it was *he'e*.

KM: *Lawa kūpono*.

CC: That's my mother's specialty.

KM: She'd walk out on the *āpapa*?

CC: Yes. She had to be careful she didn't know how to swim.

KM: Oh, you're kidding!

CC: She never did learn how to swim. My grandmother used to kind of worry about her when... She'd keep an eye on her.

KM: Amazing!

CC: Funny she didn't know how to swim.

KM: We were talking earlier about the fishing, and when Hailama or maybe some of the other *'ohana* would go fishing, they would *māhele i'a*, share the fish?



CC: Oh yes. Down at Hā'ena in the old place, he didn't because Kila *mā* were so far away. But when we moved up to near the Makas, yes. He used to share and come back and give the fish to Mahuikis.

Families would share their catch, and always took only what was needed:

KM: And if someone else went fishing that day they would come *māhele i'a* like that?

CC: Yes. If they have the occasion to. They didn't go out of their way. Because you know why, they just catch enough.

KM: Yes. You caught enough for your own family use.

CC: Yes for your own use.

KM: Not like now they take...

CC: Although if they see some other 'ohana or friends, they would share. But they just caught enough.

KM: Because you knew that next time you go?

CC: They didn't catch to give to everybody, they didn't quite do that.

KM: Next time you go going get right. One of the things that happens when you get plenty fish though, when the *akule* I guess come in? Did you go *akule*?

CC: Yes.

Hanohano Pā was a lead *akule* fisherman; La'a Mahuiki would *kilo* fish from atop Maniniholo:

KM: Can you describe the *akule* fishing?

CC: Yes. *Akule* fishing at that time Hanohano Pā was the *akule* fisherman. He had money to buy his nets, actually he had money because at that time he was a policeman [chuckles]. The story that I heard, I was in Honolulu he kind of rescued Wichman and somebody else, they were kind of drifting out on this little boat, and their outboard motor conked out. They were kind of drifting in Maniniholo and drifting out. Hanohano swam out there and pulled them back.

KM: Wow! Strong man.

CC: Later on I heard he was a policeman [chuckling], so they had rewarded him.

KM: It pays to do good deeds, yeah?

CC: Yes. He deserved it. But he was an *akule* fisherman then he had nets and he could build boats. Especially in Maniniholo when they surrounded *akule* there's more than you can handle.

KM: What was that like? They called people together?

CC: Yes, they would pass the word. They wanted you to pass the word on because they needed plenty help to pull in the net.

KM: They would see the *akule* school, did someone *kilo*? Was there a *kilo*?

CC: Yes. Like Lawrence Mahuiki, he was a young man. He had a good eye for that.

KM: Do you remember where he would *kilo* from?

CC: Yes. I remember a spot in Maniniholo.

KM: Above?

CC: Above the cave.

KM: He would go up?



CC: Yes.

KM: And he could direct them to where?

CC: Oh, yes. They could hear him yelling.

KM: For real! The voice carried?

CC: The guys on the row boat, dropping their nets. Oh. they could hear him. "Go further out, further out and turn right, come in," and all that.

KM: They would surround the schools like that with him directing?

CC: Yes. First thing, they would launch the boat and that's one end of the net somebody would be on shore already holding that net while they're dropping the net.

KM: They would go all the way and surround.

CC: And sometimes they try to cut in too early but then the *kilo* would yell, "Further out, further out."

KM: "*Mawaho, mawaho.*"

CC: Then when he says to cut in, you better cut in fast before the *akule* come around.

KM: And what then the other end comes back to shore they pull 'um *pa'a*?

CC: Yes. That's another gang over there waiting on shore.

KM: And what, you folks *huki* in?

CC: Yes, then pull.

KM: And what, thousands of fish?

CC: The word would spread out to these fish peddlers, I don't know how, oh they had telephone those days. The fish peddlers would come all the way from Kapa'a, I know. They had so much, they would be in there two or three days and then they would let them go.

Fish would be kept in the net for a couple of days, and taken as needed, then released:

KM: Oh! They would keep the fish in a net, trapped like?

CC: Yes, in a net trap.

KM: They take out as they?

CC: Not too long because you have the sharks and all that will attack. They can break your net and all that. As far as I remember maybe one or two days.

KM: *Lawa*. And then *ho'oku'u*?

CC: *Ho'oku'u*. Old man Hailama would come back with two bags hanging on the horse and he would bring it home. We used to dry, that's how he could preserve *akule*.

KM: You dried your own fish too?

CC: Yes.

KM: Where did your *pa'akai* come from?

CC: From the little ponds.

KM: So did make *pa'akai* at times?

CC: Yes. But at the time they had it in the stores.

KM: *Hale kū'ai*.



CC: *Hale kū'ai*. I remember them buying mostly, the salt. It was cheap.
KM: In a little *kāheka* you could get a little salt or some for home use or something?
CC: Yes. Sometimes I see them picking it up. I guess they liked to get their own salt.
KM: You would go along the different *papa*, like you said *'āweoweo* certain place that you knew.
CC: Yes.

Names various locations on the *'āpapa* between Maniniholo and Limahuli:

KM: There's a place out on this *'āpapa* Hā'ena Kū'au, they call Kalua *'Āweoweo*? Did you ever hear that name?
CC: Yes. I don't know if that's the same place as what we called Hauwā. You know where Hauwā is?
KM: I've heard the name.
CC: It's right in front of the Wichman's house and that reef right in front of the Wichman's is Hauwā.
KM: Is that the one by Hale Pōhaku then also?
CC: Yes, Hale Pōhaku.
KM: I see Kalua *'Āweoweo* supposed to be on this big Hā'ena Kū'au section over here. You do remember Hauwā?
CC: Hauwā, yes, a little cove.
KM: The cove, yes and there's a pond like also over here.
CC: Yes.
KM: See these names are coming back to you.
CC: Yes. In Hauwā, at the time I was still living in the old house. That's the last time I know that we fished in Hauwā. When they had found out that the *'āweoweo* had come into Hauwā, then we would go over there at night and fish for *'āweoweo*.
KM: Interesting this story that you remember your *kūkū* Hailama going to see Pa'itulu and asked about when the right moon night for the *'āweoweo*.
CC: Yes, he would consult Pa'ikulu.
KM: I wonder they must of, I bet the moon phases for even planting taro or certain kinds of fish must have been.
CC: Yes. Taro, I didn't see him going to much like that.

Family worked the land, rotated *kalo* planting times, and sustained itself from the land and ocean:

KM: They planted year round?
CC: Yes, year round.
KM: You always had *kalo*?
CC: Yes. I remember my grandmother Puaokina always reminded him, "You got to work this taro patch or you're going to be too late." Or "We won't have taro," or "We won't have *poi* it won't be ready for harvesting."
KM: Ahh.
CC: They don't want to harvest too early, otherwise they're wasting their energy, if you harvest something that's before its time.



KM: So when it's just mature.

CC: You have to make sure that it's mature and you have enough to make *poi*.

KM: It's really good.

CC: They were pretty good at that, it's amazing!

KM: Did you folks rotate your planting?

CC: Yes.

KM: You could have some young, some middle like that so it would go around.

CC: Yes. Another thing he used to be careful about rotating and drying up the taro patches.

KM: You folks would?

CC: Yes.

KM: Did you folks throw mulch in to enrich it at all?

CC: No. Just the taro.

KM: The *huli* when you cut? The roots and everything like that?

CC: The roots. That was their mulch.

KM: He would let it dry out for a while?

CC: Yes. And he even had a plow, he would plow.

KM: Turn the soil?

CC: Yes, he would turn the soil in the taro patch he would do that.

KM: Good, it keeps it nutrient rich.

CC: He had a plow and a plow horse.

KM: Wonderful!

CC: He would dry that up and till it. You would think wet land, only in dry land you do that. No he did that in the taro patches too.

KM: To *huli*. Because it brings the nutrients from the bottom up to the top.

CC: Yes, from the bottom.

KM: You never saw him put *kukui* or *hau* leaves or something inside and let it dry up or anything?

CC: No.

KM: Did you folks plant *'uala*, *mai'a* stuff like that also?

CC: No. Mostly wild... [thinking] Maybe *mai'a*, not too much. *'Uala* was a Mahuiki specialty...
...Hailama wasn't much of a farmer he was strictly taro.

KM: Taro and fisherman?

CC: And fisherman.

KM: He *mahi'ai kalo* and *lawai'a*.

CC: *Mahi'ai* and *lawai'a*.

KM: Interesting that he still had a canoe and he would still go out to *kā'ili*, like you said.

CC: Yes.

KM: Not too much by that time?



CC: Very seldom, not to often. I guess too much work, why go on the canoe when you could catch fish right there.

KM: You make your little *ku'una* all on the *āpapa*.

CC: He would *ku'u*, that's his specialty, *ku'u*. They know where to lay these nets.

KM: Just put their *ku'u* right at the right *awāwa* or something.

CC: *Awāwa*, yes. He didn't go *kā'ili* too much. *Ku'u* was his specialty and the *moi*.

KM: All kinds of fish.

CC: Yes. Sometimes, like I said, he's cooking taro, he'd go in front of Pu'u Kahua and get this *nao manini*.

KM: *Nahu manini?*

CC: *Nao manini*.

KM: How big is that *manini*?

CC: Average size, not big one's. They would be inside the *āpapa*.

KM: 'Ae.

CC: Feeding like that. And he would go there and see if the *manini* is running. He would go in there and wrap his hand up with cloth.

KM: And pull 'em out?

CC: Yes. That was our lunch.

KM: You know sometimes the *kūpuna* used to make little *imu* or *umu*, house mounds, stone mounds in the *āpapa*. Did you folks?

CC: No. He didn't do that. What do they call that Hawaiian fishing god stone?

KM: *Kū'ula?*

CC: Yes, *Kū'ula*. He didn't do that, no.

KM: On the plants you said some *mai'a*?

CC: *Mai'a*, yes I think he planted some.

KM: And *kalo*?

CC: Yes...

KM: ...You mentioned when you folks were at Maninihola and would surround *akule*, they didn't want to keep it too long because the *manō* would come in also.

CC: Yes.

KM: Did you ever hear stories about sharks out here? Sometimes some shark they call a good shark and then there's the bad kind of sharks.

CC: No, they didn't talk too much about that.

KM: You didn't hear?

Fished with Hanohano Pā along the Nāpali coast line, at Hanakāpī'ai, Kalalau, Honopū, and Nu'alolo:

CC: No. Hailama wasn't afraid of that. The only shark story you hear was when Hanohano used to take us kids. He had a sampan. We used to hang around a lot, down at the beach, his beach net house. He had a lot of boys, sons and daughters who was same age from Hā'ena School. I used to hang around them quite a lot. So when he goes to Kalalau or towards that side, Hanakāpī'ai fishing, he used to always take us.



KM: You folks went out.

CC: He liked the kids because we kids were gung ho, and we'd jump in the water and pull the net and everything. so the only shark story is when we'd go fishing in the caves. He would go in these caves and just about when the sand comes in.

KM: Yes.

CC: That's when the *moi* hangs around. We used to go in there and surround this *moi*. He used to set up small nets.

KM: About how long do you think?

CC: I don't know, maybe hundred feet.

KM: Okay, good. Season, right when the sand starts to come back in?

CC: Yes. He used to make us jump in the water and kind of pull the ends of the net. He would drop his net outside and we would swim inside with the ends.

KM: 'Ae.

CC: Some kids on one end, we on the other end. They used to warn us, "Swim close to the *pali* now, don't swim too far away from the *pali* so when the *manō* comes out" [laughing].

KM: [chuckling]

CC: Oh boy, we used to practically climb the mountain while taking these nets in. [chuckling] That's the only scary thing that he talked about the sharks.

KM: Did you folks fish at Hanakāpī'ai sometimes?

CC: Yes. Later on with my brothers, not with Hailama, no.

KM: How about Hanakoa or Kalalau?

CC: Kalalau.

KM: Kalalau like that.

CC: And further over.

KM: Nu'alolo or Honopū?

CC: Honopū.

KM: He would go over there?

CC: Yes. That's another thing too we went all the way to Nu'alolo with Hanohano. I remember going over there and camping overnight on the sampan.

KM: For real! Was anyone living out in those places when you folks went?

CC: No, no.

KM: *Pau*. They lived in some of those areas before right?

CC: Yes. The Pā family even my grandfather Hailama. Actually they all came from Ni'ihau they claimed. Ni'ihau, Kalalau and then Hā'ena.

KM: 'Ae.

CC: I went into Nu'alolo, they went over there for turtles. They get monster turtles in Nu'alolo, they come right on the reef. It's another thing that I miss [chuckles].

KM: 'Ai honu?

CC: Yes. The Kelau family was the expert for turtle. Ka'ala Kelau, Kelau family.



KM: They were expert for going turtle fishermen?
Turtle fishermen would travel as far as Nu'alolo for turtles:

CC: Yes, Ka'ala and Kalei. Kalei married Kapae Mahuiki's daughter, Halaki. They were living at Kē'ē near the Pās.

KM: Out that side at Kē'ē?

CC: Out the Kē'ē side. So he married Halaki. Halaki had two brothers, Lawrence (La'a) and Keahi. Only La'a has descendants. Keahi died young, a bachelor. But La'a and Ka'ala were the turtle fishermen.

KM: They would go out as far as Nu'alolo like that?

CC: Yes, for the big one's. But in Hā'ena they used to catch 'em right in Hā'ena.

KM: Even in Hā'ena. You ate *honu*?

CC: Yes. It's one of my favorite meats [chuckling].

KM: Yes.

CC: That was our meat, Hā'ena didn't have any meat.

KM: May I ask you a question about the *honu*? Have you seen or heard lately about *honu* and they have these tumors or cancerous growths on them? You've heard of that or seen it?

CC: Yes.

Never saw tumors growing on *honu* when he was young:

KM: When you were a young child did you ever see that on the *honu*?

CC: No. Never had stuff like that. I was right there when I watched them butcher them. That's why when I read about that. Even if they had turtle meat today, I don't know if I would try to eat it with all these things. Another thing I want to tell you, I don't know about Hā'ena, but you know I go to Tamashiro [fish market on O'ahu] and I buy this *nenuē*. That was one favorite fish in Hā'ena.

KM: At Hā'ena, famous.

CC: Hailama, we used to go out with his *ku'u* net, night time.

KM: Right in front of Pu'u Kahua?

Hailama generally fished from Pu'u Kahua to Paweaka:

CC: All over. Pu'u Kahua as far as Paweaka. He would go as far as there, enough.

KM: Paweaka. *Lawa* already. But ciguatera, I cannot eat that now. I used to buy that all the time at Tamashiro's. I don't touch that no more.

KM: When you were young no more such *ma'i* like that, right?

CC: No such thing, we ate everything raw.

KM: It is *maka'u* now.

CC: Oh yes. I had an attack with the *nenuē*, not only one time but couple times. Now I don't touch the fish and it's my favorite fish. Every time I go to Tamashiro's I look at it.

KM: Only look at it with longing?

CC: Yes. To me it's sad.

KM: *Minamina*.



CC: And the *honu* you cannot touch that now. The *honu* just as well, like you said they have this infection and all that, I don't know if I would eat it anyway.

KM: You didn't hear about people getting *ma'i* from eating fish when you were a young boy, young teenager like that?

CC: No. But the *weke pueo*.

KM: 'Ae, *weke pueo*, but that's *moe uhane* eh?

CC: My grandmother used to...we would mention we had bad dream. Oh, "You ate too much *weke*."

KM: 'Ai *po'o*, 'ai *maka*.

CC: Yes, the *po'o* especially, sometimes the tail. That's another thing in Hā'ena funny. When I came to Honolulu I didn't experience that. The mullet certain times, the mullet in Hā'ena the *po'o* and the tail.

KM: For real! And you would get dreams too?

CC: Yes [chuckles].

KM: Interesting. I wonder if it's something that they eat over there or?

CC: Yes must be. *Limu* or even the coral I think, because some of them nibble on the coral too.

KM: 'Ae.

CC: The *nenuē* is my favorite fish and I don't touch that anymore.

KM: What color is your *nenuē*?

CC: Both, get the light color and the dark color.

KM: Yellowish?

CC: *Nenuē lele* that's the one you can see them jump over the net. I think that's why they call 'um *nenuē lele*.

KM: *Nenuē lele*. When you surround 'em you think you got 'em and then they jump out.

CC: [chuckling] Some are smart enough to jump over the net and whatever. My brother Barlow was good at laying nets. See, my brother Barlow later on when he started fishing, Hailama was... I was living in Honolulu. He got to know more about the fishing from Hailama was still living at that time.

KM: 'Ae. Barlow was younger then you?

CC: Yes. Way younger. But he used to be in Hā'ena all the time...

KM: ...When you were young, you folks regularly fished your 'āina from as far over as Hale Pōhaku?

CC: Yes.

KM: You mentioned Paweaka, Hauwā as far over as Ka'ilio Point?

CC: Yes.

KM: You would get 'ōpihi in front of Kē'ē?

CC: Kē'ē. Yes, that's our regular fishing grounds.

KM: That's your *ma'a mau* fishing ground there.

CC: Yes, that's Hailama's *kuleana*, he could fish, he knew the fish over here. The other side of Maninihola was mostly the Maka and Mahuiki family.



KM: Maka, Mahuiki. 'Ae.

CC: And Hanohano, when Hanohano had moved up there.

KM: 'Ae. Did you ever walk the old trail out to the Hanakāpī'ai area or did you always go by sampan?

CC: No. Some times by sampans and then later on with Barlow, my brother, on a little skiff. It was so calm we used to go out with his skiff.

KM: Oh. All for fishing?

As a youth, traveled to Hanakāpī'ai to gather *wī* from the stream:

CC: Yes. One of the earlier times when I used to go back, I used to go with horseback. I went as far as Hanakāpī'ai. At the time Hailama had a couple of horses.

KM: How come you went to Hanakāpī'ai?

CC: Oh pick *wī* mostly.

KM: Oh!

CC: And throw net, *moi* and a little bit 'ō*pihi*. We used to go over there and get *wī*, you know the *hīhīwai*?

KM: *Hīhīwai*.

CC: Yes. Hanakāpī'ai, for the old folks, that was their *wī* ground. When the old folks wanted *wī* that's where they go for. Hā'ena didn't have.

KM: Not with the *wī* like that? How about Limahuli, no more *wī*?

CC: No, not when I was there. I think my brother Barlow and them threw some.

KM: That's what I heard they tried throwing some. You know the weather today, even the rainfall and things are different than when you were young?

CC: Even at the time I was in Hā'ena you could see Limahuli less and less water. That's when the plantation on the west side, Kekaha side started taking these ditches and started diverting some water. I think that's what happened. So some of that water from Wai'ale'ale was diverted toward the other plantation side, Kekaha. That's why I didn't hear about any more flooding in our *kuleana*...



**Charles Kininani Chu (with Susan Chu)
July 8, 2003 – Hanalei, Hā'ena and Limahuli-Kē'ē Site Visit
Joined at Limahuli and Kē'ē by Thomas and Annie Hashimoto,
and Kāwika Goodale –Interview with Kepā Maly**

The following interview was conducted in three phases: 1) driving from Hanalei to Hā'ena, with *Kupuna* Chu and his wife; 2) at Limahuli, on an elevated promontory overlooking the costal lands and valley, joined by Uncle Tom and Auntie Annie Hashimoto, and Kāwika Goodale; and 3) as a site visit to Kē'ē with the same participants as in part two above.

Kupuna Charles Kininani Chu and other *kama'āina* participants granted their personal verbal release of the interview records to Maly on July 8, 2003.



Thomas Hashimoto, Susan Chu, Annie Hashimoto and Charles Kininani Chu (KPA Photo S1051).

Driving from Hanalei Bridge towards Hā'ena — Families fished for 'o'opu *akupa* and other species in the Hanalei River:

- CC: Mrs. Chong Hing (a Hawaiian) used to fish for 'o'opu right along side this river, right across the store. That was one of her favorite fish, just beyond the banks there.
- KM: Yes.
- CC: Of course, along the banks was this *honohono* grass, thick. She had a little trail and a little spot there where she fished for 'o'opu. Those 'o'opu were big.
- KM: Big 'o'opu, eight inch or?
- CC: Eight inches, yes. I never forget one year when I was living in Honolulu and I came for a vacation. We were talking about some people in Honolulu, they like 'o'opu, they know. When I brought these 'o'opus back they couldn't imagine that the 'o'opu grew that big.
- KM: Yes.
- CC: In the Hanalei River, even in Wainiha were the big 'o'opu, eight inches.
- KM: Do you remember what 'o'opu? Did it have an other name?
- CC: Yes. I think the *akupa* was the black...
- KM: *Akupa*. Yes.
- CC: I think that was the black 'o'opu, but mostly they go for the light colored one, the *nākea*.
- KM: Yes, 'ae.



'*O'opu nōpili* was the most common species caught in the Hā'ena and Limahuli streams.

CC: *Nākea*. The small ones which we had a lot of them in Hā'ena and Limahuli Stream, was the *nāpili*.

KM: *Nāpili*.

CC: *Nōpili*, we used to call them. I think the Kaua'i people called it *nōpili*. One time I was in Honolulu talking to people, they said, "We call it *nāpili*." I think that was in Hawai'i or Maui.

KM: Yes, that's right.

CC: But in Hā'ena we called it *nōpili*. So that's another type of '*o'opu*. I know this was a delicacy that was eaten raw.

KM: The *nōpili* you folks ate raw?

CC: *Nōpili*, yes but not the *nākea*, no, we used to *lāwalu* and *kaula'i*.

KM: 'Ae. You know the taro lands that's in here now like back where Chong-Hing Store was, was it all rice at that time?

CC: All rice fields...

Driving through Wainiha; Hā'ena families fished for *hinana* ('*o'opu* fry), in the *muliwai* of Wainiha:

KM: ...So we're in Wainiha now.

CC: This is the old Wainiha bridge.

KM: Yes. The *muliwai* out there....

CC: That's where from Hā'ena we come here for *hinana*, the small '*o'opu*.

KM: Yes.

CC: When they come down here way down near the ocean to spawn, then we hear about it in Hā'ena.

KM: Do you remember about the time of year that you would come out for *hinana*?

CC: No, I don't remember the time of year when they spawn. [thinking] Must be after the floods I think.

KM: Yes.

CC: When they have floods it washes down all the '*o'opu* down here in the stream. You could see the dead '*o'opu* all down this lower part of Wainiha stream. I remember the *hinana* that was a delicacy, the small '*o'opu*.

KM: Delicacy, yes. You folks would *kaula'i* that or...?

CC: No, we ate it raw. That looked like, what do Japanese call that *iriko*, the small one [chuckling]?

KM: Yes.

CC: We didn't *kaula'i* that we ate it raw.

KM: So now we're coming into home close here.

CC: Yes.

Maninihola was an important *hukilau* fishery, mostly for *akule*, '*ō'io* and *moi*, the *pālā moi*:

CC: Maninihola, yes. That's where I *hukilau* mostly, right in this bay here.

KM: 'Ae. *Akule* like that?

CC: *Akule*, yes, '*ō'io* and *moi*. Mostly the *pālā moi*, that's the one hangs around the beach.



KM: Which type of *moi*?

CC: *Pālā moi*. That's the medium sized *moi*...

Arrive at Limahuli Gardens, meet with Uncle Tom and Auntie Annie Hashimoto; and Kāwika Goodale:

Kupuna Chu notes that the tidal wave took out many land marks; he believes that the *pōhaku wahine* (female – sister stone) was removed from the 'āpapa at that time as well. Group discusses the three stones, Pōhaku Kāne, Pōhakuloa, and their sister:

CC: The tidal wave took a lot of landmarks you know.

KM: Yes. That's interesting because when I was talking with him, when we were talking about the *wahine pōhaku*, the *kaikamahine* out on the 'āpapa.

CC/TH: Yes.

KM: Uncle was saying you thought that the *tsunami*, same thing because you could see it on the 'āpapa before?

TH: Maybe. I have no idea because at the time when all these things were taking place, you're not even going to think about that kind stuff. To go look you know because at the time, that time is a bad time because it's *malo'o*. The *malo'o* goes all the way outside one mile.

KM: Wow!

TH: Who going look that. And you don't know the exact spot where the stone is.

KM: Uncle, it was pointed out to you though yeah? You knew where the stone was?

CC: Yes. There was a stone.

KM: The *wahine*, the *kaikamahine*.

TH: Like we talked about it, is it the same distance from there to Pōhakuloa? What is the distance, the stone between? Like towards Pōhaku Kāne and Pōhakuloa?

CC: Pōhakukane and Pōhakuloa in the center and then the sister in the ocean.

TH: Is the distance the same, the in between?

CC: No. I think Pōhakuloa and the sister in the ocean was closer.

KM: But, they were in line.

TH: They were in line.

CC: Kind of in line.

AH: Was in line with the big stone?

Group: [agreeing]

CC: Kepā had to remind me what was the name, I had forgotten the name Pōhakuloa.

TH: Pōhakuloa is all exposed now, I went clean 'um.

CC: Even the sister.

TH: 'O'o'a'a

KM: Uncle, you don't remember ever hearing that name, O'oa'a for the girl, the *kaikamahine*?

CC: No, I can't remember that name.

TH: Even with me, when Ka'ipo mentioned that to me. I don't know...I never know that, I only know these two.

KG: So *Na Hala o Naue*, did the '46 tidal wave take it out?



TH: Yes. In '46 that's when everybody got jammed up with the Mormon Church. The *hala* when pile up all inside there, inside that trees. Most of them went get *make* that time because before the whole place totaled, all *hala*.

CC: It was a Sunday.

TH: By the front section like the road is divided now. The back and the front was all *hala*.

KM: Amazing!

TH: And even across the road, you know the mountain side. Used to have *hala* over there but it was here and there, not as solid as down the beach side.

KM: *Nā Hala o Naue*.

TH: And even by Ko'okea, Kanahā all inside there was all *hala* too.

CC: Yes, yes.

TH: The tidal wave came, that's why over there you know the waves are powerful.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: In that area, because the waves sweep from this way, goes in. Just like the waves just pounded on that. There were a lot of big kind coral, some was big like the toilet.

CC: Yes. That's why I say I think that wahine stone was moved. There were big stones piled up around.

TH: Because if the thing was loose I think the tide would have moved it.

KM: Yes.

TH: It happened twice, so you don't know where the exact spot is now.

KG: That was a lava rock?

TH: I think so...

CC: No, it's a coral rock.

KM: A large?

CC: Coral rock.

KM: A large block of coral?

CC: Yes, kind of high, from here you could see it in the ocean.

KG: You know at the end of Mākua, I don't know what you call it, the very end when you walk all the way around before the channel.

TH: Kalali'ilii'i.

KM: Okay.

KG: I've seen in my time big coral heads move across that just with big surf.

TH: Maybe. But it's too far across because you know why the stone no can reach over there. Because get that Nāmoku, get two.

KM: That's right.

TH: Get Nāmoku li'ilii'i and the bigger one.

KG: I'm just saying that I've seen coral heads move across and break loose and move.

TH: Yes...



Traveled into valley with *Tūtū Puaokina* to gather 'o'opu and 'ōpae:

CC: Right here I picked *pili* grass. We had an old grass thatched house. I remember one time when you have to replenish the grass, the *pili* grass, re-thatch it, the grass hut. Uncle La'a and I, one of these valleys in the back here this one or that one. We corralled this goat, small it was a kid. Almost caught the thing and then the goats started running, get no where to go. Started running towards me, I had to jump. I got good yelling from La'a, "Why didn't you grab it? Why didn't you grab it?" I caught hell [chuckling]. But my grandmother and I used to come for 'o'opu and 'ōpae. But we didn't come up to far, maybe up there some place [pointing to an area behind the lo'i].

KM: Up in the back section, just on the *mauka* side of the *lo'i* that are up here now?

CC: Yes.

TH: Maybe that time plenty, so you don't have to go up stream.

CC: No, no, we didn't need to.

KM: Was plentiful?

CC: We used to go right up here *pau*, *lawa*, we can go back home.

TH: You know the last people that used to go fool around with 'ōpae used to be Mary Kauō. You know Mary Kauō?

CC: I heard of the name, but I can't recall her personally.

TH: She was one of the last one for catch the 'ōpae inside our ditch. They went dry the ditch and then *malo'o*, and the thing stay jumping up and down.

CC: Yes, yes.

KM: Oh wow! They would *pani*?

TH: *Pani*.

Discusses closing off water flow and making traps for 'o'opu and 'ōpae; and locations of 'auwai and lo'i kalo:

CC: We used to do that, way down, *pani wai*. Pick up all this 'o'opu and 'ōpae after the thing was dry.

TH: And the old lady Kauō was the last one in our age. She went down to the *lo'i* because she can *pani* right over there.

CC: Yes.

KM: By the 'auwai section that cuts over to Kē'ē section?

TH: Yes, and then get ponds here and there they go collect the 'o'opu.

CC: Yes. They would go into the ponds where the water...

TH: *Malo'o* eh?

CC: Yes, *malo'o*.

TH: That was when we were raising taro down this side.

CC: There you go, they did it in there.

KM: Yes. Amazing how you see this history.

CC: Yes.

KM: Today, of course it's changed right?



TH: Oh, yes.

KM: Get 'o'opu, 'ōpae now in here?

TH: Get.

CC: You still have?

KM: Plentiful or?

TH: Well, I wouldn't say so. Because you see like in the 1950s, I seen Marie Inouye. They used to go put the wire box underneath, like in our ditch, get the channel down. They would put underneath where the water drops off, like right down here. The screen box.

KM: Yes.

TH: You would catch plenty.

CC: Modern *kahe*?

KM: Modern *kahe*, that's right.

TH: Before I used to work, this was in the '50s when I was working with grandma, I used to stay over there I used to carry the bag 'o'opu from inside there. Then when we came up to check the ditch, you go look inside there, he get inside the box. So there was a lot and the 'o'opu was all the yellow one.

CC: The yellow, I think they call that *nākea*.

TH: Is that *nākea*. And of course get *akupa*.

CC: *Akupa*, the black one.

TH: The *akupa* and the *nāpili*.

CC: Still had *nāpili*?

TH: Still had.

CC: *Nāpili* was one of my favorites, 'ai maka that [chuckles]. When we were eating...

TH: ...most times they salt 'um over night.

CC: They salt that *nōpili*, comes 'ūlika like. That was my favorite.

TH: Right. That's why like my dad, he would go all around. He used to eat 'em raw. That and the 'o'opu they eat raw too.

CC: Yes, eat raw and dry too.

TH: I know my dad, the *nāpili*, two bites, gone.

CC: Yes. The *nōpili* too small for him [chuckling].

TH: In two bites gone.

CC: That's right, the *nōpili* is small.

TH: They know how to eat it. Their *poi* wasn't soft.

KM: 'Ai pa'a...

Recalling Uncle La'a and Aunty Rachel Mahuiki and family.

CC: Uncle La'a them were the big brothers, yes. I used to follow him all around, what he was doing. You know when you're a small kid you follow the big guys all over. Sometimes I think they like to give you a kick because you in the way...sometimes he and I came up here, lot of times.



KG: He wasn't a big man, La'a?

CC: No.

KG: He was a smaller man.

CC: The wife Rachel, when he *ona* like that, the wife Rachel used to carry him go home [chuckles]. From the Maka place I think, used to carry him home. Carry him home to the Moewai place...

TH: ...Aunty Rachel used to do most of the work, she was powerful.

CC: Strong lady, fishing.

KM: You were saying in fishing, he'd point out and she'd go get.

TH: Like for carry the bag fish like that, La'a would throw for the fish, she's the bag man. One time he hit one bag, that's it she would carry it and go home.

CC: Your father too was a fisherman. Net, I remember him with the net.

TH: That's how I learned from my dad.

CC: Yes. They were all experts.

TH: You see that time, like when my dad was getting old. In fact when my dad was in his fifties already he never did go back in the water in fact in his forties. Only when he wanted to come with us to go fool around the fish, yeah. Other than that we did it all.

CC: Yes. Good, that's how you learned.

KM: You'll be amazed, the place names that uncle remembered. You remember you had the names in front of your area. Uncle and your names that you remembered coincide with what uncle remembers. He's named like thirty, almost forty places. All the way from Kaleina kauila section out on the other side of the *pā hula*, all the way out past Wainiha.

CC: That's why I said, they are the people that live here, I moved away, and all these things that I didn't get to remember, but they remember.

TH: You know I remember the grounds because we went fish the grounds.

CC: Right, that's how you remember certain points. That's why I say these Hawaiians they had names for every nook and points and everything, that's their street signs. When they wanted to look for somebody, "Oh he went down so and so reef, so and so place." You'll find the guy...you go over there you'll find the guy, you know. That's their street sign all the spots are named. That you remember. I don't remember all those things, I moved away when I was only...

TH: But you know the reason why I remember that is because I used to fish all the time.

Discusses *'upena ho'opae* fishing for *pūili* fish:

CC: Yes. Now you folks fish and all that. I didn't get to do much fishing with Hailama you see, by the time we had moved at just about the age that I'm supposed to do all that, we had moved to Honolulu. The only fishing that I used to go with him was *ho'opae*, the scoop net. *Ho'opae* for *pūili* the stick fish. I remember he made me a small net, *ho'opae*.

TH: Is that the one that's like this [gestures]?

CC: That's right.

TH: Kind of pointed.

CC: Pointed and with a net.



TH: Long time ago I seen that.

CC: *'Upena ho'opae.*

TH: Yes, I used to see that.

CC: He had a big one.

TH: At that time used to be like this [gestures shape].

CC: Right. The one I remember he made for me was from guava. You know guava is strong.

TH: Guava stick, yes. And then put braces so that the thing would stay open.

CC: You get the *'apo* shape with a handle.

TH: You scoop 'em.

CC: With a handle, the little bar goes across with the cross handle so you could grab it. *'Upena ho'opae.* He used to scoop all this...

TH: He used to do 'em night time?

CC: Yes, night time. You see when *nalu*, you go about two, three days after that. This fish get beat up by the waves, tired, they're outside. When they come inside of the reef because *nalu* they're tired. It works out so it comes in the reef, and that's when we go. When *nalu* and about three, four days after that. We go down Paweaka then you see all these fish jumping. He go with the torch, see all this fish jumping and scoop. That's the favorite fish.

KG: You dry it?

TH: No, down here we *pūlehu*.

AH: Yes. We used to go hook down here.

CC: Yes. You can hook that thing.

TH: How you used to eat that, *pūlehu*?

CC: *Pūlehu, 'a'ala!* Your neighbors used to smell that *pūlehu* the *pūili*.

TH: They're small, about this kind size [gestures about eight inches].

CC: And then the *iheihe*, smaller, almost transparent, that's the small one.

TH: Yes.

CC: So the bigger one, that's what you *pūlehu*, And then you get so much, you dry it up that's another...

TH: When you guys used to *pūlehu* that thing you guys used to, you see way on the tail they used to make little *puka* over there and poke the bill inside like that to make the thing stay...

KM: In a circle?

TH: In one circle, yes. That's how they *pūlehu* that thing, not flat just like that.

CC: Yes, yes.

TH: They used to go poke 'em in the tail because the thing is sharp. So they made a little *puka* by the tail and poke it and the thing stay just like one, just like that.

TH: That's how I seen the old people *pūlehu* that thing.

CC: Another thing to is that thing is long, put it on your little stove probably half sticking out cannot *pūlehu*.

TH: That's why they do that just like one coil.



CC: Yes, *pūlehu* the whole thing. I can remember the smell.
TH: That thing makes you hungry, I know that. Good sweet smell.
CC: So, in Paweaka mostly.
TH: Paweaka, the end of the road in front of the old man Pā'ū's place.
CC: Yes.
TH: By the Brown's place...

Group discusses torch fishing for *uhu* and other species:

CC: Francis Brown and I think the brother George li Brown. They used to come over there. That Francis Brown was a good fisherman. Those days had long spears, he would go in the *āpapa* right in front of this place. He used to spear fish, *uhu* and all that. He was a good fisherman.
TH: Now you mentioned that, I remember that. Like when they go torchlight, they get this spear with the three prongs like that. And the handle is long.
CC: Long handle.
TH: You stay in the deep maybe.
CC: Yes, deep.
KM: You're just right off of the *āpapa*?
CC: That's why I used to sit on the *āpapa*.
TH: I seen that, my dad folks had that.
KM: Yes.
TH: And the handle was long and kind of fat like this. Not small.
KM: Two, three inch diameter.
CC: Your papa had one of them?
TH: Yes, he had several because we used to do a lot of torching. How we used to do it is we used to use burlap bags for the wick with the kerosene in the pipe. That's how you guys used to do it?
CC: The torch?
TH: We used to use the burlap bag.
CC: Oh yes, the burlap bag is your wick and the kerosene.
TH: That's what we used to do.

You never asked a fisherman where he was going:

CC: Yes. When Hailama used to do that you don't ask what you doing or where you going or what, you keep your mouth shut [chuckling].
TH: That's right.
KM: Yes. Otherwise *hili*?
CC: Otherwise he throw that thing down and you walk away. *Pau*, he not going fishing.
TH: The reason for that was why? Because it's bad luck?
CC: Yes. They claim when you talk the fish can hear and they disappear.



TH: You know like our time when we were growing up, we never used to say that. When we were going fishing, we said “we’re going *holoholo*.”

CC: Yes, *holoholo*.

TH: It can be in the mountains or on the ocean.

CC: You not going fishing, no.

TH: You don’t say where.

CC: No, you don’t say where.

TH: Because when you tell where you’re going, the *kepalō* going be in front you.

CC: Could be.

TH: No, that’s what it was.

KM: That’s what they say.

TH: That’s what they say. In our time when we used to fish and we say that or yell, that was off limits for that kind stuff.

CC: That’s right.

TH: You know you just got to be quiet. And then when you’re going you just pick up your net and go. Not say, you don’t say nothing.

CC: You don’t even mention to grandmother where he’s going, you cannot even say.

TH: If somebody say that, like how we used to fix that. My dad, like if we’re going there and then we see the *kepalō*, like as soon as you step in the water...*pau* already. You know already, bumby you go, if you don’t catch it that time and you put your net inside there the *kepalō* stay on the net. That’s right and even chase you, before the *kepalō* would climb on my back with the bag fish.

KM: Yes, when they’re out night time on the *āpapa* like that.

TH: Yes, this is night time.

CC: Night time is the worst.

TH: And then if you’re alone that’s another thing too. It happened to us many times we went *holoholo*. But you know what my dad used to fix. He used to tell us...my dad talked Hawaiian fluently.

CC: Yes, he’s fluent Hawaiian.

TH: He used to tell us in English “we’re going down to such and such,” so you throw the *kepalō* off. He go down there we stay up here, and then you lose ‘em. Because if not, the thing going be right with you. That’s how it was before.

KM: You know uncle just what you’re saying, what he’s saying about that. We know there’s old traditions the same thing that you know they did that to throw them off. The *kūpuna* it was real, they believed that.

TH: Yes.

KM: You misdirect them, you say, “Oh, I going this such and such a place,” but quietly you just go the other way. So they’re all over there, “where are you?”

TH: They used to do that with some little swear words.

KM: Throw a little swear word in there, *hauka’e*.

CC: They swear at them.



KM: Yes.

CC: You scare them away.

TH: So the old man he remembers this and it kind of ties in.

KM: That's why it's so nice to get together and talk story.

CC: Yes. The only thing I miss is the names of the places that I had forgotten now.

TH: You're not one fisherman, how you're going to remember that.

AH: You still remember Paweaka, you still remember over there.

KM: He has all of these names in front of their place.

Paweaka was *Tūtū* Uluhane's favorite *he'e* ground:

CC: That's my mother's favorite *he'e* ground.

TH: Paweaka.

CC: She didn't know how to swim, so she wouldn't go out anyplace.

TH: And that pond never gets to deep.

CC: This is in Paweaka.

TH: Yes.

KG: The one that used to amaze me is Grandma Rachel, everybody goes and she'd go behind everybody and find the *he'e*. She got the eye.

TH: She was the *he'e* lady.

KG: She was amazing! She could barely walk and she's still finding.

TH: You know who's the one now, the good *he'e* lady, Aunty Vi. She's the only one...

KM: His sister who's going to come with us at 10 o'clock, Violet. She's the *he'e* lady.

TH: She's the *he'e* lady. Like me, I go dive, I no go look on the *āpapa*. Her she get good eyes.

CC: Yes. You got to have the eye. You can see, some very subtle, where the hole is. A trained eye can see.

KM: And Aunty Annie too, she had no choice with her papa Kalani, they had to go fishing up to here.

TH: Kalani was a little younger, he was young like my mom. My mom is 1910, just before you. La'a's wife is a little younger too.

CC: Aunty Rachel and I were the same age.

TH: Oh...

KM: Well, should we go down just to the end of the road for a moment, go *holoholo*...?

Group drives to Kē'ē — discusses place names; many remembered because they were associated with collection of specific fish:

TH: ...Good to get the old man to verify stuff we'd like to know.

KM: When you see his first interview, wonderful! The stories are so good.

CC: Certain things I cannot forget. Me and some places sometime I might forget but there's a lot of things you don't forget until you *make* I guess.



TH: The only reason why I remember is....like my dad used to tell us he used to go *holoholo* and then look at the school *moi*. The we had to go to school. So when we come back he tell, "Hey boy, go down there Pu'u Kahua, big kind *moi*." We go down there, sure enough, blast 'um one time, *pau*. My dad never fished from his late forties he never did. We did all the fishing. Till today I make my own *upena*.

KM: He still *kā upena*.

CC: Oh...

KG: I remember going with you, and we'd come back with the fish, and your father would ask where...that was... He knew where we were.

KM: Each name?

KG: Each name.

CC: Certain spots, the names are new to me, Tunnels and what else? Not Jaws?

KG: They call this one Bobo's, Cannon's.

CC: Cannon, yes.

KM: Uncle, inside here was open too right?

CC: Yes...

Group driving along the Ka'ilio Point towards Kila Pā's former residence and *poi* mill; discussing various fishing and *limu* locations:

CC: Oh here Kepā, I can hardly recognize because all these trees over here, was just all *kula*.

KM: 'Ae.

CC: All flat, no more all these trees here.

KM: This is Ka'ilio section here?

CC: Ka'ilio, yes. You see this area with all these trees here.

KM: 'Ae. And so the *pā ilina* where you saw was just a little further over from here?

CC: Yes. Where's the Kalei's house down here?

KM: Kalei Kelau, Kila them.

CC: Kalei and Kila Pā.

KM: Just a little further over.

CC: Right in front of their area.

Group: [Stops and talks while looking out on the shore.]

KG: He's [Uncle Tom] looking to see if there's any fish. He always has his net in the back of the truck.

KM: So this was all just open?

CC: What's that *'oama* running now?

KM: That's what they said, *'oama*.

KG: I started to see, I saw the first, was good size already.

CC: Big already. This area we used to come with Barlow and Bill, hide in the trees. Run down there and throw your net and come back in the trees.

KG: Sometimes the mullet would hang out here too.



CC: Mullet too.

KG: Mullet and *nenuē*, *enenue* outside there.

CC: We used to come down here for *he'e* but I don't know, not too much.

TH: Over here get *he'e* too, but you can't beat Paweaka.

CC: Paweaka more easy over here kind of...

TH: Over here, that's the place they get that *limu*, that *wāwae'iole*. That's the only place get.

CC: Over here, *wāwae'iole*?

TH: Not very much, but some.

CC: You know that even in Honolulu sometimes I look, they used to put in the 'ake and all that. Now I don't see it.

TH: No, but they get in Maui, plenty.

KM: Lāhainā side, still.

TH: Yes.

CC: All cultured kind?

KM: No, still wild.

CC: I don't see in the market now, before I used to see.

TH: Get, I see 'em. Somebody when just give her one bag.

CC: *Wāwae'iole* and the *loli*.

TH: The *loli* no more too much. Mama used to pick up by Pu'ukea, the *loli*.

CC: The brown one.

TH: The brown one and they clean 'em with hot water and chop 'em all up. We eat 'em like that.

CC: Yes. Next to 'ōpīhi the *loli* is... [chuckling] If you know how to prepare. Lot of people don't know.

KM: You folks would get *loli* too?

CC: Oh, yes. And my mother was pretty good at preparing the *loli*. Like he said with the hot water and then scrape 'em.

TH: You have to scrape the outside too.

CC: You have to scrape the outside all that rough sand or whatever.

TH: Now the place where they normally get them now is Hanapēpē. I don't know if it's the *loli pua* or what, but my wife she loves that.

CC: *Loli pua*? They still had *loli pua*?

TH: Over there in Hanapēpē, plenty. Over here get but maybe, if not plentiful like the other side. For *pā'ina* like that, over there get plenty.

CC: I don't know why the different kinds of grounds, all kinds of grounds.

KM: Yes. Things are changing too, uncle thinks that because of all the fuel from the zodiacs and everything. The *limu* and everything have changed you were saying?

TH: The *limu* has changed. And like now the *limu kohu* is not the time for it because like now *malo'o* the water, so it's all burned.



CC: All burned, yes. Got to wait till...

TH: Come almost rough time.

CC: Yes, that's right.

KM: Yes, that's how it thrives the *'ōkaikai* because it aerates it.

TH: Yes and it comes back again. When the time get we go get. It's not a whole lot but it's enough to share.

CC: That's all you need.

KM: Family, it's what you need.

CC: That's how it was.

TH: You go get what you need although I know the *āpapa* all get plenty. Like Pu'ukahua, all get. Paweaka, all over there get. But we go the easy place, kind of hard like Kanahā is flat. Like over here by, all this *āpapa* over here...

KM: Koia or?

TH: ...all get ridge.

CC: Yes, some places be pretty rough.

TH: The breakers is right there. You know if you fall down...

KM: Yes, you got to be *maka'ala*.

TH: You got to *maka'ala*.

CC: Kanahā, that's where my mother used to go get.

TH: *Limu kohu* and they get that other one the *līpe'epe'e* and the one like the *ogo*.

KM: *'Ae, manauea*.

CC: *Manauea*.

TH: And over there get one small section, get that *kala limu*, what was that?

KM: *Kala, limu kala* kind?

CC: *Līpoa*.

TH: The *līpoa*. Only one small section.

KM: Small area.

CC: That I think the *nenue*... The *nenue* get strong smell *līpoa*.

TH: As long as not too much, if little bit all right.

CC: Yes.

TH: But if too much the fish going taste like that. You cook inside the pot the whole house smell.

KM: Everything, yes.

CC: Yes. I don't mind that, I like the *līpoa*. Some people no can stand. Doesn't bother me, I like the *līpoa*.

TH: Today you don't have too much of that. Like in Kapa'a used to be like that, the *līpoa*.

KG: In Kīpū Kai had plenty and Ni'ihau has plenty.

TH: Now it's a little diminished. Only small sections, might be like only from here to that tree. If the fish smells like *līpoa*, I know that's from over there.



KM: You know where they went.

TH: Yes. They go eat over there. Other places it's all *kala*.

KM: Interesting.

TH: It's nice to know, you know what I mean.

CC: The *līpoa*, I never forget you know, when you saw on the *akule*, the *palu*. At the time we used to surround, the old man come out with two bags on the horse, full with *akule*. He would bring them home what you going to do, you going to dry them up.

KM: *Kaha* everything?

CC: Yes, *kaha*. *Kāpī* and then dry them up. *Palu*, that was one of the best *palu*. In Honolulu when I buy *akule* I still savor inside. But you talking about *līpoa* my grandmother used to put couple leaves of *līpoa* inside the *palu*.

TH: Then you get that *līpoa* aroma.

CC: Yes. She used to put that inside the *palu*. *Akule palu*.

TH: You put chili pepper inside too?

CC: Yes. But my grandfather didn't like chili pepper. My grandmother liked chili pepper, and my mother. My mother can eat it just like that just, like the Korean's just like Susan. She eat 'em, my mother could do that...

TH: Can bite 'em.

KM: Candy *no ho'i* [chuckles].

CC: Eat that like candy.

TH: That kind you got to get iron *'ōkole*.

Group: [all chuckling]

TH: You know how hot that is.

CC: Yes. Those were the days.

KM: Good to come out and see the land.

CC: The *honu* ground, that's where Kalei's *honu* ground was, right here. When Ka'ala was living with us he used to go in front of that reef [thinking] I forget the name of it. Further up...

TH: Pu'u Kahua?

CC: No, further up.

TH: Hauwā?

CC: Hauwā, yes.

AH: Ka'ala was related to who?

CC: Kalei. Ka'ala and Kalei were brothers.

AH: Hmm. How come Ka'ala was fair, Kalei was dark?

CC: Yes. Ka'ala was fair, that's right. I remember Ka'ala was fair.

TH: That man was a good fisherman too.

CC: He was throw net and *'ōpihi*.



TH: Funny thing about like my dad warned us, he's a funny man. If he see you and you stay looking over there you stay waiting for your shot for throw the fish, that man going come right in front of you and blast 'um.

KM: 'Auwē!

CC: Yes.

TH: Like us when we were young, we were growing up and going fishing like that, we see him come we go over there we geev 'um even if we no catch 'em [chuckling]. Because we know his style already. That's the way he is.

KM: Maybe he figured was his 'āina.

TH: Yes, but he no think us, you know.

CC: So he go some other place.

TH: I know that man Ka'ala. And that man is quiet.

CC: Very quiet.

TH: He was a quiet man. Hardly say anything.

CC: Ka'ala and the wife, Kina, when we left Hā'ena, more or less they took over the 'āina kalo, and even Moewai's place. And then later on when I was in Honolulu I heard they moved to Makaweli side.

TH: Yes they moved the other side.

CC: And even La'a.

TH: He went move to Hanapēpē.

CC: Yes...



**Charles Kininani Chu (with Susan Chu),
 Agnes Leinani Kam Lun Chung,
 Thomas Hashimoto and Annie Tai Hook-Hashimoto
 Violet Hashimoto-Goto
 Kapeka Mahuiki-Chandler
 Mary “Lychee” Kamakaka‘ōnohi‘ulaokalā Tai Hook-Haumea
 July 8, 2003 – at Limahuli
 Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly and Chipper Wichman (KPA Photo No. S1057)**

This interview was conducted at Limahuli, and brought together individuals who were born and raised in the Hā‘ena and Wainiha *Ahupua‘a*. While all of the primary interviewees shared some form of familial relationships, some of them hadn’t seen one another for over 60 years. Others had only heard of the elder participants, and never met before. The following excerpts introduce the interviewees, and focus on descriptions and recollections of fisheries.



All of the *kūpuna* participants granted their personal verbal release of the interview records to Maly on July 8, 2003.

Kupuna Chu expresses *aloha* for the land and families, that one cannot forget about Hā‘ena:

- CC: I still get *aloha* for all you folks in Hā‘ena.
- KC: No can forget.
- CC: No can forget.
- KC: Across here was his place.
- VG: Yes, all down here.
- CC: That’s why when Kepā told me, how can you remember all these things, I said, these things you cannot forget.
- KC: That’s right, because you’re born and raised here. If you’re not born and raised together, no can. That’s why I say, today, we have to tell our children.
- KM: That’s right.



KC: Who is family, I name them, and I go house to house. "Mother, everybody is related?" I said, "Yes."

CC: I think since 1927, how many years I've been away.

KC: You've been away so long.

KM: In 1927, before you were *hānau*.

VG: I wasn't even born.

Group: [chuckling]

CC: Yes, that's why I don't remember the young ones because I had moved away.

VG: Yes.

CC: I have a lot of *aloha* for you folks, because I cannot forget this place...

KM: *Mahalo. Aloha.* Aunty Agnes, your full name please and date of birth?

Agnes Leinani Kam Lun Chung introduces herself – family background and ties to Wainiha and Lumaha'i.

AC: I'm Agnes Chung. I was born in Wainiha between the two bridges. My father was a Chinese immigrant and my mother was Hawaiian. I was born December 15th, 1921. I went to Hā'ena school, then I moved away. I knew all the people from Wainiha to Hā'ena because... [thinking] We had only three Japanese family in Wainiha and Hā'ena. The rest were Hawaiian, Portuguese, Japanese, Chinese. I moved away when my mother died and my father went back to China. I was orphaned at 10 years old. There were seven in our family, two boys and five girls.

KM: *Mahalo.* And aunty, what was mama's name?

AC: My mother's name was Mary Na'alanui Naumu.

KM: 'Ae.

AC: My father was Gum Sung Chung.

KM: Okay, *mahalo.* How did you come to live in Wainiha and be born there?

AC: I was born and raised there.

KM: How come? Was mama from there?

AC: My mother was from Kekaha. Then when my grandmother died my great grandmother brought her to Lumaha'i. There was a village over there, then when she died the Kukuas *hānai* her. Then she got married to my father in 1910... [thinking]

KM: Then you folks *hānau*, you *hānau* in 1921. You were born in 1921?

AC: Yes.

KM: Eleven years after and mama's family is Kukua?

AC: Were *hānai*. My mother's side was Naumus from Waimea side. The Kukuas didn't have children. When they *hānai* my mother then the Kukuas had children. There were five of the Kukuas and one was a [chuckling] stingy man. I never seen a stingy man like him. You cannot touch, eat, he had a patch of cane and grapes where they made wine. You cannot touch any of that. He count everything. The only thing you can eat is the papaya and banana.

KM: Okay. Was he making wine in Wainiha?



AC: I don't know if he made the wine, but you cannot touch the grapes. We thought we were smart we pick on the top, but he climbed the step ladder and he counts all the missing grapes [chuckling].

KM: Oh, *aloha. Mahalo!* Thank you. *Aloha mai kupuna, Kupuna Lychee.*

LH: Yes.

KM: How are you?

Mary "Lychee" Kamakaka'ōnohi'ulaokalā Tai Hook-Haumea introduces herself – family background and ties to Wainiha.

LH: *Maika'i.*

KM: *Maika'i no. Kupuna, o wai kou inoa?*

LH: Mary Lychee Haumea.

KM: *O wai kou inoa Hawai'i?*

LH: Kamakako'ōnohi'ulaokalā.

KM: *Nani. When you hānau? Makahiki hānau 'oe hānau ai, what year?*

LH: In 1913.

KM: *Pōmaika'i!* You and uncle, same year, 1913.

CC: Same school.

KM: 'Ae.

AC: How many in your family?

KM: How many?

LH: Fifteen [chuckling].

KM: Your papa was pure Pākē?

LH: Yes.

KM: What was papa's name?

LH: Apu.

KM: Apu.

LH: Apu Tai Hook.

KM: 'Ae. And mama?

LH: Malia Laepa'a.

KM: Laepa'a. Where was mama from? Where was mama *hānau*?

LH: Wainiha.

KM: At Wainiha, *Laepa'a ka inoa?*

LH: Yes.

KM: There were fifteen of you children. Auntie Annie is Kalani's daughter. Annie, your brother's daughter?

LH: Yes.

AC: And my sister's daughter [chuckling].



KM: Yes, that's right. Your sister married Kalani. 'Ae. *Mahalo! Kupuna*, you grew up in Wainiha?

LH: Yes.

KM: What did you do when you were growing up?

LH: Taro patch [chuckling].

Group: [laughing]

KM: Taro patch. Worked the taro patch. Big job yeah! *Aloha, mahalo! Aloha mai*, aunty, *kupuna*. What is your full name please and date of birth?

Kapeka Mahuiki-Chandler introduces herself – family background and ties to Hā'ena and Wainiha.

KC: My full name was Elizabeth Mahuiki, because they always called us the Hawaiian for Elizabeth so never need Hawaiian name.

KM: 'Ae.

KC: I was born in Hā'ena, one of ten. I'm the oldest now, but I'm number two actually. My brother died when he was a baby I think, I don't know. My father's name was Lawrence Mahuiki and my mother Rachel 'Īlālā'ole.

KM: 'Ae. You *hānau* when?

KC: I was born August 8th, 1931.

KM: Oh, you have a birthday coming up then next month, a month from today.

KC: Don't remind me, getting older [chuckling].

KM: Wonderful. You were born at Hā'ena and you still lived at the same place basically, near by?

KC: No, no, I'm in Wainiha.

KM: Oh, you're in Wainiha.

KC: Yes. I moved out, when I got married I moved out from the family home. My brother Jeremiah was living there. We were single, we stayed there, when I got married I moved to Powerhouse road. Not too far from the main road.

KM: 'Ae. Just a little bit up?

KC: Yes. When I got married I had fifteen children, fourteen living.

KM: *Pōmaika'i*.

KC: Nine boys and five girls. The Chandler name not going die [chuckles]. And of course I never worked.

KM: Well, I don't know if that's true [chuckles].

KC: I mean for money [chuckles]. Couldn't, I had to make up my mind either when you get married...in fact if you get married and you know you going get children forget about money. Your husband going work, so I didn't have to. Later on in my fifties, I was entertaining with my cousins the Maka's at Tahiti Nui. Who doesn't know that place [chuckles]? We were doing *lū'au* shows. Plus I worked at Hanalei Plantation, when Barry Yap was the manager.

KM: Yes.

KC: I cannot remember the year, was so long ago.



KM: Now aunty, papa was Lawrence?
 KC: Yes, Lawrence.
 KM: They called him La'a?
 KC: Yes.
 KM: Is that right, La'a Mahuiki?
 KC: Yes.
 KM: Papa was born at Hā'ena also?
 KC: I don't know if you called it Hā'ena or Kalalau. I don't know.
 KM: Oh, Kalalau. Papa was born out at Kalalau?
 KC: I really don't know, but they said they all came from Kalalau, so I don't know.
 KM: Did you hear uncle, because he was born...
 CC: As far as I remember Uncle La'a he was already big I didn't know whether he was born in Hā'ena or Kalalau.
 KC: Yes. Us too, he never did say, nobody talked about those things because we don't ask questions. We were taught not to ask questions.
 KM: Yes, I know so *kala mai ia'u ku'u niele*.
 KC: It's okay.
 KM: Papa though, now mama, 'Īlālā'ole, and I had a wonderful talk with mama about the name because my wife's *kūpuna* tie to 'Īlālā'ole but it had a longer name. Did mama ever tell you what the name was? Did you hear, 'Īlālā'ole?
 KC: 'Īlālā'ole o Kamehameha, that was the end of it.
 KM: 'Ae. Yes, wonderful. Did you hear Kamehameha or 'Īlālā'ole o Ka'ahumanu?
 KC: No I heard...
 KM: Kamehameha. Okay. Wonderful! Where was mama's family from?
 KC: Wainiha, I think...
 VG: Where did Kana come in?
 KC: That's the first name of the father.
 KM: Kana?
 KC: Yes, Kana 'Īlālā'ole. I don't know the first name.
 VG: I heard grandma mention.
 KM: So interesting, and it's so important to record about our families.
 KC: It is so important, but we wish we knew all that when we were young.
 VG: That's right.
 KC: That's why I say everybody is my family, because you know you just have to respect them like that.
 KM: Yes... *Mahalo*. Uncle, good to see you and talk story again. Your full name please and your date of birth?



Thomas Hashimoto introduces himself – family background and ties to Hā'ena.

TH: My name is Tom Hashimoto. I was born July 13th, 1934 in Hā'ena. I've been here ever since.

KM: 'Ae.

TH: I never left Hā'ena. Fish, farm and run around whatever, in this area. So I kind of know the area pretty well.

KM: Yes. [speaking to the group] Uncle shared some wonderful interviews, stories about fishing, like you folks talk story. All of the place names that you remember, it's amazing. You've done a wonderful annotated map back there [pointing to map on wall], showing the different fishing spots. You folks family though, Hashimoto, papa came under Mahiula?

TH: Yes.

KM: You folks are on old family land also?

TH: Right.

KM: You and sister.

TH: Yes.

VG: Actually Mahiula was *tūtū* man's middle name, his last name was Keoni.

KM: Keoni, and he was tied to Pā, do you remember?

VG: In some kind of way, yes.

KM: That's what uncle, *kupuna* was thinking too.

VG: Did you know *Tūtū* Kealoha when she was living?

KM: *Tūtū* Kealoha?

CC: *Tūtū* Kealoha, Mahiula's wife. Yes, I was trying to remember her name, I couldn't remember her name. I remember Mahiula.

VG: His last name was Keoni.

TH: And then in the later years he married 'Ihilani. 'Ihilani, Hanohano's sister. That's how...

CC: That's another sister, 'Ihilani?

TH: That's how we came just like relatives through marriage.

CC: That's how she moved in David Pā's place. Wahinekeoli of course used to...

TH: That's how...my dad used to live there...

KM: *Mahalo!* Uncle, your name and date of birth?

Charles Kininani Chu introduces himself – family background and ties to Limahuli-Kē'ē at Hā'ena.

CC: I'm Charles Kini but Kepā wants to call me Kininani which is my full Hawaiian name and Chu. My father was Chu Wai, he was a tailor I understand, first in Hanalei, and that's where I was born. Somehow he married my mama while he was in Hanalei. He married my mama. My mama was a Kinney. When I was very young, I was *hānai* by Puaokina and Hailama which was my mama's mother and step-father. My real grandfather was Kiha Kinney. But I didn't remember him well, because I didn't know him. He had left Hā'ena already. I was raised with Hailama and Puaokina. I was born December 16th, 1913.

KM: What a blessing!



CC: I went to Hā'ena school with Aunty Lychee there, it was the same time. I left Hā'ena school when I was in the seventh grade then we went to Honolulu. We left Hā'ena. At that time we left the place in care of Ka'ala and my Uncle La'a Mahuiki. They were taking care of the *lo'i* and all. The old house, at the time we left we had moved into the Kāneali'i house up where the Makas were...

KC: Yes...

CC: ...I used to come back to Hā'ena every chance I had, with my brothers. They were over here in Kapa'a. My brothers they would love to come back to Hā'ena. Because when we were small living down in Kionolua, that's Hailama's place, they used to come down every summer. My father used to bring them to Hā'ena, because my mother always wanted to come back to Hā'ena where she was born and raised. They used to come back to Hā'ena all the time. When we grew up we still came back to Hā'ena. You remember Barlow and Bill.

Group: [agrees]

Fished in the Nu'alolo-Kalalau vicinity with Hanohano Pā.

CC: ...I remember going into Nu'alolo with Hanohano. He used to run up all us young kids, going to Kalalau.

TH: Go catch fish?

CC: Yes. Surround the *moi*, mostly *moi*.

KC: Did you jump in the water with the rope on the *pali* side?

CC: I forgot the names of the caves now. We used to go in the caves. Make us young kids jump in the water. This old Hanohano and the older folks, they were on the sampan directing us. Hanohano and Kalei Kelau told us kids to swim with the net going into the caves. Do you know the name of the caves?

TH: I have no idea because get plenty down there.

CC: Summer time the sand would go up into these caves like how they always go against the *pali*. When the sand starts accumulating they fill up the caves first, I think that come out towards the cliff. That's when the *moi*...

TH: Stay inside there.

CC: In the sand. We used to surround that net over there. Make us jump in there, some kids on each end of the rope, swim in the cave. They used to warn us swim close to the *pali* because the sharks coming out. Don't get in their way, swim close to the *pali*...

KM: ...Mahalo! ...Aunty, your name and date of birth please?

Violet Waioleka Hashimoto-Goto introduces herself – family background and ties to Hā'ena.

VG: My dad didn't give us Hawaiian names so we used our English names like Aunty Kapeka said, they call me Waioleka, she always does that.

KM: Waioleka, 'ae.

VG: I didn't like that name Violet, so we cut it short, everything was Aunty Vi.

KM: And you're Hashimoto?

VG: Hashimoto, yes. Dad was...well we have all kinds of history [chuckling].

KM: Your dad, you were sharing with me, what was papa's name?

VG: My dad?



KM: Yes, what was papa's name?

VG: So much complication. You know actually my dad, his name was Thomas. When he came to Kaua'i and he lived with his uncle, that was Mahiula, his name was Joseph Mahiula Keoni. He owned that place just about where I live right now. That's our family home over there. *Tūtū* Mahiula married...like my brother said 'Ihilani. That's how we get the connection with the Pā family, because Hanohano's sister is 'Ihilani.

CC: 'Ihilani, oh I see.

VG: 'Ihilani was married to my grandpa. *Tūtū* was also married to Kealoha who was his first wife.

CC: Oh...

VG: ...My dad when he came here, he was the youngest of the Hashimoto family. His name was Thomas, but during that time, they no like hear the name Thomas. So because he lived with my grandfather, Mahiula. They called him Mahiula. They changed his name to Mahiula and they called him Joe.

KM: *Kupuna* knew him as Joe.

CC: Yes.

KM: When I was saying Thomas he didn't know who Thomas Hashimoto was. Uncle knew Joe right, Joseph?

CC: Joe, yes.

VG: His name was Thomas. So when he had children even he had the name Thomas. We left his name as it is because everything was recorded under Joseph... ...But Tom, he fished with dad, that's why he knows all these *āpapa* over here.

KC: And what they know we don't know because they don't talk.

TH: Yes.

VG: And some of them they kept it, and when they *make* it went with them.

KM: *Hūnā, nalowale. Mahalo.* And Auntie Susan?

Susan Anela Ahn-Chu introduces herself – family background, wife of Charles Kininani Chu.

SC: My name is Susan Anela Ahn-Chu. Actually Susan wasn't from my birth, I went to school and the principle gave me a modern name. Actually my name is Poksun and that means peach. And Anela means angel, I'm an angel [chuckling].

KM: 'Ae. That's what your husband said. You *hānau* in 1919?

SC: Yes. I was born in Kealakekua, Hawai'i, March 28, 1919.

KM: 'Ae, *aloha*. And uncle is your?

SC: My husband.

KM: Good...

The Hā'ena dunes and *kula* lands were formerly bare.

VG: Uncle Charlie, when you folks were young, Hā'ena never used to look like this with all these trees, was bare, yeah?

CC: No, was bare. Hā'ena, if you remember in some songs I don't know who composed, "*Kula o Hā'ena*," Hā'ena was all plains.

KM: *Kula* land.



CC: From this house here you could see who was coming down from way up the *pu'eone*. From way up Paweaka as far as there or further, you could see whoever was coming down. The trail was on the sand along the beach, the road. The *mauka* road was way later.

KM: Amazing yeah, how the land has changed.

CC: No trees around here, only some big mango trees and *kamani* trees. My days had *kamani* trees. All the way was all bare no more plum trees, the pine trees was just starting the pine trees. My time all bare you could see *ahuwale*. *Ahuwale ka 'āina...*

Recalls *Tūtū* Pa'ikulu and Hailama observing phases of the moon, and consulting on the best time to fish:

CC: ...Pa'ikulu of course, when he wanted to *kā'ili* night time for *'āweoweo*. Pa'ikulu was an expert. I told Kepā, one night we went over there was almost full moon. Hailama wanted to know if that was full moon or not. So Pa'ikulu would take out his handkerchief and look through the handkerchief. Then you could see whether there was a shadow on the moon or was all covered, or was full moon when it was all covered. He would look through that. And then I was curious, I asked to look through the thing, and sure enough you could see the outline, not fully covered. No, he said, "That's not *Māhealani*." They have names for the night before or night after. *Māhealani* is full moon. He said, "Maybe tomorrow night we go..." So things like that was during my time, I remember.

CW: Do you remember anything special about the other old people down there you used to visit? Something special about them, were they known for anything?

CC: That I cannot recall. They used to talk about some old *kūpuna* that were good fishermen, *kā'ili* especially.

VG: What was his name?

SC: How about the blind man?

Group discusses elder members of the Mahuiki family:

CC: Kapae

KC: That's my *tūtū* man.

CC: Yes. When we moved to Moewai's place up there. I used to hang around *Tūtū* Mahuiki's place.

KC: Did you know that Pa'itulu is Mahuiki?

CC: No. I didn't know that.

KC: Yes, he is.

CC: Pa'ikulu is Mahuiki?

KC: Kapae's brother.

CC: Kapae is Mahu's brother, Kapae and Pa'itulu?

KC: Yes. Get five brothers *Ūō*, *Kāneali'i*. So *Ūō* is Mahuiki too.

Group discusses *hukilau* at Maniniholo; entire community was involved and fish were always shared:

CW: Had *hukilau* when you guys was growing up?

CC: Yes. At that time was Hanohano, he had a net when I was here. We used to surround the net over here up at Maniniholo. Sometimes up by your folks place, the Rice's place up there, in that little bay.



TH: Mākua.

CC: Mākua. Sometimes the fish would go in there.

VG: Today get. Still get today.

CC: Still do? I'll be darned. The net fishing was mostly Hanohano that surrounded net, right down here in Maninihola. I remember this time, I said that he had so much fish, old man Hailama came home down here with two bags loaded on the horse with *akule*. I took them and I don't know how long took to *kaha* that thing and *kaula'i*, *kāpī* and *kaula'i*.

KC: The Hawaiians had a wonderful way of doing that. Like your own community, they all come.

KM: 'Ae, *kōkua*.

KC: Yes. Like it's a community project and everybody comes and then you go home with fish.

CC: Oh yes, the word would spread fast, because they needed help.

KM: *Hā'awi aloha*. They share.

CC: When my Uncle La'a took over I was in Honolulu already. They used to have *hukilau* over there in Maninihola.

KC: When the kids all go that's the end.

KM: Papa used to go on top of the cave on the *pali* and *kilo*?

KC: Right in front the pond.

KM: And he would *kilo*?

KC: Yes. I don't know because I hadn't been home for five years, and then I go back. Another five years before I was through with school, in fact seven because I worked after I graduated then... I can't live down there [chuckling]. Got to come home, no fish, no *poi* [chuckling]. I got to go home. That's when I came home.

KM: Interesting. *Akule*, 'ō'io?

CC: 'Ō'io, *moi*, a lot of *moi*.

Hā'ena, Wainiha and Hanalei all had their own *hukilau* and fishing locations; people fished where they were from, not going to other people's areas. "Take only what you need, and tomorrow, it's still there."

KC: Hā'ena had their own, Wainiha had their own, Hanalei had their own.

CC: Yes, Hanalei, even Wainiha had.

KC: Where you come from you're allowed to fish.

KM: That's where you fish. You didn't go *maha'oi* in other people's 'āina?

KC: No.

CC: No. Even out here the reef, sometimes Hailama would just go in the front. Somebody else on the other spot, you don't need to go over there, that's his fishing ground. He got enough over here.

KC: You only take what you need, and tomorrow it's still there.

KM: That's right.

KC: Until today it's still there because, if you think like that you just going catch and share, you going be okay.



KM: 'Ae.

KC: But if you care for the money, then it's gone! Right there it will be gone.

Group discusses differences in respect for the ocean and land, between earlier times and the present-day; earlier way was respectful, and you always asked and gave thanks for what you got:

KM: *Kupuna*, I was talking with uncle, he brought up this idea he says before, just what you said. "We took what we needed and we left for tomorrow." And there was always tomorrow. Today, they take so much and then they freeze it or put it away or something and so the whole breeding stock is gone. No more fish tomorrow, right?

TH: Yes.

Group: [agrees]

KM: So what you call *'ānunu* or *hāpuku*...

CC: Cannot do that otherwise you... That's what they are finding out now, they think the ocean was unlimited, but they found they can deplete the ocean by over fishing. No matter what kind of fishing.

VG: Yes.

CC: The Hawaiians knew that long time ago, you just take what you need.

KC: And the trouble is you know when you live that life, but a lot of people don't know about that you know. You just go in your own area. So everybody comes from all around the island.

VG: That's right.

KC: They go fish, they're taking our fish but that's okay we still get, but they go sell that's why.

KM: Right. And then eventually you no more fish, hardly right.

KC: Not going to have if like that. But as I said, the Hawaiians were really smart.

CC: Sometimes when you look at it a lot of people, it's nobody's fault sometimes, but not everybody can live on the land right. You got to live on what's on the raw land. You got to live on the raw land, a place where you do all these things...

KC: You were still able to, *mahalo ke Akua* for that. But you can see that the time is coming when all this will be gone.

KM: What do you feel about your life before when you folks were growing up? You *aloha* those times or, was it too hard?

KC: It was wonderful, I thought we had the free place of the whole thing over here. We just go every place, no need ask, "May I go inside there?" [chuckling] You just go all over the land.

SC: Don't have to lock the doors, leave it all open.

KC: No need, not even.

VG: You can go in anybody's property. You know why that was what we called shortcuts, not anymore, "You keep off my land."

KC: Ride bicycle go on the humps [chuckling]. Today cannot...

VG: Fishing too, remember when we went fishing we go through the land with all your boats and what.

KC: Whatever fruit you see you're welcome to it. Everything was free, papayas, coconuts, lemon, lime.



SC: Your horse liked papayas.

CC: [chuckling] That's how we used to get the horses...

Aunty Kapeka *mā* discuss Waikapala'e and Waikanaloa; as youth, they were instructed to respect the places.

KC: You know I always pictured this place, so beautiful with all the taro patches going down, and the big ponds, and the caves we used to always go on top. Go up to Waikapala'e so that you can look down and you see the ocean too. It's so beautiful. That's what I miss most down here. That was a beautiful area with all the taro patches.

KM: You know when you went to Waikapala'e or Waikanaloa like that, were there kind of *kānāwai* or *kapu* things that you had to observe. Like you know sometimes the *kūpuna* talk about *wahine ma'i* and you know when you're at that time you don't go into the water or...?

KC: No. We only know when *hukilau*, then you don't go.

CC: Yes.

KM: So there were no *kapu* that you remember sort of associated, certain time you don't go to Waikapala'e or Waikanaloa?

KC: I don't know, those days the guys don't talk you know.

VG: The only thing my dad say is "No *kāpulu*."

KM: 'Ae.

KC: Yes, they always tell you that.

VG: You more or less know what they mean when they say, "No *kāpulu*."

CC: Yes. More or less, they use their judgment on that during our time. Maybe the old days they had a *kapu*, but during our time...

VG: Even until today they're tell you.

CC: Good judgment on that.

VG: Yes. Lot of these places are still sensitive.

Group discusses customs and practices associated with fishing.

KM: How about you were talking about when you go out fishing, they no like you just yell and stuff like that. I wonder, did they not like you folks...did they have to say don't yell up there or something in the caves.

CC: Yes. Don't yell, don't play. They went fishing they said it's serious business. That's their living, you don't catch fish. And had a few times like that you know. You think you live around Hā'ena like that you could, plenty to eat, but lot of times there we had to skimp [chuckles]. You didn't get fish, it's hard sometimes.

KM: When *ōkaikai* season like that?

CC: Yes, *ōkaikai* and the weather is bad, can be rainy and stormy. And then, you didn't have refrigeration so you take one, two days, you cannot keep the fish any more than that. You cannot eat, you don't have anything.

KM: That's an interesting thing 'cause you've talked about going to get the *nōpili*, *o'opu* and *akupa*.

CC: Yes.



KM: So you folks had a resource on the land also for you to get a little bit of fish like that.

CC: Yes, sometimes when it's *nalū*, rough you cannot, you can go down the stream. As I say sometimes you had bad days in the ocean and the *kahawai*.

KM: *Kahawai*.

VG: Uncle Charlie, can I ask you this question? During your time when the fishermen went out to fish, did they say, maybe they talked to you in Hawaiian, "*hele ana 'oe i hea?*" Remember our old parents didn't like us when we asked, "Where you going?"

CC: No and you learn that fast. You learn that at an early age [chuckling].

VG: They don't want you ask questions. That's why we just *ku* and *hele*, just go.

CC: You see the old man preparing his torch, preparing his net, you don't say anything.

VG: "Where you going?"

KC: That's it for you. They were very strict about that.

VG: I just wanted to know if this had happened before.

CC: Oh yes.

VG: Until today some of us we still do that. If someone says, "Eh, when you go fishing, we like go with you." My style of going and I think brada knows that, if I going, if I'm determined to go now, I pick up my stuff and I go. Don't tell me where I going, and you cannot go with me because you don't know when I going. I can just go. Uncle Charlie, can you kind of define in why we just *ku* and *hele*? They had a reason for that right.

CC: Yes. I think Tom just told us about that, they have their, what I call superstitions or to them it's something real, and not superstition.

KM: Yes.

CC: Yes, they believe in that.

VG: Bad luck.

CC: The *kepalō* might hear you.

Group: [chuckling]

CC: He'd be over there fishing. When you go, you get nothing.

VG: Right, right.

SC: I always hear fishermen tell, "When you go, don't take bananas or don't take..."

KC: Don't wear yellow. If you get your *ma'i wahine* you stay home.

KM: '*Ae. Pohole ka mai'a.*

CC: Yes, *pohole*.

KM: *Pohole*, skin the banana no more nothing inside.

CC: You don't have anything.

KM: No more nothing, you come home.

CC: White wash.

KM: That's what they call it, white wash.

CC: They had all that kind.



VG: It still happens today.

TH: And then you know the other thing too, I used to look at the old people like old man Kimokeo, Tai Hook, these people they put their hands behind...

Group: [all chuckling]

KM: Yes, behind the back.

TH: You get clobbered, you can't do that.

CC: That's another...

KM: Did you hear how come? What that meant?

CC: That's another no, no.

TH: I know they used to get pissed off. They see somebody coming down the beach and looking at the fish with the hands in the back.

KM: Turn around and go home right?

TH: Only swear.

KM: Yes. You know what *tūtū* said was when you do this it's like you're carrying a burden and so you're telling, "Here, you take 'em." They don't like that.

TH: Yes, something like that. They always say something that you carrying.

KM: Yes *ōpe'a kua*.

TH: That was a no, no.

CC: And another thing I always, until today. [chuckles] My days over here, the old man Hailama, you know the *nahu manini*, we have for lunch maybe, and then later on, we go for *moi* in front, that's another meal. And yet to us that's another meal, different fish different meal. He had his pork chops and meat we have chicken, fish it's a different meal. We can have *manini* for lunch, *moi* for dinner all kind fish. At that time didn't have any meat, our meat was the turtle.

[In those early days, *ʻīlio* were still an important part of the diet. They were fed scraps from the taro and other crops, and cared for. When preparing to cook them in the *imu*, they were drowned and dressed. By the time the *imu* was uncovered, a number of the *kupuna*, Pa'ikulu, Keoni Aipoi and others would all be at Limahuli, to enjoy the *ʻīlio* and other foods.]

VG: Never had meat but people kept cows. When they killed, then they shared.

CC: Yes, but in my time, that's the only time and there's very few maybe only once a year.

KC: That was later on.

KM: Uncle you remember and Uncle Tom was talking about you said turtle, plenty turtle out this side right?

CC: Yes, right out here.

Ka'ala and Kalei were the turtle fishermen in the Kē'ē vicinity; turtles were taken from as far as Nu'alolo:

KM: And they used to...who was the turtle man?

CC: Ka'ala on this side and way down Kē'ē it's Kalei. The two brothers evidently they were good turtle fishermen. Kelau, brothers Ka'ala and Kalei.



TH: Right by Laekoholā, right outside there.

CC: Kalei used to do a lot of turtle fishing down Kē'ē side and up here I know it was Ka'ala in front this reef all over here.

KM: Did you, I'm *poina*, was it you that was telling me that they would sometimes go out as far as Kalalau like that or something and get the big turtles?

CC: Nu'alolo.

KC: Nu'alolo, sleeping on the sand [chuckling].

CC: Hanohano used to go. Because there was a big turtle area in Nu'alolo, it was isolated. Later on that's where the commercial fishermen go with their big turtle nets I understand in Nu'alolo. When I hear that I know why because Nu'alolo had lot of big ones.

TH: That was good if you were sharing. We used to do that in Hanalei, even down Kē'ē, surround with the net.

CC: Yes.

TH: Sometimes you catch thirty, forty, you take what you like.

CC: Yes.

TH: Give to the different family. Maybe you only going use five, six the rest...what do you do with that? Thirty or forty turtles. Hanalei same thing...

KM: Let 'em go?

TH: Let 'em go.

CC: When I went to Honolulu, to go down the fish market. The turtle steaks, all turtle steaks. I used to go down there, and usually the Pākēs they were selling the turtle meat. They knew that the Hawaiians liked the fat. So they trim these turtle steaks and they have the fat on the side. Then I didn't want it because when I go over there I say, give me one pound of this. One pound meat [chuckling] one pound fat.

KM: *Lū'au*?

CC: *Lū'au* right. I love that *wili malo'o*. That's the Hawaiian corned beef [chuckles].

TH: The big one, the meat is just like corned beef, the big one's.

CC: Yes. We used to *kaula'i*, when you cook taro, you put it underneath the covering, the bag.

VG: Yes, the dried one you cover and steam 'um.

CC: *'Eke hulu*. Put your dried turtle meat under there, then steam it. When you cook the taro *pau*, that's what you have for lunch [smiling].

TH: You know, now you're talking about that. In the old times how do they determine when the taro is cooked, the old Hawaiians?

CC: That I don't know exactly, how.

TH: I just throw that question out, because in my time, when we were cooking taro and stuff like that, to determine when the taro is cooked is the sweat on the top of the bag. That's how, they get the sweat on the top of the bag. That's how they determined the taro is cooked then they turn off the fire. At the time they were conservative with the wood.

CC: Oh yes.

TH: There wasn't much wood around, so when the taro is cooked, when they see the sweat on top of the bag, the taro is cooked they turn off the thing. They water it down to save the wood for the next cooking...



KM: ...What was the fish of your folks place here and that you always had to have at your *lū'au*?

TH: The fish here the famous is *nenuē*.

KC: *Enenuē*.

TH: And then the other rest if you have it fine, but majority of the time, we go catch the *nenuē*.

KM: And how do you prepare the *nenuē*?

CC/TH: As *poke*.

TH: It's famous for this area here, and everybody eats that.

CC: That's like Honolulu, *poke aku*, ours is *nenuē*.

TH: Over here is whatever you have. Like if you catch *akule* fine, you make *akule* too. Like over here like how I look how they prepare the *akule* for raw, it's different from the other islands. Maui does it differently, you seen it too. They make just like how you going fry the fish, like they cut in maybe three sections.

KM: Oh.

TH: They cut in three sections just like you going deep fry.

KM: How do you prepare it?

TH: To us we prepare like now, what I seen my mom used to do they used to take the *kūkū* out from the bottom and the top of the back.

KM: Yes, 'ae.

TH: Then squash that thing, squash that thing. They skin 'em after they take the *kūkū* out from the bottom and the top, and then they skin 'em and then they squash 'em and then salt.

KM: To make *lomi* like almost?

KC: So you can get to the meat. The bone is going to be separated.

TH: That's right. You just pull the bone right out.

CC: And you can get that thing *li'u*.

TH: And then you know, I look on Maui they do it just like you're going fry. They cut in three sections or like before depending on the size of the fish. I seen that in Hāna. And then on the Big Island they make just like you going *kaha*.

KM: 'Ae, that's right.

TH: They spread it open like that, and when they go eat they peel it like that and eat. My cousins up in Ho'okena that's how they make their raw fish. And then like they make *aku*, like us guys we take the bloody part out from the fish, no them, blood and all. You know the blood inside they cut 'em all up. And you know kind of *hauna*, when you get stuff like that.

KM: Some no *ma'a*.

TH: That's how they eat their fish.

KC: [chuckling]

TH: I look how they make and us over here different. We're kind of particular on that. When you do your *poke*, you no make the kind big kind *poke*.

KC: Like I always tell my kids, you're telling people you don't want them to eat the fish if you cut big like that.



KM: Yes.

TH: We make small, the *poke*...

NOTE: While finishing up the interview, and as a part of the video recordings taken by Chipper Wichman, the group was asked if they would give their permission to release the interview for use in the Limahuli and Hawaiian Fisheries studies. All participants agreed that the transcripts could be shared.



Island of Lānaʻi

(see also, interviews under Island of Maui):

Apelehama Kauila

He Moʻolelo no Kaululāʻau – A History of Kaululāʻau and the Characteristics of Certain Fish on Lānaʻi

Oral History Interview of February 21, 1975 – with Kepā Maly

One of the earliest legendary accounts of Lānaʻi is dated in the c. 1400s by association with the ruling chiefs of Maui, cited in the account. In the narratives, the young chief Kaululāʻau, was born to Kakaʻalaneo and Kanikaniaula. Kakaʻalaneo's elder brother was Kakaʻe, and Fornander (1973) reports that these royal brothers jointly ruled Maui and Lānaʻi (Fornander 1973:II-82, 83). In the generations preceding, and early in the rule of Kakaʻe and Kakaʻalaneo, no one could live on Lānaʻi, because it was inhabited by Pahulu, a king of ghosts, and his hordes. Pahulu and his hordes killed anyone that went to Lānaʻi, thus the island was uninhabited, and there are several narratives that describe how Kaululāʻau came to free Lānaʻi from the rule of Pahulu, thus making it safe for people to inhabit the island (e.g., Fornander 1973, Beckwith 1970, Emory 1924).

In the account below, *Kupuna* Apelehama Kauila (born in 1902), a native of Lānaʻi recalled the traditions of Kaululāʻau and why certain fish from Lānaʻi were eaten with caution.

The youth Kaululāʻau was noted for his strength and mischievous deeds, but at one point, he so exasperated the people of Lele (Lāhainā), Maui, that his father banished him to the island of Lānaʻi. His fate was to be determined by his ability to outsmart Pahulu and his ghost warriors, the *akua ʻino* (evil ghosts) of Lānaʻi. Kaululāʻau was taken by canoe and left on the shore of Lānaʻi, near Kahalepalaoa, and was instructed that if he survived, he was to light a fire atop Lānaʻi-hale following the passing of several phases of the moon.

When the canoe departed, Kaululāʻau walked along the shore and met Pahulu, who had taken a human form. Seeing the youth, Pahulu inquired “*Ihea ʻoe e hiamoe ana i kēia pō*” (Where are you going to sleep tonight)? To which Kaululāʻau answered “*Ma ka nalu liʻiliʻi*” (At the place of the little waves). That night, Pahulu and his companions went to the area of the little waves, and threw stones into the water to kill Kaululāʻau, but Kaululāʻau was safely hidden away, and was unharmed.

The next day, Pahulu was startled when he saw Kaululāʻau walking along the shore, and he inquired where the youth had slept, and where he would sleep that night. This went on for some time, and each time, Kaululāʻau gave a different location, and each time, he thwarted the attempts of Pahulu and his warriors at killing him. Kaululāʻau knew that he could not continue evading Pahulu and his companions, so he formed a plan to rid the island of the ghosts.

The next time Pahulu asked “*Ihea ʻoe e hiamoe ai i kēia pō*?” (Where will you sleep tonight?), Kaululāʻau replied “*Aia ma ka pūnāwai ma lalo o ka pū hala i uka o Lānaʻi-hale*” (There by the spring, below the pandanus tree in the uplands of Lānaʻi-hale). Kaululāʻau then started to make an *ʻupena* (seine net) for fishing. When he was done, he entered the ocean and began catching many fish. Each fish he caught, he took out of the net and threw on the shore. The ghost warriors were curious about Kaululāʻau's actions, and as they ate the fish, Kaululāʻau called them out one by one to help him gather up the fish. As each ghost drew near to Kaululāʻau, he grabbed them and entangled them in his net, drowning them. As the *akua ʻino* were drowned, a species of the *weke* (goat fish) ate them. Those fish are known as *weke pahulu* or *weke pueo*, and to this day, Lānaʻi natives will not eat the heads of the fish because they are known to cause nightmares.



Pahulu observed that his warriors were not returning to the surface, and he asked, “*Aia ihea ko’u mau koa*” (Where are my warriors)? To which Kaululā’au replied “*I ke kai, ohi ana i ka i’a*” (In the water catching the fish). When Pahulu found himself all alone, he became frightened and fled *mauka* (inland).

Knowing that Pahulu would need water, Kaululā’au went to the *pūnāwai* (spring) below the *hala* (pandanus) tree on the slopes of Lāna’i-hale. He hid there in the branches of the *hala* with a large stone perched in its branches. After a few days, Pahulu was in need of water and went to the spring. Not seeing any sign of Kaululā’au, he leaned over to take a drink, and right then he saw the reflection of Kaululā’au in the *hala* tree above him. At the same time, Kaululā’au dropped the stone on Pahulu, killing him; the spring is now called Pūnāwai-pahulu. When the stone hit Pahulu, one of his eyes flew out of his head and landed near the shore at the white coral point of Ka-lae-hī. Where the eye landed, it struck the point and formed a hole. Today, that hole is known as “Ka-maka-o-Pahulu” (The-eye-of-Pahulu).

His experiences on Lāna’i taught Kaululā’au to behave better, and when he went to Lāna’i-hale to light the fire, everyone at Lele, Maui rejoiced, knowing that Pahulu and his ghosts had been defeated. It was in this way, that people from Maui were able to begin living on Lāna’i. (pers. comm., Tūtū Ape Kauila; February 21, 1975)



Solomon Kaōpūiki

December 12 & 13, 1996, and July 27, 2001

Summary of Interview Notes on Lānaʻi – Kepā Maly

Solomon Kaōpūiki was born at Keōmoku in 1919. His family's residency on the island of Lānaʻi extends back many generations, with residency formally recorded in the records of the *Māhele ʻĀina* of 1848. Uncle Sol has always been interested in the history, resources, and families of Lānaʻi, and throughout his early years, he was always asking his parents and *kūpuna* about various sites, stories, practices, and natural resources of Lānaʻi. He and his family have fished—in the traditional subsistence manner—all of their lives.

Uncle Sol noted that all along Lānaʻi's shore line where sandy beaches and protected coves exist, the people of old fished. It is the tradition of his family, and the evidence of cultural sites on the ground that "While the people who lived on the shore were primarily fishermen, they also kept extensive dryland gardens (*māla*) in the uplands, near the edges of the ancient forests, at Pālawai, and in watered valleys. *ʻUala* was the main crop grown, though *kalo*, *mai'a*, and other crops were cultivated as well."

Many varieties of fish were caught, and *limu*, and shellfish collected, along the extensive *ʻāpapa* (reef flats), extending from the Polihua-Awalua coast to Naha. It has been observed that during Uncle Sol's lifetime, mud runoff from the uplands—a product of the deforestation of the island—has caused heavy siltation to occur on the *papa*. This in turn has led to a diminishing of the healthy habitat for fish, *limu* and other species.

At other locations along the shoreline marked by high cliffs, places like Mānele, Hulopoʻe, Māmaki, Kaunolū, Kaumālapaʻu, the families fished, and in the old days, *akule* and *ʻōpelu* schooled. Previously, fish spotters went to the Kalulu and Kaumālapaʻu bluffs to direct fishermen to the schools of fish that came into the bay.



Henry Kau Aki

Oral History Interview – Lāna‘i Recollections

July 26, 2001 – with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. 1956)

Henry Aki was born in 1924, at Lāhainā. He shares familial relations with noted fishing families of the Lāhainā Region (Maui), and Lāna‘i. As a youth, he was brought to Lāna‘i by Daniel Kaōpūiki Sr., and spent summers on Lāna‘i. In 1941, he moved to Lāna‘i, first living with *kupuna* of the Makahanaloa line at Pālawai. In 1942, he and his mother (Ella Kekai Haia-Aki) moved to Kaumālapa‘u, and Uncle Henry began a life-long career, working at the harbor. From Kaumālapa‘u, Uncle Henry, and other *kama‘āina* fished, gathered *limu*, and collected salt.



Uncle Henry Aki granted his personal release of the interview at the time of recording.

KM: Thank you so much. It's so good to see you again, it's been a long time.

HA: ...I remember you. Every once in a while I think about you and wonder how you're doing and if you're doing okay...

KM: ...Uncle may I ask your full name and date of birth please?

HA: Okay. Henry Kau Aki born in Lāhainā in 1924, November 25th.

KM: Oh, you look so sharp, strong.

HA: I lift weights everyday.

KM: I can tell.

HA: From when I was fifteen, I still carry weights now even though. The young blood all in there, lifting they see me, "The guy he can go two, three hours." Right, it's in the mind.

KM: That's great..!

HA: I go everyday.

KM: Wonderful...! Your middle name, you said?

HA: Kau. K-a-u.

KM: Okay. You are Hawaiian-Chinese?

HA: Hawaiian-Chinese. My father was half, my mother was half.

KM: Who was your Hawaiian *‘ohana*?



HA: My Hawaiian, my mother is Ella Kekai Haia.

KM: Haia, yes.

HA: From Lāhainā. Keahi family it's all the same blood. My mother's mother and the Haia family they're sisters and brothers.

KM: I don't know if you know Uncle Kepa Haia in Kailua, O'ahu?

HA: Right, yeah.

KM: I've interviewed him. And there was an old man William Haia before who used to be in the schools like that teaching?

HA: Right.

KM: Oh, so that's your mama's *'ohana*?

HA: Yeah.

KM: And papa's *'ohana*?

HA: My father's *'ohana* is [thinking], he had five brothers, they all dead already. The mother was Nakīkē, a beautiful lady.

KM: Nakīkē?

HA: Nakīkē, her first name and she was married to a Chinese man...

KM: Yes... ..There was a Kahā'ulelio, who was the old judge he was the fisherman?

HA: From where?

KM: Lāhainā, he wrote a wonderful collection of fishery stories.

HA: Oh, used to live down by Māla Wharf.

KM: That's your folks *'ohana* I think, by the Haia. He was a famous fisherman also, he wrote in the Hawaiian Newspapers in 1902, about all the Hawaiian fishing customs. Maui, Lāna'i vicinity like that.

HA: Hmm.

KM: So you grew up as a fisherman too?

HA: I do, I did a lot of fishing. I was diving all around.

KM: You were raised in Lāhainā initially?

HA: In Lāhainā and I left there to come here in 1940, my first trip. And in 1941 I moved. I went to school. Anyway when my mother left because my brothers came here to work in the pineapple field. My three brothers, the pay was better than working in the cane fields, so they moved here.

KM: Yes.

HA: When they worked over here, they wrote a letter and told my mother to move here, to cook for them, here. Since my father died in 1937, she moved here and left me back there. Because I didn't want to move here. I wanted to go to school at Kamehameha III, Lāhainā, because I was playing in the band, I was playing the sousaphone.

KM: Wow!

HA: I was pretty good on that sousaphone. I made a name for myself... ..I came here after I graduated from Kamehameha III. I came here to work during the summer and then went back and went to school in Lahaina Luna. For two months I stayed there, and then I got homesick, I missed my mother. So, I quit school there and came here, and went to school



here. When I went to school here, the war broke out. My three brothers volunteered in the army. So I was left back being the oldest, I had to go to work 'cause my mother was alone.

KM: Yeah, so to help take care.

HA: So, I worked.

KM: You said when you moved here you already moved down Kaumālapa'u?

HA: No, I was working up here out in the fields.

KM: Up in the fields...

HA: ...My uncle here, Daniel Kaōpūiki, used to come over. He used to sell the watermelon and charcoal.

KM: Is this *tūtū* papa?

HA: *Tūtū* papa, right. He'd come down every Saturday, he'd take the watermelon and the charcoal over.

KM: To Lāhainā?

HA: To Lāhainā.

KM: He was still sailing?

HA: No, he had a little motor boat then, I think it was about a 24 footer.

KM: From Keōmoku?

HA: Keōmoku, yes.

KM: You remember before had the old church down Keōmoku?

HA: Yes, I went to that church. That's where my *tūtū* died, *tūtū* Lahapa.

KM: Lahapa?

HA: Daniel's mother.

KM: Yes, oh.

HA: My uncle's mother.

KM: *Tūtū* Lahapa.

HA: She was a small lady. I knew her, because she used to come to Lāhainā and stay with her oldest daughter, Kamaka. She used to hold me every time at my *tūtū*'s house...

KM: That's right. That was the Gay's church they call Lāna'i Hale, I think.

HA: And the church Lāna'i Hale, you can see that from Lāhainā before. You can, you line up your boat when you come back and forth between Lāhainā and Lāna'i. That was their marker.

HA: When he first picked me up from Lāhainā they told my mother, I take Aheen to Lanai [as pronounced]. My mama said, "Oh, okay." So I rode on that boat — puck, puck, puck [mimics sound of boat engine], all the way. When you come to the channel, you know, he'd look, count the waves — puck, puck, puck. Had a stick, marker, and we would come in.

KM: Wow!

HA: When I stayed there, I stayed there over a month. Nothing to do, it's just *kiawe*. Not like now.



KM: Yes.

HA: You see the mullet jumping. A lot of the *īao, nehu*, all just loaded. And there were a lot of apple, oranges, vegetables they threw before, no law. So the Navy just dump everything.

KM: Oh, for real.

HA: That's the way it was. And the thing float.

KM: Coming to shore?

HA: On shore, yeah. I pick up the apple, oh little rotten I cut the spoiled part. I pick plenty and then I bring 'em home. Apple, oranges, pears.

KM: Amazing! So, from the boats passing back and forth like that?

HA: Right...

KM: ...Uncle, that's really amazing these stories and how you *pili* with Kaōpūiki *mā, tūtū* Papa *mā*, and you come. This story about going up and clearing the flats up here and making your leis like that.

When did you go from there, and you stayed down Kaumālapa'u also?

HA: Right. I was working, the first time I started was during school, I used to go and work. But when I quit school, already I had a pass, I told them I was going to work because nobody to take care my mother. So I worked, started working...

KM: ...May I ask you then, you know I have this is the 1924 Map Number 560 from the Land Court Application, this is before the breakwater went in so in 1924. Shows the old road though, it comes down to Kaumālapa'u.

HA: Right this is the old road.

KM: Yeah, the old road comes down. Here's like sort of where the fuel area is now I think.

HA: Yeah, the gas station.

KM: The gas station like that. The houses here. Since you were living up here, and I think in fact this is the big bend get the house there and then more houses I think right over here. This is the gulch [pointing to map] yeah?

HA: Yeah.

KM: This is Kaumālapa'u Gulch. How did you pronounce it Kaumalapau or ...pa'u?

HA: Kau-māla-pa'u.

KM: Okay. You know across the other side of the gulch it looks like there's a stone platform...

HA: Is that along side the cliff?

KM: Near the cliff.

HA: Right, right I remember that.

KM: You remember that?

HA: Yeah. It's just like piled up over there.

KM: 'Ae. Did you ever hear anything?

HA: No, no I never did ever even think about it. There is a place there.

KM: This is a big one it almost looks like it could have been *heiau* or something.

HA: Yeah.



KM: It's built up high.

HA: It's up quite a ways.

KM: Yes. And then a little lower, maybe on this side of the gulch overlooking towards the ocean, it almost looks like you know how before *kūpuna* made *ko'a*?

HA: Hmm.

KM: For marker, you know when they made *ko'a*?

HA: Uh-hmm.

KM: Did you ever hear. Were there *ko'a* out here? This was a good fishing area before or not?

Discusses fishing practices and sites at Kaumālapa'u

HA: Oh yeah, over here this harbor area was good. Over here the *akule* used to come right in here.

KM: The *akule* came in?

HA: Oh, yeah. Right where I had leased that land, Kaumālapa'u, you know that gulch. I had leased that for many years.

KM: Oh down in the gulch, where the *papa*, where all the rocks are?

HA: Right, right. From the harbor you walk along side the *pali*. You walk alongside there, I had leased the gulch over there.

KM: Oh! Did you have a house down there or you just...?



A Portion of the Kaumālapa'u Fishery; Detail of the Ku'una Akule, Puhi o Ka'ala and the Salt Making Flats. Also on Kalulu side of Kaumālapa'u Gulch is one of a series of complexes (possible Ko'a i'a). (KPA Photo No. 1952)



HA: I had a, there was a scout house before.
 KM: Scout house.
 HA: I'd say the scout house was about fifteen... [thinking] by twenty, I think. When I had leased that area from Tom Cleghorn.
 KM: Yes.
 HA: I told him that I'd like to lease that area. I was living up here already.
 KM: Oh. Was this in the '50s or?
 HA: Yeah, in [thinking] little after the '50s.
 KM: In the '60s then?
 HA: In the '60s. I told him I wanted to lease the land but there's no water...
 KM: And Pokipala is?
 HA: Pokipala, Lono Pokipala he used to live right on that side of that gulch looking down.
 KM: Oh, so the last house right there?
 HA: Yeah, right on top...
 KM: ...So you folks, you kept your boat down here and did you launch...?
 HA: No, no. There's a funny thing about it I never did want to keep the boat. I like fishing, but I figured I didn't want to take care of boats, I rather just go diving, free dive.

Akule fishing at Kaumālapa'u:

KM: You said *akule* used to come in?
 HA: *Akule* yeah, all right in here all *akule* used to come in here before.
 KM: This is sort of the Kaunolū side edge of the *papa*?
 HA: Right, right.
 KM: The *akule* comes school in here?
 HA: Oh, yeah. We could see 'em from on top, looking down, you see all that.
 KM: The *akule ho'olili* when they come in like that?
 HA: Yeah. How many times before, the Lāna'i people they used to get the net and they surround them.
 KM: Oh, so you would go surround?
 HA: I never did go surround.
 KM: You never did?
 HA: I never did go.
 KM: But they said before days they used to go?
 HA: Yeah.
 KM: I understand, even in here used to have old Hawaiian house sites inside here *po'e kahiko* kind, time.
 HA: I don't know, but that's where the Hawaiian Dredging lived inside. From here they came and they built and worked this wharf here.
 KM: Oh.



HA: This was all, they made a road here before. From the gulch all the way here, all road.
KM: Oh, wow!
HA: Yeah.
KM: So, Hawaiian Dredging Camp Crew was over here.
HA: Camp Crew was here and they walk up the hill to go in the camp the rest was up here, so they walked up here...
KM: ...Did you by chance did you ever hear anyone talk, if there was *ko'a*, stone mound *ko'a* markers or anything?
HA: No.
KM: You didn't?
HA: No.
KM: Was *pau* already.
HA: Yeah.

Diving for fish and making salt at Kaumālapa'u:

KM: But, you could look from up by the house side you would know when the *akule* were running or something, come in?
HA: Oh, yeah. When I was living there I never did go surround the *akule*, but they used to surround, John Kauwena'ole, he lived on that house right on the end. He said, "Oh boy, last time we get all *akule* over there, we surround."
KM: They don't need canoe just make net, the *akule* come in?
HA: No need.
KM: They go from one part of the rock?
HA: Yeah or they come in, they come in. It's a bay so from here they come right in here.
KM: Wow, that's amazing! It looks like, you know on this big rock out here it almost looks like there's some stone work. I don't know if they had a fish trap or something over there but you know you look down. I don't know.
HA: No. Well the one over here.
KM: That big one, yeah.
HA: I dove all this area. All this area I dove.
KM: You know they call that Puhi-o-Ka'ala yeah, the waterspout?
HA: Yeah, the waterspout.
KM: That's the one yeah, Puhi-o-Ka'ala?
HA: Yeah, right by the bay, that blowhole we call.
KM: Yeah, the blowhole.
HA: From here you can see. When it's rough, oh you can see this thing blow.
KM: You heard stories about that?
HA: Yeah. About the lady that they kept in there.
KM: She went in there, she *make* in there.
HA: Yeah. That's the story I heard.



KM: Yeah, oh. You never went swim in there?
 HA: No, no I never did. I just leave things as is.
 KM: As is.
 HA: I just dive, I pass right over there.
 KM: That's an important thing, you know, before days, old stuff like that. Your *kūkū mā* teach you leave, you don't *maha'oi* that kind?
 HA: Yeah.
 KM: And so *kala mai* if I ask too many questions.
 HA: No.
 KM: It's so important now because things are changing so much, you loose and then...
 HA: ...Kaumālapa'u, the ocean has changed, the water wasn't that bad, until the later years.
 KM: I wonder if it was because they were maintaining the wharf every year. They take care and then when you don't take care for a long time, things start to *helele'i*.

Has seen a change in the ocean currents and waves since the atomic testing in the Pacific:

HA: Yes, but the waves weren't that big.
 KM: For real! So you see that there is a change, even in the ocean?
 HA: There is a change. I figure like well, we had atomic bomb all of these stuff here, the change of the world that's causing all these kind. Now when it's rough, I've seen the big water, the big rough water when it came. I see, all my life I've been working down here and I haven't seen this.
 KM: Wow!
 HA: That's why when I saw that big one come, I told them, "You know what you got to call the electric, tell them turn off that power down by the dock..."
 KM: For real?
 HA: Yes...

Names types of fish caught when diving and net fishing:

KM: ...Now if we come back here. You had the lease down here and so your thing was primarily, you go diving, you go *holoholo*?
 HA: Yes, *holoholo*.
 KM: What kind of fish you go for out here?
 HA: *Uhu, kūmū*, whatever fish that's along side here.
 KM: 'Ae. All kinds?
 HA: All kinds, yeah.
 KM: What *kole*?
 HA: *Kole, kole* is my favorite. All along right here *kole* lot of *kole* right here.
 KM: In by where the *akule* would come in?
 HA: Yes. They're not as big, but enough, edible.
 KM: Yeah. Did you hear that *kole nukuheu*?
 HA: Yes, *kole no ka 'oi*, the big one.



KM: Oh, like your hand size?

HA: Yeah, big.

Limu collected from the *papa*:

KM: Oh, wow! How about *limu* on this *papa*, any kind?

HA: *Limu, limu kohu.*

KM: *Limu kohu* out?

HA: Out on the *papa* over here.

KM: ‘Ae. The light is over here, you know the light now?

HA: The lighthouse?

KM: Yeah, the lighthouse. Below on that *papa*?

HA: Yeah, outside on the *papa*.

KM: You go get *limu kohu* like that?

HA: Yeah. And my mother always went. She always walked down the *pali* with my dog, and then walk over here. She’d walk all along side over here, she collect. The *limu kohu*, the salt from on top of the side by *pali*.

KM: Yes. In the *kāheka*, the natural salt.

HA: Lot of puddles, she pick up all the salt.

KM: Yes.

HA: They never did buy salt. When I lived down with my mother, I never did buy salt.

KM: That’s good salt too.

HA: Yes, it all came from there.

KM: You *kāpī* your fish like that, everything?

HA: Yes. And she pick up whatever she can get from the fishpond. Together with the dog, the dog would be diving fish too, you know.

KM: For real?

HA: Over here. That dog he go was so *akamai*.

KM: What was your dogs name?

HA: Duke... He was well trained, he goes fishing with me. He walks down the cliff, he even dives for fish. He dives in the pond and he bite the fish.

KM: So *pāo’o*, small *enenuē*, like that?

HA: Yeah small, what ever fish he see, he dives inside and gets ‘um.

KM: Wow, that’s amazing!

HA: That dog was fantastic. He dive from the thirty foot crane, thirty-five foot I carry him up on top, the roof. I dive from the roof down, he dive.

KM: That’s amazing...! Was there an old trail that mama would follow, go down?

HA: Oh yeah. There was an old trail that you go down from here. From here it goes down here, goes down.

KM: Goes down, in behind?

HA: Down along close to my place.



KM: Your place was on this...

HA: Oh yeah, down the bottom.

KM: Here's where the *akule* come. The house, scout house area was this side?

HA: Right in here.

KM: Oh, okay...

HA: People used to go out there, at the end of the wharf, and fish.

KM: Beautiful, yeah. Did 'ū'ū or anything come up around this place?

HA: Oh, yeah, lot of *menpachi*. Right opposite side of this, on the wall [northern side of Kaumālapa'u facility], that's where they do all their *menpachi* and 'āweoweo, and *akule* all out here.

KM: On this side?

HA: Yeah.

KM: I think had *lipoa* out here before.

HA: Yeah, before used to have little bit, not that much more the... [thinking]

KM: *Kohu*?

HA: *Limu kohu*. Was too rough.

KM: I used to go for *tūtū* mama, Aunty Maggie them, get *lipoa* sometimes down there. Little bit. That *lipoa* sweet.

HA: Sweet. That smell, same as Lāhainā, when you go to Launiupoko, that was famous over there. When you pass that road there, used to smell *lipoa*. Not anymore, no.

KM: No, *loli*.

HA: *Pau*.

KM: Everything changed.

HA: Yeah...

Mother told him that certain sharks were family guardians:

KM: Would sharks come in like that?

HA: Yes.

KM: You ever heard mama them or anybody talk about, were there guardian kind or?

HA: Yeah. That's why my mother got angry at me when I told 'em I wanted to spear the shark down at Mānele. I had a jabbing spear, I was learning with a new type of spear, it's a bamboo maybe five feet long and a rod about this big [gestures size].

KM: Your finger width?

HA: Tapered, like a needle. I just hold the thing, the thing would balance, when I throw that thing in the water it'll float just about, about a foot up. I use that, and I'd go close to the fish. Down the bottom and I'd just...the fish would just...

KM: Jab 'em.

HA: The fish would just go and you follow through in order to get the fish.

KM: Yeah.

HA: You cannot pull back.



KM: Otherwise you go off.
HA: Come out, no barb now.
KM: Oh so you just come take 'em out.
HA: When I shot the big *uhu*, the shark came by. I look at 'em I say, "You not going take my *uhu*." I was going to poke 'em, when I came home I told my mother. My mother said, "Don't you poke that shark now, you leave that shark alone." *Manō*, we call that.
KM: Yeah.
HA: "Why?" "Don't poke the shark." She said, "It's our family."
KM: Yeah. Amazing, wonderful stories! Good recollections.
HA: I always told my kids, my mother never did want us to bother.
KM: Yeah, no bother.
HA: I always did a lot of diving when I was there, that's what I did. Go down the harbor, unless we play games. Lot of time I spent down here and diving. By myself.
KM: Yeah, the ocean is so beautiful.
HA: It is...



Samuel Kaōpūiki

July 27 & August 6, 2001

Summary of Interview Notes on Lānaʻi – Kepā Maly

Samuel Kaōpūiki was born in 1925 at Keōmoku, Lānaʻi. He is the younger brother of Uncle Sol (cited earlier). Uncle Sam has been a fisherman all of his life, and he has fished all around the island of Lānaʻi. Uncle's primary methods of fishing include *kā mākoī* (pole fishing) and *kuʻu ʻupena* (net fishing).

Uncle noted that Keōmoku and Kaumālapaʻu are important family fisheries. Among the fish caught are — *āholehole*, *uouoa*, *moi*, *uhu*, and *akule*. The *akule* used to school in Kaumālapaʻu. But now, because people take everything, and don't think about tomorrow, there are very few fish, it's not like it was before.

Uncle Sam notes that one of the big problems are people who come to Lānaʻi from other places, and they take everything. They even fish right from the nursery or source, and don't think about tomorrow. Just like the *limu* and *ʻōpihi*, now there's very little left.

Uncle Sam noted that before days, in the time of his *kūpuna* and parents, the families used to travel across the island on trails, fishing seasonally at Keōmoku and vicinity, and at other times, fishing at Kaumālapaʻu. Likening the ocean to an ice box for the Hawaiians, Mr. Kaōpūiki observed — “One side ice box no more, you go to the other side ice box. But you always respect the ocean, and take only what you need for family use.”

From the words of *kūpuna*, and personal experiences while growing up on Lānaʻi, Maly has observed that noted fish, *limu* and shellfish of Lānaʻi include, but are not limited to — *āholehole*, *aku*, *akule*, *ʻalamihī*, *ʻamaʻama*, *enenue*, *halalū*, *heʻe*, *honu*, *kala*, *limu ʻeleʻele*, *limu kohu*, *limu līpoa*, *limu līpeʻepeʻe*, *loli*, *manini*, *moi*, *nehu*, *ʻoama*, *ʻōʻio*, *ʻōpae*, *pākuʻikuʻi*, *pāpio*, *puhi*, *uhu*, *ʻulua*, *uouoa*, *ʻūʻū*, and *weke* (various types).



Island of Maui (with Islands of Kaho‘olawe, Lāna‘i and Moloka‘i):

James Keolaokalani Hū‘eu, Jr.

Ko‘olau and Hāmākua Region, Island of Maui

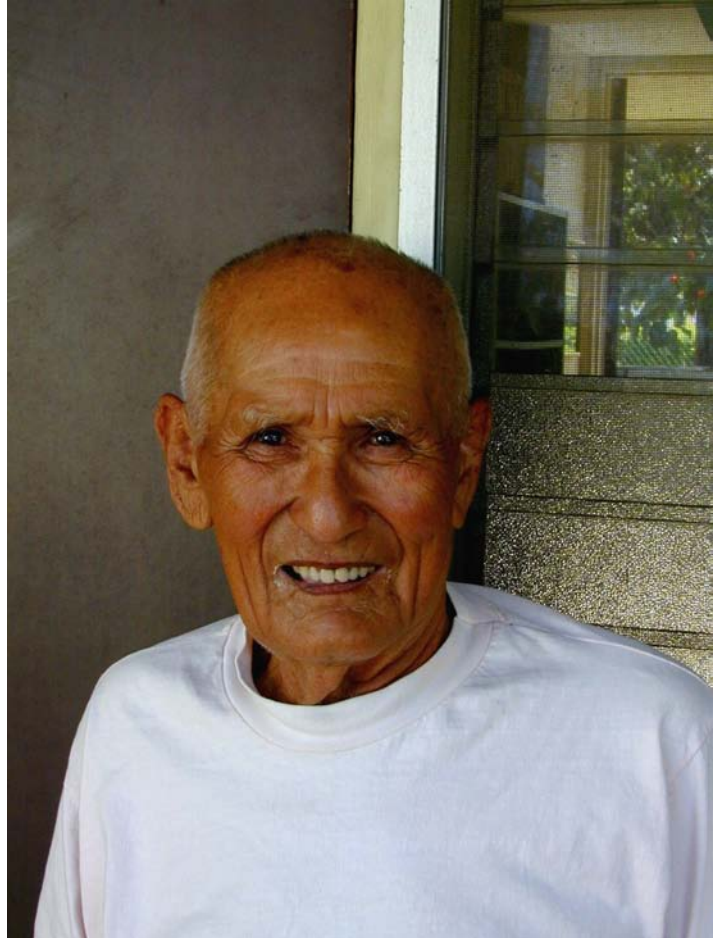
Deified Sharks, ‘O‘opu and Pūhi Fishing

April 11 & 25, and November 6, 2001 – with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. 1406)

The late James Keolaokalani Hū‘eu Jr. was born in 1914, at Ke‘anae. His mother’s genealogy ties him to families who have resided at Ke‘anae and in neighboring lands for many generations. His *kūpuna* were awarded lands in the *Māhele ‘Āina* of 1848, and his family maintains ancestral lands in the region, and continues to cultivate *kalo* (taro) in *lo‘i* (pond fields), and is sustained by the varied resources of the land and ocean.

Kupuna Hū‘eu traveled from shore to mountain with his elders. He is very knowledgeable of a wide range of native practices and traditions, and has also observed changes in the environment over the years of his life (*Kupuna* Hū‘eu passed away in 2002).

Kupuna Hū‘eu granted his personal release of the interview records to Maly on November 6, 2001. The following excerpts from his interviews focus on customs associated with stream fisheries, and accounts of deified *manō* (sharks) of the Ke‘anae region.



KM: ...*O wai kou inoa?*

JH: James Keolaokalani Hū‘eu, Jr.

KM: *Hānau ‘oe i ka makahiki?*

JH: *Makahiki*, 1914, July, 22.

KM: *Maika‘i nō.*

JH: But *a‘ole wau hele i ke kula.*

KM: *Ua hele ‘oe i ke kula o ka ‘āina!*

JH: ‘*Ae, pololei.* I never go...I only went to seventh grade. Ke‘anae sixth grade and then you *pau...*

KM: You *hānau makai?*

JH: Yes.



KM: If we look at this map, it shows the map number, and this map for Ke‘anae is in your packet here.

JH: I think the lands, that *inoa* is Kealina.

KM: Oh, Kealina’s *‘āina*, yes okay.

JH: That all belong Halemanō, Kealina, Ka‘ea.

KM: ‘Ae, I recognize the names... So uncle, that’s how it was for your *ohana* at Ke‘anae?

JH: Yes.

KM: *Lo‘a ka pa hale?*

JH: Yes.

KM: *Lo‘a lo‘i kalo?*

JH: Yes.

KM: Were there also *māla‘ai*, dry land planting areas that you folks had, or mostly all *kalo*?

JH: Down there was all *lo‘i, wai*.

KM: So you folks, how did you live? You grew taro?

JH: Yes.

KM: And you *hele lawai‘a paha?*

JH: Well, you know, when I was small... Well, just happened at my age, they got the depression. Then had the CCC, I enrolled over there. I listen, that’s why I know, plenty stuff, I know. The archaeologist was Sterns; Sterns and Murphy. As a young boy I listened to them, so I know how. That’s why, a lot of guys tell me “ah, what do you know?” But I know more than them. I never go school, but I know.

KM: Yes, you listened.

JH: Yes.

KM: And that’s how you know, “*he lohe ke ola, he kuli ka make.*” *‘Oia ka ‘ōlelo a nā kūpuna.*

JH: Right...

KM: ...In your *lo‘i kalo*, did *‘o‘opu* come, or were there *pūpū lōloa kahawai paha*. Were there things in your *lo‘i* before?

JH: We had *pūpū*, but our *pūpū* was the Chinese one. Get *limu* on top.

KM: Oh, yes.

JH: So that never bother the taro. Then the Filipino had the same kind *pūpū* but no more *limu*.

KM: Oh yeah, when you were young?

JH: Yes. But now, they get these now, he eat the taro and everything.

KM: Terrible yeah. How about, so no more native *pūpū* live in the *lo‘i* when you were young that you remember?

JH: I hardly see any.

KM: But get *‘o‘opu*, or no more come in?

Discusses varieties of *‘o‘opu* in Ke‘anae vicinity streams, and the former residences of families in the uplands; exchange between upland and near-shore residences took place:

JH: No, no more, now. Our days used to have, *‘o‘opu* and gold fish.



KM: Ah, so the *‘o‘opu* when you were young, would come. What kind of *‘o‘opu* did you folks catch?

JH: We had mostly, *nākea*. The *‘owau*, they stay in the brackish water.

KM: What kind?

JH: *‘Owau*.

KM: Yes, that’s the kind *makai*.

JH: The one in the brackish water.

KM: *Wai hapa kai?*

JH: Yes.

KM: But that’s *‘o‘opu* too, eh?

JH: Yes. And then they have the *nāpili*, the one *pipili* on the side, and there’s the one that’s still red they call that... [thinking] I forget that name. But you cannot eat that *‘o‘opu*, even the cat won’t eat ‘em.

KM: For real. So, you folks sometime you stay *makai*... Well, you live *makai*, you grow taro. You folks went *mauka* sometimes also?...

JH: Yes... Hau‘oliwahine this side, but inside there, they call Pi‘ina‘au Valley. They get one name Kaho‘okuli.

KM: Kaho‘okuli?

JH: By and by you look in your map [chuckles].

KM: Okay, I’ll bring you the other set of maps next week. Kaho‘okuli?

JH: Yes.

KM: That’s where the people lived *mauka*?

Tells a story of a family that resided in the uplands of Kaho‘okuli, and an account of a shark man:

JH: They lived *mauka* and they traded with the people at Ke‘anae. Now this old fellow told me a story. He was living up there, they had one...he was living in a cave. But he was a young boy, and in that cave they had canoes. Any kind dead men in that cave, but he was a young boy, so they trade. Now one day they came to lower Ke‘anae and these people never go fish, so they started put fish bone and fish tail, they put ‘em in the bag. They grab the bag they go back up there. When they pull it out, they had all rubbish, but that thing when change into... One changed into a shark. So the baby shark, they raised him up there.

KM: *Mauka nei?*

JH: Way up.

KM: Kaho‘okuli?

JH: At Kaho‘okuli. Right in that stream. As he grew bigger, it went down, ran down that stream.

KM: Pi‘ina‘au.

JH: And then landed down where the Ke‘anae, at the end.

KM: The *muliwai*?

JH: Yes.



JH: And then under there, had one tunnel. You go right down to where Dr. Keppler lived. Under there get one tunnel, so that shark used to live under there.

KM: So he could go out to the ocean too?

JH: Yes, he was under there. If you related to that shark you no worry, you fall in the sea, they bring you back.

KM: *Po'e 'aumakua?*

JH: Yes.

KM: *Manō kanaka.*

JH: I heard this old man telling me.

KM: Do you remember who this old man?

JH: Yes, his name was Edward Akiona.

KM: Akiona.

JH: But he is gone now. He get one son living in Hilo and his name is Edward. And he get one in Kona, they call him James Pi'iwai. That's the only two I think, living. But he has the land down there.

In old days, families lived in *mauka* and *makai* regions; it was the custom to exchange goods between one region and the other:

KM: Some of the *ohana* would stay *mauka*, and that's what they did?

JH: Yes.

KM: And then you folks would *kuapo* back and forth?

JH: Yes. But like me, I never lived those days.

KM: Yes, but that's what you heard, *kuapo 'ana lākou?*

JH: Yes, that's how they lived.

KM: How they lived before days? *Ka po'e o uka, kanu ka mea 'ai i ka māla 'ai paha?*

JH: Yes.

KM: *Ka po'e o kahakai, hele i ka lawai'a, kanu ke kalo, a kuapo nō ho'i?*

JH: Yes...

KM: *Maika'i.* So you folks would go up you gather 'o'opu? You go up to get *hīhīwai* or *wī* up your place before, *mauka*?

JH: Oh yes, we would. You no need go way up. But today, all covered with bushes, so no more.

KM: Because the river all close up?

JH: Yes.

KM: The *nahelehele* now, no more?

JH: Well, maybe a few.

KM: How about you folks, go up to get 'ōpae?

JH: Oh yes, before you no need... Like me, I work EMI, I no need go in the river. I jump in one intake, get all I need.



KM: *Kā'e'e* [gestures using a scoop net], you get net?
JH: Yes. But when we closed the ditch for clean up, you only go with the bag, you scoop 'em. When I first work for EMI, I see them come out they get bag, the barley bag. Today you go right through if you get quarter bag you lucky...

Discusses customs of resource collections; the *ahupua'a* – *Konohiki* systems practiced in his youth. Explains the origin and traditions of place names in the Ko'olau region:

KM: ...So uncle, when you were young did the '*ohana* sometimes go *mauka* to gather, you said '*awa*. People would go mountain sometime and come. What kinds of things did they gather besides '*awa*?

JH: That's what I hear today, they talk about gathering. During my day, they hardly went.

KM: No need?

JH: Yes. Today they greedy, they take everything.

KM: Well that's an interesting thing, if you lived in this '*aina*, if your *ahupua'a* or what. Did people come *lālau* all from anywhere go take whatever they want, or did they?

JH: No. Each *ahupua'a*, they get their *konohiki* over there.

KM: 'Ae. What was the famous fish for Ke'anae?

JH: Ke'anae was mullet.

KM: Mullet, so the '*anae*?

JH: Yes.

KM: Is that how come you call ... '*Oia ke kumu i hea ai Ke – 'anae*?

JH: Yes. But I hear one more version of Ke – 'anae. When the last lava flow came down... Well, according to what I look, Ke'anae no was in the picture. When this last lava flow came, you can see when you go where the YMCA.

KM: Yes.

JH: You look under, it's all stream bed. So this last lava, flow only on the top and what went spill over made Ke'anae. So now they went call Ke'anae, "Animoku." 'Ani-moku, that's the "Shiny-moku (section). So now the Hawaiians they put fill on top. They went carry dirt, fill all Ke'anae. Now when they carried the dirt, they had this '*auamo*. That's why they call that *kea*, just like cross.

KM: Yes.

JH: Then you put the bag or what kind.

KM: *Nae* when they...the net or bag like.

JH: Yes. So they went carry that until some of them came *paupauaho*.

KM: Hmm, out of breath, *nō ho'i*.

JH: That's asthma, like. They call that *nae*, eh. So that's one version, Kea-nae, from carrying the soil down, they went get *nae* [chuckles].

KM: Weak, short of breath.

JH: Short of breath. You know that's one version of Ke'anae.

KM: You heard that when you were young, or later?

JH: When I was a young boy, I heard about that.



KM: Hmm, *'oia ka mo'olelo a ka po'e mākua, nā kūpuna?*

JH: Yes... ..Then there is Pauwalu.

KM: Pauwalu. Is there a *mo'olelo* about Pauwalu?

JH: Yes. Pauwalu, in the old days had nine men went fishing. They went out, there's a rock over there they call Pauwalu. So they went on Pauwalu. Now the eight guys went jump in the ocean, but one never jump. The shark went eat the eight guys, that's why they said Pau-walu.

KM: So eight?

JH: *Walu* is eight, and *pau*, no more.

KM: No more, eight lost like?

JH: Eight lost. Now had one guy that came back tell the story. So the senior citizens told me "Eh you like go look the grave of that Pauwalu?" I tell, "They no more grave." They tell "why?" I tell "The shark went eat them." [chuckling]

KM: *Ai no i ka ōpū manō!*

JH: Yes. Bumby they tell, "you smart." I said, "No, common sense."

Group: [chuckling]

JH: Common sense.

KM: That's right, yeah.

JH: The shark went eat the eight guys. That's why they call *pau-walu*. But that's one Trig Station.

KM: Trig Station.

JH: Right on that Pauwalu Point...

Retells the account of the family shark raised at Kaho'okuli; and how another shark was cared for by it's mother, near the shore of Ke'anae:

JH: ...When you go back Hilo try look for the Akionas...Their dad was from here, the dad has some interesting stories to tell me but I scared I no go look. But I wait till I get eighty-seven years, then we going over there, up Pi'ina'au. Very interesting.

KM: Get *ana* inside you said?

JH: Uh-hmm, right in the *ana*. This old man used to live up there, now they trade with Ke'anae. They trade fish for what they raising. Now one day they came down. These people lazy they never fish, so they put fish bone, fish tail, all in the bag. They go up home, and when they pour out, get the fish tail. But this one tail turned into one shark. They raised the shark, when the shark came kind of big, he came down that river. And that river went down at the end and then under there, under Ke'anae get one tunnel. I know where the stone, Luahi'u stay; the tunnel come out by Dr. Keppler's. Nobody ever...when you look, it's all block up. That's where the shark go.

KM: The shark would come in, could come in and out?

JH: Yes. If you get trouble the other side, go through the shark he save the family.

KM: Was that *'ohana* from up mountain, Pi'ina'au?

JH: I don't know from where, but the shark came from this fish-bone.

KM: Interesting.



JH: And then the one right down here over here, the same guy, Akiona. When he was small, when he was living on the flat. One day his aunty gave birth, when they look, hey the baby, funny. The bottom part was fish and the top part was a human being. They run go see their grandfather, when they came back no more, the thing went go down the river. I know where. It lived on the river. When it came big, went down the ocean. Every time the lady go catch *'ōpihi* she feeding that.

KM: *Hānai poli?*

JH: Yes. I know where the place from the old man. He told one other story but he went on tape, so Larry Kimura them brought to me, 'cause I know the place. I explained to them what that old man was talking about. But he really know. Edward Akiona, he really know.

KM: Has a place name for that place?

JH: They call that Kilo.

KM: Kilo.

JH: Right down here. That old man he had plenty history.

KM: Inside get stuff to make *olonā* in that cave or something?

JH: I think, he told me had canoes, get cloaks all kinds he wanted to show me but he never did find. Somebody had blocked 'em off. These two boys I think they found the stone wall. I told them wait till the full eighty-seven years [chuckling]... I hope I be around...

KM: 'Ae...

November 6, 2001

JH: *Lo'a kekāhi kawa, o Wai-a-kuna.*

KM: *Waiakuna? E kala mai ia'u, ninau ka'u iā 'oe, o kēia Waiakuna, he inoa Kahiko?*

JH: *He inoa kahiko.*

KM: *'Ae. A'ole no Akuna ka Pākē?*

JH: *A'ale. Waiakuna... But hele wau ninau i ka po'e, "He'aha kēlā?" 'Ōlelo mai, "A water eel."*

KM: *'Ae, kuna. A kuna, he 'ano kūpua i kekāhi mo'olelo, he pūhi.*

JH: 'Ae.

KM: *Ua 'olelo mai kekāhi?*

JH: *Ua 'olelo mai "He water eel." But a'ole wau 'ike.*

Discusses *'inikiniki pūhi* (fishing for baby eels, trapped between one's fingers):

KM: *Hmm. Mamua, ua hele paha 'oe 'inikiniki i ka pūhi?*

JH: *Yes, like pū kēlā. A'ole wau hele, but ku'u anakē, hele.*

KM: *Aia ma kahakai, ka muliwai?*

JH: *Yes. That's why lohe wau, "Wai-a-kuna, he water eel kēlā." But ma laila ka wai hele mai i 'Ōhi'a Spring a me Ke'anae.*

KM: *Hmm. Mai Waiakuna?*

JH: Yes.

KM: *Lo'a ka wai o 'Ōhia a me Ke'anae?*



JH: 'Ae, 'oia ke kumu. Malo'o ke kahawai, but ma laila ka wai. Lo'a ho'okāhi kahawai i uka loa, kahea 'ia Kanō. A kēlā wai [gestures with hand – going underground], nalowale a puka ma laila. But kēia po'e 'ōpiopio, a'ole 'ike, "Ah no, lawe ka EMI i ka wai." A'ole! Ka inoa o Kanō, o nō ka wai [gestures, water dipping down with hand].

KM: So nō, to sink underneath?

JH: Yes.

KM: It goes underneath and holo, puka ma kekāhi wahi e a'e?

JH: Puka mai kēlā wai ma Waiakuna.

KM: Mai Waiakuna. A puka ka wai i...?

JH: Ke'anae. And I think, ho'okāhi, hele i 'Ōhi'a.

KM: Hmm. Ka inoa Wai-Kāne me Wai-Kanaloa, ma ka pūnāwai o 'Ōhi'a?

JH: Yes.

KM: Now, lo'a ka inoa o Wai-anu, "Cold-water" ē?

JH: Yes.

KM: He 'ili 'āina paha o Waianu, ai'ole, he wahi wale no?

JH: [thinking] Well kēlā whole flat, kahea 'ia Waianu.

KM: Oh, so it's a big place?

JH: Yes...

Discusses Kaho'okuli and story of the *manō* (shark) that was raised in the uplands; when grown, the *manō* swam down stream to Waia'ōlohe, and lived in the *muliwai* (estuary); Luahi'u, a red stone in the stream, marks the *kōwā* (channel) from the stream out to the sea:

KM: ...Like me 'oe i 'ōlelo mai Kaho'okuli?

JH: 'Ae, 'ae.

KM: Ua hele wau, nana, huli i ka mo'olelo Māhele, mai nā kupa o ka 'āina, a lo'a kēlā inoa.

JH: Lo'a kēlā inoa?

KM: Lo'a ka inoa! He 'ili 'āina kēlā no ka po'e o kēlā wahi. A ua noi aku lākou i wahi 'āina, i kuleana no lākou. Aia i Kaho'okuli. . .

JH: Hmm. . . Kēlā wahi, 'oia ka home, 'ōlelo mai kēia kupuna o Edward Akiona. Mamua, lawe i kēia po'e i Ke'anae, i mea 'ai o ka 'āina e.

KM: 'Ae.

JH: Kuapo. Hele kēia po'e, hele ki'i i'a. Ho'okāhi manawa, hele kēia po'e i lalo, and I think molowā ka po'e, a'ole hele i ka lawai'a. So ho'okomo i loko o ka 'eke, ka iwi o ka i'a, ka huelo, a hāpai kēia po'e i uka. Kēlā manawa e lū 'ana [gestures opening the bag and spreading out the contents], lo'a ho'okāhi manō. Manō li'ili'i. Hānai 'ia kēlā manō ma laila. A nui mai kēlā manō, hele kēlā manō ma ke kahawai a pae i lalo, i kēia wahi o Waia'ōlohe. A kahea 'ia kēlā pōhaku 'ula'ula, Lua-hi'u.

KM: Luahi'u?

JH: Yes. That's why lo'a ka inoa, Luahi'u.

KM: O kēia Luahi'u, ai makai?



JH: 'Ae, ai lalo. Ka manō noho ma laila. A i lalo o Ke'anae, lo'a ho'okāhi konelo.
 KM: 'Ae.
 JH: So hele kēia manō, puka i kai a hoi mai.
 KM: Hmm. I ka muliwai?
 JH: 'Ae.
 KM: Now, Luahi'u, aia ma Waia'ōlohe?
 JH: 'Ae, kokoke hele iloko o ke kai.
 KM: Hmm.
 JH: 'Oia ka Luahi'u.
 KM: So he kōwā, he channel nō ho'i ai ma lalo, you said konelo?
 JH: Yes. I think kēia po'e hou, a'ole 'ike.
 KM: A'ole.

Fears that if he does not tell the stories, they will be lost when he passes away. Wants his stories to be known and shared in the historical study, so that the traditions of the place names, families, and practices can be remembered:

JH: So inā 'oe 'ike [chuckles], o no'ono'o 'oe, a mahope 'ōlelo 'oe i ku'u keiki. Aia a'ole ho'ōlohe mai [shaking head – chuckling]...
 KM: 'Ae! 'Oia ka mea nui, kou transcripts nō ho'i [holding the two interview transcripts], mai ka interview mamua, kēlā 'elua mau interviews, he mea nui kēia no ka ho'omana'o 'ana o ka mo'olelo 'āina. Ka hana a 'oukou a me nā kūpuna.
 JH: 'Ae.
 KM: He waiwai nui kēia.
 JH: 'Ae.
 KM: Mahalo nui. So, ua hiki ia'u ke hana kēia [holding up transcripts]...
 JH: Hiki.
 KM: ...no kēia study a'u i hana ai...?
 JH: 'Ae, 'ae.
 KM: No ka ho'olaha 'ana o ka mo'olelo o ka 'āina.
 JH: Yes.
 KM: E hana pono. O ka hana pono ka mea nui.
 JH: 'Oia ku'u mana'o, inā hala au, a'ole po'e 'ike. So 'oia ke kumu.
 KM: 'Ae...



Stephen Cabral
Oral History Interview – Ko‘olau-Hāmākua Region
Moi Fishing and Collection of ‘Ōpae
April 23, 2001, with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. 1409)

Stephen Cabral was born in 1929, at Nāhiku. His grandparents moved to the Hawaiian Islands from Portugal in the late nineteenth century, and he spent his life growing up, and working with Hawaiians of the Nāhiku-Ko‘olau, and larger *Maui Hikina* region.

As a youth, he and his father fished with elder Hawaiians, and Uncle Stephen is well known for his knowledge of the land, water and fishery resources.

Mr. Cabral gave his personal release of the interview transcript to Maly, on November 7, 2001.



The following excerpts include interview documentation of near-shore and stream fisheries of East Maui.

KM: ...If I could please ask you your full name and date of birth?

SC: Stephen Cabral, December 7th, 1929.

KM: Where were you born?

SC: Nāhiku...

Discusses changes in rivers, water flow, and collection of ‘ōpae. When he was young the Hawaiian families and other residents collected enough for personal use, not for sale. ‘Ōpae could be collected all the way out to Hāmākua Poko; Wailoa Ditch was “home of the ‘ōpae;” a newly introduced (black) algae seems to be one cause of the diminishing population:

KM: ...When you were young did you folks go out to gather ‘ōpae? And do you call it *wī* or *hīhīwai* over here?

SC: *Hīhīwai*.

KM: Some, they call *wī*.

SC: Us, ‘ōpae was our...my father was a great *moi* fisherman. Not by net, it's hook, we make our own hooks and everything.

KM: Wow! You made your own hooks too?



SC: Yes. I used to make but now, no more *moi*, I give up. I took over my father's grounds.

KM: You folks go *kuahiwi*, go up mountain or this 'ōpae was just down?

SC: Yes. We just go catch enough for *palu* and enough for eat. Nobody was selling, like now. Those days was the best, a lot of 'ōpae.

KM: Were there special places? What we come to is, we have a lot of discussion today about rivers and healthy ecosystems and the stream flow or water quality and things like that.

SC: Uh-hmm.

KM: You born in '29, in your personal opinion have you seen changes in the resources?

SC: Oh, yes.

KM: What kind of changes?

SC: We go back to the 'ōpae, shrimp. Now, these Hawaiians blasting about the 'ōpae is gone. "Oh, we go hunt 'ōpae." I never heard such a thing with the Hawaiians. Either you go make 'ōpae or you go *kā* 'ōpae. You no go over there for catch 'ōpae for sell, you take enough for eat then you go home.

KM: Yes.

SC: But anyway, working with EMI the Wailoa Ditch was the home of the 'ōpae. The 'ōpae went all the way to Baldwin Avenue. That's where had the most 'ōpae, in that siphon. That siphon, when we shut down the ditch you look down the siphon. You ever seen a honey bee hive?

KM: Yes.

SC: Just like a honey bee hive.

KM: Amazing! The siphon, and I'm sorry, pardon me Baldwin?

SC: Baldwin Avenue.

KM: You mean all the way out in Hāmākua Poko?

SC: Yes. That's why I tell these Hawaiians, "eh, if the people didn't build the ditch." There's two things I'd say, (1) From Kailua over I don't think you would see one spring along the ocean if didn't have the ditches.

KM: How come?

SC: Because of the seepage of the ditches. That's all the seepage of the ditches. And the 'ōpae. I said "You mean to tell me only East Maui had Hawaiians?" The people in Hāli'imaile used to catch 'ōpae. After the Wailoa Ditch, it goes into the Hāmākua Ditch, the 'ōpae goes down right under, by Hāli'imaile right where the old store. Now you can't find 'em. There's nothing, but from all my years I've been observing, there's a white fungus that is growing on the cement and the stones. And every place you have the white fungus the 'ōpae just disappear. I think that's what's killing the 'ōpae.

KM: Was that white fungus you think there when you were a child?

SC: No way, was all black.

KM: Even when you were young?

SC: All black. Today if you go to the ditch, I don't know I've been away one year. If you go to the ditch you go up on Kikokiko Tunnel you can catch all the 'ōpae you want because it's black. The *limu* there is still black not like some other places.

KM: That *limu* before, *limu wai* was it regular, was it long, stringy kind?



SC: There's some places long but you look, even in the rivers, you walk on the rivers you look that brown, there's no 'ōpae. We used to catch the 'ōpae in the rivers, Kapā'ula, Makapipi. In fact Makapipi used to dry every time we have a little drought. That's what we want because the 'ōpae, all stay in one pond.

KM: In one place.

SC: You just scoop what you like and off you go. All the bait you want.

KM: Was that, and that's I think a really important thing that you're describing it sounds like at least in your life time, and the practice that you saw the guys above you was, you took enough for you? Were they selling 'ōpae out to people, that you know of?

SC: Very seldom, you know people, they need some money.

KM: Yes.

SC: Okay, they go get whatever. They sell 'em to their neighbors you know it's just like fish.

KM: Sure. Now, what you think? The 'eke full?

SC: Oh, two hundred fifty dollars a gallon! And now cannot sell 'em, you can black market the thing for five hundred dollars a gallon. That's just like gold.

KM: Were there places you know you know this is an interesting thing like you look here, Makapu'u or 'Ula'ino. You come in through these places. In fact I see like this Helele'ikeoho in here. This name and that's actually not far from where your folks lot was, I think.

SC: Yes.

KM: Were there places before where people would go and this was their 'āina? If they live like you know the *ahupua'a*?

SC: Yes.

KM: Did someone from some place far, other way come in and gather 'ōpae from here?

SC: Some times.

KM: Some times they did.

SC: But you see the 'ōpae, Makapipi Gulch stop. Where I live, no 'ōpae. Only west of Makapipi, and you know, because of the ditches.

KM: Yes.

SC: That's where the water is.

KM: By this time coming further east into Hāna the water is not as...?

SC: No more running water.

KM: That's right.

SC: And where I live we had our own water. We dammed up one pond and then when dry we haul water from the springs by Hanawī, along the road.

KM: Oh.

SC: Hey, when God made Maui, [pointing on map to various land sections] dry, wet, dry. If they didn't put the ditches, like I say, this island would be nothing. And that's what I keep telling, the old timers know that.

KM: Yes.

SC: These young boys don't, young people don't...



Discusses *moi* fishing, and fishing customs taught to his father by elder Hawaiians, and to him, by his father; fishing at Hiana'ulua:

- SC: ...And I go hook *moi* at Nāhiku, where George Harrison has. We used to go, that's right below our house. We used to go with my father on the horse, and we'd go in the night, go down there. I used to go from here in my car, I leave home say eleven o'clock at night. I go over there, I go down the cliff, I'm all prepared. I spend two or three hours there. I come home with a whole bag of *moi*. You see the Hawaiian custom is, if you go fishing and you come out of the ocean, come out of any place. The first guy you meet you supposed to give some fish.
- KM: Hmm.
- SC: But, I go night time nobody see me [chuckling].
- KM: [chuckling] So that's something that was being practiced when you were growing up?
- SC: Yes, right. That's what the Hawaiians do.
- KM: You *aloha*, you share?
- SC: Hmm.
- KM: Where did you go *moi* fishing?
- SC: Right where Kahawaihāpapa Gulch, where George Harrison is.
- KM: Let me just see. I saw [looking at map] here's Mokulehua, we just saw it. Here's Helele'ikeoho, Waione Gulch. Right here, so down here I think.
- SC: Yes.
- KM: Kahawaihāpapa.
- SC: You see this branch?
- KM: Yes.
- SC: We go down, this is all cliff. Sheer cliffs and we fish right in here. There's a point over here you can fish. But we used to come with the horse...our house is up here, here's the road. We come down Lot 17. Where's Lot 17?
- KM: Okay, let me just see here's 17 right here. Here's the trail I think, you were talking about.
- SC: Right.
- KM: It cuts right over.
- SC: You come down and we go right down by this gulch.
- KM: Kuwili.
- SC: Tie the horse here and go down on the cliff and go along the place.
- KM: To the point?
- SC: Go down to where the water. You fish right there.
- KM: Did you hear that name, Hiana'ulua?
- SC: Yes.
- KM: You folks would come along from this *kahawai*, go down around the point?
- SC: Yes, you go down the cliff and you walk on the edge and go down. Once you get over here then you walking on the rocks. Then right on the bay is all *'ili'ili*.



KM: Yes. So the *moi* all come inside there.

SC: You go fish night time, you get one watchman over there. Had one *puhi ūhā*, you catch enough fish.

KM: He come up already?

SC: If he come up you go home.

KM: You go home. This *puhi ūhā* come up?

SC: Yes. He come right by the sand, right there in front of you in the moonlight.

KM: Wow!

SC: With *moi* you got to hook with the moon. One time I play smart [chuckles] my father went teach us, “Hey when you see that, you go home.” “I going catch this guy, I like see how big him.” I put the hook like that, he bite. He just go out, just like one rock keep going, going, going. You see we make our own hook with the spring from the car seats.

KM: Oh, wow, yeah.

SC: We temper ‘um with salt water, put ‘em over the kerosene lamp, and we dunk ‘em in the salt water enough so the *moi* won’t open ‘em. That *pūhi* went open ‘um.

KM: The *pūhi ūhā* just went straighten ‘em off?

SC: Straight [chuckles], and off he goes.

KM: Wow, amazing! Your father had been taught that by somebody?

SC: Yes.

KM: You see that *pūhi ūhā* come up, *pau* go home.

SC: During the day get one yellow striped *enenue*. You hooking during the day, you get enough the *enenue* come over there, time to go.

KM: Amazing, yeah! Interesting how the old families they keep these stories and things, they believe that everything connects.

SC: I believe, I see it happen.

KM: You see it.

SC: My father he used to wear a hat, but on his hat had this *moi* line.

KM: For real? He was ready all the time.

SC: We buy linen we dye ‘em with *kukui*, the *kukui* bark come red.

KM: ‘Ae. That’s right.

SC: Before, no more *sugi*, we use linen and wire lead.

KM: Amazing!

SC: We used to make our own hooks...



Mina Marciel-Atai
Oral History Interview – April 24, 2001
Ke‘anae-Honomanu Vicinity, East Maui (and recollections of Kaupō)
with Kepā and Onaona Maly (KPA Photo No. 1435)

Kupuna Mina Marciel-Atai was born at Kaupō in 1916. Her family has generations of residency in the Kaupō and Kahikinui region. During the interview, *Kupuna* Atai shared rich historical re-collections of the region.

In 1936, *Kupuna* Atai married her late husband, Benjamin A. Atai, whose family resided on Homestead lands at Honomanū (the localized pronunciation for Honomanu) and Ke‘anae. By marriage, the members of the Atai line (who also carry the name Akoi), are



connected to the ʻĪkoa line of Wahinepe‘e. *Kupuna* Atai resided at Honomanū on the family homestead, in the ʻili of Punalau (situated on the western, near-shore side of the valley). The family maintained their residence and *loʻi kalo* on the land for a number of years.

During the interview *Kupuna* Atai spoke of native traditions and discussed many important historical events and observations pertaining to land and water use, and fisheries of the near shore and streams.

Kupuna Atai granted her personal release of the interview records to Maly on November 7, 2001.

KM: ...Did you ever hear stories from your in-laws or any of the old families about Honomanu? Like are there places that they would go ʻohi ʻōpae, *hīhīwai*, or things like that?

Punalau Stream formed a *muliwai* (estuarine pond system), which the family used; native fishes, ʻōpae ʻoehaʻa, and *koi* were caught in the area. The family also went to the uplands for ʻōpae and *hīhīwai*:

MA: There were different places, not... Honomanū was... At Honomanū, the sea water went in. And my father-in-law used to raise *koi* in the river. And the people never bothered, not like today. If you go in there, we used to catch the ʻōpae ʻoehaʻa. You hardly found this kind ʻōpae, now. We went other places. We came up here or went to the other places, those regular *kahawai* to go catch ʻōpae. We came up here to the arboretum to make *hīhīwai*. But right there in Honomanū, because there was a spring not too far up, and came down, and half of this *kahawai* was sea water, going in.

KM: *He wai hapa kai?*

MA: Yes. And he would raise *koi*.



KM: How about *awa* or *'ama'ama*?

MA: Outside in the ocean, yeah.

KM: Oh, did they make a *muliwai* pond inside and bring the little fish in with the *koi*?

MA: No. He had a fishpond in his yard. [thinking] But now, I don't know what they had inside. Maybe he had some *koi*, but he raised most of the *koi* in the river. That's the first time I saw this kind of colorful fish, and all that kind. It was in this main river and people didn't bother.

KM: *Ua 'ai paha 'oia i kēlā koi?*

MA: I think so. *Poina*.

KM: You never eat [chuckling]?

MA: I think we ate, because he went and get this fish for medicine. if somebody was sick, he had to go get the blood from the *koi* or something. So they would cook this fish.

KM: I see.

MA: Most of the time they make steamed fish or soup.

KM: 'Ae. I wonder if that's a *Pākē*, Chinese medicine?

MA: I really don't know. But when certain people, I don't know what kind of sick. "*Hele nānā koi, hāpai ke koi.*" I don't know, they make *puka* on the head to get the blood. Those days, we never pay attention.

KM: Hmm. So *mamua, kēlā makuakāne, ua hana lā'au 'oia? Lā'au Hawai'i?*

MA: *A'ole*, but maybe in their own way.

KM: *Hoihoi loa...!*

Discusses gathering *'ōpae*, *'o'opu*, and changes in stream resources; and collection of *pūhi* and other near shore fishes. Introduced prawns had significant impact on the native stream fish:

MA: Yes. When I first came here, I drove. So when my mother-in-law wanted to make *'ōpae*, *mamake hele*, because the men folks, they work. So *lawe wau a hele mākou* by the arboretum, what ever they call that.

KM: Is that Kaumahina?

MA: No, no, down here.

KM: Oh the Ke'anae Arboretum.

MA: Yes.

KM: Pi'ina'au, the road goes up there, right?

MA: Yes, that used to be the road over there. So we would go there, I took them up there, they go make *'ōpae*. And we went to the other side of Kaumahina... [thinking]

KM: Wahinepe'e?

MA: No, before Wahinepe'e... [thinking] The next *kahawai* next to Wahinepe'e... thinking] Ha'ipua'ena, *makai* of the *alanui*.

KM: Oh, Ha'ipua'ena.

MA: I used to take them, and they knew that stop over there, and they go down the *pali*, and over there on top of the waterfall, oh, they make *'ōpae* come up, *puka* by the road. So I drop them over there and I go up by the road, wait.



KM: Hmm. And they *kā'e'e* [gestures using a scoop net]?

MA: Yes, they get *'upena*. They go up there, get enough for eat for a week or so.

KM: Hmm. What did they make their *'upena* out of, still *olonā*?

MA: No, they go buy net from the store.

KM: Hmm, cotton.

MA: Had that regular *'upena*, yeah. Only thing, you make the thing [gestures net hoop].

KM: The *'apo*, stick hoop.

MA: Yes, and they make the bag [chuckling].

KM: Interesting. So these are the *'ōpae kahawai*?

MA: Yes. Then afterwards, they put in these prawns, all *pau*. No can go catch *'ōpae*.

KM: Do you remember when the prawns were coming in?

MA: I think after the war time, yeah.

KM: So after the war?

MA: Yes.

KM: So before the war time, you could go for the *'ōpae, a nui ka 'ōpae*?

MA: You can go anytime. *'Ōpae, 'o'opu*, any kind. Now you go for *'o'opu*, the prawn take your hook, *pa'a* under the stone. You no get nothing!

KM: So you folks went after *'o'opu* also?

MA: Yes.

KM: What kind of *'o'opu*?

MA: They get different kind, but they like the white kind. *Nākea, nāpili*, and something else, I don't remember. But my father tell us that's snake, so we don't like that [shaking her head].

KM: [chuckling]

MA: Even when we go fishing. We catch *pūhi*, them, they make the...I forget the name. Some, they *lāwalu*. *Pūhi paka*, they dry. But I don't eat that kind of thing [chuckling]. My mother used to like that. And my brothers used to catch *pūhi* for go *palu 'ulua*.

KM: 'Ae.

MA: They never bring home, but when they tell they throw away the *pūhi*, my mother said, "Why don't you bring the *pūhi* home." But my father look, "that's snake." So when I came over here, I eat anything, but I never ate *pūhi*.

And I used to go fishing, and I'd see this lady put her hand like this. [Gestures holding the palm of her hand up with the finger extended and space between them – a native method of catching young eels.] And the *pūhi* all come up. *Pūhi 'inikiniki* they call that.

KM: Yes, so they come between the fingers and they squeeze them?

MA: Yes. They put *'ōpihi* or *hā'uke'uke* in the palm, over here. And the *pūhi*, they come to eat.

KM: So the *pūhi* come in between the fingers like that, and then when you get the hand full...?

MA: You squeeze 'um. [shaking her head] *Weliweli!*

KM: [chuckling] But these are little *pūhi*?



MA: Yes, small ones [gestures a few inches long]. In fact, the kids used to come to school. It's *mo'a* (cooked), and they hold it like this [gestures holding it above her mouth, and dropping it in to eat]. Ahhh [shaking her head]!

KM: So you not 'ono for that eh?

MA: [shaking her head] My father always said, "Snake."

KM: *Kūkū*, how did you folks, the 'ohana ...the 'ōpae, 'ai maka wale nō?

MA: No, *kupa*.

KM: How did they prepare them?

MA: They washed it, *pau*, and then they put water and salt, and boiled it. And then *ho'omalo'o*. Then the raw one of course, they cleaned, and the big kind, they *hemo* the *po'o*.

KM: 'Ae, no ka mea lo'a kēlā laina eh, ka lepo.

MA: And sharp.

KM: Yes. And how about the 'o'opu? 'Ai maka or kupa?

MA: *Lāwalu*. They wrap in the ti-leaf and cook. *Weliweli!*

KM: But you don't eat that [chuckling]?

MA: When my younger boy was home, then I go hook 'o'opu. I would go to Honomanū. Down here [gesturing to the *muliwai* at Ke'anae], you only hook 'o'opu. But if I go to Honomanū, and can hook *āhole* too. So I can eat the *āhole*, and he can eat the 'o'opu.

KM: Hmm.

MA: Now they tell me, "you not going to hook 'o'opu?" I say, "Myron's not home, I don't go. Because if I hook 'o'opu, I don't like to throw away, because I know he would eat it."

KM: Hmm. *Ua 'ōlelo mai kekāhi kūpuna, kēlā 'o'opu, 'ano like me ka mo'o e. So a'ole hoihoi i ka 'ai 'ana.*

MA: Uh-hmm. As long as it's slimy, it makes me think of a snake.

KM: Hmm...



Helen (Helena) Akiona-Nākānelua
Oral History Interview - April 26, 2001
(notes of April 10th and November 8th 2001)
Ko'olau Region (Wailua-Ke'anae Vicinity)
with Kepā and Onaona Maly (KPA Photo No. 1472)

Kupuna Helen Akiona - Nākānelua was born on O'ahu, in 1911. Shortly after her birth she was given, in the Hawaiian custom of *lawe hānai* (adoption) to her maternal grandparents to be raised. She was raised at Lākini, Wailua nui, on ancestral land which had been handed down to her grandmother, Helena Kealohanui (Kaiha'a) Akiona, from her *kupuna*, Kaiha'a..



Kupuna Nākānelua is an extraordinary community historian. Over the 90-plus years of her life, she has

known many of the native families of the Wailua-Ke'anae region, and as in the custom of her *kūpuna*, she is a keeper of genealogies and family relations. Her recollections of the practices of families; places of residency; stewardship and use of lands, waters and marine resources, is clear; and her interview is a significant contribution to the history of her community.

Kupuna Nākānelua gave her personal release of the interview to Maly on November 8, 2001.

Describes Wailua – meaning of place name. Every *kahawai* had water flowing; used to catch various 'o'opu and 'ōpae; also gathered *pohole* (fern), 'āweoweo (mountain *lū'au*) and other mountain resources:

HN: ...There's two Wailua. Wailuaiki and Wailua. This one here is Wailua, you go across [gesturing towards Hāna], Wailuaiki.

KM: So Wailuanui, Wailuaiki?

HN: Right, that's right.

KM: This 'āina here, must have been a place of waters before?

HN: That's right, it's got to be. Because before we have plenty water. Every *kahawai* full, we used to go catch goldfish, 'o'opu. And we look forward to that because my grandmother like that. When she say "Ono mai nei nō ho'i kēia i'a haole..." Because they used to eat the goldfish they call it *i'a haole* and 'o'opu for *pūlehu*, *lāwalu*. That's our break so we go out swim at the same time so we dive all these *kahawais* going up.



KM: Into the *kahawai*, *hele i ke kuahiwi*?

HN: 'Ae.

KM: And what, 'o'opu *nākea*?

HN: *Nākea, owau*, that's the big head kind. *Nāpili*. Hawaiians eat the *nāpili*. My grandmother eat the *nāpili*, you come home *kaula'i*.

KM: And how you go up *kahawai i ke kuahiwi*?

HN: Nobody's *kahawai*, we go up that time you can see everybody. There's no way you can get somebody going to fool around because 'ahuwale!

KM: Yes. All of the 'ohana would go up gather. And 'ōpae like that?

HN: Right. Get the *hō'i'o* they call *pohole*.

KM: *Pohole*, 'ae.

HN: They go up there to get that. The 'āweoweo that's the mountain *lū'au*.

KM: 'Āweoweo, *ulu nahelehele*...grows wild in the mountain?

HN: Right, grows better in the mountain, I brought it home for plant. Itchy, itchy.

KM: No can. But the 'āweoweo, *mauka*?

HN: Good, because it's cool, *kuahiwi*.

Learned from her grandmother that families lived both *makai* and *mauka*, and they exchanged goods with one another:

KM: Way *mauka*. I wonder if before did you hear if there were families that stayed up in the mountain and lived? Or did they live mostly here and then go *mauka-makai* when they needed?

HN: I know my grandmother said they usually *makai* and *mauka* but she never tell me how many, because she used to tell me the *mauka* exchanged for what *makai* get, *makai* get exchange for what *mauka* get.

KM: A *kuapo*.

HN: There must be some Hawaiians.

KM: You go *hele lawai'a* and what things down here? 'Uala *paha*...

HN: Yes.

KM: *Kuapo paha me ka po'e o uka*?

HN: Yes, yes.

KM: *He mai'a paha, 'ano kalo*...

HN: *Pu'a*.

KM: *Pua'a. Mamua loa, ua hele paha nā kūpuna, 'ohi olonā, mai i uka paha*?

HN: I think they did, but not during my grandmother's time. Her parents time...

KM: ...You go up *kuahiwi*. You said before all of the streams had water that you remember?

HN: Every one, every one...

KM: Even going to...like you said, *kūkū* said, "*Inā hele 'oe i kāhi mehameha*...".



HN: "A'ole wala'au!"

KM: Even in the open forest or like that?

HN: Yes, you no talk. . .

Regularly traveled the streams to gather *hīhīwai* and other stream fish:

KM: ...So you folks *ma'a mau hele 'ohi hīhīwai* like that?

HN: Oh yes, we never miss that *hīhīwai*.

KM: In the night, *hāhā pō'ele...?*

HN: That's better time for get.

KM: Yes, that's what they say *'e'e mai*.

HN: Yes. You go in the day time you get hard time. Sometimes you get 'em alright. But other times you get *luhi*, go all the way to Nāhiku and all that.

KM: When you folks gathered the *hīhīwai*, did you always cook it or did they *'ai maka* that?

HN: Some people eat raw, not much, some people they eat raw and they salt. I never tried. Most people they cook it, and some people cook it half cooked, I don't want mine half cooked I want *mo'a pono*. When we make that, we make lot of gravy because we like the gravy [chuckling].

KM: 'Ono?

Hīhīwai supplemented meat in diet; uncles also hunted (with permission from EMI), for wild pigs in the mountain:

HN: We used to do that every time because that's our extra...because there was no more meat, we have cows but only when you kill your cow you have meat. We had pork because we raised our own pigs, or my uncle them go mountain bring back and we raise the pig.

KM: They go up hunt?

HN: Raise the pig and then come just like home kind.

KM: They went hunting mountain for *pu'a* sometime?

HN: Oh, yes, yes they always go.

KM: How they *kī pū* or they trap?

HN: *Pū*, but of course they got to get pass they got to give their stool and all the kind.

KM: Oh, for EMI?

HN: Yes.

KM: Because of the water?

HN: Yes. They got to take their stool for go inside. They had to.

Gathered *'ōpae* in EMI Ditch Tunnels:

Now go back to the *'ōpae*, when I first went I went in the tunnel. We had permission. But I never asked John (Plunkett) or my grandma. Where they went come out, but I remember walking across the water dry, because they have to know whether you're in there or not.

KM: Yes.



HN: We used to go with the small little light you got to rub it. That's the small little *kukui* we hold. My grandma, she go over there 'cause when you go in the tunnel they close the water, they no like go full force. The 'ōpae is all on the side. All my grandma do is just put that inside.

KM: On the side, on the walls?

HN: Yes.

KM: Amazing!

HN: Put 'em in the net.

KM: All the 'ōpae, 'ōpae *maoli*, the nice native 'ōpae?

HN: Yes, yes.

KM: Now they introduced things like this snail, or they introduced the prawns like that... 'ai 'ia ka 'ōpae, I understand, the prawns yeah?

HN: I don't know.

'Ōpae are not like before because the water doesn't flow in the streams. She and other native residents want water returned to all the streams:

KM: You don't know. Now, get 'ōpae like before?

HN: No.

KM: How come?

HN: If you get, you got to go far. No more water.

KM: That's why.

HN: They got to go far. They go up Kopili'ula, they go Nāhiku, Hanawī. Over here if they go, the water is very small and all covered with the *hau*, they got to crawl in the *hau*.

KM: Yes.

HN: That's why cannot. The people here don't want, they want the water to come back to every stream.

KM: Is that your *mana'o*?

HN: That's right.

KM: You think that they should...do they release all the water or do they let more flow out and still take some? What do you think?

HN: Well... [thinking] they take some depending how much "some" they take. That's what they said they take some, but they've been taking more. That's why the *kahawai* all *malo'o*.

KM: And now when *wā malo'o*, like how this drought has come too.

HN: 'Ae...



Joseph C. Rosa, Jr.
(with Nālani Rosa-Magliato)
East Maui Oral History Interview –
Fisheries of the Waipi‘o-Honopou Vicinity, Hāmākua Loa
November 8, 2001 with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. 2193)

Joseph C. Rosa, Jr. was born at Hōlawā in 1916. His mother was pure Hawaiian and tied to native families of the Halehaku vicinity. *Kupuna* Rosa's father was pure Puerto Rican, but he settled into Hawaiian life in the Huelo area as a *paniolo*, and maintained herds of cattle on lands of the former Huelo Sugar Plantation (the lands situated *makai* of the old Highway). The elder Mr. Rosa and his wife purchased a portion of the Honopou lands in the Kepani Royal Patent Grant, and *Kupuna* Rosa's earliest recollections include journeys from Hōlawā to Honopou, where the family kept a small home, and about twelve *lo‘i kalo*.

Kupuna Rosa has fished the streams and near shore waters of the Hōlawā-Honopou region from his early years until recently. In the interview excerpts below, he describes historic residency, native practices and customs associated with the land and fisheries.

Kupuna Joseph C. Rosa, Jr., granted his personal release of interview record to Maly on November 19, 2001.



KM: ...*Kūkū*, ‘o wai kou inoa piha, a makahiki a me ka lā ‘oe i hānau ai?

JR: *Ko‘u inoa o Joseph Clifford Rosa, Junior. Ka makahiki ka‘u i hānau ai, ‘umi kumaīwa-‘umi kumaōno. Ka makahiki kēlā, Apelila ‘umi-kumaōno, ka lā o ku‘u hānau ‘ana.*

KM: ‘Ae. Kou makahiki, o nineteen?

JR: Nineteen-sixteen.

KM: *Aloha no, mahalo ke Akua. I hea ‘oe i hānau ai?*

JR: *Hānau ‘ia wau i Huelo, Hōlawā.*

KM: ‘Ae. Makai?

JR: *Makai...*



Families worked together on the land, in the streams and in fishing; 'āweoweo, 'ū'ū and other fish caught from canoes, and shared with neighboring families:

- KM: ...*Pehea kou mana'o, i kēlā mau la, inā hana ana kekāhi 'ohana, kōkua nā 'ohana a pau?*
- JR: *Laulima! Laulima ka hana ana.*
- KM: 'Oia!
- JR: *Kanu lākou i ka 'uala, laulima mākou. Ho'omaema'e kēlā 'āina, kanu mākou i ka 'uala, laulima.*
- KM: *Hana 'auwai, kōkua?*
- JR: *Kōkua i nā mea a pau, laulima.*
- KM: *Mea nui kēlā. I kēia manawa, pehea laulima lākou?*
- JR: *Mea, Kepani, hele mai 'oia lawai'a i ka pō i luna o ka canoe. Lākou kā'ili i'a. Lo'a ka i'a, ka 'āweoweo... [chuckles] Nui ka 'āweoweo, hoi mai [gestures giving out fish to each individual] Eia kāu, eia kāu, eia kāu, hā'awi i nā mea a pau.*
- KM: *Māhele 'ia ka i'a.*
- JR: *Māhele pono, māhele pono, 'ae. Ku'u makuakāne, inā pepehi 'oia i ka pipi, māhele nō. 'Oki'oki ka pipi, no kēia 'ohana, no kēlā 'ohana kēia, 'ai like mākou.*
- KM: Hmm, *maika'i kēlā 'ano noho 'ana.*
- JR: *Maika'i kēlā mau lā.*
- KM: *Pehea, o ka 'āweoweo paha, ka i'a o Honopou?*
- JR: 'Āweoweo, 'ū'ū, nā 'ano like 'ole.
- KM: 'Ae.
- JR: *I ka lā, a'ole hiki 'oe ke lo'a ka 'ū'ū. I ka pō.*

There was an abundance of 'ōpae, hīhīwai, and 'o'opu in the Honopou Stream during his youth, and through Nālani's youth (found even in the vicinity of their lo'i):

- KM: 'Ae. *Pehea, ma loko o ke kahawai...* Now Nālani said even you folks have a pond below, or near. Were there fish 'o'opu paha, 'ōpae in the streams like that?
- NM: Lots. Goldfish, fresh water 'ōpihi.
- KM: The hīhīwai, yes.
- JR: When I was growing up that kahawai had a lot of hīhīwai and lot of 'ōpae.
- KM: 'Ōpae kahawai?
- JR: 'Ōpae kahawai.
- NM: And big one's.
- KM: 'Ōpae kala'ole kind.
- JR: 'Ōpae kahawai me ka 'ōpae 'oeha'a.
- KM: A, 'oeha'a.
- JR: *Kāhi manawa, hele wau me ku'u makuahine, ke upena 'ōpae, hele māua, ka 'ōpae. [gestures scooping up 'ōpae with net, and placing them in a bag.] Ka 'ōpae a māhuahua ka 'ōpae, ho'ihō'i i kauhale a kōpī a miko. Mea 'ai nō mākou.*



KM: Hmm. *No hea mai ko 'oukou pa'akai?*

When he was young some of the *pa'akai* (salt) used by his family was still made by native families of the Kīhei side, and traded for goods from the Hāmākua side:

JR: *O kū'ai mākou kēlā pa'akai, a kāhi manawa, hele mai kēia po'e mai Kīhei mai, a kālewa 'ana lākou i ka pa'akai. Kālewa ana i ka pa'akai.*

KM: *'Ae, no ka mea ma kēia 'ao'ao...*

JR: *A'ole hiki.*

KM: *A, wai e?*

JR: *Nui ka wai, ua, a'ole hiki ke pa'a ke kai.*

KM: *'Ae. Kālewa ka po'e mai Kīhei?*

JR: *Poe mai Kīhei, a no lākou ka pa'akai maika'i. Komo i loko o ka eke huluhulu, eke kukae nalo.*

KM: *'Ae.*

JR: *Kū'ai mākou kēlā.*

KM: *A kuapo oukou?*

JR: *Kuapo. Ai pa'a paha, poi paha.*

KM: *Hmm. Kuapo no ka pa'akai, me nā mea o kēlā 'ao'ao?*

JR: *Na mea o Kīhei. A'ole lākou lo'a ka lo'i kalo. Yes.*

KM: *Hmm. Maika'i kēlā 'ano nohona e?*

JR: *Yes, maika'i, maika'i. Hele lākou kau iluna o ka lio, kālewa mai kēlā pa'akai.*

KM: *Mai Kīhei mai?*

JR: *Mai Kīhei mai.*

KM: *O lō'ihī.*

JR: *Hele mai i ko mākou hale, hiamoe. Kakahiaka nui, ho'i lākou.*

KM: *'Ae. And kūkū, ua hele 'oe 'ohi 'ōpae, ka 'ōpae, hīhīwai, 'o'opu paha?*

JR: *'O'opu.*

KM: *Mai ke kahawai?*

JR: *Mai kēlā kahawai a hele i uka. Nunui ka 'o'opu [gestures 12 inches long]. 'O'opu nākea.*

KM: *Oh, one foot kind, almost?*

JR: *Oh yes.*

NM: *Yes.*

JR: *Nākea, nui a hewahewa. Kāhi manawa hele mākou, hāhā wale no [gestures catching them in his hand].*

NM: *The prawns, the biggest one twenty-three inches. Remember we took pictures. five-gallon buckets in no time.*

JR: *Hīhīwai, i ka pō, hele mākou i ka pō.*

KM: *Hāhā hīhīwai!*



- JR: *Hāhā ka hīhīwai. Nui ka hīhīwai. I'a haole, goldfish, nā mea 'ula'ula, mea ke'oke'o, me kalakoa, nui. Hele mākou me ka 'ohe. Ka wā mākou 'u'uku, paeāea mākou, ho'iho'i mai me kēlā i'a haole, o 'o'opu. Ho'omaika'i mai ko'u makuahine i kēlā 'o'opu me kēlā i'a haole, komo iloko o ka lā'i, lāwalu. Mea 'ai no mākou.*
- KM: *Kēlā i'a kula, the gold fish, 'ono?*
- JR: *Ono!*
- KM: *Ano like me ka 'o'opu paha?*
- JR: *Like me ka 'o'opu. No ka mea hoi 'oe i kauhale, kopi 'oe a miko, a pau ka waliwali. a kūkulu 'oe loko o ka wai a manalo, ka wā komo 'oe i loko o ka lā'i a lāwalu 'oe.*
- KM: *Pehea, ka 'o'opu, moa all the time or 'ai maka kekāhi?*
- JR: *A'ole mākou...kekāhi 'ohana, i noho 'ai i Waipi'o. Ka makuahine, kēlā i'a haole, me ka 'o'opu, 'ai maka 'ia. Ma ko'u hale, a'ole.*
- KM: *Hmm. Ho'oma'ema'e, kōpī, a lāwalu?*
- JR: *Yes, ho'oma'ema'e, kōpī, a lomilomi 'oe a pau ka waliwali, kūkulu 'oe i loko o ka wai, a nā mananalo, a komo i ka lā'i a lāwalu. Mea 'ono kēlā!*
- KM: *Hmm.*
- JR: *Ka 'ōpae o kēia manawa, a'ohe 'ōpae o laila. Pau ka 'ōpae. No ka mea, lawe mai kēia po'e haole, bull frogs a kēia 'ōpae lolo nei, 'ōpae nui. 'Ai kēlā 'ōpae i ko mākou hīhīwai, i'a haole, 'o'opu.*
- KM: *Pau?*
- JR: *Pau wale no! A'ole i'a haole i kēia manawa.*
- KM: *So nā i'a haole a me nā i'a maoli, pau i ka 'ai 'ia?*
- JR: *Pau!*
- KM: *I ke kahawai?*
- JR: *I ke kahawai!*

It is his observation that the water flowing in the *kahawai* is the same today as when he was young; he and Nālani both note that people above them use the water in ways that are damaging to the system (putting soaps and oils into the water). Nālani notes that the water is not as cold as it was, because of changes in the flow volume and source, and this is problematic for taro growers:

- KM: *Pehea, ka wai o kēia manawa, like me ka wai o mamua?*
- JR: *Like no. Ua like no a like.*
- KM: *'Oia?*
- JR: *Yes.*
- KM: *Loa ka wai i loko o ke kahawai? Kūkū, namu haole ana wau. The water today is...?*
- JR: *Is as it was.*
- KM: *Even when you were young?*
- JR: *Right.*
- KM: *Oh.*
- NM: *The flow or the temperature?*



JR: The only thing right now, the people who have some residences, that live above us, they do the laundry in the *kahawai* you know, and who knows what.

NM: You can see the oil in the taro patch (*lo'i*), you can smell the soap.

JR: So we don't drink it anymore.

NM: Yes.

JR: I used to drink it, just take the taro leaf, cut off the taro leaf wrap it around and make a cup.

KM: *Apu?*

NM: Yes.

JR: Drink.

KM: Now, when you were young did anyone ever get sick drinking that water?

JR: Nobody, we were all healthy...

NM: The taro used to grow big because the temperature was cold and there was a constant flow, but because of all the dams and the pools that people dam up, the water doesn't go back and they put things in.

JR: The water should flow at all times.

KM: It should flow yes, and when it's cool water the *kalo*, good?

NM: Yes.

JR: Very good.

KM: If the water comes warm or the flow slows down?

NM: It like stunts it.

JR: Yes.

KM: In fact you can see it even in the sugar fields.

NM: We have pictures of huge taros compared to now.

JR: You need good circulation.

KM: Yes, yes. But, you think that the bullfrog and maybe some of these *'ōpae haole paha* yeah.

NM: And the king fisher what you call them?

JR: The *auku'u*, that been there many years.

KM: The *auku'u* is native, but the white ones, not.

NM: When you see only the head, the shrimp gone.

JR: No problem, *auku'u* only eat what's left over, no problem.

NM/KM: [chuckling]

JR: But I tell you the frog, when I was a little boy we used to go out at night and get the big one.

KM: Yes.

JR: We *kaha* the *ōpū*. The *i'a haole* all inside the *ōpū*, that's why we know, the bullfrog ate the goldfish.

KM: Wow, so you'd see 'em inside.



JR: Inside. We were young kid I was about maybe ten, twelve, fifteen years old. Get the bullfrog skin 'em up and we *pūlehu* that bugga.

KM: *Pūlehu.*

JR: You couldn't bring 'em home.

KM: [chuckles]

JR: Because mother would not allow that frog in the house. Down at the *kahawai* we'd make a fire, we *pūlehu* that, take a little salt down you know, nobody see.

KM: 'Ono?

JR: 'Ono.

NM: Tastes like chicken.

JR: At that time you know kids, everything 'ono... You couldn't bring 'em home, but down the *kahawai* we ate 'em. Then we cut up the *ōpū*, get 'ōpae and get goldfish inside the *ōpū*, so we know that frog was eating our goldfish.

KM: It's interesting though because you see then, there are changes that have occurred in the land. It's not like how it was when you were young.

JR: Very true, very true.

KM: I think this story that you're sharing, this history about before everyone used... The word you used was *laulima*, everyone came together to help.

JR: Everyone...

Describes customs associated with gathering *limu*, fish, and other resources – one took carefully, respectfully, and with prayer; taking only what was needed:

KM: ...You know, you were talking also about out in the ocean the fish and things like that and then in the *kahawai*. You know there are *limu kai* and *limu kahawai*.

JR: *Limu 'ele'ele.*

KM: 'Ae. Did you folks 'ohi kinds of *limu* from the stream before?

JR: No, no.

KM: Not even for medicine?

JR: The only one we 'ohi is down by the *muliwai*, way down. That's where we get the *limu 'ele'ele*.

KM: 'Ano *lō'ihī*, like me ka *lauoho*?

JR: *Lō'ihī. Wahi o ka wai ho'ohui me ke kai. 'Oia ka limu 'ele'ele.*

KM: So you folks would gather *limu 'ele'ele*?

JR: *Limu 'ele'ele.*

KM: Were there other *limu* out along the *lae kahakai* too?

JR: Oh yeah, all different kind yeah.

KM: And still yet today?

JR: Till today.

NM: Yes.

JR: All different kind *limu*. Only *manauea* no was out there, *manauea* we never had.



KM: That's different...

JR: Yes, different area.

KM: Needs *one* like that too, nice out on the *papa*.

JR: *One*, needs a lot of *one*. The other kind *limu* we had most all of them. *Limu kohu*, plenty. All by the *kahawai*, you know where the *kahawai* come down to the ocean?

KM: Yes.

JR: The *limu kohu* grow over there you look 'em [gestures with hand], it goes back and forth, swaying.

KM: *Lahilahi*, beautiful!

JR: But, *ho'i mai ka nalu*, all *moku*.

KM: But that's how then *ulu hou*.

JR: *Ulu hou! Kēlā 'ano limu, 'ako 'oe, a'ole 'oe 'oki. 'Ako, 'ako.*

KM: *'Oia ka mea ma'amau. Ka 'oki, ai'ole huki...*

JR: *Pau, pau, pau! 'Ako.*

KM: *A pono iā 'oe e a'o i kou po'e mo'opuna.*

JR: Yes.

KM: *No ka mea, i kēia mau lā hele kekāhi kanaka, 'ohi a nui, 'ohi hewa nō ho'i!*

JR: Yes.

KM: *Pau ka pono, a'ole lo'a ka 'ōpihi, ka wana, limu, ka i'a, pau!*

JR: *Pau. Mai ka 'u'uku a ka mea nui, lawe a pau.*

KM: *I kou wā li'ilii...?*

JR: *A'ole, lawa no kēia [gestures, enough to fill his cupped hands]. Ku'u makuahine hele no ku'i 'ōpihi, piha ka 'eke, lawa no 'ia. Ho'ihō'i 'oia, 'oki, 'ihi, kohe no a pau, ho'omikomiko 'ai no. Ko mākou mea 'ai.*

KM: *Pehea, i kēlā mau lā li'ilii, ua lohe paha 'oe i kou makuahine, ai 'ole kekāhi kupuna... Ua noi mua lākou mamua o ka 'ohi 'ana?*

JR: *Mamua o ka 'ohi 'ana. Mai 'oe 'ai nā mea 'oe...i 'ōpihi, ka 'oukou 'ohi 'ana i ka 'ōpihi. Ka wā 'oukou ku'i 'ana i ka 'ōpihi, a'ole 'oe 'ai i ka 'ōpihi. Mamua o kou hele 'ana, 'oe no'ono'o no 'oe ke Akua, no ke kia'i mai iā 'oukou ka wā 'oukou e ku'i ai kēia 'ōpihi.*

KM: Hmm, *'oia ka mea nui.*

JR: *Hālawai 'oia, hele lākou.*

KM: *Pehea kou ho'i 'ana i ka lo'i, pule paha lākou?*

JR: *Pule, 'oia no mamua o ke kanu 'ana o ka 'ai. No'ono'o 'oe i ke Akua, e ho'oulu mai i kēia mea 'ai.*

KM: *'Ae, a ulu ka 'ai?*

JR: *Ulu ka 'ai, yeah.*

NM: Maybe next time when the weather is better I'll take you down to the taro patches.

KM: Would be good.

NM: You can see for yourself.



KM: Would be wonderful... ...*Kūkū, mahalo nui iā 'oe i kou wehe 'ana i kēia mau mo'olelo. Maika'i!*

JR: *Hiki no iā 'oe ke ho'okomo i loko o ka puke, maika'i.*

KM: *Mahalo. Mea nui kēia no ka ho'omau 'ana o ka mea ma'amau a 'oukou, nā Hawai'i.*

JR: Yes.

Discusses the practice and belief that if you "Care for the land, the land will care for you." *Wai* (water) is of great importance and value for the people and the land – "*Wai o ke ola!*" (Water is life!):

KM: *Mālama i ka 'āina...*

JR: *Na ka 'āina i mālama iā 'oe.*

KM: *'Ae. A he mea nui ka wai, wai o ke ola?*

JR: *Wai o ke ola. Wai, waiwai nui! Wai, nā mea a pau, ka wai, waiwai no kēlā!*

KM: *'Ae, lo'a ka wai, ola!*

JR: *Wai ola, wai o ke ola!*

KM: *Mahalo nui, hau'oli kēia.*

JR: *'Ae...*

Describes life on the land – and fishing when he was a youth; traveled with his mother, and fished various locations along the coast for *moi*, *pua 'ama*, *'ōhua*, *he'e pali*, and other fishes. The land and ocean, and their hard work sustained them; they bought only a few items, and mostly fed themselves by their own work and care of the land:

KM: Were there still *pipi* all out on the *'āina* when you were young?

JR: *Pipi*, my dad had a lot of cattle, plenty cattle. We never used to buy meat all we did was buy sugar. *Pipi*, then we get the taro, we get the fish, sometime we get plenty fish, we *kaula'i*. And then get the meat and we used to keep our pigs, we had lot of pigs. Not that much, but for the house use, the *kale 'ai*, you know from the taro?

KM: *'Ae.*

JR: That's for the pig...

KM: ...*Pehea, mamua, 'ai paha ka 'īlio?* [chuckling]

JR: [chuckling] *A'ole mākou 'ai. Ku'u makuakāne, a'ole 'oia 'ai i ka i'a maka.*

KM: *O, aloha!*

JR: *A'ole 'oia hiki ke 'ai i ka 'ake. Na mākou wale no ka mea 'ai 'ake. Ka i'a wale no 'oia i 'ai, he 'ō'io. 'Ō'io, 'oia ka 'ono 'oia. Na mea 'oko'a, a'ole 'oia mamake ai.*

KM: *Ka 'ō'io, mai kahakai i Honopou?*

JR: *Kahakai, Honopou.*

KM: *So nui ka 'ō'io, me ka moi paha?*

JR: *Ka moi, nui ka moi. Ka 'ō'io ma ka wahi one, one kēlā wahi, hele 'oe pākākā, dunk. Pākākā. Ka moi, kēlā i'a noho ma ka wahi nalu.*

KM: *'Ae.*

JR: *Ka 'ama'ama.*



KM: *Pehea ka 'ama'ama, i loko o ka muliwai?*

JR: *Ka muliwai. Nui ka pua 'ama. Kāhi manawa, nānā 'oe, nui a hewahewa.*

KM: *'Oia, so he muliwai pili me kahakai?*

JR: *He muliwai ma Honopou. Nui! Moi li'i. Hele ana ka moi li'i, nui a hewahewa! Ki'i mākou me ka 'upena.*

KM: *'Ae.*

JR: *Kāhi manawa me ka paeāea, me ka 'upena, ka mea maika'i.*

KM: *Hmm.*

JR: *A ka 'ōhua, mai Hāwini...mane'i mai o Hāwini, he wahi ka inoa o Pōpōhilo. He kāheka nui, nui kāheka.*

[*Kēia wahi 'o Hāwini, aia makai o Honokalā.*]

KM: *'Oia?*

JR: *Kēlā wahi, nana 'oe i ke kahakai, uwē kahakai. Nānā 'oe e, mea aku ku'u makuahine, ke hānau ai ka manini. Kōko'olau, Kōko'olau, 'oia ka inoa o kēlā, nui ka uwē a ke kahakai. Nānā 'oe 'ele'ele a nui ka 'ino. A mawaena...*

KM: *He hō'ailona kēlā?*

JR: *Hō'ailona.*

KM: *A maopopo mai 'ea mai ka 'ōhua?*

JR: *'Ea mai ka 'ōhua. 'Ea mai ka 'ōhua, hele māua, o wau me ku'u makuahine, i ka wana'ao, hele i ka wana'ao.*

KM: *'Ae, mamua o ka puka 'ana o ka lā?*

JR: *Mamua o ka puka 'ana o ka lā. Ma lalo mai o ke kāheka, lo'a he 'eke.*

KM: *'Eke, 'ano waliwali e?*

JR: *'Ae. Nui no ka 'ōhua i loko laila. Hele māua me ka 'upena, au'a i ka 'upena, pa'a kēlā mea. Komo maloko o ke kukaenalo. 'Ekolu paha, lawa.*

KM: *Hmm.*

JR: *Ka 'ōhua, mea 'ono kēlā.*

KM: *Hmm, a ho'i i ka hale a kōpī?*

JR: *Kōpī 'oe, a ho'omalo'o no 'oe. Gee, 'ai 'oe kēlā, mea maika'i. Yes. Ka pa'akai wale no, hele a 'oia, miko loa.*

KM: *'Ae. Mau makahiki, a'ole 'ai i ka 'ōhua, e?*

JR: *Yes. Kāhi manawa ho'ihoi mai, lāwalu. Lāwalu 'oe i kēlā 'ōhua. O nui ka 'ono!*

KM: *O ka 'ōhua, he pua manini e?*

JR: *Pua manini kēlā. Manini, a kāhi manawa he pua no ka mamamo.*

KM: *'Oia?*

JR: *Nui, mamamo me ka manini. Yes, ko mākou mea 'ai no 'ia. Hele ku'u makuahine, ku'i 'ōpihi, a kāhi manawa lo'a ka he'e pali, a ho'i i kauhale.*

KM: *'Ae, he'e pali, he he'e 'ano li'ilii'i?*



JR: 'Ae, li'ili'i, mea paha, 'umi tumahā, 'ehā ounces, yeah.

KM: 'Ae.

JR: Not even half a pound. Yes, *ho'i mākou, kōpī kēlā mea, a ka 'ala'ala nō ho'i, maika'i!*

KM: Hmm. *Maika'i ka ola 'ana mai ka 'āina me ke kai.*

JR: Yes. *Kāhi manawa hele mākou i ka ho'āla pō. I ka pō hele mākou, ka pūhi me ka 'ula. Pa'a kau, pūhi uhā a maika'i kēlā.*

KM: 'Ae, ua lohe wau.

JR: *Pūhi uhā, ka 'ula.*

KM: *Kāmākoi, kēlā 'ano...?*

JR: Yes, *kā mākoi. Ho'ihō'i i kauhale, maika'i kēlā mea a pau! Pau ka wali, pau ka hauna, kaula'i 'oe, kupa 'oe, 'ōlani nō ho'i i ka kapuahi.*

KM: 'Ae.

JR: Yes.

KM: Oh, *mahalo, mahalo nui iā 'oe!*

JR: *Ko mākou ano noho 'ana. Noho 'oe a kua'āina. Ka mea kū'ai wale nō, kō pa'a, pa'akai, aila kupa, a hiki iā 'oe ke palai ka palaoa [chuckling].*

KM: *A nā mea a'e, na 'oukou i lo'a mai ka 'āina?*

JR: Yes. *Poi, ka i'a, ka pipi, lawa no! Nui ka pipi kāula, nui!*

KM: 'Ae...



**V. Leimamo Wahihākō-Lee and Pōhaku Miki Lee
Recollections of Lands and Fisheries of Hāna, Maui
May 6, 21, and 22, 2002 – with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo 3430)**

Kupuna Leimamo Wahihākō-Lee was born in 1921, at Wailuanui. Her husband, *Kupuna* Pōhaku Miki Lee was born in 1920, at Huelo, and taken as a *hānai* by his own *kūpuna* in Nāhiku.

Both *kūpuna* are native speakers and were raised in households where many aspects of Hawaiian culture, practice, and traditions were a part of their daily lives.

Kupuna Leimamo is a gifted story teller, and *kupuna* resource, known across the islands. *Kupuna* Pōhaku's grandfather, Pōhaku Miki was a well known *kālai wa'a* (canoe maker), and fisherman; and he himself has fished most of his life. For some years in the 1940s to 1960s, *Kupuna* Pōhaku fished commercially, and also worked with the DLNR Fisheries programs, in which several other interviewees participated.



The following excerpts from several interviews, provide readers with detailed descriptions of fishing customs and practices in the Hāna District. *Kupuna* Leimamo and *Kupuna* Pōhaku granted their personal release of the interview records to Maly on May 22, 2002.

KM: ...*Aloha nui nō, mahalo iā 'oe uncle. Mahalo iā 'olua no kēia ho'okipa 'ana mai.*

LL: *O, kou hale kēia, ko 'olua hale kēia. Hele mai. A'ole ho'opau ka kalā i waho...*

KM: *Mahalo nui! Kūkū, hiki paha iā 'oe ke wehe mai kou inoa piha, me kou lā a makahiki i hānau, a ihea...?*

LL: *Okay. Hānau 'ia wau i Wailua nui, Ke'anae, Maui... I ka mahina, Dekemapa 'ekāhi, makahiki, ho'okāhi kaukani eīwa haneli iwakalua kumakāhi.*

KM: *O pōmaika'i nō, aloha!*

LL: *Mea mai ku'ū makuahine ia'ū, "Akamai wau, hānau 'oe ka mahina hope, akā na'e, ka lā mua." [chuckles]*

KM: *'Ae, maika'i.*

LL: *O ko'ū makuakāne, 'o Sam Kalani Kanamu. Ku'ū makuahine o Pūnohu Lintai, a male 'oia iā Sam Kanamu.*

KM: *He hapa Hawai'i kou makuahine?*

LL: *'Ae. Male ku'ū kupunawahine, i ka Pākē piha. Ko'ū kupuna wahine, ka mama o ko'ū mama, Punohu, mana'o wau, o Ka'ū, ka inoa.*



- KM: *Ka'iu?*
- LL: *Ka'iu. No ka mea kapa 'ia ku'u kaikaina, 'o Ka'iu kona inoa. A inā pololei ku'u mana'o, ho'okāhi manawa, mea mai ku'u mama, kapa 'ia kēlā inoa no kona makuahine. But you know [shaking her head]...*
- KM: *A ka inoa o kou papa, Kanamu, no hea mai 'oia?*
- LL: *Hānau 'ia 'oia i Nāhiku...*
- KM: *..Okay, so Sam Kalani Kanamu male iā Pūnohu Lintai, a hānau mai 'oukou... Pehea 'oe i ho'i mai i Hāna me Wahihākō? E 'olu'olu 'oe, wehe mai i kou mo'olelo.*
- LL: *From Wailua nui... Ho'okāhi mahina, na ku'u makuakāne me ho'okāhi makuakāne hoahānau i hoe mai i ka wa'a, mai ka palena pau o ke alanui o Wailua nui i Nāhiku. I ka 'uwapo... [chuckles] Kēlā manawa o ka 'uwapo me ka donkey i luna o ka pōhaku nui i loko o ke kai. Ku ka moku i waho a me ka moku li'ili'i, hoe mai lākou i loko me nā ukana. Well. Ma kēlā wahi, pae lāua i luna o ka pa'a lā, a hele ku'u makuakāne hānai i ki'i ia'u, a mea mai ku'u makuahine, ho'omaka e ho'ohēlele'i...a very, very light rain she said. When the canoe approached. And she was so happy. She's blind but this is all being told by my father and sister oh, "Here's the canoe coming and so forth," like that. And then, "Oh mama, it's going to rain." Kikilihune, kikilihune.*
- KM: 'Ae.
- LL: *And then my father went to get me, and brought me to the car and they held me in their arms. Everybody took turns held me, my two sisters above me and mama. And they brought me home to Hāna and here I was raised until I male iā Pōhaku.*
- KM: 'Ae...
- LL: *My hānai father was Thomas Kapuhi Wahihākō.*
- KM: *Wahihākō?*
- LL: *Wahihākō.*
- KM: *A no Hāna 'oia?*
- LL: *Yes. According to this hākō, I show you there's two meanings [looking in dictionary] I don't see "kupoupou." Hākō. Me, I shame show my book to people because...*
- KM: *No, it's well used.*
- LL: *Hākō, dignified, noble, honorable.*
- KM: 'Ae.
- LL: *And the other one is hākō, to carve out a pathway as a passage through coral or as a water course. I don't know which one.*
- KM: *Yes, both of them have good meaning like wahi hākō, maybe where they went open up.*
- LL: *Yes.*
- KM: *Or like you said a place that is dignified, respected you know.*
- LL: *Yes...*
- Coral used as medicine by her father:
- LL: *...My dad was good with lā'au lapa'au. There's a woman who was the first Mrs. Cheong Cheong, down there (Wailua nui). She was born in Kaupō, she was a Smith girl. One of the oldest and she was the head of housekeeping for Queen's Hospital for many long years until she retired. She told me when she found out who I was, she said, "I want you*



to know that it was your father who saved my son's life, and he's still living." She said, "The doctor said, 'There was no hope take him home.'" And I did, but I went to find anybody who could help and your father did. I said, "Oh, what was the medicine?" I knew my dad knew Hawaiian medicine and so she said, "You won't believe it, from the ocean." I said, "What?" "From the ocean." She said, "It's some kind rock in the ocean." And I found out, I asked my brother, he said, "Yes, dad would go to the ocean to get some kind of coral, he would go on the canoe." And I said, "Coral?" "No, dad would mash it all up [gestures pounding the coral], and mix it with... I said, "Then that thing going cut all your guts out," I told him [chuckling]. "No, she said, that was the medication that saved him." And I met the boy. He was old you know, and I met the boy. And I know I can tell this story because I met... The mother told me, and I met the boy.

KM: *Kupaianaha...!*

LL: *...Hānai 'ia wau a nui, i ka makahiki 'umi kūmāiwa kanakolu kūmāono, ku'ai ku'u makuakāne i kēia wahi, a ne'e mākou i ne'i nei. And then male māua i ka 'umi kūmāiwa kanahā kūmākāhi, Pepeluai, lā iwakalua kūmāhiku. A i Aukake o kēlā makahiki... Well i lūne, holo 'oia i Honolulu. Mana'o 'oia nei, hele a noi hana, e holo i nā moku o lalo o ka Pakipika. Akā na'e i kona hele e register, hui pū me kekāhi Kōlea mai Maui... She said, "What you doing here?" Oh he was going to work on the *aku* boat. So she said, "No, no, no you come work for Chombi. That was the Korean name of her Korean husband. She said, "come work." And he had just bought the *Marlin* from Tuna Packers.*

KM: So, he went on the boat.

LL: He went to work on the *Marlin* and they were making money hand over fist those days. And it was just good for us, because it gave us a start. So I stayed here with my blind mother because she wouldn't move. I talk to you in English, okay?

KM: *'Ae, mahalo.*

LL: Okay...

KM: ...You were sharing before, that papa, when he was the sheriff, deputy sheriff...?

LL: I would always be in the car.

KM: Yes, you would go you were his "bag boy."

LL: Yes, I was. Oh the story about the *manini* and the *ahu*.

KM: Yes.

Moi fishing at Waikaloa:

LL: And we met... One time before we moved up to this house, not too long before then, he went where the mouth of Waikaloa stream goes down. I know he saw something so he *ho'omākaukau* his *'upena* and then he threw. I was so shocked when he came up, that *'upena* was so full with *moi*. I never saw *moi*, big and wide, that was in that net, sixty-eight *moi* [gestures size].

KM: More than a foot long this *moi*.

LL: This is my father's style, and I still do it today. When I know I have more than we can have and eat, I share with my neighbors. We fed, he always told me never forget the widows and the fatherless. He always said you do that and he did it. But my father would share, Mrs. Cooper, Akana's...all the Akana's over here, four houses, and then Mrs. Jacob. And then over here is another *tūtū*. And all these other *tūtū* about three, four houses. So how many? Mrs. Cooper, Ben Akana, Joe Akana, Grandma Akana, Jacob, *tūtū* Pane, then come *tūtū*... [thinking] And then had this other *tūtū* and then come this and then us, nine people. Always, when we had, we always saw them. And then if we stop right here the next time you go we know we going start from over there and then count. That's how I was brought up.



KM: *Hā'awi aloha.*
 LL: Yes.
 KM: Always share.
 LL: 'Ae...
 KM: ...Uncle, you *hānau*, Nāhiku?
 PL: Huelo.
 KM: Huelo, but then you came...
 PL: Nāhiku.
 KM: Nāhiku and live there?
 PL: 'Ae...

Family had the *weke* fishpond of Kumaka, at Haneo'o:

KM: [chuckling] ...*Kupuna*, I'm very interested in your story about the old fishpond your family had.
 LL: Yes.
 KM: And about the *'uala*, the *māla 'ai* all growing. *Heaha ka inoa o kēlā mau 'uala?*
 LL: Yes, yes. We had banana, we had *'uala*, we had *'umeke*, we had squash, we had onion.
 KM: Yes, cause you were saying *pū, pala'ai, mai'a*.
 LL: *Pū, mai'a*. Yes we had all that down there.
 KM: And the fishpond you folks were still using it?
 LL: Yes.
 KM: When you were young? Your *kūkū mā*?
 LL: Yes, that was our *weke* intake, there.
 KM: 'Ae, so that was a good *weke* pond.
 LL: Yes.
 KM: The big pond?
 LL: That was *weke*.
 KM: Is that Haneo'o?
 LL: Well, I didn't really know, but I think it's Kumaka.
 KM: Kumaka oh.
 LL: I think so, but I cannot tell you for sure. But there are the two ponds there, then Kumaka is the one we have.
 KM: Because the little one.
 LL: But we always called it the Haneo'o Fishpond during my time.
 KM: 'Ae.
 LL: You know the old folks hid a lot from us. They never talk too much about that.
 KM: Yes. They taught you important things, but there were things I guess like they felt.
 LL: Yes, they didn't want people to know, I think.



KM: Yes. And this pond, *kuapā*?

LL: Was high but when high tide it just barely covered.

KM: I see.

LL: But it was once destroyed, it was once higher before I saw it at the height it was. And then this last tidal wave of '46, April 1st, then it is as it is today.

KM: Yes I see. Up till that time you were still using two *mākāhā* at that pond you said. One on this side?

LL: Actually more on the one open ocean, the open ocean. I would see *tūtū* Pa'ahao Kanaka'ole, he was married to my *tūtū* Keahi. And *tūtū* Keahi, was my father's aunty, you know. But see, every time when I ask, "Oh how this *tūtū*...?" "*Tsa, nīele! Kulikuli!*" And so I never knew the relationship.

KM: The *pili*. So, *tūtū* Pa'ahao *mā*, they would go out, and this was a *weke* fishery for them.

LL: Only *tūtū* Pa'ahao, *tūtū* Keahi was very old, but a very sedate looking Hawaiian, very. And they had a store, but *pau* the store.

KM: 'Ae...

LL: ...A little beyond where we parked the other evening, on the *mauka* side. They had a nice home, nice home...

KM: 'Ae...

***Kupuna Leimamo and Pōhaku Miki Lee
Field Interview at Nāhiku and Waikalua, Maui
May 21, 2002 with Kepā Maly***

Describe fishing at Nāhiku; naming types of fish caught, and resources collected:

KM: *Eia mākou i ka awa kū moku o Nāhiku?*

LL: *Nāhiku. Hapalua hola 'ekāhi o ka 'auinalā. Ai mākou ke kū nei, nānā nei iā Wailua, ma mua o kākou. 'Ike 'oe kēlā wahi 'ano pālahalaha?*

KM: 'Ae.

LL: *O Waiohue kēlā. Eia o Hanawī.*

KM: *Kēlā kahawai?*

LL: 'Ae. *O Hanawī kēia.*

KM: *Kou kupuna, ua hele 'oia lawai'a i kai nei?*

LL: *I ka pō.*

KM: *He'aha kāna i'a?*

PL: *Kawele'ā, 'ū'ū.*

LL: *A ho'i mai, 'aumoe kēia. Hōkio mai, hōkio 'ana 'ala ka wahine a me ka mo'opuna, 'oia ka'u kāne Charles Pōhaku Lee. Hele mai me ka lona.*

KM: *No ka wa'a?*

PL: 'Ae.



- LL: *Hele mai, ho'i mai 'oia iāia nei me ke kupuna wahine, kupuna kāne, hō'ili ka wa'a. Ho'okomo ma lalo o ka hau, a ho'i me ka i'a o ka pō. A lawa wahi 'ai 'ana no he mau lā. Kaula'i kekāhi o ka po'e i'a.*
- KM: *I kou wā li'ili'i, ua 'ohi 'oukou i ka pa'akai mai kēia lae?*
- PL: *A'ole.*
- KM: *No hea mai ka pa'akai?*
- PL: *Kū'ai [chuckling].*
- LL: *A a'ole nui ka poho kāheka...*
- Group: [Discussing various points on Register Map of Nāhiku – see earlier interview narratives.]
- LL: *Pāpihā is right there [pointing a short distance along the shore from the landing], he wahi 'āhole kēlā, pana 'āhole. Hele 'oe maha'i o ka 'āina a kau i luna.*
- KM: *He ana kēlā wahi?*
- LL: *'Ano ana, a'ole i holo i loko loa. Oh Kuhelepō [Lot E], that is my kupuna, my great grandfather. His daughter Kamaka, married Kanamu, and had only one child, which was my father. And Kalawai'a, Kaha'ōpihi...my goodness, these are all my family. Manono Kekuanui, that must be his family.*
- KM: *So Grant 11080 no Nancy Pohaku Miki.*
- LL: *And this is mama Kamala's lot, right across from Bordner...*
- PL: *...Here, kū ka moku ma'ane'i.*
- LL: *And they used to have a donkey, over here.*
- PL: *A crane for supplies.*
- LL: *We used to go out there to get po'opa'a. Oh, we used to come home with fish from over there. And then he would dive around here. We have to go, cannot stay for the evening, so he would dive, get the fish, go home. Give mama some, and then we'd go home with ours. We had very humble beginnings, still humble.*
- KM: *Akā, nui ke aloha!*
- LL: *Yes, yes. And you know us kamali'i, we go ku'i 'ōpihi ma'ane'i. Ku'i, ku'i, and mama Kekapa, follow us, her bag more full than ours. [chuckling]*
- KM: *A ka wahi a papa hele i 'ō i ka uhu?*
- LL: *Aia ma ka pali.*
- KM: *Kupaianaha kēlā 'ano lawai'a 'ana?*
- LL: *'Ae. And everybody, the old folks, they said, "Yes, Pōhaku did that." Everybody knew him to use harpoon. My husband really had a nice upbringing by his grandparents.*
- KM: *Yes...*
- LL: *And then akule, komo mai ka akule, hele mai ka po'e ho'opuni akule, kau i luna o ka wa'apā a ho'i mai.*
- KM: *Aloha.*
- LL: *Inā make ke kai, hele ku'i 'ōpihi makaiuli, the green one.*
- KM: *'Ae.*
- LL: *And the other one that we like from the 'āmokumoku, hele a mānonoa, lelo ka... [thinking] kō'ele. Thick 'ōpihi. 'Ono, kāmūmumu ka 'ōpihi i loko o ka waha [chuckling].*



KM: [chuckling]...

Group: [Talking on the shore of Waikalooa, discuss traditions of Hāna Bay.]

KM: *E kala mai, e 'olu'olu 'oe, e wehe mai 'oe i ka mo'olelo e pili 'ana kēia nalu.*

Tradition of naming the surf of Hāna Bay:

LL: *Na Kilinahe Kaleo, mana'o wau kana'ono a 'oi makahiki i kēlā manawa, mālia paha, kokoke i ka kanahiku paha makahiki. Wala'au mai 'oia ia'u, "Kapa 'ia kēia nalu ma'ane'i, i ka ha'i, when it breaks. I ka ha'i 'ana o kēia, ma kēia 'ao'ao a hele..." [pointing from the Waikalooa side towards Ka'uiki]. Kāna 'ōlelo ia'u, "Ua hele mai kekāhi keiki ali'i a me kona po'e e mālama iāia..." Wahi a ka Pelekania, retinue, paha.*

KM: 'Ae.

LL: *"A 'ike 'oia i kēia nalu e ha'i 'ana. Hoihoi 'oia, mamake 'oia e he'e nalu. Ka papa he'e nalu, ho'olei maha'i o ka wa'a, a ho'omaka 'oia e he'e mai i loko nei. A ke nenea ho'i, akā na'e, ka manawa ana i pi'i ai kona po'o i luna, 'ike 'oia he wahine. A ka inoa o kēia wahine o Popolana. A e kahe 'ana i ka lau'oho. Akā na'e, a'ohē lōle, ua hele mai la e 'au'au. Hilahila 'oia i ka 'ike 'ana. Pau kona he'e nalu 'ana, kau hou 'oia i luna o ka wa'a, a holo hou i waho." A 'oia ka pana o kēia wahi.*

KM: *A kēia ali'i, 'o wai kona inoa?*

LL: *O Keanini. A kapa 'ia kēia wahi, kahea 'ia ka nalu o Keanini.*

KM: *Keanini, 'oia ka inoa o ka wahi he'e nalu?*

LL: *'Ae, ana i he'e ai. Mai ka manawa e ho'omaka a hiki i ka manawa e pau ai, 'oia wale no ka he'e 'ana. Ka ha'i 'ana o ka nalu.*

KM: *Aloha! Hoihoi loa*

LL: 'Ae.

KM: *Na tūtū Kilinahe Kaleo i ha'i mai ai?*

LL: 'Ae.

KM: *A ua lohe 'oe i kēia mo'olelo i kou wā 'ōpio?*

LL: *'Ae. No ka mea, o Babes Hanchet, ua hele 'oia i ke Kula o Kamehameha. Ho'i mai 'oia, ua ha'i mai 'oia, makemake 'oia i mo'olelo pana, a ua no'ono'o wau, hele wau e lawe iāia i kāhi o kūkū Kilinahe. Ua hele māua a wala'au wau iā Kilinahe, ai no 'oia ke hele nei i ke Kula o Kamehameha a makemake 'oia nei i ho'ihō'i i mo'olelo. 'Oia ka noi a ke kumu kula a lākou. Ho'i i ke kula me nā mo'olelo pana. So nāna i 'ōlelo mai iā māua i kēia mo'olelo.*

KM: *Maika'i! O kēia Kilinahe, he kilo i'a 'oia?*

LL: *'Ae, kilo i'a. Hiki 'oia ke pinana mai i ka pu'u o Ka'uiki, i ka piko. No ka mea, a'ole kumu lā'au e like me kēia nei. He ahuwale, a'ole mau kumu lā'au me kēia nei. Ma mua, 'ōneanea pū. Kēia ulu 'ana a kēia ulu paina, ka po'e haole o ka plantation, i lū hua, a ho'omaka e ulu.*

Akule fishing Hāna Bay described:

KM: *'Auwē! So he 'aha ka hana a tūtū Kilinahe?*

LL: *He lawai'a.*

KM: *I ka 1930s kēia?*

LL: *'Ae, 1930s.*

KM: *Ua hele 'oia. Pi'i i uka?*



- LL: Ever since *ku'u wā līlī'i 'oia kāna hana. No ka mea, nui nā hui akule ma'ane'i. Māhele lākou makai nei, nā lā. Pō'akāhi, Pō'alua, kēia hui. Pō'akolu, Pō'ahā, 'oia nei. Pō'alima, Pō'aono, 'oia nei.*
- KM: *A ka Lāpule?*
- LL: *Ho'omaha. Hele 'oia i luna, kahea mai 'oia, [calling with emphasis] "Ka Akule!" Inā 'ike, ua komo mai ka akule, kona leo hele a hiki ke lohe o Hāna nei. No ka mea, ai luna loa 'oia. A na ka makani paha?*
- KM: *I lawe ka leo.*
- LL: *Lawe ka leo. [calling out] "Akule!" Ō Holo ka po'e i kai. Hele ka po'e kanaka e ki'i i ka wa'a, a kau mai ka 'upena i luna, a ho'omaka e hele mai. A kā kona lima.*
- KM: *E kuhikuhi 'ana iāia?*
- LL: *'Ae lima 'akau. Kā me ka kawele pa. Inā he kawele pa, ke 'ike. Kekāhi manawa, kawele maoli, a kā mai la ka lima. Kā! Mai kai nei holo nā moku a pau, 'elua, kekāhi manawa 'ekolu wa'a e hele ai. Ho'omaka 'oia ke kā. Kāhi manawa, mana'o kēia po'e i luna o ka wa'a, signaling [chuckling], hō'ailona mai, o kuhihewa! Ho'omaka mai 'oia nei kōkē mai luna [chuckling]. Hiki iā 'oe ke lohe i lalo nei [chuckling].*
- KM: *Kona hūhū.*
- LL: *Hūhū!*
- KM: *Inā kau ka lima i luna, kū ka wa'a?*
- LL: *'Ae.*
- KM: *'Oia kou mea i 'ōlelo ai ma mua.*
- LL: *'Ae, kū. Inā ho'okāhi lima, 'o 'oe ma ka 'ao'ao 'akau. 'oia ka mea kū mai. A inā mai kai nei, wa'a o ka 'ao'ao hema. Hele hou, hele hou a ka'apuni. Mai kai nei i ka'apuni.*
- KM: *Na lākou i lawai'a i ka akule?*
- LL: *A mahope, lawe hou mai i ka 'upena hou, ho'opili, a ho'omaka e huki mai, a hiki kokoke i ka 'āina, na mākou e huki ho'omauka. Ma kēia 'ao'ao 'akau, a hema, ho'omaka. A holo ka i'a i loko o ka 'eke. Kekāhi po'e lu'u i loko o ke kai e pakī i ke kai. A holo ka i'a i loko o ka 'upena. Kekāhi manawa, nui ka akule! "Pehea ka nui i loko o ka 'ohana? Inā 'eono 'ohana 'oe, 'eono ka'au, 'eono 'oe. O 'umi tūmāwalu i'a.*
- KM: *Ua māhele nā i'a a pau me nā 'ohana?*
- LL: *Māhele, māhele. Ho'omaka lākou e helu, 'ehia lā i'a. A ka pau 'ana o ka helu 'ana, a ho'onohono 'ana mai, pehea o ke kū'ai 'ana paha kekāhi? Ka 'uku 'ana no ka pāhonohono 'upena. A o ka hapa nui no ka po'e kōkua.*
- KM: *Hmm.*
- LL: *'Oia kō mākou noho 'ana.*
- KM: *Hmm, aloha! Ua 'ōlelo 'oe, i kekāhi manawa, kū 'ana o tūtū Kilinahe ma ka piko o Ka'uiki, a ua hiki iā 'oe ke lohe i kona leo ma kou hale?*
- LL: *'Ae, 'ae. A'ole ho'opunipuni.*
- KM: *No. Kani kona leo?*
- LL: *Kani!*
- KM: *O ka lawai'a nui 'oia no kēia wahi?*
- LL: *'Ae. Aloha ka po'e iāia. 'Ekolu o lākou nei keiki, o James, ka hiapo; a John Kaleo; a o James Makule Kaleo. 'Ekolu o lākou,*



KM: 'Ae. A ua kanu o tūtū Kilinahe i kekāhi mea ma Ka'uiki?

LL: 'Ae, kanu 'oia i luna o ka piko o Ka'uiki. Mea mai, mo'olelo mai ko'u makuakāne, "Ho'omākaukau 'oia ka māla 'ai me ka pu'u 'ana i ke kanu 'ana i ka lau o ka 'uala. Ka lā e kanu aku ai, hola 'umi tūmālua, 'ai awakea kēia, ho'omaka 'oia e 'ai. Nui a piha kona ōpū, 'oia ka nui o ka 'uala.

KM: Ō!

LL: A ua 'ai wau i kāna 'uala. Ho'okāhi manawa, hele aku ku'u makuakāne e kau paona, 'ehā paona no ho'okāhi 'uala.

KM: Ō kupaianaha! Nui kēlā 'uala.

LL: Ua 'ai wau.

KM: Pehea, 'ono, momona?

LL: 'Ono!

KM: Ua hele 'oia a ho'omākaukau i ka māla 'ai, pu'epu'e?

LL: Pu'epu'e, 'ehia lā pu'e, a e kanu aku ai i ka 'uala. 'Oia ke 'ano o kona kanu 'ana.

KM: A mamua o kona kanu 'ana, ua 'ai 'oia?

LL: 'Ae, a piha ka ōpū!

KM: A inā 'ōpu'u ka ōpū, 'oia ka nui o kona 'uala?

LL: 'Oia kāna 'olelo.

KM: Hoihoi loa. Ō mahalo! Mahalo nui i kou wehe 'ana i kēia mo'olelo. A Pueokāhi, ihea?

LL: Pueokāhi, ai ma'ō, o ka bay.

KM: Ka bay, o Pueokāhi.

LL: Uh-hmm.

KM: A Nu'alele?

LL: Nu'alele, ai ma lalo, ai kai [gesturing to the Nāhiku side of where we were sitting] ma ka palena pau o kēia 'ili kai. Nānu'alele.

KM: 'Ae.

LL: A 'o wau ka bag girl no ku'u makuakāne. Ua hele māua.

KM: A ua 'olelo 'oe, o ka hale i kahakai, ua kau ka hae?

LL: O, 'ae, ku'u kaikuahine. Kau ka hae ma ka ohe. Kawele pā. Hele māua, 'o wau me ku'u papa, kiloi 'upena. O ke kiloi 'upena wale no kona 'ano lawai'a. A i nā wā a pau nānā aku māua i ka hale, inā kau mai 'ana ka hae, ua kahea mai la kekāhi po'e, a pono no 'oia e ho'i ai. So mai laila no, ho'i māua.

KM: Aloha!

LL: Ka signal no ho'i, he hō'ailona.

KM: Mahalo tūtū, mahalo! He mea nui kēia...



Kupuna Leimamo and Pōhaku Miki Lee
Field Interview at Haneo’o and Hāmoa, Hāna, Maui
May 22, 2002 with Kepā Maly

Discussing the *wahi pana* (storied places) in the lands of the Haneo’o-Hāmoa vicinity; the fishponds; *Kū’ula*; and types of fish caught:

KM: *A ‘o wai ka inoa o kēia ‘āina?*

LL: *O Haneo’o. ‘Oia kēia ‘ili ‘āina. Mamua, a’ole ala hele me ke ka’a, na ka lio wale no. Hele maha’i nei o pu’u, Kaiwiopole. A ka ala nui a’u i ‘ike ai no ka komo i laila, ai ke ka’apuni nei a hiki ka huina nui o Hana Highway me kēia, kapa ‘ia Haneo’o, ‘oia ka inoa o kēia ala nui. A ma ka huina o ka Hāna Highway me ia, o Pu’u Ninau kēlā.*

KM: *Pu’u Ninau?*

LL: *Pu’u Ninau, ma kēia ‘ao’ao.*

KM: *Ma ka ‘ao’ao o Kipahulu?*

LL: *‘Ae. Kēia wahi, ka’u ‘ike i kēia manawa, ‘ano hāiki ka pā hale. Akā na’e, ma mua, ia’u nui! Ka laulā.*

KM: *‘Ae.*

LL: *Kēia manawa, ‘ike nei wau, ‘ano hāiki. Akā na’e, ua lilo ka hale i ka lā Apelila ‘ekāhi, ‘umi tūmāeiwa kanahā kūmāono. I ke kai.*

KM: *Kai hō’e’e?*

LL: *‘Ae. ‘Oia ka pā hale o tūtū Kealoha me kāna keikimahine hānai, mana’o paha ho’ohiki ‘ia ‘oia, Meleana... Then, there was only one house that was where the coconut trees are... [thinking] Well, around here some place. Near the cistern.*

KM: *Yes, the lua wai.*

LL: *Lua wai. The lua wai was walled on three sides, and then stones set in place, making about six rows of steps down to it. The back wall was almost eight feet across, and the walls were covered with ‘iwa’iwa and some laua’e. Tūtū Kealoha loved that, it was so beautiful.*

KM: *Pehea ka wai, momona, ai’ole ‘ano wai kai?*

LL: *Wai kai, akā ‘oia ka wai e inu ai.*

KM: *‘Ae... ..He’aha ka hana a ka po’e i noho i Haneo’o a me Hāmoa?*

LL: *O Pahuwai, a’ole hana, ‘elemakule mai... O Pahuwai, kāna hana, ho’oponopono, nui ka po’e hele mai. Many people came to him. Aunty Ku’ulei can tell you stories about Pahuwai.*

KM: *Hmm.*

LL: *His wife’s name was Wahineali’i. Ben Dusen was a luna for the Ka’elekū Plantation. But before that, he came, I think as a young child. His father worked for the plantation. Whether it was for Unna. He was from away, Danish or something. And Dusen’s wife was Laika Bray*

KM: *Yes. Nā kūpuna o kēia wahi, hele lākou i ka māla ‘ai, kanu i ka ‘uala, nā mea like ‘ole?*

LL: *Kēia nei, na mākou wale no. That I know of, they may have had their own too.*

KM; *He mau lo’i kalo paha ko lākou ai i uka?*



LL: *O ai i uka o ke kuahiwi. Aia hele kākou ma'ō, kuhi aku wau iā 'oe.*

KM: *'Ae. Pehea ka i'a?*

LL: *I ku'u wā li'ili'i, 'o wau me Meleana li'ili'i, Bray-Dusen, we would go into the Haneo'o pond here, and we would nanao, watch the sand, whether the pūhi is there or not. You stick your hand under, in the hole, the rock. Some times there's barnacles on these rocks. But you keep going and you feel, "oh, the manini is in there." So you grab. They're not big, they are about so big [gestures size].*

KM: *A few inches like that?*

LL: *Yes. But enough to eat. So we would come, and we would have our 'eke, around our waste, like an 'ōpihi bag, and put them in there. And then go to the next hole. We have shore rocks that we knew, where. All inside the loko. And this loko, because of it's sand and coral and pebbles, weke was the main fish of this loko. But there were other fish. We would have hīnālea, āholehole, and a few different types of fish.*

KM: *Hmm. Ua kuapā 'ia kēlā loko i'a?*

LL: *'Ae. Ho'okāhi mākāhā ma ka 'ao'ao makai, a ka mākāhā nui, ma kēlā 'ao'ao.*

KM: *Ma waena, ai 'ole pili me ka lae kahakai?*

LL: *'Ano ma waena.*

KM: *A kuapā 'ia?*

LL: *Ō, kēlā 'ao'ao, ki'eki'e, 'eono kapua'i paha.*

KM: *Na ka po'e kūpuna i hana kēlā kuapā?*

LL: *Na wai lā i hana, mana'o wau, nā kūpuna. Mea mai ku'u makuakāne, ma mua kēia...mana'o wau, it was about this height [gestures height].*

KM: *Wow, five to six feet.*

LL: *Down in the water. Because pi'i ke kai 'ano... [thinking]*

KM: *The water would wash over?*

LL: *Kokoke. Inā kai nui, 'ae. Akā na'e, inā a'ole kai nui, kai pi'i wale no, hiki kēia kuapā, the water stays out. Ma kēia 'ao'ao, a holo aku i Kipahulu, 'ao'ao o Kipahulu. Mana'o wau, ua hā'ule ka pā mau makahiki lō'ihī ma mua. Mana'o wau.*

KM: *'Ae, 'ae.*

LL: *I ka'u 'ike ke ki'eki'e ana, no ka mea, hiki ia'u ke kū i luna o ke kuapā, ai ke kai, ma lalo iki. But hele a 'ōneanea pū, inā kai malo'o. Hiki ke 'ike ka mākāhā ma kēia 'ao'ao. A kēlā mākāhā nui, 'ano nui ka mākāhā, ma mua o kēia 'ao'ao.*

KM: *'Ae. Ninau ka'u iā 'oe e pili 'ana ka mākāhā. Ho'okāhi 'īpuka, i kou ho'omana'o 'ana?*

LL: *'Ae, ho'okāhi 'īpuka.*

KM: *Aia ma waena o ke kuapā?*

LL: *'Ae. Akā, ma kēia 'ao'ao, o Hāna nei. But kēlā kuapā, 'ano nui iki ma mua o kēia nei [gestures]*

KM: *So maybe four or five feet across, ka mākāhā?*

LL: *Yes, pēlā paha. Ka manawa li'ili'i, nānā aku 'oe, 'ano nui.*

KM: *'Ae [chuckling].*

LL: *Akā, 'oi aku ka nui ma mua nei.*



KM: 'Ae. A o ka weke, ka i'a nui o kēia loko?

LL: 'Oia ka i'a kaulana. A lo'a kekāhi 'ama'ama.

KM: 'Ae. A pehea ke Kū'ula?

LL: Kēlā 'ao'ao [gesturing to the Hāmoa side], 'ike wau 'elua pōhaku nui, lō'ihī. Hele wau pā'ani luna laila, a hiki mau makahiki hope, ā ki'i mai kēia Kepanī, ma ka inoa o Murakami, noho i Maka'alae. Hana i pā uwea a kūkulu i kēia mau pōhaku. Ponaha me ka maka a me ka ihu. A 'ike wau, he Kū'ula paha kēlā, 'elua. A lawe 'oia e hui pū me kekāhi pōhaku, nui poepoe, nui ka po'e poho i luna. Like loa me ka po'e tray no ka lū'au.

KM: Yes.

LL: Compartments, māhele 'ia. Li'ilī'i kekāhi, nunui kekāhi ke 'ike. 'Oī aku me ka 'umi po'e poho.

KM: Hmm.

LL: Nui kēia pōhaku a ki'eki'e. Ki'eki'e like pū kēia nei [gestures height].

KM: So perhaps four feet high.

LL: Yes. Just about, ko'u mana'o. A hānai kēia Kepanī i Kēia mau pōhaku.

KM: Hmm. Nāna no i mālama kēlā Kū'ula?

LL: 'Oia ka'u 'ike.

KM: Hmm. Ua lohe wau kekāhi o ka po'e Kepanī, inā hala ka Hawai'i, na lākou e hele a mālama i nā Kū'ula, a lo'a lākou i ka moe 'uhane, i lo'a ai ka i'a.

LL: Ua lohe wau kēlā mai ko'u makuakāne. I don't know how my father did that. But mau makahiki hope, a lo'a ka ulia o nā keiki kāne 'elua o kēia Kepanī. Hūhū kēia Kepanī, lawe 'oia i nā pōhaku, a kiloi 'ia, lele i lalo o Pu'uiki. Ma ka hale pule o Pu'uiki, makai mai. Lele ka pōhaku i laila. A 'oia ka mo'olelo o kēlā mau pōhaku.

KM: A no Haneo'o kēlā mau pōhaku?

LL: 'Ae, i loko nei o ka loko. A ko'u manawa li'ilī'i, ua hina ka 'alo i lalo. 'Oia ko'u i lohe, a'ole wau i 'ike ka maka. I didn't see that until it was set up by Murakami in his garden.

KM: Hmm. So Murkami must have heard about that from some Hawaiians?

LL: Ko'u makuakāne paha, na ku'u makuakāne i hā'awi i ka 'ae iāia, e hele mai ki'i.

KM: Oh! Hoihoi!

LL: O ko'u kupunawahine, tūtū Kealoha, she loved my father, so I don't know. But anyway... Pehea hou aku?

KM: Lo'a kekāhi loko iki ma ka 'ao'ao o Kipahulu?

LL: Ō, na tūtū Keliā. I male 'oia iā English.

KM: A he loko iki?

LL: Theirs is Kaumaka and ours is Haneo'o.

KM: 'Ae. O Haneo'o, i ka mo'olelo kahiko o nā Hawai'i, o Haneo'o, kekāhi o nā loko i'a i hana 'ia na 'Ai'ai me Kū'ula me Hina?

LL: When we go home, I show you a paper that tells a little bit of the lineage. I'm still in the dark. You know before, I asked tūtū Kealoha, "Tūtū Kealoha, pehea ka pili o mea, o mea?" "Tsa! He'aha kāu hana ninau nei? Po'e Momona hele mai ninau...makemake lākou 'āina? He'aha lā?" [chuckles] In the old days, some people shared, some people did not want to share. Because they thought that you were trying to take land away from them...



...There were other families too out here, Ukulani Ka'e, Alapa'i. Alapa'i family, two brothers married two sisters in my family. And I know they have more history, but they didn't talk...

KM: ...*Kūkū*, you mentioned this place, *Kōkī*?

LL: *Kōkī*, yes. The *pu'u* is Kaiwiopole.

KM: Is there a *mo'olelo*?

LL: From what I understand, the translation of Ka-iwi-o-Pele, means The-bones-o-Pele. So she had some kind of fight.

KM: Yes. So here bones were left there?

LL: Yes, I heard something like that. But *poina wau*.

KM: *Like me kēia Pu'u Ninau, lo'a paha ka mo'olelo?*

LL: *Mana'o wau lo'a, akā na'e, ua nalo.*

KM: *He'aha ka ninau o kēlā pu'u, e?* [chuckling]

LL: 'Ae [chuckling]. *Ō, ma mua ua hele mākou pana upapalu i ka pō. A'ole nui ka upāpalu, o Nāhiku nui ka upāpalu. Akā i a ne'i, i loko o ka loko.*

KM: Hmm.

LL: *Paeāea, 'oia ka hua'ōlelo, a'u i kama'āina.*

KM: 'Ae, pole fishing.

LL: Pole fishing. *Akā pokole wale no ka 'ohe.*

KM: *Ua hana paha kekāhi po'e i umu, ai'ole ahu i ke kai, like me 'oe i wehe mai no kou makuahine a me ka 'ōpae?*

LL: 'Oia wale no ka'u 'ike. *Inā ua hana kekāhi po'e e a'e, a'ole wau i 'ike.*

KM: *Kūkū, i nehinei, i ka huaka'i i Pi'ina'au, ua 'ōlelo mai 'oe, e pili 'ana ka 'ohe no ka 'o'opu?*

Hā 'o'opu ('O'opu trap) method of fishing practiced in the streams of Ke'anae:

LL: 'Ae. *O ka hā, ai ka wai ke holo nei ma ka waiilele. A hana mai lākou i 'ano like he stage, he hā. Ai ka wai ke kahe nei, o ka hā, they have poles like this, 'ohe wale no kēia. Hele 'oe ninau iā Keola, you tell him where Kapa'i and his wife used to live.*

KM: Okay.

LL: It used to have. But I looked yesterday...

KM: No more.

LL: No, never had for a long time. In fact, when I came home from Honolulu, never had. But *loli ka 'āina.*

KM: *Loli ke kahawai?*

LL: 'Ae.

KM: *I kou mana'o, kahe ka wai mai ka wai lele a puka ma kēia hā?*

LL: 'Ae, a kapalili mai ka 'o'opu.

KM: *A laila hele lākou 'ohi ka 'o'opu?*

LL: 'Ae, 'oia ka'u i maopopo, o ka hā.

KM: *Hoihoi no kēlā 'ano lawai'a.*



LL: *Akamai!*

KM: *Akamai!*

LL: *Nui ka akamai o ka po'e kahiko o mākou! Nui 'oi kō lākou akamai.*

KM: *'Ae, mamua o kēia wā.*

LL: *Ua 'oi.*

KM: *Mahalo nui no kou wehe 'ana mai i kēia mo'olelo...!*

LL: ...Now the old net house, must have been right where that heliotrope tree is. The land has changed because of the tidal wave. But it was around there.

KM: You know, this little island?

LL: Alau.

Discusses the fishpond of Leho'ula, made by Kū'ula in antiquity:

KM: Alau. Is there perhaps a story about it?

LL: *Inā he mo'olelo, a'ole wau i kama'āina. Akā na'e, kēlā pūhi i nāhā ka pā o kēlā loko i'a o ke ali'i i Leho'ula. Ka pau 'ana, ua hele a piha loa, a'ole hiki ke hemo i waho. A he ana nui ma ka 'ao'ao o Hāna. Lohe mai wau, he ana nui ma laila paha i hele ai. A lo'a ai ka makau o ka po'e i huki mai a pae i ka 'āina. Holo mai ka po'e mai Wailau paha, Moloka'i. Holo mai e 'ike i ka pōhaku o ka pūhi.*

KM: *He kino pōhaku? [Ka Pūhi o Laumeki]*

LL: *Kino. A me ka 'īlio o Poki.*

KM: *'Ae. So Leho'ula aia...?*

LL: *Aia ma kēlā 'ao'ao, that shore line that is facing us [pointing to area between Hane'o and Kaiwiopela].*

KM: *Pili me Kōkī?*

LL: *'Ae. Ai o Leho'ula i kēia 'ao'ao, a o Kōkī mai mane'i.*

KM: *Okay. A he loko i'a ma kēlā 'ao'ao, ma mua?*

LL: *Li'ili'i wale no, no ke ali'i.*

KM: *'Ae.*

LL: *Na Kū'ula i hana. I hana a mālama i ka i'a i loko laila. 'Oia kona make 'ana, holo mai kona retainer. My father used the words, "the king's runners, kūkini." The king's runner came and said, "He wants fish." I forget the name of the fish. He said "Okay, when you take this fish, you tell him the head is 'ono this way and that way." Well, when this guy was running back he said, "I'll fix Kū'ula." He had bad feelings for Kū'ula. So he went and he said exactly the words, what Kū'ula had said to do with the head, but it was all derogatory remarks. So then the king said, "Kū'ula shall die." And when they came, Kū'ula told 'Ai'ai, "E make 'ana kākou. So go get the calabashes." And then he told 'Ai'ai, "Your mother and I are going to leave you, however, you can be saved. When the smoke blows a certain way, you are to run in the smoke, and that will be your way of escape." And that is how 'Ai'ai was saved. And then Kū'ula made sure that over here didn't have any fish. That is the way the story goes. No fish. Then 'Ai'ai made friends with somebody, and then they had the fish.*

KM: *Hmm. So it's Leho'ula, that place over there?*

LL: *Yes, Leho'ula.*



KM: *Mahalo!*

LL: My father used to bring people down, and he'd tell the story. It took forty-five minutes to an hour. I wish you were born then when he could have told you.

KM: 'Ae.

LL: He had many legends around here. But, you know why I didn't pursue, because he always said, "Believe in God and no one else." And he did that, I think, so that I would understand that God was the almighty. But because of those remarks, I thought, "okay, I don't want to know about that." What little I hear and I know, that's to keep, okay. But I was so afraid. Can you understand me?

KM: 'Ae, *maopopo wau...* *Mahalo!* I see the 'iwa flying over Alau, was that a sign before.

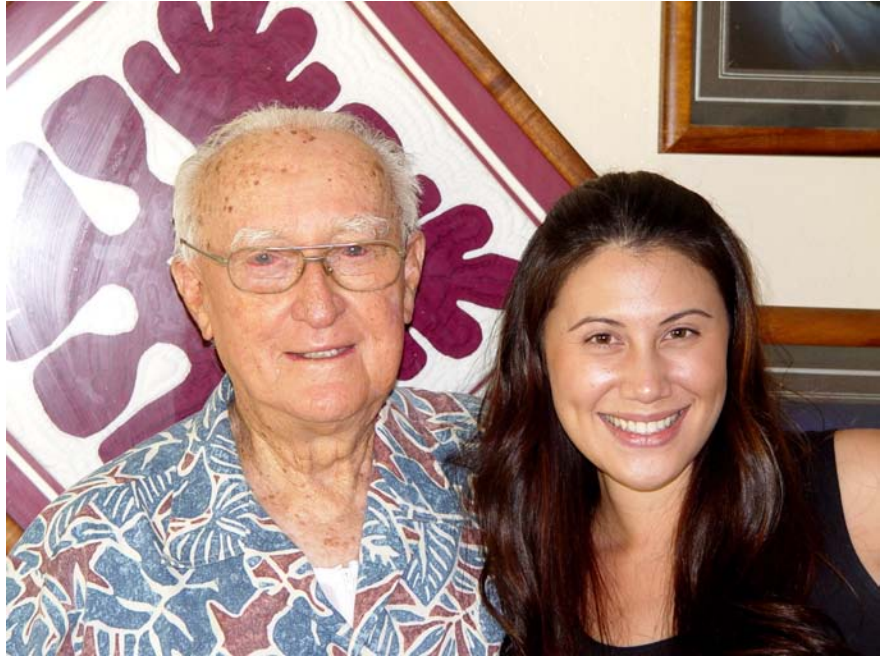
LL: Well, when we were small, we thought it was going to rain [chuckling]. That's what I know.

KM: 'Ae...



**Samuel Ponopake Chang (KPA Photo No. S365, with Nanea Armstrong)
Recollections of Mākena, Maui
February 27, 2003 at Lā'ie, O'ahu
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly and Nanea Armstrong**

Samuel Ponopake Chang was born in 1911, at Mākena, Maui. His mother's line was descended from the Kukahikos of Mākena, and his father was a Chinese merchant. *Kupuna* was raised with his own *kūpuna* and elders, and from them, learned about the lands, fisheries, and customs of the native families in the Mākena section. In 1927, *kupuna* left Mākena to attend Kamehameha Schools, from which he graduated in 1932. Thus, he laments that his recollections only cover a limited period.



Readers will find that the following interview provides interesting descriptions of life upon the land, and the use of fishery resources at Mākena in the early 1900s. Initial contact for the interview was arranged by *kupuna*'s grand-niece Nanea Armstrong, who also participated in the interview. *Kupuna* Samuel Ponopake Chang granted his personal release of the interview records to Maly on July 2, 2003.

SC: Kepā, you will have to ask, for the answer. I'm going to share only what I know. Let me explain to you, I've been away from Mākena since I was sixteen years old.

KM: Yes.

SC: So what happened before that, I would remember about Mākena. But afterwards, I only remember when I go home and I see. Funerals, I would go home. But, it's a big change now. Mākena is not the Mākena now, that I used to know.

KM: 'Ae. Could we start with some basic questions just to get some background information.

SC: Okay [chuckles].

KM: And then talk about a little of Mākena in your youth and then lets go into the family is that okay?

NA: That's fine.

KM: *Kupuna*, would you please, 'o wai kou inoa piha, your whole name?

SC: [chuckles] Oh Kepā, there's a mix up. I'll explain. There's sixteen in my family, and I'm number eight. I'm right in the middle. I'm born as the third son. My dad named me Samsing, so my name is Samsing. But when I went to school, the *haole* teacher, Mr. Ogilvy, he didn't like me on the first day of school. He went whack! Our house is one mile away from the school, I go home, cry up. So he changed my name from Samsing to Samuel. So when I applied for Kamehameha School, my other name is Bonaparte, but the name I like is Ponopake. That's my Hawaiian name, I like that. Samsing Ponopake.



So when I was older, I wanted to know what was happening. I went down to the birth certificate people, no more Samuel, "There's only Samsing over here." That's my name. Me *lōlō* [chuckles], I went to Kamehameha School, I changed it to Samuel B. So it's supposed to be Samuel Bonaparte Chang.

KM: 'Ae, and what year did you *hānau*, what is your birth date?

SC: May 10th, 1911.

KM: *Pōmaika'i no, mahalo ke Akua!*

SC: *Mahalo, pololoi!* I'm very fortunate.

KM: You *hānau*. Was papa Hawaiian-Pākē or pure...?

SC: No [chuckles]. Nanea, excuse me, I have to go back. My grandmother, I just learned today in the history center, my grandmother, Hattie Ha'eha'e Kukahiko. She was born May 10th, 1860, same like my birthday. And I just learned that today. She was a beautiful Hawaiian lady. She met Edward Dwight Baldwin who was an engineer and surveyor on Maui.

KM: Yes, yes.

KM: He wanted to marry *tūtū*, but *tūtū* didn't want to marry him. She didn't want to go to Kona. So my mother came. My mother is half Hawaiian, half English. Beautiful lady, you see the picture.

KM: Mama was a Baldwin?

SC: Yes...

KM: ...How amazing! So E.D. Baldwin is your grandfather?

SC: Edward Dwight Baldwin, E.D. Baldwin, yes.

KM: Wow...! ...So your grandmother was Hattie Ha'eha'e Kukahiko?

SC: Yes.

KM: E.D. Baldwin?

SC: Yes...

KM: Okay. Who was your mama?

SC: My mama was Hattie Kukahiko.

KM: Namesake for her mother?

SC: Yes.

KM: Okay.

SC: I didn't know that my grandmother's name was Hattie too. See, *Tūtū* Ha'eha'e, this one here [referencing a genealogical worksheet], Nanea, over here it says when *tūtū* Kapahu and *tūtū* Kauwekane... See, this is the family over here, Kukahiko. *Tūtū* Ane is her [Nanea's] great grandmother.

KM: *Tūtū* Ane Kukahiko?

SC: Yes... ...Then there was Uncle Lu'uwai li'ili'i.

KM: Lu'uwai li'ili'i?

SC: Yes. [chuckling] Lu'uwai li'ili'i is supposed to be a Kanahā boy, I think. He was adopted by *tūtū* Lu'uwai. He adopted Uncle Lu'uwai li'ili'i, Hapa Kukahiko, and my brother, Phillip.



Tūtū Kapahu, he's a fisherman. He's the one went hold the gun powder in his hand. He hold in his hand and it burned in his hand his hand came *mūmu'u*.

KM: He was doing giant powder?

SC: Yes, giant powder, he was going to throw it in the ocean to catch the fish.

KM: *Aloha nō!*

SC: He don't need that, he was a good fisherman. I know when he folded up and taken to the hospital. He was a good fisherman.

KM: Were you born at Mākena?

SC: Yes.

KM: Near the church? Where is your house, on the *kahakai*?

SC: No. I don't know where I was born I don't know, but the sixteen of us were all born at home. And *Tūtū* Moloa over here, she's number six, Daisy Moloa Kukahiko, she brought us all out. All of us born at home. Here's the situation at Mākena, let me explain to you.

KM: Okay.

SC: As you enter, you know where Uncle Lu'uwai's house is now?

NA: Uh-hmm. Uncle Bobby or Uncle Boogy's

SC: Boogy.

NA: Yes, right by the landing.

SC: Yes. Okay, how it was before, there was the road, and you come to Uncle Arthur's house. One room house kitchen, then you go to my *tūtū*'s house. She had the best house, beautiful home. Three bedroom house and the *lanai* is set right on the ocean, you sleep on the ocean. Oh, in the morning you wake up beautiful! You sleep on the floor, no need blanket. In the morning you look at Mākena Bay and it's beautiful, you see the ocean coming down. Can't beat it. Then you come to *Tūtū* Lu'uwai's house. And my *Tūtū* had the kitchen by itself. I think *Tūtū* Ha'e'ha'e's children, to me, they seemed to be the leaders of the Kukahiko family, they're the pushers...

...Okay, then you come over there, it's Aunty Kikia's house. That's *tūtū* Moloa's daughter, and then there was *tūtū* Moloa's house. *Tūtū* Moloa's house was set on... All of these houses were all close together. Okay, now, Kepā, what happened, during the war years, when we weren't home, the military bulldozed all the houses...

KM: *'Auwē!*

SC: And the thing I loved about my childhood days, you can't beat it. Each house has their own pig and *kālua* in the same *imu*, that's New Year's Eve now. When I pick 'um up, oh, you go eat *Tūtū* Moloa's house, you go eat *Tūtū* Lu'uwai's house [laughing]. Nice spirit. And those days, Kepā and Nanea, I loved those days. You no need lock the door, you can go any of the houses over there and eat [chuckling]. We call that *makilo* but that's okay [laughing].

KM: You go *makilo* everybody's house, check it out. Did you folks *himeni* at the houses, did you go around and *himeni*?

SC: Yes, I was a good one for that [laughing]... As I mentioned, when I went home, after the war I went down to check it out. Big mistake the army made, they tore all the houses down, the worst mistake, besides that they went level and cut the land. Now when big waves come, you're taking a chance to build over there.

KM: So your family's homes at Mākena?



SC: Yes.

KM: They were all knocked down during the war?

SC: Yes.

KM: You folks weren't allowed to go out, the families couldn't go out fishing or anything right?

SC: I think so. I wasn't home, I was a mailman already. My own family, we were safe. My father had a store on the hill...

KM: What was papa's name?

SC: They called him A'ana.

KM: A'ana.

SC: That was the Hawaiian name he had.

KM: A'ana Chang?

SC: Yes. He was a business man, I think he was selling *opiuma* before [chuckling]. He was rich you know...

KM: 'Ae, *opiuma* was legal in the days of the Kingdom... ..But most of the people in Mākena, when you were a child you *hānau* in 1911. Most of the people were actually your family?

SC: All, except the Lono's and Poepoe.

KM: Lonos and Poepoe not family?

SC: No. But we were close just like family.

NA: So the population was relatively small?

SC: Small.

KM: About how many houses were there you think?

SC: [thinking – counting] One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, not more than twelve all together in Mākena.

KM: All together. Had one store your father's store?

SC: That's in Keone'ō'io.

KM: Keone'ō'io side.

SC: Keone'ō'io and Kanahena, that's where *Tūtū* Kapahu was.

KM: ...This is a map sort of here's Mākena Bay you just mentioned, here's Pu'u'ōla'i.

SC: Pu'u'ōla'i.

KM: And here's Keone'ō'io.

SC: Keone'ō'io.

KM: The families spread all the way from Mākena?

SC: Only one family over here at Keone'ō'io and *Tūtū* Kapahu over here.

KM: By 'Āhihi or?

SC: No.

KM: Here's Keone'ō'io.

SC: La Perouse Bay.



KM: Who was the family there?

SC: *Makai*... [thinking] I forget the name but he was the one who gave me the name Bonaparte, he was a minister. I think the Cook's own the bay that's why they built a home over here. Then Willie Olson was there to take care of that. Then you come to *Tūtū* Kapahu around here, and then comes *Tūtū* Poepoe over here, and *Tūtū* Lono over here, and then Kapōhākimohehewa, over here.

KM: Is this Pu'u'ōla'i?

SC: Yes.

KM: *Tūtū* Kapahu?

SC: Yes, *tūtū* Kapahu is around here. *Tūtū* Kapahu's daughter, Caroline married Abner Delima...

KM: ...So there were about twelve houses?

SC: All together in Mākena.

KM: All together in the Mākena section.

SC: Yes,

KM: And only Lono and Poepoe pretty much weren't related?

SC: Mekaha is down here.

KM: Mekaha?

SC: Yes. As far as I know if my memory is correct.

Akule Fishing – *Tūtū* Lu'uwai was the lead fisherman; you didn't cross your hands behind your back in front of him:

KM: Yes. What was your primary means of taking care of your family? Did you have *māla* 'ai, 'uala? Did you folks fish?

SC: Good question. *Tūtū* Lu'uwai, sometimes they had *akule*, what do you call that [thinking], school. And *tūtū* Lu'uwai would be on the hill, Mākena, stand over there, you don't put your hands in the back [chuckling].

KM: Yes, you don't 'ōpe'a kua?

SC: You don't do that! But he had a good eye. When he saw the *akule* then he would direct how the net is set. Then he will bring the *akule* in. And there's a big school. I wasn't a fisherman. But that is one. Our main food was *poi* and dry fish for the Hawaiian side.

KM: 'Ōpelu dry fish or any kind?

SC: Mostly *akule*.

KM: *Akule*.

SC: Then my father's store would sell corned beef and some of the necessities, like crackers, you know, things like that. We used to eat water and cracker and sugar, that was enough [chuckling]. We call that *poki wai*.

KM: *Poki wai* that's right.

SC: So the Chang family had the store and we raised pigs. That was my job to work it off, run the pump small as I was. I rode my own horse cut alfalfa and come home, and we used to boil some kind of *papapa*, that we would cook and then feed it to the pigs....

One thing in Mākena, it was hard on water but somehow I think the Lord has provided. At Pā-ipu there was a well there.



KM: At where?

SC: At Pā-ipu that's near Waile'a. My brother had an alfalfa field and a pump with a natural flow of water. The water was cold.

KM: *Momona* then, fresh, sweet?

SC: Yes, fresh.

KM: Not *wai kai*? Not brackish?

SC: No, that was pretty fresh. Nearer to Mākena there was a little well over there it's amazing. In the morning when it goes low tide the water goes out and you can drink it right on the ocean.

KM: And sweet?

SC: Yes, it's sweet. But it's just like on a little... It saved us, you know. Otherwise we no more water we go down there and bathe, no more clothes [chuckling]. Oh, cold though ...

KM: Do you remember was there a name for that little *pūnāwai*?

SC: I forgot I was trying to remember, but my brother Pākē knows it. I forgot the name. That *pūnāwai* saved Mākena, maybe there were others.

KM: Just below your houses?

SC: Below my brother's garage. And only near where the houses were it's about maybe four hundred yards from the village. It's amazing how that well saved us. Because no more water...

...Where the house is now, it's safe. But they had a house there, lower, and it was wiped out, because the army lowered the land. That was the big mistake that they army made.

KM: So the army did a big bulldozing?

SC: Yes.

KM: So they could do amphibious landings or something?

SC: Yes, maybe so. There was a little *puka* like. The boats never used to come in they would stay outside. And there the warehouse over here and the boats used to stay out and come in.

KM: They would have little boats come in to haul stuff back and forth?

SC: Yes. The other part I remember, and we used to love this. The 'Ulupalakua Ranch they would bring their cattle down to Pā pipi. The little area where they catch it in a smaller area. The two best cowboys, two strong horses, specialists would rope the cattle inside and pass it to the horsemen, and take them to the boat. The big boat *Humuula* or *Kilauea* would be outside there. Sometimes the cowboys would throw the rope they would miss it, the cattle would run away. We would love that [chuckling].

KM: They would hitch the cattle up to the small boats and the boats would take them out to the ship to load them on to the *Humuula*.

SC: Yes. You see the cattle going on to the boat with that thing underneath struggling and going. That *Humuula*, they were cattle boats.

KM: And *Kilauea*?

SC: And *Kilauea*. The *Humuula* was a prettier boat.

KM: It was newer too.



SC: Yes. That was a treat for us.

KM: To watch that. When the *pipi āhiu* or going out, you got to catch them.

SC: Those cowboys were good. They wouldn't let 'em get away, good cowboys. After they *pau*, when all the cattle are *pau*, we would go with our horses. No more cattle in there, and all the family we take off in the ocean, the horse stumbles in the ocean, no sore he falls in the water. Good fun! We would have our horses go in with us. Wiliama, Wally, and all my brothers. And the colts, they were young yet, so you cannot ride them outside. When the colts follow the mother in the ocean we go ride them. One horse and one horse we would fight each other [chuckling]. Good fun!

A *manō* (shark) was the family *'aumakua*; and was formerly cared for by *Tūtū* Ha'eha'e:

Down where the wharf was, we would challenge swimming, relay. We would swim along the side. I used to be scared of sharks, you know. I think our *'aumakua* is the shark, my *tūtū*'s *'aumakua*. According to what I heard, she used to feed the sharks. In that case one time I went to Pā-ipu, and along the way there was a little cove, boy there was a big shark over there sleeping. It didn't bother me. There are families who can swim around the shark, it won't bother them. Am I right?

KM: 'Ae. You think your folks *'aumakua* is *manō*?

SC: Yes.

KM: From what you heard *Tūtū* Ha'eha'e would... Is it Haehae or Ha'eha'e?

SC: Ha'eha'e, okay.

KM: *Tūtū* Ha'eha'e would *hānai* that *manō*.

SC: Yes. But I didn't see her do that.

KM: You didn't see but you *lohe ma ka pepeiao*.

SC: Yes, *lohe pepeiao*.

KM: Did the sharks ever bother the *pipi* when they were taking them out to the *Humuula*.

SC: No, no more, it was clear.

KM: Did you hear did family go fishing with the sharks sometimes? You know sometimes they would talk about the shark would even drive the fish in like that. Did you hear?

SC: I didn't experience those things.

NA: What about any stories about John Kukahiko and the sharks?

SC: *Tūtū* Lu'uwai?

NA: *Tūtū* Ane and *tūtū* Ha'eha'e's father.

SC: That's beyond me, I haven't heard about him. I didn't know him. There's one here [looking at genealogical worksheet, discussing various family members] *Tūtū* Mahele Kukahiko, I don't know him. And Halelau Kukahiko, I don't know. Maybe they left Mākena? The rest I know. [hands worksheet to Kepā]

Describes *akule* fishing with *hukilau* at Mākena:

KM: 'Ae... ..Would you describe what it was like *akule* fishing? You said that, who was it *tūtū* Lu'uwai?

SC: Lu'uwai yes.

KM: He would stand on a hill.



SC: On the rock.

KM: On a rock near the shore, was it Pu'u'ōla'i side?

SC: The fish outside here and the land over here. Now, at one time one Japanese fisherman he knew what was happening. In a small boat he tried to interfere. Oh, *Tūtū* Lu'uwai was angry with him. As the school of *akule* would get closer to the land, then the canoes would go out with ti leaf mixed in the rope.

KM: 'Ae. *Hukilau*.

SC: *Hukilau* rope. Then they would bring in closer to the ground then they would have a net, they would catch the *akule* would go in. After it goes in, then they would bring the *akule* little by little and my brother Chanan would take some of it to sell in Kahului. And they would come back. *Tūtū* Kapahu, the two brothers were good at it. But *Tūtū* Lu'uwai was the main one see, and he was a gentleman.

KM: He would *kilo* and direct the canoe where to take the net to surround?

SC: Yes, yes.

KM: When they brought the net in they would *huki* in so all the *akule* come in near the shore?

SC: Yes.

KM: Would they stake the net to keep the fish in there or?

SC: Yes, they would close the big net. I don't know how they made it, I was a small boy. That was amazing, how the canoe would go out.

KM: Yes. How many canoes do you think were out there when you were young?

SC: At least one.

KM: At least the one.

SC: One canoe.

KM: Okay. You no go *hoe wa'a*, you not the paddler?

SC: No, I was too small.

KM: You were young yet. *Akule* was a big fish for you folks out there?

SC: Another place just go to the church, there's a little island over there. Privately owned there was a home over there. I don't know if it's there yet. There was a home over there, but it was spooky. Around there *Tūtū* Lu'uwai would go out, with the *lau* we would go out and surround the fish. And canoes, oh, more than one canoe, had two, I think, and catch the fish over there. Some of them would eat the fish raw like that [chuckles]. But plenty fish, you know.

Discusses various fish regularly caught by families in the Mākena vicinity:

KM: Was *akule* the big fish, did you have other fish out here?

SC: *Manini* and *moi*. *Moi* was more of an inland fish.

KM: Yes. Sandy nice area?

SC: Yes. *Moi*, that's a nice fish.

KM: Yes.

SC: *Manini* and for hook, is *po'opa'a*.

KM: *Po'opa'a*.



SC: If your bamboo is there, *po'opa'a* has a big mouth. If you sit over there, you're going to bring 'um up, you know.

KM: Now you shared something that is really interesting. That when the one time a *Kepani* came in tried to oosh them out, *Tūtū* Lu'uwai got very upset.

SC: If we caught the fish, that's less for him.

KM: Yes. Plus if you folks caught the fish you folks *māhele*, you shared 'um, right?

SC: That's right, yes.

KM: Other people wouldn't come in or if they did come in then they take them away right? They wouldn't share they would just catch them and take them away.

SC: Yes. Anytime they had, they would sell the fish, my brother would take the fish and bring it home and they would share the money even to small children. I got the least... [chuckling] I didn't get much. But all the families that took up, they got their share.

KM: When they would have the *hukilau*, when they would surround the *akule* would they call everyone to come down and help with the loading and stuff like that?

SC: I don't think they asked they just came.

KM: Yes. They knew what was going on.

SC: It's just a natural thing.

Pa'akai made from *kāheka* along the shore:

KM: Did you folks make *pa'akai* out there? Salt, *pa'akai*?

SC: Okay. As far as I know, parts of the land there's a little pool in the rock and the salt water was thrown in there and get salt.

KM: *Kāheka*?

SC: Yes. Certain parts of Mākena land they were rocky on the land, and the ocean would come in over there and the water would stay. Maybe rough time bring the water up to the land and this hole would come salt. What they did with it I don't know.

KM: Maybe they went *kaula'i i'a* because you said you folks ate plenty dried. fish right?

SC: Yes. What was amazing when I think of it now if you put anything outside here now the smelly, flies come right in. And we used to put it on the house and dry. We would put it one side and we turn it.

KM: You would *kaha* the fish?

SC: Yes. I didn't do it.

KM: You watched?

SC: I know they did that, I helped with taking the fish out. For me I was more of taking care of the pigs. I wasn't a fisherman.

KM: You said now if you did that get the flies all over. If you do that now there would be flies all over.

SC: Yes.

KM: When you were young, no flies?

SC: Hardly any flies, otherwise you would see the eggs and you cannot eat it. If a fly gets in the house here and it lands on food you going throw away the food. But somehow it's a miracle, maybe some flies got to it but it wasn't noticeable.



KM: It's different now than before?

SC: Yes. The surroundings. Same things with weeds, before no more.

KM: You said still had *pili* grass on the *kula* land. You said that the mules would go out and eat *pili* grass.

SC: On the Kīhei side...

KM: ...It sounds like your *Tūtū* Kapahu and *Tūtū* Lu'uwai were the main fishermen.

SC: For Mākena, yes.

KM: Did you ever hear of them going out to fish at Molokini?

SC: No. *Tūtū* Kapahu, my brother Ernest and I would go with him to Pā-ipu with a canoe. He would set the nets out from the land, and the fish would come in and stuck. One morning he got angry with us, my brother Ernest and I were sleeping on the beach. We couldn't get up, so he went out to take the nets and as he was going home, he was angry. He made us go sell the fish on our horse up 'Ulupalakua. I'm not a salesman, I like to give away everything. We get up to 'Ulupalakua I don't know what we sold. I don't know if we sold anything.

KM: *Hā'awi aloha.*

SC: Yes. I cannot, Hawaiians, I think Nanea, cannot be businessmen, cannot. You get a store, you go broke.

KM: *Nui ke aloha...* ...Did you hear of your family ever going to Kaho'olawe? Maybe stories from before?

SC: No. One time I went to Molokini with Uncle Pīhō, but we almost, lucky to get back.

KM: You almost *pihōlo* [chuckling]?

SC: [chuckling] Yes. A small boat. I don't remember going to Kaho'olawe at all.

KM: Hmm... ...I know some of your family under Lu'uwai, at 'Āhihi like that, have been working to try and protect the family's interest in being able to go and fish there.

SC: Yes.

KM: It's so important because everything has changed the land has changed, the fish have changed. No more now...

SC: Yes. I remember the name of it you have it on the map. Past Kanahena I think there's a lot of fish now, because nobody is allowed to go over there.

KM: That's right, 'Āhihi.

SC: Yes, 'Āhihi. I going keep these maps?

KM: Yes, that's yours... [looking at maps] Here's Kanaio, here's the big *pu'u* up here. [Looking at family names] Ko'omoa, Ma'i, Luhi, Hulihia, Pāhia, Kihiai, some interesting names. I brought you a Kaho'olawe map also. I thought just in case you are interested and since your family used to take care of Kaho'olawe.

SC: Unofficially.

KM: No, for real Eben had the lease.

SC: Yes. And they had a boat named *Makena* to take water to Kaho'olawe.

KM: For real?



SC: Uncle Aita, there was a Japanese captain for the *Makena*, and my Uncle Aita was an engineer to take care of the engine. And somehow my Uncle Aita wanted to fight with the captain.

KM: Who is this uncle of yours, uncle?

SC: Hanu.

KM: Hanu.

SC: I think it was Uncle Aita's fault... But he used to play *ukulele*, and he had a nice horse.

KM: Do you remember the captains name?

SC: Yamashita I think, I'm not sure.

KM: They would haul water from Mākena?

SC: Kīhei.

KM: They would haul water over to Kaho'olawe for the ranch operation?

SC: Yes. In Kīhei there was a landing, no more now. Just as you enter Kīhei, there's a landing that used to go out, and *Makena* the boat, used to come right on the side. That was a nice pier at Kīhei. And from Kīhei they would go to Kaho'olawe. There was a small man Charles Aina, I think he married into the Kukahiko family. He would be at Kaho'olawe alone by himself.

KM: At Kaho'olawe?

SC: Yes. He would light a fire then when people would see it they know he needs help and they would go.

KM: Oh, for real! He was the caretaker, overseeing the cattle or what on Kaho'olawe?

SC: Yes.

KM: He would light a fire?

SC: Yes.

KM: And they would know he needed supplies or something?

SC: Yes. And Charles Aina, the son went to Kamehameha, I think he's married into the Kukahiko family I think. *Tūtū* Ha'eha'e used to take care of her, when she was old. I think we're related. Jack Aina was the father, on Kaho'olawe, Charley graduated from Kamehameha in 1933.

KM: So one year after you?

SC: Yes...

KM: ...What year did you enter Kamehameha?

SC: In 1927.

KM: You were in what grade at that time?

SC: In the ninth grade.

KM: So you went in 1927 and *puka* in 1932.

SC: Yes. There for five years...



James Tatsuo Tanaka
Recollections of Lands and Fisheries of Maui, Moloka'i, and O'ahu
March 24, 2003, at 'Īao Valley, Maui
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly and Isaac Harp (KPA Photo No. S1435)

James T. Tanaka was born in 1916, at Wai'anae. He is of pure Japanese descent. His father, came to Hawai'i around 1900, and first landed at Kamalō, from where he went to work on a plantation. Later, his father lived with Hawaiians at Pelekunu Valley, and it was from them that the elder Tanaka learned Hawaiian fishing customs. *Kupuna* James Tanaka recalls that on many occasions, his father told him that it was because of the Hawaiian's kindness, that he lived, and that the younger Tanakas came to be born.



Growing up in Wai'anae, *Kupuna* Tanaka, learned about fishing. As an adult, he became involved in commercial fishing activities. When he moved to Maui, he continued fishing, and recognized the need to care for Hawaiian fisheries. For many years, *Kupuna* Tanaka was a Deputy Fish and Game Warden, and he worked around Maui, Lāna'i and Moloka'i. In the following interview, *Kupuna* Tanaka shares his observations and thoughts regarding Hawaiian fisheries, with detailed descriptions of fishing at various locations on Maui, Moloka'i and O'ahu.

Arrangements for the interviews were coordinated by Isaac Harp, who works with *Kupuna* Tanaka on fisheries related matters on Maui. *Kupuna* Tanaka granted his personal release of the interview records to Maly on October 22, 2003.

KM: *Kupuna, mahalo.*

JT: *Aloha.*

KM: *'Ae, aloha. Good to see you. We're going to talk story, your life, what you remember about the land and the fisheries like that. Just to talk story about your experiences... ..Will you share your full name please?*

JT: James T. Tanaka.

KM: *'Ae. Where were you born?*

JT: Wai'anae, O'ahu.

KM: Wai'anae. When, what year?

JT: In 1916.

KM: Wow! What a blessing! You're sharp. You *hānau* 1916 in Wai'anae? What was your papa them doing?

JT: My papa when he first came from Japan, he landed on Moloka'i, in the little wharf they had there. I've forgotten what they called it.



KM: Pūko'o side?
JT: No. It's on the lee side... [thinking] One of the old places where the boats came in to unload the people that came from Japan or other foreign countries. It's a landing, a small place, calm areas where they can come in and unload the people in a small building [chuckling]...
IH: Kamalō?
JT: That's it, Kamalō. He came on the treaty, and he had a three year contract with the plantation on Moloka'i. After being on Moloka'i, in Kamalō, they have the plantations, had paid their way over with a three year contract. They were engaged in something like a contract. As they went to work, my father pointed out they had a little house and he always used to laugh and say, it was a 10x10 or 12x12 at the most. All he had is enough room to live in. The cooking was done on the outside, and they made these old wood stoves out of kerosene cans, and *kiawe* wood and all... Every time he mentioned about that little house, he used to laugh about it. We would say, "Why are you laughing?" He said, "It was a box, that's all, it's not a house."

The first month they were there, they started working. One morning his roommate was not able to go to work, he had a very high temperature. Seemed like the flu or some kind of cold. He told him, you better stay home. He cooked breakfast and left some food, and left a pan with a towel. The Japanese usually have a pan that they can fill up water in to wash their face like that. One towel to bathe with and dry themselves [chuckles], to take the fever away. He went to work and when he got home he found him on the floor on his belly with his arms spread out, moaning and groaning. The first thing he noticed, he was bullwhipped, and his back was all cut up and salted down with rock salt.

He said that the rock salt is fine because the Hawaiians say that's the medicine they used. I can just imagine how painful it was to have rock salt. My father said, "Who did that to you?" He said, "The *luna* did." Now, we are seven brothers, and we are brought up, by our father to educate us how he was treated... He says if he was beaten in that manner and he recovered, he's sure he would turn around and kill the person.

Large *he'e* formerly caught on Moloka'i:

But in a few days they talked about it, what to do and what not. He said, if he killed somebody and took somebody's life, then his life and his friend's life would be gone also. So, they planned to get away from there. They must have got through to some of the Hawaiians that were going around in there, and he talked about the octopus that the Hawaiians fished for. Big Hawaiians catch the octopus, and they have the octopus in their fingers. You know the little blowing tube.

KM: Yes, that the *he'e* has.
JT: All in there and the legs of the octopus is dragging.
KM: It's so long.
JT: So long.
KM: Wow!
JT: He says he don't want the big one, he says it's too much waste, it's going to be. So the Hawaiians showed him how to preserve it, pound it, salt it, dry it out, and things like that. Now he can just hang it.
KM: Yes. Early your papa learned already about *he'e* fishing like that, and like you said they put *pa'akai*, salt.
JT: Yes, *pa'akai*.



KM: And it's *'upa'upa* they call that, when they pound them and then dry, *kaula'i*.

JT: Uh-hmm. So the best thing they can do they found out... [thinking] what is that place now on Moloka'i. It's a valley, Pelekunu Valley.

KM: Pelekunu, yes.

JT: They found that it was a refuge, so that's the place to go. Better than going up to the mountains. They know where the trails are, the Hawaiians pointed out where the trails are. So they went over the mountain and went down to the valley. When they went into the valley they met the Hawaiians. There, he lived close to four years. Learned the language, learned the food, to prepare them and eat them. He was just as good as the Hawaiians in planting taro and all that. He said they had to work, and there was no money. The money, they were supposed to get paid, they didn't even get. That's nothing, I think he was saying something like fifty cents a day. But, he learned the language and everything.

KM: 'Ae.

JT: There was a guy of German ancestry, John Wilson, he was the mayor in Honolulu in the '30s.

KM: Yes. Wilson.

JT: John Wilson. He was there, he helped the Hawaiians to manage and what to do with the taro and everything. They were marketing the taro, and John Wilson would go and ship the taro when the weather was good. If it was rough weather they cannot load the taro.

KM: From Pelekunu?

JT: From Pelekunu going to Honolulu.

KM: Wow!

JT: He would take his notebook and asked all the families what they needed. What kind of clothing you needed, shoes or whatever. With the number of bags of taro he would sell it and then he can buy these things and bring it back home. Some of the families didn't have too much taro but they had a big family, the taro wasn't ready so not enough money. He would borrow the money from the other families and wrote it down and go over it and use that money. When he came home, he had everything on the paper that explained to the families, "You had a lot of bags of taro, but the money has been used to buy your friends things." So they were living like family here.

KM: Yes.

JT: Not living like today, everybody pockets their money [chuckles].

KM: They all *kōkua* one another.

JT: *Kōkua*.

KM: *'Ohana*.

JT: He said even in the hunting, there goats all ready and they had some pigs, naturally the Hawaiian pigs. Some of the new pigs got in to get a better grade. The goats were on one families ridge. You cannot just go and shoot and take it. You have to ask the family.

KM: That's right. They respected one another's area, *ahupua'a* like.

JT: Yes, one another. When they get together for a goat for a *lū'au* or maybe another pig. They *kālua* everything or *kaula'i* [chuckling]. He had learned everything. Now, when John Wilson wanted to go back to O'ahu... You see on the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy, he had a German blood, so most likely he must have supported the Germans. They cannot stay in Honolulu, these other families on Moloka'i is the same. The Duvauchelles, and I think half a dozen families.



KM: Meyers perhaps?

JT: Yes. They all were single, but they looked into which *wahine* had the big land [laughing], till today, the land is there from the mountain to the ocean.

KM: Yes.

JT: So that's how they lived by helping each other.

KM: *Kupuna*, may I ask you. When do you think papa came to Hawai'i from Japan?

JT: Roughly, I think it's about 1903.

KM: Okay, 1903.

JT: It's right after the overthrow.

KM: Yes... He was at Pelekunu for three, four years?

JT: Right.

KM: And then his contract. They broke the contract?

JT: He didn't get paid, he didn't serve anything so... He got a free ride I think.

KM: Then he went and lived on O'ahu at Mānoa.

JT: Mānoa. He went with John Wilson. John Wilson wanted him to go...
 ...We grew up, I got married, and I worked at the waterfront in World War II. I've seen the bombing of Pearl Harbor also. At that time, I used to work at the waterfront. I must have been about 26 or 27 years old. Then, we used to go down to Pearl Harbor and unload the ships there. That was in the late '30s, just before the bombing of Pearl Harbor. The cargo that we used to unload was cement and lumber.

KM: For the dry docks?

JT: I believe those materials were to be used in preparing the defense. So the government itself knew there would be a war... Well, that Sunday morning, December 7th, we were on the way to Wai'anae. Five of us, one Chinese and the rest of us is all Japanese. We all work at the waterfront.
 I know the fishing grounds of Wai'anae, we were heading that way. Reaching O'ahu prison, you couldn't go any further. First, we saw these trucks coming down from that main street bound for Farrington Highway going towards Pearl Harbor. The truck dragging an aircraft gun. We said "That soldier is either drunk or crazy." Because he's going in such a hurry. The gun that's being towed, the wheels are not spinning it's just jumping sideways, just about to turn over. Then we said, gee look at Pearl Harbor side, nothing but a column of smoke and all those things going on. There we said, "What kind of maneuver is this here?" You cannot see. We went up to Alewa Heights. When we got to Alewa Heights, up there, you look down you can see the ships are lopsided, smoking. Then came this fleet of airplanes, flying over coming from Wahiawā way. Just like in the movies, they come in formation then they peel off one by one and start diving. As we watched you can see the airplanes, "Hey, they are going to dive into the ocean," no they drop the torpedo, and you can see the small splash and all.

KM: You're kidding! Gee!

JT: And they would go over these other ships. Most likely they are firing the machine guns. They are all shooting each other. From there we knew something was wrong, it's not the maneuvers. When we first got there, we said, "Hey, what kind of maneuver is this?" Then when we had one shell, aircraft gun over our head, I believe it must have been under two hundred feet, I can still... [chuckling – shaking his head]



KM: Envision that?

JT: Envision the sound that it makes... [making the sound]

Aku fishing from Kewalo after the end of the war:

JT: ...Then after the war, I went to organize the fishing industry, the *aku* boats.

KM: Yes.

JT: There were nineteen boats, two boats didn't come in.

KM: Where were you working with the *aku* boats? Out of Honolulu?

JT: Honolulu.

KM: Kewalo?

JT: Kewalo Basin. You see, I injured my back, and Dr. Coward says you're young yet, but get the hell out of there... ..Now, when I went to organize the tuna boats fishermen. They all had a separate contract with the Hawaiian Tuna Packers, which belongs to Castle and Cook. They were underpaid for the fish, so there was a strike.

KM: Do you remember, when did you go to organize, was it after the war?

JT: That's after the war.

KM: In 1947 about or?

JT: Yes. The fishing started, I would say on the tip of '46.

KM: Okay.

JT: There were a few boats, and then they started building up.

KM: What had happened to the Japanese fishermen that had sampans before the war?

JT: They came back.

KM: They came back. During the war they lost their boats right?

JT: Yes.

KM: Nets and everything, long line.

JT: Three old boats were good enough to fish. They had citizens like us to captain. The captain of the ships are aliens from Japan, they are the ones who knew how to fish and manage the boats and everything.

KM: Yes. But they weren't allowed to?

JT: No.

KM: They had to have citizens of Hawai'i act the part.

JT: Right. They reorganized, and this already, I can see something is wrong because they are not catching as much fish as they used to. When you see things like that there, you know something is wrong. I kept on telling the captain, maybe the fish you folks are catching is too much and you don't have next year's what you call, return.

KM: Yes.

JT: Eventually they couldn't pay their dues. Some of the boats would make enough to pay their expenses, enough money for the crew, that's all. Going down, they cannot go on the profit, they're losing money. The boat owners are all different boat owners, not like one whole fleet owned by one company. Half of the fleet cannot continue and half of the



members are paying dues and the other half cannot pay their dues. I felt like I'm taking some of their money to pay my wages. I was getting paid fifty five dollars a week. So I called a meeting to see if they want to continue. They didn't show up, so [chuckling] we closed down.

KM: So you had actually gone to help organize the tuna boat captains or crews like that so that they could get uniform kind of pay?

JT: Yes, right.

KM: Did you go out and work on the boats at all?

JT: No, never did.

KM: They would get *nehu* and stuff from around the waters, they would go out. How far out do you think the boats used to go? Did they go one day out or?

JT: If they can catch enough bait to go out they go out. Some of them from O'ahu they come as far as close to Maui, in the channels, or Moloka'i. Some goes down to...what banks they call that?

KM: Penguin Banks? Off of Moloka'i and out.

JT: Penguin Bank. I went fishing one day, I took my friend also, the boat was in Kāne'ōhe and we went fishing. We came back to shore we caught ten thousand pounds.

KM: *Aku*?

JT: Big *aku*. They were about twenty-two to twenty-five pounds. The captain was so happy he said, "Hey, you not going home." I said, "No matter what you may say, I got to go back home." I got to go back to start working as the boats come in at Kewalo Basin, I check the scales and the weighing, four times I found over thousand pounds of the reading is not right.

KM: For real!

JT: Yes. Being there, I checked and said, you not reading the scale right, he apologized and he's honest, he made a mistake, too fast reading.

KM: Were you working with Arthur Rice or do you remember the old man Arthur Rice?

JT: Arthur Rice?

KM: Do you remember him with the Hawaiian Tuna Packers?

JT: No, I didn't work for tuna packers, I was with the boat.

KM: The boat people, okay the captains.

JT: Richard Kinney?

KM: Yes. Richard and Ernest Kinney them.

JT: Yes. They had the boat, *Constance Sea*.

KM: *Constance Sea*.

JT: I believe Richard Kinney is still fishing. I know that he went down to Samoa to fish. But definitely I believe it was over fished.

KM: You think? Did you notice because you fished when you were a child also off of Wai'anae.

JT: Yes.

KM: You said you knew the fish out there?

JT: Yes.



Describes fishing in the Wai'anae District, during his youth:

KM: May I ask you, what kinds of fish did you go out *holoholo* on Wai'anae?

JT: Diving, we used to go out that bay to spear 'ūū, also *kūmū*, catch lobsters, and these divers they would not spear a *palani* for me. I said, "Spear one for me." They said, "No, I don't want to dirty my spear." I said, "You can wash it." They just won't spear *enenuē* or...

KM: Oh, yeah! They don't want *enenuē* either?

JT: No. They went for *āhole*, what's the other big eye one.

IH: 'Āweoweo.

JT: 'Āweoweo.

KM: They liked the red fish too.

JT: The red fish. We stay in the water about three, four hours. One time in Kahuku the bag was loaded with lobsters. The fish was about ten feet wide, all stringed up and the lobster would sink down the bottom. I'm towing the line, I yell at them, "I need help." They said, "That's your job." I said, "That's okay, I'm going to throw this line away." [chuckling] So one came and helped me.

KM: Good.

JT: When I came up on shore I hardly can walk, because we really struggled. Things like that happened.

KM: You fished, spear fishing mostly when you were young?

JT: Yes.

Describes closure of fisheries during World War II:

KM: Now, the war came in. Did they close off the shore?

JT: Yes. Everything was stopped from 1941 till about 1944, then we started fishing, we could go only daylight hours.

KM: Yes. You could go back out on the boat or down on the shore?

JT: No, no boat.

KM: Only shore fishing?

JT: Only shore line.

KM: Do you throw net too?

JT: Yes. I like to throw net. I got caught once, catching mullet [chuckles].

KM: Where? In Pearl Harbor?

JT: No. That's in the canal.

KM: Ala Wai side?

JT: Ala Wai canal. We keep our throw net in the tub and swim across, three of us. And I said, "We're going to catch twelve fish, that's all." And we did catch twelve fish. The guy took us over there, he knew the warden was up on the shore, in khaki clothing. So we put in our nets and fish in the tub, and we're dragging the tub up. I saw him so I went in front on the bank [chuckling]. I tied it on the chain, so he cannot see from there. "Hey you." "yes." "Where's the fish?" "Oh, we didn't catch any, here's the tub?" "No, I saw you with the binoculars, you the one doing all the throwing, catching the fish." He said, "Come on, I



know you folks are starving for fish and everything, but somebody reported this, so I cannot say go home.” I said, “Well, I don’t know, there’s no fish.” “You go back there and bring the bag up.” I said, “What are you going to do?” “Well, I’ll use my good judgment, and I’ll excuse you if you’re telling the truth.” I said, “Okay, all we got is twelve fish. Why twelve? There’s three of us, we divided by twelve, that’s all. I know I shouldn’t be catching this but I just can’t help it. Okay, go get it.” I went and brought it up. Before that I told him in Hawaiian, “*Oe, a’ale punipuni?*” *Hāpai kēlā ‘anae.*” “Oh, you speak Hawaiian?” I said, “I was brought up with the Hawaiians, so the ‘ono...” [chuckling] He said, “Okay.” He counted he said, “Yes, okay.” He looked around, nobody around so he said, “Hurry up. Get the hell out of here!”

KM: Good.

JT: From that, when I came to Maui I said, “Gee, even Maui the fish is scarce.”

KM: You said ‘41 till ‘44, *kapu*, no can go out fishing right?

JT: Yes.

KM: What was it like when you went back to start fishing again? Had you noticed, was there a change in the amount?

JT: Big change, very big change. Out in Kaka’ako where the rubbish pile used to be was a big reef over there.

KM: Yes.

JT: There’s no more reef now.

KM: No. They pushed it out, cover.

JT: That was about waist deep on low tide. When the tide is coming up you would see the *manini*, schools of them, mullet also. And there used to be one part of sewer line, you could climb up there, you could see a great big school of mullet going [gestures, moving around]. But when you swing the net, they can see the net coming so you catch only a few. The *manini* I made three throws, there were three of us. For each throw when you throw the net goes wide, and there’s no holes that the *manini* could go in and hide. Maybe just one little pocket where they go in and hide. You try to pull that *manini* out of there they won’t come out. They put up their fins and they’re tight. I said “That’s okay you can stay there.” And we start rolling the net.

KM: Before the fish maybe not as much but then when they put the *kapu* on during the war time, then you go back out fishing, and plenty fish?

JT: Plenty fish. On the shoreline also. So that day with the three throws the barley bag would barely hold the catch. So the sergeant came, “Hey you greedy little bugger.” I said “Why?” “You going to sell the fish?” “No. we’re going to divide it and give it to all our neighbors and friends.” “You sure?” I said, “Yes, you want to follow us.” He said, “No, I believe you folks.”

KM: That was the style how you folks would go fish. If you got plenty you go they call *māhele*?

JT: He said that I caught too much, “why didn’t you go with one throw?” That’s enough for the three of you to divide that. You know when you see the fish there you want to catch it.

KM: Yes.

Over fishing led to demise of fish populations:

JT: Then when they start disappearing, I start thinking. Right after that we both started to fish, my bum back, I couldn’t earn a living, I couldn’t feed my family. So I used to go down with the fishermen, talk to them, I got to fish and go home. I used to see the amount of fish from the bottom fishermen, the aliens. They know the spots and everything. The Hawaiians called it *‘ula’ula*.



KM: 'Ae. 'Ula'ula it's a snapper right.

JT: Yes. They are all big, they are seven pounders or more.

KM: Almost two feet long.

IH: *Onaga*?

JT: *Onaga*. If they catch over three thousand pounds, they said it was a great day. A poor catch would be the thousand five hundred. The current wasn't good, or the sharks come and things like that. So they come back with maybe thousand five hundred pounds, they are sad. Eventually that place starts dropping.

KM: They actually found the old places where the fish congregates.

JT: Yes. So the old timers when they come and start catching different sizes, they don't go back. Now with more people getting boats and they find these places, they bring 'em up because the small ones they can take them home and eat. Everything!

KM: Everything goes and they leave nothing behind.

JT: Everything goes.

KM: No breeding stock.

JT: So when I came to Maui, I joined the Fish and Game Division.

KM: Yes.

Spawning season critical time to manage fisheries; commercial fishing pressures too great for Hawaiian fisheries:

JT: Eighteen years I served there in trying to protect the fish. And I've been telling them, the lobsters are disappearing, the mullets are disappearing, the *moi* is disappearing. What are we waiting for? We have to go and be more close, and try to protect the fish. Let it spawn like the old Hawaiians say. After spawning you can go and catch the fish.

KM: Yes.

JT: At spawning time you're in big trouble if you go and catch the fish.

KM: It was really putting *kapu* times down. You no can fish certain times or places?

JT: They keep on saying, "Plenty fish, plenty fish." When I went, I think you went too, in Haleiwa.

IH: The Fisherman Festival?

JT: Yes. I spoke about the fish that I have seen before the war when we were kids. The *moi li'i*, we caught it with bare hands. Every year there's lots of *moi li'i*, so you get lots of fish. Now after World War II there's more people in fishing.

KM: Yes.

JT: The boats are catching too much and no control. This is what the thing is that's shrinking the supply of fish. The fishermen say, "No, there's plenty fish yet." I said, "Look at what you're catching now."

KM: Not the same size right.

JT: Different kind size, yes.

KM: When did you go and work for the Fish and Game? What year did you start working?

JT: I came here in '57, I think it was in 1960.



KM: Okay. You worked for eighteen years, you retired in '78?

JT: No.

KM: You quit?

JT: I didn't want to quit. I used to run a business and weekends when I get time, I used to patrol.

KM: I see.

JT: These kids spearing a mullet in the *kapu* season. When you look at the mullet there's a big scar on it the *'ulua* must have bit it. They are in the pool and they're swimming, they went and speared it. I seen them coming home with it so I educated them. Why put a black mark on the kid, innocently you know they had found it, and that fish is going to die anyway. Shouldn't take long the *'ulua* was going to get it. I said, you take this home, hurry up. But don't do that. December, January, February you don't catch that kind of fish. They were thankful, next time I see them they said, "Hi, Mr. Tanaka." [chuckles] They are friendly. There's only one person that I got arrested, it was a white man. He had come with a lobster tail, just the tail. He was in that restaurant [thinking] they used to serve... It was famous for steak and all that.

KM: Maui or?

JT: Lahaina. Across from the banyan tree.

IH: Lahaina Broiler?

JT: I think they changed the name now, could be. Anyway, I was having lunch with the boss lady. She and I we used to talk because I suggested to her why don't you build a house in the back of the restaurant. She did build it and everything, but she didn't give me the job [chuckles]. She used to tell me, "No, don't have to pay. You eat lunch today that's okay. You helped me, so I help you."

Well, he came with the lobster tail and that was in the summer. I didn't say anything I just ate. She said, "I don't want, you're going to bring all different kind of sizes, how can I sell that. No, I don't want, and further more it's *kapu*." He insisted, so he says, "I'm going to bring you one anyway to look at." He brought one crab, one lobster tail, two. So when he came, he was still trying to make the sale. He said he knows where the lobster is, he didn't catch it. I think he must have had caught it, but we couldn't get the bag, so I got the tail and took him down to the police station. It's a good thing he didn't try to run away [chuckling].

KM: [chuckling]

JT: We had him arrested, that's the only one. He insisted, push and push and push. I figure if we let this guy go, he's going to do it continuously.

Old system of *kapu* and *konoiki* management was the best way to ensure sustainability of Hawaiian fisheries:

KM: So you really felt that it was important to control, to monitor the fish, to have *kapu* times, spawning season or stuff like that?

JT: Yes.

KM: Like you said more boats, so many more people going fishing not just the *kanaka*. You know it's really interesting too, because after the overthrow of the Monarchy.

JT: Yes.

KM: Up to that time they had *kapu* on fisheries. People couldn't go certain places and it was more like if you lived out at this *'aina* here, that's where you fished. You don't go out here fishing like that. In 1900 it's just like they threw away the old laws and stuff.



JT: Yes. Because the Hawaiians did not have the control of the shoreline also. All the valleys that had lot of water, which many families lived in those valleys, eventually the water was taken away so they can't grow their taro.

KM: What happened, if they took the water away you can't grow your taro. What happens to the fish down below?

JT: The fish down below, some of the fish need the fresh water also.

KM: That's right they need the nutrients and the water. Like you said, *moi li'i*, your *pua*...?

JT: They come to spawn there.

KM: Yes. All in there. If you change your water flow and you change the mountain, your fish is not as good right?

JT: It's all affected.

KM: Yes.

IH: I wonder if the gills of the young fish are more sensitive to the salt, that's why they need the fresh water when they are young; instead of the gills getting accustomed to the salt and then they can go away from the fresh water.

Pollution, diversion of fresh water sources, and introduction of *taape* and other alien species have contributed to demise of the Hawaiian fisheries:

JT: Some say bringing the *taape* in was the wrong thing to do.

KM: Yes. What do you think about that?

JT: The *taape*, not too many people go and catch it, so it only grows, grows and grows.

KM: That's right.

JT: And the more they grow the more they want to eat the small fish.

KM: That's right and that's what they did. It's really dangerous for people to try and be bringing in more things. It was Dr. Brock who bought in that *taape*.

JT: That was brought in by the Fish and Game.

KM: Yes, you're right. Fish and Game brought it so it was a Territorial effort. And *hewa* because like you said, "eat all the small fish."

JT: Some of the fishes, I believed got damaged in that manner. Now, one of the spawning areas for the *weke*, *moi*, mullet and things like that, they got all polluted, mostly from the fertilizing, when big rain comes and water going into the ocean.

KM: From the old fields, plantation and stuff like that.

JT: Yes. Because the harvesting and planting method changed.

KM: Yes.

JT: Today you find where you used to catch that small *weke*... [thinking] *'oama*, there's hardly anything.

KM: Yes.

JT: When I came, down the beach, they were full of them.

KM: Wailuku side?

JT: Wailuku side, both sides.



KM: Kahului.

JT: Going to Baldwin Park and all that.

KM: Yes. Out towards Pā'ia.

JT: Walk in, you can see it piles of them going. You don't see that today.

KM: Amazing!

JT: Changing, the phases in the water, and I believe all over it's the same thing. You take how much bombing the United States did with the atomic energy. Not too long ago when they burned chemicals in Johnston Island, one of my friends son was a baker and he went there to bake bread and all that for the group. When he came home he said, he seen the squid, legs fat like this [gestures].

KM: Wow! Two inches across.

JT: On the wharf, he liked to fish, so he caught the *pāpio* and he would let them go. I said, "Why don't you catch the squid and dry it up and send it home." "You crazy!" What do you mean?" "They told me not to go and catch that. They are all poisonous around there." [chuckling]

IH: A lot of radio active waste went into the ocean from missile launches that went bad, so they had to detonate that thing pretty close to the launch pad so a lot the surrounding waters sometimes a lot of nuclear, radio active waste.

KM: Terrible. We're poisoning ourselves as well.

IH: Especially the United States are poisoning us.

KM: When you were young did you hear of ciguatera or people getting sick from eating fish, as an example?

JT: There were some talks about different ciguatera from eating the balloon fish. The fellow that knows how to clean that and cook that...

KM: Ciguatera like all the problems we have now, that's more recent you didn't really have that when you were young?

JT: When we were young the only thing was from eating the balloon fish.

KM: They say that one part that if you cut it wrong, *pau*.

JT: I've eaten because guys know how to clean it. At first it doesn't taste good it's scary [chuckles]. You have to get used to it, then you go for it.

KM: When you were doing the Fish and Game work, what area did you work on Maui? Around this Lāhainā, Kahului side?

JT: Lāhainā was one of the places I used to do most of my work. On the way home I would go down the beach, park the car and look around. I would notice even the *limu* on the shoreline, hardly anything today.

KM: The *limu* have changed also. No *limu*, no small fish, eating, no big fish. All those things are all related.

JT: Yes. So the food chain like they say if the farmers don't farm, what are we going to eat.

KM: Yes. What do we do to fix the problem with the fishing today. Do you have some thoughts about, how do we...?

JT: The only way is to restrict these areas. What they are doing now is good.

KM: So you have to make some restrictions. It's interesting though if you think about it, in the old Hawaiian way the restrictions went with each land. If you didn't live in like you know in



Pu'u o Mālei like on this side here you didn't go fish there. If you weren't at Pāpa'a'ea you didn't fish there. They had *konohiki* like, someone who...

JT: *Konohiki*, yes.

KM: ...knew how much fish had gone out and what. Now, people can go, if they take all the 'ōpihi out here in Ka'elekū so now they go over to 'Ula'ino or something.

JT: It's the thing that's keeping it in marketing, this is what is killing everything.

KM: Yes, it's commercial.

JT: Commercial.

KM: No good.

JT: Whereas in the Hawaiians era, that was their food chain. If you went and picked 'ōpihi when they said don't pick the small ones, you would be in big trouble.

KM: Yes.

JT: The fish, when they say *kapu*, it means *kapu*. Let it spawn first and then you are able to go and fish. The *manini*, they spawn on the shoreline, and all the little ones come into the little pool. We used to catch it and eat it.

KM: Yes, 'ōhua.

JT: Yes. Today, we don't see that because lot of the *limu* is gone, so even the adult fish is going to get a hard time.

KM: You know with the baby *manini*, 'ōhua or some people call *piaea*. Did you ever hear about it coming up like in a cluster, in a bag almost, a gelatin kind of bag? Did you hear?

JT: No. Usually what they see is just the little fish.

KM: Just the 'ōhua.

JT: Yes. And when they catch the 'ū'ū, they would come up on the shoreline. In the night with the throw net. Now you clean the 'ū'ū [chuckling], it's got inside...

KM: Oh, the 'ōhua is all inside? The 'ū'ū is eating the 'ōhua, the baby *manini*?

JT: No, the 'ū'ū, Japanese call *menpachi*. Another thing that damages the *menpachi* is the Filipino fishermen. They almost wiped out the *akule*. Bigger boats, bigger nets, catch all the schools. The Hawaiians used to let it go half. If too much, they let it go. These guys, they catch the whole thing. If they cannot market it, it gets rotten.

KM: Yes.

JT: You see, a lot of people don't understand, if you catch a whole bunch of *akule* and put them all in the bucket, and take them as is, when you get home, that *akule* is no good for eat.

KM: How come?

JT: Because it gives off the heat.

KM: That's right. Sp comes *pilau*.

JT: Yes. This happened on O'ahu right after the World War II. They caught some where's about twenty thousand pounds of *akule* outside Kuli'ou'ou. They did not bring enough ice so half of the fish got spoiled. The fishermen said that's your fault. The guy that was going to buy the fish said, "Why didn't you tell me you had so much fish." Too late, the thing was spoiled. They almost went to court.



KM: Do you remember who that fisherman was?

JT: I've forgotten.

KM: Okay.

JT: There were three *akule* boats, all new ones, they're the ones that killed all the *menpachi* outside Barber's Point and all over. I used to watch them in Kewalo Basin carrying boxes and boxes of beer. The beer used to come in glass... [thinking]

KM: Bottles.

JT: They were carrying chlorine.

KM: Oh, for real!

JT: That's why I used to tell the Filipinos, "Hey, padre, you get so much *'inu*, you drink too much?" He said, "No, too hot, we need all that." They were packing that. I told one of the wardens, but they're smart, day time, they don't carry it. And they used to come four, five, six tubs, big tubs, full of that. They don't realize.

KM: Yes.

JT: Just one time you do that, ten years... [shaking head]

IH: It won't come back.

JT: It's just like you burn the house from the inside, the shell is there. But the man can go and fix, live in there, not the fish, they don't understand that.

KM: Yes, you're right. What a wonderful analogy just like you burning the house inside. That's right everything burn up inside, you only get the shell on the outside.

JT: If they had known earlier, maybe that wouldn't have happened. But if nobody reports it.

KM: Yes. What it was, was everyone was looking at the economics, get as much as they could. No thought about, "What are you going to fish tomorrow."

JT: When it comes to commercial, you catch one day, the next day you go there, nothing [chuckling].

KM: So you go somewhere else.

JT: I think the population has grown also. If we don't have fish coming in from other countries... [pauses]

KM: Hard.

JT: Not enough patrolling.

KM: Yes. So it's not enough to have regulations, you have to enforce it.

JT: You can have the law made, but to enforce, nobody is there. People starting spearing lobsters in the night.

KM: Hmm. How about the *namako*, you go for *namako*?

JT: No. I've heard about *namako*, I used to see them in the ocean, but we never touched it.

KM: I know Hawaiians call it *loli*.

JT: *Loli*.

KM: Certain *loli* they like to eat.

JT: That there, if you catch them and you hold it out of the water, the whole thing melts.



KM: They say certain hands are *‘awa‘awa*, and it melts, some hands can't.

JT: You need a bucket.

IH: Yes, put in water.

JT: When you clean that, you have to crack it one time then you clean it, you stick it in vinegar then it won't melt.

KM: That's right.

KM: Interesting.

JT: I think even that there, it must have shrink. I think, because they don't multiply as fast. I remember on O'ahu, Mā'ili, my father's days, he said there was plenty. Us, we go torching, we're old enough, 15, 16, you hardly see it, they over harvested it.

KM: Yes, that seems to be the thing. Everyone, there was so much people said, just take it all, and then it became easier to take and to store it.

IH: Better equipment to harvest, and refrigeration and everything to preserve larger and larger catches.

KM: That's right. And now you don't need to be smart, you don't need to know the land or anything because you get the equipment, gauges that will tell you about the bottom, depth meters and stuff.

JT: You know what the boat owners tell me today, with the instruments, even if it's dark, just push the button and you come right back there. What chance do the fish got? Lets say ten of us get the equipment, and we go back to the same place, we catch everything.

KM: That's right. And like you said if they are taking the little one, the big one, everything. There is no reproduction stock so, it's all gone.

JT: I talked to this alien fisherman, they said as soon as the sizes start shrinking they don't go back. If they go back they hook one or two, they still don't go.

IH: When we go and fish usually the larger, more aggressive ones is the ones that bite first. And when you clean out the bigger ones, then the smaller ones start getting a chance to get to the bait.

JT: Today, with so many guys owning boats, they going to pick up everything.

KM: Everything. And you don't know, if get the ten guys who regularly go over there and then they are not there and then ten new guys go in. It just keeps adding up, so there's no chance to recover.

JT: No chance.

IH: A lot of people actually follow you out at night, and they pass slowly by you and press their buttons on their GPS. Then you pass by there you see that boat over there day after day after day.

KM: Yes.

IH: When you finally don't see those guys and you go over there and try, and there's no more fish. They go until the fish don't bite anymore, they clean everything out.

JT: Right after the World War II, the old time fishermen, before that they say, they anchor the sampan, they get one point here. They see another boat coming, they haul anchor and go away.

KM: Move away.

JT: Yes. Today, if you do that they say "you get no time to fish, there is so many boats." [laughing – gestures, boats moving back and forth]



KM: Coming back and forth, that's right.

IH: No can drop the line. If I find that's happening to me, I go, I know the guy is following me. I go and I stop, and I put my hand line over the side, just float right under the surface of the water so they think my line is down. When they come close I wait until they drop their line all the way down and then I toss my line in the boat and I run away... [chuckling]

JT: [chuckling] So You are doing this work for?

KM: We're doing with community and university and aquatics is interested. To me it's so important that we record experiences of our old *kama'āina* because we need our youth to understand the values. Just like you said, no can take everything. You have to...and even the *kapu*, the restrictions and that's not new that was old. And you know, you're right you said that if they said *kapu* it meant *kapu*. You know in the old days in the *mo'olelo* in the native accounts like that. They say like *aku*, 'ōpelu. Six months *kapu* you can't get 'ōpelu but you can get *aku*. If you took 'ōpelu you *make* or the other way. They had *kapu* on it and it wasn't just *kapu* slap your hand.

JT: They were really, when they said you violated the *kapu* [chuckles]. I met one of the Hawaiian families, whose family were all fishermen, handed down, all the way down. The farmers were farmers. He was, I would say maybe in his seventies I think, when I was in my late fifties... So I stayed over night in Ke'anae. They allowed me to have dinner with them and slept there. I had a good talk with him. He said, how they fish in this certain area is his grounds, if the other ones come over, they want to fish, they have to ask him, and then they can fish in the shoreline. There are certain places where they feed the fishes the *palu*, because they were going to have a *lū'au* so they kept on feeding, feeding and feeding. Some guys are watching them feeding, feeding, feeding. They go over there and catch the fish and run away. If they got caught, he said they were in big trouble.

KM: Yes.

JT: And these are the things we don't have today.

KM: Right.

IH: No respect.

JT: You feed, feed all the fish, and the other guys come and he catch the fish and take it home, you can't say nothing.

KM: People don't even feed. They just go and find other, for the most part now you know they just go find another place and another place. The feeding, like you said the *palu*. It was just like training, and they would go feed sometimes they don't take fish, sometimes they take. It always kept the fish constant.

JT: Yes...

IH: ...You know any other *kūpuna* that might know fishing from the old days that's still around. Not too much now...

JT: I don't think so.

IH: We are going to meet Uncle Bobby he's the main fisherman in the family more than the others.

JT: Lu'uwai family is all fishermen.

IH: Mākena.

JT: When I was a deputy warden, I went out to work over there. [chuckling] I've seen mischief going on too.

KM: Hmm.



IH: What about Kahakuloa, you heard about anyone in Kahakuloa?
JT: I seen a Hawaiian that used to catch crab, the *kūhonu*. Hoo, piles of them!
KM: Out in Kahakuloa?
JT: Yes. Was big buggas [gestures].
KM: Nice, four inch across.
JT: He used to go down to Kahului and market it, this is when I first came.
KM: And the *kūhonu* is 'ono.
IH: Aunty Abigail Ho'opi'i from out there, used to tell me when they were young they used to sit around the boulder, and they get the *wana* in their hand and 'inikiniki the small *pūhi*.
KM: The *pūhi*, the little eel.
JT: You know all the stuff [chuckling]...

James Tatsuo Tanaka

***Recollections of the Mullet Fishery and 'Anae holo of Pu'uloa, O'ahu;
the Importance of the Streams and Estuaries to Healthy Fisheries; and
Steps Needed to Ensure Sustainability of Hawaiian Fisheries
October 22, 2003 – Kepā Maly (and Isaac Harp)***

KM: Okay. *Mahalo* again, *kupuna*, so nice to see you. It's October 22nd, 2003.
JT: Yes.
KM: We' re just following up from our interview that we did back in March 24th, talking story. You said you kind of forgot to tell us something at how important the mullet fishery on O'ahu was at Pu'uloa, Pearl Harbor.
JT: Yes.
KM: Would you tell me what you were describing?
JT: What I was describing, the mullet in the Pearl Harbor area was a year round mullet, home. Probably could be the home of the Hawaiian Island chain.
KM: Yes.
JT: I believe the other islands had such places like that also.
KM: Yes.
JT: In Kaua'i you have Hanalei river that's connected directly to the ocean.
KM: Yes.
JT: These are the places mullet used to come in the brackish water area to spawn, just like the salmon who go up the river in Alaska.
KM: Yes.
JT: It's very similar. During World War II, we were allowed to go close by and not fish, but there's lots and lots and lots, there was still a mass and mass of mullet going outward. Then after World War II, they got more strict, they started closing the place off and limiting. When the plantation started to drain the bagass in Waipahu.
KM: Yes.



JT: That polluted areas where the mullet would come to spawn also. And in my younger days, I used to help those people with ponds.

KM: In Pu'uloa, in the Pearl Harbor area?

JT: Yes, in the Pearl Harbor area. Lot of it is something like...

KM: *Mākāhā*?

JT: No, in Pearl Harbor.

KM: The lochs?

JT: Lochs. Each loch, the people would have little ponds and they were allowed to go catch the small one's, it's called *pua*.

KM: 'Ae.

JT: The mullet stage is in three or four stages. The names are different. It's the Hawaiian way of I guess, be sure that what type of the size of the fish you're allowed to go, to be harvested.

KM: Yes, yes. You said *pua*?

JT: Yes. After that, *'ama'ama* is the middle.

KM: And then the big one?

JT: The big one is *'anae*.

KM: Ahh.

JT: Those things, if you don't talk about it, we lose it.

KM: That's right, yes.

JT: When I was young, I spoke lot of Hawaiian but today, half of it is gone. Because for the long period we didn't pay attention of anything of the Hawaiians...

KM: ...So when you were growing up, things like the mullet at Pu'uloa, and you used these terms, *pua*, the *'ama'ama*, *'anae*. And you were saying that in the Hawaiian time and even in your youth time that Pu'uloa, Pearl Harbor was perhaps the home of the mullet. The most important place?

JT: Yes, for the mullets because the Hawaiians used to say... Above me I have twin brothers, one was *hānai* to John Keli'ikipi Luka. He was a pure Hawaiian.

KM: Yes.

JT: He used to say, "That is the home of the mullet and if they lose that there eventually the whole Hawaiian area, possibly may lose it's means of getting fish, it may die."

KM: See, it was a healthy place when you were young. The water isn't healthy now, like you talked about the bagass, and who knows about all the other chemicals and things that are dumped into it now. The fish is different. You said that maybe, what time of year did the fish go out of Pu'uloa and begin to go around the island?

JT: Usually starts in October.

KM: October-ish.

JT: Some years a little early, some years a little late, don't have the exact time.

KM: 'Ae. It's the season for the fish, when they mate?

JT: Yes.



KM: You said the fish come out of Pu'uloa and then some turn one way and some the other way?

JT: Yes.

KM: What do they do?

JT: They claim the fish will go completely around the island, and start heading back again.

KM: 'Ae. Some of the fish turn towards Diamond Head?

JT: Diamond Head.

KM: And then they go around Makapu'u?

JT: Makapu'u, Waimanalo, all over, they go right around and return, this is what the Hawaiians knew.

KM: And then another bunch of the fish, and it's thousands and thousands and thousands of them. Is that right?

JT: Yes.

KM: Another bunch turns and goes towards, where were you born?

JT: Wai'anae.

KM: Yes.

JT: I was born in Wai'anae.

KM: Yes. What does Wai'anae mean?

JT: Wai'anae means the Water-of-'anae.

KM: 'Ae, the big mullet.

JT: The mullet, that's the full grown mullet.

KM: 'Ae. Are all these streams that run off of the land important to the well being of the fish?

JT: Yes, they were because every stream that hits the ocean, runs into where they have the sand and somehow the waves will bring the sand there and block it and then you would have like a pond.

KM: Yes, *pu'uone*, the little ponds like that?

JT: Yes. Then the next storm would come and break it open, and if a little stronger one, maybe about six, seven, eight inches in length, they will go out into the ocean again and they will return again, in cycles.

KM: Yes.

JT: Just like the salmon will do.

KM: 'Ae. Did you hear the term *'anae holo*? For the *'anae* when they go around the island? Do you remember hearing *'anae holo*?

JT: Yes.

KM: That's what I heard is the big one and how they go around O'ahu?

JT: Yes.

KM: Then they stay part of the season out Lā'ie, Kahuku.

JT: It seems like you know the history of the mullets. [chuckles]



KM: No, that's because I listen to you and other *kūpuna*. What you're saying, I hear other people and they say just... Like an old man, his uncle was Mokumai'a, they were Moanalua people. He's a couple of years older than you. The story you're telling about the mullet, is the same story he tells.

JT: It's the same.

KM: Yes. He's born and raised at Moanalua.

JT: Uh-hmm.

KM: We know how important this is.

JT: I would say the Hawaiians. Some say they're stupid, some say they're dumb, but the brilliant one's were brilliant.

Discusses the past and present conditions of Hawaiian fisheries, and steps needed to protect them for sustainable fishing in the future:

KM: Yes... Did you ever go up on a boat up to the North Western Hawaiian Islands beyond Ni'ihau or anything?

JT: No, I haven't. I organized the tuna fishermen.

KM: Yes.

JT: It's called in the mainland, skipjack but in Hawai'i it's *aku*. *Aku* is the Hawaiian name.

KM: For skipjack?

JT: Yes. They had a mass of fishes, during World War II, all the fishing was stopped. I believe in the three years, the fishes multiplied all over Hawai'i. That's how earlier I explained to you what I've seen in my childhood and what I've seen right after the end of the World War and today.

KM: Yes. Big difference!

JT: Great difference.

KM: What do we do? There was this time when there was a *kapu* and now like the North Western Hawaiian Islands, they're looking at ways of protecting. Isaac has worked with Uncle Buzzy Agard and others on trying to protect the resource. Just like Pu'uloa was the nursery for the mullet.

JT: Yes.

KM: It's believed now, Isaac *mā* and other scientists are saying, this is a nursery for all of the islands. How do we, do the Hawaiians take care of it, does the United States take care of it? How do we ensure that fish are going to still be here? Is putting a *kapu* good like you did during the war?

JT: I would say to try to bring back all those fish to come back, it's going to take a lot of time, lot of people, who know about science, because what was destroyed, is not only the fish, but their homes were destroyed.

KM: That's right! Yes, yes, yes.

JT: You take on the *aku* fishermen, they have over fished, because all the fish, when they are ready to spawn before that they all come in schools, piles of them. And that's when they harvested.

KM: During the spawning time, you don't take or?

JT: You can take, but in Alaska they got so much salmon going up, they say now you can fish.



KM: So they limit?

JT: They go up and more or less survey how much are spawning, if not enough they'll stop the fishermen again. And then let more salmon go up and then say, "Go ahead, catch them all." Because the salmon is a little different from the other type of fish. They live maybe just one year or two years, after they've grown up to be adults.

KM: Yes.

JT: But the mullets, *'anae*, they grow up to...I don't know, nobody had checked on it.

KM: Long, long. Just like the *aku* you were saying. If you take all when they're spawning, when everything, if you take everything today, they'll be nothing left tomorrow.

JT: Because you have not planted anything in the ocean or in the farm, it's the same thing.

KM: Yes.

JT: Today's farmers are struggling, disease, bugs, drought. The world itself, I think is getting over populated. There would be enough room if every country cooperated and shared their ag use, the results of raising food back.

KM: *Kupuna*, may I ask you a question? Going back to sharing and over taking the fish like that. I think one of the big problems and Isaac if I'm off on this let me know. One of the big problems that we see in our Hawaiian fisheries today, is that much of the fish that's caught is not kept here. It's a commercial market that's taking fish and selling it somewhere else. Is that a good thing or should we take care of Hawai'i fish for Hawai'i people?

JT: Well, first thing is if you don't take care of your stock, what's left. And keep on harvesting and harvesting you're going to find yourself in big trouble again.

KM: Nothing?

JT: Nothing. It has to be controlled. If there's not enough fish to be harvested, you wait one year, it has to be left alone, no fishing. Then if the smaller fish comes to adulthood, there will be more of them to breed.

KM: Yes.

IH: I'd like to kind of compare what's happening in the fishing crews like the farmers that grow corn. If you harvest all of your fields, you eat all of your corn, and you don't give any to plant back into the field you're not going to have corn for the following years.

KM: If you don't save seeds back.

IH: Right now we have a lot of hungry people and we're harvesting all our corn, not leaving enough for seeds but we're shipping a lot of this food that should feed the people out to feed other people.

KM: Yes.

IH: That forces us to import other less healthy foods like Spam and things like that.

KM: Sure.

IH: We're trading in the wrong direction. Trading down rather than up, for personal gain of a few people.

KM: Yes... ..things are jammed up. Like you, you just got to keep speaking the truth. You speak the truth, and you do the best you can. That's why these stories, just for our fishery's stories, it's so important to record some of your history so that we can bring it together with some of the other *kūpuna*. So that people can see, wow you know, these are all values, all practices that are important to hand down. Hopefully, we can make a difference.



JT: I'm very happy to see people like you that have no Hawaiian blood and being in Hawai'i and trying to help the problems that Hawai'i has. And here now trying to help to go forward.

KM: Yes.

JT: I believe the Hawaiian Nation will come back...

KM: Yes...



Robert Joseph Lu'uwai
Recollections of Mākena Region and Kaho'olawe Fisheries
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly and Isaac Harp
March 25, 2003 – at Mā'alaea, Maui (KPA Photo No. S538)

Robert “Bobby” Lu'uwai was born in 1935, and is descended from families with generations of residency in the Mākena region. Like his *kūpuna* before him, Uncle Bobby has been a life-long fisherman. He and his family have entered into a Fisheries Management Agreement with the Department of Land and Natural Resources to manage the ancestral fishing ground of 'Āhihi-Kīna'u, in a manner consistent with traditional Hawaiian sub-sistence fishing practices.

Uncle Bobby is a nephew of *Kupuna* Samuel Ponopake Chang (interviewed earlier in this study), and shares the same familial connections to the Mākena vicinity as discussed with *Kupuna* Chang. In the following interview, Uncle Bobby provides detailed descriptions of fishing practices and locations of fisheries of the Mākena region, and also discusses fishing in the waters between Maui and Kaho'olawe.

The arrangements for this interview were coordinated by Isaac Harp. Uncle Bobby Lu'uwai granted his personal release of the interview records to Maly on xx , 2003.



KM: *Aloha*, thank you so much.

RL: Okay.

KM: I've got some old maps here of Maui, 1885 and then 1929. I have a nice Mākena area map also for you. I brought one just in case if we mark on it., and these old maps are for you.

RL: Oh, okay...!

KM: ...The idea is, we're doing these interviews with *kama'āina*, to talk story and record some knowledge so that we can bring it together into a report that will come back to the families and to help people understand how important fishing is...

RL: Okay.

KM: ...and how do we take care of the future. Okay. Uncle, what is your full name, please?

RL: Robert Joseph Lu'uwai.

KM: Robert Joseph Lu'uwai?



RL: Yes, I no more Hawaiian name.

KM: Well, Lu'uwai.

RL: The Lu'uwai is my tūtū's first name. My tūtū is Lu'uwai Kukahiko.

KM: 'Ae.

RL: And he also has John in there. At the time my father changed our name, there were eight John Kukahikos, so he kept Lu'uwai.

KM: You *hānau* when?

RL: January 1, 1935.

KM: Wonderful! Where were you *hānau*?

RL: Pu'unēnē Hospital.

KM: Pu'unēnē. Was *'ohana* still living out...?

RL: No. At that time my father was working for the plantation, he was the *luna*.

KM: 'Ae, okay.

RL: Before that, he had [thinking], the first *Pualele*. This is *Pualele* number seven. The first *Pualele*, he was running supplies to Kaho'olawe for the Baldwins. In the late '20s and in the '30s.

KM: Yes. That was part of the Baldwin *mā*, their ranching or?

RL: Yes, Baldwins had the lease at that time. I think after that was McFee, Ashdown, that was her family. My father was there before. He was taking supplies, water, I don't know if he took cattle. He had a big sampan and he used to leave out of Suda's Wharf, down by Kīhei.

KM: So the *Pualele* was a sampan also?

RL: Was a big one.

KM: Big sampan. About how big do you think?

RL: I don't know, I would think about sixty feet I think, with one diesel engine.

KM: This was grandpa?

RL: My father.

KM: Your father. Papa's name was?

RL: John Lu'uwai...

KM: ...Below your 'āina at Mākena, also had a landing? A little pier?

RL: The landing was for Kaho'olawe. From here they launched, my tūtū's was doing it, they were taking the shuttle boats and they sailed over. Looks like *haole* type boats, though. Whale boats. Bishop Museum has the pictures. That was *Tūtū* Box, my tūtū's brother.

KM: *Tūtū* Box?

RL: Box, it's Kawakami Kukahiko. He named all the Kaho'olawe places. He gave them the names.

KM: For what the place names were like that?

RL: Yes. Bishop Museum wanted to know, and he was the only one who knew.

KM: So you folks, your family from Mākena you actually had a relationship not only fishing here, but out to Kaho'olawe?



RL: Yes. My *tūtū* also, he sailed over. He would take salt and dry the fish and then bring it back and they traded for *poi*.

KM: 'Ae. And you folks fished out at Mākena?

RL: As a child, we would fish every bay, everything here. We used to *hukilau*.

KM: For real!

RL: With the leaf. We did that, especially when we get family gatherings. We bring out the *lau* and the *kaukau* for the 'āina.

Names types of fish caught in the Mākena region when he was younger:

KM: What types of fish could you folks catch with the *lau*?

RL: *Manini, uhu, palani, weke, 'ō'io*, and sometimes we *huki* net where get sand and stuff. We'd bring the *lau* and we'd put the fish on the sand, then we take them up. We would use Okinawa back then.

KM: What kind?

RL: Okinawa, that's the one goes in and we tie 'em up.

KM: Yes. How about *akule* or anything out here?

RL: *Akule* too. We had *akule* nets always ready on the boat. We had places where we put under the *kiawe* tree where somebody would always check.

KM: *Kilo*?

RL: Over here they check, Pu'u 'La'ie, check. We don't want to catch fish here, it's too rough. Normally this bay here.

KM: In the Mākena section?

RL: Yes. When they come in we close the bay off and we would work them with the nets, bring them in on the sand, then we take them out.

KM: For home use and you folks were selling too?

RL: No. That was for the family. When we do it, we call all the family all come down. We helped my dad, my uncles. We had, I think went up to... [thinking] I forget how deep the net was. It was deep though.

KM: Deep net?

RL: Yes.

KM: Weighted down, *hukilau* outside? And you *huki*, pull in?

RL: Not for *akule*.

KM: Not for *akule*.

RL: *Akule* we had to spot them, close them in, and then we caught them with the net, bring them in close up to where the sand, then we can bring them up and haul them out of the water.

KM: 'Ae. *Māhele* to all the family?

RL: Yes. When we do that, whoever is doing that down Mākena, call all the family. In fact my father used to jerk us out of school a lot. We had the truck at home, a big truck. We'd go down get the ice and go down Mākena.

KM: Wow! That's so great, yeah. You talk about the different kinds of fish and things you get out here.



RL: We were doing that in Keone'ō'io too, we blocked off Keone'ō'io. Keone'ō'io was deep. I forget how many fathoms it was. I like say eighteen, but eighteen is too deep.

KM: That deep?

RL: Was pretty deep though.

KM: Eight fathoms *paha* or?

RL: I forget.

KM: Now Keone'ō'io, that's an interesting name. Is that a particular fish out there, 'ō'io?

RL: No, *akule*.

KM: *Akule*.

RL: We would wait till they come in the bay and then we closed it off. Over here and Mākena. Sometimes we go to Keawakapu too, and over to Chang's beach.

KM: Chang's beach, is that Mā'alaea or Kīhei side?

RL: It's right over here. [indicating location – Pāipu]

KM: Not too far over, okay. Maybe we'll see the name on another map. The things you were just describing in fishing when you were young. Is the fishing like that today out there?

RL: No. All *pau* already.

KM: What happened?

Over fishing by outsiders has depleted the Mākena area fisheries; in the old days, there was always plenty of fish, the native families management of the resources; outsiders did not intrude:

RL: Dead. I think later was the Filipinos. They came with monofilament net, same place we watch them right in front of us. One group hit it, the next group hit it, the same day, three, four times they hit the same place.

KM: Over take?

RL: Yes.

KM: Now see, that's an important thing because in your folks system, if this was Kukahiko, Lu'uwai *mā*, a couple of other Hawaiian families that were around there. Who else fished in here when you were young or when your parents were young?

RL: With nets?

KM: Yes.

RL: With nets, nobody.

KM: Nobody right.

RL: Yes.

KM: You folks as a family cared for a land, you knew the resource, you knew when someone had gone fishing, so you didn't just...

RL: Right, yes.

KM: ...set, set, set, take, right?

RL: Yes.

KM: So after it opened up, anyone came in and they could just take whatever.



RL: Yes, they just took it already, it's dead now.
 KM: Still get a little bit of fish?
 RL: Get little bit yes. When I dive you see the *uhu* it's pretty wild, then you get the night divers trying to find the *uhu*.
 IH: That's the pattern you see in Kīhei when I was working in Mākena. The Filipinos in the morning with their trailer boat...

Imu fishing practices:

RL: Yes. We throw net for *moi*. Then my father used to put the *imu*, *ahu* you know the rocks?
 KM: Yes, yes.
 RL: You can still see the rocks that he did, you can still see them down there.
 KM: For real!
 RL: What we would do is we would go out low tide and pile the rocks and wait for high tide.
 KM: And the *i'a* come in and make house like?
 RL: No. This is for *manini*. Throw the net on top and then you take off the stone.
 KM: On the sides of the bay or just in front of the house kind of or?
 RL: No, we had over here one *imu*. Plenty *imu* all over.
 KM: All along the shore.
 RL: All over. One, two, three, over here.
 KM: Keawanui, beyond that.
 RL: He had some more down where, what's that place on the rich people going now [thinking]?
 KM: Palauea?
 RL: Palauea, there were some over there too. We used to catch *akule* over there too.
 KM: You folks used to go just...?

Lau and *kā'ili* fishing along the coast line; types of fish caught:

RL: From Keawakapu all the way to, down here get one point... [thinking] We do the *lau*, and big *lau* we had. All the family come down and they help us. They *huki*, the wahines especially, they bring the *lau* in and we put the fish on the sand. Then we surround them with the net and work, squeeze 'um.
 KM: Wow! Did you folks, this is shore fishing like this. Did you folks go out?
 RL: No. We didn't have a boat. Before my father was doing that with the *Pualele*.
 KM: Right, *Pualele*.
 RL: I started getting the big boats after he passed away. He missed out. He's kind of, at the time, he was one of the best fishermen on Maui.
 KM: You folks, when you were young, you didn't have a boat that you folks would go out on?
 RL: We only had the short type without the motor. Canoes we would paddle out for *kā'ili*. As I grew up my father liked to *kā'ili*, my mother too. We just like motors, me and my brother, we don't know where we going. We wait for him, move.
 KM: They just tell you where to go?
 RL: Yes. I remember when we ate lunch we get rice, we throw rice all the *'ōpelu* comes up.



KM: How far out did you go *kā'ili*?

RL: Not too far. Four or five fathoms I think but it's not the out, it's that way and this way. In his mind he thinks we're motors, he's only steering, my father [chuckling].

KM: Yes.

RL: Me and my brother had to, two guys.

KM: You're following current?

RL: He knows where to go, the holes.

KM: He just knew by marks on the land I guess.

RL: Yes. We'd go out there and he'd *kā'ili*.

KM: Did you hear papa talk about if current is... Say the 'au goes that way, you got to come this side?

RL: No, he never talked about the current. He just knew where to go.

KM: Wow! Amazing!

RL: Even throw net. He was blind too, only one eye he had. One time I was throwing net with him, we were catching *moi li'i* and me and this *haole* boy. The *haole* boy said, "Hey, your father is good. Look at all the fish he catches and us only little bit." I said, "Go check his eye," small eye." The game wardens when they get them from the Filipinos, they used to give them to him [laughing]. So one time I came home on leave, I don't know how many days I stayed. Not too long, I was passing through. It just happened he had plenty *moi li'i*, I remember eating nineteen.

KM: Wow!

RL: He saved the lard from when they killed pigs, like that. I don't know where he got the lard from, was homemade lard. That's what he fried it in and it was so 'ono, I ate nineteen of them *moi li'i*, the bone and all [gestures size of fish].

KM: Wow! About six inch, fried is good.

RL: We were at Palauea... [some stops by to ask uncle a questions; recorder off – back on]

KM: Thank you and I know you have business to take care of, but it's so important to talk. You were just talking you used to go for 'a'awa you said also?

RL: Us *kā'ili*.

KM: *Kā'ili* like that.

RL: Yes. My mother liked *pā'ou* so before they closed it, she used to have her favorite *pā'ou* grounds [pointing to location on map – Mamao].

KM: For real!

IH: Good fish, plenty meat.

RL: Yes, but now get ciguatera in 'em.

KM: Out at Mamao like that?

RL: Yes. They used to be good over there, I don't know if lately. Nobody catches it now.

IH: In Lāhainā no more too much anymore, the *taape* are eating the babies.

KM: That small *hīnālea* like the *hou* fish.

IH: Wrasse.



RL: Yes.

KM: So out this section, sort of Mamao, like that?

RL: Right here in Mamao section.

KM: So out of 'Āhihi?

RL: Yes. So my father passed away first, and we used ti take my mother there. Oh, it was a seen when we put her on the boat, all the grandkids got to help. I take a little portable radio, wait for her, and she catches *pā'ou*.

KM: Hmm. Now, you mentioned also *kawele'ā*, good fish?

RL: Where are we at [looking at map]?

KM: Here's Mākena Bay.

RL: Right in front of the house. This is our traditional *moemoe* net ground. We made the DLNR, the Department of Land and Natural Resources. People tried to put mooring out. But we don't want no mooring in there so we can lay our nets.

KM: That's right, good. That's been protected for you folks?

RL: Yes. Right now. Before they won't let nobody, we had a guy put a mooring in there, we had him move it.

KM: Good.

RL: Now, they don't let nobody use that. We got that for our *moemoe* grounds.

KM: You folks had been out here for generations.

RL: Hundreds of years.

KM: Yes.

RL: In the early 1800s, we know because my grand tūtū's are buried over here, the graveyard. They died in 1850 in that area.

KM: Yes. From your papa or from your *kūpuna*, *tūtū mā*, you folks heard that they would go out fish even to Kaho'olawe like that?

RL: We know they go, yes. My father too. All his life, he was going to Kaho'olawe with his dad and that's where my *tūtū* goes, to catch fish to exchange. They never have money in those days.

KM: *Kuapo*, exchange. Like you said *poi*?

RL: *Poi*.

KM: The *poi* comes from the Hāmākua side or something?

RL: Maui. I would think from, I don't know what side it comes from. This side all dry.

KM: Dry, *malo'o*. You go out Kahikinui side.

RL: The horse trail was coming this way.

KM: 'Ae.

RL: That's the first road, was the horse trail. The military was running jeeps down it, finally they made a road. And the trail was going up to 'Ulupalakua.

KM: 'Ae, the old trail. Did you hear about the kinds of fish that they would, your papa them would catch at Kaho'olawe? Was there something special that they would go for out there or was it all kinds?



RL: Anything that was available. *Āholehole*, *moi*, lots of *moi*. *Āholehole* and *moi*, I would think that's the fish that was there.

Limu was formerly good:

KM: How about *limu* out these *lae kahakai* here?

RL: *Limu* was good, I don't know about now. My sisters were the last ones that I know in the family to get. Our famous *limu* is *lipēpe'e*.

KM: 'Ae.

RL: I haven't even checked. Right in front the church was a good ground, and over here in Kanahena.

KM: Yes, Kanahena right there.

RL: The women gathered that, not us.

KM: You folks go for '*ōpihi* too or?

RL: '*Ōpihi* when we needed it, all along here.

KM: All along the *lae kahakai* section.

RL: And Kaho'olawe, we was picking up.

KM: Things have changed since you were young and even a young man till today.

RL: Hmm.

KM: What kind of changes have occurred with the fisheries? Is it better?

RL: No fish [chuckles].

KM: No fish.

RL: Especially *manini*. I haven't thrown net in a long time, but my cousin does all the time, Eddie Chang. He says it's hard to find *manini*. Even swimming in the water I don't see *manini*, before *manini* used to be in schools.

IH: In schools.

RL: *Moi* went down too, but they catch once in a while, *moi*.

KM: But not like before?

RL: Not like before.

KM: You think it's the over taking?

RL: Over taking.

KM: And they opened it up right, anyone could go?

RL: My father was saying the *moi*, all the tourists get the sun lotion, sun tan oil.

KM: For real!

RL: Yes. And their bodies are dirty. Just like hippies, even over here.

IH: *Pilau* the water.

RL: *Pilau* the water, the *moi* no like that. Get some good *moi* holes.



Discusses management of fisheries; suggests, rotation of *kapu* seasons, fee for licenses; and special management areas in which native families tied to the fisheries, participate in long-term management with agencies. A part of subsistence is perpetuation of the practice, through teaching the youth:

- KM: What do we do to fix fishing? To try and keep it, or bring it back even, to do some restoration?
- RL: What we can do is like they do around Diamond Head, is stop them.
- KM: One year, certain location off, one year on?
- RL: We can do that, yes.
- KM: Rotate. Because you know in your *kūpuna* time there was *kapu* right?
- RL: Yes. I think what they should do is have everybody rest, already and pay a fee. Like the mainland so that the department of DLNR can get a little bit of enforcement money.
- KM: What about native and customary rights though. Lets use an example, if Lu'uwai, Kukahiko *mā* are a native family of Mākena and you fished for generations. Do you pay a fee too? As a native fishermen?
- RL: Not any ethnic Hawaiian. What they call?
- IH: Indigenous.
- RL: Indigenous, then we shouldn't pay.
- KM: Okay. But, may I ask you a question? Lets say you're from Mākena and all your life you get 'ōpihi from here and you know how to pick 'ōpihi, but a brada comes from somewhere else because they no more 'ōpihi their place now, and they want to take 'ōpihi from your place, and their selling. They come out and gather a hundred pound bag. Is there a balance or if you're *kanaka maoli*, if you're *kanaka* you can take whatever you want however?
- RL: [thinking] Well, let me tell you in here [pointing to the 'Āhihi section on map], our rules. You only can pick one hundred 'ōpihi.
- KM: At 'Āhihi section?
- RL: Yes, we made our own rules. Right now only me and my brother are allowed to fish in there. To qualify we made the rules real strict. You got to have been in Hawai'i for I don't know how many years. You cannot come home from the mainland after living twenty years there and try to get a permit to go in there. Unless you change the rules, but we made the rules real strict. Even for us so we don't over take.
- KM: Yes. Why did you work on making those rules, and why are they so strict?
- RL: We wanted to make it strict to keep the resources up, and mainly for our grandkids.
- KM: That's right, for your *mo'opuna*.
- RL: This one here, goes in, in fact I don't throw net anymore in here. We give to my children, they throw net. If he spears the fish before he spears he has to tell us how big, we're all watching him. Actually, he and some other kids are the only, they have to be on the license to go in.
- KM: I see. This idea, you see in the old days *konohiki* fishery and like this, I'm sure that no one would come in and *maha'oi* in your fishery or take *akule* or something right?
- RL: Oh yeah I remember that too. We had, it wasn't...it was that unspoken rule, that you never go in front of another person's house.



KM: That's right.

RL: The people in Kahului, that was theirs. Mākena was ours.

KM: That's right. That system and then if there's *malihini*, foreigners now, if they want to go fishing. If the *kanaka* respects the old system, *aloha*, respect the land and the ocean. And if the *malihini* wanted to go fishing they pay a fee, they have a license? You think that's a way of?

RL: I cannot figure that out. The license is not that expensive, I think everybody should have a license, and that way you keep track of everybody.

KM: That's right, yes. And this rotation thing you talking about...

RL: Right now only the commercial guys buying the license but we should be everybody buying a license. Maybe a different one, not for sell, but just for fish.

IH: Subsistence.

RL: And use the resource so the DLNR gets the money.

KM: Yes, subsistence like Isaac mentioned.

RL: Yes, subsistence. Get a different permit for subsistence. What they should do, the commercial one, is up to maybe a hundred dollars and then the subsistence maybe twenty five bucks.

KM: And what is a hundred dollars to a commercial fishermen?

RL: Yes, nothing. But all that money would do... Well, I would have to buy one, but I'm willing to pay for it to help the enforcement.

IH: The only thing is, in areas where we still have traditional families like that, I would hope that these family get some kind of say in what the regulations and stuff, and who can come and how much they can take.

KM: Yes. Like you folks did right. You folks sat down I guess with Division of Aquatics, DLNR?

RL: Yes.

KM: And figured out how the families would take care of...

RL: From here to here [pointing to map], to here.

KM: So from 'Āhihi to Keone'ō'io?

RL: Yes. Every time we go in we got to give them a 30 day notice, that we're going in.

KM: For real!

RL: And we have a DLNR guy come in with us, usually a Game Warden or DLNR. That's to tell the public that we're legal.

KM: Yes.

RL: And every fish the kids catch, we weigh them, measure them and record it. 'Ōpihi too they measure.

KM: As it's set up now, is this going to continue after you're gone, even your *mo'opuna* will...?

RL: We hope it does.

KM: Okay. The whole idea was to ensure perpetuation...?

RL: Right. For us.

KM: ...of the resource.



RL: And have the kids have access. See this little Mokuhā in here?

KM: Yes, here's Mokuhā right over here.

RL: As I was growing up, my father took me in there. Beautiful in that little bay, and as my kids were growing, I took them in there. We had a sixty footer, we could beach the boat right in. Before I beached the boat, the kids go in with a net and block the entrance and they *kā paipai*, then I bring in the boat. Me and my sister used to go pick *ōpihi*. We were doing that in the '70s. That's when I came home in 1970. But before that, I was going with my dad and uncles.

KM: As a youth, as a child.

RL: Yes. We would *hukilau* the whole coast.

KM: Any other families out here or was it mostly you folks?

RL: I tried to tell, when we were doing this permit thing. I tried to contact a lot of the families, but most of them were gone or not interested.

KM: Do you remember who some of the other families might have been?

RL: The Kuanas.

KM: Kuana.

RL: The Kuana family they harpoon, that's all they did, never throw net. He'd walk along here with a long harpoon.

KM: What kind?

RL: For *uhu*.

KM: *Uhu* like that mostly.

RL: He stay on the rock long time.

KM: Wow, amazing! That's an old style.

RL: I never saw them while we were fishing. We did a lot of diving in here. The whole coast we dive.

IH: What they did over here is a good example I think for everywhere else.

RL: I fought it the time they did it, in the '70s they did it, I just came home. I was the only guy against it. Mehau was on the land board then. I told him that they are stopping my fishing, and they agreed with me, they weren't going to pass it. Then one hippie looking guy sat down and kept them... Governor Burns I think at that time. Sat down there and told them the governor wants this, they looked at me and, "Sorry, Bobby." So they passed it, then I told them since you're going into it, patrol it good. I never wanted to see people in there. And what hurt me, as I go by, I see people picking *ōpihi*, picking, and I never went in there.

KM: As a native who had fished it from when you were young, and your *kūpuna* before you.

RL: Yes. I couldn't go in there. But what I heard is they always say, "Lack of money, they don't have enough boats." In fact at that time the Feds gave them enough money to go buy a patrol boat, a trailer boat for that.

KM: But the *pōwā*, the thief comes in.

RL: What they would do is the Game Warden was up here with his binoculars watching and send one other guy. So my Uncle Adolph Piltz, that was his favorite hole they caught him about three times. Took all his nets [chuckling].

IH: What the government did over here was no good, they never even consulted with the families who had accessed this area. What the family did was good.



RL: They were doing this for generations, that hole there. I know where the hole is but I never went because that was theirs.

KM: Yes.

RL: The Game Warden is up there at Kanaio, watching with their binoculars, catch them when they come back. Take everything. The judge always scolded my uncle.

KM: Piltz *mā* lived out this side?

RL: No. They were from Mākena. Actually the wife was my Aunty Hattie, she's a Kukahiko. I don't know what island he came from.

IH: The family living here with their access plan like that, I would really like to see something like that. If somebody from outside want to access here they contact the family and then one family member there, they pay that family member to monitor their activities and stuff. Measure the catch and stuff.

KM: That's how you folks have it set up?

IH: I was telling him what the family did over there, I would really like to see that in other areas. If somebody from outside wants to come over here they pay one of your family members to accompany them and monitor their activity and measure their catch and everything like that. All that data is collected.

RL: I would disagree with that, you know why. To have a family member go with them, time is money now days.

IH: That's right but they would pay that person, even if one of the teenagers or something.

RL: There's no more fish over there already.

KM: But you think if only the families fished there, and you knew no more fish you not going fishing today that it might come back again and then the families could take care?

RL: Lately, the families aren't fishing like before, they're dying. One of my cousins who was a good throw net person, he died. His kids never take it up.

KM: *Aloha.*

RL: It's not...the Hawaiians are not coming out to fish like before, only the Filipinos.

KM: And their method of fishing?

RL: They might have a few fishermen, but not like the old days. You know why it's not too much a part of our diet anymore. We eat fish, but before we have to fish for *kaukau*, now they go to the supermarkets.

IH: Spam and what ever.

KM: And it's killing them.

RL: Right. They're not... [thinking]

IH: Depending on that anymore.

RL: Yes. Not a part of their regular food.

IH: Not required to live anymore like before, you got to go catch to eat.

Honu fishing:

RL: Before that was all we ate, fish. Our meat was turtle.

KM: 'Ae. You *lawai'a honu* out here?

RL: *Honu*. Right in front the house.



KM: Right in front the house.

RL: Right here I sit on the cliff and shoot and dive in the water go pick them up. I shoot them in the head with a 22. When the family gets tired of eating fish, they said go get meat, our meat was turtle.

KM: Wow!

IH: What do you think about the kayaks? The family no can go harvest the resources but kayaks can go all over the place along the reef areas.

RL: Yes. But they not fishing. That's terrible they get unlicensed kayaks. They don't know what the hell they doing. Even in a storm they let all these tourists go out, lucky nobody *make* except that, the one on Kaho'olawe.

IH: The *wahine*. And I don't know how many tourists go out there, but no more *lua* or nothing no place, they got to go some where.

KM: You *hana 'ino ke kai, hana 'ino ka 'āina* you going eat that you know.

RL: Right.

IH: Like you said all the suntan lotion and everything, all that stuff going in the water.

KM: That's really interesting. If you get plenty boats that they are taking tourists and stuff.

RL: Plenty traffic in front of the house. Scuba and snorkeling is steady, all day you see them going by. One day I figured I go catch some 'ō'ō, 'ō'ō in front of the house and cast, was day time, I shouldn't have done it. Dam buggas cut my line, was all tangled. Only night time when nobody is around.

KM: Hmm. *Mahalo!* Good to see you. I spoke with an older cousin of yours, Sammy Chang in Lā'ie.

RL: Yes.

KM: He's 92 now. He left early he went to Kamehameha School.

RL: He was raised in Mākena.

KM: He shared some nice recollections of life out there, just like what you're talking about.

RL: His brother, my Uncle Eddie Chang are very close to the family. As I was growing up, Eddie Jr. went to Lahainaluna... I'm real close with them.

KM: Is your older cousin Eddie still alive?

RL: No, *hā'ule*.

KM: Is that the one you said, Chang Beach, is that your family?

RL: Yes, Chang.

KM: Do you remember the old name for that?

RL: Pāipu.

KM: Pāipu yes, okay. Uncle Sam pointed that out.

RL: They own that, he bought that from the family, four acres.

KM: Pāipu, so that's Chang Beach right. Okay, good.

RL: He passed away...

KM: *Mahalo!*



RL: We had a ceremony we launched the canoe from here. We had a whole stack of canoes came from Kaho'olawe with the PKO, we paddled from here went in front of the house. We went down to Pāipu, right in front of his property, and while we were doing that, all of this *awa* in front of us, was going under the boat.

KM: Amazing...!

IH: Have you heard anything about who the *konohiki* was for Kaho'olawe before, if it was directly with Mākena? A lot of people told me it was the same *ahupua'a*.

RL: All I know is Kukahiko, that we know of.

KM: Thank you very much. Good to talk story. You'll enjoy the study... It's just nice to talk a little bit and your ideas about what it was and how it's changed, and for this study.

RL: Yes...



**Frank Harrison and Teresa Smith-Neizman
Recollections of Fisheries at Lāhainā and Māla, Maui; and Kaunolū Lānaʻi;
and ʻŌpelu Fishing in the Present Day
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly and Isaac Harp
March 25, 2003, at Lāhainā, Maui (KPA Photo No.s S546 & S547)**

Frank Harrison (Uncle Harrison) Neizman was born at Māla in 1926. He is descended from families who have fished the waters of the Lāhainā region for generations. Uncle Harrison, and his wife have fished all their lives, and to the present -day continue to fish for ʻōpelu at *koʻa* used by the family for hundreds of years.



Uncle and his wife, Aunty Teresa, a native of Kaupō, describe ʻōpelu fishing, care of the resources, and changes that have occurred in the fisheries over the years. Most notably, the intrusion of cruise ships and tourist water sports have impacted their *koʻa*, forcing them to relocate from the old

koʻa. Uncle Harrison fished with his *kūpuna*, and learned from them how to train *kākū* (barracuda) as the ʻōpelu *māmā* (guardians of the ʻōpelu fisheries). In the interview, the Neizmans share detailed descriptions of their lives as fisher people. Following the recorded interview, we also went to Māla Wharf, where the Neizmans and their son, Charles (Bobo), fished for ʻōpelu.



Arrangements for the interview were coordinated by Isaac and Tammy Neizman-Harp. Uncle Harrison and Aunty Teresa Neizman granted their personal release of the interview records to Maly on October 23, 2003.



Upon arrival at the Neizman home, we found uncle cutting *pala'ai*, and preparing to make *palu* for the evening's *'ōpelu* fishing:

- KM: ...*Mahalo*. Nice to see you and your *wahine*. And here, we come over, and what were you doing when we came in. You were preparing?
- TN: He was preparing the pumpkin.
- FN: I was preparing the *palu* for the *'ōpelu*.
- KM: *Palu. Pala'ai?*
- FN: Yes.
- KM: That's your old *palu* that you use?
- FN: Yes.
- KM: To go for *'ōpelu*?
- FN: Go for *'ōpelu*.
- TN: Long, many, many years he used the same.
- KM: Yes. So *kupuna*, you cleaned your *palu*, your *pala'ai*?
- FN: Yes.
- KM: Now you're cooking it you said for about an hour and a half or so?
- FN: Yes.
- TN: An hour.



Pumpkin (pala'ai) being cooked for palu to chum the 'ōpelu (KPA Photo No. S545)



KM: About an hour. And then what you *kuolo*, you're going to grind it or mash?

FN: No, just leave it like that.

TN: Leave it like that, just cool it off, unless it's hard then we mash it.

Describes 'ōpelu fishing; 'ōpelu *māmā* (barracuda), used to train the 'ōpelu to feed:

KM: So when you go to *ka'a'ai*, to feed, what do you have to do with that *pala'ai* then?

FN: We usually use the bread, we find the 'ōpelu, if we don't have any barracuda.

KM: 'Ae.

FN: Then when the 'ōpelu starts coming up we start giving the pumpkin.

KM: You just throw pieces or you mash it?

FN: We mash it, and put it in the *palu* bag.

KM: You going to drop your *palu* bag down?

FN: Yes.

KM: And then you *huki* in the net?

FN: We *palu* the fish for little while, and when the fish come to a ball, then you put your 'ūpena down.

KM: 'Ae. Amazing!

FN: We feed them outside for a little while, then the ball comes pretty big, then you put it on top of your net, the 'ūpena. The whole school comes on top of the net, we would start pulling, pulling, the 'ūpena comes up, and the fish go down in the net.

KM: Yes. They are following your *pala'ai* like that down.

FN: Right.

KM: Amazing. They don't mind the net, they don't see the net?

FN: No. They don't even know about the net [chuckles]. After they get caught they start hitting the net.

TN: When it's dark that's when they can see the net.

FN: When it's dark, just after sunset the fish can see the 'ūpena. When we shake the net, they climb right over.

KM: They go up?

FN: Yes.

KM: Uncle, you were sharing a wonderful, your recollections of the *au'a* you said?

FN: Yes.

KM: And your *au'a* at your *ko'a* is what, *kākū*?

FN: There is no *kākū* now.

KM: Oh, but you said before, the barracuda?

FN: A long ways back, yes. We used to have a lot of barracudas. Then these trolling boats started coming into Lāhainā, and they troll right along side the 'ōpelu grounds and they catch all the barracudas.

KM: Hmm. What did the barracuda do with your fish?



FN: Well, it's just like a protector for the *'ōpelu*. The big fish comes by to attack the school of *'ōpelu*, the barracuda would chase them.

KM: He would go after them.

FN: Yes, fight with them.

KM: So he is like the protector you said, guardian like, he takes care?

FN: Yes.

KM: You don't catch your *au'a* right, you leave them?

FN: No. That is where we make our *maunu* to catch all the *'ōpelu*.

Discusses traditional fishing grounds, learned from his *kūpuna*; and still used to the present-day:

KM: Hmm. So we're sitting here in Lāhainā. This is your old fishing ground, all your life you fished out here?

FN: No, this is my number two fishing ground.

KM: Number two. Where is number one?

FN: Number one used to be where I used to live a long ways back, Māla Village.

KM: By the old wharf?

FN: Yes, by the Māla Wharf, that's right. Used to be plentiful, we would catch one thousand pounds, twice a day.

KM: Wow!

FN: That much *'ōpelu* come by. The barracuda would keep the fish all in one good school. And then we get our next round, the whole school comes. Sometimes when they go down in the net, the net just jerks.

KM: Wow! Amazing! So your livelihood was by going to fish?

FN: Yes.

KM: *'Ōpelu* mostly?

FN: Only *'ōpelu*.

KM: Only *'ōpelu*.

FN: I used to go trapping also, but we don't have the markets like we used to have long years back, where the peddlers came by and they would buy all the fish we were catching. We had good size, but now plenty guys are getting all kinds of problems with the fish.

KM: 'Ae. So you go out, you *lawai'a 'ōpelu*. How did you learn about this *lawai'a 'ōpelu*?

FN: From my father. My father was an *'ōpelu* fisherman too.

KM: 'Ae.

FN: He used to be the King. They used to call him the King Fisherman then.

KM: For real! Out this Māla area?

FN: In the Māla area.

KM: What was papa's name?

FN: Neizman.

KM: Neizman. His first name?

FN: Frank Neizman, same like me.



KM: Same like you. Now you and your *wahine* would go out *holoholo lawai'a* as well?
 He and his wife have fished all their lives:

FN: Yes. We used to go, I'd say maybe about half an hour, and we would come home with a boat load.

KM: For real! *Lawa!*

FN: Enough.

KM: You just come home and enough already!

FN: It's enough, all the market couldn't handle it [chuckles].

TN: Full load!

FN: The boat would almost sink, it's so full of fish.

KM: Wow! When you go *lawai'a 'ōpelu* before, did you sometimes just go out and feed the fish and not catch? Or did you catch every time you fed them?

FN: When I needed money, I'd go out. Most of the time, I'm not in a rush. Or if there is too much *'ōpelu*, one time we go out and you scoop a big load, you can take the rest for a little while.

KM: Yes. So you knew there were certain places, certain *ko'a* like at Māla. Where you get your *ko'a 'ōpelu* like that?

FN: Yes, *ko'a*.

KM: There were certain places where you always knew that the *'ōpelu* were going to be there?
 Discusses care of the *ko'a 'ōpelu* and the barracuda guardians:

FN: Yes. The *ko'a* down in Māla, every time we go there, like I said the barracudas are waiting there for us.

KM: Yes. And you were sharing with me earlier that you trained the barracuda?

FN: Every day we'd go out. Every day we would give him plenty bait, so he could just recognize our boat.

KM: Yes. He would come already?

FN: Yes. There's many boats out there, he would go and check all the boats and then he would look at the color of my boat.

KM: Amazing!

FN: Comes to me.

TN: He knew what boat.

KM: What did you feed your barracuda, these *au'a*?

FN: All the *'ōpelu* he wants.

KM: You give him *'ōpelu*.

FN: Big scoop. He don't have to chase 'um anymore, you know what I mean.

KM: He's *ma'a*.

FN: Yes.

KM: You said that he would even come and take it out of your hand?

FN: Yes, we see him and he comes right up to me.



KM: And I see you still get your fingers.

FN: [chuckling]

KM: You still get your fingers, so he was *kama'āina* to you.

FN: I used to pet him like how you pet a dog.

KM: Amazing!

FN: Usually they jerk and he come funny kind, but not that barracuda.

KM: This one was *ma'a* with you?

FN: Yes. I would rub his head all the way back to his back fin by the tail.

KM: Amazing! Big then?

FN: This fish was maybe about maybe ninety, ninety five pounds.

KM: Ninety, ninety five pounds kind?

FN: Yes, a monster!

KM: Wow, amazing!

FN: Like, I used to live there. And when I go home, he follows me all the way to where I come, by where I keep my boat up there. Before I go on shore I grab another big scoop, and I feed him over there. The following day I'm ready to go out, I hit the boat, I knock on the boat.

KM: Tap it?

FN: He's waiting. He stay right there, he was waiting.

KM: Waiting. Amazing!

FN: Then we go out where the ground is, and while he passes by he draws all the school out.

KM: So he passed you by and started drawing them in already?

FN: He draws all the *'ōpelu*, going out.

KM: Amazing! Did you have a name for this one?

FN: Mama knows the name of that one. Had three of them and I kind of forgot all the names.

TN: That one was called...the big one that you always fed with your hand was...

FN: Jakara.

TN: Jakara Makapa'a.

KM: Jakara Makapa'a.

FN: Had one old man who would fish *'ōpelu* there and his name was Jakara.

TN: That fish, one eye was blind.

FN: And the man is one eye blind too.

KM: The man and the fish each had one eye blind. Amazing! Was Jakara Hawaiian?

FN: Yes, Keahi (Jacob).

KM: Yes.

FN: He was a net fisherman too. Where I was living, his house is still standing.

KM: The house is still there. So when you go off of shore, how far out did you have to go to find your place? About how far out do you go?



FN: The *ko'a*?

KM: Yes.

FN: Maybe about a quarter mile.

KM: For real!

FN: Yes.

KM: Your *'ōpelu* net, how deep is your net?

FN: I'd say over there is about fifty five to sixty feet of water. My *'upena* is about forty five feet.

KM: Wow!

FN: But, we use line now to hold the bag like that so it won't get stuck, because some places has stones.

KM: Right.

FN: If you hit the stone then all the mesh stays on the bottom.

KM: Rip. *Auwē!*

FN: What we do is we take the barracuda further out in the deep where we don't have to use that. The *ko'a* is where the fish is in the shallow, so we have to go a little further out.

KM: That barracuda is actually going to drive the fish for you?

FN: Yes. He drags the fish, we go all over the place. Sometimes around one hour we take him about halfway out there, maybe halfway to *Lāna'i*.

KM: For real!

FN: He follows us all the way out there, he stays right by the *ama* of the boat.

TN: We take him by the big *ko'a* and he follows.

FN: Yes.

KM: Wow! Amazing!

FN: We like to go for the bigger size *'ōpelu* [gestures size].

KM: Eighteen inches like that.

FN: We go out there in the deep, he follows and he draws all the other *'ōpelu*. And then the ones that was with us, the small ones all go back inside.

KM: Yes. So another day they're going to be big, and you get them again right?

FN: Yes, right. Then another day we leave him out there, and then we come home, we got our load, we unload, sell whatever we can, and we give everybody what they want. And the next day we go out there, you hit the boat on the side [makes sound of tapping canoe], I grab one bait and I throw it in the water. Here he comes from the bottom, I don't know where he was but he's underneath there.

KM: Amazing!

FN: When I look underneath and I throw one bread, I look underneath where the *māmā* stay by the bread, it's just black with *'ōpelu*, tons and tons.

KM: Amazing!

FN: So I help myself. I grab about six, seven, eight hundred pounds, then that's enough, I'm going in.

KM: Wow! So you *ho'oku'u*, you leave the rest?



FN: Right, I leave the rest. I put plenty bait for him till the next day.

KM: So you call that *‘ōpelu māmā*?

FN: *‘Ōpelu māmā*.

KM: Okay, good. Wonderful! Did you hear about other kinds of *māmā* that they used sometimes?

FN: No.

KM: Did you hear about your papa or some *kūkū* Keahi *mā* using shark sometimes or something?

FN: Oh, yes! My grandfather used to use shark. My grandfather, Haukī.

KM: Haukī?

FN: Haukī. He used to have a shark when he went for *‘ōpelu*. He had the shark in the area where we lived in a cave. He comes there and he picks up the shark he takes it all the way out to the *‘ōpelu* grounds where I go. And he catches his *‘ōpelu* with the shark.

KM: Amazing! Neizman is your last name now. What is your Hawaiian families name?

FN: Haukī. My mother was Haukī.

KM: Is it H-a-u-k-i?

FN: Right.

KM: Okay. They are old people for this *‘āina* out in Māla?

FN: Yes. In those days but now they are all deceased.

Previously fishermen respected one another’s fishing grounds:

KM: *‘Ae. Pau, aloha*. Now, in your youth and in you and your wife’s time, when you went out, I imagine you folks, if someone else was out fishing somewhere would you go *maha’oi* in their place or you don’t bother them?

FN: No. We go in our own.

KM: No one went bother your place?

FN: They going bother. After I stopped there I get the fish already, then they start coming over there in the front of me to try to drag the fish and the barracuda. But they don’t know, the barracuda won’t go to them, because I know where the barracuda is.

KM: They are *ma’a* to you.

FN: Yes.

KM: This was in the old days or now?

FN: Before in the old days.

KM: They don’t *maha’oi* right?

FN: They don’t *maha’oi*.

KM: Now days, because you said something happened someone took your *māmā* right? People come in and they fish they take the barracudas or what?

FN: I believe the trolling boat passes by, and I don’t know maybe the *māmā* was hungry, and didn’t know what the lures they had in the water were, and she got hooked.

KM: *Aloha*. You had to retrain it, takes years and years I’m sure to train them right?



FN: That depends, it takes a long time to train a barracuda to be like the ones that I had trained.

KM: Yes.

FN: I have other cousins and uncles like that, they had their own barracuda which they trained. Sometimes lucky, I meet up with his barracuda. But I don't know, the barracuda that I go with was carrying the most fish. All the time, it's just like one female barracuda and the fish liked to stay with her. Some barracudas, they attack the fish.

KM: Right.

FN: When the school is coming in a big pile, he goes right through the school. And the fish get all messed up.

KM: They scatter, 'āhiu?

FN: Yes they come scared. Like the one I had, he would just stay right on top of the net and the net is right here, he would sit right there and the fish would come right between when I *hemo* my *palu* there.

KM: 'Ae.

FN: I open the *palu* and they all stay in a ball over here. Then I start pulling my net.

KM: Amazing!

FN: They all go down and they start feeding in the net.

KM: And your *māmā* what, right over the outer edge? Up and over?

FN: Yes. Just like when the *'upena* goes like that, it just turns on the side.

KM: Yes. Right on the side.

FN: And then the fish are all in the net.

KM: Amazing!

FN: Certain barracuda they're no good, the school stays in the net, they try to dive right through the net. They do that. I had a certain barracuda doing a job on my net. Wow!

KM: *Pōwā* how they just come in and make...

FN: Then I told myself, okay, I bring my barracuda I'm going to try to get the same barracuda. I saw my barracuda chase him, he never came back there anymore [chuckling].

KM: For real!

FN: Yes.

KM: Amazing! Did you learn this from your papa doing that?

FN: No.

KM: You taught yourself?

FN: I learned it all.

KM: Amazing!

FN: My father used to tell me about the barracudas. He used to go, but I figure he was having a different barracuda, it wasn't the same one that I had all the time. Everybody had a barracuda there at the time, when we were fishing at Māla. Every place you would see one, one, one. But the one I told you that followed me, was one that you no can beat, was better then all of them.

KM: All of them.



Commercial and tourism fishing, and the cruise ships now impact the traditional *ko'a*; have scattered the *'ōpelu* and killed the *'ōpelu māmā*:

- IH: A good book written by Bob Krauss, "Here's Hawaii," mentioned the *'ōpelu māmā*.
- KM: That's so wonderful. Now, what happens today? Can you go out *'ōpelu* fishing if you wanted to?
- FN: What do you mean?
- KM: Is it as good today as it was when you were young when you folks were fishing?
- FN: Yes, it's still the same. I have my boy, they are too slow on these kinds of things, you got to be fast getting *'ōpelu*.
- KM: You were sharing with me, and aunty was saying there's something different though, right? Now, you said you cannot go fishing sometimes, how come?
- FN: I get bad back.
- KM: But you were talking about the boat outside too.
- FN: Oh, that, yes. This ship that comes by here all the time.
- KM: The big ship?
- FN: The big ship.
- TN: Yes, you cannot go by the ship.
- FN: They anchor right on the *'ōpelu* fishing grounds there.
- KM: Where the ship is mooring or anchored, that's your *'ōpelu* ground?
- FN: That's where I go for *'ōpelu*. They anchor there and now it's war right, you cannot go near the ship.
- IH: Five hundred yards buffer.
- FN: Even five hundred yards, the Coast Guard comes there, we're almost on shore already, and for us, we cannot drop our nets, it's too shallow.
- KM: Someone has got to talk to the boat people, tell them they have to park somewhere else.
- FN: We did, we told a lot of people out there. We told the Coast Guard, if you want to chase us away, we cannot go out there fishing anymore. If the big ship can go maybe another two thousand yards on the left or the right, then they could leave the area open for us and then you guys don't have to chase us away.
- KM: Yes. If they would just move two thousand yards away your *ko'a* would be open?
- FN: Clear, all open.
- KM: It would be opened?
- FN: Yes.
- KM: Now, when you like go you can't go sometimes because they're out there?
- FN: Right. Most of the times they come, they don't know where they're going to anchor, so wham the anchor goes down and that's it. Turn around and they are right on top of the *'ōpelu* grounds.
- KM: Wow!
- FN: We're looking from the shore and we say, "Oh boy, we're going to have trouble today."



IH: The problem is not so much for the convenience of the local community, but more for the convenience of the passengers and the crew.

FN: Yes.

IH: They want to have a convenient location, for a short trip into the harbor.

FN: The Coast Guard is getting tired of coming over there, “Hey, move in.” I said, “Why don’t you tell the guys on the ship to move left or right. That’s it, we’re all clear, because we were there fishing before the ship used to come here.”

KM: Yes.

FN: We’re not telling don’t come.

KM: You’re not telling them to leave, right? Just don’t sit on the *ko’a*.

FN: Yes. Don’t sit on the *ko’a*. Just move either right or left, and then we can go back on the *ko’a*.

KM: Yes.

FN: I don’t know why, but it just happens to be that the *ko’a* is right there going right into the harbor on the same line.

KM: Amazing!

FN: And that’s why the ship wants the nearest way to come in.

KM: Uncle, what year you *hānau*?

FN: November 15, 1926.

KM: Wonderful! And you fished all your life?

FN: Yes.

Discusses other types of fish caught—the *moelua*, *moano hulu* and other species:

KM: Mostly *’ōpelu*, or you go out for other fish sometimes too?

FN: Sometimes other fish, trapping.

KM: What would you go out trapping?

FN: *Weke ’ula*.

KM: You were saying earlier, you would set your trap sometimes a hundred feet?

FN: Yes.

KM: You had good eyes, you could see all the way down?

FN: That time, yes. This time it’s getting weaker and weaker.

KM: Hmm. So *weke ’ula* like that. Other fish?

FN: Yes. Other kinds like *pāpio*, *’ulua*, *moana*, *moano hulu* all that kind.

KM: *’Ae*. What’s the *moano hulu*?

FN: Similar like *weke ’ula*, get the [gestures a beard from chin].

KM: Has the *’umi’umi*?

FN: Yes.

KM: Does it have something on the back end of it?

FN: It has kind of purple, orange marking.



KM: Marking at the back end?
 FN: Right.
 KM: You call that *moano hulu*?
 FN: *Moano hulu*. Good eating.
 KM: Good eating fish?
 FN: Very good eating.
 IH: *Moelua* is different then the *weke 'ula*?
 FN: Yes.
 KM: *Moelua*?
 FN: Yes. But it still has whiskers [chuckling].
 IH: They call it *moelua* but on our island it's called *weke 'ula*.
 KM: It's a goat fish like?
 FN: Goat fish, right.
 IH: They get large, like five to seven pounds, the big one.
 TN: Big, all red.
 KM: And how, you trap that or *kā'ili* or?
 FN: Trap, you can hook and trap.
 IH: Most people on the different islands, what we call here the *moe lua*, they call it *weke 'ula* on the other islands. *Weke 'ula* is the red *weke*.
 FN: Right.
 KM: Right. That's what the name means, right.
 IH: Everybody on the other islands called the *moelua*, *weke 'ula*.
 TN: Everybody gets it all mixed up.
 IH: Yes. It's in the *weke* family and it's red.
 KM: Interesting.
 IH: *Weke 'ula* is the normal red *weke*.
 FN: Yes.
 IH: Like on the State's fish catch report, they have *weke 'ula* which is actually the *moelua*. Under red *weke* they have red *weke*.
 Group: [chuckling]
 IH: We talked with John Randall and he agreed to correct the name.
 KM: Good, god. Now aunty, you're Teresa, what was your maiden name?
 TN: Smith.
 KM: Smith. You're from this side too?
 TN: Hāna side.
 Collection of *limu*:
 KM: Hāna. You *lawai'a* also, you go out, do you folks also gather *limu* and stuff also?



TN: Sometimes, yes.

FN: She does, yes.

KM: What's your favorite *limu* out here?

TN: Before all these *limu* over here, I never did try to eat this *limu*.

KM: For real! What, you were raised in Hāna?

TN: Kaupō side.

KM: Kaupō. You would go out and gather *limu* out on that side then?

TN: No, only in Lāhainā I go get, because on that side is rough, the water.

KM: Yes, it is.

TN: I didn't go that side. Only in Lāhainā you just can walk in the water.

KM: What kinds of *limu* would you gather?

TN: At the time I would get *ogo*.

KM: *Manauea*?

TN: *Līpoa*.

KM: *Līpoa*.

TN: The smell *limu*.

KM: Yes, 'ono.

TN: The *wāwae'iole*.

KM: Hmm. Are the *limu* like they were when you first came out here?

TN: I think hardly anybody goes and get *limu*, so get plenty.

KM: For real!

TN: Now you go down the beach you got to go and hunt.

KM: Yes.

IH: All the kind *pilau limu* is coming inside too now.

TN: Sometimes get that green one, just like hair. All tangled in the *limu*. That I think is from the swimming pool water or whatever.

KM: Hmm. Uncle, when you were a young boy you folks were still using regular canoes?

FN: Yes.

KM: You got to paddle to go out?

FN: Sail, bag sail.

KM: For real! You folks sailed to go out?

FN: No more canvas, no can afford canvas.

KM: 'Eke *mau'u* kind, you use the bag and stitch them together?

FN: Yes.

KM: Wow, amazing!

FN: It used to take us out anyplace, like Māla where we used to go, take a long time to get out there. You got to have the right wind. If you have the more Kona wind then we can go out easy.



KM: Easy to get out.
 FN: And easy to come in.
 KM: 'Ae.
 FN: But if you get the trade winds it's pushing you out and then you go in, out. And then to go in, you got to go like that [gestures – tacking], it takes a long time.
 KM: How far out, did you folks go past, did you go way down the coast and fish or did you stay mainly around the Māla area?
 FN: Only Māla area. Sometimes we used to go far when we wanted to go get the cigar 'ōpelu, the small ones. Cigar, plenty! One time we dropped the net, boy, you *piholo* the boat.
 KM: For real!
 FN: Yes. That much, when they come, it's like rubbish. You only take what you can take on the boat, and you open the bag and let them all out.
 KM: Let the rest go, *ho'oku'u*.
 FN: Yes.
 KM: Like you said, so you no like *piholo* [chuckling].
 FN: Oh yes, no more room. The water starts coming in already.
 KM: *Auwē!*

Identification of *ko'a*; and use of the 'ōpelu *kala*:

FN: You got to bail some out from the boat and let it come back up or you'll sink.
 KM: Amazing! Were there markers that you folks looked when you were in the ocean up to the land to sort of get an idea of where you were?
 FN: Yes. Like in the deep, the different markings, right out there in the deep water, we used to use this smoke stack.
 KM: Yes. Pioneer Mill.
 FN: Pioneer Mill smoke stack and the cannery smoke stack also.
 KM: You triangulate between and you know where your *ko'a* is.
 FN: Right. Like you use the football field up there [indicating Lāhainā Luna], you can see the shape of the football field. We used to mark it with the smoke stack.
 KM: Yes. Amazing!
 FN: Like all those old things, they have been taking them down, like some of those big trees they had up there.
 KM: That's right.
 FN: They cut them down or maybe the wind blew them down. A lot of markers are lost.
 KM: You lose your markers?
 FN: We lose the markers, we lose the grounds.
 KM: *Aloha*.
 FN: It's hard to trace the ground, you have to go at a certain angle, keep going until you finally find the place. Pretty hard, really hard.
 KM: Amazing!



FN: You can by, because there's many more 'ōpelu grounds out there, lots. Every time when you go by, you look through the look box, you see the whole school of *kala*, 'ōpelu *kala* they call that.

KM: 'Ae.

FN: You go maybe about a hundred feet beyond the 'ōpelu *kala*, where they're floating. You throw your pumpkin and bread, and the from the bottom, the 'ōpelu all come back up. That's another way of finding the 'ōpelu out there.

KM: So you look for the 'ōpelu *kala*?

FN: 'Ōpelu *kala*.

KM: You go just a little beyond?

Currents used to determining *ko'a*.

FN: That depends on the current. If the current is going towards Moloka'i, you go Hawai'i side.

KM: You go Hawai'i side?

FN: Right. Maybe about a hundred feet away from that markings you have. You break one *palu* over there and you see the 'ōpelu all start coming above.

KM: Amazing!

FN: They come up to surface.

KM: The 'ōpelu *kala* you no catch or you catch sometimes?

FN: We catch if we like eat, got to catch. You catch them in the 'ōpelu net.

KM: Amazing!

FN: Big five pounders! We don't take the ones with the big knife. They don't have knife, only horns. Good eating!

KM: Good, sweet! Good eating like you said.

FN: Yes.

TN: I like that.

IH: They don't eat that stink *limu*.

FN: We make soup. Like the one we catch inside here oh man, they smell, all the *limu*.

KM: Strong.

FN: Out there, just natural fish.

KM: Clean.

FN: Like I said, a lot of guys want to go outside there and want to find the 'ōpelu. They don't know how to find the *kala*, because they don't know the areas like we do. It took me long time to find the areas. I go and I drift, drift, I'm watching in the look box, and looking, oh, it's *kala*. I look at the markers, I get the markers all set. I drift maybe about two, three hundred yards behind, start the motor, I look at the mark and I go back on the area then I go a hundred feet in the front and drop one pumpkin. I look at the bottom, it's all white with all the fish, just coming up.

KM: Amazing!

FN: I found one more ground [chuckles].

KM: So it's out there, they are out, there but you have to work for it?



FN: Yes. You have to go and find it. Like inside here, the barracuda was the one that found it for you, you stay there and catch all what you like.

KM: Yes too good. Amazing story!

IH: The western culture has no more respect for the local culture and they take the barracuda like that.

FN: Yes.

KM: Yes.

IH: They don't know the local traditions and they just go ahead and help themselves. And that's what impacts the local culture.

Fishing at Kaunolū (Lāna'i) for *'ōpelu*:

FN: I tell you one story. One time me and Teresa, this was long years back, I went to Lāna'i, to this one place they call Lighthouse [Kaunolū].

KM: 'Ae.

FN: She and I. I used to catch *'ōpelu* here. We went there, it was almost six o'clock sunset. One time we threw the net and it was seven hundred pounds we picked up. Then from there, to come back to Lāhainā now.

KM: *Auwē*, dark time!

FN: Dark already. I don't know how far away from the island, and how I'm going to travel because it was dark. I tell her never mind, I start the engine and it's running, in my mind I look at my wife around one hour out, I know we're out. I know how the wind was blowing, in the dark you can see the ripples. I went almost one hour and then I cut. figured that must be west, cut west. And by and by I can see the lights of Mānele some place, that lighthouse. I see the light over there. Now I know where I'm going. I go, go, go, and then I can see Lāhainā town.

KM: Wow!

FN: And we got inside here I think about three or four o'clock in the morning. We stay all wet. She stay in the bow of the canoe, dive right through the waves.

KM: How big was your canoe?

FN: Same like the one I have now.

KM: What is that around twenty footer?

FN: Twenty-four feet.

KM: Twenty-four feet.

FN: I had a big motor on top of that, a twenty-two horse power, she just fly.

KM: Good. Get *ama*?

FN: *Ama*, everything.

KM: Wow!

FN: Got to have the *ama*, I don't like the shake-shake. With the *ama* you stay right there, no more nothing.

KM: No. So that lighthouse, that's Kaunolū?

FN: Kaunolū, yes. Hoo, the *'ōpelu* over there, only a few guys go over there and catch. I don't know about the Lāna'i guys, they no more...



IH: No more market, I think on Lānaʻi.
 FN: One day they catch I think, then it's all flooded. No more enough people to eat fish over there.
 KM: Only the old families some go little bit but, mostly they go *kāʻili*.
 FN: They hook their own.
 KM: I don't think anyone makes 'ōpelu net on Lānaʻi now.
 FN: No, I don't think so too. But, the 'ōpelu I've seen over there [shaking his head]. That's why I want to teach my kids, sometimes we leave this one alone, and we travel someplace to try and catch the other kind of size. The different size 'ōpelu down there.

Discussing the 'ōpelu *kīkā*:

KM: You know that cigar 'ōpelu, is that a different 'ōpelu or is it just young, baby?
 FN: I don't know I never seen the cigar 'ōpelu get big. I don't know if...
 KM: I heard someone talk about it. Maybe it's a different...
 IH: They get several different species of 'ōpelu, a fish in itself.
 KM: You've never seen it get big?
 FN: Certain size, about seven inches.
 KM: Seven inches.
 FN: Like the other ones you see, are long, bigger.
 KM: Yes.
 FN: The 'ōpelu is wow about three, four pounds.
 KM: Yes.
 FN: But, when they come, you know when they come underneath the boat, I tell you. One big black cloud, like. You see this whole area like that. You just put under your net, that thing goes down, look out, your whole net goes over, it rips right off. There's tons of fish going down.
 IH: They even have deep sea varieties of 'ōpelu, by the buoy no more bait. Sometimes I jig out there.
 FN: Yes. Lot of guys do that, they catch them up there too.

Fishing today, not like before; people respected the fisheries in the past; discusses impacts of commercial and tourist operations on traditional fishing grounds and practices:

KM: Fishing before in your folks time, like you said earlier, people respected, they took what they needed I guess. They didn't come *mahaʻoi* in your fishing grounds. Today, everything is changed?
 FN: Fifteen charter boats, fifteen. Every day they surround us.
 KM: No good, right?
 FN: They like catch their bait, they don't want to buy our bait.
 KM: Oh, no.
 FN: But we don't know what expenses they get, they got to buy fuel, oh man.
 KM: But that's their problem, they chose to be in it. But they are intruding on your place right?



FN: I come home with hooks all hanging all over our *'ōpelu* nets [chuckling].

KM: They don't think that maybe they should just buy some fish from you?

FN: Well, I was all mad I don't sell 'em anymore [chuckling]. "You go catch your own," I tell them.

Group: [laughing]

FN: I don't like to sell to them, bait, "go catch your own." You going spoil my soup all the time. But they get bad times. My boy says "Okay, one bucket, one bucket." Some nights, those guys come down, they wait. They said they like to buy bait. "Oh, go catch your own." I hear that, I stay only laughing to myself.

KM: Hmm... Uncle, what was your mama's name?

FN: Helen Haukī.

KM: Helen Haukī?

FN: Elena Haukī.

KM: Elena Haukī. Beautiful! Their family like you said, they are old Māla people?

FN: All their life...

KM: ...It's so important to talk story. If we could maybe by and by when you're *pau* cook your *pau*, then if you still wanted, if you get time we should go down and look at your boat.

FN: Yes, we go.

KM: We go talk story a little bit.

FN: I think my *pau* is cooked already. We go down now alright. I'll turn off the fire... [end of interview]

Group: Went down to Māla boat landing. Uncle, aunty, and son Charles (Bobo), and *mo'opuna* (Shane), prepared canoe for *'ōpelu* fishing.

Bobo has been fishing *'ōpelu* for forty years, since he was ten, and continues in the same way his father taught him.

The Māla *ko'a* is "dead," the *māmā* have all been taken.

The family now fishes the Lāhainā Wharf *ko'a* when the ships aren't in the way.

Following the evening's *'ōpelu* fishing, Bobo and Shane came in with about 200 pounds of *'ōpelu*. At least an hour before their return, people were waiting for the return of the canoe, to purchase the *'ōpelu*.



Isaac Harp

**March 26, 2003, at Wahikuli, Maui – with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. S534)
Fishing along the Wai‘anae and Kahalu‘u Coasts of O‘ahu;
the Mā‘alaea-Lāhainā Coast of Maui; Off of Lāna‘i and Kaho‘olawe;
and thoughts on the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands;
and Recommendations for the Long-Term Management of Hawaiian Fisheries**

Isaac Harp was born in 1957, and is of Hawaiian-Caucasian ancestry. He has been a life-long fisherman, and over the last ten years, has become an advocate for the protection of Hawaiian fisheries, and traditional and customary practices associated with sustainable use of the fisheries. Isaac and his wife, Tammy Neizman-Harp, are members of several fisheries councils and advisory groups, and worked together with *Kupuna* Louis “Buzzy” Agard and others to establish the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands Fisheries Reserve.

Isaac has spent years talking with elder fisher-people, learning from them, and applying their knowledge to his practices, and writings. In the interview below, Isaac describes changes that he has witnessed in fisheries over the last forty years. He also lays out his thoughts on the need for community based management fisheries, and other programs by which to turn around the decline in the health of Hawaiian fisheries—and the related decline in the health of the native population. Commercial fishing practices, the exportation of fish from Hawai‘i to foreign markets, and a lack of care for place and the fishery resources, are among the issues that Isaac feels need to be addressed in a sound management program for Hawai‘i.

Isaac Harp also kindly assisted in the initiation of contacts with *kūpuna* and family members, as interviewees as a part of the present study. He granted his personal release of the interview records to Maly on October 22, 2003.

KM: May I have your name?

IH: My name is Isaac Denton Harp. I’m a junior, but since my dad passed away a long time ago, I don’t even use the junior. I was born July 19th, 1957 in New Orleans, Louisiana. I lived there until the age of six years old when my dad passed away. My mom decided to move back to Hawai‘i because of the prejudice against brown skinned people up in that area where we were living. We first moved to the Punchbowl area. My grandfather was living over there, John Kealoha Nihi... We lived with him for several months until my mom found us a place in Nānākuli, then we went there. We kind of experienced a similar



situation with prejudice there, me and my two younger brothers were kind of on the white, *haole* boy side. We got kind of picked on by the Samoans and the Hawaiians in that area. Everything eventually worked out well and we all survived.

KM: Yes.

Fishing in the Wai'anae Region; learns fishing practices from an elder uncle:

IH: As far as the fishing and stuff goes. I started hanging around with my uncles, I believe it was mom's cousin, his name was Walter Ku'uku. He passed away now.

KM: Ku'uku?

IH: Ku'uku. He was the first one who started getting me into the water. I was his bag boy when he would go diving and stuff like that. I would be his bag boy. He had a spear he called it a T, like a long spear with a cross bar welded at the end. He would just string everything on there and I would carry that in my hand and swim along with him. I was about in the third grade when I actually started diving with him. At the time I was really scared of octopus. That was probably the hardest time I had was carrying that octopus and grabbing on to my arm, I would kind of panic and drop the T once in a while. Sometimes the water was a little too deep and I couldn't get down and get the T back, so I have to go tug Uncle Walter's fins and tell him to go get the T back [chuckling].

KM: [chuckling]

IH: He taught me about diving and how to get the *he'e* out of the holes. You don't just jab them when they are in the hole but you tickle them, and then the legs come out and go on your spear. You don't really need to poke them you can actually grab the legs on the spear and you can just pull them out. Things like that, he taught me how to judge the size of everything, make sure that you were taking something that is worth killing, that you're going to eat it. Make sure it's worth the size and everything. He also taught me about throw net fishing. I think the most important lesson he taught me about was lay net fishing. You catch a lot of species that you're not going to use or sometimes the fish are juveniles, like the *enenue*, they get quite large and even the small ones they get killed pretty easy. So instead of killing the small fish, he taught me to take a finger nail clipper when you go lay net and then if there's a juvenile fish or fish that you can't eat or you don't want the fish then you clip the eye around the fish and let them swim through the net. Rather than trying to grab the fish and trying to remove them from the net.

KM: Right, right.

IH: They would almost always die when you handle them in that way. And as I got older I learned that the fish have a protective slime on their body and by handling the fish you are actually removing that protective slime. It's like removing their protective clothes, protecting them from the different bacteria and the things in the water that can cause them injury. It might not have the appearance of injuring the fish but by removing the slime you might be removing the protection from diseases and things like that.

KM: Yes.

IH: Uncle Walter taught me that kind of near shore stuff and how to pick '*ōpihi* and stuff. I also learned from a cousin of mine that lives in Kona now. His name is Joseph Nuller. He kind of taught me about the '*ōpihi* and things like that. We used to go down to Ka'ena Point towards leeward O'ahu, and pick up '*ōpihi* and stuff out in that area. He also taught me some about the shallow water bottom fishing. We used to go out and catch '*ū'ū*, they call that *menpachi* now and '*āweoweo*. We used to do night time trolling, get just a regular white three strand nylon line, cut short segments of that. Wrap it around the hook with the red thread and unravel the thing and make like little white flies. We would just idle along the ocean side in the little boat with a string of about ten of them. Then you can watch



your pole and if it starts bending, you got one fish on, two fish on and then when the pole is really bent you got a full line and we would reel them in and you put it back out. We used to catch a lot of *āweoweo* and *ūū* that way.

KM: Night time, you go out?

IH: Night time, all on the leeward coast of O'ahu.

KM: How far out do you think about? Near shore or far?

IH: Near shore as near as you would dare get without hitting the shore [chuckles]. Was pretty much eye balling, we would go when the moon was out. I would always be taught by all of my uncles and cousins and stuff, that when the moon was out the *menpachi* roams far from their house, they spread out in the ocean so you get more of a chance of picking them up, spread around by trolling that way. That's what we did on a moonlit night. He taught me about bottom fishing, we'd go out and fish with *aku* belly and catch fish like *mū* and things like that.

KM: Yes.

IH: Out near Ka'ena Point that's where most of the bottom fishing was done with my cousins. I also learned a lot of bottom fishing from my mom's younger brother, Ben Nihi. He taught me most of the day time fishing. One of the things he taught me was that it's bad luck for the *kāne* to take wahines out when you're bottom fishing. I always thought that was superstitious or something. I fished with him for about two years prior to my young teenage years about 11, 12 years old. Did a lot of bottom fishing with him, almost every day he wanted to go out fishing when he wasn't working. He was a roofer, working for Honolulu Roofing. Whenever he wasn't working he always wanted to go out fishing, so I always was with him. At the time I always got seasick, every single trip out I got seasick. I told myself, "I'll never go on the ocean again." But every time he went back out I had to go for some reason. I eventually got rid of that seasickness. I'm glad for that. He taught me never to bring *wahine* on the boat, they are bad luck. His wife Auntie Aggie, she kept bugging him that she wants to go fishing, she wants to go fishing. She's Hawaiian and she said her dad used to take her fishing and stuff like that. She wanted to go fishing, so one day he decided to cave in and took her fishing, so the three of us went out. Three of us dropped our lines, using the same kind of bait, same line, same everything, same boat. I don't know what it was but she was catching all the fish that day, and me and him didn't catch any fish. I don't know what it is but...she put some jinx on our bait.

KM: [chuckling]

IH: We didn't catch any fish all day. She caught all the fish and she was happy. He told me, "See boy what I told you." From that time on I kind of think twice about taking *wahine* fishing, but I take my wife fishing when we go out here. We go catch *laenihī* out here in Lāhainā. Lot of people know that, but the Japanese name is *nabeta*, it's probably the best eating fish we have as far as the shallow water bottom fishing goes. We also catch, the fish known here on Maui is *moelua* and on the other islands is called *weke 'ula*.

KM: Yes.

IH: Here on Maui the *weke 'ula* is actually the red *weke*. The shallower water is usually smaller, it doesn't get very large, maybe up to about a pound or so the large ones. The *moelua* which a lot of people mistakenly call *weke 'ula* gets up to about seven pounds, I think is the largest I've seen. Those are usually in the deeper waters, about a hundred feet or so.

KM: Hundred feet and the *weke 'ula* shallower?

IH: Shallower water. Most of the guys that go after the *weke 'ula*, go after them with surround net and things like that.



KM: Real shallow.

IH: Yes. They're pretty shallow fish.

KM: They're both goat fish?

IH: Yes, they are both in the goat fish family.

KM: It's *moe*...?

IH: *Moelua*, and it's all one word, *m-o-e-l-u-a*. Not like *moi*, m-o-i and then l-u-a, it's not two separate words, it's one word. We were talking about the *moano hulu*, some people call that *moana kali*, in other places or *moano kea*. Though I've never seen one with a white spot, I think *kea* is white. So *moano kea* would be something with white. I think that may be a mis-term, somehow the name got adopted along the way. It's *moano hulu*, that's another one of the goat fishes. That one has kind of a pinkish color with some purplish and bluish, a beautiful color. Most of them have like an orange spot right before you get to the tail on the top side toward the back side. It's a beautiful fish.

KM: Yes.

IH: Has a large head compared to the fish like the *moelua*. A very large head for the body size. If you like the fish head that's a good fish to catch. All of the goat fish are good eating, but the *moelua* is probably the number one as far as the shallow water bottom fishing. In the shallower, coastal waters I think the best goat fish is probably the *kūmū*. Everybody knows the *kūmū* is probably one of the best eating fish, and that's probably why we don't have too much of them around now days. There's a lot of commercial targeting of that fish for the Chinese restaurants and things like that. I think that's where the main problems with our resource depletion stems from, is commercial exploitation of the resources.

Over fishing, exportation of fish, and degradation of the ecosystem has led to a decline in the health of the fisheries:

I really don't think that the resources were meant to support commercial exploitation, for supporting like the tourism industry which brings in more than double the pressure just on our local stuff. A lot of our stuff is actually exported because we have such high quality fish in Hawai'i. A lot of our fish is exported. I think we import like over eighty percent of what we consume here in the islands. You kind of look at it, something's wrong with the picture when we are surrounded by the ocean and we are importing the majority of what we're consuming here.

KM: And exporting a large quantity of what's caught then?

IH: Yes.

KM: And that's fact right?

IH: Yes. I think the best example is with the swordfish fishery. They have a long line fleet in Hawai'i that was targeting swordfish. Ninety-eight percent of that swordfish was being exported from Hawai'i. And only the lowest two percent, the lowest quality was staying in Hawai'i. Like it if was damaged or not refrigerated right away, not the highest quality.

KM: Yes.

IH: Most of the fish was going to Japan and the West Coast, and some as far as the East Coast. They had some bans on marlin and swordfish and things like that, the only places they could get it was from Hawai'i and a few other countries. We shouldn't be exporting what we have here, we should be feeding the people here. The problem is the global market, with how everything goes. In the old days in Hawai'i, it was like a self-contained system and we could support ourselves and everything here. Not us, but our *kūpuna* could support themselves in here.



KM: Right.

IH: Everything here. We have to have fish in water, we have to have sufficient land to produce the vegetables we need, we have sufficient ocean space, if we just took care of it. I'm saying the commercial exploitation is the worse thing. I think one of the other problems is the immigration laws. We have a lot of people that come in from different countries. They have no idea what the rules are or anything, and they can just come in and freely help themselves to the ocean resources. I don't really want to mention any nationalities or anything like that. Get people that just come in here and they know that they can go out there, free access to the ocean. They just go out and they start buying loads of gill nets and whatnot and dumping it all in the ocean. Harvesting things indiscriminately, a lot of the ethnic groups that have been in Hawai'i for a while working in the pineapple and sugar cane industry and stuff. The community kind of built up, like the Filipinos and the Japanese and things like that. Some of them go out there and they sell within their own little communities without getting licenses or anything like that so there's no data collected.

KM: Yes.

IH: The real problem too is we have a lot of noncommercial people that are probably out there taking just as much as the commercial sector is. They make up a much larger group of people, the noncommercial group. They are all out there taking resources out of the ocean and nobody is keeping track of how much resources are coming out. Look at just about everywhere else in the United States where they have aquatic resources, marine resources, you need a license. And some places you need a specific license to catch a specific species. And for tourists sometimes you have to buy a specific license for that specific species for that specific day.

KM: A day even, yes.

IH: We need to get a little bit more up to date, at least catch up with what they're doing in the mainland. They are way ahead of us over there. A lot of the areas where they depleted, they are actually getting some kind of recovery in some places, and it's not just for control of human extraction but it's also control of the degradation of the ecosystems that these marine and aquatic species depend on.

KM: Yes.

IH: There's a lot of runoff... Like we still have a lot of runoff from our sugar cane fields and stuff here in Hawai'i, the pineapple. Pesticide, the dumps leaching toxins into the ground water, that is discharged into the nursery waters. There's a lot of things that we can do to avoid these kinds of things.

KM: Sure.

IH: A lot of the runoff itself, can be stopped by simply deep ripping a lot of these sugar cane fields. Over the decades of just plowing the surface, the sub surface soil has become compacted. It's like a hard pan a few feet below the surface. Most people don't realize that they think if their plowing the surface that they are breaking it up. But it's actually the sub surface that has compacted, so when you get the heavy rains the water can only saturate down a few feet and then the ground becomes saturated and it starts sheeting down and we get the runoff.

KM: Yes. Look right here we're at Wahikuli.

IH: Yes.

KM: There's been no rain, but you see the discoloration in the water right in front of us.

IH: Yes.



KM: That's soil that has run off in past years, down on to this...

IH: Yes. Sitting on the bottom and getting stirred up by this little wave that we have. There's not very much in the wave but...

KM: So it affects everything right?

IH: Yes. Like you said it's not just for the period when the runoff occurs, but it lasts for years.

KM: Years later.

IH: Yes. Unless you get super strong currents that can flush it all away to somewhere else, where it would probably cause problems somewhere else. It's going to be a continuous problem. Maybe to keep the water on the land. I think it's a waste of a precious commodity to be allowing it to runoff like streams of mud into the ocean. When we could be recharging our water table by having the water percolate down and get back into the water table instead of dumping it into the ocean as mud. We are losing the benefit of dumping that water into the ocean, and feeling the impact of having all this silt run into the ocean and cover our coral reefs and everything.

KM: I think what you've just said though is, the example is on the leeward sides of the islands.

IH: Yes. The dry side.

KM: Dry side. Because the streams flow less frequently or fewer of the streams flow annually all year round.

IH: Yes. Most of the streams only flow when it rains because most of the water has been diverted to commercial use elsewhere. They also kill the ecosystem when they divert the streams.

KM: Sure.

IH: Because we don't get that fresh water. It appears that a lot of the areas of fresh water enters into the ocean in the natural system, it seems to serve as a nursery area. When you look in those areas there's a lot of juveniles that congregate in those areas.

KM: That's right.

IH: It could be that they like that sweeter water. Could be maybe possibly easier on the gills, it's just an assumption of mine that I believe that maybe when the fish are young they might have sensitive gills so they might like that sweeter, softer water not as high in sodium.

KM: You know Uncle William Kalipi on Moloka'i, described just what you're saying how the *āholehole* and other fish, they come in and they actually get to fresh water because it's cleaning.

IH: Cleaning the gills.

KM: Yes, the gills and stuff. You also got all the nutrient that's coming in. You have the algae's and things that are growing there that these small fish, the *pua*, the fry, right.

IH: They need the food, and that plankton.

KM: So you change everything, you change that system.

IH: You kill the whole food supply by removing that source of water.

KM: Yes.

IH: And when all the silt gets out there it kills the coral reefs. The coral reefs are actually protecting our island from the waves and things like that, the erosion and stuff. If we kill the coral reefs, we're not getting that barrier that's protecting the islands all these



thousands of years. Everybody is worried about global warming and rising sea levels and all that, and we are killing our coral reefs, just magnifying the problem of erosion that's going to be happening around here. We really need to take care of that.

KM: Yes. Growing up you began learning. Mama's family, you folks are North Kona people and grandfather's family was Ke'ei, South Kona people. And I know they were fisher people from the stories of your mama and other *kūpuna* in her generation. So you grow up, you're learning fishing and things.

IH: Actually, my dad got me into fishing. He used to take me with him, we used to do fresh water fishing for bass and catfish, and stuff like that. One of his friends had a houseboat so we used to go out once every three months and spend the weekend on the houseboat. We would go fishing that way, we used to go along the creek and things like the fly fishing kind of style. I couldn't handle that fly fishing kind of rod, so I just cast out with the floater and catch more fish that way. He kind of got me hooked on fishing when I was probably about four years old or so.

KM: Okay. It's a family thing.

Fishing along the Wai'anae and Kahalu'u coast lines; types of fish caught:

IH: When I came to Hawai'i the fishing was totally different. What I knew how to do up there wasn't working in Hawai'i. I was really eager to learn from my Uncle Walter Ku'uku when I first knew that he was a fisherman and only lived a few houses away. I was really eager to become his friend so he could teach me how to fish here. My mom taught us how to pick *limu kohu* and stuff down in Nānākuli. We would pick up the *'ina*, the small sea urchin.

KM: Small urchin.

IH: She would crack that and put some Hawaiian salt in there and put them in a bottle, pour a little bit of water and shake that up. That would be like, I guess like the haoles use ketchup, she would use that to season some of her food like that. As I got older I learned how to get *wana* and to prepare that for her. A lot of people they can't handle that, it's very rich and it causes like the runs for some people. My mom can eat a whole quart and no problem [chuckles].

KM: Wow!

IH: I guess she got *ma'a* over the years eating that kind of stuff. Over the years I learned from my uncles and stuff, my cousins and I used to go trolling for *'ahi* and stuff off of the Windward O'ahu area. We used to leave out of He'eia Kea, we lived in Kahalu'u at the time. My older cousin Valentine Arlantino, he's the one him and Joseph Nuller they kind of got me into the trolling and boat fishing kind of stuff. Prior to that I was more shoreline stuff, *limu*, *wana*, fish, *he'e*.

KM: Yes.

IH: We were living in Kahalu'u, we lived in Nānākuli until I was about ten years old or so. Then we moved to the windward side of the island, Kahalu'u. Right about that time I was around eleven years old, I started working in the little preschool by St. John's By The Sea in Kahalu'u. I used to be the janitor, clean up the fishbowl after they were finished with school and everything. When they were sending the kids all home I would clean the place up. I saved my money over time and that's when my friends and everybody was getting into surfing and stuff like that. I really didn't find much interest in surfing, I really liked the ocean and diving and stuff. I decided to save my money, and I couldn't buy a real boat but at least I could build my own boat. I saved my money and I bought some plywood, fiberglass, resin and stuff. I designed a little eight foot boat and built myself a little plywood boat. I tried paddling but ran out of gas pretty quick paddling, especially if the wind picked up and stuff like that. I decided to keep working and save my money, then I bought a seven and a half horse power outboard motor, Ted Williams outboard motor from Sears



Roebuck and Company in Kāneʻohe. I started diving out at Kapapa Island outside in Kāneʻohe Bay. I used to go out for the amateur stuff in the beginning, *manini* and things that were easy to find.

KM: Sure.

IH: When I was out there one time there was a school of barracuda, not real large barracuda, about three foot long or so. Hundreds of them were out there. When I was diving and just some reason to look behind me, I turned around and looked and there were hundreds of barracudas just staring at me. I wasn't sure what they were going to do, are they going to eat me or what. I was almost in a panic, but I figured my Uncle Ben always told me if you are ever in the water and sharks are around or anything, they can sense if you're afraid. Don't be afraid, be calm and stuff like that. I was calm and looked at the fish, they all just floating, they were like sticks in the water not moving or anything. I turned around and started swimming away, then a few minutes later I looked back and they were gone. They might have just been swimming in the area and were just curious as to what kind of creature was that swimming in the water.

KM: Right.

IH: That's one of the things I learned that you cannot let the creatures in the ocean know that you're afraid. Even when you're diving and stuff, you got to be smooth and not jerky or anything. If you jerk, they jerk, if you're afraid they are going to be afraid, and do the things they might not naturally do out there. I did a lot of diving out at Kapapa Island. Worked around the windward side and on towards Chinaman's Hat, Kualoa beach area. I dove all in that area, set fish traps and things. The marine life in Kahalu'u was just beautiful at the time I was growing up out there. We had a lot of *kūhonu* crab, I used to go out there and catch crab with regular crab nets. You can just make a big circle and just keep going around and around just picking them up. I would prepare them with just regular Hawaiian salt, *pa'akai*. Crack it open remove the gills and everything, sprinkle it with the *pa'akai* and throw them in the plastic gallon bottles. Pack the gallon bottle full and then take it to Ayala's Bar in Kalihi and they would buy them from me for twenty bucks for the gallon. I would make two varieties, one with just the *pa'akai* and one with the *pa'akai* and *kukui*.

KM: 'Ae.

IH: They would buy at least one gallon of each every week from me.

KM: Wow!

IH: That's how I used to make my spending money and stuff like that. Other than that, we had like the *manauea*, I'm not sure what was the name of it. They called it long rice *limu* back when I was growing up. It's like *manauea* but it's long and skinny, long strands. That stuff used to grow like two, three feet tall out there. Always had *limu*. Every time anybody wanted to go and get *limu* out there always had *limu*. Then people from, we have no idea from where, we never did see these people before, they started coming with these big onion bags. And they just lined up like... [pauses]

KM: Rack it.

IH: Yes. They would just go down the line and we go back when they're done and everything is barren. They don't break with their fingers. We were taught, when we picked the *limu* we cut it off with our thumb nail if you got, you don't break them off from the rock, you leave that so it can continue growing.

KM: The root system.



IH: We go back and look and we can see lot of white spots on the rocks where they ripped the whole thing off of the rocks. They would actually break the whole tree, the whole thing off of the rock. Eventually the resources started going down but there was always a lot of fish. We had *moi* over there, *pāpio*, mullet just about everything, Samoan crab. The Hawaiian crab, I'm not sure what the name is, it's the red crab with the long eye stems that fold into the sides. We had a lot of that blue pincher rock crab, that was kind of like rubbish. We just threw that stuff away, I see people selling that stuff now. A lot of the fisheries in the mainland, what used to be considered rubbish is what they are selling now because they depleted all of the more favorable stuff.

KM: Yes.

IH: They selling the stuff that we used to throw away. That's what's happening here.

KM: So you've been fishing all your life. You watched these things, you've been participating in it. What got you, you have a reputation for your interest and activism in the field of fisheries and the protection of fishery rights. But rights are responsibilities first, I think even when we were talking the other day. Did you start seeing a change in resources?

IH: What really kind of got my interest, was back in the late '80s when we had a flood of long liners started coming into Hawai'i.

KM: From where?

He and his wife, Tammy, have fished for years; are active participants in fisheries management councils:

IH: From the mainland. A lot of them were coming from the Gulf area, the West Coast and some from the East Coast. They were flooding to Hawai'i, the Department of Business Economic Development and Tourism, they sent out some information to the mainland to some of the boat co-ops. Hawai'i has a very healthy pelagic fishery, and they were trying to solicit input, financial injection into improving the fleets here. A lot of the guys that saw that felt that why should I spend money and inject money into their fishery, when I can just send my boat and catch their fish myself? That's when the long line vessels started coming into Hawai'i.

My wife Tammy who is at least seventh generation from Lāhainā can track her family back on documents. We couldn't find any prior to that. She's from a fishing family from Lāhainā, and I'm also from a fishing family from Kona. We were both concerned about not only what we experienced in our own lives, how these various non Hawaiian ethnic groups coming to Hawai'i, and just helping themselves to our near shore resources and causing the depletion of all the near shore resources. We were concerned about these larger vessels coming and the potential to deplete our off shore resources. Within that time it was still fairly healthy, you could pretty much count on going out and getting *aku* and things like that. We got involved in volunteer work attending these Western Pacific Regional Fishery Management Council meetings, and participating in the Department of Land and Natural Aquatic Resources Division meetings and things. Kind of trying to find out how they play these games. Over the years we kind of got used to how to play the game. I served on a few task forces for the state DLNR, Aquatic Resource Division, I served as a member on their bottom fish task force. After about a year of frustration of going to meetings and just discussions, I decided to introduce some draft recommendations in writing. At that time Mike Wilson was the chairman of DLNR. He was quite impressed that somebody actually came forward with some recommendations, instead of everybody bucking heads at the meetings and not coming up with anything. Just out of frustration with the longevity of the meetings and nothing productive coming out, forced me to put something on paper and start the process moving.

We did come up with a lot of recommendations and stuff. Most of the task force was made up primarily of commercial bottom fishermen. I think when we get these task forces



we need to have a little bit more equal balance, and mix of representation rather than the majority being commercial side. I was a commercial bottom fisherman at that time myself. I know that we are depleting the bottom fish resources, the deep sea bottom fish, *ōpakapaka* and *‘ula‘ula koa’e* that everybody knows now as *onaga* and the various deep sea bottom fish, *hāpu‘upu‘u*. We need to do something or we’re going to wipe that out. All of the islands have pretty much wiped it out.

Commercial fishing practices have had a diverse impact on Hawaiian fisheries:

KM: Your *kūpuna* knew deep bottom fishing?

IH: Yes.

KM: They sustained themselves off of it?

IH: Yes. They didn’t sell it like I did.

KM: That’s right.

IH: I think that’s where the problem is. I sold it and so did others.

KM: It’s economics?

IH: Yes.

KM: But then we had people from...not only the *kanaka* out fishing, some selling, but also others. *Kanaka* still go out to fish for the pleasure and enjoy it, to be able to eat for their own family.

IH: Yes. Continue the subsistence fishery.

KM: Subsistence fishery. Then we have this large explosion of economic activity. So you saw a depletion?

IH: Yes.

KM: Just in a ten or fifteen year period?

IH: Yes.

Fishing in waters off of Lāna‘i; changes in bottom fishing resources:

KM: Can you give an example of something you were catching early on; and you were going off where? Off Lāna‘i, out, how deep?

IH: Like the bottom fishing *‘ōpakapaka* and stuff. During the night I would fish in little bit shallower water, they would come up into the shallower areas. We can fish anywhere from about forty to sixty fathoms or so. In the night they come up in the shallow. During the day they drop down ten, twenty fathoms deeper. I fish down to about eighty fathoms or so for *‘ōpakapaka*. And for the *‘ula‘ula koa’e* I usually start at about a hundred and thirty, hundred and forty fathoms at the shallowest and then go down deeper from there. Like the *‘ōpakapaka*, in some of the places I started, I know that nobody else goes out there. I’m the only one that goes there and I never seen anybody else that goes there when I was commercial fishing. I’m out in the water probably five, six days a week at that time, so I know nobody else is going there. That’s one lesson that I learned, that you can’t just fish in one spot until the fish stops biting. When you first start catching the big ones. It seems that the big ones are the more aggressive fish, so they are the first ones to take the hook. As time continues on, the size of the fish goes down to maybe the medium size. At fist, I was catching like a twelve, fourteen pound fish.

KM: *‘Ōpakapaka*?

IH: Yes. The first three trips, and then started going down and then I started catching the seven, eight pounders. And then after about maybe a six to nine month period it was



going down to like two or three pound fish. Just wiped the whole chain down, down to the bottom already. You really need to rotate and not focus on one spot continuously.

KM: You needed to know many different *ko'a*?

IH: Yes.

KM: Because you rotated. This is what I understand right, from *kūpuna*.

IH: You have to rotate or you're going to kill that house.

KM: That's right.

IH: Lot of people, the *ko'a* a lot of guys called it the fish house. I learned to fish in one spot. Maybe not more than once in every two months or so. By doing that, if other people didn't fish in that spot, you're almost guaranteed to go back and have big fish every time you went to the different spot. Because I sold fish, most of the fish went to restaurants and things like that. They do like the filet and steak kind of deal. They want big fish, the high yield and a good quality steak for the restaurant. Like for the local market, we would sell in the local stores here for the local residents, a lot of them they like the small fish because it fits in the pan and it's affordable. Some of the fish like the *'ula'ula koa'e* can go, in the markets here on Maui, it's fairly cheap compared to Honolulu. We can get it for maybe twelve, fifteen bucks a pound. When you get the big ones like a fifteen pounder not many local families can afford one fish.

KM: Yes.

IH: The only way they can afford them is if you go out and catch the juveniles. Some guys they go out and specifically target the juveniles.

KM: What does that do to your resources?

IL: If you illuminate juveniles you don't have anything that will grow up to be breeding stock.

KM: Right.

IL: Better to take, I'm not sure, but I think it's best to take the middle ones because the largest ones are the heaviest producers of spawn, they produce so much more eggs compared to the medium sized ones.

KM: But you still need to have a balance, because if you're taking middles, eventually you're not going to have any big ones too.

IL: Yes. It's just over pressure, we're just taking too much.

KM: Yes.

Each island and district has its own variations in seasons when fish spawn, and mature; the present centralized management, and one regulation fits all has failed to protect Hawaiian fisheries. The traditional Hawaiian system of management was the best to long-term management of fishery resources:

IL: I don't know how we can reduce that. The state management... Most of the stuff is managed by the state and the state waters go out to three miles. Most of the bottom fish, fishing water grounds are within that three mile boundary with the exception of Penguin Banks off of Moloka'i which extends pretty far out into Federal waters. The West Pac Fisheries Management Council is supposed to be managing the Federal waters but they don't manage it, everything falls under the state in the main islands.

KM: There's something really interesting in the Kingdom Laws, the early laws of Kamehameha III, which were based on traditional and customary...

IH: Practices.



KM: ...practices and laws, the way it was. They described—even in the *Māhele*, and Boundary Commission—fisheries extending out as far as you can see. That’s pretty far...

IH: You mean like fishing rights?

KM: Yes.

IH: Yes. That’s pretty far, you can see Lāna’i from here [chuckles]. About seven miles out there. I don’t know if you can reapply any of those laws. The whole management system is screwed up. They try to manage everything from one central brain, and try to manage something that is dynamic, every area is different. They are trying to base seasons of different species of fish on the calendar year. The calendar year is not always the same.

KM: Right.

IH: The season sometimes comes a little bit later a little bit earlier. Sometimes the water temperature changes, the fish breed a little bit earlier or a little bit later. You can’t base it on a calendar.

KM: I think it even depends on what side of the island you’re on.

IH: Yes. Sometimes the water gets cooler on one side and takes it a while for the temperature to change on the other side. This blanket management system that they use from one central office, and the blanket regulations that cover the entire state does not work. I really think that we need to fragment that central management system down to the regional level.

KM: Island level?

IH: Maybe even smaller than island levels. Sub-divisions within the islands. Might have one central office on each island but have various regions on each island. Like you said earlier, the different sides of islands are different.

KM: I want to ask you, because you said something strong there. You said, having it managed out of one central office which happens to be O’ahu for the greater part of it. That it doesn’t work, what are the examples that our fisheries management system today under the state isn’t working?

IH: Like for the *‘ōpelu* laws like for Miloli’i they have their own special little thing. There’s a lot of other *‘ōpelu* areas like over here we have problems with our *‘ōpelu* fishermen. Like you heard yesterday, from the cruise ships.

KM: Yes.

IH: Not just the cruise ships, the other fishermen, they go out there and they catch bait. The charter boats and stuff, they have no courtesy like the old days. When we used to go out fishing and stuff, the other boats they kept their distance.

KM: That’s right. And like your uncle them said or all the other *kūpuna* across the state, if someone is out there setting their net, their net is down, you don’t feed, you don’t come in and intrude right?

IH: Yes. You don’t want to disturb the fishes, they might have just thrown all the bait they got you know.

KM: The last *ka’a’ai*.

IH: Then if you go over there and disturb the fish they run away from them, they might go home empty handed that day. The entire trip might have been wasted just because of your insensitivity. We really need to bring back that old fishermen courtesy that was once around. Now days everybody is so aggressive. Just like, “You don’t own the ocean, I can go anywhere I want.”

KM: Okay. So, “I can go anywhere I want.” So lets say if we’re in the *ahupua’a* of Wahikuli.



IH: Yes.

KM: If you were from further into Lāhainā...

IH: Pu'unoa.

KM: Yes, Pu'unoa or something like that. In the old days, in the *kahiko* time, Wahikuli people fished at Wahikuli right.

IH: Only in their *ahupua'a*.

KM: They didn't go down to Pu'unoa like that, unless there was permission, or some call had come, I guess?

IH: Even like my uncles used to tell me, "You can go into the other *ahupua'a* but you got to ask." You have to find out, they let you know what kind of fishes to catch and stuff like that. Different *ahupua'a* they might restrict certain species, because that species in that particular area might be low at that time.

KM: Yes.

IH: That's what the state doesn't do. Just like the season blankets everything at the same time, it all falls at the same time. And one particular area might have had heavy fishing pressure on a particular species like *uhu* or something. Might have a few *uhu* over there but the next *ahupua'a* maybe not so much fishing pressure on that species, so they might have more. If you close yours here you might ask the next *ahupua'a* if they have an abundance of *uhu*.

KM: Sure.

IH: "Can I come get a few *uhu* from your *ahupua'a*?" "We have plenty mullet in ours if you want to come get some mullet." Kind of make trade.

KM: Uh-hmm.

IH: If they don't want fish from your *ahupua'a* maybe you get *kalo* or something like that.

KM: That's right. Some other mountain resource or something in exchange for what's going on.

IH: Yes. They might not even want you going into their water to get the *uhu*, but they might go and get it for you. And then you can give them the *kalo* and they can give you the *uhu*.

KM: Yes.

IH: There was a courtesy thing. Each area is managed like it's own little ecosystem. It's connected to the land and everything and that's the problem with the runoff now days. It's no longer the *ahupua'a* vision, the upper portion of the land are connected to the ocean. They don't realize what they're doing in the upper lands are impacting the coastal waters. That's where our big problem is. You need to manage it as little ecosystems around the various islands.

KM: And each part is a part of a whole system.

IH: Yes.

KM: The ocean of Wahikuli is related to the *mauka*.

IH: All the way to each mountain.

KM: Each *ahupua'a*. If you do something to the water up there, or to the soil or something, it's going to affect *makai*.

IH: Yes. It's like a car you know. You take maybe the ocean is the tires, going up is the body and the engine and everything is up in the mountains.



KM: *Kula* lands, up to the *kuahiwi*.

IH: If you mess up something on top of the engine. The mountains might be the engine of the car. If you can't turn the tires something is messing up the tires, something is messing up in the whole system.

KM: Yes.

IH: It's like a machine everything's got to be working together in sync. When the land planners like that, look at proposals for subdivisions and things, they have to look at what impact that's going to have on the lower areas.

KM: Yes.

IH: And what activity is occurring in the upper areas that may impact that development down there. They just look at everything as an individual thing when they do land planning. They need to look at the whole thing as a system.

KM: Integration of resources.

IH: Yes. Look at it like it's a machine or something, everything has to work together as one system. That's what it was, the *ahupua'a* was one ecosystem. Every island has several ecosystems built in it right around the whole island. Then everybody reported back to the king or whoever was in charge at that time, and that would be like the central person on each island. Managing everything with blanket regulations, it's bad enough for one island trying to do that, but for several islands trying to do that thing is totally ridiculous. It does not work. And the population on each island is different. We really need to get it down to the regional type of management.

KM: Island and district.

IH: And it's not just building regional "advisory" councils. I really want to see the region actually having the authority to what they say goes.

KM: Yes. They are going to say, we've seen a drop in such and such a species, population so...?

IH: The *manini* went down, we need to shut that down.

KM: No one can take *manini*.

IH: Yes.

KM: In this district, in this time.

IH: What we need is an immediate way to put it in place. Like now the state goes through this administrative rule making process. Like if they want to limit gill net use or place any kind of regulation on anything, they go through this administrative procedure that might take two or three years. If the fish is in trouble now we wait two or three years, we might not have that fish in two or three years.

KM: It may not recover.

IH: Yes. We can't let it get to that extreme of a point where it comes to something like that. We need to have an emergency implementation procedure where if the community says the *manini* are down, we can shut it tomorrow.

KM: Yes. And I guess that goes for everything, your *he'e*, 'ōpihi?

IH: Yes. Any species.

KM: Anything. Out into the deep fishery?

IH: Or even if the community sees a place where there's runoff going into the water. We need to address this problem now. We need somebody to address those problems right then,



right there. We've seen that the runoff would last for years, some of the impact. If we can stop that runoff, do some kind of a plan to stop that runoff or something, stop that as soon as possible. Even the desilting basins, they just create it large enough for a light rain, not the hundred year floods. We really need to think about the hundred year storm system that comes though. Build sufficient desilting basins and things like that. The problem here is, we eliminated a lot of these desilting basins by filling them in and building houses and things on it. We had a lot of natural desilting basins already built into the island. You know the *kalo* fields was some of the best desilting basins we could get.

KM: Yes. The *muliwai*, your near shore estuaries and everything.

IH: Yes. Although we had runoff and everything, everything was clean. Because everything was in place, intact, not loose soil and everything. The more we try to improve life for humans, we screw up life for the rest of the planet.

KM: I suppose if you screw up the planet enough, we're screwed.

IH: It's going to reject us [chuckles]. You know like a dog, the flea starts bothering too much you got to scratch that flea off [chuckles].

KM: Yes.

Learned from elder fisher people, about bottom fishing practices in the waters between Maui, Kaho'olawe, and Lāna'i; names types of fish caught:

IH: I'm sure we'll degrade the planet to the point where we'll kill ourselves off. And then the planet will be happy to slowly recover back to whatever level it can.

The thing I'm concerned about is a lot of this military activity in the islands. Between Maui, Lāna'i and Kaho'olawe, the Navy wants to install what you call the Hawaiian Shallow Water Training Range to conduct their nuclear submarine training activities. They want to saturate the bottom with sixty square miles of hydrophones interconnected by fiber optic cable. They're proposing to bring that cable into the Kīhei Hawaiian Islands Humpback National Marine Sanctuary headquarters and then from there connect it to Haleakalā. I guess they have some military installation up on Haleakalā. Run a cable up there and then beam all of the information in real time to the Pacific Missile Range on Kaua'i. I'm very concerned about these nuclear submarines operating in that area. They want to use that area because it's considered a highly reverberant area, there's a lot of steep pinnacles and things that pop up in the area. What I understand is a lot of these pilots that are going to be training out there are new guys. They are training new guys in what could be considered a pretty treacherous area with the pinnacles and everything coming out. If we get a nuclear accident out there with one of those submarines that stuff could last for half a million years or something. For Maui county this is one of our best deep sea bottom fish breeding grounds because of the bottom habitat and everything.

KM: The section between Kīhei, Kaho'olawe, Lāna'i?

IH: Yes. I interviewed a few of the *kūpuna* fishermen and a lot of them said that their dad and their dad's dad fished in that area. A lot of them were from the old days, they were sailing canoes and things like that. They went out there for bottom fishing. A lot of people continue till today.

KM: What kinds of fish?

IH: The *ōpakapaka*, *ūkīkiki*, *ūla'ula koa'e*, *ūla'ula*, which is similar to the *koa'e* but it's smaller. People call that *ehu* now. *Hāpu'upu'u*, *kalekale*, all the various deep sea bottom fish. Some *kāhala* and things out there too, amberjack.

KM: How deep? What kinds of depths?



IH: The average is about fifty fathoms down to about a hundred and fifty. You can go a little bit shallower in the evening, a little bit deeper during the day. The *kāhala* not many local Hawaiians eat that now. A lot of my Tongan neighbors like that fish.

KM: Why aren't people eating *kāhala* now?

IH: There's a lot of that parasite worms in it, looks like spaghetti in there.

KM: Do you think that's old or is that?

IH: I'm not sure where that came from. Some of the fish don't have them and some season during the winter, sometimes you get less. A lot of the smaller ones don't have them, I'm not really sure where it comes from.

KM: The old people ate *kāhala*, right?

IH: Yes. Maybe they had it during the season when it wasn't around or it could be something new that came in as the global water current goes around.

KM: Okay, so you're describing this fishery, I wanted to know what's the fishery about and the potential impacts of a nuclear submarine accident or something.

IH: A lot of these areas are breeding grounds for a lot of the fish around here. A lot of the fishermen from Maui try not to access that area as much as possible. It's just like our emergency zone, when the water is rough and stuff that's one of the few areas that is kind of blocked in by Haleakalā depending on the direction of the wind.

KM: Could I ask you, what are the basic points then?

IH: From the *pali*, Mā'alaea the *pali* area, over towards what is that point on Lāna'i [thinking].

KM: Kamāiki, Mānele?

IH: Kamāiki Point. From Kamāiki down to about the Mā'alaea area. There's a ledge that runs along that area and then goes out towards Kaho'olawe.

KM: I see.

IH: So that ledge and the upper area, right on the ledge and right below the drop off of the ledge there's all that deep sea bottom fishing grounds over there. The red fish, the *'ula'ula* fish they are more on the deeper area and like the *'ōpakapaka* and stuff is in the shallower area. The *hāpu'u* is right on the ledge and the *kalikali* is sometimes on the bottom and sometimes on top. Night time, some of the *'ula'ula koa'e* and the *'ula'ula* don't usually bite at night, it's usually a day time fish. The *hāpu'upu'u* and stuff, you can catch them in the shallower water at night. It seems like a lot of the fish move up into shallower water at night.

KM: You mentioned a fish yesterday when we were talking with your uncle them. You said you don't know a Hawaiian name for it but it's some fish out that side. I think and the eyes are really big and Charlie, Bobo was?

IH: *Alfonson*.

KM: *Alfonson*, is that a native fish or is it?

IH: It's found pretty much in a lot of areas in the Pacific. I forgot what the scientific name is, Beryx—something.

KM: *Alfonson*?

IH: *Alfonson*.

KM: Okay.



IH: You can find that in some of the Hawai'i fish books. They are pretty large, the largest one we caught was like fifteen pounders in fairly deep water. The shallowest portion of that pinnacle that I fish and caught those fishes is one hundred and sixty or seventy fathoms on the top.

KM: Wow!

IH: We're actually fishing over the side so we're probably in about two hundred fathoms of water or so. Very large *onaga*, *'ula'ula koa'e*, we were pulling up out of there. Some of them were up to about twenty pounds, fifteen, twenty pounders we were pulling out of there. We decided instead of running all the way back to shore to rest for the night we just stayed anchored since the water was pretty nice. The *'ula'ula koa'e* doesn't bite during the night. We just stayed out there since the water was calm and everything. I figured I would just try drop down the line and see whatever might be down there at night. I dropped down the line and caught some of that fish. Because nobody really knows much about that fish on Maui, I couldn't sell the fish. I decided to eat it, and it was delicious. Really firm white meat. The scales on that fish is super sharp. It's very jagged, really rough scales so you have to be very careful when handling this fish. It's beautiful firm white flesh.

KM: What color is it, what is the basic color of the outer fish?

IH: Bright, bright red with a silverish pink belly. It's a beautiful bright red. Like the *'u'u*, kind of like that but even more of a silvery red, beautiful shiny silvery red color. Beautiful fish.

KM: You guys, you and Bobo were saying that the eyes are big and almost glows?

IH: The eyes are about the size of a beer can or little larger. Large eyes and the pupil almost fills up the entire eye, very large pupil. It's the pupil that kinds of gives off that glowing effect. It kind of gives you a little reflection. Usually when you fish you're fishing at night, you have some light on the boat, and a little of that goes over the side so it reflects it up.

KM: That's right it reflects it back.

IH: I don't think the eyeball itself is actually glowing. It's the reflection of that light that's going down.

KM: Amazing! And *kawele'a* too, you folks said?

IH: *Kawele'a* is a shallow water fish.

KM: Shallow water.

IH: That's the Keller's barracuda, a skinny, narrow barracuda it doesn't get very large. Maybe up to two feet maybe a little bit larger. Doesn't get large like the *'opelu mamā* the great barracuda.

KM: It doesn't get big like that?

IH: No.

KM: This area you said though, the old fishermen of Maui, *kama'aina* fishermen think that that section out there is an important resource?

IH: Most of the guys that did bottom fishing and stuff, the old timers they always told me wherever you find a *kawele'a* school that's a good *ko'a* for different fish, not only the *kawele'a*. The *kawele'a* is there because it has some kind of abundance of food there that all of the different kinds of fishes can eat. If the *kawele'a* is there, there's also some other kinds of fish around there. They catch a lot of *'opelu* and stuff in that area.

KM: 'Ae.

IH: Another one of the fish houses where different species congregate.

KM: All kinds of *ko'a*?



- IH: Yes. Some *ko'a* you get all kinds of variety of fish. But some *ko'a* you get only one specific species of fish that stays there. During the bottom fishing for '*ōpakapaka* which is the shallower of the deep sea bottom fish. I've been noticing that I've been catching a lot of the *taape* out there. I think the *taape* kind of grows up with the juvenile '*ōpakapaka*. Over by Kamāiki Point there's some areas in the shallow maybe about twenty fathoms or so, like a hundred twenty feet or so, or even less, ninety feet. Coming back from trolling behind Lāna'i when I leave my fish finder on and I'm cruising back. I see these ball of fish down there, sometimes I try to stop and drop a line to see what that is. I drop the line down and I hook some baby '*ōpakapaka* like maybe half a pound or so and also hook *taape* with that '*ōpakapaka* in the same school. I'm kind of thinking they were starting to hang out together. The '*ōpakapaka* is migrating to the deeper water and the *taape* seems to be following them.
- KM: Wow!
- IH: I kept going down to eighty, ninety fathoms of water and found *taape*. From what I understand when they found them in the Marquesas Island, the fish were kind of limited to shallow water, hundred feet and shallower. Now they are going into four times what they were known to occur in.
- KM: Deeper areas. That could be dangerous, another introduction.
- IH: As we remove the prime fish, we want the '*ōpakapaka* and these other fish that's just filling the hole that we're taking them out of. We're not leaving space for recruitment of that same type of species that we are taking out. These other imported fish are filling in that hole.
- KM: Yes.
- IH: A lot of fishermen claim that the *taape* spitting out the baby fish of the different species around. A lot of times when I fish I bring the fish up fast so their air bladder pops out, their guts, they throw everything out, lot of time before I get them. I usually get a lot of red shrimp and stuff like that and sometimes I do see baby fish when they vomit on the deck, get them on the deck and stuff comes out of their mouth. I do believe they may be eating some of the baby fish out there. I don't know how we are going to really address that problem, unless you can really get a program to target that fish. By targeting them we need to target them with surround nets and stuff and get them out of the water. Hook and line you would never be able to catch enough of that stuff to even make a dent in it. Like some fishermen in Wai'anae, they go out and surround fish. A lot of them target *akule* and red *weke* and stuff like that. Sometimes there's not much other fish around except the *taape*. So they actually go out there and target the *taape* and they turn them into the food bank. They get some kind of credit or something for them. We need to encourage more of the commercial guys, if they have a slow time, or maybe even require them. If you want to be a commercial surround net fisherman you need to go out and capture this much of *taape* every year.
- KM: 'Ae, yes.
- IH: Create that as a requirement instead of asking, because a lot might not want to do it because it's not profitable. Some of them do it just to try and help out the food bank, it's not really to reduce, the target is not to reduce the *taape* population, but to help out the food bank. Some of their friends work there so, "Can you go get us some fish for our food program. We are kind of running low on stock." So they go out and get some *taape* for them.
- KM: Sounds like a good idea.



Discussing the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands (NWHI); impacts and fisheries; and value of NWHI to archipelago fisheries:

IH: We can create that as a requirement for the guys to continue with their commercial activities, surround net fishing. Surround net fishing is a very efficient way of catching a lot of fish that way. In one way it's bad because you take so much, it's very efficient. Uncle Buzzy Agard used to take that way, he saw how much fish they can take out and how long the fish take to recover.

KM: Yes, If ever.

IH: Yes. Like up in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, they don't have much nutrients, and not much fresh water. In some ways the fishery seems to take, like several times longer to recover then what they do in the main islands. Some of them, they fished them down so far they will never be able to recover.

KM: Yes, that's right.

IH: Like in the real deep sea mountain bottom fishery, is a species called the armor head, that was occurring back in the '40s and '50s. They fished it down so much that in over the past fifty years there has been so sign of recovery of that stock.

KM: What type of fish basically are these armor head and how deep is that fishery?

IH: Armor head is like down below two hundred fathoms, usually on the top of sea mountains out there. There's a lot of sea mountains if you look on the charts, the Northwestern Hawaiian Island, you can see a lot of pinnacles and stuff away from the islands. That stuff got shut down decades ago, and never showed any sign of recovery. There is just not enough of the stock remaining to rebuild the stock again. The same thing happened with the black pearl oysters. They went up there harvesting the black pearl oysters for the shell, to make buttons for clothing and stuff like that. It wasn't so much for pearls itself, there was not much pearls in those oysters. Was more for the button industry.

KM: Economics.

IH: Yes.

KM: Commercial stuff has had a significant impact, because people don't think. In some cases like you said it's even promoted by the government system which says, "Here's this opportunity, come on over." Without thinking of the broader impact.

IH: Broader impact.

KM: Yes.

IH: What's going to happen to the local community.

KM: Yes. And this is a classic example when talking with you and your uncle them. Old time, as you said, generations. Generations of fishing 'ōpelu out here. Evidently in front of Māla, now the wharf area, they don't even have 'ōpelu anymore, is what Bobo said basically right.

IH: Yes. I don't know if it's all of these boats that might be moored out here and stuff like that. Who knows what's coming out of those things?

KM: And then, where they are going now more in front of the Lāhainā Wharf, they get ooshed out by the big sailboats, ships, and stuff. People don't realize, the cruise ships right?

IH: The cruise ship comes in and they have a five hundred yard buffer zone around there because of the terrorism. If they park even remotely close to the fishing ground, you can't even access the fishing ground.

KM: Yes.



IH: And there's supposed to be some kind of regulation, I think it's a hundred foot approach, if somebody is fishing there you cannot come within a hundred feet of them. Nobody exercises that. Like Bobo said the Coast Guard was starting to tell the guys that you're not supposed to be getting too close to these guys when they are fishing and stuff like that. But, how often is the Coast Guard there. The Coast Guard might be there only when the cruise ship is there that's about the only time that they are there. They are there to protect the tourists that are coming on the cruise ship, but not the local community.

KM: Is that terrorists or tourists you said?

IH: Both [chuckling]. They are terrorists. They probably don't realize the impact they are having on our islands and things. All these tourism and stuff it really places a lot of stress on our water resources and everything else. So much additional highways to accommodate all the tourism and everything. Imagine how isolated Hawai'i is, and how much fossil fuel is being burned just to get all these people here and back to where they're coming from. It's an outrageous industry, I don't know why we even consider continuing with this.

KM: It's highly consumptive, everything. From the people...

IH: Yes. It's a disposable industry.

KM: It is. And the people are disposable to everything.

IH: A lot of tourists come here and they don't really...I don't think they are getting the experience that they are looking for. A lot of people come here looking for what Hawai'i is all about, and what they are getting is what Florida or California is all about here. Even a lot of things that you find in a lot of the tourists rip off shops around here is things, "Made in the Philippines," *kukui* nut and shells from the Philippines and stuff, or "Made in China." These people without really knowing and they actually think that they are buying something that's "Hawaiian." The same thing goes with the restaurants over here. A lot of people come over here and they are eating *ōpakapaka* in the restaurants. They don't know that we import about sixty percent of all the bottom fish that is consumed in Hawai'i. We import the fish from somewhere else. The legislature over the past several years have refused to put this fair labeling law into practice where they actually tell the people where this fish is from.

KM: Yes.

IH: They are not telling them it's not from Hawai'i. They might be marketing under false pretenses, these bottom fish that are from Tonga or the Philippines or some other location.

KM: The only thing they say is, "Fresh."

IH: Yes. "Fresh fish" [chuckling]. It could be fresh-frozen, but they forgot to say that. The main Hawaiian Islands produce the most bottom fish that is consumed locally. The Northwestern Hawaiian Islands used to produce a large abundance of fish, but over the years the fishery has been going down, declining. The amount of catch.

KM: And that's primarily for almost a hundred percent commercial activity?

IH: All commercial activity.

KM: And the expense just to get up there?

IH: Yes. If the guys go up to the area they call the Ho'omalū Zone which is the more distant island. They are traveling like four hundred to twelve hundred miles out there. The first section in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands for bottom fishing is called the Mau Zone. It's like the qualifying zone.



KM: Mau?

IH: Mau, M-a-u. You get a permit for the Mau Zone, you need to prove to them first that you can catch so many pounds of deep sea bottom fish in the main Hawaiian Islands to qualify for a Mau Zone permit. When you apply for a Mau Zone permit then you need to prove to them that you can catch X amount of pounds of deep sea bottom fish in the Mau Zone before you can step up into the Ho'omalū Zone permit which is for the more distant areas. As you go further along that area you need a bigger boat and with a bigger boat comes more expenses. More expenses you need to catch more fish just to reach the break even point.

KM: Sure.

IH: The larger and larger the boat and things go, the more fish you need to kill just to break even.

KM: That's right. So, the permitting system itself is fostering greater takes?

IH: Yes. You have to prove that you can catch that much.

KM: Wow! Is there a relationship between, do you think, a relationship between the Northwestern...these Moku Manamana Islands, what the old *kūpuna* called it and these lower islands. Is there a fishery relationship between those above us and here?

IH: I guess there is, but Moku Manamana is actually the name of one island.

KM: One island, but you see Nā Moku Manamana was in old narratives, it's not just one thing. It's the pinnacled rock, those are the after birth, the last children that were born in the cosmology. It's wonderful the story! Is there a relationship between these leeward or north west Pacific Islands and *makai* these lower islands?

IH: I always assumed there was, just from my personal belief and experiences. I really brought my focus to that when I was on the bottom fish task force for the state of Hawai'i. The question in my mind was, they were telling us we don't have much breeding stock in the main Hawaiian Islands. We have an abundance of juveniles, if you check the commercial fish catch reports, a huge majority of the catch is juvenile fish. If we don't have the breeding stock to produce all these juveniles, where are they coming from?

KM: Sure.

IH: They are not coming from here, we're out in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, the only closest thing left is the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands.

KM: Okay.

IH: I told the state of my assumption, that I believe the currents from the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands are coming this way and when the fish breed... They already noticed that when the fish breed they release their eggs and sperm. And they drift in the surface column water in the pelagic stage, and it goes with the current. I told them "I believe that they laid their eggs there and came back to the main Hawaiian Islands." They said, "But from the period when they release their eggs and the sperm into the water column, until the time that they become baby fish, they wouldn't be able to reach the main Hawaiian Islands, so they would die." I believe that even as baby fish and probably any fishermen knows that plankton and stuff like that is still moving around in the water column. It might stay in it's planktonic state until they find a shallow enough area where they do want to settle out and then dive down. Like the Kamāiki Point area where I found that baby *ōpakapaka* it's apparently shallow water. They found some in fairly shallow water in Kāne'ohe Bay in some sandy bottom areas.

KM: Sure.



IH: And that spot I caught that fish also had a sandy bottom area. I guess they find a sandy area and they settle out from the surface area. I don't think they just fall out into nowhere land in the deep water. I think they stay in that shallow state until they find somewhere where they want to settle out. Unless something else eats them along the way. The plankton is the bottom of the food chain. The state always discounted my assumption, and then they told me, you know some of the fish aggregating device buoys that they put out here they found a couple up in the north of the Hawaiian Islands. I told them you got to understand...

KM: It had broken off?

Discusses a 2001 study on currents running North-South from the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands; and the importance of the NWHI as a nursery source for the Main Hawaiian Islands³:

IH: Yes, broken off. They found it out there. I told them you got to understand that's sitting on top of the water and the wind is blowing in that direction so naturally that would go with the wind. "No, the current is also bringing it this way." I fought and argued with them over the years, never able to convince them to actually put some current meters in the water and see which way the water is going. In 2001, I was looking through Science Magazine on the Internet, it blew my mind when I came across this study of the currents of the Hawaiian Archipelago. Some people from the University of Hawai'i did this study on the current itself and they found out that Hawai'i, the archipelago, we have a very unique counter current that flows from the Northwestern islands back toward the main Hawaiian Islands. That counter current is caused by the height of our tall mountains Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa, Haleakalā and the direction of the wind. When the wind hits the back of the islands it creates like a backwards rake of the current, it extends 1800 miles beyond the main Hawaiian Islands. Which is like 600 miles beyond the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands. We know that the current starts well beyond there and it actually flows back towards the main islands.

KM: Right.

IH: So these fish are breeding and letting the eggs go out there, I believe because the current is coming back towards the main Hawaiian Islands, a lot of the stuff we have here is settling out from what is being produced up there. There's a small bottom fishery continuing, it would be much larger if not for the economics of the whole thing. Because we import so much fish, the price for the bottom fish out there hasn't been going up much. The bottom fish that comes from out in that area could be anywhere from about a week old to two weeks old depending on what time of the trip, you caught the fish. It would take them several days just to get to the fishing ground. Sometimes they would stay for about a week or so and fish and then they need to get back to Honolulu to the auction block. Takes another several days to get back. Some of the fish might be close to two weeks old by the time they get to the auction block. They get less, although the fish are larger it's all pretty much all the breeding stock, they are all large fish. It usually what would bring the top dollar, a higher price, but because of the age of the fish and the lower quality, they would get less than what we would get here in the main islands for our catch. Which is usually one to three days old, the oldest, by the time the fishermen get it to the market. We have a lot of fresher, higher quality products coming from the main islands. Hundreds of commercial fishermen are benefiting from the commercial bottom fishery here, compared to only a few up there that are taking what I believe to be the breeding stock that's supplying the main Hawaiian Islands.

KM: It's really important, it sounds like to take care of that resource there.

IH: Yes.

³ See article titled "Far-Reaching Effects of the Hawaiian Islands on the Pacific Ocean-Atmosphere System (Shang-Ping Xie, et al. in Science Magazine, June 15, 2001) at the end of this interview.



KM: Because if you go and wipe it out, the potential is that you're going to lose all of these *pua* that come out of there. And you're not going to have anything down here.

IH: If they want to benefit the public that's what they got to think about. The only way the public is going to benefit from anything up there is to leave it alone.

KM: That's right.

IH: So that we can benefit.

KM: Rather than a few commercial people.

IH: Yes. Exploiting what belongs to everybody.

KM: And I guess ultimately to the potential of filing bankruptcy or getting some, you know so you're paying for it twice. You're losing the natural resource and your tax dollars are paying to subsidize someone's...

IH: Let me give you a good example of the difference between that area and the main islands. You know the green sea turtles, *honu*. A lot of tourists and stuff from the main Hawaiian Islands depend on those, tourists they like look at the turtles and stuff like that. It supports a six hundred million dollar industry or something here on the main islands or whatever it is. Most people don't know that over ninety nine percent of the green sea turtles breed up there in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands. They swim hundreds of miles from here to there to breed because we messed this place up and they don't want nothing to do with this place. We have a few of them they cannot hold the egg in, they got to *hānau* right away, some of them might lay their eggs over here. They might not be able to make it all the way over there. The majority, ninety nine percent of them lay their eggs and stuff up in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands. That area also protects an animal, that to me is personally is very significant, the *ʻīlio holo i ka uaua*, the Hawaiian monk seal. That is the most endangered full-time resident marine mammal under U.S. jurisdiction right now. The only marine mammal that is in the U.S. waters that is more endangered is the northern Wright Whale. And that's only a temporary migration through the U.S. controlled waters. Those animals [the Hawaiian Monk Seals] were starving up there and the obvious thing when something is starving is, there's not enough food.

KM: Right.

IH: And the thing that was creating that starvation I have no doubt is the commercial lobster fishery that was occurring in that area. Although the marine scientists told the federal fishery managers they could take 300,000 lobsters every year without damaging the stock, they decided to just let it open. In some years they took over a million and a half lobsters and just decimated the lobster fishery. So they shut down the lobster fishery for a year and reopened it the following year for one experimental permit. They let that experimental permit take more than what the maximum sustainable yield for that year was listed as. And oh, surprisingly after one year of closure the one experimental fishing permit the stock didn't recover. What they did was they decided to reduce the mesh of the lobster traps down to one inch by two inch and they developed what they called, "A retain all fishery management plan." Which means that every single lobster that entered the trap could be taken. There was no such thing as undersized, they were taking lobster as small as your thumb. If it couldn't squeeze out of that one inch by two inch mesh it was yours to take. A lot of these lobsters were destined for some of the high class oriental seafood restaurants as the decorative effects on some of their seafood platters. So some of these baby lobsters were just set on the edge of the platters, just for little sparkly decorations. This is the only place in the United States of America, that is controlled by the United States of America that berried females have ever been allowed to be taken. Here in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, they allowed them to take every berried female that entered the trap. What they did with the berried female was they scraped all the eggs off of the pendulums under the females and sprinkled them as garnish on some of their



oriental dishes and whatnot. Just a blatant rape of the resource! Fortunately some environmental groups stepped forward, concerned with the starvation of the Hawaiian monk seal and everything like that. The Federal judge threatened to shut the fishery down unless the National Marine Service did so voluntarily. And to save their reputation they did so voluntarily. All the monk seals are in such bad condition, we're not sure if they will be able to recover. There's about 1400 of them still alive out there. We hope that they can recover. The areas are from three miles up to fifty miles that are designated as an ecosystem reserve right now. We are trying to work in cooperative management type of operation where we get the various jurisdictions to manage the area equally, protecting, and hopefully that can help sustain the Hawaiian monk seal. We still have a lot of problems with the Western Pacific Fishery Management Council putting a lot of propaganda in the newspapers. Even going so far as to say they have fisheries occurring in the area like the lobster fisheries which are shut down and not allowed under the reserve or anything else right now. They want to open coral reef ecosystem fisheries they want to catch different species from coral reefs now out there. Those fisheries never occurred up there, they want to take the precious coral from over there. Just total exploitation. The problem is all the fisheries are managed by the Department of Commerce, and Commerce's bottom line is making money. So it's for making money and not protecting things.

KM: So developing ways to exploit the resource.

IH: Yes, exploit for money.

KM: This Northwestern Pacific Islands, what does it include? From above Kaua'i?

IH: Northwest of Kaua'i starting from a hundred fifty miles northwest of Kaua'i, starting with Nihoa, and it extends for a little over 1100 miles beyond that, to Kure Atoll. A Little more north in the chain, is the area they call Midway where the battle of Midway between the United States and the Japanese forces occurred. The majority of that battle happened far off at sea, there's only a little bit of activity actually near the island. Most of the activity was far off at sea. There's a few shipwreck and things around that area. Not just from the military activity, but from also the shipping, and there's a lot of trash out there. There's actually a tomahawk missile in the water up there. I'm very concerned I want to get that out of the water. I really hope that we can hold the military accountable. Not only have they screwed up Kaho'olawe, they just want to clean up a little bit of their mess and run away. They messed up the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands quite a bit. They have dump sites on the land themselves a lot of toxins leaching into the water. That's how we got a lot of problems for the monk seals as well because the monk seals are eating the eels and octopuses and things that all these toxins are leaching into. They got a lot of PCBs in them and everything. Like transformers and things get buried under the ground out there. A lot of those islands are right down at sea level so that stuff is under the sea.

KM: Yes. It just percolates right down.

IH: I don't know if we can hold the military accountable for cleaning up their mess, but I really hope we can. They have a representative on the Reserve Advisory Council that I sit on as citizen at large and vice chair. It seems like the military just does what they want to do. They don't seem to have to ask permission or anything. Right now they are conducting these interceptor missile tests, firing stuff from up in Alaska and shooting missiles off of Kaua'i. The stuff is supposed to be falling out near the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, or what they call the broad open ocean. We have no idea where it's coming from. One of the bottom fishermen from Maui, Bobby Gomes, is representing the commercial bottom fishermen on the Reserve Advisory Council. He told us a short while back, a navy boat ordered him to stop, turn around and go back towards the main Hawaiian Islands because they were conducting some military activity out there. He was on his way fishing so rather than turn around and go back he decided to just idle around the area so not to burn up too much of his fuel and wait until they gave him the all clear signal. They are dropping bombs and whatnot off of the airplanes and things like that.



KM: So lots of problems?

IH: Yes. Lot of military activity and there's no oversight from the public at what they do.

KM: What happens, how do we insure that you can still come out here or go up there? How do we insure that you're going to be able to fish or if your sons want to fish? Your grandchildren when they come. What happens?

IH: Maybe the only way we can insure that is get our sovereign recognition back. That's probably the main way we can...probably that's the only way we can protect the future of this place. The United States has only focused on the bottom line, that's really all they're all about. They don't care about who's place it is. The entire United States is built up on stolen lands from other indigenous people. The real Americans are, what they call Native Indian, they're not Indian. The idiot that ran into the place thought they were in India, so they called North Americans Indians. And I guess we're Sandwich Islanders or something here. Doesn't seem possible to work with the United States Government to do what we need to do to protect this area. A puppet entity, the state government is a puppet of the Federal Government. Just the typical thing that happened right across the United States of America. They destroyed the environment all in the name of a few corporate interests just making their bottom line increase. I know we aren't going to get much assistance from the United Nations. They won't even step in against the war with Iraq...

KM: ...When I asked you what happens to try and protect and insure that there will be something in the future, and hopefully a healthy system in the future. Your comment was, "Sovereignty." But in the mean time you're involved in a lot of activities.

IH: Even with sovereignty we need the plan to do that. The plan to do that is, to turn the authority over to the people in the area including enforcement. We need to enforce people from the area. They are always in the area they can see, what's the sense of having six enforcement officers or something that covers the entire area, and maybe nobody lives in West Maui. And the way the current regulations and stuff are set up the culprit needs to be caught in the act.

KM: Right.

IH: Okay. The guy going drive all the way over from Hāna to come to Lāhainā. "Hey, these guys are loading stuff into the back of his truck a bunch of illegal nets and everything."

KM: By the time you get there?

IH: By the time the enforcement officer gets there, the guy finished eating the fish and everything [chuckles].

KM: You also just said something about, so you've got the regulations and the way they're set up. The regulation, you can take 300,000 lobsters but they took a million. You've got regulations that aren't enforced.

IH: Yes. Even the management people are not following the regulations.

KM: That's throughout the islands. So your thought and you suggested as a possibility yesterday, and as you said today, it's "Community based?"

IH: Uh-hmm.

KM: That it be people that are of the land, and they are out there and they have some sort of authority. Earlier you were talking even about the communities, in observing who's taking what or how much has been taken. Have the authority to say, "Enough *manini* for now, you got to let it rest."

IH: Yes. Shut whatever they need, maybe a forty-eight hour process where you can shut it down. There's a lot of volunteer programs like reef check and things like that around the islands. We can get a lot of our teenagers involved with that kind of stuff so they can actually go out there and monitor and watch out.



KM: Sure. And they are learning, they are getting skills.
IH: As they grow up and then they have children, some of them they can pass their knowledge down to the children.
KM: Yes.
IH: A lot of our knowledge has been cut off because of the United States coming over here and just yanking control of everything away from the Hawaiian people. A lot of the intimacy that we once had, our connection with the ocean and the land and everything. A lot of that stuff is not as intimate as it used to be. Not nearly as intimate. We need to go through a lot of this learning process all over again.

Discussing currents between Maui, Moloka'i, Lāna'i and Kaho'olawe; used to determine locations of fisheries:

KM: That's the whole thing. Understanding place names, the association of...and place names weren't just on the land. The *ko'a* were named, currents, being able to observe one area from another. That's the intimacy because those place names give the stories.

IH: The majority of the currents here, the best current is called the Moloka'i current. It used to be called something else but everybody forgot what the name was. But because it goes toward Moloka'i, we call that the Moloka'i current.

KM: That's right.

IH: A lot of the old stuff is gone, but the knowledge of the function out here is still pretty much intact with a lot of the local families.

KM: Yes.

IH: We need like I said regional decision making authority, regional enforcement, people that live here. And we need the reward system. I don't know if the system is in place now, but a while back I heard something, that if you report somebody for a violation and they pay a fine, as the reporting party you are entitled to 50% of that fine. I'm not sure if that is still in place. I just saw something like that from the mainland where they have that sort of system in place.

KM: So you think there are actually some models?

IH: Yes. Some things are already going on. Even just like the licensing and permitting for the non commercial guys. That came from the mainland, they had a head start in messing their place up though [chuckling].

I don't like these reserves that they are talking about now in the legislature because it's not the particular community that you confide into whether they want to shut down their area or not.

KM: It's centralized?

IH: Everything goes back to the central brain in Honolulu, totally disconnected from this area.

KM: And what happens to families, let's just take right here from Māla through Wahikuli to Kā'anapali. What happens to the families...and there's still families here like uncle that we spoke with yesterday, that for generations have fished these waters. And then if you set up a preserve. Can they still fish?

IH: They don't have any other place because they don't know other places. This is the only place he knows.

KM: They need to take into account the "traditional and customary use." Now, does that include commercial or is that for sustainable fishing?



IH: I think commercial can be sustainable fishing like *ōpelu* is sustainable fishing. Where you're not taking all of the fish, you're not really damaging any of the ecosystem. You're not touching the bottom or anything when you're doing that. The *ōpelu* are a plentiful source and the state really wants to learn how to increase exploitation of the *ōpelu*. I'm concerned that they are going to start charging *ōpelu* for the fish pellets they want to do in Hilo. I hope not. Somebody told me they were going to be more vegetation based for feeding, let's hope that's the case.

KM: I hope so.

IH: They are going to be targeting what they consider under utilized species like the *ōpelu*.

KM: Wow! That sounds dangerous.

IH: Target the natural stuff to raise fish in cages to export to Japan.

KM: Sounds dangerous.

IH: That's where the global market problem comes in again. That's again adding to the fossil fuel problems, the global warming and everything all these fossil fuels to ship this stuff halfway around the world, or where ever. That's just totally an artificial way of life, this entire planet is in such an artificial state that we need to go backwards. Go backwards real quick before we destroy this place.

KM: See that's the really neat thing about the old system. And literally, people were accountable with their lives. No one had just the right.

IH: Yes.

KM: You look at all the old accounts. People lost their lives for screwing up.

IH: Imagine losing your life just for one *aku*. That's how important it was.

KM: Yes. I guess it makes you think before you take that *ōpelu*, that *aku*?

IH: I think like a lot of indigenous people around the world, they think several generations into the future.

KM: Yes. Not just today.

IH: You got to make sure that this thing is going to be here for seven generations, that's your responsibility. If you mess it up now, you're going to have to die. I'm sorry [chuckling].

KM: You know and this is the thing from the *kūpuna* that we've been interviewing here. Basic ideas, *mālama ka ʻāina* or *mālama ke kai na ke kai mālama ia ʻoe*. It's going to take care of you.

IH: Yes. It works two ways.

KM: That's right.

Need to establish regional management programs for fisheries:

IH: We've got to get down to really small regional management. When people from this area they go into the water they can see. People from O'ahu they are not coming out here and monitoring the stuff. It's *moi* season and they shut between this month and this month, the entire state. Like Mo'omomi, they have more of a control of that area and the West Hawai'i Fishery Council they have kind of control over that area. I think the areas are still to broad. I think they need to get more, even smaller regional. Like Miloli'i itself should manage that area. That's the first area I would really like to see managing their resources.

KM: They still have a native community that's knowledgeable of their resource but see even in there talking with Uncle Walter and Uncle Eddie Ka'anā'anā. You see even there though, the young people, if their *palu* is *pala'ai* or *kalo* or something, but someone's going out using...



IH: Chop-chop?

KM: Yes. Or even *pilau*, worse. The *kūpuna* have all said, "If you feed your fish junk, you're going to eat junk."

IH: Yes.

KM: *Ma'i*. People got to come together.

IH: The whole Hawaiian community has got to come together. That's why we're not moving anywhere. United States recognizes their presence here is illegal, everything they did to get into the position they are in now, is illegal. The Hawaiians all recognize that. Just because we can't get together and everybody wants to be the boss. That's could be one thing that would be the biggest stumbling block in the regional thing, the argument will be...

KM: Who's going to be on top?

IH: Yes. It's going to have to be a democratic process where anybody interested in participating in the process would have to elect their president. In that manner we might have to go with the...

KM: So how did the system work in the old days?

IH: The king was the boss.

KM: Or say if we were into, it was still monarchy, but it was a democratic monarchy. You look at who were the old fishermen, the *kūpuna*, the *lawai'a nui*. Usually the elder member of the community who was of the land, who knew the fishery.

IH: The most experienced.

KM: That's right.

IH: That was his job.

KM: That was the last word.

IH: *Konohiki*.

KM: Yes, *konohiki* like or *lawai'a nui*. Do we have the ability in our native communities now to go back to something like that?

IH: I don't know if we do. Over the past couple of generations the Hawaiians kind of moved away from depending on the ocean for sustaining our lives like we used to, and moved into the supermarkets. Lot of the traditional knowledge for fishing is in the Japanese, a lot of the Japanese started picking up fishing.

KM: Sure.

IH: So money could be made. That's what the Japanese first came to Hawai'i for, was to make money working in the sugar cane fields and stuff. Like the pole and line *aku* boat fishing, that was from Japan they brought that over here. The Hawaiians also did that with canoe.

KM: They did.

IH: That was unreal.

KM: Amazing the stories! I've translated some material and it's going to be in this study. Beautiful accounts you know.

IH: I read some stuff about them having a double hull canoes, and they would put this basket in the middle. That must have been hard trying to get through the water with that thing dragging in there. But they went out there, and bait fish with that and they trolled with the pearl shell lures.



KM: Yes. Amazing!

IH: So I really think we need to break it down into regions, give authority to communities and enforcement.

KM: And it doesn't mean that there's...in the present system that aquatics or someone isn't going to have...they can be the people that...?

IH: Sort of like over sight.

KM: Yes. To keep the documentation integrate on the state wide level so we can actually understand what's happening from this district regional kind of level. The synthesis.

IH: If something is working well in one particular area you can show it...look at this model. Shutting down areas like they are proposing now, although the intent is very well meaning, I can't appreciate going along with that. They might not realize that some of the people that depend on the area. A lot of these people don't go out to meetings and stuff like that.

KM: Of course not.

IH: They just go to the ocean and get their food. They are not public people, they're uncomfortable particularly in speaking in public forums and things like that. A lot of these people are Hawaiians, they are uncomfortable with that kind of stuff.

KM: Yes. Particularly our *kūpuna*, like I see your folks uncle yesterday.

IH: Kind of a shy man.

KM: Yes, but the stories. I just hear the common thread of his story with all the other *kūpuna*. Whether it's Ni'ihau to Hawai'i. There are similar threads that all bind it together.

IH: Yes. I don't think they really need to shut down entire areas. Just have people get out there and start managing it as an ecosystem. A lot of the ecosystems that are on the main Hawaiian Islands are screwed up already. We will probably never get them back to what they're supposed to be.

KM: Many of our nurseries right?

IH: Yes.

KM: Most of the nurseries are significantly changed.

IH: Because of the diversion of water.

KM: Diversion of water.

IH: We don't have the baby fish or the food supply for the baby fish. We get all this silt going on the coral reef and everything killing all the *limu* and stuff for the fish to survive on. Like trying to raise cattle in the dessert.

KM: Yes.

IH: How are you going to bring back an ecosystem when you haven't got anything.

KM: You know the article you were talking about that mentioned the currents.

IH: Yes. I have that.

KM: Can I get a copy?

IH: Yes.

KM: I'd love to see it. Will you e-mail me a copy?

IH: Yes.



KM: Great.
IH: I had posted that on the KAHEA website when I was working for them.
KM: Okay, good.
IH: I'll send you a copy.
KM: Thank you so much for taking the time.
IH: My pleasure. Thank you...



**Gilbert Neizman (with Isaac and Tammy Neizman-Harp)
Recollections of Lāhainā Fisheries and Fishing Practices
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly
March 26, 2003, at Kahului, Maui**

Gilbert Neizman was born at Māla in 1934. He has fished his entire life, and was taught traditional customs and practices associated with the Lāhainā fisheries from his father and maternal grandfather. His mother's line is Keahi, an old fishing family of the region. During the interview, Uncle Gilbert describes his experiences as a youth, 'ōpelu fishing with his grandfather. He shares customs and values practiced by the elder Hawaiians of the Māla-Lāhainā area; and also discusses changes that he has observed over his lifetime.

Uncle Gilbert notes that the practices of non-Hawaiian fishermen have had a significant and detrimental impact on the Hawaiian fisheries; and suggests that action be taken to curb the decline in fishery resources. He also observed that tourist-oriented ocean activities, like the jet ski ramp, and fishing boats, have impacted the traditional sites in which his family and other native families have fished for generations. His comments and views are shared by his relatives, Frank Harrison Neizman and Moon Keahi, who also participated in interviews cited in this study.

Arrangements for the interview were made by Tammy Neizman-Harp, Uncle Gilbert's daughter. Uncle Gilbert Neizman granted his personal release of the interview to Maly, on October 24, 2003.

- KM: Uncle, please, your name and date of birth?
- GN: Gilbert Neizman. I was born 1934 in Lāhainā.
- KM: 'Ae. Wonderful. So you *hānau* in 1934?
- GN: Yes, in Māla Village.
- KM: Your family, for generations, lived in that area?
- GN: Yes. My mother is Keahi, they lived there.
- KM: Mama is a Keahi?
- GN: Yes, and my father's side, my uncles all lived just before Lāhainā town, on the Puamana side of Lāhainā town. That was all my father's side. He had a bunch of brothers, my dad. They are all fishermen...
- ...My dad had fourteen kids. He worked at the plantation, and part time he was fishing. Fishing helped big, it was a big help to the family. My mom and dad had fourteen children.
- KM: Your dad was basically German?
- GN: Yes.
- KM: Did he learn fishing from his wife's family or Keahi *mā* or?
- GN: No. I guess they all just blended in with fishing. He loved fishing. My uncles, they were excellent fishermen on both sides. My Hawaiian side, my mama's side and my daddy's side, same thing. They were all good fishermen, excellent. And good natured people. Like, if you were outside there in a certain area fishing, they would go someplace else.
- KM: 'Ae.
- GN: To me it was just like their generation was blessed, because in their generation, they all had *aloha* for each other.
- KM: 'Ae. So if you were out fishing in one place and someone came down, they saw you, they would go somewhere else?



GN: Yes.

KM: They don't bother?

Describes *ōpelu* fishing with his grandfather in the 1940s; as many as seventeen canoes could work the Wahikuli and Māla *ko'a*:

GN: Yes. Back in the '40s it was oars. They have to oar the boat, no more engine. So I'd go with my grandfather and we go in the early morning, like about 4 o'clock in the morning and it's dark. The plantation lights, the street lights are not on in the shoreline, it was completely dark. I'd go with my grandfather, and my grandfather would be in front of the canoe, and I would be in the back with the Japanese oar.

KM: Yes, *uneune*.

GN: Yes. My grandfather would be paddling in front, and I can't even see him because it's so dark. He would be in the front telling me, "More to the left, more to the left." I turn to the left, "Okay, stay like that," then you go straight. "More to the left," you turn to the left. All of a sudden he says, "Okay, enough," and then you stop. Wait till the sun comes to daybreak now. As soon as you can see or sometimes you can hear somebody coughing [chuckles]. Because it's dark.

KM: Yes it's dark. You don't know if anyone is out there.

GN: Yes. Because no more noise. Then as soon as somebody lights their cigarette you know. And they have stick match.

KM: Yes, cowboy.

GN: Yes. They light that and you can see. So me and my grandfather would go out.

KM: This is on the Māla side?

GN: Yes, Māla.

KM: And grandpa was Keahi?

GN: Yes, Keahi from Moloka'i.

KM: Oh.

GN: He was from Moloka'i. My grandma is from Lahainaluna.

KM: So you folks go out there when it's dark yet, and you sit out there.

GN: Yes.

KM: He already knows his spot?

GN: Yes. He stays outside, and we can hear some guys coughing or lighting their cigarette; and in those days it was all Bull Durham. We'd go outside there, and no more noise, it's quiet. Then all of a sudden come little bit day break and you see one boat there, another boat there, maybe get about four boats outside. You think you're the first one, but no, get about four boats out there already.

KM: All canoes?

GN: All canoes. All get two guys on the boat, one in the front and one in the back. They had four boats outside there, that early in the morning. If they see someone is little bit too near, they just move away to give them space. That's how these guys were, always like that, always, always.

KM: You're all basically working one *ko'a*? Or are there different *ko'a* spots where, are you going for *ōpelu*?



- GN: Yes. The fish, it's all a big area.
- KM: Big area.
- GN: We can get sometimes fifteen, seventeen canoes and they can stay all in that same area outside Wahikuli State Park, outside there and part of Māla and maybe Canoe Beach, all outside that area. It can hold seventeen boats, all in the same area, everybody can catch fish and come out.
- IH: Canoe Beach, that's where that jet ski ramp thing is in the water.
- GN: Yes. See, the fish, the *'ōpelu* when it comes time for them to lay their eggs, they go to the shallow, and when they go to the shallow that's going to be around Canoe Beach, outside there. They lay there and then they go, and when the baby comes up, and then by about maybe December like that, they would be a little further down, going back in the deep, the babies. They are ready to go back to the deep and the next thing you know they're about this size [gestures].
- KM: Twelve inches.
- GN: They move further out the bigger ones, and then the smaller ones stay all inside the shore. They always, always...of course you get seasons. Like certain times, when they lay eggs, they hardly bother eating pumpkin, you can hardly catch them.
- KM: Is that the December time like that?
- GN: No. That's about August something, during the summer.
- KM: They come and lay around August?
- GN: Yes. Summer, like June, July, August is the time in the shallow water. Certain times it's hard to catch because they go to the shallow. Lots of guys, they like to catch, but can't because the fish go to the shallow, and then the net is long. They got to let go the net because of the rocks like that.
- That is one reason why they don't go to the shallow. They always had fish, and so much in the water, you can put your hand under the water and push the fish up in the air. So much! Just packed, you can't see the net bottom because the fish underwater is thick, all packed. You can't see the net.
- KM: Wow! When you folks would go out, did you go out and *hānai* sometimes just feed them or you no need?
- GN: No. When they go outside fishing, they take the net, they feed. The fish was almost like, it was natural to them, the feeding.
- KM: Yes. Many generations.
- Kupuna* fished with the *'ōpelu māāmā*; describes *'ōpelu* fishing grounds and practices when he was a youth:
- GN: Can be maybe two, three, and next thing you know, all the fish start coming, and then we used to get a barracuda outside there. And the barracuda we used to call 'em *'ōpelu māāmā*.
- KM: 'Ae.
- GN: One reason why was because if the *kawakawa* comes around, *uku* comes around, the *'uluā* comes around, *pāpio* or even *mahimahi* comes around, the barracuda chases them. They protect the *'ōpelu*. The *'ōpelu*, when you put one big round ball of pumpkin, all the *'ōpelu* goes inside there and they are all busy eating, and the *kawakawa* goes right through, and you can see the fish eaten in his mouth. Then sometimes when he sees that, the barracuda chases the *kawakawa*.



KM: Chases it out?

GN: Yes. Then the *kawakawa* doesn't have a chance to come inside, he protects it. Still yet, we broke the *'ōpelu* in half and throw it in the water for the barracuda to come and eat. Back in the '40s and early '50s, there were a lot of barracudas. We used to just hold the tail and put it in the water halfway and the barracuda would come up like that right by the front.

KM: Take it right out of your hand, you could pet them?

GN: Yes.

KM: Perhaps your grandfather them had trained, or someone had...

GN: Yes.

KM: ...they were so *ma'a* to you folks right?

GN: Yes, yes. Hey you look at the box glass you can see the mouth going like that [gestures, opening and closing], and come right by the box glass you lift it up and he comes by the water like that. They were so tame, you can see all the big teeth and all that. They were coming up, and butting their head by the box glass [chuckling].

KM: Wow!

GN: We're talking, we were only kids in those days, 12 years old, 10 years old like that.

KM: You were the boy to go out with your grandpa to help him like that?

GN: Yes. And after that my uncle...my uncle was younger than me, one year younger. The three of us would go. He would be in the middle, I would be in the back. Gee, that's one thing about these old timers. they don't take food, they don't take water. You're hungry, we were only kids. My other uncle, Paul La'a, he married my aunty, my mother's sister. Him, he was one good Hawaiian man, he would be in the back, and me small, I'd stay in the middle. I said, "Uncle, I'm hungry." He tell me, "Here come." Behind him he broke the *'ōpelu*, you know how you break it down the middle and you split it.

KM: Yes.

GN: He told me I go *hoehoe* the boat little bit in front so when you throw the guts out, the guts go behind the boat. If not it's not going in front, bumby if my grandfather is looking like that, it might come underneath and he's going to wonder what is this [chuckling]. He would clean the guts and shake the water inside and he would slow the boat little bit in front. We used to get a bucket upside down, and when the sun hits it we get dried fish.

KM: Yes. Right while you are out there?

GN: And we used to get the whole loaf bread before, no more the sliced kind, just the whole bread. We would go inside there and dig inside, and we get sardines to feed the *'ōpelu*, the tomato sardines just open it and throw some on the bread. I would eat, and if my grandfather came out I would be like this [looking at the hollow loaf of bread]. That was part of our *kaukau*, because they don't take nothing, these guys don't believe in taking food.

KM: So you go out early in the morning?

GN: Yes.

KM: About how deep are you setting down your net?

GN: About sixty feet water.

KM: Sixty feet of water. You're staying out for hours at a time then?

GN: Yes. If season and plenty *'ōpelu*, you go before the sun just about coming up, you come home already.



KM: For real!

GN: Yes, because only a couple of times you pull the net that's it, fills up the hatch.

KM: You get one *lau* or, four hundred?

GN: We go by the tub. In those days one tub was maybe about eighty five pounds. Sometimes you get around seven tubs. Me and my dad, the highest me and dad had was nine tubs. We're talking about all the big ones. The small ones sometimes about this size the small ones.

KM: Yes. Seven inch kind.

GN: There was so much that just about all the boats that go out, it can be ten boats go out today, they all come home with fish. Then the fish market was maybe about ten cents a pound, and the next thing you know they tell only five cents a pound. But then they dry the fish up to give all their family, they dry the fish up.

KM: *Kaha, kāpī* and everything.

GN: Yes. And then they sell them for a dollar and a quarter a pound after they dry it up. That's big bucks, you figure only the family.

KM: Right. So you folks were selling some 'ōpelu like that?

GN: Yes. That was their livelihood, the fishermen don't work, they were commercial fishermen but they weren't greedy. Whatever the fish they catch today, and then if the fish market stop them, well, "I can't go fishing already." That's it, they don't go.

KM: When was the best time that you went out to go and get 'ōpelu of the year? When was the best time of the year?

GN: Around November time.

KM: November.

GN: November, December is the time. Sometimes we used to come home with two hatches full. Like my uncle guys, they have a bigger boat, they get a bigger canoe so they can hold sometimes eighteen tubs. You can't call them greedy, because had so much fish, in their generation, like I just said, they were blessed with all the fish had.

KM: You said that they actually, they knew the season when the fish came in, and they don't school, or they don't take the *pala'ai* like that.

GN: Yes.

KM: So you don't take much or you don't take them when they are spawning I guess?

GN: See, when they spawn like that, they go to the shallow, so that's it. Sometimes you get plentiful and sometimes no more. Fishing is just like gambling, sometimes you win, sometimes you lose. Fishing is the same thing. Sometimes you catch and sometimes you don't, or sometimes there's only a little bit.

And the old timers always...okay if some guys come on the canoe, just come help, small kids. They're not helping much, but maybe they help with the roller, so they can put the canoe on top, and the guys can push it up.

KM: Up the beach.

Fish always shared with community:

GN: When they get it up, they get the Wesson oil can, the square one before days, fill it up with fish, they give the guys, they take them home.

KM: They *māhele*?

GN: Yes, oh yes!



KM: So they separate, divide the fish and share.

GN: They always, always do. Even if you're only sitting down on the beach, "Come here, you go take home." The neighborhood, everybody knows each other. And not only them, the camps too. They always used to give, always.

KM: Share?

GN: Yes.

KM: Did you ever see your grandfather keep a *Kū'ula*? Or did he *pule* before they go out or when you folks go with him?

GN: My grandfather, he slept on the canoe, on the deck, they get a hatch cover. He would sleep there. And used to have a Portuguese bread oven right next to the canoe.

KM: For real!

GN: Yes. So we used to go over there by the oven on the cement, and when the sun hit, it would come warm because the oven was hot. During the night, we would go lay down near to the oven, and it was warm. Friday, Saturday nights we go down the beach sleep. I used to take notice every time he prays, before he goes to sleep he prays. He drinks water, he prays. He goes by the water front, and sometimes I look at him, he's outside and he stops, and I see him, his mouth moves [Looks down].

KM: His head goes down?

GN: Yes. And then he goes. Yes, he always prayed. Like in the morning he would get up, he would go pray, when he goes to sleep he prays, he drinks water he prays, and I guess eating too. But sometimes we don't take notice of that. I guess he does bless the food. He was always, always praying.

KM: And you said the fishing, it was the way of life, it was how you folks survived right?

Describes bottom fishing and *ko'a* markers on the land used to mark fishing grounds:

GN: Yes. My dad, he worked at the plantation, and part time he would go fishing. I would go to school, after school I would come home, and when my dad finished work plantation, then me and him go out. Him, after work, and me, after school. We would go out and sometimes we get couple tubs, one maybe two hundred pounds, hundred fifty pounds, just go after work, that's good part time money for him.

KM: Wow! Amazing! Was this down the Puamana side?

GN: No, outside. *Māla*.

KM: *Māla*. That was the main place where you folks went?

GN: When we were born, my dad and mama were living in *Māla* already. The fishermen, all inside that area, they sit and they talk story, they all *aloha* each other. My dad wasn't only an *'ōpelu* fisherman. He would bottom fish and whenever his days off, Sundays like that. He would go bottom fish, sometimes he would set fish traps, he had all kinds of different varieties of fish. The *'ōpelu* guys only *'ōpelu*. My dad had traps, he'd get all kinds, *kūmū*, *weke*, *manini*, lobster anything.

KM: He had special areas where he knew? Where he learned...?

GN: Like him, he set the trap but he get the landmark. The landmark is one angle, standing like this and this, and if it's here he would mark it like that.

KM: 'Ae.

GN: And maybe this, the same thing, and he marks it like that, this one right here, because of this and this.

KM: They triangulate?



GN: Yes. That's his fishing spot.

KM: That's the fishing *ko'a* out there?

GN: Yes. He would set his trap there, and then maybe two days later, he comes back to check. He comes right here, he marks that, he marks that and he'd be right there. Sometimes he was blessed. He was so blessed that the dirty water from the mountain, when it rains and the dirty water comes down, he just dragged the hook and he'd get his trap, no need box glass, because he get his mark [chuckling].

KM: Amazing! He knew the marks so well.

GN: Not only him, all the old timers.

KM: What kinds of marks did they use on the land?

GN: Like a smokestack, like at Pioneer Mill they got a smokestack. And they used to have one more outside at Kā'anapali. They had one more stack. The pump station, had a big stack there. He would take that with either the mountain in the back or the sugar cane, the cross roads. Same thing in Lāhainā they would go with Pioneer Mill and the mango trees, or cross roads in the plantation cane fields, they are all landmarks.

KM: Yes. As a fisherman those landmarks were really important?

GN: Yes. If the smokestack falls down we finished.

TH: You guys know, like the Kā'anapali one..

Technology has led to depletion of fisheries; fish have no chance:

KM: See, that's like when we were driving over here you were talking about the GPS and the stuff now. It's like the fish...?

GN: Now the fish have a chance to grow, no more the stack. The fish has a chance to grow, because we don't know where to find them.

KM: Now with the new equipment, though, no more chance?

GN: No more chance.

KM: If you improve the technology on how you are going to take the fish, they have no more chance?

GN: Yes. Now if I was to press one button for the GPS, especially the Kā'anapali one, no more that. Even if I take one side, I can still go like that and maybe know about where. But with the GPS you can go drift around here and there and once you press the button you find the spot again. But with the landmark, if no more that landmark, you're just guessing already, about where [chuckling].

IH: And you can go night time too, no need even look. Get the auto pilot, you press the auto pilot on the GPS the boat take you there you no need even drive.

GN: See, my dad during the war, they *hoehoe*, as I said no more engines. He'd go outside, and had all the military, the navy ships outside. He went outside and he found one parachute, he brought the parachute home, a red one. He brought the parachute home and he made a sail.

KM: Wow.

GN: He made a sail, and after that all the Hawaiians went, "That's one clever guy, look he made one sail and he goes out. He just goes out with the wind, and just sit behind, he no need oar." Even if they no more the equipment and engines like that, but they still go.

KM: Amazing! The *kūpuna* the same thing, they made sails on their canoes before days.

GN: Yes.



KM: He would go and set traps in certain areas?

GN: Set traps.

KM: And he would go bottom also?

GN: Bottom fishing, yes.

KM: Way out?

GN: [thinking] Maybe about three miles out.

KM: For real!

GN: Two, three miles.

KM: Towards Lānaʻi or Kahoʻolawe?

Black coral zones; important habitat for bottom fish:

GN: Yes. Towards Lānaʻi, all where that black coral is, the area.

KM: That was what you said a hundred and twenty five feet or?

GN: Hundred twenty five feet, maybe the most two hundred twenty five feet. They only go inside that area, because they don't need to go way in the deep.

KM: The black coral, what about that, and the little fish you were saying earlier?

GN: See, the black coral they stay on the ridge. Where that crater, Lāhainā has a crater by Wahikuli, just outside, has a crater up on the hill. I guess at one time when it erupted, it formed a ridge.

KM: So it goes under water now?

GN: Yes. That's why you can go way out, and has some places in between Maui and Lānaʻi, that are only about ninety feet deep. Has one place, that spot is only ninety feet. If you don't know the place you might catch hell, get stuck on the stone because you stay in maybe hundred fifty feet then all of a sudden, "Hey?" You pull, and you stay on top the stones already because it's a pinnacle.

KM: Right.

GN: So has spots that you got to know the ground. And when you go with the old timers, they know the ground because they tell you, sand bottom, rock. When you throw, it's sand. Then you throw, it's rock. Because they look at their landmarks.

KM: Amazing!

GN: I had the same thing, because I go over there and pick up spots, and then like maybe get certain kind of fish here, certain kind of fish there, you go and catch *moelua* on one certain spot. Or you catch *nabeta* (*laenihī*) on one certain spot, on the drift. You get all kinds. Like today get plenty fishermen, and plus you get the GPS so that they continue to know the spots. Of course you're going on the drift, to me it's almost like the fish is just like the village. You get the road like this, and then you get houses all this side, and the fish are almost like that. You get one drift that you drift, almost like on one street. And on the side, all the fish are the houses like that, when they bite here, bite there, bite there, until you pass the spot, hey, no more, you passed by already.

KM: You passed the neighborhood?

GN: Yes. Pass the village. And then you come back again and you go and pick up some more again.

KM: You know the current, you know where you are by your landmarks.



GN: Yes, because certain current, you can't catch, because it goes the other way. Goes out or goes in, it doesn't go on the same line.

KM: Yes. If we come back to the black coral for a moment though. You'd mentioned that the people have taken so much yeah?

GN: Yes.

KM: I guess you were saying something about the small fish, they hide inside?

Collection of black coral, impacted the deep nurseries of bottom fish:

GN: Yes. Okay, like the ridge like I said the crater, the ridge like that goes out. Now the black coral trees will grow along the ridge, like trees on a hill, a mountain with the trees sticking above the ridge. And maybe the current pulls and goes right over the ridge, and then the black coral, some is just like a spider web, the leaves like that. And all the *kaukau* from the current and goes on the side and gets stuck on top and then the small fish go and *kaukau* on top of that. They get something to *kaukau*.

KM: Right.

GN: And if the big fish comes, they go in between the branches and all that, and they hide. The tree is tough, it's solid.

KM: Actually it's protecting your young, your fingerling, your *pua* stock like that.

GN: The smaller ones yes. That tree is just like saving them, they get a chance to hide from the big fish.

KM: If you wipe out your black coral, what happens?

GN: Then they don't have a place to hide.

KM: Yes.

GN: And if they go inside some pukas, get eels or get something else inside there. Anyway you look at it, they might get caught.

KM: So we really messed up the nursery areas for the fish, whether it was bottom if you take the corals or stuff like that, or near shore the *muliwai* where the streams before came in. No more stream now or it's all mud out on the *papa*.

GN: Yes. Their taking the black coral kind of ruined the house for the fish, the place where they can hide or something, pick up food. And then like the shoreline with all this concrete that they...or the fields that they put the fertilizers and the grass, and the rain takes it down. That maybe put some kind of algae in some of the *limu* and corals.

Has noticed a significant change in the fisheries over his life time:

KM: Have you noticed a change from when you were young you go fishing up through the recent years. Did you notice a change in the *limu* and in the corals and stuff like that?

GN: Oh yes, a long time ago. Maybe more than fifteen years ago, it started to get funny kind already. Especially this brown *limu* they get around, the *'ōpala* kind. It just ruined all the ones that were coming up. Just bushy, the other one no can come up. It's almost like if they throw something on top one plant on the ground, you put something on top and the thing doesn't have a chance to come up.

KM: Right, it strangles it out. And just like if you mess up the mountain lands, you're messing up your fishery too?

GN: Yes. Just like if they take away the black coral trees and they take away these trees, it's all coming just like unbalanced like.

KM: Yes.



Many more recent residents of Hawai'i are now fishing here, and have impacted Hawaiian fisheries; many do not fish with respect for the resources:

- GN: And now the population is bigger, has more fishermen, and a lot of them don't have the knowledge yet. They follow some guys, and they go fishing, and a couple of times they go throw net, then they go and buy a net and they go too. Like the contractors it's the same thing you get more roofers, you get more plumbers, more electricians. Fishermen same thing, you take guys to go out, and the next thing you know is, they're buying a boat and they are going out.
- KM: Right. You were saying earlier that it's not bad when you folks go to your places. You go one place, you go to another place. But you see the guys they go every day and they just keep going down the coast you said.
- GN: Yes. Just like the throw net. You're standing on top one spot looking down. You're standing there, and another guy comes and he stops at the other side maybe fifty feet away. Before days, it wasn't like that. If one guy stay, they just go someplace else.
- KM: They would go to a whole other location?
- GN: Yes, yes. The guy is going to be walking up and down, right. Like now let's say if you have one thousand feet shoreline, like if you go in the country. You go to pick up 'ōpihi, you get one thousand feet of the shoreline to pick up 'ōpihi. When I go to pick up some 'ōpihi for *kaukau*, I might go maybe two hundred feet, out of that thousand feet, I go two hundred feet, that's enough.
- KM: *Pau.*
- GN: But then here comes the commercial fisherman. The commercial 'ōpihi picker, he's going to sell. He just goes right down to the thousand feet. He goes to the end and comes back. On the way coming back, you see him going and picking up some more yet. So that way, it's all wiped out.
- KM: So commercial overtaking, and too many people and they don't respect.
- TN: They don't think for the next time, or for the other people.
- GN: Yes, no more. Like now, if you just throw blind, throw here, throw there, you can catch the small ones, and they take 'em, they don't throw it back. Me, if I throw and it's a small one, I just let them go. And if I catch one big one and four small ones, I let them all go because no sense catch only the one and go home.
- KM: Right.
- GN: I just let it go, it's still alive. Instead of put them in the bucket and the thing *make*. I let them go instead of taking home the one. And then my wife looks, and only me eat. But knowing me I would give the wife, I no eat [chuckling].
- KM: Yes.
- IH: Looks like we have no control over immigration, so many people coming in. And a lot are from the service class, who need to go out and subsidize their food supply by collecting stuff from nature.
- KM: How come people don't get it that if you take everything today, and then you go to the next place and take everything...? The day after, you're not going to have anything left, right?
- GN: That's right.
- IH: The people that come in here, they go fish, and then later on they leave, go home.
- TH: After they make the money, and they get a lump sum, they're millionaires when they go back home.



- IH: A lot of them, they go back to their original homes.
- GN: See, the surround net, if you tell no surround net, the Hawaiians going to grumble like hell because of their culture. They are going to get *hūhū* with that. Some ethnic groups, of course, like now some Hawaiians, this generation, they do that. They clean up too, because no more job, no more work, and that is their livelihood.
- KM: Yes.
- Existing regulations are not adequately enforced:
- GN: Sometimes that is what they did. They string it up too. Same goes like the Filipinos, even though they work in the plantation, they still go and catch whatever they can get and go sell. They surround net and they clean up all the spots. Even now, you sit down at Breakwater, where the boat ramp is. In the night maybe eight, nine o'clock in the night, you see the Filipinos going out to the boat set their nets. The *moemoe* net, then these guys, sometimes they go in the morning, nobody around. The game warden is not around to fine them.
- KM: So has regulations but no one is monitoring?
- GN: Yes. So in the morning you see them going out and getting the nets. "Oh, I just went out four hours ago." Nobody knows because nobody catches them going out eight or nine o'clock in the night. The game warden can't be there because they get other places to go too. You get night divers and all that. Hard for really stop them unless it just happens to be their hard luck for him to be there at that time [chuckles].
- IH: In other words, it's accidental enforcement.
- KM: Yes.
- GN: Like sometimes me and my other son we go and throw net. December, January, February, the *'ama'ama*, the mullet is closed. So me and him goes down, right down here in Kahului. There are plenty...the *'ama'ama* is coming inside to spawn. So a couple of times I go, get *manini* over there too, and the *manini* is all good size, all legal. One day I was throwing, I throw, and I brought up the net, and I had about five good size kind. I put water in the bucket and put the fish inside. I was just about to go back down to the water, when I look I saw this game warden coming. The game warden came and said, "Can I look in your bucket?" "Yes, go, go." He looks and he sees the *manini*. He told me, "Wow, big buggas!" I said, "Yes." "Oh, okay alright." Then he goes. He's walking down the beach again and I throw. Couple more *manini*, I throw it inside the bucket. He came right back, the game warden. "Can I see your bucket?" "Yes, go ahead." He look inside again and then he goes. I watch and then had some mullet now, had some mullet. John told me, "Dad, mullet, mullet." I tell, "Hey, *kapu*, no can catch, stay off season." I walk and he's looking like that. The water, the mullet are inside, rolling like that, they are spawning. That's why they stay like that, and right near the shoreline. I continued walking down, and I look at him and he stayed behind looking at that because I guess he's not going to be seeing that too much in his lifetime.
- KM: Yes. It's changing fast.
- GN: Fast, real fast. I walk down and I throw. The game warden came again. Four times I throw, four times he comes. Because over there, all the time has the mullet stone.
- KM: He must have thought you were dumb or something.
- GN: [chuckles] I tell John, we go throw one more time. I'm just going to stick around, one more time, I throw. I threw and I caught a couple more and put them inside the bucket. Inside the bucket, had around twelve. I told John, "we go." Then the game warden came again and he looked, "Oh boy, you guys cleaned up," so he went. I started thinking how the hell, where the hell this bugga stay that every time I throw he comes back? Then I waited about fifteen minutes, I looked at the breakwater under the tree I see the car above there



he was looking with his binoculars from over there. No wonder, look John look where the guy stay [chuckling]. I just throw the net in the water just to wash the net, I throw, I pick it up and me and John are walking to the car to the station wagon to put it in the back. He comes and the gate is still open yet look the net. "I can look in your bucket." I had the fish in the cooler already, I put it with the ice. He tell, "I can look inside." "Yes, easy." I put my hand underneath, I shake all underneath he stay looking, he looking at all the *manini* and the ice no more nothing underneath.

Importance of the *'ōpelu māmā* in traditional fishing practices:

You know something, my grandfather when I was a small boy, he told me "I don't want you to catch barracuda." One time I went outside and threw my line down to catch a big fish while bottom fishing at the same time. I catch the *uku*, with the *'ōpelu* bait I put it down, hang the line down. All of a sudden the big line hit so I pull up the small line, I grabbed it, hey, come up so I pulled it up. Then all of the sudden, it rises up, all the *'alu'alu*, the slack." I pull and it starts fighting. I look, it's shiny, hey *uku, uku* all right. But it comes a little nearer, it's a barracuda. And then all the *'ōpelu* burst out around the canoe. I look and I see the barracuda come up, my grandfather was living at that time. I look, hey no way, I'm not going to catch that. He said, "I no like ever see you come home with one barracuda." So I snapped the hook, leader I cut, let the *māmā* go, right around the canoe the *ho'olili*, bust out, the ripple kind. Hey, talk about chicken skin, yes. Just like it was telling me thank you. Right around the canoe.

KM: So why didn't your grandfather want you taking the barracuda?

GN: The barracuda was almost like it protects the *'ōpelu* and that's why they called it "*māmā*."

KM: *'Ōpelu māmā*.

GN: My *tūtū*, his name was Jacob and they had a barracuda that they called him Jacob. My grandfather, one eye, *maka pa'a*, and the fish had one *maka pa'a*. [chuckling] That barracuda had one *maka pa'a* on the same side. The *tūtū*, on the eye *maka pa'a*, had the same thing that's why they called the fish Jacob.

KM: Wow! Did you hear them talk about *'aumakua* or something?

GN: Their *'aumakua* mostly they talked about was the shark.

KM: The *manō*.

GN: The barracuda was just like, they can keep the *'ōpelu* like that around. They chased the *apu*, the bigger fish.

KM: The *pōwā*, the kind like come in and like thieves try take your...

GN: Like catch the *'ōpelu*, grab the *'ōpelu* and scare them away. So the barracuda he chases them. If the barracuda stays, you get chance to catch. If the barracuda no more, and the *apu* comes, all the predators, they all come and chase them, and the fish get hard time. As soon as they come under the boat the *'ōpelu* run all take off.

KM: Amazing!

GN: And when they run they go down to the bottom. They go way down you can see them all on the bottom low, the *'ōpelu*.

KM: Hmm. And you're feeding them *pala'ai*, pumpkin?

GN: Pumpkin. We put pumpkin and bread. The bread we put it inside the pumpkin, we mix them together. We just put them inside and we get the *'a'ai* bag kind of like this [gestures folding over].

KM: And you fold.



- GN: You put the lead inside, and you fold 'um, then you pull and it comes out. You feed the 'ōpelu like that, you put pumpkin and bread. When you're finding the fish, but once the fish is there, and it comes under, you only feed pumpkin. The bread from the pumpkin spreads out and the fish all scatters. If you only put one bait, the pumpkin only it's one ball, the fish all piles up into one ball.
- KM: What was...you know the *apo*, the *waha* for your net. When you were young, how big and what was it made of?
- GN: Some had *apo*, the coffee stick, they cut it in four feet length, and they make one little notch so the buggar don't slide off. one side you trim, the other side you trim. You make a small head and you put like that [gestures, lock the two ends together]. You tie the two sides.
- KM: Two pieces?
- GN: Two pieces, twenty eight foot in length.
- KM: When you start to throw your *ka'a'ai* like that, you already have the net out and open or?
- GN: No. The two leads is like this, when the wind blows a little bit you *kaki* the boat little bit so the wind catches, and the boat goes this way, so you get chance for the net...the net goes this way. If not by and by it goes under, the wrong way. So you're going to be on the other side of the *ama*. The *ama* is on the other side. You throw the net this side and then once it's down, while going down you throw the pumpkin, the 'a'ai bag in front, away from the net so the fish stay. If no more *kaukau*, bumby they run away. You feed them away from the net, and as soon as the net is set, the guy behind with the oar, he comes so you'll be right on top of the net. Then they can feed. If the current goes this way, they throw little bit on top by the 'ūlei, maybe about four or five feet above the rim. They open like that, and then the pumpkin drifts inside and they pull the net slow.
- Then down on the bottom get the big *aho*, real big so it can hold a lot of weight. Kind of springy, the kind that expands. Sometimes maybe a hundred pound ball right inside there at one time. And then when you get around maybe four hundred, five hundred pounds inside the net, they got to put it underneath the net and they separate. They lift it up, hold one bunch, the big *aho*, that bag they hold that they lift up, and then they try to shake the 'ōpelu in. Then tie it up and put back down and take one more layer again, like that. No can pull it all up one time, bumby the net will rip, too much.
- KM: Too heavy. Amazing! So the barracuda he's the one that's driving the fish, keeping them together like that and teaches them almost I guess to go feed or what?
- GN: Yes. Because you feed them see, you are feeding the barracuda. The barracuda you are feeding them, and just like when you feed it they *aloha* you. You can teach the fish.
- KM: You're training them?
- GN: Yes.
- TH: Like a sheep dog.
- KM: Like what, a dog?
- TH: Sheep dog, you know how they herd, like that.
- KM: I heard even, there was an old man, I don't know if you ever heard the name Kahā'ulelio, from Lāhainā side. He used to be a judge in the early 1900s, just what you're saying these old people, they talk just the same thing with the shark. The shark would drive the 'ōpelu, did you ever hear someone talk about sharks like that also?
- GN: No. But they used to come by the canoe when we used to go for 'ōpelu. That was at Kā'anapali, they used to have one big cave in Kā'anapali. The shark used to come outside



from there, and with the *ōpelu* boat, next thing you know, one jerk, and he tap the *ama*. He *kolohe*.

KM: And what happened when you tap the *ama*?

GN: Nothing.

KM: They don't feed him or?

GN: No. He just come and he bang, so you see that the buggar stay around.

KM: I'm here.

Group: [chuckling]

GN: They were mostly involved with the barracuda. At one time used to get around seventeen and had some small ones maybe two footers maybe. The smaller ones, they were *pilau* because they charge the pumpkin and they chase the *ōpelu*.

KM: Never train yet?

GN: Young kids yet, active [chuckling]. The big ones sometimes they chase the small ones. They get mad. Not to eat them, just to chase them away. Not to catch them because the small one takes off. That barracuda can stay like this just on the surface like that you see just one spot, just one shining, then you look and he stay on the bottom, you no see it travel. And big, six footers. Only one shine, he stay on the bottom, not moving already. He'll stay down there like that. You don't see them travel. I never did see in all the years that I experienced it, I didn't see them one time, travel. Unless if they go slow yeah, but sometimes just the shine boom they down there already. If they are chasing something we don't see 'um travel, just travel.

Fishing today, does not compare with fishing when he was a youth; describes changes in the fishery systems:

KM: Hmm. [pauses] Is fishing today like it was when you were young?

GN: No. Doesn't even come close.

KM: The places you knew you were *kama'āina* too, you can still go back and find fish or not like before?

GN: Not like before. Less and less and less. Before you can go, just like Māla wharf, where it broke off. Before we used to go another maybe not even hundred yards yet outside. You can catch fish right there, the *nabeta*, before days. Back in the '40s, late '40s.

TH: *Laenihi*.

GN: You can catch the *laenihi* just outside the Māla wharf. Then each time you got to go more out and more out and more out, and the next thing you know they get this *ōpala limu* the brown one. Then, if you throw your hook you just drag it on the bottom, and the *nabeta* likes the hook to drag on the bottom, the sand area. Next thing you know you bring it up and you get the *limu* on top of the hook, the fish is not going to bite.

KM: Right.

GN: We take it off you throw it down again and then the same thing, the *limu* is on top, the fish is not going to bite with that *ōpala limu*. Before you throw down you don't even see that kind of *limu* around. I never did. But in the last maybe twenty years, get funny kind *limu* around. When you start finding all this kind weird kind of *limu*. I don't know, like the *laenihi*, even the *uku*, all the bottom fish that's in our local Hawaiian island fish. Not like how it was before.

KM: Did you folks sometimes go out for *aku* or *'ahi* also, and how far out or?

GN: Sometimes I would go out with Isaac, yes.



KM: When you were young you didn't go?
GN: No, no.
KM: You folks trapped, bottom fish?
GN: Had lot of *aku* boats, lot of *aku*. You get no trouble catching like twenty thousand pounds, ten thousand pounds. They go outside they don't take long they come home, in a couple of hours they are coming home already so much. Me and Isaac used to go, the last several times, no more.
KM: No more.
GN: We only riding boat and, you can pick up maybe a couple *ono*, no can find the fish today.
KM: All around now, anywhere you go around Maui, or what like that, the fish isn't like it was before?
GN: No. Not even close.

Believes there is still hope for the fisheries; offers thoughts on protecting fishery resources for future generations:

KM: What do we do? Is there something, are there some things that should be done to try and restore some of the fisheries or is it too late?
GN: [thinking] I think still get hope yet, we have to stop them. We have to make some kind of law that, maybe scare the public. Just tell them that this certain fish may be ciguatera or something, make them scared of the fish. Maybe they won't catch them, so maybe it will get a chance to come plenty again. You just want to scare them away from taking, because they're not going to listen.
KM: Before there were certain times that you folks didn't get. If they were in spawning or they came in too close or something. They weren't taking all the time, right?
GN: No we no take.
KM: Did you always go to the same place every day and take?
GN: No, no.
KM: You gave it a chance to rest?
GN: Sometimes I go to the Rock Pile, I look and I see the *manini* but I don't catch them. Some times when I work, I go by the beach and eat lunch, I sit down. Plenty *manini*, alright. I don't catch them, I let it go. I no even bother I just say, "Hey, wow alright!"
KM: People don't do that anymore though?
GN: Yes. But like now if I see the small ones, the biggest size is... [gestures]
KM: Yes, three inches.
GN: ...Couple of times down Kīhei, I see 'um on the rock pile, all bundled up, so you no can tell if it's small or big because of the way they stay. I throw on top, after I throw, I pull the net over the rock oh, small kind like this. I stay in the water and I shake them, I let them all go. I don't even take it to the shore if I see it in the water. I shake them and I let them go. It's just one area where the rock get plenty *limu* on top. They're on top of that every time.
KM: Before, some places they actually made *imu* out on the 'āpapa like that.
GN: Yes.
KM: House for the *manini*.
GN: Yes, sometimes they go make like man-made kind.



KM: So this one is a natural mound you're talking about?

GN: Just a rock with the *limu* on top. But to me, get more plenty guys and get plenty illegal fishermen, they no care they just look around, they see nobody else, they just catch them.

KM: And sometimes our own *kanaka* too.

GN: Yes, them too, I know.

KM: We got to re-instill the old system.

GN: Sometimes the Filipinos, they go with three guys, they throw the net. One guy is out looking around, they run and put it into the bucket, boom! They're gone. They don't have the kind... [thinking]

KM: Whether legal or not it doesn't matter?

GN: Yes. The *nehu* or the *īao*, same thing they get the illegal eye net, they throw on top, inside the bucket and take off. Maybe they get one or two guys, one on the road side.

KM: Before the *kilo* was to watch for where is the fish, now their *kilo* is to watch for where the ranger or the game warden is right?

GN: [chuckles] Yes, that's right. I don't know why they are like that, I don't know why. Majority of them, that's what they do. They no more *aloha* for the land, for the fish, for the next man. If you're going to clean up today, clean up, go the same place every day, every day, and take all the small ones, no more nothing. And then they go to the next, next, next, they just wipe it out completely.

KM: No more fish at all.

GN: They got to make some kind of way to stop. They got to stop. Not for just the Hawaiians, the culture like that, got to stop one crack, everybody. Because no make sense, if they are going to stop one, and they are not going to stop the other. Because they're still taking.

KM: So it has to be sort of everybody? We need almost a new *kapu* kind of system.

GN: Yes.

KM: Did you hear about like in Waikiki they set aside, one year you can't go this place, one year the next.

GN: Yes. Okay, you know where the Elks Club is in Honolulu?

KM: Yes.

GN: I played ball down there when I was 55 years old, that would be like 14 years ago. I played the 55 year old senior league in Honolulu. After that we went to the Elks Club. I happened to go by the sea wall and look. Over there get plenty *manini*. I tell the guys, "Over here get plenty. I thought you guys said that Honolulu no more." They tell me, "You no can catch, over here they make *kapu*, stop, no can." That's what they should make over here, like that.

KM: Now you know, this is interesting. Maybe that's part of an idea we have to do an island wide system of having *kapu*. Your *kūpuna* did that, there were six months where if you went for *ōpelu*, and you caught *ōpelu* you're in trouble.

GN: Like before had season too. You get time for catch and time you no can catch.

KM: That's right. *Ōpelu* and *aku* like that, especially. You make a *kapu* kind of time like that but like you said you have to enforce it too right?

GN: Yes.



KM: Otherwise the guys go outlaw.

GN: Yes, they still go outlaw. Some guys they outlaw. With two, three guys, they're going to watch, they not go throw. But as soon as they see it's all clear, boom! And gone. Like me, when the time the game warden came, if I was one *kolohe* guy, I would be caught easy because he was on the other side. Every time I threw, he stayed over there. So easy, no problem to catch me... [chuckling] I know another game warden, me and him are very good friends. One time I seen him, "Charlie, one of these game wardens, about four times he came and the number five time, he like look inside the car." He tells me, "Kind of big guy. The guy just came from Honolulu, he's one of the new guys, I'll go talk to him." I tell him, "Okay, thank you Charlie." Charlie knows me because couple of times he saw me throw net in certain places, and he comes and talks story. And he saw my bucket with mostly *manini*, so he kind of *aloha* me. He knows that I wouldn't try go outlaw. To me, fish is one of the best *kaukau* get, I believe.

KM: Yes. For your health and everything yes.

Families cared for one another and exchanged fish and other goods when he was young; it was a good system:

GN: Us guys, when we were young, we would eat a lot of fish. If we get trapped fish, when the other guys '*ōpelu*, my mother would give some trap fish to the guys that catch '*ōpelu*, and the guys with '*ōpelu* give us.

KM: Exchange.

GN: Sometimes we give some '*ōpelu* to the guys that get chickens. After they kill chicken, they give us, or eggs or vegetables. All that kind stuff, because no more money. They just trade.

KM: The *kūpuna* called that *kuapo* where they exchange, someone has this thing here between *mauka* and *makai*.

GN: Yes. That's how it was. They get fish, the other guys no more fish, but they get garden and all that. You give them, and the next thing you know they coming with tomato or some other kind of stuff. String beans like that.

KM: A good way of living.

GN: Yes, it was terrific. There was always, I give you something and you don't expect, but they going give you. You going end up with a dozen eggs or whatever.

Fishermen watched out for one another:

TH: Tell him about lighting the fires on the beach.

GN: If one canoe goes outside, like I was saying, get seventeen canoes in Māla Village. If one boat went outside and didn't come back yet, and it's dark already. Everybody would always gets together and then get a couple of boats and go outside to find the guy, that stay outside. They no call for the Coast Guard, they go outside. What they do is they get a lot if *kiawe* wood like that, and make a big fire down the beach, and they light it so the guys outside there can find with the fire so they can come to shore. And that was like one way of coming back.

KM: Natural, people always *kōkua* like that?

GN: Yes. And they stay down there, as soon as the guys come home, they all go over there. Some guys bring coffee like that because outside there is cold. And if you go to their house, it's automatic, "Come inside and *kaukau*." And if the two kids that live in that house, and if you happen to go there and play with them, the kids all come inside and *kaukau*. No more the kind you bring their kids and "you go home." No, you come inside and *kaukau* too.



- TH: How about, even if they are mad at each other, they don't talk, but still go out?
- GN: See, like my grandfather and the son, Keoki, my Uncle George. Father and son they don't talk, seven years they don't talk to each other. But like me, I get my *tūtū*, we go fishing. My Uncle George is my mother's brother, and my Uncle Paul is my mother's brother-in-law, married to her sister. These two go fishing, and me I go with my *tūtū*. Sometimes my Uncle Phillip goes with us too. I sit down in the middle hatch, my grandfather in front, and my Uncle Phillip in the back. We stay outside our *ōpelu* place and it's getting dark. I look, and see, my uncle had one boat engine at this time, this is after the war. He got the surplus engine from the military. He had an engine, and my grandfather no more. Too pointed the canoe, the two sides, point, so he can put the engine. The other one is square...
- KM: Flat out the back end?
- GN: I look, and I see my Uncle Keoki washing out the pumpkin can and rolling up the 'a'ai bag rope. I said, "Tūtū, more better we go now, Uncle Keoki is going home." We put everything away, my Uncle Keoki come. The father and son don't talk, Tūtū Jake and Uncle Keoki. But Uncle Keoki comes by the *ama* side just with the rope and he would catch the *iako* and holds the canoe, on the side and towing us. They park right next to each other, father and son but don't talk. As soon as they come inside, they let go. The reef is shallow, they *hoehoe*. My uncle is young yet, tough, and my other uncle, Paul, he's tough too. So they get the canoe out. And me, only one small boy, no can maybe not even half way. My uncle is up already. He comes over, pushes the canoe up. They don't talk now. As soon as he reached up, he goes back to his canoe take out all his fish put it inside the car, the fish market come, carry everything fish car, go home. The next day, the same thing. When they go that's what they do, but they no talk, but they still help.
- KM: So one time he went out and one of them didn't come back one time for a while, it was dark?
- TH: Who was the one you said never come home, it was dark...?"
- GN: Kahahane, that's another big family too, fishermen.
- KM: Okay. You were mentioning and we had talked about it with old man Tanaka. You mentioned during the war and at one point you said for a while the fisher people couldn't go outside and fish.
- GN: No, they can. But you no can get light, they like complete dark, like a blackout.
- KM: Yes. I was wondering when you were talking about maybe got to make *kapu* time again. Where you no can fish certain things. If there had been a change, if there had been more fish after the war or not. You didn't notice?
- GN: No.
- IH: The guys that were limited to go out were the motor boats, sampans and stuff like that.
- Recalls early fish markets; and their efforts to seek out the native *ko'a*:
- GN: The *ōpelu* fishermen, when they used to go out, used to get about four fish markets. Then like seventeen boats they all stay, some guys, four there, three here, they are all scattered. But at one time had all these four, but only one guy he get control of all the fishermen. Everything, had all the bottom fishing boats, and the sampans, the *ōpelu* fishermen, bottom fishing fishermen, just about all the fishermen had one guy controlling everything. When he gets it, then he introduces it to the other markets.
- KM: I see. Do you remember the names of the four markets?
- GN: Haraguchi Fish Market, Masa Nishino, and then had one more Nishino, and Sato Fish Market. But after Sato, they sold to Max Market. Yamaguchi...



KM: Yamaguchi.

GN: When had only a little bit *ōpelu*, the price goes up maybe twenty cents. When you get plenty, comes to fifteen, ten and sometimes five. When it comes to five the fishermen don't go out. They got to buy the pumpkin, bread expense and the cost of going out. Not worth it.

IH: I was telling him all the *ko'a*, get names for the different *ko'a*.

GN: Yes. Like one fisherman, Popeye, they call him Popeye his name actually was Vilaverde. When he found one fishing spot, that spot is under his name, Popeye *ko'a*, or Keoki *ko'a*, or Frank Kahahane everybody around get. Tommy *ko'a*.

KM: So they knew this is where this person goes, so they don't *maha'oi* over there?

GN: Yes. Only once in a while, get plenty other places all slack, just like the fish just seems to be all on that one spot so sometimes they tell, "Hey, get plenty fish this side." But what the markets used to do, after everybody all scattered, the fish market sends a guy in the plantation fields, go climb the water tanks, look with the binoculars, where the guys stay. And then he marks it, then he mark the other side, mark. The fish market likes fish, yeah. He figured if his man goes, he get plenty fish. Then he goes the opposite side and he looks at it and takes another land mark, and then he tells the guy where stay. And then the guys go [chuckling].

KM: 'Auwē! So that was not Hawaiians for the most part already, it was outside the different people?

GN: Yes. You get Japanese and some other kind of nationality come inside already.

KM: They pushed into the *kanaka* places?

GN: Yes. Like my cousin Frank Harrison, like him, he used to go outside Stone Wall. Stone Wall is like where I said Ackerman guys went to get the black coral. My cousin goes outside there and this Japanese guy followed. My cousin, he looked, and he sees the guy behind, he turn around his canoe and goes behind of the Japanese guy and he bangs right where the place he put the pin, the place where he put the *hoe*, he bangs that and it broke off, so the guy has to come back [chuckling].

Group: [chuckling]

GN: My cousin didn't like that, so he bang 'um, broke the pin for the *hoe*, and the guy has to go home.

KM: He no like give away the spot.

GN: You no can blame him. If you go outside and go find your spot sometimes you got to sacrifice.

KM: Absolutely.

GN: You got to feed or find the fish.

KM: You have to train them right.

GN: Yes. You have to feed them, feed till they are kind of used to it, then okay. Other than that, no can.

KM: Generally your *ōpelu ko'a* off of that Māla section, like that towards Kā'anapali about how far out do you think...?

GN: [thinking] Half mile, not that far way inside.

KM: What you said was the depth, where you get around...?



GN: About sixty feet. Over there is like one bay, so over there is all deep. Unless it's close to the Canoe Beach, and then it comes shallow. Other than that, over there is all deep. Goes all the way till Māla Wharf, all deep, all sixty foot some even deeper, some get channel.

IH: Canoe Beach is at Hanaka'ō'ō.

TH: They call it Stone Crushers.

KM: So Canoe Beach is in Hanaka'ō'ō.

Fishermen of old respected one another and the fish; Sundays, fish were allowed to rest:

GN: And them guys too, the old timers, when they used to go fishing, they had just the *aloha*. That generation had some *aloha* for each other and for the fish, and even sometimes they tell... See on Sundays, you cannot go fishing, they had one way. Like my grandfather he don't go fishing, nothing. He doesn't care if it's loaded with fish outside, he doesn't go.

KM: Let them rest.

GN: Yes... Early Monday mornings, my *tūtū* would come to the door and call my mom, "The boy like go fishing with me?" So my mom call me, "You like go fishing with *tūtū*?" Even if you like or no like, you're still going to respect, that's *tūtū*. Even if I no like go, I go. The eye all *maka pa'a*, all stuck, the *piapia* [chuckling]. My mom makes me coco and a slice bread. Eat, going.

KM: Because *tūtū* is not going feed you out there right?

GN: No [chuckling]. No can go cockroach the bread. He smart, after that, he used to put it in inside the bow. Before he put it this side of the hatch. Easy for me to reach. Then when he goes to mix the bread, he makes it all *palahē!* Hey, he looks inside, "How come?"

KM: Yes, all hollow inside.

GN: He already catch me. What we did some times, we take the bread put inside the water, but then he wild, no more the white, only the crust [chuckling]. But those guys, so much fish used to get. Harrison, his father, goes outside fishing, this is the papa I'm talking about. These two guys go outside, one time had one big swell and the boat was kind of way down. The sand went inside the boat. They never make the plug, so the sand went inside. So when they went outside and ran out of pumpkin, had the sand inside the other hatch. They put the sand inside the *'a'ai* bag, put down, and the fish came up. [chuckling] They pull up and they caught plenty! The fishermen in those days, they were clever. They had some knowledge these guys. All in all to me, they were blessed, that's the way they lived. They took care of their family and they took care of the fishing ground they no *hana 'ino*.

KM: You're right, you no *hana 'ino*. What happens if you don't take care?

GN: To me it's just like the home, same thing. Just like anything else if you don't take care.

KM: Like now, nothing.

GN: When I was a small boy at nine years old, my chores was cleaning yard, and water the mango trees like that. Plantation, the water was free. I can water day, in the morning, night time, all times you can water. That was my job. But when the 1946 tidal wave came took away about six houses from the ocean side, that became our ball park. We no can buy bat, so we used the pick handle and cream can. That was our ball... But my dad, checked and if it not wet enough he comes for me. "You learn," he told me, "If you make a good job you don't need to come back, you can go and play ball." That's why all my jobs that I do, even roof jobs, I make sure I do a good job. Or bumby I got to come back.

KM: That's right.

GN: He taught me how to make one time job and then *pau*.



KM: That's right. Do it good the first time.
GN: Yes. And you learn from that. I *aloha* my father for that. My *tūtū* he had a different way of teaching, but still yet you learned.
KM: Yes. Nice, good to meet you and talk story...
IH: ...Tell him about the strike.

In 1958 the '*alalauā* (baby '*āweoweo*) appeared on the shore by the thousands; fish fed striking plantation workers:

GN: In 1958, the plantation strike. They get a group of guys for fishing, a group of guys to go help farming in the *kula*, and guys chop *kiawe* wood for all the cooking like that. Just at that same time the '*āweoweo* came, the red fish. The '*āweoweo* came by the tons. That was big, they got plenty food for the people, from fishing.
KM: Did anyone think that seeing that '*āweoweo* come up like that, was it an omen a sign of anything?
GN: That's what they claimed, like the fishermen that you get certain kind of the fish especially, just happened to be the strike and then the fish popped up. That was something.
KM: You heard about the '*alalauā*? The baby?
TH: That's it, the '*āweoweo*, baby
GN: The small one, that's the poke one eh?
TH '*Alalauā* is baby '*āweoweo*.
GN: This was the good size one. Sometimes the generation, you'd be surprised, I look at my grandfather guys, the fish was their livelihood. I feel that guys like me, maybe is in construction, and my sister guys were working at the hotel to pay their house, just like every generation they get blessed. That's the way it is. Sometimes you think how the hell I did this, but you can survive.
KM: Yes, hard work. But like you said it's good work... You mentioned the '46 *tsunami*. Evidently is took out some houses, did anyone die in your place. No one got hurt?
GN: No.
KM: Did it change your *ko'a* at all?
GN: No.
KM: Never impacted it, that's amazing!
GN: It gave us one ball park [chuckling]. All the houses down side, that was all plantation houses. They were old already, really old. They got knocked down, and then it was all ball park. The kids especially, they were playing on the road. No more park...
TH: Tell him about the *uhu*, dad. The one out in the ocean.
GN: In the 1958, the strike, the mother was carrying Tammy yet. The soup kitchen, plantation union, only had a lot of cabbage. And it was gas for the mother. So I went to see my father for the boat, "Dad you going to use the canoe?" "No, I'm not going to use it." "I like use the canoe, he tells me, okay." *Hoehoe*, the engine was broke. So I *hoehoe*, go outside, bottom fish. They no bite. I *hoehoe* some more. I was kind of way out already. I took off my hat, I bow down, I pray, ask God, "I come here for catch fish for home, on top of the table, nothing else." Okay, I put back the hat, *hoehoe*, just a little bit away. "Hey what's this water flying up?" I paddle the boat and go near there. Hey, the *uhu*, the tail [gestures, size].



KM: Two foot kind?

GN: The big one, the blue one. With the tail sticking in the water out I go over there and put my hand underneath, *pa'a*, put it inside the hatch. I came home, I didn't need any more.

KM: *Mahalo ke akua.*

GN: I say, "thank you," and I go home. And that was on the table that night.

TH: It was for my mom.

GN: My wife was a good cook [chuckles].

TH: And I was inside my mom, so I got the fish [chuckles].

KM: Amazing your *kūpuna* and how they taught you folks. You *pule mua, noi mua* and then you give thanks, *mahalo*.

Recalls fishing experiences in the Huelo vicinity:

GN: Back in the '70s and '80s I used to go outside Huelo, rough, rough place over there. Down the cliffs. I used to go down, and sometimes my sister, my mama tell me, "Manu like some 'ōpihi, they going get *lū'au* for Milton." I tell, "Okay." Three o'clock in the afternoon, I jump on my car and take off from Lāhainā I go to Huelo. I go outside there, I go down the beach, long walk. I reach down, I go down the cliff I look. Plenty, but before I go down, get one spot every time I pray. Under one *lauhala* tree, every time I stop and before I go down, I pray over there. Some place I feel, you know. Sometimes when I go down there, I get hard time even wet my feet and I stay picking up 'ōpihi. And the water, it's just like it stays away from me. I didn't even get wet, and I stay picking up 'ōpihi, I don't believe it. The whole time.

I pick up seventy pounds, because they are going to make a *lū'au*. I go down there with the five gallon buckets. Whenever I go down, I pray and I go down. I come back up, before I leave that spot, the same place, I pray and then go. Sometimes I used to go down there, pray and I go down. Fish, plenty fish all over the place, but I'm going for 'ōpihi. I look plenty fish, but I only pick 'ōpihi. Next time I come I bring the net. I throw right inside the *moi* hole, hey that bugga crawl all on the side stuck the net, big kind *puka* inside the net. I come home I see my cousin, Moke. Moke, "Hey my net get *puka*." "Go bring the net," I give 'em the net. He tell me, "Plenty *puka*, how come?" "I went fish in one *moi* hole." "How come I no see the *moi*."

TH: [chuckling] Swam out through the *puka*.

GN: Went run away. Two weeks later I called him up, "You get the net?" "Yes, I go down, he gives me the net. I go back over there again I throw inside the same *puka*, all bust up the net again. This one was more worse because the swells turn it upside down, *huli huli*. I'm picking up the net, going up for air, no can breath. I stay holding the net it's stuck in the stone. I let go the net, go up and breath again. All stuck again about three times like that. I grab the net the lead part [gestures yanking the net], only the lead came out. I go Lāhainā I said, "Hey, Moke, can you patch my net?" He tells, me "What you went do, the same *moi* hole?" "Yes. You can patch my net." "You don't learn?" I give him the led [laughing], "I was going ask you if you can make me one new net!"

KM: You only get the lead line [chuckling]. What was your lesson about going fishing at Huelo?

GN: I don't throw inside there no more. That's one thing this guy, Frank Kahahane, you talk about *moi*. By the *pali* used to get one nice *puka* over there all the time used to get *moi*, the white water *hulihuli*. This Japanese guy went go over there one time and broke the coral so the net doesn't stuck. He broke the coral, all dead, the fish don't come. So one time a guy told me, why don't you break the coral?" I tell him, "No, no, you break the coral, *pau*, they don't come. You kill the ground."

KM: That's a good lesson to learn.



GN: No can, you can't broke the coral. Some guys they figure they throw, and if they broke the coral, easy to bring up the net. But no, the fish is going be dead over there.

KM: You kill the resource, you kill the fish.

GN: Yes.

KM: How about when you folks gather *limu*. Do you rip them, do you snip them or what?

GN: As much as possible you cut with your fingernails.

KM: You leave the root and everything?

GN: Yes. But that's one thing, sometimes it changes the seasons, like it comes winter and all that. Certain times if the chop chop stays close to the sand, next thing you know, it's all covered. And hard time to grow one it's covered. Like the *manauea*, the *ogo*. That one now, they get that long ugly stringy kind *limu* on top, cover. So sometimes you have to move it for see.

KM: It's terrible then, it's going to like, strangle it out.

TH: It smothers it.

GN: Yes.

TH: Stay all underneath. It's a parasite.

KM: Is it something introduced?

TH: Like the one in Kāne'ōhe Bay.

KM: It's terrible.

TH: In the beginning they told us it was somebody who wanted to try to do farming.

KM: Farm it.

TH: And it wasn't, it was for science, they lied.

KM: Yes. They change everything.

GN: The fishing, like I said, any time you go fishing you pray. You'd be surprised, if you no more down the beach, but you go Ah Fook's supermarket, stay inside...



Moon Keahi

**Recollections of Lāhainā Region and Lānaʻi Fisheries;
(with Stanley Chock – ‘O‘opu Fishing at Kahakuloa)
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly and Isaac Harp
March 26, 2003, at Waiehu, Maui (KPA Photo No. 1438)**

Uncle Moon Keahi was born at Māla in 1935. He began fishing for ‘ōpelu with his father, Jacob Keahi (and nephew Gilbert Neizman), before he was ten years old. Uncle Moon has fished most of his life. During the interview, he describes the traditions and customs observed by his family while fishing, and shares the values held in common, by elder Hawaiian fisher-people, who care for the resources which sustain them.



Uncle Stanley Chock was born in 1932, and raised in Kahakuloa. He is a neighbor in the Waiehu Hawaiian Homestead with

Uncle Moon, and joined us during the interview. Uncle Stanley, shared a few recollections of ‘o‘opu fishing at Kahakuloa; and both uncles concurred on the traditional manners of resource care and use.

Arrangements for the interview were coordinated by Isaac and Tammy Harp. Uncle Moon Keahi and Uncle Stanley Chock both granted their personal release of the interview records to Maly, on October 22, 2003.

KM: ...‘Ae, mahalo. Kūpuna noi ‘ana wau iā ‘oe, o wai kou inoa?

MK: Uncle Moon.

KM: Uncle Moon. *Inoa hope?*

MK: Keahi, Keahinui‘ena‘enaikapoonooka‘ōpua.

KM: *Nani, nice!*

Mo‘opuna: Keahinui‘ena‘enaikapoonooka‘ōpua.

MK: That was the family name. I was the only one that was using it because when I used to go play music, I used that name.

KM: ‘Ae. Beautiful!

MK: Somewhere down the line my father and them broke up the name.

KM: ‘Oki, yes. *Hānau ‘oe* in 1935?

MK: Yes.

KM: In 1935, in Māla?



MK: Yes, May 24th.

KM: *Mahalo*. Good to see you. Everyone is saying, "You're the man," you get some good stories.

MK: I don't know [chuckles].

Discusses Keka'a Rock, and the appearance of the young 'āweoweo ('*alalauā*), in 1958:

KM: Now you were just telling us about Keka'a and what your papa said about the Keka'a stone.

MK: He always told us that... Well, he and I, we, in the afternoon when I come home from school, and then when I started working for the plantation, when I come home from work. He and I used to patch net on the beach, 'ōpelu net or our surround net.

KM: 'Ae.

MK: He used to tell me about Keka'a. I don't know if other people had that same story. This came from my dad. So he told me that every time there was a disaster in Lāhainā, the sea water would turn red. Like one time, when they had the Japanese strike, the plantation, that sea water turned red. And then they had the depression and it was the same thing. Even then, I wasn't really sure what he meant when he said "the sea water turned red."

KM: Yes.

MK: So when we went on the strike in 1958, I was captain of one of the boats. They had another captain this guy Andrew Kahahane, he was captain of the other boat. His father was our chairman, like. That morning, the first day we went on the strike we were down at Launiupoko, we made a couple surround over there for *kawele'ā*. Then came this guy Harrison Neizman, that's Gilbert's cousin. He said, "How come we don't go and catch the 'āweoweo at Kā'anapali." We asked him, "Is it worth our while?" He said, "Get about fifty tubs." This guy Kimo Kahahane, that was Andrew's dad, he looked, "what you guys think?" "We might as well go and get them because the fish can go to the soup kitchen." See had several soup kitchens in Lāhainā. Before we went on the strike the union really mobilized. They had guys who took care of the wood cutting, guys who took care of the soup kitchen, guys who took care of the mechanical work. These mechanics were sent up to Kula to help the farmers up there. Help them with their trucks and tractors. The carpenters were set up to help too, to help with storage and stuff like that. We were kind of really, really mobilized. Us, we took care of the fishing. So we took our boat from Launiupoko, loaded it up with the nets and went over to Kā'anapali. We made the surround around the rock, right around, a complete surround. I jumped into the water after that. As soon as I jumped into the water [smiling], then I realized what my father was talking about, that 'āweoweo. They were stacked and all *pili* to the wall.

KM: All *pili* to the Keka'a stone?

MK: Yes, the Keka'a rock, they were all stacked. We made the surround. The first net that we brought up, was all *hei* fish so we brought it up on the sand. Let the guys who was hooking come get, come take home fish. They had plenty fish. The rest of the fish all went to the soup kitchen. We had one guy's house was up to the ceiling with fish. The Obongs, the old ladies, that was their job to clean all the fish. We had 'āweoweo coming through our ears almost. They had them soup, they made 'em fry, they made them all kinds of ways. It was good.

KM: Yes.

MK: In the mean time we still go fishing for the other kind fish. We do surround net. In fact there was several times we went around the island for go catch fish. Most of it went straight to the soup kitchen. They cut them up and cook them for the working men. But that 'āweoweo, ever since then I'd always told people about that 'āweoweo.



KM: It's very interesting because you said papa or *kūkū* them, someone said it was a sign right of something, *pilikia 'ana*?

MK: It was a sign, yes.

KM: And sure enough. Is that the last time you think that *'āweoweo* went like that in '58? That you heard of?

MK: I don't know of any other disaster that happened in Lāhainā that would bring them back.

KM: Yes.

MK: I thought maybe, twice they had a hurricane. Right after 'Iniki, had one more coming in around four hundred miles out. My boss had asked what I thought about that hurricane because it was heading towards Hawai'i. I told him, "No, I don't think so." He looked at me, "How come you're so sure?" I told him about the *'āweoweo*.

KM: 'Ae.

MK: There was another hurricane that was coming to here and according to the news, it was supposed to come around here and hit Lāhainā through the back. And the same thing, it didn't happen. I asked my kids, sometimes they go swimming over there. I told them if they had seen the *'āweoweo* there. They said, "No, no more." "Okay," because I would have seen the sign.

KM: Interesting the association of *'āweoweo* with that Keka'a section like that?

MK: Yes. I mentioned this to some other people, and they are much older than me. And they said the *'āweoweo* was always like that. When that fish comes in something is going to happen. They're not sure, yeah, what might happen. But my father was always saying that there is some kind of a disaster. So far [knocks on wooden table], it never happened again.

KM: Really interesting.

Discusses other species of fish caught in the Keka'a vicinity:

MK: The same rock, I remember we used to go catch *akule* over there, but not *'āweoweo*. We would catch *weke* over there, it's loaded, but not *'āweoweo*.

KM: Right near the rock, or outside?

MK: Right near the rock. From the rock, if you jump into the ocean, you jump right into the school.

KM: Amazing!

MK: Yes. I remember when we were kids yet, [chuckles] my dad and them made a surround for *akule* over there. Some of the fish were taking off for the sand bar. We were over there trying to catch the fish from the sand bar, even the whale was over there. The whale was right over there, waiting for the fish to get in [chuckling].

KM: Amazing!

MK: That was a long time ago. Funny how Hawaiians they have a certain way to tell, if the incoming is either something is bad or good.

KM: *Hō'ailona*, they call that.

MK: Is that what they call it?

KM: Yes. *Hō'ailona*, the sign, the omen. They look if there's a rainbow patch on the horizon or the *'āweoweo*, *'alalauā* the young *'āweoweo*.



MK: 'Āweoweo, yes.
KM: Symbolism.
IH: 'Āweoweo, I heard from some other *kūpuna*, that in the olden days when the 'āweoweo would come to the Keka'a, it would be a sign that somebody in the royal family is going to die.
KM: *Make*.
IH: As soon as they come then somebody *make*.
KM: *Hā'ule*.
MK: Yes.
KM: Growing up, your papa was who?
MK: Jacob Keahi.
IH: Uncle Moon is the generation ahead of Tammy.
KM: Okay.
MK: Tammy's grandmother, that's my older sister.

Describes 'ōpelu fishing from Māla, Kā'anapali, and Lāhainā; The present-day jet ski platform is situated on top of the Wahikuli *ko'a 'ōpelu*:

KM: Okay. Amazing! You go out *holoholo* with your father to get 'ōpelu like that?
MK: Yes.
KM: What was your *palu* that you folks used?
MK: For 'ōpelu?
KM: 'Ae.
MK: Only pumpkin and bread. Sometimes we would use sardines. It all depends, sometimes it's sardines.
KM: 'Ae. You folks, if you lived in the Māla section, your *ko'a* for 'ōpelu was just outside?
MK: Outside of Māla Village or Lāhainā, and sometimes at Kā'anapali.
KM: As far over as Keka'a side like that?
MK: Yes. In front of Wahikuli. Most of the time that's where we would go fishing, in front of Wahikuli. I don't know if you've been there, you know where the jet ski platform is?
KM: Yes.
MK: Right there.
KM: Okay. They put the jet ski platform right on top of your *ko'a* area?
MK: Right there.
KM: What do you think about that?
MK: Oh! My nephew and them made a picket line down at the Māla Wharf. They crossed the picket line, my nephew hit the guy. The thing went to court, but the court ruled for the jet ski, because the jet ski brings in more revenue than 'ōpelu fishing. [looking at Isaac] I remember when we were down at Hale'iwa, one guy went question me on that.
IH: Yes.



MK: If we were still fishing like that in Lāhainā. And I told him “No, because of the jet ski.” And I told them what had happened and he turned around and he told me, “What about your guys culture?” We never thought about that at the time, we never thought about our culture that time.

KM: Yes. They call that, “Traditional and customary practices.”

MK: Yes, that’s an every day thing.

KM: Yes. Where the jet ski platform went in, that was the *ko’a* for you folks?

MK: That was some of the area. But, there are *ko’a* all over the place.

KM: All over?

MK: All over the place.

KM: You folks used big net, long net?

MK: Yes. The cone net.

KM: Cone net. How long is your net?

MK: Probably about maybe [thinking] five, six fathoms.

KM: Amazing!

MK: We get that for take care, we get the *‘ūlei* for take care.

KM: ‘Ae. You folks still went up to gather *‘ūlei* to make the *apo* like that?

MK: Yes.

KM: Where did you gather your *‘ūlei*?

MK: Either in the Wahikuli area?

KM: *Mauka* on *kula*?

MK: In the valley.

KM: Valley.

MK: Or above, Lahainaluna.

KM: Is that Kahoma?

MK: It goes all the way to Pu‘ukōli‘i.

KM: Pu‘ukōli‘i, yes.

MK: If we wanted *wiliwili*...they still have *wiliwili* over there too. Launiupoko had plenty *wiliwili*.

KM: What do you use your *wiliwili* for?

MK: The outrigger.

KM: Outrigger. Did you folks make *īkoi* floats for other nets or just for your outrigger, your *ama*?

MK: Just for the *ama*. The *‘ōpelu* net you no more the floats

KM: Yes, you don’t use *īkoi*.

MK: We had a lot of surround nets. The surround nets, I don’t know, my dad he was the one that made all the nets. By the time we were able to use the nets, they all had floaters already.

KM: Yes. Regular floaters or *hau*?



MK: Regular floaters...some of them were *hau*, that's right.

KM: Yes.

MK: But the *'ōpelu* net that's just the *'ūlei*.

KM: The *'ūlei*. Amazing!

MK: That's supposed to go down. You get one in the bag you get one lead weight.

KM: You don't use *pōhaku*?

MK: Can. But the lead weight, because you can tie on one string and tie it to the bag. The rock every time you have to look for it.

KM: For a new one [chuckling].

'Ōpelu māmā (a barracuda) used to keep the *'ōpelu* at the *ko'a*; father always prayed before fishing, and upon return home:

MK: The interesting part a lot of times, I tell guys. we used to feed the *'ōpelu māmā*. We used to put out the bait right on the water. The fish come right over there and pick it up. We used to rub his back.

KM: Amazing! Big *māmā*?

MK: Would be about five, six feet. They're big.

KM: And the bugga no take your fingers? I see you get all your fingers right!

MK: Even guys, they were asking me about my fingers, but that never happened.

KM: You *aloha* them, you take care, you respect.

MK: Yes.

KM: May I ask, do you remember *kūpuna mā* talk about *pule* before they go fishing or when they come back? You come back *ho'omaika'i*, or they *pule* first, get *Kū'ula* sometimes? Did you see your papa?

MK: My dad always prayed.

KM: Always.

MK: Always, always. And if we go out fishing, he's kind of superstitious too. Like sometimes we go out, we're almost there, and he notices something missing. Maybe he forgot the bread or forgot something. Could be anything. Right there, turn around and go home.

KM: *Pau*?

MK: *Pau*. No fish till the next day.

KM: Do you remember if you know how people *'ōpe'a kua* like this [gestures crossing hands behind back].

MK: That too, oh yes!

KM: I bet he come *nuha* then?

MK: Yes. Like the father-in-law, he and I, if get four people on the boat, the two center guys like me and my father-in-law. Oh brother, he watched us real good, you stand like that [hands behind back], we get scolding. "Hey, might as well we go home."

KM: Yes. Amazing!

MK: They really believe in that kind, that's their way, their style. Just like the land, they *ho'omanawanui* the land, and they *mālama* the land.



KM: And when you *mālama*, what, it's good for you, takes care of you?

MK: Yes. Because you know, like you take the Indians they have the same tradition.

KM: 'Ae.

MK: The Hawaiians had that tradition. When they get a piece of property they don't sell it, you don't sell. Either they give to the family Unless, times were hard. If times were hard maybe they would let it go for money, so can pay for some bills or something. Otherwise no! Like *po'e haole*, big house they build, don't take too long get the for sale sign [chuckles].

KM: Yes. You wonder why? *Huaka'i pō paha*, I don't know if somebody is walking through their house or what.

MK: I don't know. In fact, down the road over here, get a couple houses over there, never take long then get for sale sign.

KM: Yes.

MK: They don't *mālama*, the land like we do. If we get one place, we going take care. Regularly fished around Lāna'i:

KM: Yes. So you folks you would go fishing, *akule*, *'āweoweo* when it came in, you said *ōpelu*. Did you folks sometimes go out to Lāna'i or towards Kaho'olawe?

MK: Yes. We used to catch bottom fish, the *mahimahi*, and stuff like that.

KM: 'Ae. Out towards Lāna'i?

MK: Yes. In fact beyond Lāna'i, too.

KM: Kaunolū side or over...?

MK: We used to catch *aku* over there.

KM: You folks on the boat?

MK: No. What we used to do, we used to go over there from here, we do some fishing and we take off to Lāna'i, we catch on with the Catiel family.

KM: Yes.

Fished for turtles; discusses locations and types of *ōpelu* caught:

MK: The Catiel family. From over there, then we use their boat and we catch *aku*. And a lot of times too, when we were there, we supplied three restaurants with turtle meat too. So we were over on Lāna'i most every day. I'm glad that they stopped that.

KM: Yes. That's an important thing. When you were young fishing was good. I guess you even knew, here, I'm going to get this kind of fish, over here, you knew right?

MK: Yes, that's right. *'Ōpelu* fishing wasn't only in front of Lāhainā, you know. It was outside of spots [thinking], Lāna'i and Kaho'olawe. *'Ōpelu* was over there too, and outside of 'Olowalu, those were bigger ones. In Lāhainā you get the *Kāhāhā* size, more like the in between size.

KM: *Kāhāhā*.

MK: Not the big one, but the middle size ones [gestures size with hands].

KM: Fourteen inches kind.

MK: They had lot of the small ones.

KM: What do you call that?

MK: I don't know we use the term, cigar.



KM: You don't remember no more Hawaiian name for that stage?

MK: I don't know, they never did use a name for it. That kind fish used to come in by the tons. You put your pumpkin down and you slack 'em up, and you drag your 'a'ai line. They follow the pumpkin right up to the water.

KM: Amazing! Up top.

MK: Just black, black, black. We were doing that the whole year round. I was thinking somewhere down the line, the whales might attack the fish and hit us the same time, but it never did happen.

KM: Never did. You saw whales when you were young?

MK: Yes, yes.

Fishing today, is not like it was when he was young; respected the ocean in the old days:

KM: From when you were young till when you would go fishing now even if you go out now. How would you compare fishing today to when you were young? Is it as good, are there problems?

MK: Yes, little bit because there's no, not like, we used to all go fishing with 'ōpelu nets. You can catch from forty pounds to four hundred pounds all at once. The difference today is that everybody hooks the fish so it takes you longer to get.

KM: That's right, to get that much.

MK: A hundred pounds on the boat, unless you get a long line with all these hooks on but then you know how long it takes to even get off the fish, get them off the line. I think there's some hardship there. As far as the fishing people are concerned, it doesn't matter so long as they get the fish in the boat.

KM: Before though when you folks fished, you folks you said you respected you would take care right? Now, so many people are fishing...

MK: I don't know. I don't think...because the 'ōpelu can come in any ko'a. Whether they stay there or not, nobody knows.

KM: What you said is, when I asked you earlier about this you were talking about training. If you don't go and train?

MK: You have to train them. Like the old folks, they trained the fish. That's why they knew exactly what to do, they just followed. They followed the barracuda because they trained the barracuda too.

KM: Yes.

MK: Because if not the barracuda wouldn't know how.

KM: To drive them?

MK: Yes, bring the fish together. Especially when we get the net down, we're feeding the fish up here now, and the next pumpkin is going to go into the net. When the fish finish that pumpkin, they go to the net. We are going to start pulling. The barracuda goes into the net too sometimes. We pull, pull, pull almost until the net hits the surface that barracuda comes out.

KM: Neat. And all the 'ōpelu...?

MK: Because if not he's going to rip up the net.

KM: Yes. That's his job just like.



- MK: Their teeth are so sharp. Like sometimes he would get the *kawakawa*, he would come inside up to the *ōpelu*. You can see 'em because get so much *ōpelu*, you can see the *kawakawa* right into the school. He's taking whatever he can. What we do is we put a live bait on the hook, throw 'um on the *ama*. The moment that bait hits the water the *kawakawa* picks up the bait. The same time they pick up the bait, the barracuda picks him up, the kind clean cut, clean cut.
- KM: For real!
- MK: Like you take a shark, it would grab and pull, bite it off. Not barracuda [gestures, cutting straight through].
- KM: Straight through it.
- MK: Sometimes, even at Keka'a, we used to go look for fish over there. You look down and see some small ones, barracuda about that big [foot to two foot length]. You watching them and they disappear just like that. The water doesn't even move. You wonder what, and one time it goes right back again that's how fast they move. The way I understand, is they travel at about sixty five, eighty five miles an hour. If they like pick you up, no problem.
- KM: Amazing!
- MK: I miss that, I miss that.
- KM: *Nui ke aloha!*
- MK: Sometimes I think back, how I used to go *ōpelu* fishing, surround net. Surround net was another one too, we get a whole bunch of nets. My dad them was kind of going down already, so we used to do all the fishing. After we make the surround, set up the bags. Set up the bag according to the current. The bag would open up, the bag is a bigger *aho* than the regular net.
- KM: 'Ae, yes.
- MK: The leads are tied together. So only the floaters stay up. the bag comes like that [gestures shape of bag].
- KM: Out?
- MK: Yes. The underneath is... [gestures]
- KM: Billowing out kind of?
- MK: Yes.
- KM: Then it comes down together underneath.
- Currents determined where *palu* was thrown, and net was set:
- MK: Yes. In this case if it's Moloka'i current, we would set up the net facing Moloka'i so the current would open up the mouth. So when the fish goes in, we would pick up the bottom.
- KM: Is this off shore or coming on to the shore?
- MK: Right on the shoreline, right outside the breaker.
- KM: On shore. What kind of fish would you surround?
- MK: Get *kala*, get *pala* and *palani*, all kinds. Get all kinds of fish. The *kala*, another thing about surround net, normally it's a guaranteed catch. Lets say, because it's a guaranteed catch, any family they would go get *kiawe* wood, make the fire ready. By the time the fish come in... [gestures putting on the fire] If they did that, my father would say, "That's it, nobody goes fishing."
- KM: *Pau*, turn around no go because you were too confident, not humble.



MK: You know how they say, the though, sort of like their belief. You don't do that, they feel like you jeopardize your tradition. Actually, it's a sure catch, a guaranteed catch.

KM: But no good to act like that. You have to be humble about it.

MK: Yes. My father is always like that, and he's always praying. Even if we stay on the *'ōpelu* boat, he stay in the front feeding the fish. You watch his mouth.

KM: He's talking?

Fish from the first catch of *'ōpelu* always given back to the ocean:

MK: Yes. When we catch, the first catch when they bring up the *'ōpelu* net. The first load he pick up two, three, whatever, he put back.

KM: And put back. He *mahalo!*

MK: That's their style, they live with that.

KM: That's so important.

MK: They no *hana 'ino*. Growing up in Māla Village was really something. Unfortunately, a lot of people probably... They were fortunate themselves too, other upbringing, I thought that our upbringing was pretty good.

KM: Yes. Your upbringing was the native, the traditional and customary way. That's why you feel *minamina*, now you look. Where are the families, where are the *ko'a*? Like your cousin Harrison and them they say, "Māla side the *ko'a* is all jammed up." It sounds like that, the jet ski is one reason.

MK: Yes. And the thing is the feed doesn't go back to the *ko'a* it's because nobody is there to feed them. It will come in schools maybe, run right through.

KM: Sometimes you would see *ho'olili*.

MK: Yes, *ho'olili*.

KM: All on top.

MK: But they no stop at the *ko'a*.

KM: No one is feeding, taking care.

MK: Yes. No one takes care. You don't realize that kind stuff when you actually catching fish. But after you think, after a while you start to think, "How the hell did the fish know where to go?" It seems like, they were there waiting for us.

KM: Yes.

MK: Only thing to do was to bring the *'ōpelu māmā* with us [chuckling].

KM: Some good life though. Hard work?

MK: It was one everyday thing. As soon as we *pau* school, come home start peeling the pumpkin.

KM: Prepare.

MK: Cook the pumpkin and get it ready for the next morning.

KM: When you prepare your pumpkin, you know Minoli'i side like that, or other places they use *'uala*, *'ulu* or *kalo*. They grate them, but the pumpkin you no need? You just cook them and then you make ball?

MK: Yes, just like that. Take off the skin, take off the inside. After cook, it's just like that.



KM: Yes.

MK: You pick it up and put it in the 'a'ai bag, send them down.

KM: Send them down?

MK: Yes.

KM: *Huki*, open up?

MK: Yes. I don't know how taro would react. When I talked to the guy Paulo, They used taro over there.

KM: 'Ae. That's why they grate them, they cook them but they grate it. It's in long stringy kind like.

MK: Oh.

KM: That's dangling around and then the fish eat. Same thing what you described, they come and they all eat. And other people don't even use that, they only use 'ōpae.

MK: More expensive yet?

KM: But before days they go get their 'ōpae 'ula out in the *kāheka*, the small ponds. Little red 'ōpae like that.

MK: Yes.

KM: So each place had their own kinds of styles.

MK: That's one good meal that.

KM: They say when they *kō'ala* that, the 'ōpū and all is 'ono inside with the 'ōpae.

MK: In Lāhainā we never get that kind, we never did that.

KM: Yes.

IH: They call that pond the anchialine ponds near the shoreline, get fresh water that comes in there.

KM: Yes. The 'ōpae are all underneath, from under the rocks come up. This medaka, mosquito fish, people dump them in these *kāheka*, 'ai i'a.

IH: Yes, they are killing the 'ōpae, and then also the chemicals in the water, kills the 'ōpae under the rock.

MK: So that 'ōpae is good for the fish?

KM: Yes. And fishing was good for you folks?

MK: We were kind of fortunate, in a way. Living in Māla, born and raised there. Raised up with the fishing tradition. The family still goes around there, I get one niece that lives there. Every once in a while they can see the fish in the waves, she says, "Get the gang out there."

Family collected *limu* and *pūpū*:

KM: You folks gathered *limu* and things like that before too?

MK: Yes.

KM: Your mama or the *wahine* them?

MK: We used to pick up too, *limu līpe'epe'e*, *limu kohu*.

KM: Had any kind of *pūpū* that you folks gathered along the shore, or in the sand like *kūpe'e*, *pūpū awa*?



MK: *Kūpe'e* get.

KM: When do you go out for *kūpe'e*?

MK: When we like.

KM: Get special moon night or anything?

MK: Yes, not every time...
...It's too bad that I was born a little too late. My brothers and sisters, they were much older than me. They learned their Hawaiian mostly from my grandparents.

KM: What was mama's name?

MK: My mother?

KM: Yes.

MK: Emily Haia.

KM: Haia. I interviewed Uncle Kepa Haia.

MK: Oh yeah?

KM: Yes. Before he *hā'ule*, he was a Mōkapu fisherman. This Haia moved from Maui over to O'ahu. Nice man.

MK: Yes.

KM: You actually kind of remind me of him, your mannerism reminds me of Uncle Kepa. Your grandparents, who were they?

MK: They were Haiakekai, actually he went by Haiakekai, but that was the whole last name. His first name was Pili.

KM: Pili Haiakekai.

MK: Yes...

Uncle Moon's neighbor, Stanley Chock joins group:

MK: Aloha, Uncle Stan.

SC: You talking about fisherman?

KM: ...*Aloha*.

MK: Hey, *'ōlelo Hawai'i*, hoo! *Maika'i*.

SC: I only know a little bit, not that much.

MK: Our age gap, we don't know how to talk Hawaiian.

KM: That's where the *pilikia* came in even in school, if you talked Hawaiian they punished you right.

MK: It's embarrassing to us. Me, I get so mad.

KM: But you know it's in there because you heard it growing up at home. It's in there, like you have the words. You said *'a'ai*, *ka'a'ai* and the *'ūlei* and *'upena* and everything. If we don't use it all the time it's hard.

MK: Then we lose it...

SC: ...Before when I was raised in Kahakuloa, the village.

KM: Kahakuloa. What was your last name?



SC: My name is Chock, but I was raised by the Ho'opi'i's. Before back in the '30s, Richard and Sol Ho'opi'i, the father used to be the teacher at Kahakuloa School. When we were growing up, we have to sing Hawaiian songs.

KM: 'Ae. It's so beautiful. Like you said it's *nānea, nahenahe*...

SC: Before when I was raised up with Richard and Sol, back in the '40s, that time the road used to be bad to Kahakuloa. Us kids, we had nothing to do. And before them days it was too long to come out from Kahakuloa to town, because the road used to be bad. Used to be from the dirt road from Waihe'e all the way to Kahakuloa...

KM: Yes... *Mahalo*, I don't want to *luhi* you. Thank you so much for being willing to talk story. My address information is down here too, and this is the little write up about the fisheries study that we are working on. Just trying to gather information to make sure that we don't lose this history and practices like that. I'll transcribe this and send it home to you.

MK: Thank you.

KM: Thank you!

IH: When we get everything all together, we might be able to change the way they are doing the fishing. They are messing up everything the way they're managing it. They've to change it. Hopefully we can get it back into something like an *ahupua'a* style.

KM: That system.

IH: Different regions, and where they people make the decisions. If the manini going down, no can catch *manini* over here anymore. From Honolulu, they don't know what's happening in Lāhainā or Ni'ihau, they don't know what's going on.

KM: Uncle, in your days it worked because you guys were the fisher people. Like you said if you go fish here one day and then somewhere else. You don't just wipe it out, clean it out.

MK: Yes.

KM: You have to *mālama*.

MK: Yes. You got to think for the next day too.

KM: That's right.

IH: All the immigrants come here and just go help themselves.

KM: And not just one, hundreds, thousands though, and then you no more fish.

Fishing in Kahakuloa; 'o'opu caught in streams:

SC: Yes.

KM: In Kahakuloa you folks ate fish too?

SC: Yes, but our days before, we don't just don't go every day.

KM: And it was not too much people right? You folks had 'o'opu up there?

SC: Oh we had 'o'opu.

KM: It's interesting I was telling Isaac we're working on all of the *Māhele* records from the *Māhele 'Āina*, and the Boundary Commission. The most common fish name by the native tenants living on the land was 'o'opu. On all of the islands wherever the water flowed the *kūpuna* claimed *kuleana* 'o'opu. And they described the fishery way into the back of the mountain. Fisheries were not just out in the ocean. They go get 'o'opu, *hīhīwai* or *wī*, 'ōpae, mountain kind.

SC: We used to go, and get so many types of 'o'opu. The black one, the gray one, the one we called the 'owau.



KM: 'Owau, yes.
SC: We don't eat, but that's one of them.
KM: *Nāpili*, stuck on top.
SC: Yes.
KM: And what uncle, you said, Ukumehame had 'o'opu?
MK: They had even with the *hīhīwai* used to come way down.
KM: Oh. No more water over there now right?
MK: Now no more, this wasn't too long ago.
KM: Amazing!
MK: Wasn't long ago, they had. The Filipinos go up there they raided them.
SC: Kahakuloa , the same thing, back in the '30s and the '40s, even the '50s. All the streams from Kahakuloa to Waihe'e, used to be full. Now, no more water, only maybe get one or two streams.
KM: Sad. When you steal the water it affects on the mountain all the way out to the ocean.
SC: Yes.
MK: Yes. All down to the ocean, right.
KM: And then if no more water *makai*, the *pua* is all gone, no more big fish.
MK: Yes.
SC: No can raise taro. And no more taro patch pūpū.
KM: Yes, 'ae.
MK: That fish is 'ono, that. The 'o'opu.
KM: *Aloha*, thank you so much...



Island of Moloka'i:

Daniel Alapa'inui Kekahuna

Recollections of West Moloka'i Fisheries and Landscape

Oral History Interview of November 21, 1996

with Kepā Maly and Scott K. Adams (KPA Photo No. DK112196)

Daniel Alapa'inui Kekahuna is a native Hawaiian Homesteader at Hō'olehua. Kupuna Kekahuna was born at Ke'anae, Maui in 1925, and moved to Moloka'i in 1943; he worked for Molokai Ranch until his retirement.

Kupuna shared detailed accounts of native traditions and cultural practices, both on land and associated with fisheries of West Moloka'i, which he learned from elder native Hawaiians with whom he worked over the years.

Kupuna Kekahuna noted that one of the primary sources of traditional and early historic information that he shared, was Joseph Joao Sr., with whom he worked during the elder Joao's last years on the ranch.

Kupuna Daniel Kekahuna granted his personal release of the interview records to Maly on December 2, 1996.

KM: ...Uncle, could you please share with me, your full name?

DK: My full name is Daniel A. Kekahuna, Sr.

KM: Okay. And what year and date were you born?

DK: August 6, 1925, at Ke'anae, Maui.

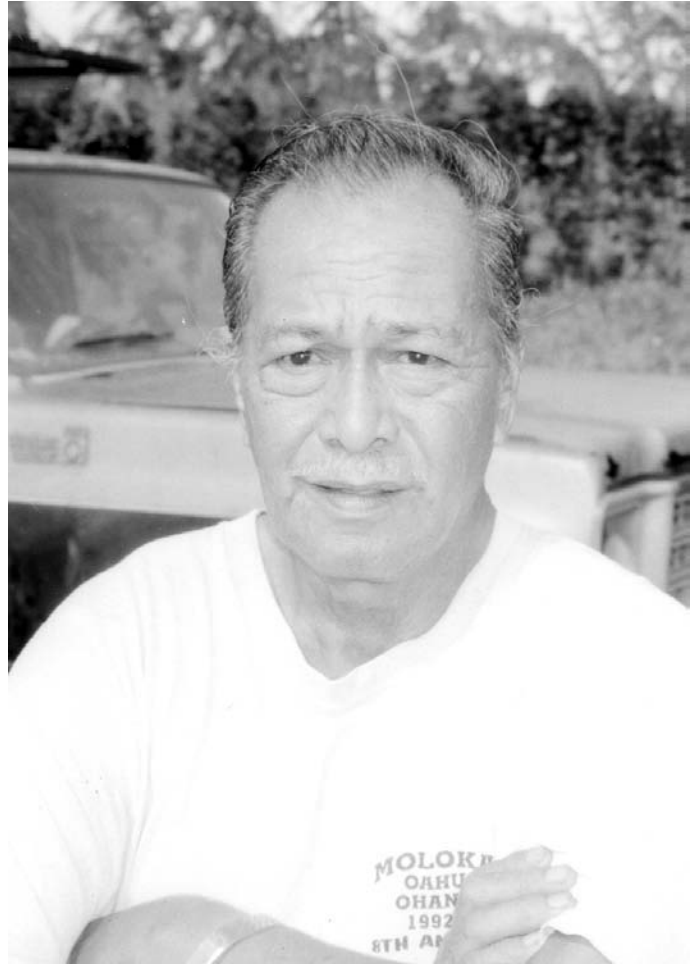
KM: Hmm. And you've lived here on Moloka'i for how long?

DK: Since 1943, that's fifty-three years.

KM: Wonderful. You were just sharing with us, a wonderful story about, as you said, "Hō'olehua." It's not just a place, it's a person. And this story about Pāka'a's field where he planted *'uala* and *kō* and things. Could you please share that story again? *Hō'olehua ke kāne, 'Īloli ka wahine?*

How some fishponds and coastal villages of West Moloka'i came to be named:

DK: Yes. Well, Hō'olehua, it's not as we say Ho'olehua, it's Hō'olehua. The right pronunciation is Hō'olehua. And it means "to deny." No more fruit. They denied it. Hō'olehua met this woman, 'Īloli (also the name of a fishpond on the south shore of Moloka'i), they got married, and then 'Īloli gave Hō'olehua a daughter, Hikauhi (also a fishpond in the same



vicinity). Hikauhi was raised down at the south side of Molokai. Pāka'a, he was the head servant for king Keawe-nui-a-'Umi, from the island of Hawai'i, in the year 1525. King Keawe-nui-a-'Umi trusted Pāka'a with everything that he had. All of his personal belongings and every thing. He even put Pāka'a as his chief navigator. But then because Pāka'a had enemies, he had two enemies within the king's court. They started to make trouble for Pāka'a, until finally Keawe-nui-a-'Umi took everything that he trusted in Pāka'a's care and gave it to Pāka'a's enemies. So Pāka'a, he felt bad about it. He figured since the king doesn't trust him anymore he may as well leave. So he took his calabash, it was a real calabash, but only it was plaited on the outside. He took that, and in that calabash, had his mother's bones. And the mother was one of those, at that time, that could control the wind. She could call the wind and tell the wind what she wanted them to do, and the wind would do it.

So he put that in his canoe, and he sailed from the island of Hawai'i, down to where we call Kolo, today. When he got there, he stayed in disguise, he didn't want nobody to know that he was Pāka'a. Understanding in his mind, that one day, Keawe-nui-a-'Umi would be looking for him. So in the mean time Hō'olehua's and 'Īloli's daughter, Hikauhi, grew up, and met Pāka'a. So Pāka'a married her, and then she gave him a son. The son's name is Kū-a-Pāka'a.

Pāka'a taught his son how to control the winds. When to call if he wanted, and when not to call them. So he told his son, when the son became of age. He told the son, "You go cut wood." So the son followed the father, not knowing what for. But it was to build houses, because Pāka'a had ten house at that time, but he had in mind that one day Keawe-nui-a-'Umi would come looking for him.

KM: Hmm. Where were they living?

DK: They were living down at Kolo. But the bay of Kolo is not called Kolo, it is called Hikauhi. It was named after Hō'olehua and 'Īloli's daughter, Hikauhi.

KM: Hmm. And 'Īloli is a place too, yeah?

DK: Yes. And on the right side of Hikauhi, where we say Kolo, that's Kaumanamana. That's on the west side.

KM: I see.

DK: So when Kū-a-Pāka'a and Pāka'a, the father, went cut more wood, they built more houses. Two hundred forty houses all together. That's all the way from Kolo to Haleolono.

KM: 'Oia? A far stretch of land.

DK: Yes, both side of the trail, the old road, had houses. And those houses, you still get the forms. They are still there.

KM: *Kahua hale?*

DK: Yes. All the places where the houses were set, are still there. I've seen it with my own eyes.

KM: Hmm.

White coral used to mark the ancient trail:

DK: So, when Pāka'a and his son had all of these house built, they made a trail in Kolo Gulch, on the west side of Kolo Gulch, all the way up to 'Amikopala. And at 'Amikopala, Pāka'a planted sweet potatoes and sugar cane. Preparing things for Keawe-nui-a-'Umi to come over and look for him. Till today, that trail is still there, and it is marked every so many feet with white coral.

KM: 'Oia?



DK: So that anybody who goes in the night, they can see, find there way. They won't get lost. And in Hālena, where they say it's Hālena, no. It was from Kolo all the way to Haleolono, and Hālena is part of Haleolono.

KM: Hmm. And you said it has a different name, that Hālena is a newer name.

DK: Yes, it was adopted later. The real name is Kohepū'olo.

KM: Kohepū'olo?

DK: Yes. Kohepū'olo, that's the real name. How that name came to be, well, when Pāka'a was down there, had a lot of people living down there too. All the way from Kaunakakai out to Kolo. And all the way over to Haleolono. So had this pretty woman that this man wanted. So at one time, he saw this pretty woman alone, and he went tell her, that he wanted her. So this woman turned around and told him, "A'ole hiki." And the man said, "No ke 'aha ho'i?" She replied, "He pū'olo, pū'olo." What the man asked, he wanted to use her, but she said, "No." And when he asked why, she said, "Because she had her period." So that's what that place name, Kohepū'olo means.

KM: 'Ae, so interesting. These *mo'olelo* are so rich, very valuable and important...

DK: ...I believe that the Hawaiians before, they may not have had the kind of religion we have today, they had their own statute gods and what not. But they had power, they had *mana*. What ever they *kaouha*, the thing works.

KM: 'Ae... ...So uncle, in you *mana'o*, is it important then to respect the places that the old people left behind?

DK: Yes.

KM: So you respect, because they have *mana*?

DK: They had *mana*, yes...

KM: ...So all of this place. When you were telling the story of Pāka'a, they had houses all along here?

DK: Yes, from Kolo wharf all the way up to Haleolono.

KM: And he made the trail on the west side of Kolo Gulch, going up to 'Amikopala?

DK: Yes. There, he planted 'uala and kō.

KM: How come he made that big garden up there?

Hawaiians of old could call upon winds and other forces of nature:

DK: Because he expected Keawe-nui-a-'Umi to come and look for him. And Keawe-nui-a-'Umi did come. See, when Keawe-nui-a-'Umi came to look for Pāka'a... Before, Hawaiians no more telephone of nothing. But somehow, word got to Pāka'a. And then Pāka'a waited. So when Keawe-nui-a-'Umi was outside of Kolo, he told his son to call the wind and make a storm. So the son called the wind, made one storm, and the only way Keawe-nui-a-'Umi could escape the storm was to come back up shore. So they came in, up shore, and then Pāka'a invited them. So when Pāka'a invited them, he had all the 240 houses all up already. He had the sugar cane planted, the sweet potato planted. So he served Keawe-nui-a-'Umi. Everything that he did when he was serving for Keawe-nui-a-'Umi, he did down at Haleolono. So Keawe-nui-a-'Umi thought, "I had a servant who did the same thing that this man is doing." So more, he felt sorry that he never trusted Pāka'a. Then one day, these two trouble makers, the enemies of Pāka'a, they told Keawe-nui-a-'Umi, they were going out fishing. So he said, "Go, go." They got on their canoe went out to go fish. Then Pāka'a called his son, he told the son, "You make a storm that these two cannot escape." So the son called the wind, he made it so bad that those guys were



drowned outside of Kolo. And then Keawe-nui-a-'Umi turned around and talked with Pāka'a. And Pāka'a told him "Where are you going, what do you do?" He said, "I am looking for my servant, my famous servant." So Pāka'a asked him, "Who was that?" Keawe-nui-a-'Umi told him, "MY famous servant is Pāka'a." Pāka'a told him, "I am him." So Keawe-nui-a-'Umi took him and they went back to the island of Hawai'i, and he left everything as is.

But you see that name, Hikauhi?

KM: 'Ae.

DK: Well, Hō'olehua, they were down in Kaunakakai, he and his wife, 'Īloli. While they were down there, Hō'olehua, went out to his field. When he went home, no more his wife. 'Īloli wasn't there. So he was searching at all kinds of Kaunakakai village. No more. He went village to village. He couldn't find her, until he got to Kolo. When he got to Kolo, he found his wife. The wife went back to her mother's place. He looked at his wife, and he used the word Hīkauhi [said with emphasis]. And Hīkauhi means "in vain." You know, when you search for something and you can't find it. And the Hawaiians say Hīkauhi, he searched in vain all the way down until he got to Kolo. So they named the baby, Hikauhi.

KM: Ohh!

Discusses various sites and fisheries of West Moloka'i:

DK: Because she was down at Kolo, the whole Kolo Bay is named Hikauhi. And on the right, Kaumanamana, is Hikauhi's brother. It was named after him.

KM: 'Ae.

DK: And has one pond, a fishpond there. That's 'Īloli and Hō'olehua's son, Kaumanamana.

KM: *Mahalo! Hoihoi loa!* Now how did you hear about this? You shared a little earlier, that the old man Joao, as an example...?

DK: Uh-hmm.

KM: How did you learn some of this *mo'olelo*, and where the places are?

DK: Well, Joe Joao used to patrol the whole west end, he was the care taker for the west end. That's from Waiahewahewa, down to 'Īlio, down to Kalaeokalā'au, and come back all the way to 'Īloli.

KM: So this whole section?

DK: He had the whole west end, that was all under Joe Joao.

KM: So Mo'omomi, Keonelele...?

DK: Yes, all those places. Kepūhi.

KM: Where is Kepūhi?

DK: Kepūhi is between Pā Pōhaku and Kawakiu.

KM: Okay, so Pu'u o Kai'aka, and Kepūhi is the sandy area?

DK: Right.

KM: Is there a story about a *pūhi* out there?

DK: What I knew from Joe, is...

SA: That's where Joe used to live, eh?

DK: Right. Where Sheraton is, used to be Joe's house.

Group: [Referencing locations on Monsarrat's 1889 map.]



KM: Here's Pu'u o Kai'aka
DK: Uh-hmm.
KM: This is Pōhaku Mauiuli
DK: Okay, Kawakiu nui, Pōhaku Mauiuli.
KM: So Kepūhi was a sandy beach area?
DK: Yes, it's sandy up November-December, then no more sand.
SA: Yes, then it's all gone. So it's right between these two sandy areas.
KM: Okay. I'm just going to mark this on the map so that I don't lose the place name. Kepūhi
DK: Uh-hmm.
KM: And he lived out there, like overseer?
DK: He took care of the whole west end. So thy put up a house over there.
SA: He took care of the water
DK: Yes, and all the cattle. See that nobody goes down without permission.
KM: Hmm. So you learned these stories...?
DK: All through Joe.
KM: Now you and Uncle Scott were talking about Joao, he was 80-something years old, and he didn't want to retire.
DK: Yes, he was 83 or 85 before he retired. They wanted him to retire before that. Molokai Ranch, had that old green jeep. No more two-way radio. And what they were afraid, was the he might go out there a get a heart attack or something, and nobody would know what area he was at.
KM: Uh-hmm.
DK: They tried to get him to retire, but he said "No." It was because he loved the west end. Although he was a rascal. He was a rascal man, but he loved the west end.
KM: Hmm.
DK: Finally, he had either Charles Duvachelle or me with him. So he asked Harrison Cooke to have me be with him. So he took me out, and when had broken pipe like that, I knew what to do, because I was working pipe line with Hawaiian Homes land way back in the '40s.
KM: Ah.
DK: So I did the work and he sit down and tell me what he wanted. So he selected me to be the one to take over for him. And I worked on that job for 17 years. I took care of the west end.
KM: Hmm. So you are very familiar too, with some of these areas then along this 'āina?
DK: Yes.
KM: And as we were talking earlier, the Marine Corps are proposing to go off Hawaiian Homestead lands and go further out into here, the ranch lands. In your *mana'o*, are there places that should be avoided, or cultural places? And did people go out to gather things? Like 'alaea, or plants and things?
DK: Well, I know that has places like this Kawaihau. I know that place has a *heiau* on it. Kawāhūnā, that. Down by Mo'omomi. Kawaihau, get one bay down at 'Īlio Point.
KM: 'Ae, *ma'ane'i*.



DK: On top of Kawaihau has a *heiau*. ...And around Pu'u Ka'eo, has the *hōlua* slide.

KM: Okay, a *hōlua*. And had adze workshops or something?

DK: Yes, they make adze. That's Kahenawai.

KM: Kahenawai?

DK: Yes.

KM: Here's a place called Kānewai on 'Īlio.

DK: This is Kahenawai, Kahe-na-wai.

KM: 'Oia, *kahe ka wai*?

DK: 'Ae. That's the right pronunciation. Everybody says Kanawai, Kanawai, no. Kahenawai, the water flowing.

KM: 'Ae.

DK: That's the right pronunciation. But you listen, how people pronounce it,. This is their island. I come from Maui, but I know Molokai more than I know Maui. And everybody calls that place Kanawai, Kanawai.

SA: Yes.

DK: Kanawai means law.

KM: 'Ae.

DK: It doesn't mean Kahenawai.

KM: 'Ae.

DK: The water running.

KM: So had water there?

DK: Yes, there is a big gulch there.

KM: So it's important to take care of these kinds of places?

DK: Yes, I would say so...

KM: ...Now, from your window here, if we look out there. That's Haoakea, the white spots, and then it goes down?

DK: Yes.

KM: And then below, that's Keonelele where the sand is pushed up?

DK: Yes.

KM: Keonelele is an important place?

SA: Today, the whole area they call Keonoelele, eh?

DK: Yes, but it's not.

KM: So just the low side?

DK: Yes.

SA: Where are the skeletons?

DK: Down there. See where those white dunes are?

KM: Yes.



DK: All inside there, that's burial grounds. They say it's all Hawaiians, but I believe some were the Chinese coolies. Because they were bringing the Pākēs to Hawai'i. They came as far as Kepūhi, I think it was, then they had a ship wreck. So they tried to walk, but they couldn't find water. But get water down there. The old Hawaiians, they knew where the water was. The Pākēs didn't know, so they died inside there.

KM: Hmm.

DK: The most important one under there, it's under the DLNR, I think now. Is where they get the Ka Laina Wāwae.

KM: 'Ae, Ka Laina Wāwae. You are familiar with that place?

DK: I know that place. I took my wife.

KM: You can see the foot prints inside the stone?

DK: It's not human foot prints.

KM: What kind?

DK: You see the name Ka Laina, it means line. But it was this lady's name, Ka Laina, that is her name. They were all down Mo'omomi at that time. There were a lot of people living there.

KM: So a lot of people lived down there?

DK: Yes.

KM: So in the ancient times, before the white man?

DK: Oh yes. I would say in the 1700s, 1800s, but more in the 1700s. See, this lady she could foresee the future. So she made cast of a foot print, and then the sand was still soft at that time. So she put one, she pound 'em, the print of a foot. Then she took 'em and pounded again... ..So I tried to find out about it. And old man Joe told me, "Boy, Ka Laina, that's the lady's name, and this foot print, she made a cast, and she pounded it in." Get some small kind. I think the smallest is four inches. And the Hawaiian baby won't get a four inch foot print. So down there is important. And Pu'u Kalani is another one that has a *hōlua* slide.

KM: 'Oia?

DK: Pu'u Kalani is down Mo'omomi side...

KM: ...How come Ka Laina made the foot prints?

DK: She could foresee the future. So when she made it, she said "Eventually, people will come, and walk that place." So some of the foot prints, Hawaiians never had shoes. But you look at the foot prints, it looks like they had shoes and get heels, because the back part is deeper. So she predicted that people would be walking there.

KM: So the idea was that she made it coming from *makai*, going *mauka*?

DK: Right.

KM: So people coming from the ocean and come across and walk on top the *'āina*.

DK: Right. And they go up towards Keonelele. And what she predicted came true. Native residents fished all along the coast, and made *pa'akai*:

KM: 'Ae... ..All of these areas along the ocean here, were old fishing ground too?

DK: Yes.

KM: Did people live out here then?



DK: Yes, they were living at Mo'omomi, outside Mo'omomi has a pen, down there.

SA: How about the guys from... [thinking]

DK: Waikolu, Pelekunu.

SA: Yes. They came down to make salt like that.

DK: Yes, they came down here for salt.

KM: Oh, where did you folks make salt?

DK: They pick up all the way from Mo'omomi down to 'Īlio.

KM: Ah, so there were areas for that? How did they make their *pa'akai*? Natural *poho*, along the shore?

DK: Yes. When high tide, the waves come up. The water goes in the *kāheka*. Okay, then when hot, they pick up the salt. Like down at Kalaeoka'Īlio, Waihau bay, my wife has a couple of ponds down there, about four feet deep.

KM: So your wife still goes down to gather *pa'akai*?

DK: Yes. She goes down there. But after a while, the people began to *kāpulu*. They *kāpulu*, you go down there, you see the flies, toilet paper.

KM: 'Auwē!

DK: Even Kawakiu has plenty salt.

SA: Yes, that's where we used to pick up, at Kawakiu.

DK: Yes, on the north side.

SA: Yes.

DK: My wife used to go down there, and even on the point, where the *heiau* stay. She goes down there to pick up. But after a while, the tourists come. Well, tourists not too bad, but the other people *kāpulu*!

KM: Hmm. Is there a place where you would gather *'alae* to make red salt, or medicine?

DK: 'Alae, I don't know, but at Pu'u o Hōkū, I know.

KM: Ah, Pu'u o Hōkū?

DK: Yes.

Names various promontories and *pu'u* that were used as *kilo* spots for fishing:

KM: Are there other accesses that are important along this land here? Are there places for *kilo i'a* like that, or *ko'a*?

DK: Yes. Pu'u Kai'aka, Kawakiu. Kawakiu, you go between Kawakiu iki and Kawakiu nui, there's a *ko'a*.

KM: How about Kalani or Mo'omomi side, or Mokiō.

DK: All around, from Anahaki, they get, but I can not pin point where they are at.

KM: Yes. But the old people used the land, they fished in there?

DK: Yes.

KM: Are there trails?

DK: Yes along there...



SA: Like along here, where we used to go fishing down here, the *wahine* had her *ma'i*, she couldn't go.

KM: So along the Pā Pōhaku shore line? Pu'u Koa'e like that?

SA: Yes.

KM: How did these guys living out here along the beach, get fresh water? Did it ooze out along the shore or what?

DK: Well, I know down at Kepuhikani, they build a wall, and they laid it with ti-leaves, and then they packed the water. But I don't know where they got the water from. But they pour it inside this big area, a room like this.

KM: Oh, so almost 20 feet across.

DK: It was all stone. That's why has a place down there at Kaupoa, they call Lā'ī Trough. The Hawaiians planted plenty ti-leaves down there.

KM: Hmm.

DK: So when they moved down to Kaupoa, next to Kaupoa is Kepuhikani. They have this big wall that they made of stone. They broke the ti-leaves and lay 'um in. Then they put their water inside, and the water won't come out. The *lā'ī* holds it

KM: Amazing!

DK: I know down there has one, but where they get the water, the only one that I can think of is down by Lā'au Point.

KM: So below Kiha-a-Pi'ilani?

DK: Yes...

Recalls account of a *pūhi* turned to stone:

KM: ...There are two place that have "*pūhi*" in here. Kepūhi...

DK: Kepuhikani. Kepuhikani is down by Kaupoa. The other, where Sheraton, is Kepūhi. But it's supposed to be Ka-iwi-o-ka-pūhi, that's the full name of it.

KM: Hmm. So had *pūhi* down there?

DK: According to Joe, these people were trying to catch this eel, one big, big eel.

KM: 'Ano *kūpua*?

DK: I don't know, he never tell me if it was 'aumakua, or what. But he told me that that *pūhi* destroyed things. He'd go around and destroy things. So the people were trying to catch this *pūhi* and kill him. And then somehow, somebody got that *pūhi*, dragged it up on shore, and killed him. But when the people went down there and look for that *pūhi*, they only found the bones. That's why they call that place, Ka-iwi-o-ka-pūhi.

KM: Are there stones there today that are said to be the *pūhi*?

DK: No, you don't see anything. But he told me that was the story of that place.

KM: Interesting. So in your *mana'o*, *pono no lākou e mālama i nā wahi o nā kūpuna*?

DK: 'Ae, *mālama*.

KM: 'Ae...

DK: ...Anahaki get, there's *ko'a*, get house site, get *heiau*.

KM: Where is Anahaki?

DK: Right down here at Mo'omomi.



- Group: [looking at map]
- KM: I was just looking if has the place name. Here's Nēnēhanaupō.
- DK: Nēnēhanaupō, that's this road.
- KM: And there's the point here called Nēnēhanaupō. I see Na'aukahihi.
- DK: Na'aukahihi, that's Mo'omomi.
- KM: There's Kāluaana. Oh, I see...maybe it's transposed on this 1886 map, it says Keanakahi.
- DK: Keanakahi... ...I know that at Anahaki, had guys that used to stay there, because had ti-leaves growing over there. In the *pā pōhaku* used to have ti-leaves, before you get down to Anahaki beach. In fact, all over this side, guys come from Wailau, Pelekunu for salt and fishing. Summer months, down here is good for fishing and salt.
- KM: Hmm. So interesting, like you said your wife would still go gather salt.
- DK: Yes, she goes to Kawakiu, 'Īlio, until the people went *kāpulu* the place.
- KM: 'Ae.
- DK: When we were in the old house, she'd get a whole bed of salt, bring 'um back and dry 'um. We no need buy salt [chuckling]. Today, you go buy, that thing is just like stone.
- KM: Yes. That's because it's not the Hawaiian salt.
- DK: Yes.
- KM: Oh, *mahalo!* I appreciate your taking the time. *Ke Akua pū me 'oe a me kou ali'i wahine.*
- DK: *Mahalo iā 'oe.*
- KM: *Aloha...!*
- DK: Billy, my grandson, he knows the names of the places. He was only four, five years old, I was taking him with me. He take his own *kini 'ai* his water bottle.
- KM: So this place, Kaluako'i, the ranch pretty much closed it off before, and people couldn't get access?
- Discusses fishing grounds of the Kaluako'i vicinity; and traditional subsistence practices:
- DK: Yes. The only guys that could go, like I was working before. We would go hunting, go fishing. We go down there, Saturday, nobody work—it was Monday through Friday. So we go Friday evening, Saturday, Saturday evening, Sunday, Sunday evening, we come out.
- SA: I think in a way, the ranch did good with that, because not everybody could go.
- DK: Yes. And when we go, nobody else could come. If we get Kepūhi, nobody else would come inside, only us. Or, if we're going down Kapukaheu, where they call Dixie Maru, only us was there. We go to Po'olau Bay, same thing. That's how me and my wife used to go before. Po'olau, I go throw net.
- And down at Pu'u Hakina, I throw my net on big schools of *manini*... We also go down to Kapukuwahine, walk from Pu'u Hakina, we walk throw net, go, throw net, by the time we get down to Kapukuwahine, we had almost one barley bag of *moi*. At Kapukuwahine, had big *moi* hole. So I figure enough, no sense be greedy, we have enough to share, and we leave for next time.
- KM: 'Ae. You brought up an important point, this idea. Is that how you were brought up, and how the old people here, were. You take fish for what you need...?



- DK: Oh yes, what you can eat today, you take. But no greedy! Because I tell you honestly... Well, my wife and I, she and I went down to Kalaeokalā'au one time. She, myself, my boy, one other guy and the wife. Five of use went down. We throw net, we had good luck. I throw right in the front of the camp, where Nathaniel Burrows them used to stay, get one *moi* hole over there. So I threw in there. Then I went on the other side, by Kahalepōhaku. I made two throws. I looked and said, "Gee, that's enough already. We have two rice bags, half." If you fill 'um up, that's one rice bag full. So I told this guy, "We have enough." "Okay, enough." We came back. But the night before, was raining. And we went to pick up *kūpe'e*, right in the front where we slept. Every half hour she'd go, pick up some. A five gallon cracker can, full with *kūpe'e*. So I told them, "Enough, no go. Bumby, no can eat all." So when we were *pau* go pick up *'ōpihi*, and throw net for *moi*.
- So the sun was out already. I pass one place, I see plenty flies. She came and asked me, "What's the flies, dad?" "I don't know. Maybe one make deer or something." She went to investigate, and she call me, "Dad." "What?" "One big pile *moi* inside here." Oh when I went to look, big kind *moi*. Somebody went down there, maybe they went walk in or something, and they couldn't carry 'um out, so they just dumped 'um in the *kiawe*.
- KM: *'Auwē!*
- DK: No good, that! That's why, when you're *'ānunu*, no good, *make* the land and the sea. *Make!*
- KM: *'Ae.*
- DK: That's why, like how Scott said, in a way, it was good that Molokai Ranch blocked off guys. Because guys go down there, they're only greedy.
- KM: Yes...
- DK: ...Before Molokai Ranch, we go fish, we fill up the cooler. She tell me, "Dad, enough? "Enough." I throw net for *'ō'io*, eleven pounds one. Down Haleolono runway, on the Hālena side. Eleven pound *'ō'io*, one.
- KM: Wow...!



Mac (Kelson) Poepoe
November 21, 1996, at Ho'olehua, Moloka'i
Interview Notes by Kepā Maly

(Conducted as a part of a DOA Environmental Assessment)

Uncle Mac Poepoe was born in 1949, on the Ho'olehua Homestead. He is a native Hawaiian practitioner of subsistence fishing and resource stewardship. He is a founding member of the Board of *Hui Mālama o Mo'omomi (Hui Mālama)*, committed to the protection and perpetuation of Hawaiian subsistence practices and traditional and customary practices associated with the lands and fisheries of West Moloka'i.

Uncle Mac has a strong sense of commitment to care of the land and ocean, and believes that all who use the land share that responsibility. For the last ten years, he has been actively working with youth to ensure that traditional knowledge of fisheries stewardship and sustainable use of the resources will be handed down to future generations.

In Kaluako'i and neighboring lands, we have a significant erosion problem, caused by years of Molokai Ranch's over grazing. The runoff is a significant impact on our coastal fisheries, and the fisheries, are important to our well-being. Many of our families rely upon the health of the fisheries to maintain the health of their families. (Transcript Notes Released December 9, 1996)



Mo'omomi, Keonelele, Kawākiu Coast Line, towards Ka Lae o ka 'Īlio (KPA Photo S-1609)



Scott Ka'uhanehonokawailani and Sylvia Mililani Adams

November 21-22, 1996, at Ho'olehua, Moloka'i

Interview Notes by Kepā Maly

(Conducted as a part of a DOA Environmental Assessment)

Scott and Sylvia Mililani Adams were both raised on Moloka'i, and are descended from families with generations of residency on the island. They are now residing in the Hō'olehua Hawaiian Homestead.

Uncle Scott recalls that during his youth, access to the west side of Moloka'i was tightly controlled, not just anyone could go in. Uncle observed that in some ways the controlled access was beneficial to the preservation of the fishery resources; and that some form of controlled use would help the long-term management of resources in the region. As an adult, until his retirement, Uncle Scott was a staff member of the Department of Land and Natural Resource-State Parks Division (Enforcement Division) on Moloka'i, and he exercised a stewardship role for the long-term care and protection of Moloka'i's natural and cultural resources.

Aunty Sylvia recalls that Uncle Otto Joao—who was of Hawaiian-Portuguese ancestry, and was raised in Kaluako'i—always instilled in them, a sense of “respect” that one must have “for the land and ocean resources.” Whenever the family would go camping in Kaluako'i (at places like Kawākiu and Kepūhi), Uncle Otto would inquire if any of the women had their *ma'i* (menstrual cycle). If so, they were not permitted into the water, this was *kapu*. On these trips, no one was allowed to wear red as well, because it was a sacred color of Kū.

Additionally, Uncle Otto instructed the children that they were not to go into the ocean until the fisherman returned from their first fishing trip of the stay. Uncle told them that the fish could smell when people entered the water, and that they would run away, thus leaving the family without food. The family used to gather salt down in the Kawākiu area, but development has caused the water and *pa'akai* (salt) to become *haumia* (dirty) and the family can no longer safely gather the *pa'akai*. (Transcript Notes Released December 2, 1996)

Wayde Lee

November 21, 1996, at Ho'olehua, Moloka'i

Interview Notes by Kepā Maly

(Conducted as a part of a DOA Environmental Assessment)

Wayde Lee is a native Hawaiian Homesteader, and at the time of this writing, was member of the Board of *Hui Mālama o Mo'omomi*. He has spent much of his adult life working to nurture Hawaiian youth, and fostering an awareness of Hawaiian cultural practices and natural resources. As a member of *Hui Mālama o Mo'omomi*, Wayde has worked to ensure the preservation of the varied resources of the Mo'omomi area of Kaluako'i, and to protect traditional access and fisheries, and educate individuals about traditional and customary practices. *Hui Mālama o Mo'omomi* oversees approximately 385 acres from DHHL, on the coast between Anahaki and Na'aukahihi, and manages an experimental fishery in Mo'omomi and Kawa'aloa bays, between Na'aukahihi and Kaiehu points.

Wayde noted that a long-term goal of *Hui Mālama o Mo'omomi* is to establish a native Hawaiian fisheries preserve, that fronts some ten (10) miles of shoreline between 'Īlio Point and Kalaupapa, and extends out some two (2) miles to the deep sea fisheries (See also interview notes with Mac Poepoe).

Over the last several years, *Hui Mālama o Mo'omomi* has been very active in the legislature, and has worked with the Moloka'i community on development of the Governor's Moloka'i Subsistence Task Force (Final Report June 1994). Wayde noted that the report identifies the practices, needs, and concerns of Moloka'i's residents for maintaining the island's rural lifestyle. Regarding fishery resources, Wayde commented:



One area of concern is that Mo'omomi and the coast line is affected by erosion, the result of years of overgrazing. Presently, the cove of Kawa'aloa, which makes up a part of the experimental fisheries preserve, is being damaged by the runoff from *mauka*, which carries silt off the slopes and into the bay. Kawa'aloa is a feeding and nesting area for the native *honu* (sea turtles). The growing siltation problem is killing the reef, leading to a diminishing food source, polluting the *honu* nesting area.

Limit outside use of, and swimming in the Mo'omomi coastal region. *Hui Mālama o Mo'omomi* is working to reestablish native subsistence fisheries. We have been taught by our *kūpuna* (elders) that spawning fish are very sensitive to water conditions. If a group of people were to go swim when the *moi* or other fish were preparing to spawn, the odor might drive the fish away. This would in turn impact the subsistence fishing practices of our families. (Transcript Notes Released December 3, 1996)



Lawrence “Brother” Joao, Sr.
Recollections of West Moloka‘i Fisheries and Landscape
Oral History Interview at Kaunakakai, Moloka‘i
November 21, 1996 – with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. LJ112196)

The late Lawrence “Brother” Joao, Sr., was born at Ma‘alehua, Moloka‘i in 1930, and he is of Hawaiian-Portuguese ancestry. His family has lived on Moloka‘i for generations, and has ties to many families and locations in the West Moloka‘i region.



Uncle observed, Moloka‘i is the best place on earth to live, and that he believes we must take care of the land and ocean.

In the interview, Uncle Lawrence shared his recollections of fisheries, storied places on the land, and the customs and practices that were handed down to him by his own *kūpuna*, and other elder *kama‘āina*. Uncle, was very clear, that he was in no way an expert or historian, and that he could only speak from his personal experiences.

Uncle Lawrence Joao, Sr., granted his personal release of the interview records to Maly on December 2, 1996.

- LJ: ...Like us, our generation, we don't know anything.
- KM: But like you were just saying, Kealapūpūkea, that's important information from your *kūpuna*. Uncle, could you please share your full name with me?
- LJ: My name is Lawrence Joao, but everybody knows me by Brother...
- KM: Who was your papa?
- LJ: My father was Francis Raymond Joao.
- KM: And mama?
- LJ: Mama was Gussy Maikani laea-Joao...
- KM: Your dad was born and raised here, on Moloka‘i?
- LJ: My dad was born at Punchbowl.
- KM: Oh, for real?
- LJ: For give birth up here, my grandmother was scared, they lived in a grass house, and no more people over here.
- KM: Yes. So grandma went to Honolulu, gave birth to your papa and then came back to Moloka‘i?
- LJ: Yes.



KM: How did mama come to Moloka'i?

LJ: Mama came to Moloka'i from her father. *Tūtū* laea was ordained a minister, after his first wife died, my he came here, and met this lady, Lukela, from Kawela. So she became their step mother...

LJ: Now my father was working for Molokai Ranch, cowboy.

KM: Yes. And you were born when?

LJ: April 1, 1930, at the place the ranch called Ma'alehua, Kala'e.

KM: Oh. So Ma'alehua?

LJ: Yes, that's below Kala'e. On the west side of Kauluwai. The Cookes were living there, they had a big house there.

KM: 'Ae. So you spent all of your life, pretty much here on Moloka'i?

LJ: Oh yes, Moloka'i. This is the only good place on earth [chuckles].

KM: 'Ae. So you really *aloha* this place?

LJ: Oh yes...

KM: ...Because of your familiarity with this *'āina*, you rode this range, and spent time with your grandpa, your father them, going out here. You've seen some of the old Hawaiian places and heard some of the stories...?

LJ: Oh yes. I worked with my uncle. My Uncle Joseph Joao fell down in 1953, so he got me to go work with him. He was a hard guy to work with. But the ranch boss said, "You have to go, he asked for you, you've got to go. Otherwise, we have to put you out." So I went work with him, and he showed me a lot of things. You know, I had it first-hand from my uncle. It's not from somebody else.

KM: Yes, let's talk about that. [referencing point on map of Moloka'i] ...In your youth, Māhana like this had old Hawaiian places too?

LJ: Oh yes, yes. But you can hardly see that already, because how many years cattle have been moving on top of that land.

KM: So the land is all...?

LJ: Everything is smashed down. And the closer you go down to the beach now; you go down to Mo'omomi side, so places over grown with *kiawe*, you can't see anything inside there.

KM: But underneath still has sites, yet?

LJ: Oh yes. Even get the heads over there with the round hole inside the skull, and with the lead... Hawaiians had no more lead before. Somebody must have slaughtered them. But I never heard my father them, or any body say that somebody murdered these people.

KM: So that's Hawaiian graves?

LJ: Yes...

KM: ...So this Keonelele, Mo'omomi, was a known burial area?

LJ: Sure! That's all sacred. The place has the foot print imbedded in the sand stone, going up the road.

KM: Yes. Do you remember that name Ka Laina Wāwae?

LJ: Yes, and I showed a lot of people.

KM: Oh. Is that an important place?

LJ: Sure it's important! It's history!



KM: 'Ae. Did you hear any story about that place?

LJ: My uncle used to tell me all kinds of stories... And then he had first hand news from the Hawaiians. He never had news from somebody else.

KM: Hmm. And your Uncle Joseph was living out Kepuhi side?

LJ: Yes, he'd stay up Kā'ana first, then my uncle went all over the place. He went down Hālena. When the oldest daughter was born, they were down at Hālena. And then went up to Kā'ana, then Kepuhi. He was a caretaker for the ranch.

KM: So he sort of oversaw the land like that, and if people went in?

LJ: Oh yes, you can't do anything.

KM: They didn't let anyone come in this 'āina, Molokai Ranch? It was just closed off?

LJ: It was closed off. And if the eyes over there for the ranch was my Uncle Joseph [chuckles and shakes head]...

KM: What, you had to get permission, and get key?

LJ: Oh yes, not like now. Before, you just jump on the car and go over there, they haul you in. Nobody did make an attempt, so you never heard about anybody. Nobody made an attempt because everybody was afraid of the Cookes. I guess every island where they white man had his foot, everybody was afraid of them. Because if you disobey, you get no more job.

Names locations noted for various fish and 'ōpihi, around the West Moloka'i shore line:

KM: Yes... And this place, Kealapūpūkea, you mentioned?

LJ: Well, how we know about these places, it's all 'ōpihi, where we go pick 'ōpihi. That's all *pali*.

KM: So the people could go access, get down...?

LJ: Yes, only ranch people. They give you pass and they ask you where you want to go. Another place Mokio. Do you see Mokio over there?

KM: 'Ae.

LJ: Mokio was another place, that's the places where you go down and you walk both ways. You go down here and walk until you can't go, then you climb up the *pali* and go down. Then if you can swim, you not scared of the shark or the barracuda, you swim around the point. But these places over here, you get strong current coming around here.

KM: Around Kalaeoka'īlio Point.

LJ: You get strong current and a lot of barracuda inside this area. You have to be a good swimmer, strong, and you have to know about fishing.

KM: Yes. So it was important to be able to go and access the shore line for 'ōpihi like that?

LJ: Oh yes, that's where we get our 'ōpihi.

KM: What kinds of fish?

LJ: *Moi* grounds, *āholehole*.

Kealapūpūkea, an ancient trail lined by white shells:

KM: Yes. And what did Kealapūpūkea mean to you?

LJ: *Ala* is road, trail. The road, *pūpū kea*, it comes white when bleach out.

KM: So the old shells come white.



LJ: Well, they line 'um up so you can see the trail even in the night.

KM: So they lined the old trail, Ke-ala-pūpū-kea was a lined trail?

LJ: Yes. On both side, you see they put the *pūpū*. And when the sun hits, the thing gets old, the shell comes white.

KM: So that was one of the old trails of this area?

LJ: Yes, to go down. Another place over here, right on the point over here [pointing to location on map].

KM: Kawaihau?

LJ: Kawaihau, that's the small, little bay over there. It's a good fishing ground, we spear fish inside there.

KM: Hmm.

LJ: But on the point here, we call this Sharp Stone. If you mention to anybody, Sharp Stone, you know, the 'ā'ā like, but it's the sand stone.

KM: Yes.

LJ: It's all sharp. You have to go on the sharp stone, then you wait on top here, and down here, you have the cross wave, that comes from Kalaupapa and Honolulu side. It comes up like that. That's the *moi* hole over there, but you have to be fast. You have to throw the *moi* and if you're too late, either you and your net going. Because has one *papa* over there, and then the *moi* come on it, big. Big kind of *moi*! But that's the ground over there, right there. But you have to be good. You don't go fool around over there, or tell somebody go over there if that person is not a good fisherman.

KM: Dangerous.

LJ: Yes.

Salt making at Kawākiu li'ilii and vicinity:

KM: Did you folks go gather salt from any of these areas here?

LJ: The salt was down here [pointing to location on map].

KM: Down Kawākiu?

LJ: Kawākiu li'ilii

KM: Had good salt ground over there?

LJ: Oh yes, that's the salt ground that we use. That's the most important salt ground right there.

KM: Kawākiu li'ilii?

LJ: Yes.

KM: How about, along this side [pointing further along the coast]

LJ: Too rough behind there. Because the water, even... You see why these kind of places are good, when there's big water, the salt water comes on top.

KM: In the *kāheka*, the pools like that?

LJ: Right. And then after that, usually, they go get the salt in July, maybe August. But the water doesn't come on top of there again. Like these kinds of places, even summer time, some times get big waves. So it comes inside. Maybe had some places, but we don't know. But I know Kawākiu Li'ilii, yes.



KM: Yes. Did you hear if there was any place where there was *'alae* stone?

LJ: Behind there, yes.

KM: So like at Ka'a, Mokia?

LJ: They have.

KM: So they can get *'alae*?

LJ: But they don't tell you. They don't tell anybody, because *'alae* was a sacred thing.

KM: Hmm. So what did they use the *'alae* for?

LJ: A lot of medicine. And the color the salt. But that's only material thing. A lot of things. Was like when a lady had hemorrhage like that, no can stop. They use that and the thing stop right away.

KM: 'Ae. Amazing, yeah?

LJ: Yes. That's how that was. So when you go pick up the *'alae*, they don't just show anybody because Hawaiians say "Some people *hewa*." You know what is *hewa*, yeah?

KM: 'Ae.

LJ: So when they go, Hawaiian they are not a stupid people. They were close to the earth.

KM: Yes, they had to live close to the earth and take care.

LJ: Right.

KM: Do you remember, is there an old trail that went along this coast line here. That even nowadays, you could go access? Like you were describing you can go along the ocean, up the cliff, down that next bay?

LJ: Well, no more road that way. But Mokia, yes. Mokia get, certain places, if you go up Kalaeka'ilio. If you go now, Kalaeka'ilio, the pasture they call Kalaeka'ilio, get one fence line going straight out to the north.

KM: Here's a larger map, this is from 1886, Monsarrat's Map for this end of Moloka'i.

LJ: Okay.

KM: Here's Kalaeka'ilio.

LJ: Right.

KM: See this trail...

LJ: And you get one *pu'u* behind here.

KM: 'Ae, Pu'u Ka'eo, right here.

LJ: Yes, Pu'u Ka'eo.

KM: Here's Mokia.

LJ: Mokia.

KM: 'Ae. And Waikanapō.

LJ: Waikanapō.

KM: Palaoa, Kalani.

LJ: Yes, Kalani.

KM: Kaiehu and Kawa'aloa, *ma'ane'i*.

LJ: Yes.



KM: Then here's Mo'omomi.

LJ: Mo'omomi. When you get on top here, the ranch get one big pen now, a paddock. Get on *pu'u* up the side here. And that *pu'u*, you get one *heiau* down here, close to the *pali*. By that fence line, I'm telling you about.

KM: Uh-hmm.

LJ: If you are going down to Kalaeka'ilio, now, you have to go through this gate over here, where there's a big corral.

KM: Okay, I'm going to mark it on the map.

LJ: Yes. I don't know, maybe you mark the wrong place.

KM: Well, at least a general location.

LJ: The ranch has...there's the wind generators like over there.

KM: Okay.

LJ: Yes, here's the paddock, Kalaeka'ilio Paddock.

KM: Yes. So it's this big area here?

LJ: Where the paddock stay, get one fence line going out this way. Now the Conservancy, they have one line to up here somewhere. So there is a void like in here. That hill behind, you get one place, Kapa... [thinking]

KM: Kapalaoa, Palaoa.

LJ: Yes, right here, one *heiau* down here. A big kind shells, '*ōpihi*. So people used to live down here, these two further down.

KM: Okay.

LJ: In this paddock somewhere, they don't just pinpoint the paddock. But if they pinpoint the paddock, then you see the fence line. Then from here, the fence line goes down to the Kaluako'i road, going inside.

KM: Okay. This is Pu'u Kahalelani, and here's Pu'u Pili, the little *pu'u* that are on top Haoakea.

LJ: Uh-hmm.

KM: Then here's Pu'u 'Ula, and then you come to Pu'u Ka'eo, below.

LJ: Uh-hmm.

KM: Just looking at some of the various place names out here.

LJ: Yes, somewhere around here. They get on *pu'u* behind here.

KM: So behind Kapalaoa side?

LJ: Yes. I think it's there. It doesn't say *pu'u*, but has one pretty good hill, and it goes down, *pali* and drop. And then on top that hill, well, on top these *pu'us*, all you get like worship places.

KM: So on top of these various *pu'u*, like Ka'eo and over here at Kapalaoa, get places?

LJ: Some parts are just like cinder cone, some parts no more nothing. But most times, the most significant kinds you see, if you watch near the ocean, look a little bit different. Not everyone, I guess.

KM: Maybe some like *ko'a*, for mark on the land where they go to fish grounds, outside?



LJ: Yes. They get land marks too, for certain reasons. But we never learned from anybody at that time, because they were all gone. Maybe my grand uncle knew, but we never ask. And maybe he felt “no sense telling me.” I wasn’t listening to him, so he never. Maybe some times, poor thing, he was trying to tell us things, but nobody listened to him...

But yet this place, there’s a lot of places on the edge, like. You have a lot of places like this. Inland mostly, it was mostly open ground. The cattle went open up the ground, desecrate the place by their hooves. And then when the rain wash up the land.

KM: Yes. So the erosion becomes terrible?

LJ: Terrible.

KM: All this land is opened up and barren, and the dirt washes out to the ocean?

LJ: Yes. So, I don’t know, because we get some kind of connection, we get Hawaiian blood; inside, you just kind of like cry inside, when you know what they are doing to the land and ocean.

KM: Yes.

LJ: Because the older Joao them, their parents, the mother’s name was Koa. And if you find the place next to Sheraton Hotel, the place down there now.

KM: Yes.

LJ: That hill over there where Libby came first time and made their wharf, Kai’aka, Pu’u Kai’aka. This place belonged to the Koa family.

KM: ‘Oia?

LJ: Yes.

KM: So which Joao was this?

LJ: That’s Joe Joao, Otto’s great, great grandparents.

KM: Ahh. So the Koa family had this ‘āina here?

LJ: Yes. How big they had, maybe run way up. Maybe thousands of acres at one time. And get one *heiau* down here. Get *heiau* on top here, one on the side here, and get one fish *ko’a*. And then my uncle told me that this belongs to the Molokai Ranch after the people weren’t around.

KM: But that was the family’s place?

LJ: Yes. And how many more families are not here today?

KM: Yes. Your uncle had a place down here by Kepuhi?

LJ: It was a ranch house.

KM: I see. That’s all now where the hotel is?

LJ: Yes, right where the dining room is. The house was right there.

KM: Sot that’s where his ranch house was?

LJ: Yes.

KM: Did you see any...like coming *mauka* towards here, Pu’u Kulua or Pu’u Apalu...

LJ: Apalu, yes. Apalu is another famous place too. Apalu had a lot of stone *ko’a* and things like that. Get a lot of land between. Like on the pu’us like, usually they go on the *pu’u*, get something on the *pu’u*. Around the *pu’u*, maybe on the lee-side, away from the wind, they had their stuff, see.



KM: Sure. That's important to note then. So where you have *pu'u*, you have to be careful, you can't just go on top and start throwing stones around, or digging?

LJ: No, no, no.

KM: Many times that could be a Hawaiian place?

LJ: Oh yes.

Kupuna used to *kilo i'a* from Pu'u Kai'aka:

KM: *Kilo*... did they *kilo i'a* like that some times? Like how they spot fish from *pu'u* or cliffs along here?

LJ: Oh yes, Kai'aka, that's where they watched the *'ō'io* and the fish. That's where they watched, the highest point. So those kinds of places, they are something so important. And when they made the big landing on the beach, oh they had this... I was working for HC&D already. And we had big tractors over there.

KM: So this Pu'u Koa'e side, on the white sand beach?

LJ: Yes.

KM: And Pā Pōhaku is over here.

LJ: Pā Pōhaku, we used to take in this corner. We took the sand by the millions of yards.

KM: Oh!

LJ: I was running this job over here. So Kai'aka, when they made the invasion, the military came up with the big bull-dozer, so the went up here.

KM: When was this?

LJ: In the '60s. They made a big landing, it was just like a real war.

KM: For real?

LJ: Just like a war.

KM: Amphibious and everything came inside?

LJ: The Marines came down from San Diego on the boat. When they jumped down, they were all sick those guys. They had the big landing over there. I was fortunate, I saw all that going on. You see my flag over there, that stuff?

KM: Yes.

LJ: That's from one of the landing boats. The stuff where they hook the...that's a bronze tip. I had a couple. I gave my son-in-law, and I gave to my father-in-law.

KM: So they came from that time?

LJ: All was wrecks. What happened over here, they made a smoke screen... Anyway, they piled up on one another, it was a wreck, and the waves started to come. But on this hill, Kai'aka, they took the big tractors. They cut on this hill and they start to wreck it.

KM: They just pushed it down?

LJ: They were pushing it. I stayed down at this corner, so I told my boss, "Hey, these guys, they are pushing that *ko'a*." He said "How do you know?" "I can see the dust." He said, "We have no more business up there. And anyway, the Hawaiians all make already." I said, "Yes, but look, I used to work ranch, and my uncle told me that's all the family *heiau*." But he said, "You no can do nothing."

KM: So this area at Kai'aka, they were just bulldozing?



LJ: Oh, they went. You know they ended up going through the land, through here, they went over inside here. They went down to Mo'omomi with the tanks, they crossed the road. They went all in the homestead land. They crossed Māhana and they went down the side and in the community. The homestead land, go that side, and ended up by Manawainui...
 ...From the flat where we had, was Pā Pōhaku. They call Pā Pōhaku, the pasture. And then the next one to use, they call Puko'owai. But they didn't go too much down here, because the Cookes made 'um, they knew already, no touch this land, that's sacred down there, for them.

KM: Hmm.

LJ: They never cared for the Hawaiians, they said "it was for us..."

KM: ...How about Haleolono, here? When did that harbor get built?

LJ: Nineteen fifty-eight, that's when I started for the company, June 4, 1958. The job started in April, and I went to work on June 4th...

KM: So Haleolono, 1958, they started making the harbor?

LJ: Yes.

KM: What kind of access did they have before? Could anyone go down there?

LJ: Oh no. You couldn't go. But they had this thing, from Mauna Loa, when you come down through the pineapple fields, that's all Molokai Ranch. To Haleolono, they had an agreement, but we never knew that, it was all secret. The agreement was, that people could come down and access. But we never knew. Even our own family never knew. Everything was lock and key again. You go, you were issued a key, and not every body, you know.

KM: No, only certain people.

LJ: The foremen, the boss, had keys to open 'um.

KM: So you had to go through a series of gates throughout the lands?

LJ: Yes, they had one gate by Wai'eli. You come inside, it was one gate, and all the way coming through, was pineapple fields. And then go down the Kolo road, they had one cattle guard.

KM: Kolo Road?

LJ: Yes. The Kolo Road is about here some place [pointing to location on map].

KM: So Kolo road, and here's Kolo.

LJ: Yes.

KM: Here's the shore line at Hikauhi.

LJ: Right.

KM: So had one road, that ran across over here?

LJ: Yes. It was a nice plantation road, along the side of the gulch. The road is still there, but the bridge was burned.

KM: Oh!

LJ: And that was the only access they could go. I just went down there recently. We went hunting. Somebody invited me to go hunting, the place is nice.

KM: So at Haleolono, you worked on the harbor, did the dredge it out some?

LJ: Twenty-one feet. And we made the breakwater.



KM: Where did the stone come from?

LJ: We ransacked the hills, from this side [pointing to area on map]. What is this name here?

Discussing fisheries and resources of the Kanalukaha-Haleolono vicinity:

KM: This is Kanalukaha.

LJ: Kanalukaha. This is a famous name, a famous place. They had the shack where they put the fishing bowls. My brother-in-law, he was bulldozer operator. He made the roads all in side here, and he gathered all the stones we took.

KM: Big boulders like that?

LJ: Oh, forty tons. They asked for forty tons down to five tons. And I was the truck driver.

KM: So had old Hawaiian sites, *ko'a* and what over Haleolono and...?

LJ: All this side is more sacred down this side. All along the coast, but his side was very much because it's the lee-shore side. More calm water, good fishing ground. Every place was good fishing grounds, but this side was more calm water. This name, Kanalukaha, this is a famous name, and Haleolono, Kapukuwahine, Halepōhaku. This area, get a big flat basin, like a delta. All the water comes inside here, Kanalukaha. And then when the steer go down here, you can't get them to go up. They drink the water from there.

KM: Oh, so had a hollow area?

LJ: A hollow area. So they send the young cowboys go down and flush 'um out, make 'um come out. Cannot make 'um come out. So then the ranch gives you five gallons of oil and you got to go make 'um on the side of the water so the steer cannot drink the water.

KM: Oh!

LJ: Had water, there, it would stay for six or seven months down there. It stayed like a lake inside there.

KM: Hmm.

LJ: And you know, the fish used to go inside here too. And when the beach closed up, big kinds of mullet used to be inside there. We used to catch them.

KM: *Muliwai* like?

LJ: Yes.

KM: How about Pu'u Akua, you remember that name?

LJ: Yes.

KM: Here's this Pu'u Kihaapi'ilani. Was there a water area somewhere down here?

LJ: Yes, had a water area. That's where the Burrows used to drink the water. But what happened, they ranch made my grandfather, Ferine, blow 'um for more water.

KM: The well, the spring?

LJ: Well, it was just a little *pu'u*, see. And on the south side, looking more to southeast side, that's where the source of the water was coming downing... And this place here, Kamakaipo, was a village inside, nothing but Hawaiian houses. This was the last place where you could find sugar cane inside.

KM: Old Hawaiian cane?

LJ: Old Hawaiian sugar cane, the *kō*, they plant the *kō* by the stones see. Every time, you see the sugar cane by the stones. I asked my uncle "Why they have a big land, and they plant the *kō* by the stone?" He said, "Why they plant by the stone, because, when get rain, what ever rain get, the water comes from the stones."



KM: Yes. So it shelters and protects the roots?

LJ: Yes. Outside, the water very little. But by the stones, the stone collects all that water and keeps it wet around. So every time you look around a big stone, you see the sugar cane.

KM: So out at Kamakaipo?

LJ: Yes.

KM: How about 'Amikopala, you heard about that?

LJ: Yes.

KM: Had old fields up here?

LJ: Yes, get the stone wall around. The way they plant 'uala, get the stone. You see, what happened now, the ranch is going to develop Kolo, nobody is telling them about the sacred road. That road goes up to that, 'Amikopala.

KM: That's the old Kū-a-Pāka'a Road?

LJ: A stone paved road, yes...
 Already, the guy went and destroyed a part of that before, that was David Rawlins. He was a bulldozer operator on Molokai Ranch. My uncle used to tell him about that road. The ranch was cutting roads coming down, so my uncle told him, "You got to watch that road." He never listen, just as bad as me. Some times you think my uncle was just talking. But he wrecked the road. After that he saw. See, the Hawaiians didn't make straight road, they follow the contour of the land.

KM: 'Ae.

LJ: So, if he going in there, he cut the road, so he went through this section, then the old road, cut again and he went through it again [gestures cutting through the old trail with the new road]. But to him, stone was stone, he had to do a job [shaking his head]

KM: Yes. When you folks did this area then, did they bulldoze a road around this way to get the sand?

LJ: The sand came from this side, up to Pā Pōhaku, and down to Haleolono

KM: Oh.

LJ: The road went to Wai'eli, we make the cinder hill, we put the plant over there. Then from there, we had a Y. This road they constructed, straight, go down. The intention was to bring all the millions of yards of sand and drop 'um down this. Everyday for six days a week.

KM: So the road came here?

LJ: To Wai'eli and then turned and came down. The purpose was to get the sand. But then we surveyed and test drilled for blue rock. We were going to bring the crusher over here. But the blue rock was not the first grade blue rock...

KM: Wow!

LJ: [looking at map noting locations] We also went across Pu'u Hakina, across here, and down here, we took all the sand, Kapukuwahine, Kanalukaha, but we never cross this hill, Pu'u Akua. The company stopped us right here, but we made a turn around place over here. But these two beaches, we took everything down. Even took the stones underneath there too. And you know, had sand so old under there, big sand and orange color. I don't know where the orange color came from, maybe the dirt from long ago.

KM: Yes.

LJ: It was orange color. I was bulldozing, it was my job after that.



KM: How did you folks feel about doing that?

LJ: Well, I tell you honest to God, we get mixed feelings, but we needed the job. The family is growing up.

KM: Yes.

LJ: To us, if you don't go straight for the *heiau*, and break the *heiau*, that was kind of okay. But if you needed the sand, and that was our bread and butter, eh.

KM: Yes.

LJ: So we took the sand.

KM: Yes... You really *aloha* this *'āina*?

LJ: Oh yes, my family, my father and all them, this was how we lived, raised our families. We went to school... In the back of the talking, even though I'm radical sometimes, we love the place just like it was ours.

KM: Yes.

LJ: Because we had good mother and father, who were not ignorant people, and we lived the life. They were good people.

KM: Yes. So you got to still live and take care of the land?

LJ: Yes. And the *heiau*, the *ko'a*, the *pu'uhonua*, they got to designate and take care of those places. Lucky today, the young people are getting educated about those things...
...Did you learn something from this, or was just a bunch of rubbish?

KM: Oh no, no, no! It's wonderful, there is so much here. It's so important, *mahalo...!*

LJ: We have to care for the land. I can't see someone who cares for the land, throw rubbish on the land, and say the hell with this place. No! Every place is yours.

KM: Yes, How about fishing like that, or going to the land, did you folks just take everything you, and throw away the *koena*, make *kāpulu*, any kind?

LJ: No, no. Our thought was every time, you take only what you need, and you clean everything. Never throw rubbish, any kind on the land or in the water. It's ours and we have to take care.

KM: Yes, you hurt one thing, everything hurts.

LJ: Yes, you hurt everything.

KM: Hmm.

LJ: ...If people are going to come, educate them so that they know about this stuff. You educate them. You have to care for everything...

KM: *Mahalo...!*



John Dudoit Jr.
Recollections of East Moloka'i Fisheries
Oral History Interview at Kainalu, Moloka'i
April 11, 1997 – with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. JD041197)

John Dudoit Jr. (affectionately called “Johnny Boy”), was born at Kamanoni in 1934. His family has lived in the Kona and Ko’olau districts of Moloka’i for generations.

As a child, his *kūpuna* and father taught him various practices and customs of fishing, and he has fished his entire life.

In the interview, Uncle Johnny provides detailed descriptions of fishing along the coastline of East Moloka’i. He shares the values and customs of his *kūpuna*, and their sense of stewardship for the land and ocean resources. These are the things that uncle holds close to, and which he has shared with his own children, in an effort to promote healthy fisheries and traditional practices.

The interview was conducted as a part of a study documenting the Ipukaiole Fishpond, and neighboring fisheries of the Kainalu-Kawaikapu vicinity. Uncle John Dudoit granted his personal release of the interview records to Maly on May 19, 1997.



- KM: We’re doing an oral history interview about some of the memory, the recollections of the history here in Kainalu-Kawaikapu, and we’re going to talk about your home in Kamanoni, you know, and things. But uncle, could you please give me your full name?
- JD: I’m John Dudoit Jr., I was born at home, at Kamanoni, and raised at the same spot in Kamanoni. I visited other islands, and got married when I was 26 years old. My wife was from Moloka’i also, we got together and got married. And we have six children, three boys, three girls. They’re all of age, on their own now. But then, I lost my wife in 1989.
- KM: Ohh—*aloha*... What year were you born, and your birth date?
- JD: Oh yeah, May 26, 1934.
- KM: Ahh. And so we’re here along the east side of Moloka’i.
- JD: Uh-hmm.
- KM: If we go back for a moment, who was your mama and papa, and was your *tūtū* also living with you?



His *kūpuna* lived and fished at Kainalu:

JD: Oh, oh yeah, my grandmother used to live up here, Kainalu. That was Kala Davis, yeah. That was my grandmother.

KM: Kala?

JD: Kala Davis, uh-hmm.

KM: Mama's name?

JD: Esther Kahakuwila, maiden name. Then, got married to my dad.

KM: Ahh. And daddy was John Dudoit Sr.

JD: Dudoit Sr...

Fished Kainalu shoreline from when he was approximately six years old; has always seen the fishpond walls:

KM: We're in Kainalu, on the ocean down here, and we're in the vicinity of some fishponds and things. Can you share with me some of your memories about this shoreline here, and fishing? Had stone walls, *pā pōhaku* out here?

JD: Oh yes, always been. Yes, always been, this pond was here ever since [chuckles] I was...ever since when I came down to the beach, yeah.

KM: Yes, from small boy time, then?

JD: Yes. I think I started to fish maybe when I was about six or seven years old.

KM: You go dive like that?

JD: Everything, dive and all kind. Throw net, all kind, until today.

KM: You go fish with some *kūpuna*, or *mākuā* them?

JD: Yes, yes, friends, family. They like to go with me [chuckles], I don't know, they said, "You get the eye for see the fish." They always telling me "How can you see the fish?" "I don't know, maybe was gifted." Yes.

KM: 'Ae, 'ike.

JD: Yes.

KM: Now, in your time, when you came out here, you said you saw...you knew there were fishponds here, did you hear anyone talk about the fishponds at all...

JD: Yes, yes.

KM: Can you describe some of your memories of here, you know?

In shore *pu'uone* pond was also a source of mullet; had a *mākāhā* leading out to the ocean:

JD: Oh yes, as far as this old pond here [pointing to the area of the inshore pond, on the Dunbar property, to the east of Kainalu Stream].

KM: The little *pu'uone*?

JD: Yes, used to get plenty mullet in there.

KM: Oh yeah, even the inshore pond?

JD: Yes, 'cause, they had one *mākāhā* over there, where the water used to go in and out.

KM: Oh yeah!

JD: Uh-hmm. So I ask, "I can go get some mullet?" [mimicking Grandma Bella's voice] "Go ahead." She used to call me "Sonny boy," you know.



KM: Oh, so that was Grandma Bella?

JD: Yes, yes.

KM: So in this little dune, inside shore pond here...?

JD: Uh-hmm.

KM: And had one gate for the water to come in and out?

JD: Yes, yes, for drain like.

KM: Did it go by the house like?

JD: Yes.

KM: Where did the *mākāhā* or the *kahe* go?

JD: Just go out, straight out.

KM: Straight out, right out to the ocean?

JD: Yes.

KM: How about outside of here, 'cause you'd mentioned that the Grandma's house was...

JD: Outside, yeah.

KM: Outside. Had a stone wall in front of their house still yet when you were...?

Describes Ipukaiole Fishpond; types of fish caught there; and the protocol of taking fish:

JD: Oh yes, as far as I remember, yes. [pointing out to the present western facing alignment of the Ipukaiole pond wall] That's the same wall that one.

KM: The same wall, ahh.

JD: Yes.

KM: But no one was using the fishpond, or was anyone using the fishpond over here then?

JD: Umm [thinking], no... Well, used to get plenty fish in there too, out there.

KM: Oh, what kind of fish?

JD: All kind.

KM: All kind.

JD: Yes, mullet, *weke*, even *moi*, used to come in there before, long before. And then when I used to come throw net, maybe only one throw, and I get enough, and just go home.

KM: Oh. So you don't just take, take, take plenty...?

JD: Oh no, no, no.

KM: How come?

JD: Too much.

KM: Too much, okay. But when you go out, your *tūtū* them, how did they teach you, you take care, or you take every...?

JD: Take care.

KM: No *'ānunu*?

JD: No *'ānunu*. "*Oe maopopo*," they say, "*Ho'omaopopo!*"

KM: 'Ae. So, no one was working the fishpond though, in your childhood...?



JD: Oh, at that time, no, no, 'cause was there already.

KM: Ahh. And how about, was the wall still in pretty good shape...?

JD: Oh yes.

Describes Ipukaiole Fishpond and deterioration of walls in his life time:

KM: You know how they're trying to restore it now?

JD: Yes right.

KM: Do you remember, that had some wall around there?

JD: Oh yes, was still there. Well, as it goes by the waves.

KM: Broke down?

JD: Yes, broke 'um down with all this kind weather we get now. Yes, that's what happened. So what people usually do, is the rocks fall down, they put 'um back. [chuckles] Just like the house, if the house, something fall down, you have to put 'em back up.

KM: Yes, I see, but if no one was around to take of the pond, then, just *hāne'e*?

JD: Yes.

KM: Did you... When we walked out on the beach, 'cause we walked a little while ago, down the ocean, and you'd mentioned, this was a big fishpond [said with emphasis]...

JD: Oh yes.

KM: You said, went from here all the way down the other side.

JD: Yes, ah-haa.

KM: Did you hear a name for these ponds here before, do you remember?

JD: [pauses thinking]

KM: Did they give name for the ponds?

JD: Well, that I never hear.

KM: You never?

JD: No, no.

KM: Yes. Later, did you hear?

JD: Then, yes, after they said oh this pond is, you know, and then the other pond, yeah.

KM: So now, if they use the Kainalu, of course...?

JD: Yes we just call 'em Kainalu pond.

KM: Kainalu is the name of the land eh?

JD: Yes, we just go Kainalu pond, that's all, yeah.

KM: 'Ae. Did you ever hear anyone one use the name, Ipukaiole, that you remember?

JD: Hmm [thinking] no.

KM: Not that you remember, in your time already?

JD: Yes, yes.

Speaks of residents in Kainalu and vicinity in c. 1940:

KM: Were there still some old Hawaiian people, you know, I mean Grandma Bella, you mentioned was here.



JD: Uh-hmm.
KM: And your own *tūtū* was here.
JD: Uh-hmm.
KM: Were there still old people?
JD: Yes! Oh yes. Ka'ahanui, Charles Ka'ahanui, that old man over there [pointing to the east, Waialua side of Kainalu]. Over here, the old man Smith, Aitake.
KM: Oh, Aitake, so Isaac?
JD: Uh-hmm, Isaac...
KM: ...Was he an old man to this place?
JD: Oh yes, yes. In fact, the house was way down over here, right on the side here [chuckles], but the tidal wave took 'um all the way up there. And he just went put 'um up over there.

Discusses former residents; protocol in fishing; and impacts of 1946 tsunami on Ipukaiole and the Kainalu shoreline:

KM: Oh yes, ohh! Amazing. [pauses] No problem when you were young, if you wanted to go fish here, did you folks go ask, or you never did need to go ask anybody?
JD: No, no, because only outside, walk along side the wall over there. No need ask, and walk down here, that's all. One throw, enough, that's good enough.
KM: *Lawa?*
JD: Yes, *lawa*.
KM: Nice.
JD: Yes.
KM: Was the wall better when you were young, was there more wall evident?
JD: Oh yes, yes...
KM: ...So you had Ka'ahanui, and you said, "Ki'ohinu" was your *Tūtū*?
JD: Yes, my father's father...
KM: ...So he was native here in Kawaikapu-Kainalu area?
JD: Yes, yes. He was an old timer.
KM: Ohh. Did you ever here your *tūtū*, or any of the old people talk about *Kū'ula*, or about...?
JD: Oh, that I don't know, mostly he was talking in Hawaiian [chuckles], and I never understand.
KM: So you were a small kid and they never encouraged you to talk Hawaiian?
JD: No, no.
KM: Oh.
JD: That's all he spoke, fluent Hawaiian. Good Hawaiian.

Remembers Ipukaiole Fishpond from when he was six years old; walls were in better condition:

KM: So, we were also then leading up to, we'd mentioned that you remembered when you were young, like from six years old, you would go fish with some of your papa and the *kūpuna* them?



JD: Yes, that's how I learned.
KM: And you saw the fishpond walls up here.
JD: Oh yes.
KM: And they were in better condition then?
JD: Uh-hmm.

Discusses impacts of 1946 *tsunami* on fishponds and coastal area:

KM: Do you remember the 1946 tidal wave, the *tsunami*?
JD: [thinking] Yes, uh-hmm.
KM: Was your folks house, you folks were okay?
JD: Oh yes, was all right, only the wave came up under the house.
KM: Under the house. Here though, like the grandma's house, Bella...?
JD: Oh well, that house was moved.
KM: Moved. And Smith's house went move too.
JD: It moved.
KM: How about the fishponds out here then, Kainalu and Ipukaiole?
JD: Ahh, I think it went break up a little bit. The rocks fell down yeah.

Erosion has changed shore line:

KM: Hmm. As we go along this area, along the shore, going towards the west then... There have been some changes to the land in general yes, over the years?
JD: Yes, yes. The place [gesturing the beach in front of Dunbar's] was eating up too.
KM: Been getting eaten up?
JD: Yes...

Discusses importance of fishponds in old Hawai'i:

KM: How do you feel about these fishponds here? Is it good to, you know, just leave things, or do you think it's good to...?
JD: Well, if it's back like how it was before, I think it will be all right. And that way, maybe we can raise some fish here, inside.
KM: Oh, how come your *tūtū* them made fishponds, out of curiosity?
JD: To raise the fish inside.
KM: So they could feed the people?
JD: Yes.
KM: So sort of like how you *mauka*, you make *lo'i kalo* [taro pond fields]...?
JD: Yes, yes, *kalo* [taro] for feed the family. I guess that's why they build all this ponds.
KM: Ahh. Plenty ponds along this shoreline eh?
JD: Plenty, plenty.

Kainalu area was rich fishery; changes in environment and commercial fishing have caused the changes:

KM: Was it a rich, good fishing area?



JD: Oh yes. And still yet, I mean, well it's not like maybe 20, 30 years ago.

KM: What are some of the sources... How come the fishing here has changed, you think?

JD: Well, before, never have commercial guys, you know fishermen. Now too many commercial. I guess...

KM: You take too much.

JD: Yes.

KM: What kind of fish did you used to get out here?

JD: All kinds.

KM: What kinds?

JD: Just enough to feed the family.

KM: *'Ama'ama*, you mentioned *moi*.

JD: *Moi*, mullet, *weke*, *'ō'io*, *kala*, *enenue*, *manini*, all kinds.

KM: Hmm. You have special holes, or *ko'a* that you...?

JD: Well, you just go out any place outside there.

KM: Any place on that *papa* [reef] is rich eh?

JD: Any place on that *papa*.

KM: You know, when you go out in the ocean, and sometimes you look inland?

JD: At night or what?

KM: Oh day time too. like you know, when you look, you know, how you try to mark one point, so you know where your hole is, you have that kind?

JD: Yes.

KM: So the relationship between looking from ocean to mountain is important?

JD: Yes, true. Uh-hmm. I know all this spots around here. Even my sons when I tell my sons, "Okay, you guys going out?" Yes, they like squidding. "Okay, no go down that side, now you go in front the house, straight outside, on that *papa*, the one every time show. Over there 'nough." So they go outside dive a little while and they get enough.

KM: Uh-hmm, that's good. When you were still in young time like that, so you never heard the *tūtū* them talk about *Kū'ula* or anything over here?

JD: No, hardly.

KM: But you'd mentioned too, what, *papa* was for a while, was going to be *kahu* of a church, yeah.

JD: Oh yes.

KM: So maybe they don't want to talk about those kinds of old things.

JD: Yes. Well, maybe he say to my mother or...but.

KM: Yes. Had any *heiau* [ceremonial sites or temples] around here that you ever heard of?

JD: Oh yes, a couple like Mapulehu, that big one, and down at Aha'ino that side get one, just below, what's his name [thinking], Gary Galiher. Yes, behind there got a big one.

KM: Ohh. How about inside, where we are here, Kainalu area?

JD: Hmm, no, I don't think down here got.



Kainalu stream formerly flowed almost year round; was a source of *‘o‘opu*:

- KM: Hmm. You know this stream, Kainalu Stream that comes down, did it ever used to run, in your life time, all the time, or was it only seasonal, when rain?
- JD: Ohh, used to run all the time.
- KM: The stream used to run all the time?
- JD: Yes, yes, long before. That’s where we used to go catch *‘o‘opu* before.
- KM: Oh yeah!
- JD: Over here and Honomuni, used to get.
- KM: So you go *mauka* get *‘o‘opu*, like that?
- JD: Yes.
- KM: What, had *wī* [a fresh water grainy snail] inside too?
- JD: No, no, just *‘o‘opu*. Like Honomuni, used to get running water.
- KM: Where’d the water go. No more water now eh?
- JD: All dry up.
- KM: All dried up.
- JD: All dried up, I don’t know. Over here, Honomuni dry up. Only when rain, then get.
- KM: How about Waialua, get water yet, or no more?
- JD: Off and on. Yes, that’s why they gave up the patches up there. Before, used to get running water.
- KM: *Lo‘i*?
- JD: Yes.
- KM: For *kalo* eh?
- JD: Yes, but after that went dry up and *pau*, they gave up.
- KM: In your life time, it’s dried up in your life time?
- JD: No, no, always been running, had stream.
- KM: But it’s dry now?
- JD: Now it’s dry.
- KM: So just...you were born 1934, so since 1934, the water has changed?
- JD: Yes, maybe about 30 years ago, I think.
- KM: For real?
- JD: Yes, about that.
- KM: Did the forest, you see a lot of change *mauka*, in the forest? Has the forest disappeared? Were they grazing cattle *mauka* here?
- JD: Yes, yes...
- KM: ...What happens now then, when the stream, when has big rains, and what happens to the stream and the water out front here?
- JD: Well, a lot of rubbish and all that comes from the mountain.



KM: So the water, ocean, turns all red?

JD: Yes, yes. Like now, all the rubbish eh, all came from up *mauka*. And then after a while, she'll clear up.

KM: Yes. Have you noticed any change in front of the ocean here, 'cause they've tried to begin to do some restoration of this fishpond. How they are restoring the fishpond, is basically where you remember it? You know this fishpond, that they are trying to restore here?

JD: Yes, uh-hmm. Well I guess it's still the same. You know, I mean even...if they try to fix 'um, nothing wrong with that.

KM: Nothing wrong?

JD: I don't think so. No.

KM: And the alignment, you know how they're making the *pā pōhaku*?

JD: Uh-hmm.

KM: That's basically what you remember, when you were young?

JD: Uh-hmm, yes. 'Cause already got the outline there.

KM: Ahh, so you could see it?

JD: Yes.

KM: So you don't need to make it up.

JD: Yes, yes, uh-hmm, it's there...

KM: ...Good too, you make fishpond, I guess, 'cause you can *hānai*, take care the fish like that...

JD: Uh-hmm.

KM: And then at least you can get food eh.

JD: Right, right.

KM: So interesting though. So of the old people, your *kūkū*, your *kupuna* Ki'ohinu...

JD: Ki'ohinu.

KM: Smith and Ka'ahanui...

JD: Smith and Ka'ahanui

KM: Now Grandma Bella, was here...

JD: Bella and Munro, that's the old man. [chuckles] I remember them because, they were nice, nice people...

KM: ...You mentioned something too that's interesting, earlier, 'cause you said "The fish today, not like before."

JD: Yes, it's not like before.

KM: So, if they reuse some of the fishponds, maybe it will help...

JD: Yes, then you can bring back, it would, I'm quite sure. It would...

Names types of fish and *limu* gathered; notes that the *limu* and *pāpa'i*, have disappeared:

KM: ...What's the famous fish for this place here? Is this place particularly known for one particular fish? Like here in front of Kainalu and the pond here?

JD: Yes, mullet, 'ō'ō.



KM: Oh. And what kind of *limu* [seaweeds] had? And have you seen in a change in the kind of *limu*...?

JD: Oh yes, used to get 'ele'ele, get *limu* 'ele'ele [*Enteromorpha* spp.] over here, and *manauea* [*Gracilaria coronopifolia*].

KM: Here at Kainalu?

JD: Yes.

KM: Now what, no more?

JD: No.

KM: How come, you think?

JD: I don't know, don't know.

KM: Well, *limu* 'ele'ele need fresh water, plenty fresh water?

JD: Yes. Get plenty fresh water over here.

KM: Still yet? But not above surface you said now?

JD: Yes.

KM: Interesting. And you said had *manauea*, on the *papa* [reef].

JD: Yes.

KM: How about *aloalo* [*Psuedosquilla ciliata*...], you know?

JD: Yes.

KM: Get *pāpa'i* [crabs] and things?

JD: Used to get, but not anymore. All this place, over here, Aha'ino. Yes, used to get *limu*, but I don't know how come.

KM: So the *limu*, not like before then also?

JD: Not like before.

KM: Ohh—I wonder how come, yeah?

JD: Ahh—I really don't know.

KM: On the *papa* out where the wave action...?

JD: We still get that *līpehu* [also called *līpa'akaī*], that *limu* that the fish eat, yeah.

KM: Oh, *līpe'e* [*Laurencia*], like that?

JD: Yes, *līpe'e* like that, and *limu kohu* [*Asparagopsis sanfodiana*], it's not the *limu kohu*, *līpehu* they call that.

KM: Oh, similar to *limu kohu*?

JD: It's about like the *limu kohu*, but it's not as strong as the *limu kohu*.

KM: Oh, and you call that *līpehu*?

JD: Yes, *līpehu*. That's what the fish eat.

KM: Ahh—but 'ono?

JD: Oh yes, yes. Very seldom, because that *limu* is not strong iodine like the ones Hālawā, or behind the other side.



KM: Oh. But had *limu kohu* also?

JD: Still got outside here.

KM: And *līpehu* also?

JD: Yes, yes.

KM: And so the *‘ō‘io* good out here, the *‘ama‘ama* or mullet...?

JD: Oh yes.

KM: What kind...you'd mentioned, when we were at the water, we saw some *pua* [fingerling fish], but you said that was something else?

Australian mullet introduced to Moloka'i fisheries:

JD: Oh yes, that was Australian. The Australian mullet, yeah.

KM: Who brought that in?

JD: I don't know, but I think they brought that in. I don't know what for. They don't grow big, maybe this sized the biggest [gesturing with his hands].

KM: Oh, about...not 12 inches then, not even?

JD: No, I don't think so, I don't think it grows 12 inches.

KM: How's that *pua* though, *‘ono*?

JD: Oh yes, yes.

KM: It's okay?

JD: All right.

KM: Like a Hawaiian mullet, or not?

JD: About, I think.

KM: So those [other fish mentioned above] were the good fish for this area here?

JD: Yes, yes.

KM: Still get *‘ama‘ama*, a little bit?

JD: Oh, very few, not like before though. Not like before.

KM: Oh.

JD: All kind fish.

KM: *Awa* [milk fish] come in here too?

JD: *Awa*, yeah, but it's not like before. Before you surround maybe, four or five, you know, but now [shaking head].

KM: I wonder if they do some fishpond restoration, if maybe the Hawaiian fish will come back, if they get sheltered and protected for a while?

JD: Yes, yes, I think it would.

KM: 'Cause you folks said, plenty commercial, and it they come in *‘ānunu* [greedy], they just take everything, then *pau*, yeah.

JD: *Pau*, yeah. That's what happening now.

KM: So you've seen change then?

JD: Oh yes.



KM: How do you feel about this land here?

JD: You mean about the...?

KM: Well, you *aloha* this land?

JD: Oh yes, I do... I always come up here and fish.

KM: Good, so this land, you *aloha*?

JD: Yes, yes.

KM: And the ocean like that?

JD: Yes. That's why [chuckles] even my wife tell me, "Where you going?" "East end." "You not tired go East end?" "No honey, I get half of my body up there" [chuckles]. Yes, I always come up. Everyday.

KM: Oh, *mahalo*. Thank you for taking the time to talk a little bit...

Tūtū told him not to be afraid of sharks; story of Pauwalu:

KM: ...Had *manō* out here?

JD: Oh yes, get. I see a couple sometimes when I'm diving.

KM: Did your *Tūtū* them ever talk to you about...did you ever hear anyone talk about...?

JD: Yes, they talk in Hawaiian, "No *maka'u*," or something like that. No be scared.

KM: 'Ae. The *pu'u* [hill] *mauka* of here...?

JD: Pu'umanō, the shark-god hill.

KM: Shark-god hill?

JD: Yes.

KM: Oh. Is there a story...Pauwalu eh?

JD: Yes. That's a legend, yeah.

KM: Did you hear a story?

JD: Yes, my grandfather told me about that, long time ago.

KM: Ohh— do you remember a little bit about what he told you?

Shark stone situated across from his house:

JD: [thinking] Oh, kind of long story, that. In fact that, and then right across from where my girl is living, right across the road, get one...the rock, the shape of the head, the mouth. It's still there.

KM: So right in Kamanoni?

JD: Yes, yes, right across from where my girl live.

KM: Right across?

JD: Right across the road, right side of the road.

KM: Oh, that's important to take care of then.

JD: Yes. Well yes, when I was living up here, every time, I used to clean around.

KM: You know, I mean just to make sure that the bulldozer doesn't go and...

JD: No, it's right inside the fence. I always keep that clean. In fact, I planted ti leaf around there when I was living out here, and then after I moved out, nobody take care that.



KM: Ahh. But you heard your *tūtū* say “*Mai maka‘u.*”?

JD: Yes.

KM: They tell you “*Mai maka‘u.*” So maybe they get ‘*aumakua* or something you know?

JD: Yes, they said “No scared that *manō.*” I see ‘em a couple of times, but they just swim by.

KM: How about *pūhi*?

JD: Ahh—before, I was kind of scared, when I was young with that. But after that, that’s why I no bother them eh.

KM: Yes. Sometimes, you know, they talk about fishponds...?

JD: Yes, always get.

KM: And sometimes, they say, like the *mo‘o*, *pūhi*, or *honu* [turtle], sometimes they’re the guardians...

JD: Yes, yes.

KM: They take care of the ponds like that.

JD: Yes, uh-hmm.

KM: But you don’t remember your *tūtū* or anyone talk about something like that here?

JD: No, no.

KM: Ahh.

JD: Even some times we go in the pond, like Kupeke Pond down here. We go inside catch crab, night time eh. They let us go inside lay net. We walk in the pond eh.

KM: Uh-hmm.

JD: I know the pond get *pūhi* inside, but ahh—I not scared of that. Just don’t bother...

KM: But you’re very clear about this Ipukaiole pond, you remember that as a child...?

JD: Yes, yes.

KM: You remember as a child, you’d swim around and over the wall...?

JD: And walk.

KM: Walk over, throw net like that?

JD: Uh-hmm. Like even my boys, they know this place already too. My three boys...

KD: [joins discussion]

KM: Uncle was saying also, across from his house one stone, like the head of a shark.

JD: Yes, the shark.

KD: Oh yeah?

JD: The shark mouth, you didn’t know?

KD: No, I didn’t know. Right on the side of the road?

JD: Right across, over here, where Kim them staying?

KD: Okay.

JD: Coming out, right across.

KD: Oh that is?

JD: Yes.



KD: Oh neat.

KM: Did you ever hear a story about that?

KD: *Ko'a* [fishing deity stone or fishing ground marker]?

JD: I think there is the story, it goes with Pu'umanō.

KM: Ahh. And you said "Shark-god hill," yeah, like Pu'u-manō.

JD: Pu'u-manō, Shark-god hill. Yes, that's the name of that place...

KM: [Looking at Register Map No. 1725] Hey look, Pu'umanō, and more *mauka*, this says "Kaimumano."

JD: More up, on top.

KM: Yes more *mauka*. Ka-imu-manō, the-shark-oven, yeah.

JD: Uh-hmm.

KM: Did you hear the story about Pauwalu, remember you said you heard a little something about it, maybe from you *Tūtū* or... ...We were just talking about...did you hear a story about someone baking one shark?

JD: Hmm, no.

KM: No [chuckles]. 'Cause that's what the name would imply, yeah. They make one *imu* [earthen oven] eh, for the...

JD: *Manō* [shark].

KM: But you don't remember hearing that?

JD: No.

KM: Oh, okay.

JD: I was young that time too [chuckles].

KM: Yes, I know. See, that's why...

JD: Yes, nobody had...if somebody had carry on and knew about that, and tell the next person, they remember.

KM: Yes, see, that's why even why we try to do this now...

JD: Right...

KM: Who taught, who was the most important person for you to learn fishing?

JD: Oh, my father.

KM: Your father. Did he have some peculiar things that he would do? [voices in the background] In fact, did he gather and some times bring fish back and set it some where, make *ho'okupu*, like?

Heard of people using *Kū'ula* to catch fish:

JD: No he don't do that, no. Of course I heard about people, if they like the fish come inside, they had the fish stone eh. I don't know what they call that.

KM: *Kū'ula* eh?

JD: *Kū'ula*, yeah.

KM: You heard about that in here?

JD: Yes, yes, they had, they had stone. And they put 'um out, and the *akule* [*Trachurops crumenophthalmus*] used to come inside.



KM: Oh yeah, so the *akule* come inside?

JD: Yes, the pile of *akule*. Like Honomuni Harbor, always, Honomuni and Pūko'o Harbor. Every time they used to take the stone out and leave 'um out on the wall, and plenty fishes would come in.

KM: So you remember that some people kept stones like that?

JD: Yes.

KM: Do you remember who any of those families were?

JD: Ahh—even my brother Duprey, he had one stone too, from his step father, he gave him the stone. And what happened to the stone, I don't know. Nobody could find the stone. I don't know if he had buried the stone or put 'um someplace. Nobody can find it.

KM: Ahh. What's your brother's name?

JD: Duprey. He passed away, maybe about two-three years ago. He used to live down Hālawā and he used to take the stone outside, and every time the *akule* come inside. He surround and take 'um to the market.

KM: Amazing. Those old people, they *mana* [have spiritual power], they believe that kind.

JD: Yes, they take care of the stone, that's why. I guess his stepfather told him what to do with the stone, How to take care of the stone. And then sometimes we go down...

KM: Who was the stepfather?

JD: Yes, he was adopted by Peter Dudoit.

KM: Ohh!

JD: He was adopted, that was my brother.

KM: And you know, sometimes they make bait eh...did you folks go *kā mākoī* or *kākele* [methods of pole fishing], fish line at all, or anything, pole like that?

JD: Yes, yes.

KM: You know how sometimes, they make the '*ala'ala*, the *he'e* for bait?

JD: For *hauna*, yeah.

KM: What kind of *hauna* or *maunu* did you folks use?

JD: *Pūhi* [eel] like that, white eel like that, *pūlehu* [cook] and chop 'um up. Use for *hauna*.

KM: 'Ae.

JD: We used to do that for '*ulua* like that.

KM: Oh good, well *mahalo*.

JD: Yes, all kind fish and now, all change.

KM: All change.

JD: I bought some deep nets, but I hardly did use 'um. A couple of times, but it's not like before, you know. You buy net and you can use 'um almost every time. In fact now, if I catch fish, I don't go sell. No. I just give 'em away to family and who ever go with me. They take 'em and then, what ever extra get, I ask the boys that go with me, if you folks can sell 'um, get a little it money, for buy beer or cigarette for them [chuckles].

Salt gathered from Kaunakakai and Kalaupapa areas:

KM: Good, that's old style though, yeah. You share, you take what you need, and you share the rest. How about, did you folks make *pa'akai* down here anywhere.



JD: Oh no, no more.

KM: No more salt making place like that?

JD: No more.

KM: You know, in the yard here, there's that stone with the *poho* [bowl-like hollow]?

JD: Uh-hmm, yeah.

KM: The bowl-like there. What do think something like that may have been used for, do you know?

JD: [thinking] I don't, I think they could pound *kukui* [candle nuts] in there.

KM: Yes.

JD: Yes. And in fact, for a little bit *poi*, I think can too in there.

KM: Nice bowl, yeah. So you folks didn't make salt out here. Where did you get your salt from?

JD: From the market.

KM: The market! Ohh [chuckles].

JD: [laughs]

KM: Too easy. Kaunakakai, they used to have *loko pa'akai* [salt ponds] eh, before, or not in your time already?

JD: Yes, I think long before they used to make salt there.

KM: But not up here?

JD: *Pau*, no. Kalaupapa, yeah. Get summer time, you know, get that water come up in the rocks yeah. Make good salt.

KM: 'Ae. So in your *mana'o*, it's okay, you think it's good to go ahead and restore this pond then?

JD: Yes.

KM: You were sharing earlier, that idea about maybe can bring fish back...

JD: Back, like what Kip was saying, if get the pond, raise the mullet, and come big, maybe get four or five dozen and let go half, you know. And then breed the rest. It's a good idea, sure.

KM: Good.

JD: 'Cause now, you hardly can find mullet, no more. Few, few. I guess, I say like before, used to get mullet, oh all kind fish. Well, because the commercial guys, yeah.

KM: Hmm. I wonder though, you think still 'nough freshwater out hear even though the streams not flowing?

JD: I think, yeah.

KM: It would be okay.

JD: Uh-hmm.

KM: Interesting you notice the *limu 'ele'ele* gone.

JD: Yes, really.

KM: 'Cause that's an indicator eh of plenty fresh water.

JD: Fresh water. But down here, Aha'ino, still get fresh water. But what happened to the *limu*, I don't know.



KM: Hmm.

JD: And I wanted to bring some, not *manauea*, what's that chop chop *limu*?

KM: 'Aki'aki [*Ahnfeltia concinna*] kind?

JD: That black *limu*, the one they mix with the *ake* [liver].

KM: Ohh—*huluhulu waena* [*Grateloupia filicina*].

JD: Yes, *huluhulu waena*, down Kaunakakai get plenty see. So I wanted bring 'um come and try...

KM: Transplant.

JD: Yes. Maybe I going try one of these days, 'cause used to get plenty *huluhulu waena*, up here.

KM: Oh yeah, and now, no more.

JD: No more.

KM: Oh yeah, so if used to grow up here...

JD: Yes.

KM: That's a kind of restoration also, you bring back life too...

JD: Yes, yes. I going do that. I told myself that, but, every time when I come up this way, I forget stop down there.

KM: Ahh—a little piece *pōhaku* [stone] with a little *a'a* [root].

JD: Yes, get plenty on the 'ili'ili [pebbles] down Kaunakakai, plenty on the 'ili'ili, all growing. And then people go pick up.

KM: Yes, and that *huluhulu waena* is 'ono, like you said with *ake* like that.

JD: Uh-hmm.

KM: *Mahalo...!*



William H. Kalipi, Sr.
Recollections of East Moloka'i Fisheries
Oral History Interview at Kainalu, Moloka'i
April 12, 1997 – with Kepā Maly

William "Billy" H. Kalipi Sr., was born in 1942, on O'ahu, and brought home to Moloka'i when he was two years old. Both his parents were native residents of Moloka'i, and Uncle Billy was raised in the lands of 'Ualapu'e-Manawai-'Ōhi'a. As a youth, uncle was taken and trained by his Uncle, John Kawai Cockett, in the practices, customs, and beliefs associated with management and restoration of fishponds and *heiau* (temples). The elder John Kawai Cockett was born in 1893, and was himself taught by his *kūpuna* (elders), thus Uncle Billy was instructed in carrying on his family's traditions.

As a youth, Uncle Billy worked with his uncle and elders on several fishpond restoration projects, among which were the 'Ualapu'e, Keawenui and Kalua'aha ponds. In those years, he gained a detailed knowledge of native stone work, and the ancient beliefs and practices associated with fishponds. The interview provides readers with a richly detailed description of the workings of fishponds; how pond, land, and water resources were interrelated; and the customs associated with the various gods and guardians that were called upon to ensure the abundance of the fish harvest. Today, Uncle Billy Kalipi is known around the state of Hawai'i as an authority in fishpond management and restoration, and as an expert native stone mason.

Uncle William Kalipi, Sr., gave his personal release of the interview records on May 20, 1997.

WK: [Asks that we begin with *pule*.]

KM: *Mahalo*. You've been telling so many wonderful stories, just in the time, since we were talking. May I just start with you sharing you name, date of birth, where you were born like that?

WK: Okay. My name is William H. Kalipi Sr. I was born on O'ahu, Honolulu, and was brought to Moloka'i when I was age two. And from age two till today, I became a child of the land—*aloha, keiki o ka 'āina* of Moloka'i. I was raised by my father Philip Kalipi, also known as Philip Ka'iliuli Kūalapa'i. My mother was Phoebe Agnes Cockett and we were raised in the district of 'Ualapu'e.

I had an uncle named John Kawai Cockett. He was my teacher in renovating fishponds, renovating *heiau*. So he taught me all these things. What else you like know?

KM: What year, what's the date of your birth?

WK: I was born in April 5th, 1942.

KM: Hmm, you just had a birthday.

WK: Yes.

KM: *Aloha ke Akua!*

WK: [chuckles]

KM: How did your *'ohana* [family] come to Moloka'i, how come mom and dad came? Were they tied to this land?

WK: My papa was born in Hālawa Valley, Kalipi. My mama was born in 'Ōhi'a, Moloka'i. They come from there. My father, my real father was William Cockett. My mom's brother, so when I was two, mom over to over to Honolulu and took me from the brother, John. She's actually my aunt, but she adopted me legally, then I became a Kalipi. They went *hānai* me all the way.

KM: Ahh. So you grew up at 'Ualapu'e?



WK: At Manawai-‘Ōhi‘a.

KM: Okay. And now your Uncle John Kawai Cockett, he practiced old style *‘ūhauhumu pōhaku* [native stone masonry]?

WK: Everything.

KM: What are the things that stood out in your life, growing up, he’d talk to you about the *loko i‘a*? What kinds of things did he share with you?

Discusses *kapu* and protocol in working on *loko i‘a*, *heiau*, and in all aspects of traditional life:

WK: My uncle, never did talk too much, ‘cause he knew the *pule*, prayers for the plants. Everything is green. It’s just like he lived in a garden of Eden, everything he planted was bountiful. And then, he also can interpret dreams. He had that gift. He taught me many of the signs, the omens.

KM: ‘Ae, *‘ailona*.

WK: Yes, all that kind. The do’s, the don’ts, ‘cause he was real quiet. When we went out to *mahi‘ai* or work on the *loko*, he’d teach me how to set the rock, look for the face of the rock. How to *pule*. *Pule* when we go inside the pond, for cleansing, before work. So my uncle always taught me to be *pono*, when we do Hawaiian stuff...

He taught me the *kapu* of the fishpond, like *wahine* no can go in when they get their *ma‘i*. Or you get *kāki‘o*, you no go inside. And it was technically, like common sense, because this is where your food is going to come from. So you no *moe lepo* the place.

You no go inside *mimi* or desecrate the pond. No matter what, you respect the pond. The ponds that we renovated was ‘Ualapu‘e Pond, Keawenui Pond, and one pond up...Kalua‘aha Pond.

KM: Kalua‘aha, ‘ae.

WK: Yes, that pond. So that’s the pond that we worked on.

KM: With your uncle?

WK: Yes, yes.

KM: About when was this?

WK: This was in the ‘50s.

KM: Nineteen-fifties.

WK: Nineteen-fifties.

KM: You were *‘ōpio* still then.

WK: I was still yet one *‘ōpio*, young, learning all this kind. And I come from a family of five of us. Myself and two brothers and two sisters. And only myself was cut off from speaking the language.

KM: Ohh!

WK: ‘Cause the school came in, and that stopped my papa and mama from...so they never did talk Hawaiian to me. The rest of brothers and sisters can speak fluent Hawaiian, but only me took on the culture itself.

KM: ‘Ae.

WK: I was the one who worked in the *lo‘i*, plant the *lo‘i*. Everything about the taro, I am the one to go *mauka*, pick up the *‘alae*, make the net, all that kind stuff with my father...

KM: So you would take the *‘alae* to color the net?



WK: Yes. So all that time, I was the one who took the initiative, I wanted to learn. So all this, you know, I was happy, this was one gift yeah, that was given to me.

KM: Yes.

WK: [pauses] You know, at one time in my life, I was strong in Hawaiian culture. I believe in everything of the Hawaiian... When I was young, looking at my parents, I knew they worshipped two gods. I know how my mother *pule*, she two sides. And then my uncle is another one who worship two gods. So anyway, what went happen, just to give you an example of where I was coming from, is, I wanted to be one *kahu* for this *manō* at Keawenui. So everything I did was Hawaiian, what I mean, in the morning I get up, I worship *Kū*. In the lunch time, I worship *Kāne*, twelve noon. In the evening, I went worship *Hina*, the goddess *Hina*.

KM: 'Ae.

WK: So I have these rituals, everyday. I was unemployed, I live off the ocean and the mountain. I was one hunter and a fisherman, and I was one farmer, I planted. And the plants, the same thing...

Fishing in the vicinity of the Kainalu-Ipukaiole Ponds; uncle told them not to be greedy:

...I remember many times, we go *holoholo*, plenty 'ama'ama, in fact over here, this fishpond, this Kainalu Pond, we come up one time, had one big school mullet, big school mullet! Over here. Me and my friend, we surround the mullet, this one whole school. Soon as we surround we all happy, we get the school. "Hey, all right!" We young eh, we only teenagers, jumping up and down, we get 'um! Then we look, we no see the mullet. Hoo, we put on our goggles, for look if *hakahaka* in the net. Hang up on the rocks eh.

KM: Yes, yes.

WK: We jump in the water, we dive right around, no more nothing.

KM: No more *puka*?

WK: No more nothing, nothing! But no more the mullet. We reach home then I tell my uncle, "Hey uncle, we saw one big school mullet." He tell "What?". "Oh, we had and we was talking up." And he said "Ahh, you was greedy, greedy you guys, the spirit go play with you guys, they take away 'cause you no jump until the fish inside the boat [laughs]. If not stay inside the boat, you no make noise. You humble yourself."

KM: So uncle, that time when you came here...?

WK: 'Ae [yes].

KM: You could still see the walls?

WK: Oh yes, yes.

KM: Even this small Ipukaiole?

WK: Yes, yes.

KM: So you could still see the walls.

WK: Still yet see the walls.

KM: And had the 'ama'ama, mullet inside?

WK: Yes, yes.

KM: So you were a teenager, this was the '50s?

WK: Yes. So, you look at 'um, this was during the *kapu* season. When *kapu*, the mullet all run.



KM: 'Ae.

WK: So they all over the place. Before days you can count the *hūlou*, all the pile mullet from all around. Today, no more, no more nothing. Lucky you going see one pile. Only because us man, *hana 'ino*, we take, take, take.

KM: 'Ae, 'ānunu, eh.

WK: We no put back. So that's why today, you no can blame the developer, no, no, nothing to do with development. That is us, our own self no *mālama*, only take, take, take.

KM: Hmm. Earlier, you were sharing a story that you heard from your uncle *paha*, that they had a way that they would drive the fish...certain *pō Kāne* or something...?

Role of *Kū'ula* in fishpond management:

WK: Okay, this *wahine* is *kupuna* Duvachelle. An old lady, used to get one store at Pūko'o, old store over there. And their great *tūtū* used to come down to the pond with one *Kū'ula*, shaped like on man. When she put the *Kū'ula* down it face east, before the sun rise. And she *pule*, when she *pau pule*, she open the gate and all the *akule* [*Trachurops crumenophthalmus*] come inside the pond. Then she *hana pa'a* the gate, then she go make her children call all the neighbors, "come, come take what you need, bring your *pākini*, fill up your *pākini*, take..." All the families, all the people over there, all come around Pūko'o, start harvesting what ever they need.

When everybody got what they needed, she *hemo* the gate and let go all the fish. Then she take her *Kū'ula* and go home.

KM: So that's how she would take care everybody, and she'd *pule*...?

WK: Yes.

KM: *Kahea* [, and the *akule* all come in?

WK: Yes.

KM: Now, is that Pūko'o Pond?

WK: Lagoon now.

KM: And so that's the one, was that Mr. Wright...?

WK: Yes.

KM: They went dredge 'um and bust open the wall?

WK: Right, yeah. They went convert 'um into one lagoon, 'cause he was going to build a hotel.

KM: Ohh—*aloha*!

WK: But, the whole thing went down.

KM: How...the family didn't try to tell him had *Kū'ula*, and had special stuff there?

WK: No, nobody... carry over the tradition.

KM: Ahh, *nalowale*.

WK: Yes, no more... So that's the *pilikia*.

KM: How about, earlier you had mentioned, and I was asking Kippy if he had ever heard any story... The ponds had *kia'i*, you said?

WK: Yes.

KM: Guardian-like...?

WK: Yes, yes.



KM: And even *'aumākua* ...?

WK: Yes.

KM: What kind of stories did you hear about the ponds here, and had you heard anything about this immediate area, Ipukaiole?

WK: The only thing we heard about here, is the *manō* [shark].

KM: The *manō* this side?

WK: The *manō* that eat the eight kids.

KM: Oh, Pauwalu?

WK: Yes, Pauwalu. So that's the only thing we hear.

KM: Uh-hmm.

WK: But about the pond itself, I'm not familiar. All I know is, that by looking at the foundation, the *kumu*, then I know what type of structure, wall that this pond needed. And so this how we took up the 15 foot width.

KM: So you followed...you said had the *kumu* or the *pae*?

WK: Yes, the *kumu* or the footprints of the width of the pond already, exists. And you can see 'um plain...

KM: Had, you said, if you go out a way, you could see evidence of *mākāhā*?

WK: Yes, yes.

KM: You could see where the *mākāhā*... What, was it kind of hollow-like, or you still see something of the opening of the *mākāhā*?

WK: Only the foundation.

KM: Just the foundation. How about more out, you said had one *hale kia'i*?

WK: Oh yes, on top here [pointing to the remnant wall in the photograph], going be on top this wall, by the [eastern] corner.

KM: Ahh. What was the purpose of this extra *kahua* or this platform-like?

WK: That extra *kahua* was for the *kia'i*'s [the pond guardian's] place, where he open the gates from the *mākāhā* to let go the *'aumakua*.

KM: Okay. What did the *'aumakua* do ...?

Fishponds tied to land management and ownership:

WK: Okay, the purpose of the *'aumakua* is to go out and gather fish to bring back into the pond. Now, you know, the main pond of this Ipukaiole, I think Kainalu is the main pond.

KM: Yes, it's more big.

WK: Yes, but that pond belong to this land, Kainalu eh.

KM: 'Ae.

WK: And all the *ahupua'a*, and I no can see why the state own Kainalu Fishpond when they [Munro/Dunbars] got the land.

KM: Ahh, *mai uka a i ke kai* [from the uplands to the sea] eh?

WK: 'Ae, automatic.

KM: *Ahupua'a* [a complete native land division], almost eh?



WK: Yes, *ahupua'a*, so Kainalu Fishpond belong here, and Ipukaiole could be one hatchery, because it's adjacent to the main pond.

KM: Ahh, that's right, even how you... 'cause if I understand, did the wall where it comes towards Kainalu...?

WK: If the chief went own up there, *mauka*, he owned *makai*, if its the Kainalu. And that says Kainalu Fishpond, you know.

Different gods and their role in fishpond management:

KM: 'Ae. What kind of...if had a...and the *kia'i* was like the watch person, the guardian?

WK: Yes.

KM: A man?

WK: Right.

KM: When he opened...was there a special time, or night, something when he opened...?

WK: Yes. Normally, they open during the *pō Kāne* night, and it's three nights. That *pō Kāne*.

KM: That's the night when all dark?

WK: Yes, that's the dark nights.

KM: No moon?

WK: No moon. And you get three nights. You get one small crescent moon, the moon of *Hilo*. *Hilo* is close to the *pō Kāne*.

KM: 'Ae.

WK: Then you get *Mauli*, I think, but you get three moons that falls all *pō Kāne*. The three nights. And this is his job, during those nights, for open.

KM: So he open the *īpuka*?

WK: He open the *īpuka*, let the *'aumakua* go out. He open that at night, eight o'clock, as soon as *pō'ele* [dark], he open 'um. Before the sun rise, *hanapa'a*. Four o'clock he close 'um already. The sun not up, he close the gate, stay home already.

KM: What kind of *'aumākua* did some of the ponds have?

WK: Well, 'Ualapu'e had one *pūhi*, *pūhi ūhā* [*Conger cinereus*], belong to 'Ualapu'e.
So what happened with that one, is they plant one *hau* [*Hibiscus tiliaceus*] tree, and the *hau* tree stay yellow, "Oh he stay home." If stay green, "Ahh, he went, he's not inside." So by the color.

KM: The color of the...

WK: Yes the color of the leaf, for determine if the *'aumakua* stay home or not. And same like Buchanan's pond?

KD: Kupeke?

WK: Kupeke, that one, the *he'e*, at that one. And that one is the *hala* tree, and when the *hala* is ripe, the *he'e* is there.

KM: Ahh, *ai no ka he'e i ka loko*?

WK: Yes.

KM: Oh.

WK: So then you get other ponds, is the *manō* itself. But the *manō* he go underneath [gesturing].



KM: Ahh, a cave-like?

WK: A cave underneath. Keawenui has one cave underground for go into the pond.

KM: Hmm. *Honu* [turtle], I think you said earlier?

WK: *Honu*, yes.

KM: The *honu*. And so what, they would go out to the ocean and they...?

WK: Gather and bring back.

KM: Ahh, so they would drive, like the fish?

WK: Yes.

KM: Come back through the *īpuka* or the *mākāhā*, and come inside?

WK: Yes.

KM: And is that how they stocked the ponds in the old days?

WK: That's one method, one method. The other way, because they no more...like us modern, how we make our trap, we make with funnel eh.

KM: Yes, yes.

WK: Funnel, the fish go in, no come out [gesturing making layers with his hands]. This one was all overlap.

KM: Oh, so the *lā'au*, the wood like the fence...

WK: Yes the wood. And so, his [the guardian's] job too, see that nobody goes over. So you put your torch, and you bring in certain fish baby. The torch also take out the barracuda.

KM: Oh, so the light attracts...?

WK: Yes. So that's another method of working the pond. When they work inside the pond, they use *lau* [seine net], the *lau*. So the *lau*, the only thing *kapu* in the pond, is the *'ama'ama*. The *'ama'ama* belongs to the *ali'i*. So that, you no can touch. So you use the *lau*. *Lau* take everything except for the *'ama'ama* and the *aholehole* [*Kuhlia sandvicensis* fish].

KM: 'Ae. So if they catch, they throw away, or throw back?

WK: No, no, no throw nothing. They go the make their *lau* and everything for feed the village. See...all you get workers eh. The *pō'alima* [individuals who dedicate a day of work each week to the care of the pond for their *ali'i*], all the guys got to come, go *mahi'ai* [cultivate and work] the *ali'i*'s pond, and one of their rewards is, when they harvest the *pāpio*, the *weke*, and all that, they kept those fish.

KM: So all that kind *i'a* was inside the pond too?

WK: Yes, all inside there.

KM: But the *'ama'ama*, that was reserved for *ali'i*?

WK: *Ali'i*, yeah.

KD: And it wouldn't get swept by the *lau*. The *aholehole* and the *'ama'ama* would *puka* through the *lau*? The others, *maka'u*, they're afraid to go through the *lau*?

WK: So they all come.

KD: The *'ama'ama* and the *aholehole* would stay behind?

KM: Ahh, interesting.



WK: So one good method, eh?

KM: Yes, no. Now, how come they made the fishponds to begin with?

Role of fishponds in traditional times, and on the cultural and natural landscapes:

WK: Oh, the ponds play a couple of roles. I would look at the first principle, is to protect the land, where the *lo'i kalo* stay. 'Cause ponds, where ever get fishponds. Wherever get fishponds, they get artesian wells, or get running streams. And where they get running streams, they get *lo'i*. *Mauka* all the taro patch. Now, to preserve that so the tidal wave no hit 'em right away, their engineers started building these big ponds. That's one, protect the taro.

Two, supplement food for the *ali'i*, the chief first. 'Cause the chief's job is to protect the people—with his *mana* and relationship with the gods. So he get all this food ready for feed his warriors.

Three, every month, you get sacrifice if anybody bust *kapu*.

If they break the *kapu*, they're sacrificed in this system. But this month, nobody went break...nobody broke the *kapu*. They go to the fishpond, now they look for the '*ulua*, a 100 pound '*ulua* signify man. They take the '*ulua* to the sacrifice altar. Now this is where...another thing where the pond play a major role. They take 'um and here, sacrificial to the gods.

Fourth, the pond play a major role during the rough season. The ocean rough, no can go, then you get your ice box. Now we call the fishpond our "ice box."

KM: 'Ae.

WK: So all you get, can keep, continue for live.

KM: So they always get this source to care for.

Always just take what you need; *kapu* system enforced stewardship:

WK: Yes, yes. Again the concept of you just take what you need. Ancient time, was easy because no more ice box, no more the ice.

KM: Yes, no can just throw in the freezer.

WK: No can. But again, if you look at ancient, November [to] January, February, March, *kapu*, *Makahiki* [the season of the god *Lono*, harvest celebrations, and when the *kona*, or southerly storms bring rough seas].

KM: 'Ae.

WK: *Kapu!* And under the *kapu*, no body go fish! Nobody can fish during the *kapu* season.

KM: So no fishing canoes like that?

WK: No can, no body. Summer time, go ahead, you stock pile your house. *Kaula'i* [dry] everything.

'Cause what you doing, you preparing for the winter months, the *Makahiki*. Come *Makahiki*, you stocked, you get plenty food all *kaula'i* already, 'cause you no can work, *kapu* eh. So, if you look at ancient times, even in the '50s, during the winter months, you can predict the storm. Today, we look TV, oh, you see the storm [chuckling] before, we don't know, that's one hurricane coming, we stay '*au'au kai* [swimming in the ocean]... But you know, that winter months was...we can predict storm, thunder, lightning. Why you think that storm come in the winter months?

KM: [pauses]



WK: During that time [striking the table seven times, like the beating of a *pahu* (drum)], worship of the gods.

KM: 'Ae.

WK: When you worship gods, the elements start coming. They're eventually dying, because our *kūpuna* dying. And we no more this ancient practices.

KM: 'Ae, the *ho'omana* [worshipping] and that kind *pule* [prayer].

WK: Yes, no more. But, where you see this, where you see the storm come now? The storm come only once, during one month [pauses] during the Merrie Monarch. Merrie Monarch, and you get the right spirit, thunder and lightning start. But plenty guys no understand what they dealing with, in the spiritual way.

KM: 'Cause even when you take the old 'oli, *mele* [chants] like that eh, still *mana* [spiritual power].

WK: Yes.

KM: The word get *mana*.

WK: Yes, yes. So all this thing massive, massive you know. Plenty guys no understand this kind. But same with the fishing, when the *kapu* time come, get the strong *Kona* [southerly winds]. Strong *Kona* come, all the mullet, nothing going stop 'um from traveling in *Kona* storm time.

KM: So in your time, in the '50s, '60s like that, with you uncle *mā* [them], these kinds of...?

WK: All existed.

KM: Still perpetuated, they watch, they observe *kapu* like that?

WK: Oh we even see the *akua lele* [fire balls, a traveling form assumed by various deity] still yet going during that time. We were taught not to hang up our inner garments on the line, you know. We got to put them in the house... All, everything.

KM: 'Ae.

Fishpond management and importance in landscape:

KM: So, over the years, in your time, you've watched the shoreline, you said you've worked as a youth, young 'ōpio...

WK: Yes.

KM: You worked on restoring fishponds with uncle, and some of the *heiau*. Why did they feel it was important to care for these places, and what was the value, you know, as a *kanaka*?

WK: Well, as a *kanaka* [pauses]...Okay, the *maka'āinana*, what happened is, we work the pond, because the pond feeds us. Who ever owns the pond, they like help, they no can do 'um. So we go do 'um and in return, we can go fishing any time we like.

KM: 'Ae, that's right. So that was the pay back, you get the right because you were responsible?

WK: Right, right...

KM: So uncle, like, what you're saying is that in order to have a fishpond, you needed to have people to take care right?

WK: Yes, yes.

KM: And the incentive to take care then, was because you were able to feed, you could get your food?



WK: Yes, yes.
KM: And you were also talking about the way that fresh water...the ponds were built... So the ponds helped to protect the shore?

WK: Yes, it definitely helped to protect the shore line. I guess the waves not going erode the shore line. And so, with the artesian wells adjacent, within the pond now, it plays a major role...

[Prior to beginning the recorded interview, uncle mentioned that in the *pu'uone* or inshore ponds, the growth of the *aka'akai* [bulrushes] and other native sedges like *makaloa* [*Cyperus laevigatus*], were important in the pond ecology. The *pua*, or fingerlings found refuge from the larger predators in their growth.]

...Because the freshwater come down from the *'auwai* to the pond.

Ecosystems—importance of fresh- and salt-water quality:

The *aholehole* and the baby *pua* [mullet fingerlings] all go up there so the predators no can attack them. See, the *kākū* [barracuda] no can go up fresh water, the barracuda. So what happen is all this *pua*, the *aholehole* all go up to the *lo'i* [pond fields] and while they going up, the fresh water cleansing the *'ama'ama*, the *pua*.

KM: Ahh, they get something inside?

WK: They get on their gills, they get some kind disease, parasite that hangs on top them.

KM: [referring to his comments prior to the recorded interview] So what do you see when they 'rein the river, the *'auwai*?

WK: Hey, you see silver, yeah, they *huli* [turn over].

KM: So what, they rub up against the side?

WK: Yes, they rub against the *pōhaku* [stones]. Some times when you throw net, you look, you can see the silver shining.

KM: Yes, the glitter.

WK: The kine [*āholehole*] cleaning them. And also, the mullet play one major role for the *limu 'ele'ele* [*Enteromorpha* spp.]. 'Cause the mullet eat the *limu 'ele'ele* and spawn the eggs.

KM: 'Ae, the seeds spread, yeah.

WK: All over, wherever get, so it's compatible, all this. And like I talk about the, you know, before time, no more doctor. So the doctor was our *kūpuna*, they all *lā'au lapa'au* [make herbal medicines].

Kū'ula, Hina and other fishpond deity:

Sometimes, certain types of fish go to the fishpond, *āholehole*, or you can find red fish like *moano*, *'āweoweo*, and *kūmū* in the pond. All this kind get one major ritual, spiritual service when you gather and bring for the *ho'okupu*. When they *ho'okupu* to their *'aumākua*, gods or what ever, yeah.

KM: Hmm.

WK: So the pond plays one major thing for that. Also, on the walls, the fishpond get *Kū'ula* too, on top the wall, sometimes. So if you can find this *Kū'ula*, ahh—that's the one spiritually, prayer.

KM: 'Ae.



WK: The fishpond walls, normally get two gods; on the pond. One is *Kū*, which is located in the east section of the wall. And one is *Hina*, which is located on the west section of the wall. The rising of the sun and the setting of the sun. So these two *pōhaku* [representing *Kū* and *Hina*], play a major significant under the religion for the fishpond.

KM: To revitalize and make...?

WK: To revitalize the prayer. So the *kia'i*, before the sun rise, he pray to *Kū*. And when the sun set, he pray to *Hina*.

KM: Were these generally upright stones or...?

WK: The upright is *Kū* and the one lie down is *Hina*.

KM: Ahh, so *Hina*, she *moe*, she lay down?

WK: Yes.

KM: And *Kū*...?

WK: He stand.

KM: And to the east?

WK: Yes. Beautiful stones.

KM: And that's how the style, they make the pond like that?

WK: Yes.

KM: And how they how they set their stone?

WK: That's how today, you can identify if this one modern fishpond or one ancient fishpond.

KM: Ahh.

Types of fishponds and relationship to the landscape:

WK: But again, you get five different types of fishponds. 'Cause you get the '*umeiki* kind fishpond. The '*umeiki* type fishpond is many traps, you know, many *mākāhā* [sluice gates]. All the one facing east, the *mākāhā* running in. All the one stay west, the *mākāhā* running out.

KM: '*Oia* [is that so]?

WK: So they go with the current, you know.

KM: So the fish come inside the *loko* '*umeiki*, and they trapped 'um; what, they'd lay net or...?

WK: Okay, some they get trap, they trap 'um right inside the *mākāhā*. So when the running tide, the tide coming up, all the fish inside the pond all turn for go.

KM: Oh, 'cause get the fresh water coming in?

WK: No, no. The salt water coming in, but because of the current, the current is moving, it's bringing in food too. So the fish come against the current and come inside the *mākāhā*. So you get a couple methods, you can go over there and just entrap them with one piece of net or you can close this gate and then you harvest right from inside the *mākāhā*.

KM: I see, so inside the channel, the *kahe* like.

WK: Yes. So right there. So they had a couple method, yeah, they use in harvest. And normally, they do it at night, 'cause the fish no can see you. So they come and close 'em in, then when they come with the *kukui* [torch], you see all the fish.

KM: 'Ae. So get the '*umeiki*, and what other kind?

WK: You get...the '*umeiki* is the different traps eh.



KM: 'Ae.

WK: Then you get the *kuapā*. The *kuapā* is land to land, with sometimes, two three sluice gates.

KM: Is that something like this [Ipukaiole pond]?

WK: No, not necessarily, sometimes you can get land to land, but the thing is how the *mākāhā* stay. 'Cause if you get sluice all coming in, sluice going out, and you get many *mākāhās*, then you know this one *'umeiki*.

KM: Ahh, trap kind.

WK: But the *kuapā* get only one or two entrance.

KM: Oh, I see. So was Kainalu a *kuapā* type?

WK: Kainalu is one *'umeiki*.

KM: 'Oia, oh. 'Cause get plenty old *mākāhā*?

WK: Yes.

KM: Interesting. But see the way...I guess the water flows over the *papa*, it comes, yeah, so it would be able to flush, wash through?

WK: Yes. And just like, if you look at all fishponds, always *mākāhā mauka*, on the east side, and *mākāhā* on the west side.

And that is for protect the contour of the land. You no block, you no block and then *mākāhā* outside here [gesturing to the open ocean or mid wall side]. 'Cause when you do that, you're going to change the shore line. You going jam up, so you no can do that. You gotta keep your, maybe ten feet from the shore line, you get one *mākāhā* start already. Same with *mauka*.

KM: Ahh. So it allows for some flow?

WK: The current moves, you know. It follows, you no affect the shore line. If not, you going affect 'um, definitely. So you need this continuation of flow, of the current, yeah.

KM: 'Ae.

WK: In fishponds.

KM: So like the wall out here, you were mentioning earlier too, like Ipukaiole, when you followed the foot print, it was a wide wall, naturally what was left behind...?

WK: It was eighteen feet. Eighteen feet.

KM: Ohh! How come they made it that wide? And then sometimes it's not.

WK: [smiling] "Kai-nalu!"

KM: Ahh!

WK: "Kai-nalu!"

KM: And that's the name of this place too.

WK: The name of this place, "The-big-wave."

KM: "Big-wave, Ocean-wave."

WK: Ocean waves coming in.

KM: So you need...it was obvious, you have to have a thick wall...

WK: Yes.



KM: ...because it will protect and keep...

WK: Yes.

KM: Behind here now, has another type of fishpond, I was told...

WK: Yes.

KM: A *pu'uone* type?

WK: *Pu'uone*, that's on land, with one sluice gate coming into the ocean.

KM: Oh, so had one *kahe* [channel] like, go out?

WK: Oh yes.

KM: Ohh—and is that how they bring fish, or sometimes did you folks even...did you go out and gather fish...?

WK: Yes.

KM: ...and then stock the pond too?

WK: Yes, that's the modern technology.

KM: Modern, ohh—'cause you no call your *'aumakua*? ...So over here in Kainalu, the dune is in front of it, get the fresh water...

WK: That's right. If we turn this clock back, turn 'um back.

KM: 'Ae.

WK: ...You know, this whole *ahupua'a*, this land right here, is rich.

KM: 'Ae.

WK: You know, it's priceless.

KM: 'Ae. Well you know, you get the *wai* [water]...

WK: Yes.

KM: ...You have the fresh water, you get the *loko i'a* [fishponds], you have the *kula* [flat, or plains land], the *lo'i*, and all of these things. So it could support people, yeah.

WK: Yes. It's amazing, this place, you know. Amazing. And you know, sometimes you feel happy that they went preserve this place as is, and sometime you get scared, 'cause what if they like sell 'um to one developer. And one time, the father had the sign up, "For Sale." You know, million bucks eh. And then you going get guys from the mainland, actors and all that, they buy, just for write off the tax eh. But you scared boy, we lose this kind eh.

KM: Hmm.

WK: Hoo!

Restoration of Ipukaiole and other fishponds—community and economic benefits:

KM: So this place really is a treasure, and part of it, I imagine, has to do with, again, caring for the fishponds. What do you think, should they just let all the fishponds go...?

WK: No, no.

KM: ...or should they try and care for and restore, like they want to do here?

WK: We should renovate. Okay, I talked to DLNR, the Department of Land and Natural Resources. And my concern was, the demolishing of the welfare system; we no going get welfare. So the question came up is, "What is going to happen to welfare recipients?" So, the welfare guys told me, "Well that's the law, that's the law!"



I said “Hey! No talk law to me, boy. If no more welfare, you no more job. You know, what you got to think of, the federal made one decision, on the federal entity. The state get their own responsibility. You not going get the matching from the federal any longer. That’s where the law coming in, of doing away with welfare. But, the state still yet get the sovereignty in taking care of their own responsibilities of how you going work the welfare system out.” So they look at me, “Oh yes, yes.” I said, “Well, I like recommend something. I like recommend that when I went look at the welfare system, and I thought about it, I no can get the welfare... I think about the ancient *pō’alima* system. I look at ‘um, and I think ‘Why should the welfare [recipient] go Kaunakakai, when they can work right here. Right in their *ahupua’a*, or whatever, in their own district. For cut the transportation costs out.” So I said “Okay, let’s get the welfare...” And I no can put ‘um in the parks or on the road, because I going get conflict with the union. I no can, guarantee I going get the union on my back. So I recommended that “They build one new agency, and this new agency would be a shore line management.”

They said, “We get.” I said, “No, you coastal shore line on the *palapala* [documents], but I’m talking about labor. Labor maintenance. Shore line management, where this welfare recipient put in time for go clean the streams and clean the beach. All the mangrove, the fishponds owned by the state, get in there and start cutting the mangrove, get rid of this mangrove. Now I guarantee I going get jobs for them. And it doesn’t infringe on union, because its a completely new agency, that going *mālama* the *‘āina* [care for the land], taking care of the shore line.” So my job, plant seed, so I plant seed in government over there.

If they do ‘em, fine, you know. Because I tell them, “You know, our major problem today is drugs. We know drugs is a major problem, what going happen if you take away the welfare recipient? You cut back the welfare, they no can pay their house rent. They going get kicked out of Kūhiō Park Terrace. Where they going live? They going down the beach, they going all over. What makes it worse on crime, is now, the crime going double, “I got to eat. I going steal, I going kill so I can feed my family.” So all that kind stuff that’s for sale, you can see the writing already. So what you going do? What you can do for help the welfare guys? Oh, I agree, we shouldn’t give ‘um hand out. No, to me, the welfare went broke the Hawaiians back. When they went on welfare, that killed the Hawaiian, ‘cause the Hawaiian figure, “Why should I work the *lo’i* when I get free *poi*?”

You know, so now who going put that back? But now I need agriculture department come in help me for renovate the lands, get the lands back together so they can start planting the taro. ‘Cause taro is one good industry, the demand is greater than the supply. The Hawaiians own land with water, but they don’t know how to put ‘um back, because their generation is dying, and the new generation was taught “Go school, go school. Education is too important, never mind the land.” So plenty, you lose, you lose. And then the young generation, “Hoo, work so hard in this? For what, I can plant *pakalōlō*, and can make fast bucks, you know.” So all this kind stuff is obstacles, and come... So that’s how I look at it.

The first thing I taught my kids was survival. Everyone of my kids know how plant. They know how to pound *poi* with stone. Everyone know how to throw net, look for squid, fish. That’s the first thing I taught them, survive. “Now, you go get education. Then if you get stuck, you know how to feed yourself.” Now, they know how to fish and all that. So I thought it was too important for just neglect.

KM: So for the fishponds then, you got to revitalize them, it’s a way to feed the people.

WK: It should, it should. But, when you look at fishponds, you got to look at ‘um, the government no can... The worst thing you can have is government involved. Because the government get plenty red tapes. And laws that contradict your culture. “You no can do this! You no can pull out the mangrove, going come all muddy and ‘quality water” [smiling].



KM: [laughs]

WK: “Quality water.” The federal went impose that, now the state got to carry over that. Even, “I like build one small shack for get out of the sun.” “Oh no, you need fire department.” I could care less if this damn thing burn down, I build one new one. We no care about that... “But that’s infringing on...” But the tourist hotel, they can build small shacks. But us who live the life style, we no live in history, we implement ‘um. That’s the big difference between Bishop Museum and us.

KM: Yes, yes... ..Uncle, that’s something that you said, that I think is real important. Before we started the interview, you shared with us a little bit, that you folks, a group of people had worked to revitalize a fishpond, and before the *kuapā*, or what; before the *pā* was *pau*, they started stocking the fish already. But, what happened? “First thing you know, all the guys who never *kōkua*, went take all the fish.”

WK: ‘Ae.

KM: That’s ‘ano ‘e, that’s not the way of your old people eh. They *aloha*.

WK: You know that, I know that, you know, hard, hard. The *kūpuna*, they cry. They only take, they cry, they no can do nothing, ‘cause they’re old. But one of our goals was to take care the *kūpuna*. So whatever fish I can get out of the pond [gestures, giving].

KM: ‘Ae, *eia ka i’a* [yes, here’s the fish].

WK: ‘Cause they no can go fish, they *kūpuna*. So that was one of our goals. Plus, once a year, *ho’olaule’a* [celebration]. *Ho’olaule’a*, everybody come, *huki lau* [conduct a seine net harvest], for eradicate all the junk.

Now, if we look at Kaipukaiole, we look at this pond, it’s different than ‘Ualapu’e pond. And what is the difference? It’s the quality water. Quality water. And when I say quality water, the *i’a* [fish] over here and the *i’a* over there are two different *i’a*. Over there, ‘*ama’ama*, *aholehole*, all this kind fish. Over here, no, *kūmū*, *moi*. *Moi*, *kūmū*, this, the reef fish come up close to the...they come up night time. This kind *kūmū* [gesturing size], and inside the pond.

KM: Nearly two and a half foot kind.

WK: Yes. Inside here, you get lobsters, all inside this pond. And the water clean at all times. Only time this water going come dirty, when the *kahawai* [stream] run.

KM: So when Kainalu, the stream...?

WK: When Kainalu come heavy, ahh—that’s only Kona [storm] time eh. All muddy, all brown. But other than that, this water is clean, clean water. *He’e* [octopus] like this water. Plenty *he’e*, plenty.

KM: ‘Ae... So what’s changed this land now? And one thing is, I notice this stream Kainalu, doesn’t flow now, dry time?

WK: Okay.

KM: Did it flow before, all the time?

WK: Yes it did.

KM: What happened to the water?

WK: I don’t know if Pu’uohōkū Ranch, or even Kip them, diverting *mauka*.

KM: Kip them said they’re not. And they don’t know where the water went.

WK: Okay, it’s been diverted *mauka*.



KM: Is this forest...you know, you look *kula*?

WK: Yes.

KM: And then you look *kuahiwi* [mountain]?

WK: Ahh.

KM: Has this land *mauka* changed in your life time, the forest?

WK: Not really, no.

KM: Not that you recall. I wonder where that water went then?

WK: No, no, 'cause behind, Pu'uohōkū Ranch can divert that for wherever he like 'um.

KM: Funny, you would think they couldn't because the *ahupua'a* get those water rights, the forest, access...

WK: If you don't know nothing about your rights, and I'm one big rancher, I can do what ever I like up there...

KM: From Pu'uohōkū Ranch side. So when this water comes down now, because the river doesn't flow all the time, is the water that pushes out here messy, when get storm like that?

WK: Well, it gets messy because nobody is maintaining the stream, clearing it, and making the water come down good. Honolulu you no more problem, they cement the whole river.

KM: [laughs]

WK: Yes. Over here, no can because we get our *'o'opu* [goby fish], our *hīhīwai* [freshwater grainy snail], our fresh water prawns, we get all that kind stuff, we no like *hana 'ino* desecrate that.

KM: Yes.

WK: [laughs]

KM: But now, if the water don't flow, *pau*, the *'o'opu* like that no can go.

WK: Well *mauka*, he stay. [smiling] He stay, he no going *make* [die]. He no *make*, 'cause normally, when the *kahawai* run, you run down and get the *'o'opu* eh, over flow eh.

KM: Yes. So this place then, you'd say that the fishpond here, is not going to cause...?

WK: No. If a pond, like I said, "All the pond will do, is protect the shore line."

KM: That's why they were made then?

WK: Yes...

Stewardship—fishpond restoration:

KM: Uncle, generally, if we talk about *kahu* and stewardship of the land like that.

WK: Uh-hmm.

KM: To care for the fishponds, to care for the land like that, is *pono*? That's the way its got to be?

WK: Uh-hmm, 'ae... What you got to realize, this pond wasn't renovated, and when it wasn't renovated, many people eat on this pond. This means they come, they go throw net on top the pond, 'cause high tide, the fish all come up eh. Now, you going build one wall, where they going throw net? "Hey, no more my ice box. I no like you build the pond, bumbye I no can come throw net." See there's a little bit advantage, disadvantage eh?



KM: Sure. So when people no take care, everyone comes...
WK: Yes, and it becomes public. Everybody goes inside. Any time you like *kaukau* [food], "Ahh, high tide get plenty fish right over there. Over there get the *he'e*, guarantee." Guarantee get the *he'e* over there when the squid running.

Ancient construction of fishponds; the *ali'i* called and the people came to work:

KM: Hmm. Well, before days, this is I think, an important thing, because you talked about community. If the community worked together, like they share in the ownership, yeah, there's pride in that. Who made fishponds before, not one person eh?

WK: *Kahea* [the call went out].

KM: *Kahea*.

WK: The King *kahea*...Pūko'o fishpond, Kamalō to Hālawa, *kahea*, the King *kahea* and they build 'um in one week.

KM: So all the people come and that's how the community work together eh?

WK: Ohh, but no, no [chuckling], they no come because they no like come. No, no, I come because I must.

KM: [chuckling] *Mahope, pa'i* [bumbye, struck down].

WK: Yes, right, so all come. One week, *pau*. Bumbye, *Māhele* came, the commissioner claim the land. Ohh! The people all piss off. No nobody should get this land, we should give this land to the school, Kalua'aha School, for our children. Big court case, fight, fight, the people lost. The commissioner who was supposed to collect taxes for all this kind, he wanted it.

KM: So you mean, like the *konohiki* then?

WK: He wanted the land, he took the land away from the people. So we had our corruption in Hawaiian, so you know [chuckles] never change.

KM: Sure. So you know, fishponds, the *ali'i* who controlled the land before, was the one who controlled the fishpond.

WK: He owned the fishpond, and he get the *konohiki, mauka*. He's the caretaker, overseer. The *Konohiki*, the *kia'i*, but, you got to remember, the *ali'i, konohiki, kia'i*, all that, all 'ohana. All same family, controlling, that's where the power play come in.

KM: But, interestingly, if they're *ali'i*, but they no get people underneath them, they got to go do the work right? So was it in their benefit then to take care of the people, you know, the let the people feed...?

WK: No, no, no, you got to remember, you as one *maka'āinana*, [a commoner, one who lives on the land] you look at your *ali'i* as god. God. He communicate directly to god, so what he says is the law. You no can say, "Oh, no more me, what you going do?" No more you ... [laughs]

KM: [laughing]

WK: "I tell you what I do; sacrifice this buggar. Bumbye we go Maui, we raid Maui, we bring the slaves back." [laughing] They were warriors. So they go island to island and cause trouble. From here, we get Māna'e, Hō'olehua. We get war from Kalawao, from behind Pelekunu, Wailau, they go to Kaluako'i to get the salt. Salt.

Salt making on West Moloka'i and trade of resources:

KM: Is that...how about salt here, you made...

WK: No, no, over here no more that...the salt all came from Kaluako'i.



KM: So the families from here all had to go out Kaluako'i?

WK: Trade! You take your *lo'i*, the *kalo* [taro], down there no more water, no more taro. So, I take my taro, I give you, you give me salt. But the guys said, Pelekunu-Wailau, they just went like take; war! Internal affair war, no more *kūkākūkā*, for the chief and this chief talk story. So when they go steel, ahh! Fight!

KM: So most of the salt then, that was used along here, was gotten by trading to Kaluako'i?

WK: Yes.

KM: 'Cause they had good salt beds all along the side eh.

WK: Yes, it's pure salt too. And they get, during the summer, the heat is beautiful, heat up, make quick eh, the salt. Kalaupapa had plenty salt too.

KM: Oh yeah, in the *kāheka* [shallow shore line pools], the natural *poho* [basins] like that.

WK: Yes. So all that play a major role, yeah. Then you get your...on you land, you supposed to get your medicinal herbs, and you get *makai* and *mauka*, like *kōwali*...

KM: ...*Mahalo!* The history that you've shared here will go to benefit, I believe the people of Moloka'i...

WK: Yes, yes, I agree with that.

KM: It's a benefit, and by sharing this *mana'o* and instilling some of that *aloha*, and not...Like you said, you talk about this ethic that your uncle then taught, how you learn, how you set the stone, how they work, you know. "*Maika'i ka hana a ka lima, 'ono no ka 'ai a ka waha.*"

WK: 'Ae.

KM: "The hands do good work, the mouth eats good food."

WK: Yes, yes.

KM: And so, *mahalo! Mahalo nui...!*



Island of Ni‘ihau and Northwestern Hawaiian Islands
(See also, an oral history consultation interview with Isaac Harp):

Elia Ku‘ualoha Kāwika Kapahulehua
Fishing Trips from Ni‘ihau to Nihoa and Hawaiian Sailing Skills
Excerpts from a Lecture at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum
December 17, 2002 (KPA Photo S02)

Elia Ku‘ualoha Kāwika Kapahulehua (Uncle Kāwika) was born in 1930, at Keaukaha Hilo. At the age of three months, he and his family returned to Ni‘ihau, from where his father originated. Uncle Kāwika was raised on Ni‘ihau, and had the benefit of learning about traditions of the land, ocean, navigation, and cultural practices and customs from his parents and *kūpuna* on Ni‘ihau.



This interview, the first of five in which Uncle Kāwika participated, was recorded as a part of a lecture series at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, and with the permission of Uncle Kāwika. The following narratives are

excerpted from the longer lecture, and provide readers with descriptions of fishing journeys made by elders of Ni‘ihau to Nihoa; values handed down over the generations; and navigation between Hawai‘i and Kahiki (the ancestral homeland).

Uncle Kāwika Kapahulehua granted his personal release of the oral history interviews (December 17th and 18th, 2002) to Maly on July 3, 2003. While reviewing the transcript, and recording additional historical observations, Uncle Kāwika observed:

“Inā mālama ‘oe i ke kai, mālama no ke kai iā ‘oe. Inā mālama ‘oe i ka ‘āina, mālama no ka ‘āina iā oe.” (If you care for the ocean, the ocean will care for you. If you care for the land, the land will care for you.)

I started fishing on my own when I was about seven years old, to go ‘ō i‘a. I would go down to the shore with my spear, dive into the water, and three *nai‘a* (porpoises) would come around. They would chatter and play about 15 feet away from me. So I would gesture to them to go out and block off the opening in the *awāwa*, the cove. When the fish tried to run away from me, they would go out towards the open water and then the *nai‘a* would drive them back in. The first time I went, I speared one *kala* and one *enenue*, that was enough. I waved thank you to the *nai‘a* and took the fish. My mama asked me, “*No hea mai tēlā i‘a?*” I told her what happened, and she was amazed, *kupaianaha!*

That’s how it was, how my *kūpuna* taught me, “Take what you need for today. Leave the rest for another day.” That way you would always have fish.



KK: Before I start, thank you all, my students, my friends, my family and every one. *Mahalo iā 'oukou a pau, no ka hele 'ana mai i kēia ahiahi.* Thank you. If you don't mind I'd like to talk all of you on a trip with me. From Ni'ihau, on a double hull canoe going to Nihoa for fishing. But before we get there I'd like to set up a little bit of what's ahead to make the canoe safer for everybody involved. So we don't have to swim back.

Group: [chuckling]

Annual fishing trips made to Nihoa from Ni'ihau:

KK: See, in the olden days the story was told by my uncle, at the time I was only four and a half years old. My mama told me, "Son, you have a unique ear to hear things, and your eyes are like a photograph machine that click, click. Along the way you can bring it back. *Kou maka a me ka lohe 'ana kou pepeiao, ua like no me ka pahu ki'i...* So she said, "Whatever your uncle tells you listen real good and keep it. Some day you're going to need it..."

Life on Ni'ihau was good, very good. Learning in the old ways of our *kūpuna*, how they do things, and they need help they ask the family to help. But most of the time they try to do it on their own, they try not to impose on the family. Unless the family come and volunteer on their own, they all work together and share together. *Hā'awi aku, hā'awi mai, hiki iā 'oukou a pau ke noho, ho'okāhi 'ohana i nā manawa a pau. Pēlā ka noho 'ana o nā Hawai'i o Ni'ihau.*

Ua lawe lākou i ka mahina o Apelila. See, i ka wā kahiko, nā mahina a pau, kanakolu lā o ka mahina... Every month is thirty days, each month. So if you count twelve months, thirty days a month, it gives you three hundred and sixty days in the year. But not knowing in those days, our ancestors didn't have the compass, because it does have three hundred and sixty degrees on the compass, exactly. So when they check out, with their thumb on the horizon, their index finger stays right up. They can count one, two, three, four, five, six straight over. Sunrise to noon from noon to sunset gives you twelve hours of the day. And then if you flip that underneath you got twelve more on the bottom you got twenty-four hours of the day. So if you take one and two, one is fifteen days, two is another fifteen you got thirty days of the month. Then you get three months up here and three on this side. Flip that under, you get twelve months in the year.

The natives knew exactly when to plant certain things, potato, bananas all the vegetables, by looking at the moon, moon-rise. *Nā Hawai'i a pau, a'ole o nā Hawai'i wale nō. Nā 'ohana 'Ilikini mai Alakeka a i South America.* All the Indians all along the coastline, all the South Koreans, China all the people that come in touch with the Pacific Ocean. They all use the same calendar. I was surprised when we took *Hōkūle'a* to California, we arrived in San Francisco and the Indian tribe came over. Said, "You first captain of the canoe to Tahiti?" I said, "Yes." "Good, you still have old calendar to plant and fish?" I says, "Yes we do." "Good, can you send me some or let me know where to buy some." I says, "Fine, I'd be happy to get some for you and send it right over." *Nui kō lākou hoihoi e pa'a i ka alamanaka o ka wā kahiko o nā Hawai'i a pau, no nā lāhui 'Ilikini...*

They said, "The new one is no good. The old one on the fifteenth day of the month, four o'clock in the afternoon you have a full moon. On the sixteenth at four o'clock the moon is sliced, that's no good with today's 365 days. In the olden days you go by calendar, work everything. You know all your preparation for the potatoes for all the plants that you going to plant. Plant bananas, type of bananas. Your food, everything is work according to the calendar. Perfect, not only for you Polynesians but for us Indians too." So, even keep track of the time, you know exactly what time of the sun rise, moon rise and the star rise. You follow that coming up. Same with setting, same when you traveling on the canoe. *I kou alahēle a nā wa'a, hiki iā 'oe ke nānā, maopopo iā 'oe ka hā'ule 'ana—hōkū, ka lā, ka mahina, nā manawa a pau.* You can gage your trip when the next guy going to take over to steer the boat while you take a rest, and right on down the line.



Preparation of canoes and supplies for fishing trips to Nihoa:

So on Ni'ihau they keep a record for the month of April. The first day of April they get coconuts. They didn't have any axe to cut it. They husked the coconuts the old ways and they crack it in half and leave it in the sun. Let the sun dry it out to create more oil out of that dry coconut. *Nui ka hoihoi o ka aila o ka niu. Kaula'i ka niu iloko o ka lā aia malo'o loa, nui ka aila. E hiki iā 'oukou ke hamo ka aila i luna o ka wa'a.* You rub the side of the canoe with the coconut oil to prevent the barnacle from getting into the wood. Otherwise you won't have a canoe on the way over to Nihoa. So, they always have the same eight people, eight men to go fishing to Nihoa.

So what they do they get the whole bottom of the canoe and all the under side all covered with coconut oil. *Hamo no ka aila o ka niu ma lalo o ka wa'a, e hiki iā lākou ke maopopo, ho'i 'ana lākou me kēia wa'a.*

The second week, they get all the coconut leaves, they break it in half, reverse it, and make a panel out of it. They make a part sail. 'Cause they already have the *lauhala* sail, but they want to make extra. Mainly because that's their bedding. When they arrive there, all they have is lava rocks, *lau pōhaku pāhoehoe*. So they need something softer. So they put the coconut leaves on it. But in the meantime while traveling they can use that panel so wind can blow the sail and make the canoe go quicker. Now figure, it's 120 miles from Ni'ihau, and if the wind is blowing ten to fifteen, they should be able to make it there bright and early, within five miles give or take. They'll either be above, below or closer.

Ka lau niu i hili no, ka niu, e hiki iā lākou ke hana umeke. They make baskets, big baskets. They put coconuts in the baskets to carry it on the canoe so they don't be floating all over the place... *Mamua o kēlā holo 'ana o ka hana me ka wa'a, lawe lākou i kēia lau manila kaula, sisal.* Long leaves, and if you look for the one that's all turned yellow, and then you pound it, get all the meat out and leave all the fibers, you can weave into a little netting. Make a netting from your shoulder down to your knees and then you enclose it. Take your ti leaves tie the ti leaves from the bottom up so they all overlap, one on top of the other. That's your rain jacket to keep you dry, or to sleep at night that's your blanket. So every time they have a trip they, save the netting because the ti leaves all *popopo*. So *kēlā kō lākou hana i ka wā mamua. No ka mea, kō lākou lole i kēlā manawa, he malo wale nō. A'ole i kēia lā...*

'Ulua fishing on Nihoa:

So the second week they get the coconut all ready, and they got two *ipu* about this high [gestures about 2 feet], full with *pa'akai*, salt. To salt the fish. So their food consists of the coconut meat and the head of the fish, and that head is about that wide and that big [gestures size of fish]. The *'ulu*a is that big [gesturing], close to three hundred pounds each. So they need all the salt to salt the meat when they get there. Besides getting the coconut leaves to make the panels and to make the *umeke*, and gathering all the coconuts, they have all the ti leaves for their raincoat. And then they have the *huki* stick, a stick with a hook in the front. They have a unique thing with the *'ulu*a. *Ka mea maika'i no o ka 'ulu*a, *e nānā nei ka 'ulu*a *i ka pāpā'i 'a'ama ma lalo o ka pōhaku.* The overhang rocks. All crabs are underneath there. They can smell *wana*. So what the sailors do, is bring the *wana* out crack it and pour it all over the place, all the crabs come out they want to eat *wana*. But they don't want to feed the birds so all the crabs looking for the birds, no birds and then they come eat. But they failed to see the *'ulu*a in the water. The *'ulu*a is looking up "Oh, there's all the crabs." But they all failed to see the two guys standing up there with the spear.

Group: [laughing]

KK: There were two guys standing there with the spears. As soon as the crabs fall off, the fish come out to grab the crab, and the guy with the spear hit 'um right behind the head and



stunned it. He couldn't shake, quiver, to chase the other guys away, so it's like the guy with the stick hooked under the chin and pull it up. *Huki* the *'ulua*. And all the one's on the bottom say, "What happened?"

Group: [laughing]

KK: "What happened, where'd he go? Did they find somebody good? Where he went?" So they wait for another half hour in the mean time they cut the head off and then they start slicing the side of the fish. All that thick [gestures finger width] so they can fill it up with *pa'akai*. And you know that bundle of coconut leaves, they put it on the bottom, and they put the fish on top. They put another panel on top, they didn't have washtub, no more big tubs. They couldn't do that in the canoe. So they keep it like that for over night.

Kakahiaka nui, ho'i lākou i ka 'āpana kai... By eight o'clock all the *pāhoehoe* is warm, ready for dry fish. The thing with Nihoa, there's no plants, 'cause there's no big birds to bring dirt. So there's no plants. Now they have because all the fall-out now days they have plants. But since they didn't have any plants—*a'ole mea kanu, a'ole nalo*, no bugs, no birds, no roaches. So they can leave the food all over the place. All they eat is the fish head, and then after they cut all the meat to dry out they have bones for fish to eat. But they're stuffed with fish all right.

All the fishing is done on the third week of April. The wind comes from the north east to south blowing the canoe direct from Ni'ihau to Nihoa with the south wind. And boy they have fun, eight guys, they all going in four pairs. So you figure if you have two fish in two days, close to three hundred pounds each. That's a lot of fish. And that's the favorite fish of the Ni'ihau families. They love *'ulua*. Hoo!

Group: [chuckling]

KK: They got tired of mullet, they got tired of *moi*, they get tired of *'ōpelu*. They got plenty of that. But *'ulua* ...they get small *pāpio*, but that's too thin. They want thick one's.

Group: [chuckling]

KK: So that month, the last week of April, *pono lākou e mākaukau. 'Ohi ka 'i'o o ka i'a, ho'okomo iloko o ka umeke*. Exchange the coconut for fish in the *umeke*. Get ready the end of the week, that third week they better get that canoe ready 'cause the wind is shifting from south to north. Going home with that wind. So that's why they pick only that month out of the whole year. Only once a year, they go fishing for *'ulua*. Because no other months will have that one week wind from the south, one week wind from the north. So better to gather all their *'ulua* and all the *pāpa'i a'ama* in place of the salt in the two *ipu*.

Get all the *a'ama* in there. What they do is scatter all the *wana* and all the *a'ama* come out, and then they get scoop net they throw it over and they take 'um one by one. That's a delicacy for the *'ohana* of Ni'ihau. They have two canoes that started out from Ni'ihau, one going to Nihoa fishing, and the second canoe goes to Kalalau on Kaua'i. *Kō lākou hana ma laila, huki kalo. Ho'oma'ema'e i ka lo'i kalo. Nui ka wai o Kaua'i, a'ohe wai o Ni'ihau. Kō lākou hana kēlā, huki kalo*.

So they load up about the same amount, ten baskets of *kalo*. Take 'um back to Ni'ihau, divide equally with all the families. They get tired of eating nine months out of the year or eleven months out of the year, all they eat is potato, *'uala*. So change the pace, they going to have taro. So taro and dry *'ulua* fish. Yes, plenty of fish.

So, I got... remember the south wind and the north wind?

Group: [nods in agreement]



Hawaiian navigation traditions and practices:

KK: *Maopopo iā 'oukou i ka mo'olelo o Mo'ikeha? Ke alii nui o Kaua'i. Wailua, Kaua'i. We are traveling backwards i ka makahiki 1250 A.D. That's when Mo'ikeha came back from Tahiti. He did a lot of traveling between Hawai'i and Tahiti. And so this trip, we're going to follow Ke Ala i Kahiki. Ke Ala i Kahiki, some of the old-timers came out, the sailors, asked about one of the famous stories told of Ke Ala i Kahiki. But I said "there's no story." They all look at me and says, "How do you know?" I said, "La'a mai Kahiki is a sailor and I'm a sailor. We have the same thing. So while you're reading this map by the Kona side of the Big Island, it's stated there's no wind because the mountain is too high. Only in April they have the wind." Nobody knew that. *A'ole lākou maopopo, ka mahina o Apelila pā mai nei ka makani mai ke 'akau.**

So all along the coast from Maui, Moloka'i, O'ahu, Kaua'i, Ni'ihau, they all can go to Tahiti on that last week of April. Because they have a north wind, the same wind that brings back the fishermen from Nihoa to Ni'ihau. Everybody asks me, "How do you know that?" I say, "I'm a competitive catamaran racer." I was racing in California and I used to tell the owners of the boat 'cause I was teaching them how to race, go close to shoreline right where the waves are building, go close to that. They said, "Why?" The land is still cool, the off shore breeze is coming but further on out there's no wind. "How do you know that?" I said, "Just listen, just follow. I told you we going finish second, but first on corrected the time." "This I got to see." "Pehea oe maopopo ai...?" "Just trust me." We were the last boat to start the race...

...We came across the finish line and the committee boat says, "Congratulations, you came in second but you first on corrected time..." They all look at me and says, "Who are you?" "I told you, listen, watch. The land is cool you got the breeze coming off, when it's hot the breeze going back in..."

Question: ...What can you tell us about the making of the canoes. Where did they come from, how did they make them?

KK: That is a good question. I wish I had the answer to that. The story was told by my two uncles after they got through eating, now they having a smoke. I snuck underneath the table, I heard one uncle say, "*Mo, la'i kēia ahiahi, hiki ia'u ke 'ike nā hōkū a pau loa. Nui nā hōkū.*" The other one says, "*Ae, nui ka hōkū kēia ahiahi, maika'i. Hiki ia'u ke maopopo pono ka mo'olelo o ko'u kupuna o ka wā kahiko. Ka hele 'ana i ka lawai'a i Nihoa.*" I know the story of my ancestors when they used to go fishing in Nihoa. See, this is the early beginning. Then one says, "*Ō, maopopo iā 'oe kēlā hōkū ma'ō?*" "*'Ae, o Nāhiku kēlā.*" "*Nāhiku? Pehea 'oe i maopopo ai Nāhiku?*" "*E hiki iāia ke kuhikuhi mai nei iā 'oe iā Hōkūpa'a.*" "*Ō Hōkūpa'a, maopopo iā 'oe kēlā hōkū?*" "*'Ae. Maopopo ia'u i kēlā hōkū.*" "*Inā e holo 'ana i Nihoa, pehea 'oe e alaka'i ai?*" "*Nānā 'oe imua o ka wa'a, hola 'umi kūmālua...*"

The front of the canoe will be twelve 'o clock. The side, three 'o clock. The stern is six, the left side, nine 'o clock. So when you sailing you put *Hōkūpa'a*, the North Star, three, two, one [gesturing positions with his fingers]. You put right between one and two. Why? When you going just high of Nihoa, all the currents coming from Kaua'i side, is pushing you over. So when daylight come you'd be right on top of it. But if you going straight forward you going be way out that way. "What happened?"

Group: [chuckling]

KK: "Who moved Nihoa?" Nihoa didn't move, you moved. Good. So that's how they went. And that's how I took *Hōkūle'a* to Tahiti. I had the big sail to pull *Hōkūle'a*, the back sail to push it and steer it. Nobody touched the steering paddle. They said, "Why?" "Does anybody know where to go?"



Group: [laughing]

KK: “We’ve never been to Tahiti before, let alone steer. Where are you going steer it to?” You see, on your compass forty-five degrees is north east then you got ninety, hardly even thirty five is south east. So if you have the canoe sailing at a hundred and thirty sliding, sliding all the time. By the time you get past east the wind is going to shift from north east to east and you’re entering right into the doldrums. By doing that you’re half way home. ‘Cause once you pass the doldrums, and the canoe was all set from the very beginning to take that to a smaller island called Mataiwa. *Kēia ‘āina līlīlī, ua pane mai kēia anakala, Moses Kanahēle*, “Baby, *inā ‘oe hele ‘ana e launa me nā hoaloha, nā ‘ohana...* If you are going to go visiting friends, family take a bath.

Group: [chuckling]

KK: Change your clothes, don’t go dirty. So, going to Tahiti, 31 days is along time. I’m dirty, long hair, clothes dirty. So the navigator ask, “Hey Captain, how come we stop here?” I said, “You look at yourself dirty, big beard, long hair. You go Tahiti all the women going disappear.”

Group: [laughing]

KK: They going tell, “Hey you dirty pig, go home. Go home from where you came from you dirty pigs. We don’t want to see you.” But go down there, go clean up... They going yell, “*lorana, lorana, lorana...*”

Group: [laughing – break]

KK: [describing the sisal used for making rope] ...*Maopopo iā ‘oukou i kēia kumu sisal...*? The leaves, long leaves, the bottom of the leaves gets yellow and then brown and dry. As soon as gets yellow they cut it off, soak it in the ocean water. They get all the lose parts off the tree except for the fiber. They use that for rope to make net for your raincoat. They make the size of your body from your knee up to your shoulder. The square is about that big from each other [gestures four inch square eye]. And then they pick up all the ti leaves, the brown one, the green one. Then they break all the hard part, the core, and then they weave on this net, they hang it up and they keep it away from the bottom, going up. So each one on the top there, on top each other.

But in Ni‘ihau we have plenty of that sisal. I remember cutting the tree part, the bottom is that big [gestures 16 inches], cut about ten feet long and reverse every other one. And then cut a little puka and get your haole koa stick and put a hole right through all that wood for make a raft. I was about seven, eight years old. When it rained it used to have about four feet of water in front of the house. Mama used to come out and say, “I’m missing my bed sheets.” “Don’t look at me. Don’t look at me.” a little while later she see me going down. “Ohh, that boy.”

Group: [laughing]

KK: But she didn’t mind it because that one had puka in it. But anyway that’s what the sailors did on the canoe going to Nihoa. They make raincoat to keep themselves warm, and to sleep better. It’s kind of hard to get one small little malo to cover the whole body. But anyway, you remember the wind from the south taking the canoe from Ni‘ihau to Nihoa? La‘a was resting on Kaho‘olawe this was back in 1200 A.D. almost six hundred years different. Somebody came by and told him that Mo‘ikeha had died in Wailua, Kaua‘i. So he took his canoe with his sailors, sailed straight out south-west of Kaho‘olawe, about two hundred yards. He figured he’d clear Ka‘ena Point. Early in the morning, he wanted to go past ‘Ewa around noon and clear Ka‘ena Point late in the afternoon. And all night sailing to Kaua‘i. *Ka hō‘ea ‘ana o La‘a i Kaua‘, mālama i ka iwi o Mo‘ikeha. Lawe ‘ana ‘oia i ka iwi ho‘okomo iloko o ke ana i ka pali o Hanalei. Ma laila, ho‘i mai ‘oia i Waialua, e mālama no*



kēia ali'i hou kama 'ōpio, o Kila, ke keiki o Mo'ikeha. He made sure that the boy will be the *ali'i* of Kaua'i. Then he got on his canoe he sailed north west, then turned to north east. He knew the wind was shifting to north, the wind would take him above O'ahu, go past Makapu'u. Between Makapu'u and Moloka'i. He could sail directly over to Kaho'olawe because he was the one that named the channel Ke Ala i Kahiki. A lot of people say there's a great big story of that place. But, there's only one time in a whole year you can use that channel to go to Tahiti. All islands can use that. The north wind is the only wind that can take you to Tahiti. Because from the Big Island, it goes on over six hundred miles, casting a shadow that far out. You will not make it from Kaho'olawe, past South Point on the Big Island. Even on this map it says, "Due to the shadow of the mountain you will never make it..."

So this is the story of La'a-mai-Kahiki. He went back to Kaho'olawe, picked up his family and the rest of his gear to continue on to Tahiti. He made it past South Point before the wind shifted north east. And everybody wanted to know why didn't anybody else know this story of Ke Ala i Kahiki... Then they wanted to know how did I know that the shadow of Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa and Haleakalā would cast over six hundred miles out. I said you try to stand by on the side of a building and say where the wind is going to blow. Around the building, not through the building. So they cannot go over the mountain. The canoe will not make it over the mountain, neither will the wind. And once they get up they stay up. Nobody going to say, "What about us down here? We need you too..."

...But there's so many people that ask that story, "*Ke Ala i Kahiki, no ke'aha, a'ole lākou hele i Kahiki?*" Then somebody tried to tell the story, "On Moloka'i there's a big *kukui* grove, *nui kēia kukui ke ulu nei.* They start a bonfire and down on the water they start another bonfire. The canoes waiting from Honolulu Bay, Maui, they sail out line up with the two fire one on the top one on the bottom. And kept sailing straight out. The two light the two lights will guide them pass Ke Ala i Kahiki on the west end of Kaho'olawe. But nobody knows what happened after that. Where they going to go? So they tried to ask me, "Where do the sailors go from there?" I said, "Well, figuring over six hundred miles maybe some little islands over there. If you go over there you find a bunch of the canoes, boats, people, canoes paddles all over there. On the side of the rocks 'cause the current is going to take them all the way there. They cannot go past..." ...I think Mo'ikeha and all the other people that traveled to Tahiti they used that part. They used to have close to a hundred people on the boat. One big sail the rest paddling. That's a lot of work..."

...I forgot to tell you one thing. All of this learning process, training, sailing on a canoe, on a catamaran, it has been taught by my ancestors, or our ancestors, the Polynesian ancestors. How to do it, what to do and so on. The history will go on that the Polynesians are still the best sailors of the Pacific. They can pinpoint and find a small little island in the middle of the ocean 2,400 miles away, and turn around, come back and find the other one still in the middle of the ocean. They found New Zealand, Aotearoa. They found Raiatea, they found Hawai'i. They haven't lost it.

Group: Can you explain something about how you read waves, when you are coming from the land which direction the waves are going.

KK: The waves. Off shore the wind has no control over it, except from off shore. Blowing off to build up the wave to break. But if the wind from off shore comes in, it's all together different. The wind and the current is all together different. Because so close, and so much reef, so the current can run over the reef and the wind not going help any. Another question?

Group: [inaudible – asks about landing canoes on Nihoa]

KK: On Nihoa they have one tall one at 914 feet high, the other one is 840 high. Just two, the rest is small lava, 'a'ā rocks. What they do is take the coconut branches, the bottom part they call it the elbow, put that back to back and put the canoe on top and pull it up out of



the water. Easier to pull the canoe on the coconut frond, rather than pull it off of the 'a'a rocks. It's going to eat part of the bottom of the canoe off. Any more questions?

Group: How many people were living on Ni'ihau when you were there?

KK: When I arrived, three months old, the count then was a hundred and 169. Today, 230 I think. But, half of them are on Kaua'i so that makes about six hundred. All the rest are on Kaua'i.

Group: What made you decide to leave?

KK: I had no choice. I followed my mom and dad. Dad needed the eye doctor so badly, so he have to move to Kaua'i closer to the doctors...

KF: You've said that the Polynesians were able to locate islands by using the clouds. How did they do that?

KK: Well, upwind no, downwind yes. When we left Mataiwa, the first thing Mau said, "Captain, we must find Teitiaroa." "I got that number one on the chart." Four hours later I called, "Mau, Teitiaroa at two o'clock." Like I said the front of the boat is twelve, three, six, nine. Two o'clock all the crew looked, "We don't see anything." They couldn't see anything. I was standing close to 6 o'clock. I looked to the opposite side, I'm looking at it. "Ohh, How do you see?" "Don't look in the water, you look in the clouds." "What you see on the cloud?" "Cloud, white, gray." "What else?" "You look good, don't you see a tinge of orange?" Turn his head, "Yes, I see orange." "How come orange?" "The lagoon is yellow, the sun projects the picture up to the cloud and you can see the orange on the cloud, but you cannot see the coconut trees on the sand growing over there." So he went and told the crew, he laugh and told the crew, "Captain says look the clouds." They all look at the clouds, the same thing he did. "Yes, we see white, we see gray. What else?" "Turn your head tilt like this." "Ahh, orange." "Yes, that's why they give him Captain not us."

Group: [chuckling]

KK: "That's how he knows..." Sometimes you don't see it but if you know it's in that same vicinity and later on try tilt your head side to side. You can see the color change, orange...

***Elia Ku'ualoha Kāwika Kapahulehua
Recollections of Native Fishing Customs and Traditions on Ni'ihau
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly
December 18, 2002***

The following interview was conducted at the home of Kamaile Kawelo-Featheran. Uncle Kāwika added further details to the account of travel between Ni'ihau and Nihoa; fishery and aquatic resource collection practices on Ni'ihau; and his recollections of native customs. Uncle also shared his thoughts about care for, and stewardship of Hawaiian cultural and natural resources.

Looking at Register Map No.'s 442 and 2248; discussing the Halali'i marsh lands and salt making beds; and 'ama'ama fishing:

KK: ...These two connected.

KM: 'Ae. Is that part of...what's that place there?

KK: Yes. This is Halali'i.

KM: Halali'i, 'ae.

KK: Yes. So when it's flooded the water extends out to the ocean.

KM: On the Kawaihoa side or on the south side?



KK: Yes, Kawaihoa side. Open a valley to the sand dunes. Let the water, all the dirt all the mullet go out. And then all the keikis waiting on the outside.

KM: 'Ae.

KK: When all the water comes out. Then the *keiki* all sneak in. As soon as they sneak in the tide rises, high tide. Then they block all the entrance.

KM: So the *pu'u one* is built up again?

KK: Yes.

KM: Block up?

KK: Yes. All the baby's go in and then they come big. And then when they get too much the water goes low.

KM: 'Ae.

KK: Robinson comes over and tell everybody, "Go help yourselves to the fish."

KM: What is that *'ama'ama*?

KK: *'Ama'ama*.

KM: *Awa* too, or only *'ama'ama*?

KK: *'Ama'ama*.

KM: *'Ama'ama*. So Halali'i pond would fill up enough when you were young?

KK: Yes.

KM: So that the *pua* could come in, come big?

KK: Yes.

KM: Wow, that's amazing!

KK: And used to be of that size.

KM: Wow, sixteen, eighteen inch kind?

KK: Just about.

KM: Wow!

KK: A lot of the people don't understand that the fish stays in the pond for so long. they eat a lot of dirt.

KM: 'Ae.

KK: So they go and catch it and cut it up and dry it up. And they come over to our place. When my mom from Hilo tells my dad, "Bring your *pahu wai*." The barrel water and two tubs. They look at me, "Baby, *kāu hana, 'ike 'oe i kēia lā'au? Ho'owali 'oe i ka wai*." Churning the water to aerate the water.

KM: 'Ae, *ola ka i'a*?

KK: Yes. So when the fish go in there they need air to spit out all the dirt, and when they go like this [gestures fluttering of the gills].

KM: 'Ae, *ka pihapiha*..

KK: All the scales going up all the dirt coming out.

KM: Ohh.



KK: So I turn the water, change the tub water, dump the other water. People come by they say, "What are you doing that's too much work." But when they start eating the fish they tell, "Ohh!"

KM: *'Ono, momona kēlā i'a?*

KK: *'Ae, akā, inā a'ole 'oe ho'oma'ema'e, e 'ai lepo [chuckling].*

KM: *'Ae.*

KK: *Nui ka lepo.*

KM: *'Ae, no ka mea, kēia wahi, Halali'i, a'ohe nui ka wai?*

KK: *A'ole nui ka wai.*

KM: *Pehea kou mana'o [gestures with hand, how deep]?*

KK: *'Elua kapua'i.*

KM: *'Oia, 'elua kapua'i?*

KK: *'Ae, i waena, 'ano hohonu ē.*

KM: *'Ae, ai waena?*

KK: *O waena o ka loko wai.*

KM: *Hmm. Inā nui ka ua...he'aha kēlā ua? He nāulu paha?*

KK: *'Ae, he nāulu, akā komo 'ana mai o ka wai kai, a ka malo'o 'ana, nui ka pa'akai.*

KM: *'Oia?*

KK: *'Ae, laulā ka pa'akai ma kēlā poho!*

KM: *'Oia! Ua hele 'oukou e 'ohi pa'akai mai laila?*

KK: *'Ae, 'ohi pa'akai.*

KM: *Hmm, pehea ka pa'akai, maika'i?*

KK: *'Ae, maika'i ka pa'akai, ke'oke'o.*

KM: *A kēlā ka pa'akai a 'oukou e kāpī ka i'a?*

KK: *Kāpī i'a. A ka po'e lawai'a, hele 'ana i Nihoa. Kēlā ipu ho'opiha i ka pa'akai. Kēlā ka pa'akai.*

KM: *Ō aloha. Aloha ka 'āina ē?*

KK: *'Ae.*

KM: *E mālama 'oe i ka 'āina?*

KK: *'Ae, mālama. Inā maopopo 'oe ai loko no ka mālama 'ana. Nui ka waiwai ma laila.*

KM: *'Ae, aloha. Mahalo, kupuna. E kala mai, ninau ka'u iā 'oe, ua ho'omaka 'oe, so ua ho'omaka wau i kēia lipine.*

KK: *A'ole pilikia.*

KM: *Mahalo! Kūkū hiki paha iā 'oe ke wehe mai i kou inoa piha, kou lā a makahiki i hānau ai? Ai hea 'oe i hānau ai?*

KK: *'Ae. Ko'u inoa piha, 'o Elia Ku'ualoha Kāwika Kapahulehua.*

KM: *Hmm, nani.*



KK: 'O Kāwika ko'u inoa i ho'omaka ai i ka makahiki kanahā kūmāwalu, ma Waikīkī. Mamua, 'o Elia Ku'ualoha Kapahulehua.

KM: 'Ae.

KK: Hānau 'ia au ma Hilo, Kokoke i kēlā alanui hele i ka 'uapo.

KM: 'Oia?

KK: Mamua loa, 'elua hale ma laila. Ka hale maloko, ko'u hale kēlā i noho ai.

KM: Ka 'uapo ma Keaukaha?

KK: Ka 'uapo ma Keaukaha, 'ae. Akā 'ekolu mahina, ha'alele ko'u 'ohana, ne'e i Ni'ihau no ka nawaliwali o ko'u kupuna kāne.

KM: Hmm. Kou makuakāne, ua hana 'oia i Hilo?

KK: Kona wā 'ōpio, 'oia me kona mau kaikua'ana, ua lawe 'ia lākou 'ekolu e noho me ka 'anakala i Hilo.

KM: A ua hānau lākou i Ni'ihau?

KK: Hānau i Ni'ihau...

KM: ...'O wai ka inoa o kou makuakāne?

KK: 'O Levi Kalauokahaku Kapahulehua.

KM: Nani, nani. A kou makuahine, 'o wai kona inoa?

KK: Kona inoa, Sarah Mamali'ilii Kanaka'ole.

KM: 'Oia?

KK: Akā lawe 'oia ka inoa, Loa. Kilo aku Kanaka'ole.

KM: Hmm... ..So ua ho'i 'oe i Ni'ihau a noho i Ni'ihau me nā 'ohana?

KK: Me nā 'ohana a pau. Ka hana ku'u makuahine i ku'u wā pēpē loa, e ho'opa'a 'ana 'oia i nā mo'olelo a pau o nā 'ohana o Ni'ihau mai ka hale pule...

KM: ...Your mo'olelo last night was so wonderful. You know, this recollection of like on the map you were showing me the bay area. I'm just going to move the map back out [opens Register Map 442]. This is that 1864 map of Ni'ihau.

KK: Uh-hmm.

Discusses fisheries and types of fish caught around the island of Ni'ihau:

KM: You were saying that in your youth the people from Ni'ihau would go to Nihoa?

KK: Yes.

KM: To lawai'a?

KK: Yes. Only in April.

KM: Only in April, that's amazing.

KK: That's the only time they have the wind from the south in one week.

KM: Yes.

KK: To take them to Nihoa and then the wind changed from the north to bring them back to Ni'ihau.

KM: 'Ae.



KK: Which is like, God is with 'em.

KM: 'Ae.

KK: Guide 'um to Nihoa, then bring 'em home to Ni'ihau.

KM: Yes, amazing! This beach area here by Lehua island you were saying. Do you call that Lehua?

KK: The cove is called Keamo.

KM: Keamo. Ohh. You folks still had canoes on Ni'ihau when you were a child?

KK: When I was a child my next door neighbor had a canoe, a *koa* canoe.

KM: 'Ae.

KK: But he always had it upside down and elevated off the ground, covered with a canvass. Once in a while they pulled it out fixed the rig and then go fishing. But they have to have a trailer to take it up to the beach and the sand dunes is about thirty feet high.

KM: For real! At Keamo?

KK: No at Pu'uwai.

KM: Oh, Pu'uwai and Kāluahonu is right here, yeah [pointing at map]?

KK: Yes.

KM: Ohh. The dunes are high on that side then.

KK: Yes. See our house is right in this area at Kāluahonu. There's also a name called Pukaiki.

KM: Pukaiki?

KK: Pukaiki.

KM: Is that *kawa no ka wa'a, he* channel *nō ho'i*?

Pūpū gathered on shores of Ni'ihau:

KK: Right. And that's where they have all the favorite, famous Ni'ihau shells for leis.

KM: Oh at Pukaiki?

KK: Pukaiki. And they also have a big coconut grove.

KM: Amazing!

KK: Our house is about [thinking] slightly over a hundred yards from each other. But the rest not as far.

KM: 'Ae. Was fishing a big livelihood, or the way that you folks sustained yourselves on Ni'ihau?

KK: Yes, we more or less catch what you need.

KM: Yes.

KK: For today, tonight, go early in the morning.

KM: So on a daily basis basically, you could go choose what kind of fish you like at a certain area or...?

KK: Uh-hmm.

KM: Amazing, yeah?



KK: Yes. You can catch *nenuē, kala, moi li'i* in early April. You fill up a big tub.
 KM: Wow! And did you folks *māhele i'a* always, like you were describing last night?
 KK: With everybody.
 KM: If somebody got you shared?
 KK: Yes. The theory to that is when you share you receive more.
 KM: 'Ae, yes... ..So your folks house though then is in the Pukaiki, Pu'uwai section?
 KK: Yes, close to Pu'uwai.

Families cultivated dry land crops on Ni'ihau, and sailed to Kalalau to cultivate, and exchange goods for *kalo* (taro):

KM: And so you folks lived there. Other families were growing things as well, and you had *mai'a*, you folks *kanu 'uala*? Any *kalo*, or was your *kalo* from elsewhere?
 KK: *Kalo* all came from Kaua'i.
 KM: Oh yeah?
 KK: That's where the second canoe goes, to Kaua'i, to get *kalo*.
 KM: Hmm. So you folks would go, as you said last night all the way to Kalalau. They would sail to Kalalau?
 KK: Yes.
 KM: And did they plant the year before and come back or...?
 KK: No they plant the year before and then they have family on Kaua'i.
 KM: 'Ae.
 KK: They came from Ni'ihau so they climb over on the mountains down to the other side.
 KM: So they would go from the Kekaha side Kaua'i, *mauka* towards Pu'ukāpele and down to Kalalau?
 KK: Yes. Go up Kōke'e and then down Kalalau to the *lo'i*.
 KM: Amazing! So they were taking care of these *lo'i* when you were still a child?
 KK: They did that before I got there.
 KM: Before yes. Were you folks still getting *kalo* from there right?
 KK: No. When Sinclair brought Ni'ihau and Kaua'i they opened up a taro patch in Waimea.
 KM: Ahh.
 KK: They were selling the fifty pound bag poi to each working man in the family. Two dollars a bag.
 KM: Wow!
 KK: For that fifty pound bag. Till today they still do that sometimes. You know, supply the *poi*. "For those of you who want to work, build fence keep the cattle one side, the sheep one side. the horses one side." So by doing that, those who like to work... Or those who don't want to work, "Get out of Ni'ihau."
 KM: 'Ae, that's right so that's how it was...
 KK: ...Robinson used to give six sheep to make stew [chuckles], for all the workers. And all the family come down. They can go fishing, go catch mullet.



Names types of fish caught around Ni'ihau:

- KM: 'Ae. What were the main fish of Ni'ihau that you might catch, that you folks as families, lived on?
- KK: *Manini, pāku'iku'i, awa, nenuē.*
- KM: 'Ae.
- KK: Certain times when the *akule* run, or the 'ōpelu, when they run; and the *moi li'i*. But *moi* is abundant.
- KM: *Moi?*
- KK: Yes.
- KM: Oh. On this sort of north facing side or all around?
- KK: All around the island.
- KM: All over, amazing.
- KK: But see the thing is if you see a man going all alone, turn around and face the other way, don't even think about. Don't even think about, oh he's going to go fishing. That's jinx. So whenever you see a man go out by himself, respect.
- KM: *Aloha.*
- KK: *Aloha.* But later on when he comes back, "*Hui mai, mai lawe mai kou pākini.*"
- KM: 'Ae.
- KK: They dish out all of the fish.
- KM: Amazing. What, they go 'upena ku'u or...?
- KK: *Ho'olei.*
- KM: *Ho'olei.*
- KK: Yes.
- KM: And *kā mākoi* in some areas or...?
- KK: *A'ole.* If you see only one man, he knows where he's going to go. What type of fish he wants. Usually all *moi*.
- KM: Were there certain areas in along the island that were good fishing places for you?
- KK: Kamalino is good.
- KM: Kamalino?
- KK: Yes. Or further on over.
- KM: 'Ae.
- KK: We used to go camping Kamalino about two, three weeks at a time.
- KM: Wow!
- KK: Or go all the way right across to Lehua.
- KM: 'Ae.
- KK: There if you go and throw your net hanging on the side of that reef and then you go with a stick and chase the lobsters. All the lobsters come right into the net.
- KM: Off of the Lehua section here?
- KK: Yes.



KM: Amazing.

KK: And then sometimes you wait couple days just throw the net around the other side of that same reef and all the *mōi* come out and, stuck in the net.

KM: Is that one side the reef and the other side like that?

KK: Yes.

KM: It jets out?

KK: Right.

KM: Interesting.

KK: Yes. And of course there's a lot of driftwood, so you start a fire. Get our lobsters, throw 'em on the charcoal [chuckling].

KM: *Kō'ala, 'ono!*

KK: Ohh!

KM: You know *kupuna* did you folks keep *ko'a*? Where you fish out in the sea or the fish, school any place like the *akule* or *'ōpelu* when they come? Were there special places or you just...?

KK: When I was there growing up they had all these fishing sampans.

KM: Ni'ihau people or from away people?

KK: From Kaua'i. But they knew where all these *ko'a* were.

KM: 'Ae.

KK: And they come right down to the spot and wait. You kept wondering "what are these guys doing?" They were just waiting, and all of a sudden you see all the people scurrying around on the boat. Their net is ready and they're loading on the boat.

KM: Wow!

KK: And two boats split they go around. "Oh, nice." Then you go sit down in the shade of the tree and watch them work.

KM: Yes.

KK: But they saw you, so when they get the fish ready, they fill it up with big burlap bag they bring it over. "Thank you."

KM: Those people even though they were from outside they were coming to your folks fishery but they would share fish back at least.

KK: Yes.

KM: That's important I think too, yeah?

KK: Well, they knew the story if you share your fish you will get more the next trip you come back. So, they always do that. They see you up there around the bend, they catch the fish they come back and share with you.

KM: Amazing! So there were various markers along all of the place where they would you know, would find?

KK: What they would do is take the land marks. To know exactly where their *ko'as* are.

KM: Yes, amazing! So that was your primary meat source I guess, food the ocean like that?

KK: Yes.



KM: And what you would grow. When you had shared about the *'uala* like that and last night I asked you because it was an old riddle. "*Ua ka ua i Pu'u o Ka'eo, i hea 'oe?*" *Maopopo 'oe i kēlā mo'olelo?*

KK: Yes.

KM: Sort of like I guess the lazy man, yeah?

KK: Uh-hmm.

KM: When it rained if he was on Ni'ihau what...?

KK: [chuckling] You would be working.

Discusses annual fishing trips made by *kūpuna* to Nihoa:

KM: Yes... ...You know your story about when you were leaving Keamo and going up to Nihoa.

KK: Nihoa, uh-hmm.

KM: Could you...so it was an annual thing?

KK: Annual thing every year.

KM: Every April they like you said they would prepare?

KK: Uh-hmm. Get their canoe ready, get their coconut oil to make it faster so the canoe could go fast.

KM: Yes.

KK: And keep the barnacles and the worms, sea worms off the canoe.

KM: You said it was a hundred and...?

KK: A hundred and twenty miles distance.

KM: And so you folks would sail basically all the way?

KK: Yes. They take two guys sail the canoe. One facing the other to see the stars in the back.

KM: Ahh.

KK: So they can turn around and go home, he knows the stars in the back.

KM: That's right oh how interesting.

KK: And the other one looking at the stars up ahead, but keeping the north star on this angle. Three o'clock, two o'clock between two and one. You have to know where the north star is.

KM: Yes. And you said it was *Hōkūpa'a*?

KK: *Hōkūpa'a*.

KM: *'Oia ka inoa?*

KK: Ē, North Star. He watched the stars setting so he figure one, two hours. So the two of them, when the top one is almost down, they pick up two others. Then they explained to them your star will be this one or that one, so when they go down, you wake up the other two guys. Everybody rotates one hour on one hour off. So they switch place they keep talking to each other but knowing where is that star coming up and up and up.

KM: The memory is amazing, yeah? You folks you know in these... You said were there eight of you or six?

KK: Eight.



KM: Eight of you on the canoe. Who were among the fishermen that went travel with you folks?

KK: I didn't go with them, this was my two uncles who were talking.

KM: Were talking about it I see.

KK: Yes. 'Cause I was only about four and a half.

KM: Yes, okay.

KK: Crawl under the long bench and listen.

KM: So they would go up, and the memory to keep track of the stars and the position in the heavens. That's wonderful!

KK: Yes.

KM: So they get up to Nihoa. And you said there's high pinnacle on each side or something, yeah?

KK: Yes. There's two pinnacles and there's a small little cove where they can beach the canoe.

KM: Yes.

KK: But there's no more sand.

KM: *'Ae, pōhaku wale no.*

KK: *Pōhaku wale no.* They bring the canoe in then take the bottom part of the coconut frond, they put back to back so the hump will be on both sides.

KM: Yes.

KK: They put the canoe right on top. They drag then they put two more and then two more and drag the canoe all the way up.

KM: *Lona* yeah, just like the *lona* when they roll 'em up?

KK: Right.

KM: Did you have a name for it of the *niu* one's that you used or...?

KK: No, I didn't hear that part.

KM: Yes, amazing!

KK: I'm trying to figure it out.

KM: Was there do you remember was there a name for that cove on Nihoa or did they just say Nihoa?

KK: [thinking] Didn't have the name.

KM: Just from what you remember, Nihoa. So they would haul, drag the canoe up?

KK: Yes. They said, "*Lo'a nō he wahi e pae ai ka wa'a.*" They have a place to beach the canoe.

KM: *'Ae, kō wa'a.*

KK: *E pae ai ka wa'a.*

KM: And then they camp there for a week or so?

KK: A week, yes. What they do is stay down wind of the mountain, but close. And now they found that people afterwards went to visit.

KM: Uh-hmm.



KK: It's like a shrine.

KM: Yes.

KK: They build a place where they can sleep, where they're comfortable.

KM: Yes. And I guess they found something like *Kū'ula* and things over there?

KK: Uh-hmm.

KM: Upright stone and things like that.

KK: Yes.

KM: And was their primary fishing was to go get *'ulua* up there? Or did they get all kinds of things?

KK: They got all kind of things. They have *hā'uke'uke*, they have *'ōpihi*, and they have *wana*. But they knew the *wana* would bring up all the *'a'ama* crabs.

KM: 'Ae.

KK: They didn't want to collect all the crab at the beginning because no room in the *ipu*, it's so full of salt. So if they could, catch all the *'ulua* first 'cause the *'ulua* don't need any bait.

KM: Right [chuckles].

KK: They already have the crab for bait.

KM: That's what you said...the crab out there eating the *wana* and the *'ulua* underneath eating them and man is on top...?

KK: Catching them.

KM: That's amazing! And these *'ulua* you said were big *'ulua*?

KK: Yes.

KM: Hundreds of pounds!

KK: Yes. Almost three hundred pounds.

KM: Yes! And so they would catch the *'ulua*, cut it?

KK: Yes, just like your fingers space.

KM: 'Ae.

KK: And cut it deep and then fill it up with salt and then flip the other side and cut it.

KM: And just on the *pāhoehoe* flats, lay it out and *kaula'i* out there?

KK: Yes.

KM: Amazing!

KK: Yes so the next day what they do is grab the tail and swish it in the ocean.

KM: Yes, yes.

KK: After they dump all the excess...

KM: *Kaka*, to rinse off, yeah?

KK: Yes. So they can use the excess salt for the next, for the crabs.

KM: Amazing!

KK: You have four teams. So figuring if each team got two fish that's over two hundred pounds each.



KM: Wow, amazing!

KK: So, two that will be four hundred pounds and times four [thinking] three thousand two hundred pounds [chuckles].

KM: *Nui ka i'a!*

KK: *Nui ka i'a!* And that's their favorite food on Ni'ihau, that dry fish. Even though it looks thick, but when you dry it on this lava rocks it flattens out some and expanded some.

KM: Yes, yes. Was there *limu* that they gathered on Nihoa as well or anything like that?

KK: They didn't say anything about that. Just the crab and the fish...

KM: *Mahalo nui. Hoihoi loa kēia mo'olelo. So holo lākou i Nihoa?*

KK: Right.

KM: *Ho'okāhi pule wale nō?*

KK: *Ho'okāhi pule wale nō. No ka mea, inā a'ole lākou i ho'omākaukau e ho'i, hala ka makani.*

KM: *Ā, a'ole hiki iā lākou ke ho'i i Ni'ihau.*

KK: *A'ole hiki ke ho'i i Ni'ihau. No ka mea, ho'okāhi pule wale nō e huli 'ana kēlā makani.*

KM: *He inoa paha kēlā makani?*

KK: *Ka makani 'akau.*

KM: *Ka makani 'akau.*

KK: *'Oia ka'u mea i ho'ohālike me kēlā mo'olelo o ka lawai'a a me La'a-mai-Kahiki.*

KM: 'Ae.

KK: *Hana 'oia kēlā makani mai ka Hema a me ka 'Akau. Akā, nui nā mo'olelo au e no'ono'o nei, "He'aha la ka pili kēia mau mo'olelo?" No ka mea ho'okāhi mo'olelo o ko'u kupuna 'anakala. 'Oia no ke kupuna o Moke Keale. Kō māua kupuna kēlā. 'O Moses Kapahe'e Kāne Keale.*

KM: Hmm.

KK: *He mo'olelo e pili 'ana iāia, akamai 'oia i ke kilo hōkū a i ka wā 'ōpio, hele no 'oia i Kahiki.*

KM: *'Oia? Ua hele 'oia i Kahiki?*

KK: *Akā, a'ole i kākau 'ia ka mo'olelo.*

KM: Aloha. So *ua ma'a mau kēlā hana a nā Ni'ihau, holo i Kahiki?*

KK: *'Ae. A hele no i ka pule hope o ka mahina o Apelila. Hiki iāia ke holo mai Ni'ihau a i Kahiki. No ka mea 'oia ka makani ma ka 'akau. Hiki no nā po'e o Kaua'i a me nā po'e o O'ahu me kēlā makani.*

KM: *Mai Hawai'i?*

KK: *Mai Hawai'i.*

KM: *Ma Apelila?*

KK: *Apelila, ka pule hope. So 'oia ka mea waiwai loa o ka wā kahiko. Inā e maopopo, a'ole pōina.*

KM: *Inā maopopo lākou i nā makani, i ke au o ke kai, mea nui paha kēlā?*

KK: *'Ae, 'ae. Like no me ka mahina Māhealani. Ka lā 'umi kūmālima o ka mahina, nā mahina a pau. Ka lā 'umi kūmālima i ka hole 'ehā o ka 'auinalā, piha o Māhealani. Ka lā 'umi kūmā'ono, ke 'emi nei o Māhealani.*



KM: Hmm.

KK: So maopopo iā lākou, ka lā 'umi kūmāhiku, 'oia ka manawa o ka pule 'ekolu. Pā mai nei ka makani mai ka hema.

KM: A 'oia kō lākou holo 'ana?

KK: 'Ae.

KM: Holo lākou i Nihoa me ka makani mai hema mai?

KK: Holo i Nihoa.

KM: A ho'okāhi pule wale nō, o huli ka makani?

KK: Huli ka makani. E pono ka pa'akai i loko o ka 'umeke, e mākaukau. Ho'okau i luna o ka wa'a e hi'a ka pohu, pohu ka wai lā.

KM: Hmm. A no hea mai kō lākou wai e inu?

KK: Ka niu.

KM: 'Oia ke kumu e halihali lākou i ka niu me lākou?

KK: 'Ae. Ka niu, kō lākou wai; ka pulu, kō lākou wāhie, e kuke ai ke ahi, ka i'a.

KM: 'Ae.

KK: A e pūmehana lākou i ka pō 'anu.

KM: 'Ae. A ka 'i'o?

KK: 'Ai no lākou i ka 'i'o. Kēlā me ka i'a.

KM: Hmm. A ua lohe paha 'oe i kēlā mau lā, a'ohe mea ulu kō Nihoa?

KK: A'ohe mea ulu.

KM: A'ohe loulou?

KK: A'ohe mea kanu, a'ohe nahelehele. No ka mea nui ka 'a'ā.

KM: 'Ae. He manu paha kō kēlā moku?

KK: 'Ae.

KM: Ua 'ai paha kou po'e kūpuna i ka manu o kai?

KK: [thinking] A'ole lākou i 'ai ka manu, no ka mea me, he manu wīwī. Akā 'ono ka manu i ka pāpa'ī.

KM: 'Ae. Ua lohe wau kekāhi mo'olelo e pili 'ana ka manu 'ua'u, ai'ole ke kōlea...

KK: 'Ai no ke kōlea.

KM: 'Ai no kekāhi kūpuna i kēlā mau manu mamua.

KK: 'Ae, 'ae.

KM: A e kala mai ia'u, ua lohe wau he manō paha kō kēlā kai ē?

KK: 'Ae, nui ka manō ma laila.

KM: Ua lohe paha 'oe e pili 'ana Kuhaimoana?

KK: [thinking — shakes head, no]

Traditions of *manō*; and 'ōpihi fishing at Lehua and Ka'ula:

KM: Manō kanaka, manō 'ano kūpua paha?



KK: *A'ole. O Lehua wale nō... O Lehua a me Ka'ula, he mau manō hanohano ma laila.*

KM: *Ā!*

KK: *Pono 'oe e mālama ka lula o kēia mau 'āina. Inā e hoihoi 'oe e pi'i 'oe i luna o Ka'ula, e pono 'oe e mālama pono. Ki'i 'oe ka 'ōpihi, e pā mai 'oe hiki iā 'oe ke ho'opa'a, kau iluna. A pā 'oe, pehea, hiki iā 'oe ke pi'i ma luna, 'ohi ka hua o ka manu. Nui ka hua!*

KM: *'Oia! Hua ka manu 'ua'u paha, ka'upu paha?*

KK: *Nā manu a pau.*

KM: *'Oia ka hana i hele i Ka'ula?*

KK: *'Ae.*

KM: *A ua 'ōlelo 'oe, pono iā 'oe e mālama i nā kānāwai o kēia po'e manō?*

KK: *'Ae.*

KM: *He kia'i lākou?*

KK: *E kia'i 'ana lākou. Inā hewa 'oe, make 'oe.*

KM: *Hmm. He inoa paha kō kēlā manō?*

KK: *Poina wau.*

KM: *Hmm. He kia'i 'oia, a ua kama'āina nā Ni'ihau me kēia manō?*

KK: *'Ae, 'ae.*

KM: *O Lehua a me Ka'ula?*

KK: *'Ae. Akā o kēia 'ao'ao [pointing to the north shore of Ni'ihau], like pū no.*

KM: *O ka 'akau.*

KK: *Nā manō. 'Ike 'oe i ka manō e hō'ea mai nei, a'ole pilikia. Hele lākou he'e nalu.*

KM: *He'e nalu me nā manō?*

KK: *A'ole pilikia.*

KM: *Kupaianaha!*

KK: *Ko'u piha 'ana he 'eono, 'ehiku, 'ewalu makahiki, hele wau i ka lawai'a 'ō i'a.*

KM: *'Ae.*

KK: *Spear fishing, 'o wau wale nō.*

KM: *'Ae.*

KK: *A'ole maka'u i ka manō. Noho mai no 'elua nai'a [gestures their darting through the water], kokoke no. 'Ike 'oe iā lāua, he hōailona kēlā, nāna e mālama iā Ni'ihau.*

KM: *'Oia? So kēia [pointing to shore line on Ni'ihau] mamua o Pu'uwai?*

KK: *Mai Pu'uwai a hiki i Kaununui. A'ole pilikia.*

KM: *Ā, 'elua?*

KK: *'Elua nai'a, huli 'oe ho'i, huli nō lāua. Hāhai mai nei.*

KM: *Hmm. So nai'a, he dolphin, porpoise?*

KK: *'Ae.*

KM: *He kia'i lāua?*



KK: 'Ae [chuckles].

Honu were plentiful around Ni'ihau:

KM: Oh, wonderful. *Aloha! Kūkū, e kala mai, kēia Kāluahonu, mamua, he honu paha kō Ni'ihau?*

KK: *Nui ka honu. Nui!*

KM: *'Ai paha ka honu?*

KK: 'Ae.

KM: *He'aha kēia, lua-honu, ai'ole kālua-honu*

KK: *Kāluahonu.*

KM: *'Oia, kālua 'ana lākou i ka honu?*

KK: *Kālua i ka honu. Kēlā manawa o ka wā kahiko, mamua o Lopikana i pae ai iā Ni'ihau.*

KM: *Mamua loa.*

KK: *Pane lākou, "A'ole maika'i."*

KM: And *kūkū* you folks, you said you'd *'ohi pa'akai?*

KK: Uh-hmm.

Salt making at Halali'i:

KM: Was it just from here or were there salt pans in areas also? Halali'i and...?

KK: You get more abundance from here, along here.

KM: 'Ae, *kāheka?*

KK: Just a small...

KM: Little *kāheka?*

KK: *Kāheka kai wale no.*

KM: 'Ae.

KK: *Pa'akai no ka pākaukau. Akā kēlā pa'akai no ke kāpī 'ana o ka pu'a, 'i'o pu'a, 'i'o pipi, a me ka moa.*

KM: *He hipa paha?*

KK: 'Ae. *O Halali'i ke kaha pa'akai?*

KK: 'Ae.

KM: You know there's a *mele* too I'm just thinking about Halali'i it says, "*Kō 'eli lima a o Halali'i.*"

KK: Uh-hmm.

KM: *Mamua, he kō paha 'oukou, he kō, sugar cane no i Halali'i?*

KK: *Nui ke kō.*

KM: 'Oia?

KK: *Akā ua ulu ke kō ma laila, ma lalo o ke one.*

KM: 'Ae, *moe ke kō.*

KK: 'Ae.



KM: *Ua 'eli lākou i ke kō?*

KK: 'Ae...

Names types of *limu* gathered around Ni'ihau:

KM: ...Were there also *limu* spots that you folks gathered on?

KK: Oh yes.

KM: Good *limu*, what kinds of *limu* you gathered?

KK: Any kind.

KM: Any kind on Ni'ihau.

KK: Yes. *Limu kohu*, plenty.

KM: Oh yeah, on this north facing or all around?

KK: All around.

KM: All around.

KK: *Ka lipoa*.

KM: 'Ae.

KK: *Wāwae'iole, manaua, nui*.

KM: You know one of the things today, and you shared earlier this idea about, "you take care, you take what you need."

KK: Uh-hmm.

KM: Today people come from all over and just wipe out everything.

KK: Yes, yes.

KM: And then they go somewhere else.

KK: And do the same thing.

KM: Was it like that when you were young?

KK: No.

KM: No.

KK: They go over there tediously, clip, nip with your fingers.

KM: Yes.

You care for the land and ocean; gather what you need today, leave the rest for later:

KK: And leave the rest. And mama always say, "*Lawe ka mea au e makemake ai i kēia manawa. Waiho ka lehulehu no ka lā mahope.*"

KM: *Aloha, na'auao kēlā 'ike.*

KK: 'Ae, 'ae.

KM: *I kēia mau lā nā keiki, ua poina lākou i kēia.*

KK: *Poina!*

KM: *Puni kalā wale nō.*

KK: *Kēlā manawa au e ulu nei ma Ni'ihau, a'ohe lo'a ka pahu hau*, we have no refrigerator. So everything is salted, preserved as long as you want. Even the banana.

KM: 'Oia?



KK: Yes. The green banana.

KM: *Kāpī?*

KK: Yes.

KM: *And pehea 'ono?*

KK: 'Ono!

KM: *And pehea, kāpī 'oe i ka mai'a, a makemake e 'ai, pehea, kaka paha, kuke wale?*

KK: *A'ole. 'Eli 'oe i ka lua, hemo ka lepo, ho'okomo 'oe ka mai'a ma laila, a pīpī 'oe ka wai iluna. Ho'okomo lau laī ma lalo, ka lau laī ma luna.*

KM: *He imu mai'a?*

KK: *He imu mai'a, 'ae.*

KM: *'Oia ke kumu e 'o'o mai ka mai'a?*

KK: 'Ae.

KM: I see, interesting...

KK: ...When you prepare *loko*, they have a pig, they cut all the innards. They take it down to the beach, the *pāpapa*, on the reef, clean it. Take a long stick and stick it inside.

KM: 'Ae. And clean all the *na'au*.

KK: Clean all the *na'au*. While you're cleaning you have all the *pūhi* coming up and all the other fish coming up.

KM: That's right there's a place on Ni'ihau called Puhī'ula, right?

KK: Right.

KM: Or something over here, is it on? [looking at the map]

KK: Kamalino side.

KM: Kamalino side, Puhī'ula, yeah?

KK: Yes.

KM: Is there a story about the *puhi* out there?

KK: There is some story, but I didn't get to learn.

KM: Did *kanaka* eat *puhi*?

KK: Oh yes.

KM: You folks ate the *puhi* too?

KK: Yes.

KM: Interesting.

KK: We fried them.

KM: Yes.

KK: Good. Make it crisp.

KM: It's so interesting. And your water was all wai kai?

KK: No. Drinking water we all have about 1,500 gallon drum alongside of the house. When it rains it goes in the trough and goes in this big tank.

KM: So when does it rain on Ni'ihau?



KM: Big *'ulua*.

KK: Like in February. January, February, March sometimes. After that, lucky if they get one day rain in each month.

KM: So generally there's three months where you could count on rain?

KK: Yes. To fill up the tank and that's only for that purpose, drinking.

KM: 'Ae. Was the main rain *nāulu*?

KK: *Nāulu*.

KM: *Nāulu*, yes. When you didn't have water, *wā malo'o, he'aha kō 'oukou wai*?

KK: *Niu*.

KM: *Niu. A'ohē pūnāwai wai kai*?

KK: *Lo'a. Akā, a'ole ma'a ka pu'u. So pono 'oe e inu ka niu. No ka mea, nui ka niu!*

KM: *'Oia! A i kēia mau lā?*

KK: 'Ae, big coconut groves...

KM: *...Kupuna, mahalo nui!*

KK: No problem.

KM: Uncle like I said all of this we're going to transcribe it, it's going to come home to you. And *e kala mai*, what we're hoping is we wanted to talk with *kama'āina*, *kupuna* like you...

KK: Uh-hmm.

KM: ...that can help share with us stories of the land so that we can bring it together in a study like we're working with UH, Nature Conservancy, Aquatics.

KK: Uh-hmm.

KM: To bring together stories so that our youth, and people can learn.

KK: Right.

Describes fishing techniques practiced on Ni'ihau; and the types of *ko'a* known:

KM: About how you fish, about how you practice and care for the land.

KK: Right, uh-hmm.

KM: And you said for you folks and I'm sorry this is just thinking of this real quickly. For you folks mostly you *ho'olei 'upena*?

KK: Uh-hmm, *ho'olei 'upena*.

KM: But some they *kā mākoi*, were there places where you lay net on Ni'ihau too, or not much?

KK: They have but nobody knew how to lay net at that time.

KM: Oh.

KK: For lay net, mostly was rough, the water is rough.

KM: Yes.

KK: But the *mōkoi* is always even though some of the uncles, *hele lākou lawai'a no ka 'ulua. Nui ka 'ulua*, great big *'ulua*. When you hang the head, the two heads like this the tail was dragging on the back of the donkey.

KM: Amazing! Wow!



KK: Big ones.

KK: What they do is they catch a couple of eel's, long ones.

KM: *Puhi uhā, puhi wela?*

KK: *Puhi uhā, puhi paka. Kaula'i no 'elua lā, 'ano maemae. Ho'okau iluna o ka nanahu, roast it. Kēlā 'ano pilau, ho'okomo i loko o ke 'eke huluhulu me ke one a ho'ohauna kēlā. Waiho ma ka 'ili kai, e pā mai nei ke kai, e hiki ke lawe ka hauna i waho. Hele lāua e ki'i ho'okāhi lā'au kō me ka wire ma luna. Ho'okau ke kaula ma luna me ka moi paha, ai'ole 'ōpelu paha, me ka makau nui. E hiki ka i'a ke kau ma luna o ka 'ili kai, e hele mai nei ka manō, hele mai nei no ka 'ulua. Akamai ka 'ulua, hiki ka 'ulua ke 'ike. A kau 'ana ka i'a ma ke kai, pā no ka 'ulua, hele mai nei ki'i ka makau. Lohe 'oe i ke kinikini piha me ka 'ili'ili pōhaku, clang, clang, clang.*

KM: *Kani 'ana.*

KK: *E kani kani 'ana. Pono 'oe hele a ki'i ka hoki. Lawe mai ka hoki, ho'opa'a ke kaula ma laila, huki.*

KM: *So i Ni'ihau, ua lawai'a 'ulua lākou?*

KK: *'Ae. Akā hapa nui o ka manawa, pae aku i ka manō [chuckles].*

KM: *Ō, aloha nō!*

KK: *Ē! No laila kekāhi manawa maika'i, kekāhi manawa a'ole maika'i. A'ole lākou 'ai ka manō. Ho'omaka 'ai ka manō, akā, a'ole maika'i.*

KM: *'Ae. Well, I guess some of those manō some they thought were guardians or protectors, yeah?*

KK: Yes.

KM: No good to eat them.

KK: No.

KM: Interesting. So you folks fished like that. Did you folks go out, did they go out and fish for 'ahi or other fish like that?

KK: Yes, at night. This family that has a canoe, they go out and go fishing for 'ahi, aku.

KM: Amazing! I guess they knew all of these different places for ko'a.

KK: They all knew.

KM: Around where the 'ahi go in fact I hear that like off of 'Awini, Kaua'i has a big ko'a out there for aku and 'ahi like that.

KK: Some stories are told, where they know there's ko'a of 'ahi or akule, but when they go over there you got to know how to bring the fish up.

KM: That's right.

KK: It's a lot of work. *Nui ka hana.*

KM: It is. If it was a ko'a they visited all the time I guess they took care of that, *hānai?*

KK: Yes.

KM: They feed sometimes and don't take fish.

KK: Yes. They cut up so many things and mix it all up, even the leaves of any plants.

KM: 'Ae, yes.



KK: Mix it all up, and then they mix in a big bowl, tie it up with twines. Then they lower it slowly down until it gets to a certain level then they jerk it.

KM: 'Ae.

KK: And it is scattered. Then all the fish come up and eat.

KM: What was their *palu* then that they used? Did they use *'i'o* or did they use the natural vegetable things, *pala'ai*, *'uala*?

KK: Natural.

KM: *Pala'ai* or *'uala* like that?

KK: All of that.

KM: That's a big problem.

KK: They don't take any animal carcass.

KM: Yes, how come they don't? Why don't they do that?

KK: They said you're feeding them, so they have the taste to acquire.

KM: That's right, yes.

KK: And they're going to look for that.

KM: Yes.

KK: Like birds, they're going to look for birds.

KM: Yes. I would imagine...you know it's like today they use things they call "make dog" or "*pilau*" bait you know.

KK: Yes.

KM: And if you feeding *hauna* to your fish and you're eating the fish, what you going eat *hauna* right?

KK: Going to eat *hauna*, true.

KM: Yes. But your mama was smart, you think about how she *ho'oma'ema'e ka 'ama'ama*.

KK: Right.

KM: Breath the clean water. Wonderful!

KK: Yes. After we cleaned all the fish and then cut it up, fry it. Then invite the family, "Come over for lunch." They look at that, "*Ai kēlā i'a?*" "*Ae maika'i kēlā i'a.*" "*Ai 'oe.*" So they all kind of *hemahema* so I turn around [gestures eating a piece of the fish]. "Oh, *'ono?*" "*A'ole*" [laughing – gestures reaching for another piece].

KM: Take another one *nō ho'i*.

KK: Take another one.

KM: It's wonderful.

KK: Finally they say, "If you going to eat that, I might as well eat it too." So when they come and eat, they say, "Oh, no more *lepo*." "What you think of when you see me over here stirring, stirring, stirring aerate the water?"

KM: Smart.

KK: "Oh, *akamai*."



Pūpū abundant on Ni‘ihau, and important to the livelihood of the Ni‘ihau natives:

- KM: Smart. I guess for you folks, fish, the things you grew on the land... And even the *pūpū Ni‘ihau*. For some reason these *pūpū* are here and mostly I guess on the Pu‘uwai side?
- KK: Yes, close to Pukaiki.
- KM: ‘Ae. These *pūpū* are so beautiful, and these are a livelihood for your people, yes?
- KK: Yes. Now the families have changed, so much more, they’re bringing out more different colors.
- KM: Different styles? Yes, yes.
- KK: Different styles. Because at the beginning I used to follow my mom go down to the beach while she collected the shells. And of course she always grumbling ‘cause the needles are to small, no leverage to pick the sand out.
- KM: Yes. One grain of sand like in the *waha* like that, yeah?
- KK: Yes, right. So one day we were walking down the beach and I had chopped a couple of branches of coconut leaves, kind of dry, to make a shade for me.
- KM: Right.
- KK: And mama was carrying an umbrella and the wind shifted and [gestures with hands] it all broke. She said, “*Ā kiloi kēia.*” “*Mama, mālama ‘oe i kēlā māmalu.*” “*No ke‘aha, ua poloke?*” “*Mama, nānā ‘oe i ka uwea, hiki iā ‘oe ke ‘oki ka uwea me kēia, holo ihi. Ho‘ohinuhinu ‘oe ka uwea li‘ili‘i ma laila, hiki iā ‘oe ke hana me ka pūpū.*” “*Ō!*” So *ho‘iho‘i ka māmalu i ka hale, lo‘a ka file, ‘oki, ‘oki, ‘oki, kū‘ai ‘oia i ka stone to sharpen it. So after she sharpened it, she tried, and “Oh, this is better, more leverage.”*
- KM: That’s right. She had it thicker where her fingers hold but still fine point, the *kui*?
- KK: Yes. So for one month she was doing that with the Ni‘ihau shells and she string up six strands, all white, then the *kahelelani* the colorful red.
- KM: Beautiful.
- KK: And then all white and then *kahelelani*. So she had six strands and going church one morning, and people in church [mimics the sound of people whispering to one another, and looking]... They’re all talking, and they’re all looking at her. So when the last prayer came before amen, they all go around her, “*Anate, pehea oe i hana tēlā lei? Nawai hana tēlā lei?*” “*Ō, na‘u no i hana ta lei.*” “*Ā, pehea, a‘ale hiti tou lima te pohu te one a iwaho?*” “*A‘oe, ta‘u pēpē, ha‘i mai ia‘u e ho‘ololi te tui. No ka mea, li‘ili‘i loa te tui, tēia manawa, maīta‘i te tui.*” “*Aihea te tui?*” [chuckles] She opened her purse and shows ‘em. “*Ā, no hea mai tēia tui?*” “*Tui tēia no ta māmalu.*” [laughing] “*Māmalu?*” *Ō, a‘ohe po‘e o Ni‘ihau lawe i ta māmalu.*”
- KM: *Ā, no Hilo ‘oia, a kama‘āina ‘oia i ka ua, a lo‘a ‘oia ka māmalu...*
- KK: *No laila, hele mākou e noho me kēia ‘ohana ho‘okāhi pule, kēlā ‘ohana ho‘okāhi pule, kēia ‘ohana, ho‘okāhi pule. Nāna e a‘o i nā makuahine a pau i ke ‘ano o ka hana no ka lei. Kēia manawa, nā kamali‘i a pau, ‘ō‘ō lākou, nā makuahine, nā keiti. Akā, a‘ole maopopo iā lākou, ‘o wai lā ke kumu i ha‘i mai, hā‘awi mai i ke tui.*
- KM: *Mahalo nui! He mea nui kēlā.*
- KK: ‘Ae.
- KM: *Kēia po‘e pūpū, ola ‘ana lākou i ke one, ai‘ole pau, ua hala, a pūpū wale nō?*
- KK: *Ke ola nei.*
- KM: *Ke ola nei?*



KK: *Mau ke ola. Mau ke ola iloko o ke one, iloko o ke kai.*

KM: *'Ae. Nani kēlā mau 'ano pūpū, ka momi 'ōnikiniki, lenalena, kēlā mau 'ano.*

KK: *'Ae.*

KM: *Kahelelani, kāmoa, ka alilea, ka pōlehu. Nani kēlā mau 'ano pūpū. ʻē?*

KK: *'Ae. Kēia manawa, nānā 'oe, nui ke kalā.*

KM: *'Ae. Ka waiwai o Ni'ihau kēlā.*

KK: *'Ae.*

KM: So all of these things of the land and ocean are the livelihood of your people on Ni'ihau?

KK: *Yes, yes. 'Oia ka'u kumu i hele 'ekolu pule aku nei, hele wau i Kaua'i, ho'olaha i ko'u 'i'ini, ko'u mana'o, ko'u hoihoi i ka 'ohana o Ni'ihau. No kō lākou ho'opa'apa'a iā lākou iho. A ha'i au, "No ke'aha, he 'ohana tātou a pau..."*

Fisheries have declined from past quality and quantities; the old system and manner of fishing was sustainable, needs to be revived:

KM: *...Maka'i nō! Kupuna, we see today that our fisheries have 'emi, diminished the resources changed.*

KK: *Yes.*

KM: *I imagine even to some extent, Ni'ihau has changed.*

KK: *Oh yes.*

KM: *In the amount of fish and the abundance like this.*

KK: *We have people coming to Ni'ihau to fish and they use the chemical in the water.*

KM: *That's right.*

KK: *They don't think that chemical will stun all the fish, but the chemical is ruining, the bottom of the ocean.*

KM: *Everything, the papa, everything.*

KK: *Yes.*

KM: *The coral, the limu all the 'ai i'a.*

KK: *They don't care, they don't care.*

KM: *Puni talā wale nō, ʻē?*

KK: *'Ae.*

KM: *Do you have thoughts about... You know in the old days the kūpuna talk about, and maybe; I don't know maybe not quite so much on Ni'ihau because the island was smaller.*

KK: *Uh-hmm.*

KM: *You know ahupua'a, and before they had certain kapu, even you couldn't go fish certain times like this.*

KK: *Uh-hmm.*

KM: *How do we fix it so that we don't lose all of the fisheries all the things?*

KK: *That's why they have the makahiki.*

KM: *'Ae.*

KK: *See, the makahiki tells you when to fish for certain fish, not all of them.*



KM: Yes, that's right.

KK: You only can catch so much. And you only can catch certain ones.

KM: Yes.

KK: The other way they put it is, "*Mai 'uha'uha, waiho kekāhi no kekāhi manawa a'e.*" "Don't waste, leave some for next time."

KM: '*Ae, pololoi. Na'auao nā kūpuna.*

KK: '*Ae.*

KM: *Nināu ka'u iā 'oe, ua wehe mai oe kekāhi mo'olelo e pili 'ana ka mahina, māhealani, hōkū paha.*

KK: '*Ae.*

KM: I guess, did you folks...there were things about the seasons, the nights of the moon even. Certain times when you fish or when you plant like that?

KK: Yes.

KM: You folks still have that?

KK: They still have that on Ni'ihau. I'm not too sure with the new generation whether their still keeping it. But when I was growing up three, four, five, my parents keep those.

KM: Yes. So from the first night...?

KK: They tell you "Certain months we plant this. Certain months you don't touch that." So I say, "Oh, *no ke'aha?*" They say, "*No ka mea, inā 'oe kanu ka mea kanu i kēlā manawa, a'ohe hoihoi ka lepo. A'ole hā'awi 'ana iā 'oe i ka 'i'o maika'i.*" So it's not going to prosper.

KM: Yes. And same with the fish I imagine sometimes when you.

KK: Yes, same thing.

KM: And it's good you know, you mentioned the *makahiki* time. I hear that there were certain times when you could take *aku* but you couldn't take *ōpelu*.

KK: Right.

KM: And then when you could take *ōpelu*, the *aku* leave for *ho'omaha*, you know.

KK: Yes. So that's why the Indian Nation, they all look for the same calendar.

KM: Yes, that's what you said last night, so interesting.

KK: That was so interesting. So that's why I brought it up last night.

KM: '*Ae.*

KK: And like Kalehua said, he wanted me to explain the clouds. "How could you see an island?" And he said to me, "I wanted people to hear it came from you not from somewhere else." I said, "Yes, thank you so much."

KM: Yes, wonderful. When we're in the sometime maybe by April of this next year, this coming year. We're going to try and host some meetings with *kūpuna*, and I would like to, we're going to stay in touch with you. Like I said I'm going to get this transcribed for you send home the tapes with you and the transcripts so that we can make sure, correct anything you know or fix things up a bit you know. But we will try and gather some *kūpuna* together to talk about this...

KK: Yes.

KM: How do you, this big thing you know, our fisheries are diminishing because our people...



KK: Like *kūpuna* last night was talking.

KM: Yes.

KK: Eddie Ka'anā'anā. He comes from Miloli'i.

KM: 'Ae.

KK: He's a fisherman. Now he lives here and he also goes fishing down Nānākuli, 'ōpelu fisherman.

KM: Yes, 'ae. We talking with all of, uncle Eddie, Walter Paulo you know all kinds of people you know, and *kupunahine mā*. It's so important.

KK: That's why I wanted him to talk last night.

KM: 'Ae. It was wonderful though. You know your story about this *mo'olelo* this practice that your *kūpuna* did. What were your two uncles names?

KK: The first one is uncle Abraham Kewau Alaka'i Nī'au. I call him uncle because his wife's father is my great grand-uncle, that's my grandfather's older brother. And then the second man was his own half-brother-in-law, Moses Nakiueiwalehua Kanahele.

KM: Ohh. And you know even that, thinking about you listening to your *kūpuna*, these *kūpuna makuakāne*, talking and these *mo'olelo, ua 'a'apo kou pepeiao*.

KK: Right...



**Louis “Buzzy” Agard, Jr.
Stream Fisheries of Keālia, Kaua’i;
Recollections and Thoughts on Hawaiian Fisheries of the
Northwestern- and Main- Hawaiian Islands
February 27, 2003 – with Kepā Maly**

Louis “Buzzy” Agard was born in 1924, and raised at Keālia, Kaua’i. As a youth, Uncle Buzzy began fishing the Keālia stream for mullet, *āholehole* and *‘o‘opu*, and found that he could earn a little money by selling the *‘o‘opu* to plantation residents. Uncle later moved to Honolulu with his mother, and he began to hang out around Kewalo Basin, where he took up an interest in commercial fishing. He earned a reputation as a fisherman, and by the close of World War II, uncle purchased boats and equipment, and began traveling to the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands (NWHI), to fish there and supply the local markets.



**Kupuna Agard (in foreground), Kupuna Paulo (in background);
discussing fisheries of the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands (KPA
Photo S1467).**

Uncle Buzzy’s experience was that while the NWHI were a rich fishing grounds, they could not sustain commercial fishing. Unlike the Main Hawaiian Islands, where harvested stock would replenish themselves, the fish stock of the NWHI, never returned. Uncle and his crews found that one take from a given area, depleted the population, and you needed to move on to another location. Within ten years, the fisheries of the NWHI were depleted, and Uncle Buzzy left, realizing that a great mistake had been made.

In recent years, Uncle Buzzy has become an advocate for protection of the NWHI—he and others believe that with the decline of the Main Hawaiian Islands fisheries, the fisheries of the NWHI are critical as breeding grounds for various species. It is uncle’s belief that scientific evidence, and *kama’āina* knowledge tell us that the large, mature breeding stock of the NWHI, put larva into the current stream and that they in turn supply the Main Hawaiian Islands with new stock.

On July 3, 2003, Uncle “Buzzy” granted his personal release of the interview records. While reviewing the transcript, Maly discussed *Kupuna* Kapahulehua’s recollections of *‘ulua* fishing at Nihoa. Uncle Buzzy, noted that he too had seen the large *‘ulua* at Nihoa. He recalled:

Fifty years ago when fishing the Leeward Islands, uncle visited Nihoa. There were still a couple of *loulou* growing, and he also noticed the dike formations—rock looking almost as if it had been cut and shaped—where platforms had been made, and natural crevices filled. There was evidence of generations of visitation, as coral heads on the platforms were in various stages of decomposition—some looking fairly fresh, others breaking down and powdery to the touch, and still others, where the coral had disappeared, leaving only the white residue markings behind.



While in Adam's Bay, uncle observed a large school of *akule* spawning, and saw the school moving in various formations—sometimes a large round ball; other times, almost an upside down pyramid; and then separating into different clusters and rejoining. Uncle and his crew surrounded the school, and when the net was set, he dove into the area surrounded by the net. One of the first things he recalled hearing was the sounds of the *akule* (makes a sound like brrrrrr), as the *akule* panicked. Then he noticed that large *'ulua* (hundreds of pounds each) and large *kāhala* had been surrounded as well, and that they were attacking the school. Another sound, could be heard from further out around the net, and he then noticed that sharks and large *'ulua* were actually snapping at the net and fish—tearing the net along with the fish. The sight and sound was a hair raising experience, and uncle quickly re-entered the boat.

While at the time, uncle surrounded the *akule*, and took the stock, he now realizes that that stock was important to the island-wide system and replenishment of the fisheries. Also, the *'ulua*, were big and old, and not good for commercial interests. But instead, these fish which had high reproduction capabilities, were important to the restocking of the species.

Uncle believes strongly that the *'ulua*, *kāhala* and all the other fish, lobsters and such in the Northwestern Islands must be left alone. Their reproductive capabilities are integral to the replenishment of the stock in the main Hawaiian Islands. He has strong misgivings about the “economic” driven management of fisheries practiced since 1900 throughout the Hawaiian Islands, observing that in the time of the *kūpuna*, there were many more people fishing than there are today. But the resources was never depleted, it could carry the population. He feels “maximum sustainable yield” is not a sound key for management—in the old system “The ocean is our natural ice box, our *kūpuna* used what they needed. Today they take more than they need or can use, and put the rest away in the freezer. Fishing like that means that you are also taking breeding stock out of circulation, and cutting off that resource. We need to return to a system where fishermen are taking only what is needed, and rely on some of the *kapu* of old.”

Uncle also observed that in his opinion “technology” is destroying the fisheries. Use of technology permits large catches, and identification of new and deep resources, which further diminishes the opportunity of reproduction.”

Regarding the study of Hawaiian ocean currents, and the Northwestern Islands of the chain as the nursery for the main islands, uncle recalled reading a 1978-79 study about Atlantic lobster larva being carried from a nursery some 1,500 miles by one current, then returning on another current, and dropping out of the stream to mature. He believes that there is strong evidence supporting protection of the Northwestern Islands as the nursery for all of Hawai'i. Again, the economic approach of maximum sustainable yield harvesting has no place in the long-term protection management of the Hawaiian fisheries.

KM: *Kupuna, aloha.*

LA: *Aloha.*

KM: It's so nice to see you again.

LA: Good to see you too.

KM: Thank you for all of your work and continued patience. I know you just celebrated a birthday, right?

LA: Yes.

KM: Wonderful! *Kupuna*, what's your full name please?



LA: Louis Agard, Jr., I was named after my father.

KM: 'Ae. And you *hānau* what year?

LA: In February, 1924.

KM: In 1924. What a blessing!

LA: I'm glad to be here.

KM: 'Ae. Me too, I'm glad you're here. Where were you *hānau*?

LA: My parents were living on Kaua'i and my mother conceived and since there were only plantation hospitals there, at least my mother felt it would be better to come to Honolulu where they had better obstetricians I guess. I was born at Kapi'olani Hospital and taken back and raised on Kaua'i.

KM: Raised at?

LA: Raised at Keālia.

KM: Keālia, 'ae and you had shared in that interview with William Aila several months ago, Wonderful recollections of the fishery there, just as a child.

LA: Yes, as a child.

KM: Already you had this *puni* I think for fishing.

LA: Yes, I did.

Began fishing as a youth, for *āholehole*, 'o'opu and mullet in the Keālia Stream:

KM: What was your first fishing when you were growing up?

LA: First fishing was catching 'o'opu.

KM: 'O'opu, at Keālia?

LA: At Keālia, the Keālia river which is a fairly good sized river.

KM: Yes.

LA: Of course there was other fish that we would catch it would be *āholehole*, cat fish both the Chinese variety what they would call *Pākē* 'o'opu. And there was mullet too. Those were the varieties that you would find.

KM: Sure. And these would come in the stream at Keālia and...?

LA: Especially mullet and *āholehole*. They were mostly sea fish, but the stream was enough brackish water so they could survive the wash out from the mountains, Wai'ale'ale. And it rains, Mount Wai'ale'ale is supposed to be the rainiest spot on earth, or one of the rainiest. There's some in India too. About four hundred inches of rain a year, which is a lot. We always had that freshet washing down.

KM: Yes. It was always flowing?

LA: Always flowing. Up *mauka*, what I called in those days as a youngster the, mountain 'o'opu, would wash down with the freshet. You didn't see that fish until the heavy rains.

KM: A heavy rain brought them?

LA: Brought the fish down.

KM: Down with the water?

LA: So they were accessible. They were right close to the ocean.

KM: Yes.



LA: They would not be a salt water fish, but they would tolerate brackish water.

KM: Right.

LA: You would find them in abundance washed down, and that's the time we could get. I noticed that they only came when the heavy rains came. And then they disappeared. I guess they worked their way back up. There was always an 'o'opu there which was a different color and big broad jaws.

KM: Oh yes. Do you know sometimes in *ko'a kai* they talk about an 'au'a, or a main fish that's the leader.

LA: Yes.

KM: Do you think that there was an 'o'opu kind of leader also?

LA: Well, now I really don't know. I should have observed more. I was only interested in catching it. So I didn't watch carefully. Although, I noticed the difference between when the freshets came and the mountain 'o'opu was there with a smaller head, but the resident 'o'opu had a large head.

KM: The more *kama'aina* 'o'opu down in the lower areas?

LA: Yes. he was always there.

KM: How big would you say the mountain 'o'opu were? How long were they when they washed down?

LA: A good sized one for us would be about eight inches, [gestures] a good sized fish.

KM: Yes. And the *kama'aina*, the one's that were more often down *makai*?

LA: They were little bit bigger, the mature ones.

KM: Right.

LA: There was a lot of small keikis, they would always take the hooks so you got a lot of little one's maybe about [gestures]...

KM: Seven?

LA: Six, seven inches, smaller.

KM: You would go *kā mākoī*, hook?

LA: Hook out of a straight, I guess you would call it a bobby pin, with a little head.

KM: Right.

LA: Tie a string on that and bend it into a part of a U, take an earth worm, put the earth worm over the hook, drop it in the water and when it hit, when you got the tug you just pull and it'll flip off...

KM: On to the bank of the river or something?

LA: On the bank yes, because there was no barb. We couldn't afford to buy hooks, so we made it out of that straight pins.

KM: Yes.

LA: You'd have to wait a while till you get a bite. It was largely 'o'opu, because the other fish, the mullet wouldn't bite. *Āholehole* was too selective, I think. They were more of the ocean type it wasn't looking at the worm. But the 'o'opu, yes he looked at the earth worm. We could dig that up, so everything was made by ourselves, the fishing pole. We had no money, because there was no money in the 1930s.



KM: 'Ae. But you had shared [smiling], you used to maybe do a little something with those 'o'opu when you were young. Didn't you go out in the camp?

LA: [smiling] Yes, I went to the camp because the men, on Saturdays and Sundays particularly, from the plantation, the river ran down to the ocean. The plantation camp was on this bank across the river and the camp and we were directly across on the other side. We learned how to take sheet metal, the corrugated...

KM: Yes.

LA: Bended it up, we took a piece of 2 x 4 nailed it together on both ends so it was pointed, put a little outrigger on it, two *ama*, put that out and we would paddle that. How we would make it water tight was there was roofing tar, we would heat it up and just pour it where we nailed it together.

KM: Yes, where you put it together.

LA: Even where the corrugation was, we pounded it flat and drove a nail into it. You can pound it flat. So we made our own boats, paddled it across to the plantation, pulled it up on the shore, walked into the camp holding the string of fish around and they would call you. "Boy, tss, come here. You like sell that fish?" "Yes."

You don't have to be shy, I just said, "Yes." You don't know what to expect. That was the first, after that you would go there and say, "We got fish, you like buy?" They would come out, they would try to get you down, they would pool their money, and each person would take about three or four 'o'opu. Because they all lived in a little room, they had a common kitchen and a common bathroom, and they just had these little rooms. It was kind of like a hotel or something. All men.

KM: For the old plantation workers?

LA: Yes, all the workers.

KM: Amazing!

LA: They would buy the 'o'opu. So I would have pocket money. You know, my folks didn't have.

KM: Yes. So you would go 'o'opu fishing. Did anyone set net at all?

LA: I made net. I learned from Filipino men how to make the bamboo stick.

KM: Yes.

LA: You learn how to sew it, you wrap it over, you tie the knot, and then you get the next eye and tie the knot. And then if you wanted to make like a throw net, then you would gather two or three knots so that you would make a pyramid.

KM: Yes, yes.

LA: More eyes into less eyes. And if you made a straight net you just sewed the eyes straight, right across from that end and then sewed back on this end of it. I made nets, and then I caught mullet. That was a little harder because fishing with a pole was just stand on the bank and hook.

KM: Easy.

LA: Easy.

KM: All you needed was the straight pin and the string.

LA: The straight pin, string, and worm [chuckles]. The string, right from the store, wrapping twine. The 'o'opu didn't apparently recognize the string I guess, because they would bite.

KM: They would take it?



LA: They would take it. I think if we had what we had today, with the advancement and technology, the invisible line would be a little more effective. It wouldn't be so strange.

Began working in the *aku* fishing industry when he was fifteen years old; worked with Japanese fishermen. Describes commercial *aku* fishing practices:

KM: But it worked for you and this was your introduction to fishing and fisheries.

LA: When I got here I was interested in fishing. Walked around, hanged around the waterfront, watched, and realized what they were doing, I think I'll try doing that. So I must have been about 15 or so when I started hanging around the waterfront at the cannery, watching them bringing in fish. I was excited. I got to jump on one of the boats and I went out fishing and I learned the technique of to hook *aku*.

KM: 'Ae. So your first ocean experience was going out on an *aku* boat?

LA: *Aku* boat.

KM: Was it a Japanese owned or was it?

LA: It was owned by the cannery, it was formerly Japanese owned, and I think they didn't make money, so the cannery captured it and took it back. Then other people began getting in the industry. Originally, it was all Japanese.

KM: 'Ae. For the big *aku* boats like that?

LA: Yes. Because they brought the technique with them from Japan, and their building techniques, they built their sampans. It was all basically Japanese. Although I understand that the Hawaiian people knew... [thinking] Till today I still can't find out who was first. They talk about the technique coming from Okinawa, where they throw live bait out and then attract the fish and then when you start feeding, and they start developing this frenzy. Then you drop a bare hook in the water and they will take it with a little feather on it. So it resembles something like a fish.

KM: 'Ae.

LA: And they take that and you just hook it up right on the deck. I understand that the early Hawaiians knew about bait and they would get bait and put it in the bottom of the canoe in salt water and then he would troll with his shell lure?

KM: 'Ae, the *pā*.

LA: And chum a little bit and load up his canoe and before it sank, he would come home.

KM: Right. Using *nehu*, *'iao* like that?

LA: *Nehu*, *'iao*, *pīhā*.

KM: *Pīhā*, yes.

LA: All that.

KM: And they would go, what is your understanding about traditional times. They went far out, or did they stay close to shore? Particularly for big fish like *aku* or...?

LA: I think they went off shore. I don't know how far, but I think the limit of the operation was human power, strength. They didn't have a motor. I imagine they of course they used the same techniques, see the birds eating, you know. You paddle out there and get your share. They caught the fish, the *aku*. And in some accounts, they caught a lot of fish, enough to sink the canoe [chuckling].

KM: That's right, in native traditions, there are wonderful old accounts about the *aku* and the *'ahi* fishermen.



LA: Yes.

KM: And like you said you could catch so much that literally if you didn't stop the canoe would sink.

LA: It would sink.

KM: Even double canoes.

LA: Even double, because the water would be lapping over the sides all the time, and it doesn't take much to sink you, when you're like that.

KM: Yes. Interesting though, yeah.

LA: They developed this thing, they knew how. They are out there catching 'ahi too. I think what was his name the guy that paints?

KM: Kane?

LA: Kane, Herbert he's got a nice painting up on the Big Island, it's the fish at the foot of the chief.

KM: Yes.

LA: It was prized. That was a little bit of history that Herb Kane followed, I guess.

KM: I think you'll enjoy all of this historical material that we're gathering, because we've included a wide range of native traditions, many of them that haven't been translated before. And there are detailed accounts of the fisheries and of the *kūpuna* and how they...

LA: How they managed.

KM: Yes, and the values they applied and practiced.

Discusses traditional values and practices observed as a youth, while *hukilau* fishing:

LA: As I grew up I was exposed to some of that. Like for instance, with the netting, they would have a fish spotter up on a high location looking down, and see the discoloration.

KM: Yes.

LA: A practiced eye would know what that was, and he was the fish chief. He would get his canoe out have the net put around and then the *hukilau* operation with the people on shore.

KM: Yes.

LA: As children, myself, my brother and my sister, we were down there pulling, even as children, pulling that net to get our share of the catch.

KM: Yes. Even at Keālia the *akule* would *kū* or something like that?

LA: All along there, Kapa'a. Keālia not so much it's too rough but in Kapa'a it's nice and smooth. Hanalei is smooth. When we went to visit family over there, "Oh, *hukilau, hukilau. Mai, mai*, come, help pull." [chuckling]

We would pull the rope and we would bring it up on the beach, the net and the fish we would bring their... In those days when I was a child, it was bamboo baskets, hand woven.

KM: 'Ae, yes.

LA: They would make their scoop net, they would scoop it and throw it in the basket all alive and run it up the beach. They would divide it by throwing it in piles, and then the head fisherman would hand out to everybody. Children, you got about four or five pieces. Older people maybe about ten or twelve pieces, adults. We always watched for that. Not only for the excitement of catching the fish and seeing it, but it meant food.



KM: 'Ae, *māhele*, they divide up and share the fish.

LA: Yes, they divided it up. We learned that as children. Whenever we saw the people on the beach, we would get over there and get on the rope and *huki*, pull.

KM: *Huki*.

LA: We learned that. The thing about my life and fishing was my father was not a fisherman, he didn't even know how to swim, but he was a sailor. He sailed everywhere and that's how he landed in Hawai'i. So I couldn't, or I didn't learn anything from him. As far as fishing, that was foreign. He comes from northern country, it's cold water they weren't into this.

KM: He was Scandinavian?

LA: Scandinavian he came out of Denmark. My name is really Laradis A-a-g-a-a-r-d. But I asked him one time why was it, A-g-a-r-d? He said, "being that they were European immigrants that people made fun. Double a, double g, double a, double r, double d, it was a tease and they didn't like it." So they shortened it. Get rid of the identity that you came from a foreign county, and just put A-g-a-r-d. So he didn't teach me anything. So what I had to learn, and people ask me, like Bill Aila, asked me, "Your dad taught you?" I'm sorry to say my dad didn't teach me anything, besides he left home when I was about eight or nine, right around in there. I saw him years later when I came here to go to school. But there was nothing about fishing from my dad. Not knowing how to swim and coming from a cold country, he wasn't into going in the water.

KM: Yes.

LA: So I missed some things because I didn't have that older guidance. So when I started to fish, it was mostly by observation, by watching. And I would start a little thing by myself. One or two people interested we started out with the crab netting and that kind of stuff, and pole fishing, expanding it. I was told by some Hawaiian boys who were raised in that fishing vein about certain practices.

KM: Uh-hmm.

Kū'ula and *'aumakua* observed by Hawaiian fishermen who worked with him in the 1940s-1950s; development and maintenance of *ko'a*:

LA: The *Kū'ula*, the fish gods, I didn't know about that, "What is that?" Then their parents, I took them up to go fishing with me, I had the equipment. The parents were talking to them about the old customs and this and that, and you catch the fish. "The first fish you land, the big one, the mature one, you threw it back in the water as a feeding to the *aumakua* or to the fish god."

KM: Yes.

LA: Which was the *Kū'ula*, the shrine. They talked about in this place you're supposed to do this and that, and so forth. I wasn't exposed to that, I don't know anything about it, shall I do it or... So I mostly operated on what I did myself, through trial and error. If this didn't work I tried something else. You know years later I realized if I had listened about season and location of activity, during a season, I would have saved myself a lot of headaches, lost time. I had to learn it just like the first man in Hawai'i learned it, by trial and error. So I realized that they knew. And today I look at it and I say, "Yes they did the trial and error and that's how they learned it apparently, and that is why they taught people."

KM: 'Ae.

LA: "I don't know about that." He said, "This is the place that so and so and so and so, and where it's going to come at a certain month, the migration." Particularly mullet.

KM: 'Ae.



LA: And it's true. Years later when I was flying and I'd look down at places. I'm looking for fish, the concentration, discoloration. I ran across the places I remember they told me "this place, during the month of December, is where the mullet is going to come on it's migration. And it will be spawning in a ball. Male casting out milk, female casting out roe, and the two mixing, fertilizing." Yes, now I see it. Look at it all down, look at all the fish.

KM: Was this like around O'ahu?

LA: Yes, this island.

KM: Right here.

LA: Right outside the Natatorium. And they have a name for the rock it's in the books when you read it. They named the rock that at "so and so time this rock will have the mullet."

KM: 'Ae.

LA: Look down there and go back and check and look in the book, the fish book at the Fish & Game, yes that's right.

KM: Amazing, yeah! Some keen observation, just in looking.

LA: They knew, they had to know.

KM: Of course, it was their only way.

LA: They had to survive that was their basic food, a protein. They had to know, they had to observe time after time, trial and error. This was how they built this method of management and perpetuation. So I realized that, I said, well, that's how it happened. These old guys they knew, and they were trying to pass on the information, but I didn't know. And I thought, "is that true? I don't think so, I think the fish swim they have tails they swim everywhere." But they knew the pattern, they knew the time, the place and the variety.

KM: 'Ae. And so fish really do follow pathways?

LA: Still yet till today. The key I think is this, everywhere you see mullet, they go to the mouth of the river.

KM: 'Ae.

LA: That's where they spawn. And that's the favorite spawning grounds for many species.

KM: That's right.

LA: Is the estuary.

KM: What happens if the *muliwai*, the estuaries...?

LA: Dry up?

KM: Yes.

LA: Then you don't have any reproduction.

KM: That's right.

LA: Which is the key of what I'm going to come to.

KM: Okay.

Began fishing in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands in 1946:

LA: Fishing up in the North-western Hawaiian Islands, they were very sensitive to pressure, fishing pressure. If I caught fish, particularly like *moi*, I never really ever saw another school of fish like the first one that I caught when I landed.

KM: Amazing! What year was that?



LA: In 1946.

KM: Okay.

LA: Sometime probably in...I got there in September, probably late September. I put a skiff in the water with nets, put an outboard on the back of the boat. It was no big boat. We brought it down on the small freighter, *Mazie C*. It was a freighter built at Maui Vocational School, and it was used to fill the place of the sampans that Hawaiian Pine first bought to supply the route between Molokai, Maui and Lanai, that triangle. They would go to Molokai and pick up bread—it was an old sampan, 80 footer—and pick up the bread, then go to Maui pick up the milk at Haleakala Dairy, and then come to Lanai to drop off the goods because they didn't hire airplanes in those days.

KM: Right.

LA: They didn't hire airplanes, but they would use the boat.

KM: So on the *Mazie C*, it would go around, and you...?

LA: It went around. Then I hired the boat to take my skiffs and my nets and my outboard motors to the island, the air station. And then I chartered the airplane and flew the crew and other gear down.

KM: Is that Kure or?

LA: No, we went to French Frigate Shoals.

KM: French Frigate Shoals.

Schools of *moi* caught off of French Frigate Shoals:

LA: Kure has an airfield, and I went there too, but that was a long haul. Exceptionally long, twelve hundred miles, that's pretty far. So I worked mostly out of French Frigate, and eventually I chartered the *Mazie C*, which replaced the *Naia*, that was the name, in Hawaiian that means dolphin. *Naia*. She was the boat that started the route when Hawaiian Pine sold her, I bought her and I ran her to French Frigate Shoals.

KM: I see.

LA: Using the aircraft and the fishing boat. When I landed there, I put the skiff in, and I went down, getting close to the shore and standing up, the water is shallow and the sand is very clear, the water is clear there's no mud, and you can see the bottom easily, standing on the bow. I saw this flash in the water, and I saw the discoloration, I said, "Stop the motor." I watched, I watched, I see the fish rolling in the water, I would guess only about six to five, six feet deep.

KM: Gee!

LA: Right up on the beach. I set the net and caught a nice big school of big *moi* [gestures].

KM: Hoo, twelve inch plus?

LA: Bigger than that because no predator. They were very mature. I never saw the damn fish again. Because like here when you fish, the fish are moving from the outside after you pick up a large school, the concentration. It never came back for ten years I never caught one.

KM: You're kidding?

LA: I'm not kidding. And that's the story I'll tell people how delicate that is, the balance there, where the eco system is kind of balanced and everything lives off of everything else. The big fish ate the smaller fish and the smaller fish ate the algae and that's the food chain.

KM: 'Ae.



LA: So I've often wondered about that. But that should have given me the first clue, and even if it did, and I thought about it, I wouldn't believe it. It was just like when they told me about the spot where the fish would come in the season.

KM: 'Ae.

Species rapidly declined; populations did not replenish themselves:

LA: I didn't believe it, I had no knowledge. It was like, I don't know... That happened there. That was the key. And as I fished that species down and I fished down the other species, me and five fishermen, that's what was there, five human beings. Didn't take long, then you to realize, "hey you're running out of fish." This stuff that has been laying here for a long time... And of course when I worked with West Pac and the results of research, the scientist would gather the data and look at it and think about it and implement some regulation. I realized that I'd have to go farther and farther for different species, so eventually I was fishing outside the inside reefs and going for larger and larger fish, tunas and whatever other fish that were outside of the shallows and the reef fish. I fished out the reef fish. So I fished myself out of a job in a sense. The scientist point out that fecundity, the reproductive rate of the nature of fish is quite large. One animal can put out 50,000 eggs, that's maybe 50,000 juveniles.

KM: Right.

It is important to allow breeding stock to remain in the ocean:

LA: But, what I apparently was doing was when they were spawning I was interfering with the spawning because they were not left alone. In other words, to catch them before they could spawn. And today, some people say like you know, "if you take fish fresh from the ocean, use it as your ice box, fish do not reproduce in the ice box." [chuckles]

KM: Yes, right.

LA: You catch what you need and leave the rest till you want.

KM: Yes. That's an old value right?

LA: That's an old value, but it's true.

KM: 'Ae. It has great value.

By 1956, fishing in the NWHI was unsustainable and too costly:

LA: It's true, but you know I don't know about that or compared it, here I looked at it. So in the tenth year in 1956, I landed in 1946, I realized already that the effort was so hard, it was difficult to make a load of fish. I did turn the key in my boat, a little donkey engine to turn over the diesel. Fire up a little donkey, you see on the old caterpillar engines. I had a caterpillar. Fire up the little donkey, through it in gear and start turning over the big one, the compression builds up and she starts to fire because the fuel sprays in the cylinder. I started my boat, made up my mind I think I know what I have to do, I looked towards the direction of Honolulu, and I took the heading and I never looked back and I never went back. I realized that it just couldn't sustain itself.

KM: For that kind of take and yield?

LA: For that kind of yield, that kind of take, that kind of species in that shallow reef. They were only small atolls, they weren't very big.

KM: Yes.

LA: There's no nutrient or runoff like we have around here, human runoff, chemicals that can produce algae blooms.

KM: Algae feeds yes.

LA: And all kinds of stuff were, the species that feed on the algae.



KM: Right. And of course you go from that and just what you said to the big, it's a cycle.

LA: It's a cycle. So I learned that, and I can talk about it now and say so. But the key to this whole thing for me is this, in that place up there, there is very little fresh water, we have a little fresh water on Nihoa, even less on Necker. So you don't have these estuaries, so that interferes with reproduction because I think estuaries and mixing water, the brackish is an excellent medium for juveniles.

KM: Yes. All the *pua*, *'ōhua*, *moi li'i* all these things.

LA: All go to the delta, the estuary. You don't have that out there. On top of that the State Fish & Game went out after I got out there, and started conducting surveys and found out... [someone stops at office]... What was I telling you?

KM: About how out there it couldn't support it and that...

Likens the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands to a *Pu'uhonua* (Sanctuary) for breeding stock to replenish Main Hawaiian Islands fisheries:

LA: Yes. The Fish & Game conducted a survey on nutrients and found out that for some reason the nutrients are much less up there. So that's probably the reason for less reproduction. Except that the one thing that's missing up there is humans and human predation. We don't have that, so the system must be in balance in some sense for what you have. [thinking] Let's see how did it work? Less nutrient, less area, less runoff, less general nutrient from human activity. So the reproductive rate was down but I didn't help it by being there. However, the islands are only about a hundred miles apart so fifteen hundred miles from Lō'ihi Sea Mount all the way up to the Kure Atoll. A hundred miles apart, the turtle population in these islands is almost entirely conceived up at French Frigate, and most of the monk seals are conceived there. Then you get down here. So if I look at that reproduction, and why I'm involved with the Northwestern Islands is I think that that's the *Pu'uhonua* [Sanctuary – Refuge] that's feeding us. Because it's only a hundred miles apart they can travel from island to island.

KM: Ah yes. So even the fish resources, the fisheries?

LA: The fish resources, I think for these islands, under the heavy pressure at present. More fishermen and more hooks than fish, resident fish exposed.

KM: Here?

LA: Is being helped from the spawn up there, of giant matured fish.

KM: What you see is that the North-western Islands, those *moku manamana*, the leeward Islands like that, are now the nursery for the lower main islands?

LA: Yes, that's right for these islands.

KM: Because of the great changes that have occurred around our islands.

LA: Yes.

KM: And the pressure from take?

Scientists have documented that a counter-current (flowing north-south) exists; such a current carried larvae from the breeding stock down to the Main Hawaiian Islands:

LA: Yes. There are other indications. Most people argue with me and say "Well, prevailing winds blow from east to west, sun rising in the east, the wind is blowing to the west. I think, "well I guess so, but lately a couple of things have happened, not too long ago there was... [answers phone] There was a satellite picture taken recently, it was published in the paper, that it shows "yes, the prevailing winds and currents can go from east to west.



But the satellite is showing a counter current going from west to east. So there's one going this way, and there's a concurrent one going that way. And my own experience and analysis is that I know every day there are two tides.

KM: 'Ae.

LA: The high, high and the low high and that's occasioned by the sun and it's proximity, and sometimes where the moon is lined up, you have a double gravity pull. So here's the earth spinning from east to west and the body of, lets say a body of material, lava and land spinning that way. But the gravitational pull even if it's moving slowly is this lump of water that travels across the globe, and that gives you the high tide. You have half of the day, two tides a day. Half of the day the water will be running from the west to the east during high tide and it slowly goes like that then behind the gravitational pull it goes the other way. Twice a day you're going to have this change. That means the current is going back and forth.

KM: Yes.

LA: It's not always in one direction. Then I see the other day, about two weeks ago, the buoy, monitoring buoy for the wave heights at Nihoa broke lose and it ended up in Kahuku, so it went from west to east. Another indicator to me that these currents, and these eddies, as they go around the island they are different configurations that build up on one end of the current, this high volume of water going around the island, the eddies. So you have this dispersal. So if the spawn is up there with these giants, and they're all giant fish, they are very mature. Only a few survive out of each spawn to make that big standing stock that I was catching. And when I caught that standing stock, I wiped out the reproductive [stock] of that place, that particular island. I thought, "Well, maybe that's what I've been doing?" But now I think that place is where these giants are spawning, and by the dispersal rate, the eddies and so forth, they can reach from island to island and eventually get here, and the changes continue year after year after year. It takes about seven years for a hatchling, a juvenile to reach maturity for its first spawn. Lobsters are there...

KM: Lobster?

LA: Lobsters there, and several other varieties of fish are there.

KM: *Moi*, what other types of fish?

LA: Several.

KM: Several.

LA: But others are faster. But still, if it takes that long and they stay in the planktonic stage for six to eight months, floating with the mass plankton, they can reach here. Then they drop out of the water column and they find the habitat, a narrow ring around each island, at the proper depth to mature.

KM: When the buoy broke off of Nihoa section I think you said, how long did it take to get out to Kahuku?

LA: I didn't check the days but...

KM: It wasn't months right?

LA: No, no.

KM: It was a short period of time?

LA: No, it was short. It got here in real fast time, because when it broke lose they knew and they had to track it.

KM: Right.

LA: And when they tracked it they found it here, off of Kahuku.



KM: Really interesting.

LA: I said, well that's another indicator. That means we don't have to go set stuff off in the ocean and guess anymore, we know by the satellites there's this kind of current. We know by that float, there's this kind of current. So, the eggs and all the babies are coming from up there too, island by island. Not one day they reach here, it takes them a few days but if they stay in the planktonic stage for two, three months, six months, a year, they get here.

KM: Sure.

Suggests that the NWHI be left alone, and that *kapu* (regulations) based on traditional subsistence practices be reinstated for all Hawaiian fisheries:

LA: For us, leave that *Pu'uhonua* alone. That place of refuge, and let it feed us. That's an old, should be an old Hawaiian custom.

KM: Right.

LA: That would be Hawaiian mentality.

KM: It has a Hawaiian echo to it. Because your *kūpuna* recognized this balance around each *moku* within each district.

LA: Yes.

KM: Which is why they had these *kapu*, six months *aku*, no 'ōpelu, six months 'ōpelu, no *aku*.

LA: That's right that was their way.

KM: It's so important.

LA: If you take the modern happenings in science and all of this stuff and add it to the old practice, it makes sense.

KM: Yes, right.

LA: That's the idea we have to sell, "Look, if you enjoy eating it you got to take care."

KM: You have to take care. Perfect, "if you enjoy eating it you got to take care."

LA: You got to take care.

KM: That's right. As we're looking at...and there are so many things. Like, you brought up currents. Are currents important? And you think even between islands and fisheries and sources like that? Currents are important. You brought up *muliwai*, the estuaries like this. We've seen these change drastically on nearly all of the islands.

LA: Very bad.

KM: So we're really impeding the ability of fish to...?

LA: To reproduce.

KM: Yes.

LA: To help us eat.

KM: Yes. Do we look at setting *kapu* that are traditionally based?

LA: Yes.

KM: So that people...everyone's talking about, "It's my native right." But you're right, your *pono* was based on *kuleana* right? You take responsibility?

LA: Yes. You take care, you take responsibility. You have a right to go out and catch fish and eat fish, but you got to take care.



KM: Yes.

LA: You just don't go out there and wreck it.

KM: Right. We need to get that message to not only our *kanaka* but...

LA: Everybody.

Recalls how Hawaiian fisheries rebounded as a result of their closure during World War II:

KM: That's right. Which is why doing oral history like this. People enjoy reading about other people's experiences and things. May I ask you, you mentioned you went up to French Frigate Shoals in 1946, that was your first trip up there. I guess in about '38 or so you'd come to Honolulu you went on your first *aku* boat experience like that. Then the war came, did you notice a difference in our fisheries? Now, we're talking about placing *kapu* and some of them traditionally based. Of course when the war came, most boats weren't allowed to go out right? Shorelines and many areas were barb wired off and stuff. Did you personally, as a *kama'āina lawai'a*, did you notice a change in the quality of the fishery? From even a year or two of having almost no access to the ocean to what happened after, or no big difference?

LA: That's a real good story, and it's written up in several books that people call the "great experiment," when I told the story. Because of those years, the war years, when everybody was barred from fishing because they had the barb wire entanglements and theoretically they had the sounding devices I forget what they called it aqua phones or something in the ocean to detect if people were going to land. So nobody was supposed to go out in the water. If there was something out there it was the enemy landing. They shut everything down, they seized all the boats, got rid of them maybe a year or two years after the attack on Pearl Harbor. I guess generally for the years of the war, 1941 through 1945 when the Peace Treaty was signed, there was negligible fishing if any. And then, I think even then, because all the fleet of boats, and mostly they were all owned by Japanese, they were destroyed. Not demolished, but they were incapacitated.

KM: Right. And some I guess were even taken over the large ones for military.

LA: Yes, they were used for transport ships during the war, they ran between the islands and small transport. So there was no fleet, there was no access in a sense because the fleet had been more or less demolished. A couple of boats survived and they did marvelously well when fishing was permitted. I went back fishing full-time in 1946. I volunteered the day after Pearl Harbor and then I was under age and I was dismissed. Then I registered in '43 when I turned 18 and then I was inducted and I was discharged in August, somewhere around the 11th, I think, 1946. So I went back fishing and it was unbelievable. Those years that the fish had reprieve or whatever you want to call it, it was overwhelming in numbers.

KM: The populations?

LA: The population just exploded!

KM: Amazing!

LA: And it took about three to four years to begin to see the decline occurring again. So the holiday, the closure enforced in this case, was very, very obvious that human beings can really wreck havoc.

KM: Right.

LA: They really can. And there is an attitude, because there was no culture here to speak of the people who were here had no culture, no past experience, "It's my right to fish and I take," and there was no limit. "I take all I can take." So you could see the decline, and it



was also the attitude of the fishermen, or most fishermen anyway is that, “If I don’t take it the guy with the boat there behind me coming up is going to take, so I’m going to take it even if they’re babies.” So it didn’t take long, they wiped out all of the red *weke*, and today I don’t think the species has recovered. This is how long already. Once you wreck it that badly, for it to come back to the abundance of those years when it was closed, it’s really hard, really hard.

KM: The thing that’s happened of course is that in your *kūpuna*’s time the population pressures were different.

LA: Yes.

KM: People population. The method again...

LA: Was different.

KM: Yes, they weren’t taking these vast quantities, it wasn’t an economics.

LA: It was not like it was maybe in some other place where... Or like what our farmers have. You know “I plant my fields and when it comes harvest time, I harvest, that means you take it all.”

KM: Right.

LA: That’s your harvest.

KM: Yes.

LA: They were going to try and do that with fishing I don’t think it works. You don’t take ‘em all.

KM: That’s right.

LA: You take what you can take and allow reproduction.

KM: That’s right.

LA: In nature when you’re a farmer, you’re planting it and you’re nurturing it, it’s different.

KM: Yes.

LA: When you go to nature and you say, “I’m harvesting this fish,” and taking all the reproductive capacity.

KM: Yes. And see that was the difference in your *kūpuna* time where it was subsistence living off of and knowing boundaries and all these *kapu*.

LA: Yes.

KM: You know that *‘ōpelu*, *aku kapu* was so stringent that it was penalty of death.

LA: Yes. You make no mistake again, “Oh, I made a mistake.” “well, you won’t make it again.” [chuckling]

Discusses weaknesses in present management of fisheries, and suggestions for improvement:

KM: That’s right. And what we see today, is that even the technique, the methodology, the instrument, so we have more pressure on the fishery, we have more sophisticated methods of finding and taking.

LA: The technology.

KM: Yes.

LA: Double edge sword.

KM: Right.

LA: Technology is good and it’s bad.



KM: Do you have thoughts about the aggregation buoys?

LA: I think that the dang things are to please fishermen and not the species or the continuous productivity. It's to draw the fish in and more accessible.

KM: Yes. Unlike your *kūpuna* when you needed to understand the currents, *ko'a* triangulation.

LA: Yes.

KM: Now it's all made for you. You have your depth reader, you have your...

LA: GIS.

KM: Yes, So you don't even really need much smarts.

LA: No, no need anything anymore, the technology taking over.

KM: The fish no more chance?

LA: No more chance. They've really made them highly vulnerable. Every time somebody talks about it and I look at them and I say, "You guys ought to go take a vacation, let 'em grow."

KM: That's right. Well, you know it's interesting maybe by a gathering of all of these stories and *kama'āina* recollections, and then the laws, the customs that have been recorded maybe people will start to realize...

LA: Understand.

KM: Yes. If we talk about *kapu* times it doesn't need to be, it's not *kapu* forever but the *kapu* helped restore populations.

LA: Yes it does, that was the whole idea. The concept of the *ahupua'a* and if you lived in the *ahupua'a*, this was your resource. You take care, this is your *kuleana*.

KM: 'Ae.

LA: That's how they divided it. We didn't come from over there and came over here and took it all, and went back there. That's what they do now.

KM: Yes, that's right, now you live here, you no more fish you go someone else's house and take all theirs.

LA: Yes, it wasn't like that. The idea of the *ahupua'a* and the division, the responsibility, allowed them to have a sustained plentiful environment. It's not like that now. So I think the basic thing and what I work with and talk about is the culture, that the culture is reflected, I think in conduct, and that's your government. Your culture is your government, when people talk about Hawaiian culture, they don't usually think about their government and the laws that are perfected within that to protect your resources. You have this clash today of "I have a right to go fishing and catch all I want."

On the other hand you have a culture that says, "If you want it sustainable, you've got to do a little sacrificing, a little planning, and a little conservation." That's the old way...

KM: *Mālama ka 'āina, mālama ke kai.*

LA: Take care.

KM: And it will care for you.

LA: Yes. Take care, it takes care of you.

KM: That's right. Very intimate kinds of relationships.

LA: Yes. So I've abandoned all of those things that I used to do because now I know it doesn't work. I wasn't taught. I came in as a green kid fishing *o'opu*.



KM: That's right. And you were basically on an *aku* boat it was all... As a kid fishing *'o'opu*, different. Then when you got into your commercial fishing it was already a commercial venture.

LA: Yes.

KM: You worked with some Hawaiians, it was also going as an economic thing right?

LA: Economic engine. Because they were susceptible to the accumulation of property and goods.

KM: Yes.

LA: That's what they learned.

KM: That's right, it's taught. And in fact you know when you were a child, fishermen weren't looked on very highly.

LA: No.

KM: In that society of the time. *Moloā*, you know.

LA: Yes. "You go fishing, ahh *'ōpala*." You got to put on a nice suit, nice car. How do you get that? You go out there and rape the environment. [chuckling]

KM: Yes. They just haven't thought about it. It's so good to hear these recollections.

LA: As you get older you get smarter.

KM: Yes, we hope.

LA: As you get older you get smarter. When you're young the world is your oyster. But now when I try to tell people sometimes they say, "What's wrong with you, you sick or what?" I say, "No, I'm not sick, all I know is it won't going to work."

KM: You know, you brought up oyster and it made me think of Pu'uloa. Did you ever fish in Pu'uloa? In fact even before the war things were being set off, *kapu*. For O'ahu, Pu'uloa seems to have been, even in *mo'olelo* the nursery.

LA: It is. It still has lots.

KM: It still has?

LA: It is.

KM: I wonder how their health is?

LA: They're not too healthy, I don't think because of the pollution. Nuclear subs in there, nuclear waste water in there, lots of other metals in there that are cast off by ships and their ballast. Runoff from the land. The biggest and worse thing in there is the cooling water for the nuclear reactors, it's discharged right in there. You'll find fish in there with sores all over their bodies.

Began to notice tumor growths on *honu* in the 1940s-1950s:

KM: *Pu'upu'u* and stuff. You know even the *honu*, you know when you were up in those islands in the '40s and '50s. Did you ever see these *pu'upu'u*?

LA: Yes.

KM: You saw it on them at that time?

LA: Yes. It's been around for a while, and I don't know what it is.

KM: I was wondering if it was a product of something a little more recently. But in the '40s you saw it?



LA: Yes. When we were up there we saw them and we looked at them with these damn bulbous things around the neck and around the eyes.

KM: *Aloha*. Then you wonder if it's something about the gene pool limiting also?

LA: Could be, more inbreeding or whatever it is, but the poor species has been hard hit, it was a delicacy in the restaurants, turtle meat. Poor animals.

KM: 'Ae. Thank you. There's so many things that we should talk about, but you had a long day too already. I don't want to humbug you long. I'm going to get this back to you as quickly as I can with your recording and the transcript. We're looking at pulling together so we've been interviewing *kūpuna* from Ni'ihau down to Hawai'i, elder *kama'āina* like you. Just to talk about your recollections and what your thoughts are. How are we going to insure the opportunity? I'm not going to say the right, but the opportunity for our families to fish in the future? Do you have some thoughts about what are we going to do?

Serves as a member of the Reserve Advisory Council (RAC); recommendations for long-term management of Hawaiian fisheries:

LA: That's why I work where I'm working. I work in the RAC and I have to deal with the people who want to make laws and regulations. At least we have a strong cultural component, I don't know if you're familiar with the RAC, the Reserve Advisory Council?

KM: I've heard of it, yes.

LA: We have Hawaiians in there. We have Halealoha.

KM: Oh yes, Ayau.

LA: Eddie Ayau is in there. Isaac Harp is in there, I'm in there and we represent the Hawaiian view, the past and our culture, and our history, and how you handle things like this. Of course I went to Washington and I testified before many members of the Senate about what I'm telling you, I told them. Why I think that *Pu'u honua* should remain that way. It's near pristine, no one lives there, so there's no reason to go up there and get into a nursery that is supplying us down here. That no one should be there.

KM: Is someone fighting that locally here?

LA: Yes. You have the Department of Commerce and the fishermen who want go up there and rake 'em.

KM: It's really just an economic?

LA: Yes. We still have them held at bay though.

KM: Good.

LA: Through President Clinton's Executive Order. As a matter of fact they can talk about his personal behavior, but when it came to other things, he did help Hawaiians as far as I'm concerned.

KM: President Clinton?

LA: He's the guy that signed the Apology Bill, he got this one thousand two hundred mile reserve established and so we got our foot in the door.

KM: 'Ae.

LA: And then the conservationist jumped in and supported it from their perspective of conservation, not necessarily our cultural aspect, but they do support it.

KM: Yes. But there's a partnership there has to be.

LA: Yes.



KM: And in your native context as a *kanaka*, nature and culture are one thing right?

LA: Right, they are one.

KM: It's the same thing. So now we just need to help the scientist figure that out.

LA: Figure it out. And not be so dependant on trying to prove something that's already proven. That's my statement to the meeting Monday, Monday is our next meeting. I'm going to make some statement, essentially what I'm telling you, by observing, "yes, okay the currents do flow the other way, that means those spawns up there can replenish." It would take seven years to have a hatchling mature for a first reproduction. That's a long time.

KM: Could I throw something else out, because of your description of them going against the current like that. It made me think of something else, when we talk with old particularly Hawai'i island *'ōpelu* fishermen that go out and feed the *ko'a*. If the, you don't throw your *palu*, your *'ōpae* or your *pala'ai* down current. You throw it...

LA: Up so they follow and come.

KM: Yes. And the fish are moving into it, so if you do have this current running up and these young running *makai* it's almost like logical. Because they're moving into their food also.

LA: Yes. That's the only way they can sense them.

KM: Yes.

LA: They sense them upstream they don't sense them behind the stream, or behind them.

KM: Yes. Kind of interesting because we hear that you know depending on which way the current is even if you're in a small *ahupua'a* if the current is going Kohala you're on the upside. If the currents going Ka'ū...

LA: The other way.

KM: You're *makai*.

LA: You're not going to get much fish because they follow by scent.

KM: Interesting.

LA: They're motivated by scent. Most animals are that way many, dogs, cats and everything you know.

KM: 'Ae. You'd shared, and I'm going to let you go in a moment...you shared. Your mama is *kanaka*?

LA: Yes.

KM: From where?

LA: We came from Kohala. As I understand it, we were on the other side of the Kamehameha clan and we lost, in his conquest up there. So in the canoe they took off and they came to Honolulu. We went to Maui, and then came to Honolulu.

KM: What is the Hawaiian name, is there a key Hawaiian family name that your mother or grandmother or parents have?

LA: Yes. My great, great grandparents their name, there was only one name the man was Nakipi and the woman was Kailipeleuli.

KM: Kailipeleuli. Interesting!

LA: And that's the same name as some predecessors, but that's our root name. Then it evolved into just one name, Kepahoni.



KM: Yes... Wonderful. Thank you!

LA: Well, I like to help, and if we can get the guys to save fish for us in the future, I'll be happy.

KM: Yes, that's right. This thing about basing new practices that are also enforceable, but on traditional and customary practices.

LA: Standards.

KM: Yes. I've been going through all the old laws, 1839 when Kamehameha III brought forth the fishery issues, and things through the 1850s and up. You know the Hawaiian traditions and those laws set a responsibility on everyone. In 1898 after the overthrow with annexation...

LA: They did away with it.

KM: That's right and so then no one needed to be responsible.

LA: No responsibility.

KM: Take what you want, however.

LA: Wide open. They got rid of the *konohiki*.

KM: 'Ae.

LA: It was open to all the citizens.

KM: And that's why it's unhealthy, I think today. And even for our non-native population because they don't recognize.

LA: Yes, no culture.

KM: That's right, no culture. Their idea is take here, go somewhere else tomorrow.

LA: Yes. Take all I can take, never mind.

KM: No attachment.

LA: No attachment, no respect for the *'āina*. And the provider which is the *'āina*, and if they don't take care of that what you going to have.

KM: That's right. *Mahalo!*

LA: Oh, you're welcome...



**Nā Moku ‘Aha
(The Northwestern Hawaiian Islands)
Oral History/Consultation Interview
October 27, 2003 with Kepā Maly¹**

**Kūpuna—Louis “Buzzy”
Agard, Valentine and
Elizabeth Ako, John Dudoit,
Eddie Nāmakani
Ka’anā’anā, E. Kāwika
Kawahulehua, and Walter
Keli’iokekai Paulo**

The following interview (also the interview of November 17, 2003) was conducted as a part of a consultation meeting pertaining to the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands Reserve and Sanctuary Status Determination. The *kūpuna* and *kama’āina* participants focused on traditional lore pertaining to the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands (*Nā Moku ‘Aha*), Moku Manamana and Moku Pāpapa; traditional and customary practices associated with travel, fishing and subsistence across the Hawaiian Islands; definitions of subsistence—*hānai a ‘ai*—in a Hawaiian cultural context.



***Kūpuna Participants in the October 27th Group Interview
(missing from photo, Kupuna Louis Buzzy Agard). (KPA Photo
No. S1487)***

Introductions of interviewees:

KK: My name is Elia Ku’ualoha Kāwika Kapahulehua. *Hānau i Hilo, ‘ekolu mahina, ne’e ko’u ‘ohana i Ni’ihau. Hānai ‘ia au i Ni’ihau.* My name is Elia Ku’ualoha Kāwika Kapahulehua. I was born in Hilo. Three months old, my family moved to Ni’ihau, and that is where I was brought up, on Ni’ihau.

KM: ‘Ae, mahalo! *Hānau ‘oe i ka makahiki?*

KK: *Ka makahiki, ‘umi kūmāiwa kūmākolu, 1930.*

KM: *Mahalo nui, aloha.*

KK: *Aloha.*

KM: *Kupuna Val?*

VA: I am Valentine Ako. I was born in Kona, in 1926. And right now, I am 77 years old. And I was fortunate to come here to express my *mana’o* with the younger generation and our *kūpuna*. I thank you folks for coming...

¹ Also participating: *Kama’āina* Practitioners—William Aila; Pua Aiu, Esq.; Isaac Harp; Melody Kapilialoha MacKenzie, Esq.; Bill Puleloa; and Kāwika Winter; and Agency/SRG—Kaliko Amona; Sean Corson; Kristin Duin; Emily B. Hunt; Emily Fielding; Randy Kosaki; Kimberly Lowe; Moani Pai; Bruce and Xingyan Wilcox; and ‘Aulani Wilhelm.



- KM: ...*Mahalo! Aloha* uncle, *kūkū*.
- EK: *Aloha. 'O Edward Nāmakani Ka'anā'anā ko'u inoa. Hānau 'ia au i kēia moku nei, ma Kaka'ako. A lawe hānai 'ia au i ka Moku o Keawe, Kona Hema. 'Āina o Miloli'i, Ho'opūloa. O Kapalilua ka inoa o kēlā 'āina ma laila.*
- KM: 'Ae, *kēlā kalana, o Kapalilua.*
- EK: *Kalana o Kapalilua. Hānau 'ia au i ka makahiki 'umi kūmāiwa iwakālua kūmāono...*
- KM: *Mahalo nui! ...Kāwika, please.*
- KW: *Aloha mai. Kāwika Winter ko'u inoa, hānau 'ia wau ma ka makahiki 'umi kūmāiwa kanahiku kūmāono, ma O'ahu nei. He 'ano haumāna au, keiki ho'okama na papa Ka'anā'anā, mane'i...*
- KM: Kāwika, born 1976, is *keiki ho'okama*, a youth, *hānai*-like, and a student of *kupuna* Ka'anā'anā. A young man who has embraced the language and history of Hawai'i. So the next generation.
- And as uncle Val encouraged Kāwika to do earlier, make sure you learn everything you can from uncle.
- Group: [agrees]
- KM: And he said he's trying. *Mahalo! Aloha Wilama.*
- WA: *Aloha. My name is William Aila. I come from Wai'anae. I've been in the ocean, I think, since I was...they tell me, since before I could walk. My lineage comes from Kamakahiki'āina, who was born and raised at Ka'ena Point. And I think that is where I get the desire to be in the ocean, from my tūtū. I was born in 1958, if it makes any difference[chuckling].*
- Group: [chuckling]
- WA: I feel kind of inadequate compared to all the *kūpuna* over here.
- KM: *Mahalo nui! Aloha, uncle.*
- JD: *Aloha. My name is John Dudoit, from Molokai, born May 26, 1934. I was born at home, in Honomuni. I fished a lot when I was young, and learned plenty from the old timers, and am still fishing yet. Later, I hope to meet all of you.*
- KM: 'Ae. *Aloha nui, mahalo!* Bill?
- BP: My name is Bill Puleloa. My *'ohana* is from Kanaio on Maui. The Kauaua *'ohana*. I now live on Molokai, and have been there for 30 years...
- EK/KM: *Mahalo!*
- IH: *Aloha! My name is Isaac Harp. I am probably the odd-ball out of all the Hawaiians here. I was born in New Orleans, Louisiana. My mom is a pure Hawaiian from Honokōhauiki, Kona, married a Navy man, a Cherokee-Irish man from Okalahoma... My dad passed away when I was six years old...and because of the prejudice we experienced in the mainland, my mom decided to relocate back to Hawai'i...*
- When we moved to Hawai'i, our first home was in Nānākuli... We lived in Nānākuli for several years, and when I was about 12 years old, my mom relocated to Kahalu'u, Windward O'ahu...*
- KM: ...*Mahalo! Aloha* aunty.
- EA: I feel blessed being here with you today. In as much as I don't speak Hawaiian; I went to Kamehameha Schools, and in those days it was, in order for me to get ahead, I had to



learn English... You know, education doesn't stop when you graduate, everyday you learn. And it is good to listen and understand what others are saying... But, I am very, very lucky to be married to a fisherman. When you marry a fisherman, you never, never starve. You always have food in your house.

Group: [chuckling]

EA: You don't have to put out the big bucks. And I am very happy...I feel truly blessed...

KM: 'Ae, *mahalo*. That's a good thing to know, "Happy to be married to a fisherman!"

EA: Oh yes, you never starve. [chuckling]

Group: [laughing]

KM: That's really important, the *wahine* perspective too, good knowledge to know. *Mahalo! Aloha.*

MKM: *Aloha! 'O wau 'o Kapilialoha MacKenzie.* I'm Melody Kapilialoha MacKenzie. And I think I'm here in part because at one time I did a study for OHA looking at the laws and the relationship with the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands. And one of the conclusions that I reached was that there wasn't a deep enough knowledge of what Hawaiian practice and tradition was with regards to the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands to really develop a good legal case for continued fishing preferences. So I think that is why Kepā asked me here today, is because I see this group as the development of that knowledge, that continuation of the knowledge.

KM: 'Ae, *mahalo*... And Pua Aiu as well, *aloha*.

PA: *Aloha.* I am Pua Aiu... I work for OHA. I feel like I am in a really august crowd. My letter says, "in addition to me, four other younger native Hawaiians...and that's William Aila, Isaac Harp, Melody MacKenzie, and Bill Puleloa..." ...My father was a fisherman, and the Akos know my dad. He was good fisherman as well as a doctor, and we never starved... I am really happy to be here and I know how important this is, so I'm looking forward to learning a lot.

KM: Mahalo. With OHA and your knowledge, like Melody, of native issues and law. This is why it was really important that you be here, because you folks can help the *kūpuna* put their *mana'o* into action things. So thank you. *Ē, aloha kūpuna, uncle Walter.*

WP: 'O *Keli'iokikai ko'u inoa.* And I'm fortunate, I also got recognized as *Kanaka o ke Kai*, and I think Mr. Agard was responsible for that... Today is my 80th year.

Group: [Clapping hands and congratulates *kūpuna*.]

WP: *Mahalo.* A little bit of background. I was born in Keālia, Kona in 1923. That's near Ho'okena, and I was raised in Ho'opūloa. Ho'opūloa is a village that was destroyed in 1926 by *Tūtū Pele*. And I resided at uncle Eddie's grandfather's place at the time. Although our family, Paulo Kawa'auhau had a residence in Miloli'i. So I grew up, started fishing for *ōpelu*. And that's the right term, "you don't starve if you're a fisherman." So, fishing from seven years old, *ōpelu* was our first knowledge of fishing. And there after, we continued on and ended up on an *'ahi* boat, a long line boat. At that time, uncle Eddie and I were... *'Ehia makahiki 'oe?*

EK: *Kanahiku kūmāhiku, 'ōpio au, 77.*

WP: Seventy seven. So you were three years below me. But anyway, we went long line. We were the young guys who did all the dirty work, pull the lines. There were no machines, it was all hand power.

EK: Uh-hmm.



WP: Then we ended up in Hilo. We were the first Hawaiian fishermen, fishing in Hilo. It was all Japanese, and mostly from the old country. Then I went to school. I was fortunate to go to Hilo Intermediate, and then a few months at Hilo High School. Then I had to come home, my father, Peter Paulo, he was actually my *'ohana*... He got sick. So I ended up back, long line fishing. Then in 1941, I left Minoli'i, I thought I could do better in Honolulu. And during the World War II, I ended up on Palmyra Island. I was seventeen years old, and it is quite a story... ...after the attack on Palmyra, I came back and worked at Pearl Harbor. And then somehow, I got back to long line fishing. During the war, there was nobody out at that time, it was all *kapu*. So I worked for Blue Haines. You know Warren?

LA: Yes, I knew Warren well [chuckling].

WP: So anyway, he had a boat called *Tenji Maru*. But they didn't put no *Tenji Maru* on it, they probably would have sunk it [chuckling]. It had big numbers. And then had *Kasuge Maru*, *Shime Maru*. Then I went in the army. And when I came back, we found all the *Nisan* boys were back fishing. So I continued on fishing. And later on, I got an accident and lost my eye, and I didn't know what to do. But anyway, I was working on an *aku* boat. The first boat was the *Momi*. And you had the *Momi II*.

LA: Yes, I owned the *Momi II*.

WP: And Oliver Kinney. I liked her, and the *Sailfish*, *Bonito*, and boats like that. Anyway, I ended up with the National Marine Fisheries. At that time it was the PAFI Pacific Fishery Investigation. And that was in 1951 that I joined them. Then after I made one of my first trips to the Marquesas, and it was quite interesting. I had a friend on board, trying to teach me how to navigate. Wow! I said Peter... That was Peter Wilson.

LA: Yes.

WP: ...Then later on uncle Eddie joined us.

EK: Yes.

WP: I ended up as a navigator, and then later on as the captain of the vessel, Townsend Cromwell and the Charles H. Gilbert... The Thompson Cromwell is quite a big vessel. About an 800-900 ton vessel. So I worked for them until we lost the ship. Some years later, we lost two ships because of funding. So went to the United Nations and I worked for them, nearly in all Polynesian countries, long lining, *aku* fishing, also showing them how to *'ōpelu* fish too. In the Islamic countries, mostly in the Republic of Maldives, the Indian Ocean, Sirlanka. It was quite exciting, and when I was there, they were all fighting and killing each other...

Then I also did about 16-18,000 hours of work at the *'Ōpelu* Project, helped Eric Enos to start the *'Ōpelu* Project. It's a thriving organization now, and Ka'ala Farm. At present, I am back in Minoli'i, the last eight years, and what I'm doing now, we have an opportunity to revive the feeding of the *'ōpelu*, the *ko'a*.

"You *mālama* the *ko'a*, the *ko'a* is going to *mālama* you. You *mālama ka 'āina*, the *'āina* is going to *mālama* you." *Kupuna* Walter Paulo describes traditions and customs associated with *'ōpelu* fishing:

That term we have in the past, "You *mālama* the *ko'a*, the *ko'a* is going to *mālama* you. You *mālama ka 'āina*, the *'āina* is going to *mālama* you." And that system of *mālama*, *hānai* the *'ōpelu*, feeding the *'ōpelu* during the early part of the season, ceased in 1938. That was the last time. At that time, we used to feed just a little north of Minoli'i because Ho'opūloa was like our *'ohanas'* area, and *'Alikā-Pāpā*. So at present, we have a little funds from Nature Conservancy, and we started this last June, going out, feeding the *'ōpelu*. You don't catch any of the *'ōpelu*. If you like to catch the *'ōpelu* you go to another *ko'a*. So we are feeding the Minoli'i *ko'a*, the Ho'opūloa *ko'a*. And things weren't too good, because the *'ōpelu* were slow. But we continued on feeding till just recently, the end of September...



Well, the custom is, after feeding, you need to have a little *pā'ina*. And in the olden days, just the *'ohana*, you have a little *pu'a 'ele'ele*, *kālua* the pig. And *poi* and *i'a* maybe, that's about it. But this time, we did that too. And *mālama* the *iwi*. We took the *iwi* out and dropped the *iwi* with chants and prayers for the *ko'a*. So now we don't have to feed, just go fishing. And there's plenty of *'ōpelu* now. The concept is because once you start feeding it increases, increases, and increases. And after the feeding, you can take a thousand *'ōpelu* today, they replenish it in the night. The new *'ōpelu* come, they see all this *'ōpelu* not moving here and there. So we've got enough up to November, then *pau*. So we find it interesting. And we had people video the whole operation...

Group: *Mahalo*.

KM: If I may, one of the things that happened, and this is the thing that we are hoping from you folks as *kūpuna*, this idea, that if you take care of it, it will take care of it, it will take care of you. Taking care of it means that you also use though. So just blocking it off and setting it aside so no one can go, that's not a long-term Hawaiian thing. There were *kapu* times, but you sustained it cared for it, and used it. And these are some of the things that we want to talk with you about, "*Mālama i ka 'āina, na ka 'āina i mālama iā 'oe...*"

Kūpuna: 'Ae.

KM: *Mālama i ke kai, mālama i ke ko'a, kēlā mau mea*. When you take care of these things, they take care of you. And these are the kinds of values that we are also looking to learn more from you about, so that we can keep them alive and re-instill them in our people. *Mahalo! Aloha*, uncle.

LA: *Aloha*. And thank you Kepā, for having put this together so that we may come up with some idea that will work in the idea that you are talking about, "*Mālama*, take care."

I guess I was conceived and raised on the island of Kaua'i. First we were up mauka at the foot of Mount Wai'ale'ale. My mother had acquired a homestead. Then, because it rained every day at Mount Wai'ale'ale, my mother acquired another homestead at Keālia, by the river. We lived across from a sugar plantation, in those days called Makee Sugar Plantation. Makee was a ship captain and he had money to build a sugar plantation. My father worked there, and so did I when I was ten years old. You could contract labor of children to plantations. So I worked on the plantation, *hoe-hana*. So I was born and raised on the island of Kaua'i, 80 years ago.

I've spent a great part of my life fishing. Maybe all of my life, and I'm still involved in the fisheries, and still involved with boats. I think in those days, and later years of my life, we would run into huge schools of *'ōpelu*. And we could net them. They would come in the shallows. At Wai'anae, we would surround *'ōpelu* and *akule* too. But the schools of *'ōpelu*, you don't see them anymore. I think that that is indicative of generally the whole picture of the fisheries in the main Hawaiian Islands. To try and change that picture today with the population you have is going to be very difficult. So in this type of an occasion, you have the opportunity to start thinking about how you can save 1,200 miles of Hawaiian Islands, as Isaac calls them the "*Kūpuna Islands*." The older islands, millions of years old. We do have some resources up there. And because we don't have anyone living there, the resources have been able to thrive.

Kupuna Agard shares personal experiences while fishing in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands (NWHI); discusses importance of the mature breeding stock for various species found there, and their significance in the larger fisheries of the Main Hawaiian Islands:

So the message that I would like to convey, and there is a lot to talk about, is, I put a chart, a picture on the wall. That essentially tells you that a twenty-seven pound *'ōmilu*, *'ulua* will produce almost five million recruits, eggs. A twenty-four pound *'ōmilu*, there in the middle, will only produce about two and one half million eggs. Just three inches



difference. The about ten inch *‘ōmilu* or seven inch *‘ōmilu*, there, will only produce fifty thousand eggs. When you fish up there...and I've fished all the islands from Nihoa, Adam's Bay, Necker, Shark Bay, and that's full of sharks. You get in that bay, it's swarming with them. And there are *akule* and *moi* schools there, and *‘āholehole*. Because nobody is there to fool with these fish that are spawning there and reproducing.

But the thing that I've thought about for years is, how come these things exist the way they do? And I went there in exploration, I found fish there, and I caught fish. But I found that myself and five fishermen, within the year that we were there, and I went in 1946. I worked there for ten years. I had aircraft that were sold surplus at Barber's Point, Iroquois Point, right after the war. I bought Admiral Nimitz's private airplane. It was a two engine Lockheed Loadstar, similar to the airplane that Amelia Earhart was flying. It had all brand new parts, brand new engines and everything, one thousand dollars. And you start the engine, you could fly the plane. The war ended and he just put it away and sold it for scrap. All the planes there, the B-17s, B-29s, at the end of the war, were sold for scrap. So you could buy them for cheap. We were paying scrap price for these airplanes.

Describes decline in abundance of the NWHI fisheries; and the decimation of the lobster fishery:

So I was able to pick up airplanes after initially chartering. It was chartering service called Trans-Air Hawaii. He would bring in loads of fish. And that was possible when we first started, when everything was pristine. But as you move from island to island, you pick up a school of *‘āholehole*, pick up a school of *moi*, which were highly prized after the war. Most of the boats had been tied up, and owned by people who were not...well, the military was very specific about who. If you were considered an enemy, you could not go fishing. So the people who could go fishing and had the money to buy the boats was greatly reduced. So it was able for some of us to go out fishing and catch fish. But it didn't take long here in the main islands, when that surplus build up over three or four years of the war, when we first went out, there was a lot of fish.

Then after a while, it started to go down. Especially the fish that were vulnerable, like the *‘ōpelu*, the large schools. Well, it didn't take long, like I said, we would go to a pristine place, and sure enough, the first day I landed, put a net in my boat, I went to an atoll called Shark Island, which was surrounded by sharks. The top predators out there are big *‘ulua*, they get up to 80 pounds, 90 pounds. One of the biggest I caught was 121 pounds. The fisherman I had, he must have weighed about 100 pounds, so he had to fight. And when the line wrapped around his arm, we had to grab him by his stomach to hold him in the boat, otherwise the fish would pull him in. And we weighed that, and it was six...from tip of the nose to fork, was about six feet and a couple of inches. A huge thing. Very old. Following that principle, that massive fish could reproduce millions of recruits.

So the place has this importance as far as I can see, that it should be left alone because it is supplying these main Hawaiian Islands that are over fished. We've fished this down, some estimates that I've seen, to ten percent of the original stock. But there, you have ninety percent of the standing stock still existing. What we have to prove is that fact that those recruits can float in the water column, in the planktonic mass for months, and reach here and drop out, and find a habitat these islands. So it has a great importance. And I want to really emphasize that that these studies have been made, so we know that. And when we look at more recent studies that talk about spawning potential ratios, you find that these main islands are way, way down. Up there, the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, they are up. But when you take the two island (groups) together, the spawning ratio suddenly increases. So I think there is something in there that tells us that we should be protecting those islands.

I had the privilege, thanks to people like the Environmental Defense Organization, which is involved in environmental issues, they took Isaac Harp and me to the mainland, as Hawaiians, to meet with President Clinton. And President Clinton bought our arguments



about what we are saying of the spawning potential of those islands. And of course, he created the reserve, that we both work on to promote and make *pa'a*. That there is a reason to preserve the place.

The other side of it is, and I should tell you this, those places up there, the submerged atolls, being multi-millions of years old, have had resources. And the Japanese trawlers and the Russian trawlers have scraped those sea-mounts pretty well. So the armor head has never really recovered. That's a fatty fish up there, thorny gills and so forth. Something like the relative of the 'ūū, that family of fish, pokey gills. Those up are up there like that. Fatty, and the Russians like that to supplement their diet, which is relatively bland. But they have sort of...some of the records we have, after the war, we were able to get their fishing records. It's unbelievable, they claim they can trawl thirty metric tons in a trawl. Thirty metric tons is a lot of fish. But they were highly efficient. And of course they had the technology, which is the bane of fish. Because plenty of people are speaking of a right to fish, but the poor fish don't have anybody to speak for them, "save us." [chuckles]

Let's say that the sea-mount fishery went down, the precious coral fishery went down, red coral. When I was in Taiwan, I noticed these beautiful red coral displays of jewelry. And I asked them "where did they get it?" And they said, "Oh, Hawai'i got plenty." But of course they had trawled it and stored it for years, because they take it out in little amounts and make jewelry because it doesn't need refrigeration. So you have those two fisheries up there, which shows something possibly, about the nutrients. That the nutrients are not plentiful. Me and five fishermen out there, we noticed right away. We started to catch, you couldn't continue that rate of catch to fill up an airplane to bring into town, tons of fish. The fact that we were having such an impact, and that we had to go for different fish, we had to keep going out farther and deeper. But it reached a point where it was not sustainable. You couldn't hire an aircraft to fly in the load of fish. If it was over ten cents a pound, you were out of business, because you would have to have thousands of pounds to pay the pilot, the fuel, the insurance, and to bring them to Honolulu.

So, I guess I'm one of the guys who thought I was going to be smart and go out there where it was pristine, and found out otherwise. And actually, I fished myself out of a job. So I can bring that back and tell people, "This is what happened." Actually when I worked there from 1946, my last trip out, because the aircraft was too expensive, using a boat... And as He [Walter Paulo] just said, I did have several boats, and *Momi* is one of them that he had worked on. I had several others, and I still have interest in some of them today. But, the fishing around here is really tough. And it is getting harder, which has a funny effect. The scarcer the fish, the higher the price. And that means that the ordinary person cannot afford it. Only a person who says "price is no object." So that keeps it going, which keeps driving the stock down. So I think that maybe part of the answer is, since there is no one up there, that you are not displacing anyone, that we should try to *mālama* that to help us down here.

Kupuna Agard is an original member of the Western Pacific Fishery Management Council:

I am an original member of the Western Pacific Fishery Management Council, appointed by the Secretary of Commerce, and we had some studies done, when I was working on the Council, 1976, we started. Which was the year after the lobsters were discovered up there. So we had a collapse of the sea-mount fishery, that we had a stop, don't open up the precious coral fishery. We had the black lipped pearl oyster fishery down the tubes. We had the lobster fishery actually collapse three times up there. This is all happening up there. So there is a reason why they cannot replace themselves. Of course the habitat is small, they are little atolls. They are not like these main island that you can go around 100 miles. They are tiny, they might be 100 feet across, and 150 feet long. Something like that. Very tiny, small habitat. That study made when I worked on the Western Pacific Fishery Management Council, showed the nutrients up there were very little. And they came to me, the biologist with DLNR, they said, "You know Buzzy, up there, not too much



nutrients.” I didn’t want to believe them [chuckles]. But now I know. I was wrong plenty times up there in a pristine area. I don’t say, “You ought to just shut this whole thing down, nobody can fish.” But it has a value for us.

There is very little fresh water up there. We don’t have what you find here, mountains that cause moisture to fall, that feeds the streams, that makes the estuaries where little nurseries can exist. There is nothing up there like that. There is no water. On many, many islands there is none. On Nihoa, you can go on an overhang ledge, there is a little drip. But you get a few drops in your mouth, you don’t want to swallow because it is full of bird droppings. It’s in there and it’s bitter. We tried [gestures catching drip in mouth], we held our mouth and let it drop in, and wow! What a taste! I would say it doesn’t have fresh water, except for the droppings. But those experiences that I’m just trying to hit quickly with you, are very important to learning something about that place.

When you first land, as I saw those fish rolling in the sand and surf. Shining bodies, I said, “Oh my God, I know what that is. Let’s surround it” So we surrounded it, sent it to Honolulu. I went back the next week, I figured, if it’s like here, the next week they’ll move from the outside and move into the vacant area to take the food. There is always more scattered around. But you go down there, you take it, the next week you go... Like over here, you say, “next week, I’ll go check the *ko’a*, if has the fish.” But we went look, no more. We went the next month, no more. I went back on my boat to Shark Island, go look, no more. Ten years I worked there, I never caught one more fish in that *ko’a*. Nothing!

Worked with Isaac and Tammy Harp, and others to promote protection of the NWHI fisheries; President Clinton signed into Law Executive Orders 13178 & 13196:

So I looked to Honolulu, sailed about 90 degrees, didn’t look back, and don’t go back. And I never went back. If it were worth it, I would probably still be working there. But it is not worth it. So it is a lesson that I learned, and I just want to explain what happened out there. It looks great, but it is not sustainable. The fish are tame, you walk in the water on the reef, up to your hip, and you look behind you, all the fish are following you. They are all tame. But thank goodness for you having this meeting so that we can share. And I can congratulate my buddy over there, Isaac, for going with me and talking to President Clinton. And he said “Yes, if that is what happens in Hawai’i, we should protect it.” We put the Executive Order [No. 13178 & 13196], and now we are struggling to keep it in there. I was looking at the map here, 1919. It says there, and it circles it, it’s a “Bird Reserve.” And That would be great, just keep it that way [chuckling].

KM: Hmm.

LA: We have a few fishermen going in there. Last time I talked to them, they said four fishermen go up there bottom fishing, which wouldn’t have an impact. But if there are other fishers who want to exploit the area, you have to think about it. After all, what exists now, we have created a monopoly for four fishermen to fish in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands. That’s what we have, they have a monopoly. Maybe that is enough, and it’s okay, because if we can continue to get recruits from the Northwestern Islands here... There are several things that exist, like study that they found from the satellites, counter currents. Most people believe that the trade winds from the east to the west. And with that, would be the float of the planktonic mass on the surface. But we have to realize too, that there are two currents. The sub-current is the one that flows from Japan, all the way up along the Sacklan Islands, Alaska, Canada, Washington, Oregon, California, with the huge migration of *’ahi*, *tombo ’ahi*, or albacore. And they go all the way down to South America, and then they swim across from South America, counter current all the way back to Japan, to begin the cycle of fertilizing and making recruits through the vast Pacific. That’s now. So if we have the current, and a counter current, what depth is the surface and bottom current, and how many recruits can float in a planktonic mass with that to help these islands here? It is important for us to be able to eat the fish [chuckling].



And so I think...and I've asked when we have meetings like this that the science be entered into the picture. Not so much just being able to figure out this current, counter current distribution, but I'm positive, because maybe the DNA is the same as in the other islands as here. But if we have species that live up there, that is the other reason for it being protected strongly. Like, we have up there, the endangered monk seal, but he comes all the way down here too. They pup mostly, I guess, around French Frigate Shoals. A huge area about 20 miles wide with little atolls. We go up there, and the green sea turtles, at least ninety percent of which spawn up there. Because they can't spawn here, possibly because of the human involvement and collecting eggs. Actually eating them and so forth. So that interferes with them. We have millions of protected sea birds up there, which is why there is a reserves. They were collecting the sea bird wings, and collected thousands of them, and Roosevelt said "Make it the reserve." So that is the way it has been ever since.

If we have all of that, a hundred mile wide section, going out 1,200 miles out there, and the rest of the ocean is open to fishing, I don't think that is too much to ask with those protected species being only in that one place. A guy came to a meeting, and he said, "I understand you folks here in Hawai'i want to protect the whole ocean." He was some kind of an employee in the Fish and Game Department in the State of Texas... I think President Bush sent him here to find out what was the intent of us here in Hawai'i, in trying to keep the reserve going and keeping it *pa'a*, like *kapu*. I think of it like a *pu'uhonua*. If all those things went back out there... Some people disagree with that too, "be careful with the word *pu'uhonua*." I say, "Well, that's the refuge, that's the only place that they can survive. Maybe they are pointing the way and saving it for us, by being there." So let's think about that. That this might be something worthwhile that you have this small space, we know these animals are there. The system is almost in balance, except for guys like me who go out there and upset, and which I found out happens, and did happen. I am in no way interested in going back out there because I know what is going to happen, it's too fragile. So maybe something happened to show us, this is the way, *kapu*, *pu'uhonua*. They have retreated there to live their lives out and continue living. Enough, *kapu!*

There are strong pressures to do otherwise, and I think the pressures come from people who haven't been there, or haven't tried to harvest and seen what damage that harvest is doing to a fragile ecosystem. It's intact, it should be in balance. You take out one segment, you upset the balance. What you find out there is all the big fish, big! Plenty sharks. And I've read that that is the only place found, that the top two predators in those numbers survive out there. So they are living off of the *limu*, the algae, the species that consume that, and all the way up the scale as they get larger, to those big animals. And it is in balance. So I guess you want to weigh that, what you are going to do about that. You have a chance, and we can put our minds together, how can we keep the thing intact, and keep it productive? And we get a benefit. Thank you.

KM: *Mahalo..!* Now *Kupuna* Kapahulehua, growing up on Ni'ihau, their people were among the last to be doing some regular travel into some of the islands, and if we could ask *kupuna*, would you share some of your *mo'olelo*. Like when I mentioned to you Moku Manamana, you recall hearing some things about these island. Could you please share a little bit of that?

Traditions of Hawaiians sailing to Nihoa and Moku Manamana to fish.

KK: Growing up on the island of Ni'ihau, at about four years old, I heard two uncle telling stories. One said, "*Mōla'ela'e kēia ahiahi. Hiki au ke 'ike i nā hōkū a pau. Nui nā hōkū o kēia ahiahi.*" This evening is so bright. I am seeing a lot more stars than I am used to. I could see much, much more stars. The other one said, "You see that group of stars over three?" "Yes, I see that, a group of big stars." "That is called *Nāhiku* (the Big Dipper), and the Big Dipper is going home towards the west."



There was a story about an uncle saying that six months out of the year, during the summer months, they get their canoe ready, put a lot of coconut leaves on it. A double canoe. And they wait for that star to come out in the month of April. The third week of April, they have the south wind to take them north to Moku Manamana. That's where they will spend six months out of the year, live on the land. They sleep in and around the canoe, and they use the coconut leaves to keep them from sunburn, because there are no trees on Moku Manamana. They fish, they bring potatoes with them. Or sometimes they stop on Kaua'i, Kalalau. They go pick up taro, a couple of bags of taro and they take that with them. They cook it. They have the water, they take a lot of coconuts. Water untouched by human hands in the coconuts. They catch fish on the way. They substitute the fish and coconut milk. So that's what they live on until they get on the island and then do a lot of fishing. It is cooler on Moku Manamana, being further north, than Ni'ihau. Ni'ihau is so hot. Hardly any rain, hardly any trees at the time, in those days. So they used to live there on Moku Manamana and do a lot of fishing.

Then the other story, the same two uncles saying that another group. That first group, they lived close, right across from the island of Lehua, a cove which is called Nanina. That's where they lived. But another group, started from Kawaihoa on the Kamalino side of the island, the west end of the island. But they picked the month of April also. The first two weeks of the month, the wind is blowing from the northeast. So they have their double hull canoe ready, from the first of the month. They crack the coconuts, let it dry out on the coral. Mainly because they want the coconut meat to turn into oil. Then you know the coconut leaves as they grow, they have the coconut webbing like a net? They gather all those and save it. And when the time comes, and they have enough oil in the coconuts, they wrap it into this coconut webbing. What they do with it is, they used the webbing as a sand paper to rub on the side of the canoe to knock off all the whatever.

KM: 'Ae.

KK: And they put the oil into the wood. So the barnacle and sea worms will not get into the wood. That's how they would prolong the life of the canoe. So that's how they would get the canoe ready. Then they would make coconut baskets to put coconuts into the basket. Then they would weave panels for the trip. They make it because on the island of Nihoa, There is no grass, no trees, no shrubs. But a lot of 'ōpihi, wana, hā'uke'uke, crabs. The 'a'ama crabs, and of course, Mr. Agard forgot to put the bigger 'ulua on that picture there [pointing to poster on wall]. And that's what those guys do, catch 'ulua.

There's eight guys on the canoe. On the way to Nihoa, the steersman keeps the North Star at two o'clock. [gesturing with hand] What they do, twelve o'clock, straight ahead, one o'clock, two o'clock, three o'clock, on the right hand side. But he followed the tail of the Big Dipper. As the Big Dipper is going, he follows that. That's how they navigate, to stay higher than Nihoa. Because the wind and the current is taking them towards Nihoa, so they steer higher. In the mean time, the other guy sitting across from him, looking across his head, to know what star is rising from the east. Because the following week, they are going to go home. So they can follow that rising star to go home. They only have one week to do the 'ulua fishing on Nihoa.

So every hour, the steersman is not only watching *Nāhiku*, but he also watches for another one, and he measures from the thumb on the horizon, and the index finger straight up. That's one hour. So he is supposed to be steering only for one hour. Then the two exchange. Then the other guy is doing the same thing. When that second hour is almost up then they trade, the two guys watch, all night long until day break, and they see Nihoa right ahead. They never passed it. So that is how they go fishing.

But they had all the equipment they needed. Spears, they got the metal pipe from Kaua'i. And as one canoe is going to Nihoa, the second canoe goes to Kalalau, Kaua'i to work on the *lo'i*, take care of the taro. And if they need anything from Waimea, from the stores,



they climb up Kōke'e, walk all the way down to Waimea, do their shopping, and then back up to Kōke'e, and on to Kalalau, hop on the canoe, go home. Those days, they don't grumble...

Group: [chuckles]

'Ulua fishing at Nihoa and other islands of the region:

KK: If you need something, you go get. If you don't get it, you go without. So that is how they did their fishing and harvesting taro on Kaua'i. So you have two different groups and they waited till the last week of the month, that's when the south wind is going to change, come from the north, so they can go home. Following the rising stars, and they are back at Kawaihoa. But the people on Moku Manamana, they stay there for six months out of the year. This time of the year, they turn around and get ready, waiting for the wind shift from the north, and they go home.

And the fish they catch, there is an overhang reef. All the crabs underneath. What the fellas do is get *wana*, crack the *wana* and leave it out. All the crabs can smell the *wana*, they come out to eat. But they know that the birds are looking for them. But they failed to look in the ocean. The 'uluu is also waiting for them. But the 'uluu failed to see this post standing above, it's not a post, it's a man with a spear. He's posed, not making any move, So when the 'uluu comes out of the water and spits at the crab, to get 'um loose from the rocks. They fall off and the 'uluu comes to get the crab. But the man hits it right behind the eye, where the brain is. He puts the spear there, and the 'uluu stops moving. So all the other 'uluu kept swimming around. Nut the partner of that spears man, has a stick with a hook [gestures], and he hooks it under the chin and pulls it clear out of the water. The two guys pulling it out. They cut the head off, and then cut, just like your finger [gesturing width of cuts], and fill it up with salt. Put is aside with that coconut panel they made, cover it.

Early the next morning they swish it in the water. Their food, the 'uluu head, coconut, and they drink the water. That's how they lived over there for the whole week. And 'a'a rocks. After eight o'clock, it gets warm. So that is how they dried the 'uluu meat, on the 'a'a. Two guys catch two 'uluu, that's about 500 pounds total, just the meat.

KM: Amazing.

KK: So if you've got four groups, you get 2,000 pounds. And then they go back to Ni'ihau, share with all the families. And then the 'umeke is full of *pāpa'i*, 'a'ama, share with the family. So while these eight guys are on the island, the rest of the guys are taking care of their family. That's how they lived.

KM: Ahh, so they *kōkua kekāhi i kekāhi*?

KK: *Kōkua* one another.

KM: *Mahalo!* Was there a name for that bigger 'uluu?

KK: I'm not too sure what they call that.

LA: Well that fish, 'ōmilu, rarely gets over thirty inches. Those giants are what we call the white 'uluu and the black 'uluu.

EK: Yes, the black 'uluu.

LA: They are like about 80, 90, 100 pounds.

KM: Amazing! So they would go up six months to Moku Manamana and areas?

KK: Moku Manamana, six months.

KM: How long, from Ni'ihau to...and they traveled by the stars?

KK: By knowing the stars, yes.



KM: How long might it have taken? And this is you *kūpuna*, uncle *mā* talking about this?

KK: Yes.

KM: Were they still doing that when you were young?

KK: No. After Robinson or Sinclair took over Ni‘ihau, it stopped. That would be from the fifteen, sixteens, seventeens, to the early eighteen hundreds.

KM: And how long would it have taken? And if they left from Kawaihoa, they went to?

KK: Nihoa.

KM: And if they left from Nanina?

KK: Nanina, they go up to Kalalau (Kaua‘i), to get the taro, and then go over to Moku Manamana.

KM: And how long would it have taken?

KK: About one week.

KM: Amazing!

KK: Yes.

KM: *Mahalo nui!*

KK: *No‘u ka hau‘oli.*

LA: There is an account in Captain Cook’s log book that he was at Kure Island, I think his second trip, 1779². When he encountered a Hawaiian canoe way up there at Kure, and asking the natives... There were ten natives on the double-hulled canoe. What they were doing there? And they said they had come to “collect turtles and bird eggs.” It’s in his log book. So they had sailed all the way up there. Coconuts for water and so forth.

KM: ‘Ae.

LA: So there is an account in the log book of a double-hulled canoe with ten men in it, catching turtles. And turtles of course, you don’t have to do anything with, they survive on their own in the canoe, until you get them back home to Ni‘ihau and Kaua‘i.

Turtle fishing at Nu‘alolo and Kalalau; and *akule* schools at Nihoa:

In fact the fishing ground close to Kalalau and Nu‘alolo. Nu‘alolo, when you sail by there, you can see what you think are round rocks, but they are actually all turtles. It’s kind of a place where they go to rest. I don’t think there is much sand, so they can’t lay their eggs. And in some of the bays over there...I can describe Nihoa, Adam’s Bay. It is anywhere from three fathoms and a half to about four fathoms, and these huge schools of *akule* come inside there. And we’d pass by there on our way, we would leave Kewalo at midnight, thirty three hours later, we would wake up in the morning, and there was Nihoa standing majestically in the distance, and the sun behind our heads.

We would go by the bay first and look in. And if we’d see that there was a lot of discoloration, a reddish-blackish kind of color, and you see undulating and moving, we knew that was a school of fish. And generally what happens is, because there are these huge *‘ulua* in that vicinity, when they charge into this mass of fish, the fish will part and you can see the discoloration in the color of the water. And they go through and the fish come back. And as these big fish go through, they hit several fish, chopping, and they

² In 1778, Cook learned of islands to the Northwest of Ni‘ihau; and again in March 1779, following Captain Cook’s death, Captains King and Clerk wrote about the same island(s) called Moku Papapa; to which Hawaiian traveled periodically to hunt birds and turtles (cf. Beaglehole, 1967:279, 604 & 632).



usually injure a few. These fish kind of flutter down to the bottom. It's mostly sand, but there are rocks there too. But there's a lot of sand from over centuries of wave action creating this sand there.

The first time we went there (flying), some fisherman had mentioned to me, "You know, I saw fish there." I said, "You sure?" So I went, and "yes, that's a school of fish." So we came back home, got some nets and went back out. [chuckles] So I swam off first by myself, and I swam in and looked, looked at the bottom and set the purse net. You don't want to catch rocks because the net won't hold. Swimming in there, I looked about two or three times, [smiling] and the hair on my head stood up. I said, "Oh my God, what is this?" There is this huge school of fish, flat on the top, like a hanging bee-hive. Thousands of fish in this school, ball, mixing, this is the spawning process. The females casting out roe, and the males casting out the milk. This is how they propagate. And that is the way customarily, when they gather together, that's when you can net them, and that technique is still going on today.

But, underneath that [chuckling], was this pack of sharks and giant *'ulua*, all intermixing, underneath this ball. When a big *kāhala* crashed in or a big *'ulua* crashed in, the injured fish would fall down, swim down and land on the sand, and these large fish would just swim around and pick them up. And this goes on, this activity, days and days, even weeks. Because there is nobody there to disturb them. They just spawn all the time. Except for guys like me who went over there and disturbed them.

So I jumped in the water and signaled to the men, come. I watched and watched, and these top predators are on the bottom of the ocean, in a circle, like a pack of wolves, and the mass of fish over them. They are picking up the injured fish. It took about five minutes, and they would slowly come up from the bottom, and they would circle you and the fish. But, they include you in there, eyeball you. [smiling] It's kind of a harrowing experience. So I look in the back of the boat, and there is one of my fishermen. I picked him up from Kona, a pure Hawaiian boy. He went in the water, I looked in the back, I saw him lower himself, and all the sudden, I saw him leap out and come right inside the boat [chuckling], when he saw what was down there. It is frightening.

Then of course, we set the net and then all hell broke loose. The fish got frightened, and they explode to the surface, and they explode down. And they hit the net, and at the corner of their mouth is a little structure that sticks out. It allows them to open their mouth [gestures, wide]. When that catches the net, they struggle on the net. But there is a sound they make—trrrrrr, trrrrr—as soon as that sound is made in the water, either you jump in the boat, or you jump inside the net. Because that is when the predators start going *puni*. Bite the net, with the fish and the webbing in their mouth as they swim away. They swallow the fish and the webbing. They go into a feeding frenzy when you surround. In those places, anyway. In town here, you don't have the top predators that circle the schools. But out there you have. And Shark Bay is like that, a huge school of sharks. We would have to stay inside the net, they thought that that was a fish and they bite. Your fin touches the net, they bite. You cannot touch the net. So we learned the hard way and got the nets all torn up, and we ended up with all those big *'ulua*. But that was the reason that it was spooky, but it is also destructive, that kind of fishing out there.

And I think we still do it here, when you can. We have so many boats that cruise up and down the shore line, they interrupt the tranquility of the spawning system. So you don't see that too much, at least around this island, you're not going to find that. But you go to the outside islands, where you don't have that many people or that many boats, they can still come in and spawn. But you go out there, the school stay there like perennially, it's always there. When I go by, I fly over, I look and I can see it in the bay, Adam's Bay. I've never gone by there without ever seeing it in there. It's just there permanent, spawning all the time. Same thing in Shark Bay at Necker Island. That's what you're calling Moku Manamana isn't it? Or are you calling French Frigate, Moku Manamana?



BP: French Frigate.

Moku Manamana:

LA: French Frigate. Because they apply the name to the two places. I've noticed that, people using Moku Manamana for Necker, and Moku Manamana for French Frigate. And when you talk to some people, when they harvest the turtles, they talk about terms of Moku Manamana.

KM: Interestingly in the genealogical account of the birthing of the islands, it also refers to "*nā Moku Manamana*." These small pinnacles, rocklets, fragmented islands, that were the afterbirth of the island birthing process. Not just one place like it is called today.

EK: Uh-hmm.

Preservation of the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands breeding stocks is important to the well-being of the Main Hawaiian Islands fisheries:

LA: So getting back to why it is worth preserving is this. If those schools are there perennially, in Adam's Bay at Nihoa and Shark's Bay at Necker, and beyond, into the French Frigate Shoals, the schools are there, these fish, the *akule*, big-eyed scad, are in a category of quasi-pelagic, ocean roaming. That means that because the breeding cycle in these islands (the Main Hawaiian Islands) is interrupted because of human activity. Lots of boats and jet skis, and ordinary fishing boats and diving boats, these fish don't come into spawn. So where do they spawn? I guess they must be spawning up there. They are always there and continually spawning. The recruits or larva float down and end up here. The larva the end up down in the ocean from millions and millions of potential recruits, fall into depths where they die, because there is no habitat in the depths. They only survive and mature in habitats around these islands, and the estuaries where you are going to find plenty of small kinds.

Waikīkī beach at one time, was a beautiful spawning ground, even though they were surfing, I don't think surfing interrupted as much as the boat with an engine underneath it. It's not natural, so it frightens them. So they don't come into spawn. So where are they spawning? The only place that I can think of, and there are lots of *akule* up there. As I said, Nihoa always has a school in Adam's Bay. I made trip after trip, after trip. I don't know how many trips I made, but I made plenty. And I knew which island to go to, where to catch fish. It was always there.

We finally found a way to take care of the sharks, we put a net around, we caught the big *'ulua*, and everything came up in the net. When we'd bag, put the huge seine. And then we'd purse the seine, put an *'eke*, the bag, and we'd bring all the fish in by closing the net. We'd lift it up and the big school of sharks that were in there, you got them too. The *'ulua* that were mixed with them, you got them. And all the *akule* that were in there, that didn't explode, either over the floats, or as you lifted up the purse, and under the floats, you go them. So it was this big mass, as big as this table [about 26 feet in length], of boiling fish. So those days, we could eat shark, we used to make *kamaboku*. I sold all the sharks, we would head them and gut them, and just throw them on top of the ice. Because they don't break down that fast. They have a strong ammonia scent. But we'd bring 'um in here, they'd chop 'um all up, cook 'um and make *kamaboku*. And we loved it. Until somebody said, "You guys are eating sharks." [chuckling] That stopped it.

Group: [chuckling]

LA: That was a thing that we would catch and take to the shop. Because they would tear up everything. They would even go after you as a human. If you touched the net under water, and there was the fluttering of fish, struggling—trrrrr, trrrrr—you can hear that under water. You look around and you'll see, they'll grab everything. Get in the net, stand back and wait till everything calms down.



But those places have continuous...that is why I am trying to say, the place has that value. Where they can spawn in peace, and these recruits spread all over the place. It's omni-directional. In every direction these things will spread. The fecundity of the species is benefiting us, because they are allowed to propagate up there. There is nobody there to disturb them. And if you think about it, if we are not hurting anybody by saying "You can't go catch fish there, '*kapu, pu'uhonua*.'" This is helping us, everybody in this state, not just us, it's everybody.

BP: May I just add something to what uncle Buzzy is saying, it's that this concept is not a foreign concept, it exists even today, throughout the Pacific. Some of the atolls that I've been on, they actually set aside islands, atolls, and keep them as sanctuary. Because they know that those areas will provide food for you later on, if something should happen. So what uncle Buzzy is proposing, is not alien, it's Pacific wide, a well established practice. And it is something that we should consider.

KM: *Mahalo!*

Discuss types of fish caught in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands:

WA: Let me ask uncle Buzzy a question. While you were up there fishing, what were some of the things that you ate up there?

LA: It was very meager and you've got no supplies. There was plenty of fish. All kinds, and in the shallows, they would just follow you. *Mā'i'i'i, manini...*

EK: Uh-hmm.

LA: ...*uhu*, and lots of *weke*, and of course, lots of lobsters. But we never told anybody about them. Always figuring that somebody would come down and get them, and they did.

WA: But you ate lobster?

LA: Yes, and lots of '*ōpihi*. Especially rocky places like La Perouse Pinnacle. They were very large, about that big [gestures, size].

KM: Four inch diameter.

LA: And the darn things are tough. You can't eat them hardly, you have to chop them up. And try not to boil them too long, because they come like leather. They were old animals, and they get big. And there's *hā'uke'uke* and the rocks and *wana*.

WA: *Limu?*

LA: No more *limu*. Not one shred of *limu* have I seen there. Nihoa has a little bit, but when you start going further up, I don't see it like we know here. *Ogo*, and what is it?

KM: *Manauea*.

LA: *Manauea* and all of that.

WA: How about *he'e*, Nihoa and Necker?

LA: Get. There's enough.

WA: Did the *kūpuna* talk about bringing back *he'e* when they went for the '*ulua*?

KK: On Ni'ihau they have plenty.

LA: You know on Nihoa, Adam's Bay, there's a landing, and that's one of the few places I ever saw this...well, there's plenty of '*ōpihi*. The black lip and the yellow. The yellow would be under the break, and the black would climb on the top of the rocks. Which meant that it had been eating something up there, so we were selective, we'd eat only the yellow ones. The ones that eat on land you kind of stay away from. And the crabs.



But there was something there. [chuckling] The first day we landed there, we walked up on this shelf around the island. You know, it's kind of steep, sloping on the south side. And as we walked along, there were the tidal pools, and as we walked by we looked and saw lobsters in these pools. Because there was nobody there, and you look at them, and anybody could go there and just pick them out of the water.

KM: Were there *pūhi* up there?

LA: Had *pūhi*. *Pūhi*, they are everywhere [chuckles].

KL: [arrived after discussions were underway] Before, when we spoke, you mentioned that when you fished the big *ʻulua* up there, and the other fish, that it fishes down very fast?

LA: Yes, very fast.

KL: I wonder if you could share that with the group.

KM: Yes, we did talk about that already, thank you. Uncle Leo Ohai also said the same thing yesterday, that after one year up there, it never came back up again.

LA: Yes, it takes a long time. I think it's because of a lack of nutrients and basically that, for some reason, it doesn't come back. It's not like here (the Main Hawaiian Islands). You fish here, the next day, it moves in from the outside, and they occupy this space for food. It's kind of like a regular place that they come for some reason. I had an interesting experience that I should share with you about the old timers. When I picked the boys (the fishing crew) up, I used to fish the islands, I went to all of the islands with my big boat. When I landed in Kona, these boys would come down to the pier and look at the boat. Look, and not say much. Then finally, one would get the courage and say, "Hey mister, I like go fishing with you." These boys were all young, unemployed, there was kind of not much to do, and they wanted adventure. They wanted to explore stuff. So I let them come on board, and I worked with them on all islands. You kind of live off the land.

We used to land on Kaho'olawe, tackle wild goats and we would eat that. We eat what we can find on the land. You eat goat, you eat sheep, you eat everything. So my experience with these boys, they told me about their families. They said, "Well, papa said, you get your first fish in a school, or whatever, your period fishing, the largest one, you threw back in the water." Now, I always thought, "That's the most valuable one. How come we are throwing it back in the water?" And then over the years, I thought and I thought, and I realized, it's that story up there [in the NWHI]. The largest fish is the best reproducer of recruits. I didn't believe, because I wasn't raised that way...

Then the boy told, "Grandpa said, not only do throw back the first, largest fish you have, the best fish you have, you give back to the *akua*. And you know, grandpa said, we get certain *ko'a*, certain places where the fish will come at certain times." I didn't believe that either. I didn't know any better... So I didn't believe. They were telling me about these places, identifying them. I thought, "well, okay, so what." But I didn't really believe. But you know, over the years as I fished, and I have been fishing a long time, I've found that what they were telling me, they pointing out, and identifying things. Like here (O'ahu), he pointed out to me these places where the mullet, *'ama'ama* came. And sure enough, after a while, I was flying by all the time, with my plane looking for fish. That was fast, we were going 120 miles an hour and the boat can only go ten. So you cover a greater distance in a shorter length of time. So I could find. Of course, the federal government sent me to Micronesia to find what they called bio-mass, and estimate the type and quantity. I did that in the south, and they sent me flying all the way up the chain to find, all the way up to Midway to find bio-mass. I would identify what it was, what type of fish, and how much there was. So I would fly everyday and check the places. Really, I didn't identify the places first. I got there, and I saw the species, saw the action. And I identified them, and sure enough, it was what the boys told me. They said, "When you go over there by that point, that time of the year, the mullet come, you will find them spawning." Sure enough, I would have saved all of my time and misery if I had listened.



So I come to those conclusions today, because I know that I made some mistakes. I did. And I didn't listen. I was thinking, "how did they know?" But somebody and taught them, and told them, and they were telling me, as a young kid. I was only about twenty-something, twenty-three years old...

KM: Hmm. So that *kūpuna* knowledge of fishery, *ko'a*, and the species and times that fish were at a certain place...?

LA: Yes.

KM: Was something that was time, truth-tested, a deep, deep knowledge?

LA: They had experience, they learned it by observation, and it was yours for the taking.

KM: 'Ae.

LA: If you wanted to take it, give *makana*.

KM: *Mahalo!* Bill, you had a questions?

BP: Uncle Kāwika, throughout the Pacific, one resource that oceanic people eat, consumed a lot, was sea birds. And it would be valuable I think, if you heard of any stories of Hawaiians going up there to eat those animals?

KK: On the island of Ka'ula, beyond Ni'ihau. They used to go up there to pick up eggs and birds.

BP: The *'iwa* bird or sooty tern?

'*Ōpihi* fishing, collection of sea birds, and deified sharks at Ka'ula:

KK: The rock is straight up, almost. The only way they can climb up there is, they touch the *'ōpihi* [gestures large *'ōpihi*, three inches-plus in diameter]. The *'ōpihi* is pretty big. They go over there and touch the *'ōpihi*, the *'ōpihi* will suck the rock, he doesn't want to come off. So you put your foot there, touch the next one, and the next one, that's how they climbed up there. And with a coconut basket on their back. They climb up, they get the eggs, pick them up and put them in the basket. You have to get three eggs in the nest, no more. You have more than three, that's too old.

BP: Do you know which bird this was?

KK: I don't know, there were so many birds...

KM: *Kupuna*, one of the interesting things in the stories that you have all shared with us in the past is about *manō*, the sharks, and the relationship of the *manō* as *'aumakua* and *kia'i*.

KK: That's there (at Ka'ula).

KM: At Ka'ula, there is a *manō* that...?

KK: A big one.

KM: Hmm. Do you remember hearing a name of that *manō*?

KK: [speaking to *kupuna* Ka'anā'anā] Remember uncle Harry was telling?

EK: I remember that he mentioned the name, but I forgot.

KK: What was the name?

KM: Kuhaimoana?

KK: Yes.

EK: I think so, Kuhaimoana.



KM: Hmm, that is the shark that is associated with Ka'ula and up to Nihoa.
 EK: Nihoa.
 KK: 'Ae, Kuhaimoana. So if you do something wrong, he's going to follow you.
 KM: Ah, so the shark would follow you?
 KK: Right. So when you go over there, make sure you don't do anything wrong. Let him sleep nicely. You just do what you are supposed to be doing, don't disturb him.
 KM: That's interesting, you do what you are supposed to be doing. Did you folks grow up with the idea that you, before you take something, you *pule mua*, you *noi mua*?
 KK: Yes.
 KM: Was that a practice that most of you grew up with, that you don't just take what you like?
 KK: You ask first, permission, yes. Before you step on the rock.

Practices (protocol – *mea ma'a mau*), associated with fishing, and care for the resources:

WP: For *'ōpelu* fishing, for me, my step father, Peter Paulo, generally would say a little *pule*, and he would take two *'alā* stone and he would cast it off.
 KM: To the *ko'a*?
 WP: Not to the *ko'a*, but before he even goes out, before he moves out on the canoe, he casts them right in the harbor.
 KM: 'Oia?
 WP: Yes. And then, I would like to add about the *'ōpelu*, the first *ku'u*, the first set, you generally would release two. And I used to take my grandson, and we would go to Kalaeloa (O'ahu), and every time I do that, and he asked "How do you know if that's male and female?" I said, "That's a good question. In the past we had at least a half a dozen canoes fishing in the area, so everybody cast over two. You get six canoes, you get twelve fish. So eventually, they would get together."
 KM: So what did you call that, when you told me before, I think, it was representative of Kū and Hina, the male and female?
 WP: Yes. But I never got that Kū and Hina.
 KM: Oh, one of you?
 EK: Yes.
 KM: Oh, I'm sorry, it was uncle Eddie Ka'anā'anā, *e kala mai*.

Kupuna Ka'anā'anā learned from his *kūpuna* at Kapalilua, South Kona, that in the generation preceding his, *kūpuna* still traveled from Hawai'i to Ni'ihau, and on up to Nā Moku 'Aha. *Kupuna* Ka'anā'anā and *Kupuna* Kapahulehua discuss travel to Nā Moku 'Aha, done in part to train navigators in practices of sailing and way-finding, and staying connected to the wahi pana (storied and sacred places) of lore:

EK: *Ku'u lohe 'ana ka 'ōlelo a kākou, ha'i mai kākou, lohe ku'u pepeiao, lohe aku ai i kou mo'olelo...*
 KK: Uh-hmm.
 EK: *I nā po'e wā kahiko i hele ai i kēia 'āina Manamana.*
 KK: 'Ae.



- EK: So we have in our thoughts, and I'm always listening, some things when I hear, and it connects. Things that I've heard from my *kūpuna*. So we hear "*mana, manamana, Moku Manamana*." Then we connect it with French Frigate Shoals, that *'āina* over there, yeah.
- KK: Yes.
- EK: Then here again, the story comes back. *Ho'i mai la ka no'ono'o i ka ha'i mai nā kūpuna o kākou i kēia 'āina. Mana, manamana* [holding up his hand], *manamana lima, a 'aha, Moku 'aha*. So you put that two in place, when you say *manamana lima*, we have our main islands over here, and these are their finger [indicating the NWHI]. And then we hear today, "we are going to the Line Islands." We forget the word *'aha* [line, cordage or rope]. Today we seem to forget what the *'aha* means. And there are a lot of stories behind the *'aha*. *'Ahahui, kēia, 'ahahui kēlā*. Today we forget the *'aha*, we just *hui* this, *hui* that. That's our *pilikia* with what's going on today, we want to shorten things, we want to get there quick, and we forget about things in the back. That's why I think about that, we are here to talk about our Line Islands, and then we hear today, *mana*.
- And then, when we hear again, people of Ni'ihau, they went up there, they went to Nihoa, they went to Ka'ula. And then here again, the story, *lohe au i nā mo'olelo mai ku'u kupuna mai, mai ku'u anakala. Hele lākou i kēia 'āina Manamana, hele lākou i Nihoa*. And we figure, from the place I come from, Hawai'i, what, why do they have to go over there? For get this fish or whatever they do over there, when we have all the fish over here. But we don't ask questions. We were not supposed to ask questions. But you hear stories, the did go over there.
- KM: So even from Minoli'i, Kapalilua?
- EK: Well, *mai Kapalilua, hele lākou a hui lākou me nā 'ohana o Ni'ihau. A noho lākou i ka 'āina o Ni'ihau, a ma laila hele aku la lākou i laila. Ka po'e holo moana*. So the story that you hear of our people, they are seafaring people, our navigators. The sun, the stars, and they go over there, it's just like a training area for them. They join with the families. We have *'ohana* all over the mokus.
- KM: 'Ae.
- EK: That's just like a part of their training, *po'e holo moana*. Because when we have old fishermen, they go by the tide, they go by the moon, and the clouds, whatever it is. *Lohe au kēlā*. So when I hear that, *a ho'i aku la ka no'ono'o*.
- KM: 'Ae.
- EK: *Ka mo'olelo i ha'i 'ia mai ko'u po'e kūpuna*.
- KM: *Mōhala ka no'ono'o*.
- EK: Yes.
- KK: *Pololei*.
- EK: Here we figure, fish was so plentiful, when I was growing up, they were so plentiful. Then you wonder, why are they going to go over there to those islands? Training, *holo moana*.
- KM: So they are passing on the knowledge of the navigating?
- EK: Passing on the knowledge, the navigation knowledge. So they go over there.
- KM: 'Ae. And of course, you have to eat when you are there, so you *lawai'a*.
- EK: You have to eat, *holo lawai'a*. So that kind of thing, when I listen. Like I say, I am a young *kupuna*, I need to hear from somebody first, then this connection comes back, and that's why we say Nā Moku 'Aha.
- KM: 'Ae.



KK: That's why you are connecting the dots.

KM: *Pehea kou mana'o, Moku 'Aha, the gathering...?*

EK: I guess the line, 'aha.

KM: Line of islands.

EK: We get our 'aha.

KK: Just like the fingers (*manamana*).

EK: When we talk about *pu'uhonua*, we get into 'aha. 'Ahahui, what kind of organization are we forming when we are bringing this 'aha together? Why are we pulling them in? To form an 'aha... The 'aha is a big thing when you hear the stories of our *kūpuna*.

KK: 'Ae.

EK: So much, and that's why I see the connection here. It comes back when I hear this story. And why are we hearing this story, they say they are going over there to get fish, when fish is so plentiful in our place?

KM: 'Ae. So it wasn't necessary to just go fishing up there, it was something else?

EK: Part of your traveling, part of your life. It's just like when you want to train warriors, 'oia ka mo'olelo o nā kūpuna o kākou. Mākou 'āina, hele 'oe i Molokai, they can train you in certain things over there. That's part of your training to become a warrior, protect your 'āina, protect your ali'i like that. Kēlā ka 'ano.

That's what they said. A'ole na'u ke ninau, "No ke 'aha kākou e hele aku i kēlā 'āina ma laila, ki'i aku ka i'a?"

KM: A'ole 'oe i ninau?

EK: A'ole ninau, mahope mai, na lākou, ka manawa ku pono ha'i mai lākou i ka mo'olelo, no ke 'aha ka hele. Hele aku 'oia hui me kēlā 'ohana o Ni'ihau, ma laila, hele mai nei lākou ho'omākaukau 'ana i ka po'e holo moana. That was part of their navigation over there. Mai poina, o ka pa'akai, ka li'u o ka pa'akai! Hele pū me ka pa'akai.

KM: 'Ae, 'ae.

KK: *Pololei.*

EK: So many of these stories of ours connects with us, connect, though we don't understand. And these are stories that I hear. I wouldn't say, "Ōlelo mai la ku'u po'e kūpuna me ka po'e 'ohana;" that our family, our tūtūs spoke it to us, but I say ha'i. I never said 'ōlelo, because that 'ōlelo is something else. Ha'i mai la lākou a lohe ana nei au i ke 'ano o ka mo'olelo a lākou i ha'i mai.

KM: 'Ae.

EK: *Kekāhi manawa, lohe anei i ka 'ōlelo i ha'i mai nei ia'u...* the word comes out as something else. I'm telling this, the words that I have heard from my *kūpuna*, hopefully, I'm telling the right thing. If there is anything wrong, *e kala mai, ua hū hewa aku la*. Never forget to forgive. So there again, that is how we connected this Line Island, that word, that we hear it right here on this table from *kupuna* [Kapahulehua] like that.

And then we hear about our seafaring people, when they want to go home to Kahiki, you go to there.

KK: *Pololei.*

KM: You go up first?



- EK: *Ho'i 'oe i Kahiki, hele 'oe lo'a i ke Ala i Kahiki*, then you chant for your winds. And if you don't get your winds from there, you won't be sailing straight. You don't get your wind, you will be drifting, drifting, then you call that other wind, and that's all the kind of things they talk about.
- KK: Unless La'a.
- EK: Yes, unless you are La'a. And that's what we thought about with the Kū'ula and the two fish when we let go, *'o Kū a me Hina kēlā. Kēlā ka 'ōlelo a ka tūtū a kākou. Kekāhi manawa no'ono'o kākou ma ka akua a kākou, Kū, Kāne, Kanaloa, Lono, a wai lā a wai lā.*
- KM: 'Ae.
- EK: *Poina kākou iā Hina.* We must remember *Kū a me Hina*. Then if we fall, well?
- KM: And it is male and female?
- EK: Male and female.
- KM: That recognition of procreation.
- EK: *Kēlā ka 'ōlelo.* So that's why, when we say everything in two, *ho'oku'u aku la 'oe ka i'a*, we don't know whether it's *kāne* or *wahine*. But with the thought, *'o Kū a me Hina ho'oku'u aku la 'oe*. You put back. And there are so many things like that.
- And then, when we talk about the *wai*, like we talked about earlier. Our fresh water that comes down to where are fishponds are, the little *pua*, each time they are getting bigger, and then going out, trying to get into the salt. And then the predators are out there waiting for them. So they come back in the fresh water, and the predators follow them, then, "Oh, fresh water, I better stay away." That gives them a chance to grow up. But now, we see all our *kahawai*, our rivers, streams, all polluted. It comes down and we're losing all of this.
- KM: 'Ae, ma'i!
- EK: *Ma'i ka i'a!*
- KM: And they are not even flowing, and when the streams aren't flowing, where are all your *pua*?

Conservation was a way of life for the old people:

- EK: So this why we need a *pu'uhonua*, and this is why we have to talk, not only go forward...*wala'au kākou no ka mua!* We only talk about the front, going forward, *mai kākou poina, o ka hope.* We bring things together, we're talking about it. Talking about the future. How can we talk about the future? Wonderful, good, but we have to think back. Without our steersman on the *wa'a*, we aren't going to get anywhere. And then we have to know, that's why I am bringing up these old things, that we had all these things before, conservation. When I was growing up at Miloli'i before, I never heard of conservation, but when I heard it, I said, "Oh my goodness, we had that!" We had all those things.
- KM: Yes, and it was a way of life.
- EK: Yes, it was life.
- KM: You didn't have to go to school.
- EK: Yes.
- KM: And uncle, if I may please paraphrase for a moment, what you are saying is, "In order to take care of the future, you have to know your past, you have to take care of the past."
- EK: 'Oia nō, 'oia nō!
- KM: Yes.



EK: So that is why sometimes, when we come to these things, we have to make sure that we plan it right so that everybody knows it, and that we are going in the right direction. We need to, we need to. Because like I was hearing brother here [*kupuna* Ako], talking about the *'upena akule*, made from *olonā*.

VA: Yes.

EK: Too bad (it was lost). And when I think about the *akule*, that's when we go back to Miloli'i. How are people stayed there. I have a short story of the *akule*. When the *akule* comes in, it's all big schools. And it comes in the outside of Miloli'i, by Kalanihale. Then it moves over to Kalihi, they go outside of Laeloa Point and rest there. And then sometimes they move out to Hono at Kahonomalino. And oh, that fish used to come. And then the old folks used to look at it. There were only two persons—uncle Kūkulu and Ka'imi, they were the two persons. They would watch that fish, and they would come so close inside Miloli'i. They watch the fish, and when it's time, they would call all the families there. And during that time, I heard about that *olonā*.

VA: Yes.

EK: But then, they were using the *'aho*.

KM: Yes, *'aho*, cotton.

EK: Cotton. When those two folks were ready... Nobody ever went outside, no matter how close that fish came to this place in the front of Miloli'i. Not one family would get one net and go out and surround them by themselves. But when the two old folks would say, "Now is the time, take all of our nets, put them on the canoes and go up to Honomalino." And at Honomalino, they would join all the *'upena*, all that *'aho* net and lay it on the sand. All of the families came over there, and then they would set the *'upena* right on the *wa'a*. Then they would leave it over there, nobody stayed there. And you don't see the *akule* go back to Miloli'i, it's right at Honomalino. And those two would be standing over there watching those fish. And those fish would come so close to Honomalino, only sand. And these two canoes were waiting on the sand, and the fish would just come inside. I was a young boy at that time, I wondered what those two old folks were doing, not letting us go out, it was right inside there, you know. And then you'd hear some *tūtū wahine*, "*Kulikuli!*"

The fish just moves, goes and comes back, so close, right in the front with the two canoes, that you think you could go out and get them. But the fish move and move. Until they come in, and the two old folks with the *'ohe*. When they drop the *'ohe* down, then you see the two canoes go out and swing around. And you watch that fish, they don't even move, they just stay over there, just like something, this is the time. In the beginning, you look at them moving, moving. But when they start going to get them, they don't get excited, they just take their time, push the two canoes in, and that fish never moved. They go out there and they surround it, the two canoes and *'upena*, and bring it in. They *huki*, come in. After they get them inside, they break the *'upena*, what ever *'upena* they get, they make two *'upena*. The one outside, *ho'opa'a*, outside. So when the big fish, *'ulua*, shark, come inside, so when you get the fish, nothing *hei* to the *'upena*. Nobody hits the *'upena*, because the outside one *pa'a* outside.

The first day, by then, all the *'ohana* all heard. They come from all over the place, down to Honomalino. They take the fish, come down with their salt and salt it all up, the first day. The second day, that's when they tell all the ones coming down, who want to buy the fish and take it. They have their own trucks and come down with their ice, and they take the fish. Then the third day, they only hold the fish three days. The fish is in the net for three days. After three days, take out the net, let them go. And those are the kinds of things that we saw, that connection, that people come together.

KM: 'Ae. So you didn't take everything, yeah?



EK: Well, you figure at that time. Because today, so many people and so many things that they want to do. Nowadays they just take fish and take it all.

KM: You know, uncle Buzzy shared a really insightful observation, the idea about when you take all the fish and you freeze them, you are also taking the breeding stock. Could you share that *mana'o*?

Group discusses approach of subsistence fishing versus commercial fishing; common values shared among native residents of the Main Hawaiian Islands, and with others of Polynesia:

LA: Uh-hmm.

KM: It's a really critical thing about the difference in style of fishing from the subsistence, *kūpuna* style, to today when they fish and take everything.

LA: I think today, the mentality works like this. And people used these phrases. You ask them "What do you do for a living?" And they say, "Well, I'm a farmer of the ocean. I farm the ocean. I go and take product to bring it in." And maybe they will adlib and say "Well, what a farmer is on land, he plants, he harvests. So I am a fisherman, I farm the ocean." The thing about that is, especially today, and everything is moving in that direction, technology is moving and the fish don't have a chance to survive.

Like when we were working out in those islands, we didn't have technology like depth recorders, fish finders and things like that. When we went out and we took fish captains with us to demonstrate certain things, who had done it for years. We would have to sound. We would get to a locale and we'd get between Ni'ihau and Nihoa, we'd been running so many hours, at about six knots an hour, so figured we should be close to the middle bank. We'd slow down the engine, throw down a hand line with a lead weight, about three or four pounds. Let it run down, when it hit the bottom, we'd bring it back up and span it [gestures measuring the length of the rope, let down]. How many fathoms? So that we would know the depth of what we were over. And if we were over a thirty-five fathoms, it seemed like a fairly good ground to try. And we had to do that all the way wherever we went. No more fathometer. Well, some boats had fathometers, but how we were running, no more. So we would fish for something else, easier, like netting. Go in shore of the islands and look for something.

But the idea behind that, being a farmer of the ocean, is the present mentality is this. You plant a crop, especially if it's a corporate thing, and when it's harvest time, it's all ready for harvest, and they harvest it all at one time. You take it all. And if your transfer that idea to the ocean, when you have a school of spawning fish, and you take it all, what are you doing? It's not so good. For one thing, when you take it all, and you have a problem distributing, or getting rid of the fish before it spoils in any sense. You keep it too long in the refrigerator, it'll turn taste and smell. But the farmer, he can throw all his stuff in the silo and sell it off as he sees fit at the market price. If you do that with fish, the fish cannot reproduce. They only reproduce in the ocean. And that's why you go take what you want, and you leave the rest back to reproduce and replenish. You cannot apply, "I'm a farmer of the land, and a farmer of the sea." It doesn't work.

BP: Just by coincidence we were talking about this, and uncle John wanted to share.

KM: 'Ae.

JD: Yes, back home on Molokai, I still have the old ways, Hawaiian. Like if we go out and surround *akule*, which we only gill.

LA: Yes, good.

JD: I use about twelve foot net, twelve foot deep. We surround, because we know that some of them...well, we are not going to take all. And what hits the net, that's the only ones that we are going to take. And then there is plenty more. Let 'um go. Not only *akule*, other



fishes like *kala*, *enenue*, same thing. I only go out and surround for *lū'au*, I hardly go commercial, once in a while I go commercial. But I found out from my old folks, my grandparents, they always share with neighbors, family. I learned plenty from the old folks. And until today, I still do that [chuckles]. Some times I'll go all the way down to the end of the island, we'll surround *akule*. I'll come home with big coolers, four coolers on my truck. By the time I reach home, I have nothing [chuckling]. I gave them all away.

KM: Hmm. That's how, yeah, *hā'awi aloha!*

JD: Yes, always share. Share with everybody.

VA: I would like to share our experience in Kona. We had a head *akule* man, and his name was Thomas Maunupau. You've heard of Thomas Maunupau, Jr.?

Kūpuna: [Agree]

VA: Well, Senior was our head *akule* man. But he brought the fish in. He had a *Kū'ula*. And that man, for some reason, he used to like me. He call me, "*E keiki 'ano ē.*" In other words, I was a mysterious child. And that guy would bring in the *akule*, and after they *puni*, he would leave them about three days. He was the only man that was able to go in the net with the shark. There was a *Kū'ula*. And it was wonderful. When he caught the fish, the first catch, he would bring it on shore and *māhele* with all the people in the village. And then the second day, he would sell them to the market. And it was such a wonderful way of fishing. The traditional way, always give the best. And that is the way I was taught. Don't give the *koena*. What you eat, that's what you are going to share with your friends. When you give, you give with your heart. And there is always a reward after that. That's the way I was brought up. And until this very day, I share whatever I have.

Talking about the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, I've had experience with the Northwestern Region. I had a disagreement several years ago with the Western Pacific Region people. I was the only Hawaiian sitting in the conference room. And I opposed...there was a Norwegian couple who was fishing for lobsters on the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands. And they fished all the large lobsters, now they came over at that conference and asked to take the three-quarter pounds. I stood up and I opposed, not for them to get that permit. And you know what they told me? "You are the only Hawaiian here, where are the rest of the Hawaiians? You're not the majority." And they went ahead and awarded that guy the permit. I said, "You know, when this couple is finished fishing in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, they will take off." And that actually happened. I was very disappointed.

Another issue that I had spoken with the Coast Guard commander, I said, "Do you folks have adequate funds to patrol the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands?" He said, "You know, we don't, they don't award adequate funds so that we can patrol." So I said, "In the mean time, we still have poachers." "Yes."

KK: They open the door.

VA: So now, I'm just wondering if they have the satellite that is observing that area? You don't hear anything about that. And we are all talking about conservation and preservation, how would you control that?

KK: Yes.

EK: that's true.

VA: I think that they still have poachers over there. And fish and Wildlife wants to have a hand in that, and not commercializing. How are we going to... [end of CD 1; begin CD 2] ...ensure that the younger generation will understand how we feel? We talk with love and sharing our *mana'o*...

EK: That's why I brought up the subject of this *'āina* over there. How from here, it connects, yeah.



- KM: Uh-hmm.
- EK: Line Islands *Nā 'Aha Moku*.
- KK: 'Ae, *Nā 'Aha Moku*.
- EK: And then *Manamana*, fingers of the main islands for us. *Ho'i mai la kēlā ho'omana'o o nā kūpuna*. And then again, when we think about, even my cousin over there, uncle Walter, when we were growing up we had a lot of big kind *wa'a*. And those *wa'a* were set on the side behind. And that is when we got to learn how to *kālai wa'a* with our *kūpuna*. At one time, they said, "We better go up and get *koa*, because the day is going to come when we won't be able to take *koa*."
- KM: And what happened?
- EK: We started to make a little smaller canoe. I never asked, but some of my 'ohana, *kūpuna*, figured, it looks like this boy has something on his mind, he's over there... Us, uncle Walter and me, that's how we learned to *kālai wa'a*. So when the time came, we were working, and I was thinking, why are we *kālai wa'a*, why are we doing this when we had all these big *wa'a* behind the houses? Then they told the story of why they had these big *wa'a* over there. "During the times of old, we never had *ka'a* or anything. When the families wanted to go to Ka'ū side, Punalu'u and all those places past South Point. When they were going to visit 'ohana, that was the *wa'a* they take. The big *wa'a*. And then when they wanted to go to Niuli'i, Kohala side, that's the what they do. They were traveling on these *wa'a*. When they wanted to fish right outside here, fish was plentiful at that time. The only time when the go get 'ahi at the 'ahi *ko'a*. "And that was why we don't need those big *wa'a*, we don't do those thing now. And that's where the connection. When you ask, "How did the people of old go to Ni'ihau?" There was no airplane, no more nothing. "*Ai ma laila ka wa'a!*" There were those big canoes. That's how they went over there. You find your way to go over there, you make it, you make it. When you come home, you come home with the same *wa'a*. There was one person talking about the *wa'a*, "How can Ni'ihau get the *wa'a*? Where did they get their *koa*?"
- KK: From Kaua'i.
- EK: From Kaua'i. Common sense tells you, they are going over there, they will get their *koa*. Go to Kaua'i get the *koa* and make their canoe. That's a part of the *mo'olelo*, they say, "When our people wanted to go over there, those were the canoes." And I remember them saying, "Now is the time for us to go up and get *koa* and make canoes." And that's why, uncle (Walter), remember, we made, *tūtū* folks made *wa'a* for us. One each for us, one man canoe, so we can start learning how to feed. One man canoe, *kākala he'e*, *kā'ili*, day and night time. That's the kind of stuff that we saw first hand, and you can tell the story of what is there. That's true. And they knew when to go over from Ho'opūloa, Miloli'i to Punalu'u, over there, Ka'ū side. They know when to go, they didn't just go any old time. Or they went over to Ka'alu'alu and places like that. Ka'alu'alu is not so bad, but when you have to go to Punalu'u, passed that South Point. But from Miloli'i, you have to pass Kaunā to get over there. But when you come home, to go to Kohala side, it's not so bad. But they knew, they knew things. So this is the *pili* with us, and this connection I can see, when we are talking about *pu'uhonua*.
- KM: 'Ae, generations of travel.
- EK: You are right, who is going to police this?
- VA: That's one of the biggest questions. Whether they have the satellite watching over twenty-four hours and who is reporting it... The old people, when you hear their *mo'olelo*, you can visualize how at the same time, they were conserving the resources, they didn't take more than they needed.
- KM: Yes. See that's really subsistence in the traditional style, right? Certain people had these skills, and they'd exchange. Not everyone needed to take.



EK: Uh-hmm.

KM: But there was also kind of economic twist to it...

EK: I have one more thing, this connection in my *mana'o*.

KM: Yes.

EK: There again, as our *kūpuna* say, "*Ho'ohana aku, ho'ōla aku!*" (Use it, keep it alive!)

KM: Hmm. *Ho'ohana*...?

EK: *Ho'ohana aku*, use it!

KM: And *ho'ōla*...?

EK: *Ho'ōla aku*, keep it alive. It's the same thing as we see, when those people went up there during those times. Like I said, "Why should we go up there, when we've got everything over here?" But it is a part of their training. As well as to go over there, go get, use it, take that fish, bring it home. We can use it. To me, that's where we make that connection, *pili*. If we leave it alone and we don't do anything, for our *kūpuna*, it's just like we don't care about it anymore. But if you go and do it, yes. But after they left, we had the commercial fishermen go out there and pick up those things. And that's when I had the privilege, with uncle Walter, we went with the research vessel to police and look at all these places.

But one thing that I was kind of disappointed of, when we went over there and we saw some of our fishermen, they took the *honu*. But they didn't sell the *honu*, they took it for themselves to eat. The thing is, they left all that back and everything all on top like that.

KM: So they didn't clean up?

EK: Yes. To me, when I thought about the *honu*, I said "Some of our *kūpuna*, that's their '*aumakua*.'" And what they should have done was at least dig down and bury, and *kanu*. That's the thing I felt. So we did a lot of research. And then remember, before, at one point we saw this '*ōpelu* over here, "Let's go catch the '*ōpelu* with our net." And we caught them with the '*ōpelu* net.

KM: Miloli'i style, deep net?

EK: Miloli'i style, yes. So that is what I see, I feel that we are in this *hālawai*, this meeting here. *Na kākou no e hele aku, ho'ohana aku, a ho'ōla aku!* (It is for us to go, for us to do, and for us to keep it alive!)

KM: 'Ae.

EK: And that's why many things, when I start doing things, I start, I look at it before I jump into it. And then, when you know that it is something that was there, you think you have your *kūpuna* behind you, things will come *pono*. And that's why again, why we say these things, we go back, when our *kūpuna* pass on, some things they bury with them in their grave. But there are some things that were left behind with one that would care for it. And make sure he cares for it, *mālama*, *mālama pono*. If they don't find anyone that's going to take care of it, then he will assign someone, "Take it to the cave and leave it in there. That's where it belongs." And then it goes back again to our *iwi*. When I am going to find somebody, "You take my *iwi*, you take my body and make sure that nobody will find me." It's really heavy.

KM: 'Ae, *mahalo!*

WP: May I?

KM: Yes.

WP: This is mostly '*ahi ko'a* and '*ōpelu ko'a*.

KM: Where?



- WP: In Minoli'i. There were *kapu*, and there was no intrusion, you were not allowed to come in and just go fish. You have to see whoever the *kūpuna* were, and ask permission. They don't deny you to go fishing, unless you *hana kolohe*, using the term they call "chop-chop."
- KM: Hmm.
- WP: In those days, that's the term they used. Using fish *palu*. So it was *kapu* for just intrude, you could not. But you were allowed if you requested. Another thing, I do presentations about when you go for *ōpelu* and come home. Generally you find the *kūpuna* down at *kahakai*, *awa*, laying out the *lona*. The *lona* is the log, the canoe goes over it.
- KM: The rollers.
- WP: And I emphasize very strongly, at that time, our time it was still, you don't ask the *kūpuna*, "*Mamake 'oe kekāhi i'a?*" That was an insult to ask the *kupuna* "if you want some fish?" He just helps himself, for the day maybe, and some for dry. But never, not like today, they go, "Oh uncle, you like buy fish?"
- Group: [chuckling]
- WP: So that kind of thing. It's interesting, during our traveling, I don't know if you recall how we got kicked out of the Marquesas, taking too many sardines. The sardines, what it does is it brings in these predators. They come in, *ulua*, and some places, like in the Marshals, Majuro, I recall the Kabuls, Joba. He came aboard the vessel, and at the gangway, we had a man on watch. He said he wanted to talk to the captain. And naturally, he thought... I was walking around with a *lavalava*, so he thought... He saw the *haole*, that was Bob Iverson [chuckling]. He told Bob Iverson, "You captain?" And he said. "Over there." [gestures pointing to himself] Okay. So I say "What can I do for you?" "I like talk to you." "Okay, you come up to the library." The first thing he told me, "You get ice box? Ice box on the boat?" And I said, "Yes, we have. We have a freezer, chill box. In the galley we also have a freezer and chill box." He said, "You know my ice box? Here, lagoon." See, we chartered the *Anela* at that time, the *aku* boat.
- BP: Yes, I saw it.
- WP: So *Anela* went there and took all the sardines.
- BP: Nineteen seventy-three.
- WP: Somewhere around there. *Anela* would come back in half a day with 30,000, 40,000 ponds of fish. Then afterwards, would send it all to Samoa. So I said "Well, we have orders from Mr. Johnson." "Well, this is not Mr. Johnson's island."
- BP: Ed Johnson.
- WP: Yes, Ed Johnson. The high commissioner. He said, "My papa, this island, he the boss here. You come, you take all bait fish, now, no more bait fish." So I said, "okay." So I went back and told the chief. Anyway, you find that all around. In the Marquesas. And we went down to Atieu in Nu'uhiwa, one of the islands. And the family who was the chief there was Kimi Tete, the boys are in Kailua, Tete. He was the chief, and he [chuckling], kicked us out [chuckling].
- Group: [chuckling]
- WP: So we went out and we got about five thousand pounds of *aku* and we came back. Nobody wanted to come close to the vessel. I speak, and uncle Eddie speak a little Marquesan, so I said, "*Mai, mai, me ra'i matou te aku*" (we have plenty *aku*); "*Parau oe te chief, na outou te taitai*" (to notify the chief). So finally they came and we unloaded the fish. And the chief was really happy. And their were hundreds of peeled coconuts, and if I remember forty-two bunches of bananas all hanging [chuckling].



Group: [chuckling]

WP: But you find that everywhere we went. Samoa, the same thing, *kapu*! They *kapu* every area. You don't just intrude.

Group: Yes.

WP: And I'm trying to tell the people today in Minoli'i that "I never made the rules, it was Kuahuaia, uncle Kūkulu them. The Kawa'auhau, the Kaheles, Ka'anā'anā. They made the rules. I just remember the rules today. So I am just notifying you folks." It's the same thing to go *lawai'a* on *Lāpule*. Everybody, "Oh, Sunday is the biggest day!" But they forget, we have the customs, you don't go. I tell you, they'd turn the canoe over, those days. And right now, we are going *'ōpelu* fishing. We are harvesting *'ōpelu*. We come back and we get seven, eight, ten, *ka'au* (forties), and I distribute it all through the village, ten fifteen houses. We went out twice a week to feed, and now we go once a week to harvest. So we still maintain that tradition.

KM: 'Ae. *Kupuna*, mentioned "*kapu*." And we've heard several of the *kūpuna* and *kama'aina* talk about it. It was a system, right? *Kapu*, there were seasons, like...?

WP: *Aku* and *'ahi*.

KM: *'Ōpelu*?

WP: Yes.

KM: And in the old days, it was a penalty of death if you took out of season.

WP: Right, right.

KM: I guess they won't kill you if you go fishing today...

WP: [chuckling]

KM: So *kapu* isn't a new thing, or have having protected areas?

WP/EK: Uh-hmm.

KM: The thing was that at certain times it could open up.

WP: But those days, there were *kapu*, like six months during the season when *aku* was *kapu*, you were fishing *'ōpelu*. And then the *aku* was open, *'ōpelu* was closed. And the penalty (for breaking the *kapu*) was death. And the executioners...well, there was no lawyer to defend you. That's it! They used the club to bash you in the head...

BP: Not only was it seasonal, but in the old days time, there were also *Konohikis*. It is inappropriate for one person to go to...

LA: To another.

BP: To go fish in another person's area without asking permission.

KM: Yes, *noi mua*. These *ahupua'a* sort of *Konohiki* and responsibilities. And then, the management was very land-based, rather than someone sitting miles and miles away.

LA: That's right.

KM: They knew who had fished, how much had been taken, if the season was in.

BP: Exactly.

KM: Had they finished spawning? Those things are very important.

BP: Yes.

WA: The manager has real-time data.

KM: Yes.



- WA: He was in the water everyday and knew what was going on.
- WP: Like when I was with the United Nations in Western Samoa, you cannot intrude in another's water, or they will fine you.
- BP: Or worse.
- KM: Club you [chuckling]. *Mahalo!*
- KK: These were the rules before, and knowing them, we can improve it now.
- KM: 'Ae.
- KK: Just to think, we are not the only ones using that rule. All up and down the coast of America, all the Indians were using the same rules. What to catch, what not to catch, what to plant, what not to plant. All along the coast that touches the Pacific Ocean, they all use the same system as the Hawaiians.
- KM: Yes. You know, during the earlier break, uncle Kāwika mentioned something about the *lo'i* and how big it was, 200 by 200, and why. Why was it that big?
- KK: Well think of twenty, thirty, forty years from now. Today, you have four guys digging this twenty feet by twenty feet long taro patch. Ten years, twenty years down the line, your family grew. Ten more years later, they are all going to fight for that plot. So how much of the plot can you divide with twenty children? They wanted that twenty by twenty by themselves. So what about the rest of the family? So when you start o *lo'i*, don't think only of tomorrow, you think down the line, thirty or forty years from now. The family is going to grow.
- KM: So the idea was, that you were managing, not just for today, but for the future. At a meeting that Uncle Buzzy and I were at a few weeks ago, aunty Haunani Ching was talking about fishing, and she said, "You take what you need, not what you want." Because you were always thinking about tomorrow.
- KK: Yes, that's just like us on Ni'ihau, the ocean was our ice box, you take what you need for today. Tomorrow, you can always come back open the ice box and get some more.
- KM: Yes. And if you leave it in the real, living ice box (the ocean), like uncle Buzzy said, "Your breeding population is always there. Rather than take it out and freeze, because it can't breed in the freezer."
- LA: That's right...
- Group: [break – recorder off, back on]
- Group discusses fish caught for subsistence while working in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands:
- KM: ...*Mahalo* again. We were talking about your customs, practices, beliefs, and now we are going to try and talk a little bit more about what Wilama had mentioned, like "What would you fish for today, if you were up there. What are the things that you would be fishing for in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands?" I know that you folks fished up there, and if there are some specific places that you remember, or if you want to mark anything on the map, we could do that. So Wilama, please.
- WA: Well, any of the uncles, while you were up there, what are some of the things that you ate of the *'āina*, or ate of the *kahakai* up in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands?
- WP: Well, initially, we were up looking for bait, *'īao*. That's because we were fishing for *aku*. Not trying to catch any fish like that. But then we fished also for home consumption, like *moi*. *Moi* was there, and we had our surrounding nets, so it was no problem. *Āholehole*.
- BP: *Āholehole* were up there?



WP: Yes. It was nice.

KM: What island areas would you be at?

WP: The most southern part, French Frigate, where Buzzy's operational island was.

IH: Tern Island.

WP: Yes, Tern. And there is that *pōhaku* there in the water, protuding out of the sea, that's where the 'ōpihi was. La Perouse.

WA: *Hā'uke'uke?*

WP: I don't recall, I *poina*. [chuckling] But we take what ever we want to eat.

KK: Like Nihoa, has *hā'uke'uke*, *wana*, 'ōpihi. They have all of that. So that is why, when the crew goes to Nihoa fishing, they never took anything other than the coconut, because they had all the food there. So why load up the canoe with so many other things that you don't need. They had the panel of coconut leaves that they had slit in half, and wove into a panel. Because the only clothing they had was the *malo*. And they used the coconut husk to burn it, to get fire, to keep themselves warm. They put the panel of coconut leaves to block the wind away, so they can spend the night comfortably. There are a couple of high plateaus or mountains. One is just slightly over 900 feet and the other one is slightly over 800 feet, and they are on the *mauka* side of the island so the wind goes over. The guys built a small, little wall on once side so they would be protected. It was from the family that I heard, that they do travel to Nihoa a lot, because it was famous for 'ulua fishing. No other fish. But of course they do a lot of 'a'ama, *pāpa'i* 'a'ama fishing. So the 'a'ama comes out, when the *wana* is broken, they can smell it like [thinking – smiling] tuber roses.

Group: [chuckling]

KM: 'Ae, *mahalo*. So you said also, *moi?*

WP: Yes, 'āholehole, and as I said, it was for home consumption. But our main purpose was for the *īao*. We were fishing *aku* out in that area. We made a lot of trips out there.

KM: What kinds of size *aku*, and did you see a change over the years time that you were there?

WP: I think it depended on the season.

EK: Yes, the season.

KM: When were you up there?

EK: I don't recall.

WP: I think, not on the *Gilbert*, but on the *Manning*, you were there. I kind of recall that you were catching albacore with the pole.

EK: Yes.

WP: Although she is not a pole and line boat, but some how...

Kūpuna Paulo and Ka'anā'anā describe storms encountered in the NWHI:

EK: Yes, I think that was some time, when you look at the month, that was when the rough weather was, maybe November, December. You remember when were below and the *Gilbert* was above, and we ran into that storm?

WP: Yes.

EK: Lucky we made it to Midway.



WP: Yes, you're right. We had a big crack in the hull. Kali mai, not changing the subject, what about the time we almost sunk, we you there?

EK: [chuckles] Yes.

WP: We all *pule*.

EK: That's right.

WP: Everyone of you have seen "The Perfect Storm?"

Group: Yes.

WP: We were the same like that.

BP: That bad? That's mean.

WP: Forty foot high waves, and the ship was just completely covered.

EK: Completely.

WP: The only thing up was the bow and the super structure. No buoyancy. Ready for turn over.

WA: Wow!

WP: Everybody was crying, everybody was praying. And I told myself, I told the Lord, "I'm going down with the ship." But, it was a debate. We were running away from the storm. But like Masa said, the chief engineer. We had a little conference with the captain, "We should head into the storm..." Because Masa was the navigator on this yacht that he won one race in 1949. He was our chief engineer, a top man. Anyway, instead "We head into the sea, we cannot run away from these big waves. Go into the sea at the slow speed, and just ride the waves. Then we won't have any problem." So we were dead in the water, while the engines were moving. We cannot move. Tons and tons of water on board the vessel. So Finally the captain, Captain William Tanaka, said "Walter, give it full speed right rudder." And we stayed like that for about an hour and fifteen minutes, before we made some progress.

EK: I think that was the right move, we started to pick up speed.

WP: Yes. Then we could see...

EK: We started to throw off water.

WP: Yes we could see the cap-rail sort of just come up. But it was tons of water, completely...

BP: You were underwater then?

WP/EK: Yes.

EK: Good thing we didn't flood out, that it didn't collapse through the holds and the portholes in the windows.

WP: Yes. My brother had asked me to go see the movie, "The Perfect Storm." When I saw the movie, I started crying. He said, "Why are you crying?" I said, you know, "You were only three years old, your other brother was only one..."

KM: What ship was that?

WP: The Charles H. Gilbert.

KM: And you were up in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands?

WP: Yes, yes. And also, when we cracked the hull, it was also up in that area. I think the Manning was in trouble also, yeah?

EK: Yes.

WP: She was a wooden vessel.



KM: About what year do you think this was?
WP: It was in the late 1950s.
KM: Hmm.
BP: You were inside or outside in the ocean?
WP: We were way out.
EK: Out in the ocean.
WP: One thousand miles, maybe. We were way to the longitude, 144 or something like that. I kind of forget, but anyway, we made it. But the one that split our hull was above Midway.
BP: If you don't mind, I think what William was trying to suggest. I understand why you would only take... You were there for *kaukau*, so you are only going to take certain things. You can't eat everything there. But what was there that was normal, and under other circumstances, you might consider eating or taking for *kaukau*? Besides *moi*, is there anything else up there that you would have thought of.

Fish caught for subsistence in the NWHI:

EK: I would think any fish that you can name, and that was up there.
WP: Plenty.
EK: All kinds of fish. At the time that we saw the *moi*, we took the *moi*.
WP: Had plenty *pualu*.
EK: And the lobster was plentiful.
WP: And the *pualu* makes good *Ham Hee*.
Group: [chuckling]
VA: That's right, we used to make *Ham Hee* out of the *pualu*. [chuckling]
WP: We salt it down, put it in the bag and hang it up.
VA: That makes good *Ham Hee*, that.
WP: Yes.
KM: So there was any kind of fish?
EK: Any kind of fish.
BP: How about *honu*?
WP: At that time, there was no strict regulation, and one of our men would take that *honu*.
EK: Yes, he wanted the back.
WP: Oh, that's the one you were mentioning?
EK: Yes. I said, "If that's all you want, no sense you kill that *honu*." Us when we are going to kill, you take the meat and you eat. If you are just going to take the back, I wouldn't want to kill it. But like I said, when I saw that, when some of our commercial fishermen went up there from Kewalo, and there was a lot of carcass that I noticed, that were left on land.
WP: I just asked Louis about the *pūhi*, because I noticed, while spearing fish in shallow water, say ten feet or eight feet. Looking for *kūmū* or something like that, it was quite shallow, because the shallow runs out a little. I noticed, no more *pūhi*. To confirm this, somebody told me that the seal would eat the *pūhi*. They love *pūhi*. So a while ago, I asked Louis, and he said, "Yes. When we brought back a seal to the aquarium at Waikīkī, *pūhi* was their number one food." They'd get *pūhi* from the trappers.



EK: Yes.

WP: But that's about all I recall. But we had plenty, plenty, plenty *moi*. In fact, we cleaned it all up. Everybody went home with a couple of boxes.

EK: Yes, fish were plentiful. We swam around with the *'ulua* and everything. But like I mentioned, we did see *'ōpelu* over there, we happened to have our *'ōpelu* net at that time. We just put it on our skiff and went out, we put our net down and we caught *'ōpelu*. I thought, "I came all the way over here, and I made contact with the *'ōpelu*!" [smiling]

Group: [chuckling]

EK: That made me happy too.

WA: What other kinds of resources? Any shells that you folks saw? You brought shells back to make octopus lure, *lūhe'e*?

WP: No. Somehow, I think our concern was bait fish and *kaukau* fish, and that is about it.

KM: Was there enough *īao* out there?

WP: Yes, there is *īao*.

BP: *Pīhā*?

WP: Yes, had *pīhā* too.

WA: You don't use that?

WP: We use that too, but you know, *pīhā* in the deep water... Well in the harbor, like Kona, Ka'ū, Kailua Kona, about 100 feet of water, 150 feet of water. Put out the light and you attract a lot of *pīhā*. Minoli'i too.

Kupuna Ako first noticed the tumor growths on turtles in 1944, in the Kalaeloa area of O'ahu:

KM: May I ask you about the *honu* for a moment? What's the earliest that you were out there in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands?

WP: In the middle, 1956, 1957, up to the 1960s.

KM: Okay. Now today, we see the *honu* with these growths like that, the tumor growth.

VA: The tumors.

KM: Did you folks see that when you were up there?

EK: We never bothered to look at that.

WP: No, I never noticed.

VA: The tumors, in 1944, I was invited to Barber's Point. It wasn't developed. And that night, we laid regular *moemoe* net, and outside, we put the turtle net. And we caught I think about twenty turtles. And that was 1944. All of them had the tumors on their body...

BP: Really?

VA: Yes. So I asked the Hawaiians from Nānākuli. "You guys going to eat these things?" They said "Yes, you know what is so good about this, the fire is going to eat 'um all up." That thing was on the head, and the wings, all that lumps. They ate 'um.

BP: Nineteen forty-four?

VA: Yes.

BP: And this is not too far from Pearl Harbor.

VA: Yes. Right from Barber's Point, the light house. We laid the net all the way down. And the turtle had all of that.



BP: The first time I saw that tumor was in front of Pearl Harbor, in the 60s.

VA: This was 1944.

BP: So it could very well be some contamination from there.

VA: But in Kona, there was no more.

EK: No more.

VA: But on Kaua'i we have it too. Now that they have that law, the *honu* will come up on the beach, and you find all the bumps on top.

KM: Hmm.

BP: In some of the other islands, it's customary for people that go to those islands, to actually eat some of those birds, like the *'iwa*, the *nana* birds. I've eaten them myself. They are kind of fishy, I wouldn't eat them regularly. It is possible to eat those birds. I'm just wondering, uncle Kāwika, you ever heard anything?

KK: In the olden days, when the people were migrating from island to island, that used to be their food. The birds. It doesn't matter what kind of bird. Later, the archaeologist went around digging, they found all bird bones. No other bones but bird bones. So they took it upon themselves to say that all the Polynesians in the olden days, they lived on birds, besides fish. But I haven't heard lately what the people ate.

BP: There's an atoll in the Marshals called Wake Island, historically, the Marshallese used to sail up there just to get the bone from the albatross. They use that bone to tattoo. So in the event that we should want to resurrect that practice, do you think it would be appropriate for us to use the birds like that from up in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands?

KK: You are continuing the past. Bring that back. Because the people of today will learn of their past. So it is good to bring it back, tell the story about what the people of the past went through. How they learned how to live from such meager type of food, and to get along. And now is to pass it on to the next generation. In other words, telling them, "*Mai 'uha'uha, mālama ka 'āina, mālama ka 'ai!*"

KM: 'Ae. So "Don't be greedy or so abusive of the land and the food. Care for them." So what you are saying is if they bring it up as a practice, yes, but it is in a way of perpetuating a tradition. Not to go like the haoles...*e kala mai*, how they set this economics. They took everything out. It was go wipe out the entire population. And that's not what you are saying, right. You are talking about a practice that would go and allow for the gathering of bird, *honu*, or whatever it might be, but in a traditional manner, right?

KK: Yes.

EK: We had tradition.

WP: That's for sure. I went with Bob Iverson, when he retired, I think it was sponsored by OHA and the Western Pacific Regional Fishery Council, to do a research on the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, registered vessels.

KM: Yes, around 1990-91.

BP: I remember that study.

WP: Bob did the research. Trustee Kaulukukui wasn't happy with the report. "There were more vessels up in that area." What Bob found out, I don't know how many vessels there were.



Cultural “subsistence” still practiced, and being revived through a relationship with resources of the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands:

WA: If I could mention, I like the *mana’o* that is coming, because we in effect have been doing some of that already. Since 2001, when the first Makahiki was conducted in Mākua in about 180 years. In preparation for the Makahiki, we went and got from Fish and Wildlife Service, a *ka’upu*, which is the albatross. Because it was new ground that we were breaking, we went to the Bishop Museum. Fish and Wildlife gave the bird to the museum, and the museum loaned it to us. It was prepared in a traditional Hawaiian manner where the *na’au* and everything was *hemo*, and salted, and everything that wasn’t used went to the ocean. *Kanu* in the ocean. So that bird has been used three times now, two time a year. One time to open, one time to close. But as a consequence of that, the wing bones from that bird have been taken out and have been given to Keone Nunes, who is a traditional Hawaiian tattoo practitioner. Who is tattooing right now with those bones.

BP: That’s good.

WA: So there are opportunities. And as we learn more and more about these opportunities...and that is why I was so happy to hear uncle say that, “Yes we should bring it back.” *Kūpuna*, I am so happy to hear you guys say that.

KM: *Mahalo!*

WP: And that was the albatross?

WA: That black-footed albatross.

KM: *Ka’upu?*

WA: *Ka’upu.*

KL: Like when uncle said, you had the opportunity to touch the *’ōpeli* in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, to touch those parts of nature that you know in you home, and complete that circle with the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands as well. With the birds, the fish, and keep the people in touch with those things.

KM: Yes. As was said, a part of it is to perpetuate, to keep a practice alive. It’s easy to make laws, “kapu this, *kapu* that, because they haven’t done it for so long.” But if you perpetuate the knowledge, and also that values of how to do it, the respect, the *noi mua*, *pule mua*, all those things...

WP: Yes, right.

KM: ...are perpetuated as well.

WP: That’s our problem today.

KM: *Moku!*

WP: *Moku*, yes.

Kupuna Kapahulehua does not recall seeing the *’īlio holo kai* on Ni’ihau when he was a youth:

KM: The *’īlio holo kai*, *’īlio holo i kauaau*, the seal, did you see them on Ni’ihau when you were young?

KK: *A’ole.*

KM: You don’t remember seeing them on Ni’ihau?

KK: *A’ole au i’ike.* I didn’t see it. I used to walk the distance, like from Waikīkī to all the way down to ‘Ewa, the distance.

KM: ‘Ae.



KK: On Ni‘ihau, just *hele wāwae wale nō*.

KM: So from Kī‘i to Nonopapa?

KK: From *Paliuli a hiki i Lehua. ‘Āina o Lehua*.

KM: ‘Ae.

KK: *Nānā nei au i ka ‘āina ma laila, a nānā wau i loko o ke kai, ma ke kahakai. Walking. Inā e ‘ono i ka wai, ua huli i ka niu, wāwahi ka niu, lo‘a ka wai mai loko, inu.*

KM: Hmm. And no more *‘īlio holokai*?

KK: *A‘ole lo‘a. Kēlā ,manawa, a‘ole lo‘a.*

KM: Hmm.

KK: ‘O wau wale nō me ‘ekolu nai‘a.

KM: *Nai‘a, ‘ae.*

KK: *Nā wahi a pau au i hele i ke kahakai, aia kēia nai‘a ‘ekolu.*

KM: *Ai ma waho?*

KK: *Ma waho.* It’s like my ancestors had been keeping an eye on me.

KM: Yes. So when uncle traveled along the shore line, three porpoises would follow along the edge of the water.

KK: My whole life is taken care of by our ancestors. They taught me everything I know today. They guided me and took care of me, all through my life. Like going to Tahiti on the *Hōkūle‘a*, I have a lady to guide me, she is the constellation of Virgo. She holds in her hand the bright star of Spica, that guided me to Tahiti. Because when you measure, put your thumb on the horizon, and your index finger up, that’s one hour.

EK: Uh-hmm, 50 degrees.

KK: Then you go up another hour, the next bright star coming up, is the heart of Scorpio. Once that gets one hour up, this is three hours up, the next one coming up is *Newe*, the Southern Cross. You follow the Southern Cross until it gets up and Tahiti is right below.

KM: Hmm.

KK: So you have to go under that star to find Tahiti. That was my guiding post.

KM: *Mahalo, kupaihana!* [pauses] How about you folks, did you see the *‘īlio holokai*, the seals when you were out traveling on those islands in the 1950s?

WP/EK: Yes.

WP: I saw it in Ni‘ihau when we anchored off shore [This was some twenty years after *kupuna* Kapahulehua left.]

KM: Hmm. And elsewhere further north?

WP: Yes, on these islands [indicating further north].

EK: Yes.

KM: Now this is a very touchy question, but may I ask you, did anyone here if people ate that, the *‘īlio holokai*?

KK: *A‘ole maopopo ia‘u.*

EK: No.

KK: Only recently they started coming to O‘ahu and Kaua‘i. But I have not heard that they go on to Ni‘ihau.



KM: *Mahalo.*

WP: I think they have seen some in Kona Hema.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: Kapu'a, Holomalino or Wai'ahukini? Because it's kind of isolated. I've only heard.

KM: 'Ae.

VA: As far as our *kūpuna* eating species of birds, the *kōlea* was one of them. And I had an experience in Kona, before the Kona airport was built, every summer they would congregate in the little ponds, *kāheka*. And one summer we saw a whole flock of them flying. We didn't have anything to shoot them down. But we watched them and for some reason kept spinning around, spinning around, and all of the sudden the flock just landed. And you know, going up to them, their breast was so full of fat, that everything just broke out. And it was an opportunity for us to *pūlehu* [chuckling].

KM: 'Ae.

Group: [chuckling]

VA: But it was quite an experience to see. They ate so much, and got so fat that they couldn't fly any more.

WA: How did they taste?

VA: 'Ono!

Group: [laughing...]

WA: ...If you are speaking with your *mo'opuna*, on your way up north, and you know that they were not on their way up there for commercial purposes, but for what ever reason they are on their way up there. What advise would you give them? What you can eat, what you shouldn't eat?

WP: Well, when I sit down with my *mo'opuna*, the term I use is "*Ai ka mea lo'a.*" So when we sit down, "Eat what you've got." But *pehea lā*, they're not *ma'a* like us. We *'alu'alu pu'a* all our life when we were home. Uncle and I, we followed the big ones go *'alu'alu pu'a*, and *'alu'alu kao* (goat). So for us it was survival. But we never knew...because there was most times, *pu'a*.

KM: Hmm. Uncle Johnny was just ready to say something.

JD: I'm just a good listener.

Group discusses turtle fishing:

KM: Well uncle, you had *mana'o* about the *honu* too.

JD: Well, they made a law that nobody can eat the *honu*. But I was just wondering if maybe they can change the law? Like for a family, why not one *honu* a month? Like Moloka'i has plenty, plenty turtles. And I guess, all over. They really breed a lot. I've been down to Hālawa, check on the eggs, there are a lot of turtles. I wonder if we can change that law and give the people, families, maybe one a month? I don't think that will harm the government or the state.

IH: Uncle, the Western Pacific Fishery Management Council had an advisory panel. Me and Bill were involved in one of the panels, the Native and Indigenous Rights Panel. So we made a request to the federal government to investigate the possibility that Hawaiians can resume some level of consumption of turtles again, because the population seems to have rebounded fairly well. They decided to do a study in the Northern Mariana Islands, do you remember Bill?



- BP: Uh-hmm, that was part of it.
- IH: They did the study there and they never follow up on it. So maybe we can revisit that issue.
- JD: Yes, try it again.
- IH: The long-liners kill the turtles. So if they are going to allow the long-liners to kill 'um, at least put them on ice and bring them back, give them to the people.
- JD: So why can't we do it?
- WP: That's a good idea. Because, if you look again good, in the Trust Territories, more so Piailuks' island, Saduwal, well another island called West Faio, and Picala, and some of them have nurseries to protect the young, and then they release it when it's mature. Because the *manō* is all waiting for them when they are young. They are coming down the beach and swimming in the water, and the *manō* is all there. But when they are bigger, like now what they do. So when we were there, they wanted to catch turtles at Picala, which is another island just east of West Faio. West Faio is an island that they go for fish, and *kaula'i*, dry their fish. And when we went there, I left them there over night, they would first thing, catch a female. Tie the female right on the beach and lure the males in, and catch all the males. Then we would help them load it on the boat. Piailuk wanted to slaughter one on the boat, but I told him, you cannot. You know how we feel, the turtle *uwē*, so we took it back to Saduwal, to his island, then they would kill the turtle. But, they are allowed, because they have nurseries that raise the turtles up to a certain size. I don't see why they can't do it here too.
- Like now, we have plenty of turtles too at Minoli'i. The only thing is at Ho'opūloa, the village where we lived, and the whole *mauka* of Ho'opūloa is uncle Eddie's tūtū's *'āina*, Keli'ikuli Ka'anā'anā. And we have a lot of turtles now, just like Punalu'u in Ka'ū, a lot of turtles there. I don't see why we can't do that too, a nursery at Minoli'i side, Holomalino.
- BP: ...I feel if we have a cultural tie to that animal, and we can use it to sustain the culture, to enhance the culture, then we should allowed to do it, in a judicious manner. You don't go up there and kill them all, but if you need to take one or two like that to sustain a culture, I think...Well, you should be saying that.
- KM: We know that for many people, the *honu*...there are amazing chants. *Tūtū Kawena* taught me a *hula honu*.
- EK: Uh-hmm.
- KM: For the *kūpuna*, on one side, they were *akua*, *'aumakua*, and in others, it was a *mea 'ai*.
- Kūpuna*: 'Ae.
- KM: And many other things. Look at the *loli*, and this is something, did you folks have *loli* up on the *'āpapa* in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands?
- WP: I never saw, never noticed.
- KM: We know that the *loli* too, some people, you don't eat that, because that is a form of Kū. And the culture is diverse.
- EK: Yes.
- KM: Some people take, some don't.
- VA: My family never ate *honu* until I caught the *honu* and cleaned it... Another thing I would like to share with you folks, you know about the turtle, when you dive in the deep, if the turtle goes down, you can dive right to the *'ōkole*. There are two white lines running above the eye of the turtle. When you power dive, you concentrate on those two lines, and the turtle can't see you. If he turns, you turn together with him, and you can go right up to the



ōkole. What we used to do is we made stainless steel loop and you go right up and hook 'um on the neck. And these were three and four hundred pounders. You hold the noose, and he gets choked and wants to come up. He'll take you straight up...

KM: You can sneak up.

VA: It's a trick that they taught me. But I wanted to share before I die, with you folks.

KM: *Mahalo!*

VA: You folks can practice.

EK: What he is saying, you remember like Keomaka? We go back to my place, Ho'opūloa, Miloli'i, plenty *honu* over there. They come up and we would see them. Some times when we are bathing, we go *'au'au*, we see them and grab hold of one and let it go done. We hang on too it, let it take us all the way down. Fast we can go to the deep with them, and then let 'um go. That's part of our playing thing. And then this fella Keomaka, down at Kalihi, we had that fishpond, and every time when the fishpond needed cleaning, all the *limu* comes thick, he would go down there and wait for the turtle to go sunbathing. When it was resting, he would pick one up, care and put it in the pond. He takes two. He lets them feed in there, and when the pond is all clean he picks them up and takes them back outside.

Group: [Chuckling]

KM: Amazing...!

EK: ...Our *'ohana* doesn't eat *honu*, but we had *'ohana* from Kalapana, when they come over, they liked to eat turtle...

IH: ...I think that if we have more propagation efforts, it would make sense to allow some *honu* to be taken.

KM: One of the things about this today, among many of the families that I've spoken to, they see that there is not a balance now. There are so many *honu*, and you see the babies every where, and they are eating all the *limu kala*, *'aki'aki*, everything. So there is nothing left for the fish. So the fish population is down, because they don't have enough food... So somehow finding a balance for a non-economic, or Hawaiian subsistence kind of practice.

IH: Yes, that was the request that we submitted to the Western Pacific Fishery Council, non-commercial subsistence purposes, with the safety of the species itself as the top priority.

Concerns on over fishing and export of Hawaiian fish to foreign markets:

KM: Yes. May I ask you a question about...and uncle Leo Ohai and I spoke about this yesterday, and some of us have spoken about the difference. So now the fish is being caught in Hawaiian waters and sold in foreign locations. Uncle Leo Ohai just said yesterday, the *moi*, nine dollars a pound. Hawaiians, local people can't buy it, but they are shipping it out somewhere else.

EK: Very true, very true.

KM: So do you folks have thoughts about, should Hawaiian fish be for the Hawaiian market, or is it okay, let it go to where it can make the most money?

VA: I went to the meeting in Kona in regards to the *ōpakapaka*. And this group, they said they studied down in New Caledonia and Fiji. I said, "If it was that good, why don't you folks stay out there, and raise your fish out there?"

Group: [chuckling]

VA: They said, "Hawai'i is more...the population is growing."

KK: The price is good.



- BP: The demand.
- VA: Then my question was, “You folks are going to raise the *‘ōpaka*, will be beneficial to the local people? How much are you going to sell to the local people, or are you going to commercialize it for exporting?” You know, the guy wouldn’t answer my question. Because that’s when money is involved.
- KK: Yes.
- VA: After that, I told them, “Instead of taking down at Ho’onā, take them down to Kawaihae.” And they said, “It was because Kawaihae had too strong wind.” I warned them “I was born and raised in that particular area, the current is so strong that it will rip all your folks nets.” The biologist told me, “Oh, we studied it for three years, and there is no indication of the currents...” I told him, “We have the north and west currents, and when the west current comes, it will take all your nets on shore.” But the question that I raised, “Are you going to share it with our local people? Can they afford it?” They wouldn’t answer me.
- So now, there is another group that is planning to raise big eye *‘ahi* down at the Māhukona area. What is going to happen to our local people, will it benefit our people?
- KK: No. It will benefit their pockets.
- VA: That is my question. And see, the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, if we fight them, would they suggest raising fish in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, in the lagoons up there? I’m so concerned about this.
- KM: Yes, *kanalua*.
- KK: *Kanalua, pololei*.
- IH: Uncle, I can share a little bit of information on those projects that you mentioned. The one near Keāhole Point is by Bluewater Farms...and the initial plan was looking at raising *‘ōpaka*, to supply the hotels and restaurants here, as well as exporting if the local market cannot absorb all of that. But not really for the local community. But they found that the *mahimahi* grows quicker, and can sell for nearly the same price as *‘ōpaka*., so now they are looking at raising *mahimahi* instead. They also found out that there is a big market in Japan for the *kāhala*, so they are looking at raising *kāhala* and *mahimahi* in the cages.
- And the *‘ahi* cages that you were talking about out at Kawaihae side, the ‘Ahi Nui Farm...their original proposal was about a half a mile from the shore, but there was a lot of concern with the ammonia and the nutrients coming out with the waste of the fish... So the guy promised to do an environmental impact statement... But now, instead of that, he decided to move his cages out to about three miles off shore. That is pretty much in limbo now... Species like the *‘ahi* is probably the least sustainable fish species to raise. They’ll be taking fish from the wild, stocking their cages, and it takes ten to twenty pounds of protein, *‘ōpelu* or *akule*, and that’s what they are going to have feed these fish on. They won’t eat pellets in the beginning. It takes ten to twenty pounds of protein to create one pound of the preferred protein, or one pound of *‘ahi*. And the market is for Japan. So they want to grow these fish up and send them to the market in Japan. So it’s not for the local community. There is also a proposal for Maui now, the same type of thing, *‘ahi*, and a couple of cages, I think sixteen cages being proposed off of Wai’anae. This is a major thing coming down the pipe, and the federal government and the state government are really supporting this. The state legislature has already appropriated three or four million dollars for a feed development program in Hilo, and there are no safeguards as to how it will go... Globally we know that this industry has destroyed ecosystems, and the product that comes out of this is nowhere near as healthy as that which comes out of the wild...
- KM: *Mahalo*... Do you have some thoughts about how we start tying this up. It is a really important thing, the fish their well being, and our own community.



WA: Well, let me just comment, on a different track, the off shore cages are really an example of a fishpond that you are moving off shore. The questions of whether the benefits of what's raised there correlates back into benefits for the community is one that...at least in the discussion stage, goes beyond the value of the fish. Is it providing jobs for our young kids that are coming up and who want to continue working in the ocean? And how do we balance all of this? The bigger fear right now, is what is going to happen with the *manō* that is sure to be attracted by these cages? And what the behavior of the *manō* is going to be? Where does it go, who does it interact with?

Like Isaac said, in the past, in other areas, there has been great ecological upheaval because the cages have been put into bays and estuaries. It is clearly the wrong place for that. That's why the current move to off shore, where you have those currents that can sweep past and remove the ammonia, and remove the excess feed. This becomes a *ko'a*, it will aggregate all of the *ōpelu*, all the *kāhala* and all the other things. So the benefit for the other group of fishermen, the pelagic fishermen... The only way we are really going to know, is to put one out there and try to see what will happen.

In terms of the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, I think given the way the existing Executive Order is set up, and hopefully as it transitions into a sanctuary, if it transitions into a sanctuary, I don't think how it is set up allows for those kinds of activities to occur in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands. And I am pretty sure that none of us would be in favor of that occurring up there.

But it is important to get your *mana'ō* down. As we are going around the table, what would you tell your *mo'opuna*, what to do, and what not to do?

VA: Okay, I have two *mo'opuna* who are fishermen. And the way I taught them, one is a deep sea fisherman. If they were to go to the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, It is for resources, don't take more than what you can handle, and to respect the ocean. You can catch a hell of a lot of fish, but if you don't know how to preserve it and you don't know how to navigate in that particular area, it would be hazardous for them. And being a former seaman, and I respected the ocean. That's reason that uncle Walter, Eddie and I, came through a lot of large storms, and there were times that we thought we wouldn't return home. But luckily everybody held together...

And when I was in the Merchant Marines, there were times the ocean was so rough, and we were on an LST, you would think the LST would break in half. But we were able to survive. So my experience, and sharing with my *mo'opuna*, I always tell them that they must respect the ocean, and don't take more than what they can handle. So first of all, get the market. But fishing in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, I always told them "It would be better to stay in Hawai'i.

WA: Not go up there?

VA: No. Go up there to visit, but not to fish for commercial purposes. That's my *mana'ō*.

KM: *Mahalo*. Uncle Leo Ohai said the exact same thing yesterday. He said he "wants it to benefit Hawaiian people." He wants "Our Hawaiian youth to be... Don't worry about up there, take care down here, work for that."

IH: Just real quickly, as far as the fish cages, I cannot support these foreigners coming over here and trying to privatize our ocean. I can support something when it is the local community, like an *ahupua'a* type of system when they want to produce something in their ocean, that should be up to the community. But I don't support at all, somebody else coming in and trying to privatize the ocean... It's not *pono*. *Mahalo*.

KK: I think for those who are going to admit those people coming in here to raise all kinds of fish that they will benefit. You should have an agency here, one forth of your business goes to this agency because we do have a lot of homeless, jobless, we got to take care of



our own people. And the ones that have jobs, can just barely make it to take care of their family. Where is the money coming from. So tell those people, “You want to start a business here, one-fourth of your business goes into this agency that takes care of all the other people of Hawai‘i. Not just come here and raise your own business, and you sell it over seas, and you are using our islands. We have to take care of our own people.

KM: Yes. And like what uncle Val said earlier about the people who were fishing lobster, when it was no longer fun, or no longer profitable...

VA: They took off.

KM: Yes, they disappear. And what do they leave you with, the dregs?

KK/WP: Right.

WA: What about your *mana‘o* for your *mo‘opuna*, if they should go traveling up north?

KK: Well, Ni‘ihau, they stopped doing all that. But I think that all the families now should teach. Like he [*Kupuna Ako*] said, his *mo‘opuna* going up there to do their fishing. Fine, it’s our own people. And teach them not to rape the island, not to bring any kind of chemical that will destroy. *Mālama ka ‘āina*, take care. Because their children of the future will need all of the supplies that we have to preserve it now, not wait until later until they say, “Oh I am sorry, I forgot.”

KM: ‘Ae.

WA: Uncle Eddie, what advise would you give your *mo‘opuna*?

EK: First of all when we think of what our plan is to do with that ‘āina up there, make it a sanctuary, make it a *pu‘uhonua*. We know how people have been going over there and fishing that place out. We heard where they drag that net out. We heard that. We have to try and keep what we have over there now. Some way, we have to do it. Now, we have to find out how we are going to do that. Without having all this *pilikia* of what people are doing, wanting this and wanting that. Until we know what it’s about, and that’s where I need to educate my *mo‘opuna*, what that ‘āina is going to be for. If it is made for that purpose, you have to learn and understand that. And if you are going to make it the way like we’ve done it—there’s time to go get this fish, and this time it’s *kapu*, and there’s that time to go get that one. Then that’s where I’m going to have to teach them, you have to prepare yourself. You have to go over there, you have to know the seasons, and you have to prepare your fishing equipment to get that particular fish. What season and what season to go over there, and when this fish is open. Not just have just one type of fishing over there, and it’s not season for, but “I’m going there anyway and I can catch it.” They have to get that kind of understanding. So that’s the conservation of the *pu‘uhonua*, or what ever we plan to do.

And then again, when you mentioned about that and what they are trying to do, and what they will have to do to go get the *akule* and the *ōpelu* to begin to feed that ‘*ahi*, we are just defeating the purpose. When we let them do that, get them started, let alone what ever it is polluting on the ocean side. Are going to solve that problem by going over to Miloli‘i or some place to get the ‘*ōpelu* and start feeding the fish over here? Then when it goes to the market, we can’t get it because it’s so expensive. Unless like how they do in Kahuku, we can get the shrimps. Is that the same thing that is going to happen?

And then we go back to this same thing here, there are many things that our *tūtū* tell us. They came and they took our stories and everything. Then sometimes the stories are not right, *hū hewa ka mo‘olelo i ha‘i ‘ia!* Then we find that they tell us they read this story, and they wanted to make the story more exciting, and it came to the competition and wanting more money. *Hū a hewa ka hua‘ōlelo i kēia mo‘olelo!* So these are the things I see...this is all we have left.



But there is something, there is hope. That's why sometimes our *tūtū* told us "*Ka mea o lo'a ai ka 'ō mokumoku palaoa!*" (What's left for us is the crumbs of the bread!) But what little we have, it's there.

KM: That's why your voices, your recollections we still have the opportunity to take care. So it's not just a memory.

EK: To me they are there. It's just like when I sat here this morning, the first thing I heard about, *ka manamana*.

KM: 'Ae, *ka Moku Manamana*.

EK: *Moku Manamana, Nā Moku 'Aha*. I heard that from my *tūtū*. But today, we hear Line Islands. *Poina a'ela ka inoa o kākou*.

KM: 'Ae.

Allow subsistence practices to continue as necessary in the NWHI:

EK: But when I sat here, my memory comes back, I heard of that from our *tūtūs*. I feel that sitting here. Yet, we have to way this balance. That's why, when we speak of '*aumakua*, like the *honu*, we respect them. Because I know it is '*aumakua*. Not our '*aumakua*, but that doesn't mean that I didn't go and help somebody, and catch that one and give them. If it's not theirs, that's what they are going to feed on. Well, *maika'i!* If it is to sustain life, *ho'ōla kino, ikaika i ke kino*, fine! *A'ole i pāpā 'ia kēlā*.

KM: 'Ae.

KK: *Pololei*.

EK: Even if you know that is their '*aumakua*. But don't disrespect that '*aumakua*. Don't disrespect that '*ohana*. That's why I say, when we went that first time, and that was what I saw, that *kua*, that *honu* back like that. My memory thought of, "whoever the '*ohana* of that, the least they could have done..." But they were ignorant.

KM: So respect.

EK: Yes

KM: ...A critical thing in that, is making sure that the people are taken care of, it's the resource first. Healthy resources, healthy land, healthy ocean, and healthy people.

PA: Yes.

KM: And I believe, that if the Hawaiians are healthy, everyone else will be healthy as well.

Uncle Leo Ohai brought up this point about the lobster fishery. I think it was back in the mid 1980s. The first year they went out and laid out 100, 200 traps, there were 40, 50, 60 lobster in one trap, in one night. He said that within a year of fishing like that, it dropped down to lucky if they would get four or five lobsters in the trap. And now I understand from Randy and others, that it may be even less. Uncle said, the year after that, he went to the state Division of Aquatics and told them, "You've got to put a cap on this, something is wrong, it's not coming back up." That state's research biologist—which would be in part the reason we are where we are today in the lobster fishery up there—said, "No, no, don't worry, it will balance off, it'll level off, and everything will be fine."

Well, what it did, to quote a friend here, "It balances off at just about zero, or point-five lobsters per trap." It's unacceptable. So the need to ensure the health and well-being of the resources is critical, and that way, the people can be healthy too.

IH: I just want to share what I believe if the greatest benefit, not only to Hawaiians, but to everybody else here in the Main Hawaiian Islands. The stories and everything I hear from people is that there are a lot of mature, and highly productive fish stocks and species up



there. I provided the scientific report to Randy, the science person in the reserve. It's a surface current report done in 2001. It shows that Hawai'i has a unique counter-current that flows from that direction to the Main Hawaiian Islands. A lot of the marine fish biologists understand that many of the species let go their larva into the ocean and it floats up into the surface current and drifts along. Some for a few days, and some for a few weeks, others for a few months. If that's the case, and the current is coming this way, and they release the eggs into the water up there, that stuff may be coming to the main islands and settling out here. So that would be the only real benefit that I see the majority of the Hawaiians getting.

PA: That's what uncle Buzzy was saying.

KM: Yes.

IH: Yes. Probably less than one percent of the Hawaiians will ever get up there. So I think the great benefit is protecting the area, not letting any exploitation go on up there.

EK: Uh-hmm.

IH: And like uncle Buzzy shared, the recovery is terrible. In ten years, the fish he took never came back...

WA: ...I just wanted to ask uncle to share... For me, one thing that I will take away from this discussion is, uncle Eddie Ka'anā'anā and several other of the *kūpuna* made it a point, and reinforced it, that there is this *kuleana* to go up there, and to have each succeeding generation up there. To have them experience that very special place, and at the same time, to protect it.

KM: Yes.

WA: So, while being there, to only take what you need to survive, and to use what is there. Uncle, you had mentioned how your *kūpuna* had stories of how they would leave Miloli'i and go to Ni'ihau, and then join up with the Ni'ihau fishermen...

EK: That's right.

WA: ...going up there. Could you share that again?

EK: Well, after hearing what was said about the Ni'ihau people going up there to *Moku Mananama*, and the way you [*Kupuna Kapahulehua*] put it in the beginning.

KK: 'Ae.

Cultural "subsistence" relates not only to taking what is needed as food, when up in the NWHI, but also, perpetuation of the practices and knowledge associated with travel and visitation to *Nā Moku 'Aha*:

EK: Seeing that clear night with the stars all out. Then the thought came within, that this is the time to go up. The way has been prepared. Not only just look at it, but understand it. And that's when they got on their canoes and went up there. Then when I hear that, and that's why the story connects to me and our tūtūs, and I asked, "Why are we going up there and get all these *kālai wa'a*?" "We better go get it now, because the time will come when we won't be able to go get this *lā'au*, the *koa*." And yet at the same time my thoughts were, "We have all these large canoes in the back over here, and we weren't using them." They said, "We aren't using those *wa'a* now." But there again was that connection, all those big *wa'a*, when they wanted to go over to Punalu'u, past South Point, they would pick the time when it was right, and go over there to visit the *'ohana*. And the people from the other side would come and visit their *'ohana*. The same this, they went all the way back up to Niuli'i.

But that was the *mana'o*, you don't ask questions. But we wonder why would they go way up there (the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands) to get fish, when we have a lot of fish over



here? At one point *tūtū* them sat down, and they realized this was the thought on my mind. It was the question, but I dare not ask the question. But they told me, they knew this was the questions on my mind — “*Ai no ka i’a imua o kākou, hele aku la, no ke ‘aha?*”

KM: ‘Ae.

EK: Why are we going over there? Then they began to tell me the reason why.

KM: *Holo moana.*

EK: *Holo moana.* And from there, who was chosen to get on that *wa’a*, you prepare yourself. You prepare the *moena* and what ever, the moena to sail. You sail, and get to Ni’ihau. And it’s from there that you go and take your training from them to go over there. And that was part of the story. And then again, maybe it was the same thing with Ni’ihau.

KK: Could be.

EK: The fish is plentiful, but yet, they had to go. They had to touch these islands. Because, *o ka ‘aha kēlā.* These are the cords that connect. These *manamana lima*, they are all connected. And if we don’t do anything about them, just leave them alone. Then nothing.

KM: *Lilo ka mana’o*, you lose the knowledge.

EK: *Lilo. Kēlā ka ‘ano o ka no’ono’o.* With that kind of prospect that I have.

KM: So the idea is, you perpetuate the knowledge and the practice. Not just on paper, “Oh they used to.”

EK: Yes, they used to.

KM: You are going to perpetuate it and keep it alive by practice.

KK: ‘Ae, ‘ae.

EK: That’s why I am so intrigued with *Hōkūle’a*. That’s what they are doing now.

KK: Yes.

EK: The students, they say, when they ride the *Hōkūle’a*, they feel the touch of that. And when they first started to build the *Hōkūle’a*, I heard among our people, “I don’t know why they are spending this money for building this canoe, for what? We need the money for something else.” But then I felt, we have other people building straw rafts and what, and others sailing from here to there, saying they were the ones who did this. But yet, we heard from our *kūpuna* that we were the ones who sailed the sea from here to here. So now we are going to build something and prove that we did it. And in my own mind, with my blessings, I hoped they would do it. And uncle Walter and I sailed, we did our part with that *wa’a*. So that is part of that thing.

And now, if we are going to send our people up there to touch the islands, how are they going to get up there? Are we going to ask OHA where we get a good yacht, where we can take our mo’opuna up there and see the islands, and put them ashore? To look and understand what it’s about, tell the stories on the *‘āina*. Or do we have to make double hulled canoes and sail them. Like now, *Hōkūle’a* which is taking them...

KM: So you follow the path of the *kūpuna*.

EK: Follow the path of the *kūpuna*.

KM: And all these places, from Kuhaimoana, the traditions of Ke Ala i Kahiki, not just the Kaho’olawe one, but your *mo’olelo* are rich with stories of the *kūpuna* traveling to those islands up there, and then down to Kahiki. So we know that there is tradition, so you can follow that path. *Ho’omau!*

KK: *Ho’omau!*



EK: Then again, we will be dealing with people, “What is that all about? *Ua hala*, forget it!” Never! You don’t say those things. Like when you say, “*Ua moe a hala.*” Our *kūpuna*, *a’ole i make*.

KK: *Ua hala lākou.*

EK: *Ua hala lohe ala kākou!*

KM: *‘Ae, a koe no nā pua!*

EK: *Koe no nā pua!*

EK: *‘Oia nō! A o lākou* [gesturing to the young Hawaiian participants in the gathering], *‘oia nei no nā pua.*

KM: *‘Ae.*

KK: *E mau ‘ana nā pua.*

KM: *‘Ae.*

EK: So that’s many things.

KK: *A’o iā lākou.*

KM: Yes, teach them, *ho’ona’auao iā lākou.*

KK: *Ho’omau ka a’o iā lākou!*

EK: So that’s what we need, we need our *kūpuna* to come out and work with our young people, and tell them. So they can touch these old songs, these old stories... When I hear our *tūtū* say, “*E ho’olohe, e ho’olohe aku i ka leo.*” Listen, listen to the voices. They think, “what voices am I listening to...?” Then the *tūtū* tells you the voice goes deeper. *No ke ‘aha ka ho’olohe aku i kēia leo...* But they say, you hear the other voices? *O kēia ka leo o nā kūpuna a kākou i hala a moe. Ma ka ho’olohe ‘ana o kēlā leo, ma kēlā leo, puka ‘ana ka mo’olelo a kākou i ka wā kinohi.* From those voices, our stories have been told.

KM: Hmm, back from the beginning.

EK: From the beginning. *Ma ka ‘oli, ma ka mele...* By your expressions, your smile, your feeling and your thoughts, it stays within you. *Pa’a aku la i ka na’au.* You cannot forget. Uncle Walter, he knows about that. I was privileged to sit with my *tūtū* and ho’olohe.

WP: That’s where our knowledge comes from. I strive from listening... What uncle here said, and cousin over here, it’s true. If we don’t watch out, it’s already seen that we are losing. This system is trying to destroy us. We need to educate our youth to begin with. We need to send them to school in this system, and also participate in our Hawaiian programs. I am afraid, what is going to happen.

KM: *‘Ae.*

WP: This system is hard. I see that we don’t benefit. I see right in Minoli’i, you have someone taking juvenile fish that we eat. The *lā’īpala*, what do they call that?

BP: Yellow tang.

WP: Yellow tang. *Lā’īpala* is a good eating fish. You peel the skin, cut, make *poke*. Very sweet meat. They take the *kole makaonona*, juvenile. Never even produce. It’s not too bad if they produce three, four, five times. But they just take ‘um when they are juvenile. So it’s depleting. And this guy is out there, six days a week. My neighbor is fishing for ‘um. He makes forty dollars an hour, six hours, \$240.00 a day. Then he goes to Vegas, loses \$15,000.00. But, he doesn’t share with the community. He doesn’t, nobody, there is no benefit to us.



Brother Eddie, I haven't seen him in Minoli'i for a long time. But I remember this old saying, "*A'ohe wehewehe!*" We try to see if we can help. Put some input from what we have learned in the past. So I look in general, we are in trouble. Maybe OHA approves, somebody approves of what is happening today. But until they make *pono* for us, we change the system. We have to think strongly. What about 100 years from now? But, it's very scary. I would like to be around a few more years to see, that they make *pono*.

KM: By your folks actions, and by the '*ōpio*, the young people, that's the only way it will happen. If we sit back and say, "No can." You give up already, waste time.

Technology and things like the Fish Aggregation Devices are having negative impacts on the Hawaiian Fisheries:

VA: You know, the buoys that are set out there, to bring the fish in, the FADS. Prior to that, when we were fishing, we went fishing with our own ability, finding the grounds and fishing. Studying the birds, the currents and everything, and we were able to maintain our resources. But now, you have those buoys out there. Take my *mo'opuna*, that was the first time he ever caught ten *aku*. I said, "How many pounds was the *aku*?" He said, "Five pounds." I told him, "You know, during our day, when we catch that kind of small fish, we throw them back in the ocean." [chuckling] Well, I think this is one of the causes of our depletion of ocean resources. These buoys. Because there is no regulation on the size to be marketed.

BP: That's true.

VA: The quicker they get rid of those buoys...and you have all the modern technology, depth recorders, radar, that is enough. You don't need those buoys. And yet it costs that tax payer, you and I shell of a lot of money, when those buoys are broken off. To set these buoys out, it costs a couple of hundred thousand dollars. It's not doing the indigenous people any good. The majority of the sports fishermen are not Hawaiians, it's every other nationality but us. I would strongly suggest that they remove all those buoys and then we can get our resources back. If you don't have those buoys out there, they won't catch those small fishes. Baby *mahimahi*, they hook 'um all up, and they take 'um home, sell 'um. So, will it help us maintain our resources?

Several years ago, when the guy Wilson was the head, we had workshop down at Hale'iwa. I told him point blank, because they had a buoy that broke off, and they had it on display down at Hale'iwa. I said, "You know Mr. Wilson, are you going to put this buoy back out?" He looked at me and laughed, "Naturally." "How much will it cost the tax payer?" He wouldn't tell me. But I knew, to re-anchor the buoys out there, is very expensive. But this is an example of one of the things that is depleting our resources...

EK: When we think of the buoys, maybe we are one of the culprits too. When they went put the buoy out there, it was for the charter fishermen, it wasn't for the little people. And then again, we even brought in fish that we thought would replenish. And then instead of doing good, it did bad.

And then when the buoy was set up over there, we had some of us, "If they can put buoy for those guys, why can't they put buoy for us?" And some of the people did say, "We don't want the buoy in front of our *ko'a*, because all the fish will be in front of there, they won't be coming to the *ko'a*. It's the same thing around here when you start up these new buildings coming up. The more lights coming on, the fish all scatter. They don't come when the certain time of the moon, that's when they gather around certain places. That was the time that we went fish for certain types, but now, they are all confused. And that's what it was.



Introduced species also impact the Hawaiian fisheries:

WP: They brought in the *taape* the *roi*.

EK: They didn't even look at the results. But there is nothing that we can do, we just have to do our work... We need to educate. And here, we're doing the right thing... We think about the house of our fish, the *ko'a*. In the old days, there were certain ways that we had to *mālama* our *ko'a*. Like now, on the reef, when you go and you see white. We know that there's bad fishermen who don't care, they go and break the Clorox, and they ruin the house. [end of CD 2; begin CD 3]

KM: 'Ae. You know, it seems, and the good opportunity that we have here is that your *kama'āina* knowledge as practitioners, workers of the ocean. It seems that plenty of the *pilikia* that we have to day is in part related to misinformed science. "Oh well, let's introduce the *taape*, let's allow them to take a million pound of lobster." The "maximum sustainable yield." So the idea is that maybe we have this opportunity to help bring in some of this important first-hand knowledge, *kūpuna* knowledge, and work together. "*I ka lōkāhi ko kākou ola ai!*" We have to be unified as a people.

EK: 'Ae. One more thing that I would like to bring out. When we talk about what has been said, and what actually happened. When *kupuna* [Kupahulehua] mentioned about when he walked on Ni'ihau, and there was no *'īlio holokai*, but there were three *nai'a* following him. That again takes me back, some times you have your guardian, your *'aumakua*, *kia'i iā 'oe*.

KK: Uh-hmm.

EK: And there again that references back to this story of one fisherman. A good fisherman, he goes days and nights, what ever. He goes on the *wa'a*. This particular night this gentleman went out to *kākele 'ū'ū*, he goes with the *puhi kukui*. He used to use the lantern. He'd adjust the lantern according to the moon light. *Lana ma ka 'ū'ū*. So as soon as evening time, he'd push out his canoe and start to head out to go fishing, He knows his places. By midnight, early morning, he gets back. When he had enough fish for all the families.

But this one particular night he went...but we didn't know till the next morning when the story was told. He paddled his canoe, heading to his regular fishing ground, and then the *nai'a* was following him. You know that the *nai'a* is playful, if you go out on the boat, you'll see them swimming in front. It happens to us at night, and you'll see them blowing. But this fellow was paddling, one *nai'a*, two, three, then the whole school. And then he felt that the school was getting big, he'd never seen so much over there. And then one or two *nai'a* started swimming, coming close by to the *wa'a*. And when he was paddling, they were hitting his paddle. He'd never felt the *nai'a* come so close. Then he said they started jumping across his *ama*. He thought, "Oh, they are trying to play with me." Then he said, "The last straw was when he saw them jumping over the *'iako*. So he turned around and went home, he figured that was not the time for him to go.

So he came back, and as soon as his paddle was getting close to where he was supposed to leap out in the *awa*, he started to feel this pain in his *ōpū*. He got to the *awa*, barely beached his canoe, and he went up and started calling, calling. Lucky he came home early, not late at night when everybody was asleep. His sister heard him, came out looked, "What happened?" He was laying down on the ground, in pain. That was Martin Kaupiko. When they came and took him to the hospital, they had to operate. If he had never come back, the appendix would have busted and he would have died. So that is a story connected to that *nai'a*. The *nai'a* warned him, go home.

KK: Yes.

EK: So it is amazing, sometimes when we hear about our *'aumakua*. And we need to tell these kinds stories. There is a connection...we must talk about it.



KM: Yes, it is based in truth.

EK: We must share it.

KM: Good, *mahalo*...

Northwestern Hawaiian Islands are likened to *kūpuna*, to be treasured and respected:

IH: ...I share with uncle Buzzy a lot. I believe these are our *kūpuna* out there. That is the oldest *ʻāina* we have, so that is the *kūpuna*. And as far as going to continue to visit those islands, I feel like that is our *kūpuna*'s ice box. You go visit your *tūtū*, they *mālama* you, they feed you from their ice box. But you don't go *ʻaihue* from their ice box, and then go sell to somebody else. I think it's okay to eat from the ice box while you are there, to *mālama* the place and what, but not to go take and sell for your personal profit. That's all I really wanted to share.

KM: *Mahalo!* What do you folks think?

Kūpuna: *Maika'i...!*

VA: I'm glad that the younger *mākua* were able to sit and listen, and I hope that our mana'o is beneficial to you folks. Thank you for coming and sitting with us *kūpuna*, and I'm very grateful for your folks participation.

Group: [agrees...]



Nā Moku ‘Aha
(The Northwestern Hawaiian Islands)
Oral History/Consultation Interview
November 17, 2003 with Kepā Maly³

Kūpuna—Louis “Buzzy” Agard, Eddie Nāmakani Ka‘anā‘anā, and E. Kāwika Kapahulehua

The following transcript was prepared from a consultation interview (the second of two), addressing traditional knowledge of fisheries, subsistence practices; and the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands. The interview was conducted as a part of a study to help define traditional and customary subsistence practices, and their place in management of the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands Reserve.

KM: Requests permission of group to record discussions and transcribe selected narratives for the historical record.

Group: [agrees]

Introductions:

KK: I am Kāwika Kapahulehua,

EK: *O wau no kēia o Eddie Nāmakani Keli‘ikuli Ka‘anā‘ana. I ku‘u wā ‘ōpio, he kanaka lawai‘a, he kanaka mahi‘ai, mai Kona Hema, Miloli‘i...*

KW: *Aloha mai kākou, o wau o Kāwika Winter, a student of these two kūpuna here...*

LA: *Aloha, I am Buzzy Agard. I’ve fished the main islands, and also the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands for about ten years. I hope to participate in developing a program that will be beneficial for those almost pristine islands. Thank you.*

LF: I am Land Foster, with OHA, as director of Native Rights, Land and Culture. I am not from here. My tribe is from Iowa... My back ground is in cultural landscapes, how land and culture work together...

IH: My name is Isaac Harp, I am here representing ‘Īlio‘ulaokalani, on the Board of Directors. I have fished the Main Hawaiian Islands, and I hope that I never have to access the fisheries in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, because I believe that those areas help to feed the Main Hawaiian Islands, we benefit from those resources.

TH: I am Tammy Harp, a life long shore line fisher and gatherer *ma* Lāhainā. Seven generation resident there. I’ve seen too much [chuckles], and my heart goes to protect the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, that they do not turn into what we have in the main islands.

JP: *Aloha kākou.* My name is John Parks...I am from the *moku o Maui*. Right now, I am a researcher, although I have interests in making sure that the near shore resources, and the islands continue to be preserved and used by the people of the islands for my son, and his children to come...

TF: *Aloha mai.* I am Tommy Friel. I work for NOAA, Fisheries Office of Enforcement. I am assigned to the Coral Reef Reserve in the Northwest...

WA: *Aloha mai kākou.* My name is William Aila, I come from Wai‘anae. I am here today to ensure that my children and my great grandchildren, if they choose to, can go into the

³ Also attending: *Kama‘āina* Practitioners—William Aila, Isaac Harp, Tammy Neizman Harp, Charles Ka‘ai‘ai, Bill Puleloa, and Kāwika Winter; and Agency/SRG—Kaliko Amona, Sean Corson, John Dixon, Kristin Duin, Lance Foster, Esq. (OHA), Emily B. Hunt, Emily Fielding, Randy Kosaki, Moani Pai, John Park, Bruce Wilcox, and ‘Aulani Wilhelm.



Northwestern Hawaiian Islands. And in whatever form the management takes place, whether it's reserve or sanctuary, that they will have the opportunity to collect items and pay their respects to those *'āina*, and to the spirits that dwell there...

BP: Good morning, my name is Bill Puleloa. I am here representing the Division of Aquatic Resources, the State of Hawai'i. I am an aquatic biologist by training. I'm the resident biologist on Moloka'i.

CK: I am Charles Ka'ai'ai. I am here representing the Western Pacific Fishery Management Council. I am the indigenous coordinator. My job primarily is to assure that native rights and preferences are a part of the all the fisheries management plans that the council does. And my program area is the SFA—the Sustainable Fishing Amendment of 1997...

Kupuna Agard shares his *mana'o* pertaining to the importance of the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands Sanctuary:

LA: ...I should explain something, whose responsibility it was when the reserve was put in place, and why it was put in place. It was the feeling that there was this lowering of resources in the main islands, and those up there were abundant when some of us got there, and we found out that we could really do some reductions up there. And so we asked President Clinton, and he agreed, and they created a reserve, just like President Roosevelt put in place, years before, along with the same reasons, the destruction and raping of resources. The killing of birds...and that was the reason for the first reserve. Then in 1976 we got information from the Japanese and Russian trawlers on the sea mountains, and we have one sea mount. They have been extensively fished, and I don't think those species have ever come back. So we never opened up that fishery with the Western Pacific Fishery Management Council. Then we found out that the Taiwanese trawlers did the same thing, topping all the sea mounts for precious red coral... [Describes experiences in finding coral in foreign markets; as told in the Oct. 27th transcript.] So that has been closed and never opened. Then we have the black lipped pearl oyster, and that has never been opened.

Kupuna Agard recalls his own experiences and findings that the NWHI marine systems are fragile:

So the history up there shows that it is vulnerable, it's fragile. And I find it conflicting, so many things about some statements that, for instance, in our goals it is to enhance public awareness and appreciation of the region; focus on bringing the place to the people, not the people to the place." I think that is a reasonable goal, but it conflicts with so much other... ...I think the vision is wonderful, that "The vast coral reefs, marine resource ecosystems of the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, unique in the world, remain intact, healthy, diverse, abundant for ever." And, I can be a living example of what not to do up there. You think that you find nirvana because have concentrations, maybe generations of two individuals surviving the spawning period, to build that up. And it took just an hour to wipe it out. I feel very strongly about having done that, and seeing what happened. Everybody who went up there, never could make it or sustain it. Every reef they hit, the *Tahi Maru*, the *Koyu Maru*, the *Seahawk*, the *Seabird*, and about three or four others. Many of them sank up there, struggling to make it work. It is not sustainable. And I think even what science we have today will show that. So I think that that is a definite consideration, that this thing is not going to hold up. The first thing that disappeared there were the giant *'ama'ama* [gestures more than two feet in length]. After we caught a few of them in schools, we never saw them again. The next thing that went was the small mullet, the *uouoa*. We never saw them again. When the other fish came in and we caught, the *weke* with the black tail, that makes you dream at night...

CK: *Weke pueo*.

LA: It never came back. But those schools were there, and we caught them from one atoll to the other. It seems that the emergent sand atolls are so small in circumference, that it doesn't have a habitat to support lots of this. It takes a long time to build them up, but it



only takes a little time for us to take it. So I just want to impart that information. That if you haven't seen it, you don't know, you don't realize. But after you leave there and you think about it, you think, "Hey, it's not going to work." And all the fisheries that have there, have demonstrated that after you fish them down, the giant trawlers, giant scrapers and everything, it doesn't come back. They never opened it up. So I want to just give that information. I like the vision that it will be protected forever.

And Isaac mentioned something that I feel very strongly about, it is true. That when you talk about subsistence fishing, the idea you want to put into peoples minds is this. Because we have examples, the turtles, ninety percent of them spawn up there, French Frigate, and then they come back here to help replenish here. So they've done pretty well since the closure. The studies that some people have done about DNA, especially *'ula'ula*, or *onaga* is the same as here. But the islands are only about 100 miles apart, all the way along the chain, 1,200 miles. So for sure, the spawn can reach from island to island. When I was in WESPAC, there was a study about some lobsters, they found a place where there were lots of them. Everybody came and took them all. But they found out in the studies, 1,000 miles at least, that the juveniles, floating in the planktonic mass, drop out of the water column, drifting out 1,000 miles, and return in the current, and drop out. That's how it built up. But that too, couldn't sustain the tremendous harvesting effort. So if it happens there in that example, it will happen in a lot of other places. I think that spawn is supplying us here in these islands.

If you want to talk about subsistence, everybody here [in the main Hawaiian Islands] can eat and subsist here, on the spawn that comes from there [the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands]. The satellites show a counter current from the prevailing trade winds flowing from east to west, there is also one that flows from west to east. The islands are only 100 miles apart, and it is definitely possible for the spawn to drop out on each island to feed us. So we don't have the giant breeders here, but we have them up there. And they are the ones that are taking care of us here. So subsistence fishing means we subsist on the spawn from those islands up there. I think that is what is happening. Nobody is living there, there is no need to harvest, so please don't harvest. And I would submit that as the alternative management structure for the proposed Northwestern Hawaiian Islands Marine Sanctuary...

WA: ...Bruce, I would like to correct perception from earlier, that "there is no subsistence going on in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands." When I was on Midway about a year and a half ago, contrary to law, I brought back *koa'e 'ula* feathers. I brought back *koa'e 'ula* feathers for practitioners who were going to use them in ceremony. So subsistence uses are going on, and more subsistence uses would continue to go on, if access was easier. Another example subsistence uses that do not directly relate with fishing is the *huaka'i*. *Huaka'i* and exchange of *hā* that went on at Nihoa is an example of subsistence uses that may not be directly related to fishing, but it goes on today, and it will go on tomorrow. That's why it's important to protect those rights. And I hate the word "rights," the *kuleana*, the responsibility to continue doing those things. So I wanted to make sure that that perception was corrected. Thank you.

KM: [Comments on discussion of Oct. 27th (in transcript), which expanded on the nature and meaning of subsistence in the Hawaiian Cultural context; on the same vein as raised by William Aila, above.] "*Ho'ohana aku, a ho'ōla aku!*"

BW: So William, what you've described, would be a suggestion that could describe an alternative, or part of an alternative for the fishery management regime for the sanctuary.

WA: It's an acknowledgment that other things occur. Fishing isn't just taking a hook, putting the bait and line in the water. Fishing as I was taught is — the night before you prepare; the reason you're going fishing; and when you get to the beach, you *pule*, and you make *ho'okupu*. Then you catch what you need, then you go home and you share. So the act of fishing is being described only in the driest of terms. In terms of the physical action of



putting the hook in the water, is not an accurate description of what it takes to go fishing. And I would add that the vision statement is a good vision statement, but it can be improved with a reference to the native Hawaiian *wahi pana* that are up there.

KM: Subsistence in the Hawaiian context, could be defined something like:

Hānai a 'ai (To care for and eat from) — In the Hawaiian cultural context, subsistence was the traditional way of life, reflected in the relationship shared between nature and the *kānaka* (people). Subsistence is multi-faceted, including: knowledge of the natural resources (from mountains to ocean depths); spiritual attributes; and a physical relationship.

LF: Under NEPA and NHPA, and all those, cultural landscapes are considered at the same level as any historic buildings, any kind of archaeological site, anything like that. The thing that is interesting about cultural landscapes is they are not just some physical act that is there, it is the actual action on the land. It is a traditional use that actually adds to the significance. So what is interesting about cultural landscapes as a model, not only in NEPA and those things, which the western model requires in the process, but it respects in a more full way, the indigenous use, the mindset of use in the traditional way, that that adds to the significance in a western mindset. It also continues that *kuleana* that continues "*mālama*" of that place, in a way that is a nice way to meet both needs. So as you've said, fishing is not just one action that's going to be used terms of some way to make more money or what ever, but it is a way to continue the life of that place. Not just the life-way of a people, but the life of the place, and all those things that we don't even know about how it works yet. So I would just say that that is another thing to consider as an alternative, "Traditional Cultural Property," in that respect...

...If we could defer initially to the three primary *kūpuna*. I know that *Kūpuna Ka'anā'anā* has some *mana'o* about caring for the fish, the islands and the history...

Kūpuna Ka'anā'anā describes subsistence fishing and how knowledge was handed down in Kapalilua:

EK: *Eia ho'i ku'u mana'o, e mālama ia i'a, mai ku'u po'e kūpuna i Miloli'i, Kona.* It takes my memory back to the days when I was raised by my grandparents in the little village of Miloli'i, Kona. A fishing village. And when I listen to all of this as we go around, there are certain things that come out, and it connects to my *kūpuna*. And knowing as a fisherman, we were there, growing up as we were little. We would go out, our *tūtū wahines*, the families. Every *'ohana* went out, and that place was taken care of from the *'āina*, the fishing village, right there, right on the sea shore. So we would go out on the sea shore, go out with our *tūtūs*. We would begin to learn how to survive, how to fish. We ate *pipipi*, *limu*, this and that, or *wana*. We would go the *tūtū wahines*, we'd learn in those days. And as time went on, when we went *'auana*, we would take sticks and improvise all the things from the *'āina* itself. When we went to pick up *wana*, we would pick up sticks, and clean it up. We just took enough for us to eat for the day, or what it was. And then as time went on, would go out in the nights, *lawai'a* with *'upena*, *'upena kā'e'e*, dip nets and stuff. There are all different kinds of nets. You were learning as you go along. And as you go along, then the time came that you began to go swim, you start going deeper and you are learning. That's the way we were taught.

And sometimes, then us *kamali'i*, we began to realize that we wanted to go deeper, we thought we were too smart. Our *tūtū* would say, "Be careful, you are not ready to go out there yet. But we will have a line for you to go out. Be sure you stay in line with this line, that it can reach you." They always said, "*ke kaula o ka 'aha*." And "Don't go beyond that. Because, if you are in trouble out there, we might not have enough line to throw out and reach you. So you must swim back to the line, and we will pull you back." All that kind of philosophy they would teach us, to be careful, to know the ocean. So as you are growing up, you study all of these things.

And then from there, when we think about *mālama*. We hear, every fishing village, every



ahupua'a, they have their own way of taking care of their place. And then we heard of *imu*. You know the *imu* where you pile *pōhaku*. We had that in the area of our village, from by *Kapukawa'a a hiki i ka pae o Kalihi*. In that area, we had places over there, every *pae* in the front of our village over there, we would build the *paepae pōhaku, imu*. Those are places where the little fish will come in and make house right in there. Every *kupuna*, when they wanted to fish, they would go right there, with the small *'upena*, and that is where they would take fish. So all the bigger fish stay outside, but when they are small, that's where they were forming inside there. They were breeding inside there. And those are the kinds of things they taught us. We never bothered to go there, except with our *tūtū*s. That's the place we went. We built those things, and would surround with our net, and just *houhou* with the *lā'au*, and when the fish goes out and gets stuck in the net. When it was enough, you take your net and go back home.

Those are the kinds of things that we call *mālama*. What we are doing is *mālama* our *kūpuna*. And there were places, where, when people came around, we said, "You don't go over to that place and fish, that is for the *tūtū* folks." If we wanted fish, we went beyond those points. And it was the same thing when we had the *kānāwai* of the *lawai'a 'ōpelu*. What kind of feed you had to *hānai* the *i'a*, and that law is still there, from Hi'ilea all the way to Kaulanamauna, by Ha'alelekeiki. All of those kinds of things, we knew we had to protect our place for our people. And we had that within ourselves and we established those kinds of things. We did it and we *mālama* those things. But the interesting thing, when we say way *mālama* this *pōhaku*, the *imu*, and we know the big fish, like *pānuhunuhu* and *lauia*, they come in. they are little ones, but they are deep sea fish, they go out to the deep. But, they do come in, like how the *mā'i'i*, *maiko* and *manini* come in the *umu* over there, they'll come in there, the little ones. They'll stay there and we get to eat that. But those, as soon as you go, they run right out to the deep, but certain times, they go back in that *pōhaku*, and you eat those fish.

There were so many things that we learned about fishing. From that time of fishing until the time I went on the *wa'a*, on the fishing canoe. And then later, I went on the sampan, *lawai'a 'ahi*. Before we went sampan, *lawai'a 'ahi*, we went on the canoe. There are a lot of stories I could tell you about *lawai'a 'ahi*. Today, they say "make dog." That's something new to us. At that time, we had *pale*. We put our... [thinking] *'Oki'oki 'oe ka 'āpana i'o* for *hānai* the fish when it goes down. The chum, *ho'i*. Before that, we never used the *pale*, we would just *'ōwili* that on the *pōhaku* and let it go down. Then later on, we started to go get the *lau* of the *noni*. When you tie that...if you don't tie your chum, while the thing is going down, all the chum goes out and the fish scatter all over the place. So they taught us, "You make sure when you tie this, you tie it good, and when you put it down at a certain place, you open it [gestures jerking the line], and all the fish will come down there." And everybody, when they fish, it's all on the same level.

So then we started to use the *lau noni* to wrap that. You wrap *pa'a* all your chum, then it won't spread all over the place. Then eventually, they started to get *pale*, cloth. They used cloth. Then later on, they started to use *kēpau* (lead), instead of *pōhaku*. See each time, we started to change. And that is why we say that progress has moved forward. You use your own mind. I also went out flagging.

And that is why I always remember our *tūtū* said, "*E akahēle kākou, ke loli nei ka 'ano o ka noho 'ana o kākou i kēia au nei. Ua 'ike mākou i ka loli 'ana i ka wā kahiko, i ka wā i hope, a e loli 'ana nō! Akā nō na'e e pono kākou e nānā i ka 'ano o ka loli 'ana. Inā loli 'ana no ka mea 'ano maika'i, a he pono kēlā! A inā loli aku i ka mea pono 'ole, ku kākou e no'ono'o, a'ole kēlā he mea pono! A'ole ho'oholo aku!*"

In other words, my *kūpuna* and family always said, "You can see how the changes of how we learned to fish, from that to this, and this to that, but we must watch how we change. If we change for the good, fine! If we change for the thing that we think is going to be pono 'ole, not right, we must be careful. Stand up and don't agree with that." And this is what we see. And what I see now and it's happening all over. At least now I can say that I am



not surprised it is happening, because they told us. They told us way before hand. And these are a lot of the things that I see about our *kūpuna*, that we learned. Like I say, I am a young *kupuna*. But we come from, Miloli'i, we have to survive, we have to *mālama* the things we *mālama*. Just as we *mālama* our *kūpuna*. When we set those stones in the *imu* over there, that is for our *kūpuna*. When they want to go down and get fish, it's right in the front of their *pae*. At their place, they just go over there, put their *'upena*, and they go home. The *pipipi*, the *limu* right in the front of there, we leave for them. If we wanted to get for a big *pā'ina*, we would go beyond those points. *Ka pae o Kapukawa'a, a Kalihi*, beyond that area. From Hi'ileia to Ha'aleleakeiki. So we did have those kinds of things, restricted places. They made it, they decided it, and they enforced it.

And I remember when we were little kids, when outsiders came around over there, fishing within that area, we little kids would go out. *Tūtū* would tell, "*Hele aku 'ōlelo i kēlā po'e lawai'a, mai lawai'a ma kēia 'ao'ao. Mai kēlā pae a hiki i kēlā pae, hele 'oukou ma waho laila.*" (Go and tell those people, we have a custom here, don't come and fish from that point to this point. You go from that point and the other, to catch your fish. This area is for our *tūtū* folks...")

Even when we go catch fish, *ho'opuni*, everything, the very first fish, and the best fish, our *tūtū* would tell, "*Lawe 'oe i kēia i'a no tūtū ma laila, ma laila, ma laila.*" We would take them the best fish that we get in the net, and give it to them first, before we took our own. And that is all the kinds of things that I remember, *māhele*, *mālama* and share... Our people had that kind of resources, had that kind of management, and had that kind of value to think of our *kūpuna*. And today when we go, we always try to emphasize to our young teachers and our students, "*Mai pōina kākou i nā kūpuna o kākou.*" (Let us not forget our *kūpuna*.) I have learned many things from them that we don't have time to talk about it here. But [pointing around room to meeting participants] *'oukou, ka mea i ho'ona'auao ai i kēia manawa. Na 'oukou i holo mua aku i kēia, nānā i ka pono no kākou a pau loa!* That's why when I go certain places, I always try to bring a young *haumāna* to sit down. So it is through you folks, our younger ones are going to *mālama* these things. But us *kūpuna* will bring up the things and tell them, "we had these things." We had these things, and many other things.

KM: Hmm. So *kupuna*, the values that you are talking about, are the same values that you would apply to *Nā Moku 'Aha*, the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands?

EK: 'Ae.

KM: Those traditional and customary values and practices, the *kuleana*?

EK: Yes.

KM: The *kuleana* and *pono* are all things that would apply there?

EK: That's what we need to do. Yet I know of many things. Too many of use, go and get things, take, take, take. In our days, there was a time to go and get fish, and a time to leave that fish alone, and go get some other fish. *Kekāhi po'e hele ki'i ka i'a i ka pō*, but some people, they don't know how to get the fish in the night. Leave that fish alone, let it rest... So many things I could say, but this is what I wanted, as we go along and look at this thing, what we are thinking about these *'āina* over here, we should think about how we could do it. There is a phrase they say, for the haves and the have-nots, *ka po'e lo'a, ka po'e lo'a 'ole! Ke makemake ke loa'a, a'ole hiki ke loa'a, no ka mea a'ole hiki iā lākou ke ka'a i ki'i laila.* For those who don't have, yet it is over there, but they cannot reach over there to get it. There is some way to get there, but they haven't the means to get over there. But hopefully the one that can go there to get it, they won't forget about bringing some home over here and sharing it...

So today we find that they make conservation just to certain people, and that is not right. That is not right. So those are my thoughts.



KM: *Mahalo.*

Kupuna Kapahulehua concurs with *Kupuna* Ka'anā'anā, and adds his *mana'o* as learned from his own elders:

KK: To add a foot note to what he said, *no kekāhi 'ōlelo e pili 'ana e kāna wehewehe 'ana, o nā kūpuna o ka wā kahiko...* Our ancestors said "*Mai uhauha*" (Don't be greedy)! Because the ocean is our ice box. You take what you need for today, you come back tomorrow. There is still some for tomorrow, or the next day, or the day after and next week. So, take what you need just for the day. But sometimes, when you throw the net, you get more fish in the net, you think of your neighbors, share with them, help them. Tell them, "I cannot help it. *A'ole hiki ke 'alo a'e, kilo i wau i ka 'upena, pa'a mai ia'u ka i'a!*" I caught all this fish, and *ka wehewehe 'ana* as I take it from the net, all make. So I bring it for you, to share with you. So *mai uhauha, lawe ka i'a i 'ai 'oe i kēia lā, kou pahu hau kēlā.* That, the ocean, is your refrigerator. So take care of it. Teach the children to know that there is tomorrow. *Pēlā ka mana'o.*

KM: *'Ae, mahalo nui!*

EK: *Ho'okāhi koe pōina*, since you mentioned about ice box. I reconnect with the last meeting we had, and Buzzy mentioned about ice box.

KM: *'Ae.*

EK: Like we say, our ice box is right in the front of us, when we wanted, we went there. But when we wanted to keep what we took, there was the *pa'akai, lū pa'akai, ē.*

KM: *'Ae.*

EK: But instead today, we take and put it in the ice box, freeze it and leave it. And we don't know that a lot of the fishes there that had eggs, they could have been swimming and there would be more fish. But, it's been stored in the ice box, frozen up, and that is an example.

KM: Yes. So recruitment, the *hānau* are gone.

EK: Uh-hmm.

KM: *Mahalo nui!*

EK: *Mahalo!*

Kupuna Agard discusses alternative management opportunities for the NWHI; and speaks of the differences in management and economics of fisheries, and lands tended by farmers:

LA: I would like to continue some of that discussion. If we are trying to submit an alternative management program to what is being discussed, I find that there are conflicting ideas with the vision. If that's our vision, "Abundant forever," it feels like some of these terms are leaning towards harvesting. And yet, that is probably a dangerous thing to this extent. When we were fishing out there years ago, we had cotton nets, organic matter that would rot. And today you have synthetic nets that last indefinitely. So they continue to catch even after they've been lost at sea. So this kills fish without any return, because nobody harvests dead fish like that. We have electronics today that you can actually see and count the fish before you set the line down. When we were fishing, we had the sounding line with the weight. We threw it over the side to find the bank, and then we maneuvered around the bank to do our bottom fishing. Today, we have airplanes, and I am guilty of that, I fly. The boat travels about five or six knots. The airplane traveling at 120 miles an hour can cover ten or fifteen times as much distance, searching for fish. Fishermen after all, are hunters. They go out hunting for fish. So the fish don't have a chance. And it is not going to get better as technology improves. Technology is great for medicine, for health care and so forth, but it has a down side, that it doesn't allow the wild species a fair



chance to stay alive.

So, I am of the opinion that we don't want to encourage the use of, human activity up there with the new technology because it would be, I think, disastrous. Not only that, if we are talking about this word subsistence, which we are trying to define, if you apply that term to the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, it is so expensive to get up there. It was expensive in our day, but today, it would be prohibitive. To buy a boat, safely to get up there. I guess the minimum for a small boat would be about \$40,000.00 with it's electronics, so you wouldn't get lost or run aground... And then that drives the person doing this to always figure out the financing, finances. "I have to catch enough fish to pay for my boat not, insurance, my fuel, my ice, my food. So I need to catch enough fish to pay for that." It's almost self-defeating. You are working to pay the expenses to get up there, saying that you are "going subsistence fishing." I think that difficult because it is self-defeating to the extent, who can afford to do that?

I think the definition of subsistence, in the case of fishing only, needs careful review and refinement, and maybe even a revision. Because, in addition to those thoughts of...well, it drives you to do this. You have to catch a lot of fish to pay for that, and you have to sell a lot of fish for this voyage up to the north. So rather than encourage people, and try to work out terms, like I read here [holds up the handout on terms and definitions], we'd rather do the opposite and discourage it. Bring the place to the people, and not the people to the place.

In the cases that I am involved in, I know that you can impact the fisheries up there, substantially, adversely. Other people have found that true. Also. It is very delusional to think that you can make it up there, make it worth your while. In other words, sustain... You use the word sustain, well, one thing is not going to be sustained, it's the resource. You might sustain yourself for a while, but it doesn't work. You are going to catch as much as you can, by the time you get home, three or four days, the quality of the fish goes down considerably. I've sold fish on the market for ten cents a pound because it was in such poor condition. Nobody wanted it, you would have to give it away or call up some institution and say "you can have it for free." I've done that a lot. So I learned, I quit, and I've never gone back. I know that it is not going to work.

The attitude is that you have to be like a corporate farmer, harvest your fields, and you take everything. You put it in a silo, and you sell it out piece meal in the bags. As was pointed out, if you harvest that fish with the eggs and put it in an ice box or a freezer, to take it out and eat at your leisure, the potential spawning capacity of that fish is lost. So the old system of saying, "Take what you need. The ocean is my ice box, I can go out there and get what I want, when I want," is the right approach. And if we can apply some of those things to some of the activities that we are contemplating—trying to develop under the sanctuary plan. But, a sustainable fishing system, that's a two edged sword, that statement. I don't think that you can. Nobody can feed the world. We can not feed the world with that fish up there. It will run out long before that. The idea that you can go up there and harvest it all and feed everybody, is not going to work. It's too distant, the quality is going to be so poor, who would want it anyway. I will say that, right off the bat... The quality is always going to be down.

We found that out years ago, when we came back from there with our ice holds of fish sloshing in the ice. When we opened the ice box, the fins were off, the scales were off, and nobody wanted it. So save everybody the trouble, we bring the place to the people, and let's not bring the people to the place. I think we will all be happier, and we'll have a better conscious, that we didn't spoil something for nothing...

What I am trying to do is tell people that it is very difficult to get the fish and bring them back here in good condition. Today, they have a little bit of a better system. They've got the pre-treatment. You catch the fresh *onaga* and you can dip it in... we used to dip it in ozone, O3 to kill the bacteria, [smiling] which will also, if you breath it in your lungs, it'll fix you up too.



Group: [chuckles]

LA: You have that, you have cold freezers, and good stuff, they can bring it back a little fresher. But actually, you're not going to find too many people going all the way up the island chain, for the time it takes to get there, fish for so many days, and so many days to come home. Before they start doing it, or thinking they can do it, the best thing is to say, "Look, it's very difficult." Let's try to adopt a system that will allow us to benefit down here. We are benefiting, I am positive that those babies and those larva being spawned up there, are feeding us down here through a filter system. That is, we filter it through the process, the different steps, for consumption here, where we are not trying to feed the world.

I guess we had about three hundred thousand people here about Captain Cook's time, that's his estimate. Today, we have about one-point-three million people here. We have one million over the amount, and it is difficult to feed them. So the idea of going up there fishing, on a sustainable basis is going to be based on making the money to pay for the cost to go up there. So you will engage in something that is regressive, and we should tell people that it is not possible. But,. We can have fresh fish by filtering out the larva to our islands, and harvest it in the ice box technique. "This is our ice box." We can't feed the world. That's the whole thing that people have to know. We cannot even feed all the people in Hawai'i fresh fish. That's why we are importing eighty or ninety percent of it today. It is all frozen, cod and what ever. And now, we are running out of cod. Unbelievable as it is, I think that we are running out of ling cod too. It took three hundred years to fish down George's Bank off the New England coast. But they have fished it down. And if that productive place can go like that, this non-productive place up there can go too, faster. I don't know of anybody who has gone up there, that can come back and report that they've fished, and fished, and fished. I quit fifty years ago, 1956...almost fifty years. I found out the hard way, it was painful, frustrating, stressful, but it didn't work. So I can pass on that kind of information.

And when I read the criteria for subsistence use, who can go up there and fish for subsistence use and come back with a product that you can distribute with pride, or reasonable pride...?

KM: May I suggest, what we've heard the three *kūpuna* say today, and in the last meeting as well, subsistence is possible when it is in it's truest cultural context. When we are up there for a reason, visiting the stories places, doing the traditional practices, doing the voyaging, the training that was done before, then you take. But not fishing in an economic sense.

These things—some of the definitions—are pushing it back into an economic realm. But subsistence and economic uses are two different things, right.

Kūpuna discussing difference in practices of subsistence and commercial fishing:

EK: That is something that I want to bring up too, that at one point, I did go with PAFI, the Department of the Interior, and it was part of that thing that we went up to our *Aha Moku*, our Line Islands, to study what all the fish were up there. We came back and reported what we knew then. That there were these types of fish and where, and even lobsters. And that's when our commercial people went up there. And again, as *Kupuna* Buzzy said, when we went up there, all the boats went up there and everybody just concentrated on taking, taking, taking. Then when they heard about the lobster, our lobster people went up there, and dragged that place up. And *Kupuna* Buzzy already explained the problem.

KM: One year.

EK: One year, the problem was set. And the now, it is so sad to see this lobster boat came up there and dragged those lobsters. I'm not talking about shrimps down this side. And now, it's sad they take all the lobster [gestures breaking a lobster tail from the body], they break 'um throw away all the head parts and just save the tail. To see that, for use, when we see things like that [shaking his head]. We survived on the *'āina* itself. And you see that thing



thrown away. They say, “Oh, we cannot keep those things because it takes space. All we need is this [holding the tail].” To see things like, it hurts, ‘*eha!*’ And then some times I blame ourselves, we went up there, and told them “Yes, it’s there, you guys can go.” But we cannot go on for ever and rake that place up.

KK: Some times, they bring a boat that is like a vacuum cleaner. They put it right in the hole and such everything right into the boat. One night, a boat came into Kewalo Basin. The guy gave us some big lobsters. “Oh, where you got the lobsters?” “Oh, our hold is all full.” We looked in there, they had small ones. “How come you took all the babies?” “We cannot help it, we just suck ‘um all up.” Somebody called the game warden. He came over said, “Open the bottom hatch.” They just dropped the whole load right in Kewalo Basin. “You cannot suck all the lobsters in you hold. You can take the big ones, but not the small ones.” Ridiculous...!

KM: ...We have heard uniformly from all of the *kūpuna*; many who have had Uncle Buzzy’s experience, and uncle *mā*, when they were up there fishing for other purposes saw that it was not sustainable. But when it is for the cultural visitation, the historical attachment to a place, you sustain yourself. You eat of the land, but you give back also...

LF: Lance Foster, Native Rights for OHA. Listening to Uncle Buzzy and the other *kūpuna*, I would say that we would like to always support native access for subsistence use. Of course, distance and technology if going to be a natural regulator, and that is a safety. I think that the bringing the place to the people is the way to go. And I think that if the United States is serious about looking at things like the rain forests as a resource for the world, in the terms of a source... *Nānā i ke kumu*, then this way, this knowledge of this place as a source, it should be looked at in that way. Protect it as kind of a seed bank. So the only people using it would be those people who are there doing a traditional practice, or who find themselves there by accident, or in terms of doing some sort of research there, and you need to eat for the day. That kind of use, would be okay. But speaking for our *hale*, we support native traditional access and subsistence use, but anything more, we couldn’t support that.

Kāwika Winter discusses the Hawaiian concept of Subsistence (*Hānai a ‘ai*), which, in it’s cultural context, also means *kuleana* (responsibility):

KW: *E kala mai, ‘o wau no ka ‘ōpiopio loa i kēia ke‘ena.*

EK: *E holo ‘oe.*

KW: Could we go back to the slide about *Hānai a ‘ai*? I am probably one of the younger people in this room, and I don’t have the ocean or fishing experiences of these *kūpuna* and or of Aila and some of these other *mākua*. But I have been learning from *Kupuna Ka‘anā‘anā* for many years now, and as I’ve been going to school, I’m getting my degree in ethnobotany. One of my concentrations is ecological botany, or the way indigenous people manage the resources. And it helps me to take what I learn from Papa Ka‘anā‘anā and critically think about it. And it really is a shame that this conference today is all in English. Because if it was in Hawaiian, we could really define this in a way that would be acceptable to all of us. And I think if we define this statement right here in Hawaiian, I am sure you would have the word *kuleana* somewhere.

EK/KM: Yes.

KW: Which is in English, when you say subsistence rights, you have the connotation of take. Take, take, take. But with *kuleana*, you have the dual aspect... All of us, our whole culture is dualism.

EK: That is true.

KW: You have Papa-Wākea, Kū-Hina, *hānai a ‘ai*. So it is just very important, I think, that all of us realize, when we are talking about subsistence *kuleana*, it’s not just taking, it’s giving



back. It's feeding the fish and taking the fish. When we go up in the forest, we don't only go to take, we go to plant, we go there to be there. And when we go fish, we go back to the ocean and we take from the ocean. 'Oia wale nō ku'u mana'o.

KM: *Mahalo!*

EK: *Mahalo, maika'i...!*

LA: ...Could I suggest this, that the *kuleana* of this group is — The Northwestern Hawaiian Islands for this group, is their *kuleana*. Although the issue was argued in December 2000 for the Hawaiian Group, that included Isaac, Tammy and myself, we asked for a monument up there. A monument sets the tone that precludes harvesting. We were told that a new administration was coming in, and that the new administration might not go for the monument designation. But as this is the time that we are looking for a description of a current alternative management structure, that we ask for a monument. That this group recommends as their *kuleana*, that the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands be a monument.

The reason for that is, as you move towards a sanctuary, it is much more loosely put together. A sanctuary allows all activities, all. Remember I said all activities except for those specifically prohibited. A monument disallows all activities unless they are specifically permitted. So that is the difference between the two. And after listening to everybody, I think that would be a reasonable recommendation, that we think of adopting the area, in our view, as a *kuleana*, our responsibility, that is our recommendation. Thank you.

KM: *Mahalo...!*

LA: ...I don't think the bottom fish has ever been a problem with this. It's almost self regulating, one man, one fish, one hook. So you have to really work for it. I think what we are talking of is the potential fishing. That's the trouble we'll have up there, it's not so much bottom fishing. They are grandfathered in, okay. They sell out if they want to sell out. In another vein, I keep talking about this larva drifting, and seeing in the satellite images, the counter current. It's very clear to me, that the massive amount of netting that ends up there on those islands, lots of it is coming from the Asian side of the world, which is the current we are looking for, drifting from Korea to these main islands. So if the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands act like a sieve, pick up all this netting, tons and tons of it. Then we in fact have definite movement from the Western Pacific to the Eastern, which is what we are looking for. Of course, not too long ago, one of the buoys that measures the height of waves, anchored off of Necker Island, drifted over to Kaua'i. And just recently, the bottle that was dropped off in Japan was found here. A little girl dropped it in the ocean, and it got here.

When I was first on the island, there were dozens and dozens of glass balls, on all the islands. When they were making them as floats. And recently, we had a great influx of those long white plastic tubes that they raise oysters in, in the oyster racks. They all ended up, up here. So there is definitely this movement from the Western Pacific to the eastern, and with that of course, a lot of the fish travel. So like I say, that is the filter that helps us all enjoy fresh fish, because the big breeders are up there to the northwest of us. And that is the important part about that fishery, why it is that it should remain the way it is, as near as possible... In fact at French Frigate today, on Midway, for years, we've had scientists up there doing all kinds of work. For years. But I haven't seen it incorporated into what we need.

Group: [chuckling]

Group discusses alternatives for management of the NWHI; commercial uses are ill-advised. Traditional subsistence practices acceptable—traditional practices based on a spiritual connection, and the relationship of the people to the land and ocean:

LA: It's research for research, for fun. And we are looking for some answers, us taxpayers. So



when we start talking about research, there is a lot going on, but I haven't seen anything that helps us manage our fishery...

WA: ...I was asking the *kūpuna* here, if they thought the existing *mana'o* which is the Executive Order, is something that they feel has value, that maybe should become the *mana'o* this group? And if the existing Executive Order says that the bottom fishermen are grandfathered in, some of us feel that when they stop fishing, or they *hala*, those permits go. That is open to interpretation. But the Executive Order says that all other forms of commercial activities cease. Native Hawaiian subsistence uses can continue to go on. In some areas where recreational/tourist operations have been established, they may continue to go on. That's basically what the Executive Order says. Is that a good idea, is that a bad idea? *He 'aha ka mana'o?*

EK: *Ku'u mana'o, e nānā aku kākou, ka mea e pono ai iā kākou a pau loa.* If you look into this aspect of what is right, it is right. And this is where you folks would come in. And that is where I need to say — *Nui ka mea a kākou, ua lilo a hala. No kākou a'ole i nānā pono, a maopopo pono paha? Pau i ka lilo 'ana.* See, there is a lot of things that have happened to us, that have been taken and is gone. Was it our problem that we weren't careful and looked at it to understand it? And when you think of our times of past, a lot of our people didn't quite understand it, and some of them didn't even get the message straight. And we lost it. And this is where I look up on you, our *kumu*, our young students to try and understand this, for our *kūpuna* who didn't quite understand all of this. And this we find today is still happening.

Sometimes when we speak, and you spoke about the spiritual part. I want to bring up the spiritual part about our Hawaiians. Things that were taught to us. But sometimes, we don't want to incorporate our spiritual things, we don't want to mix those things inside, but we have to look at all these aspects. Last time when we talked about the *akule*, I never mentioned about the two fish, I said we called the people, it was for the people first. But I didn't mention about the two fish. But it was mentioned about the two fish that they had to let go.

KM: *Kū a Hina?*

Kupuna Ka'anā'anā recalls ceremonial observances associated with first caught *'ahi*, of a young, first-time fisherman:

EK: *Kū a me Hina!* And the same thing, when I was a little boy, I was at that part, when we took the first two out of the *'upena*, when I knew that they were going to surround, my work was to start that fire to prepare... [end of CD 1, begin CD 2] ...the charcoal and move it on the side, and keep it warm. Don't take it out of that place where I am cooking that fish. Then I handed it to them and they took it. It was part of our spiritual things.

On my first part, when I first went out fishing *'ahi*, hand line. The first *'ahi* I caught was about forty pounds. I was a young boy at that time. I pulled that *'ahi* up and when it got to the *ka'a*, the leader, that's when my *tūtū* took the line, and got that *'ahi* inside... My *tūtū*, what he did is, he cut off the nose of that *'ahi*. Then he cut one of the wings on the side. Whether it was the right or the left, I cannot remember. And the tip of the tail, the top or the bottom, I was excited that time, I cannot remember. But there was no question to ask what he was doing, cutting this with his *pule*. Then he let go the nose of the *'ahi* and threw it in the water. Then as he cut off one of the wings, he *pule*, and dropped the wing down in the ocean. Then he cut the tail, and *pule*, let it go. Then we took the fish home. We all ate this fish, gave it all to the family.

I didn't ask any questions, "*Tūtū* why did you cut the nose and do this? Why did you cut the *pekeu* and do this, and the *huelo*, and do this?" No question was asked. That's why they say "*Aia i ka manawa pono, e lohe 'ana iā 'oe.*" When the time is right, you will hear what it is about. So when we had *'ohana*, he told me, "I knew you wanted to ask the question." So he said—



“The nose is for him to go where he wants to go. And the *pekeu*, you cut, that *‘ahi* is going to go around and around, and he will come back to the house. And that tail will steer him, no matter where he goes, he will come back.”

So that’s why they say “*Mālama i ke ko‘a*.” Not only we have to *mālama* the *ko‘a*, but in our spiritual means, with that first fish you caught, you will do that. In other words the *kahukahu*. That is why with me, I am so strong about our Hawaiian culture... So yes there are some things that we should do. If it’s *pono*.

[Discussing the broad changes in Hawaiian beliefs and culture following the arrival of the missionaries; and the opportunity to recapture some of the good from the past.] That’s why our *tūtū* said. When they destroyed all these things we had... *Mana‘o lākou i ho‘opau i kēia mea a kākou a pau, inā e ho‘opau ‘ia ka mea pono ‘ole, maika‘i ‘ole, maika‘i. Ka mea maika‘i, e mālama aku kākou.* That’s what happened when we destroyed everything, we should have kept what is good, and then destroyed what is bad. And yet, at the same time when we started destroying, we knew that this was good, but we must think, “do we have to destroy it all?” Maybe some things could have been saved, so we learn from our mistakes. And there are some things that we destroyed, and we realized that we shouldn’t have done that. And that is why we have come to the point, we can bring that back and we can *ho‘oponopono aku i kēlā mea i hewa ai!* When we look at the goods, we figure this is a good thing we have. But yet at one point, we made a mistake, this good, but yet it is causing us trouble. Then we need to bring the two together. That’s why we have the balance and the connection. *Ho‘oponopono aku ka mea maika‘i, ho‘oponopono aku ka mea pono ‘ole. Ke nānā aku kākou i ka mea pono ‘ole, a he ‘ano mea maika‘i kēlā.* That thing we thought we had destroyed, it must have been something good, so we have fault. So we can bring it back. *Ho‘iho‘i mai a ho‘opono aku.* That’s why we say, “everything has to connect.” The good and the bad, if we bring those in balance together, then we can *holo mua, holo pono*.

So if that is grandfathered in, fine. That happened in our village of Miloli‘i. There were other things over there, that was there from long ago. But the law says, “if you are going to apply this law, we have to take it away.” But yet it has been there, it is good. Leave it alone. We heard it today. If it is no trouble, don’t bother it, leave it be. So this is what we need to look at as we go onto this.

Mana‘o ‘ana kākou kō kākou Akua, Kū, Kāne, Lono, Kanaloa, mai kākou pōina iā Hina, o Hina pū! We must not forget our Hawaiian Gods. My *tūtū* always said, “Never forget —*Mai pōina iā Hina*.” And how true. *Inā a‘ole ka wahine a kākou, mai hea ‘ana kākou?*

KM: ‘Ae.

EK: *O kākou wale no ka po‘e kāne, a pau ‘ia.* So I balance those things. So like you mentioned, I was with those two fish, how did we know that we let go one *kāne* and one *wahine*. It’s not the point. In the mind, the concept is there. We are not going to look, “Oh this is the one, this is the one.” When put that with the concept, the mind is strong, *a komo aku i loko*, nothing can take it away. So that’s why the balance is always so important. Like I said, as a *mahi‘ai*, that’s what I tell our *haumāna*, “Prepare the land, but make sure you know how to feed this thing that you are going to plant. *Wai*, how are you going to get your water? When you get that all together, you *kanu* your *kalo*... And there is a story about that *kalo*. And when you finish, then you have to prepare yourself. *Hana aku ‘oe i ka papa ku‘i ‘ai, hana aku ‘oe i ka pōhaku ku‘i ‘ai*... You must balance... So this is the kind of thought I have, you are planning on something, complete it. And if you cannot, bring it back down. *Hilahila* if that thing stands up, people going back and forth, “Look at this project there. *A‘ohe pau, e kau wale nei nō!*” And that reflects on not only you, the one that is building it, but it reflects on your community, your people. That is the kind of thing that my *kūpuna* taught me... We must be prepared to move forward in *pono!*

KM: *Mahalo nui!*



- EK: [Recalls early years of canoe making with his *kūpuna* — as told in the transcript of October 27th.] So if there is a grandfather law there, we must leave it, don't try to take it away. Everything must balance...
- KM: So it is all related.
- EK: All related.
- KM: As the resources are there to those islands. As you said, uncle, it's not individual things, *Nā Moku 'Aha*, you said were like the fingers, and those fingers are all a part of the hand that is down here.
- EK: Uh-hmm.
- KM: And as is the cultural, spiritual practice, *ho'okāhi no 'ohana, mai uka a i ke kai, mai kāhi pae a kāhi pae*. It's all related. *Mahalo!*
- WA: Uncle Buzzy, I put forth the same question to you. We have an existing alternative right now.

Kupuna Agard discusses possible management strategy for the Reserve, as a "Monument."

- LA: Yes, for a strategy, if we cannot get what we were trying to get in Washington, which was a monument, I think we would like the reserve because that doesn't seem to be as difficult, and it is only a confirmation of President Theodore Roosevelt's initial designation for the region, the reserve. Could we maintain that designation? I would like that to remain a reserve, the way it is.
- WA: An option would be the Presidential Orders become the guiding principals of the sanctuary.
- LA: Yes. They assured us in Washington, when we brought up the issue of the monument, when we found out what it was. They told us that that might not be a good decision because of the new administration coming in, in January. We kind of went along with it when they added this caveat, they said "You will be able to design a sanctuary as strong as a reserve." But rather than trusting and waiting, we would express a preference to be the reserve as we have it now. I don't think that the bottom fishers are any problem. It's really a potential, when you read the documents, of what might happen in the future; and you think, "Shouldn't we try to keep it as a *kuleana*?" Because it is taking and giving, or enjoying and giving back the protection to enjoy the benefits of what comes from the region. It is a give and take.

I think trying to maintain the reserve as...I wouldn't say promised us, but they said "Yes we could design a sanctuary as strong as a reserve. Or stronger than the usual sanctuary.

What makes a person like me fearful is the Dry Tortugas [in the Florida Keys], they talk about this sanctuary, there were so many stake holders in that thing, that you ended up with almost nothing. Everybody took a slice of it, and continued the participation and extraction in the Dry Tortugas Sanctuary... All of the stake holders got a piece of it, which didn't mean it was conservation. That is an example of having permitted so many participants, that you no longer can make a wise decision because it is all cut up in pieces.

They have a few people out there doing a little work. Even like Midway, for the short time that the Phoenix Corporation operated it, and they had catch and release, we find out that all the big breeders are gone, and that was the selling point. Come up here and catch yourself this great big fish. Of course it was catch and release, but after you exhaust the fish that badly, and cut it loose, it died anyway. We know, that everything that has happened up there, if you trace it through, you will find out the same thing, you're going to kill them. Whatever you do, when the human participation...how would we like it if somebody hooked us in the mouth and we just swam and swam until we died of



exhaustion...? I think that those things are good to bring to the public so that they can evaluate what the idea is.

So let us try to save the place. I don't think that the Great Barrier Reef, the largest one in the world, is being sold as a place to go fishing... And there is probably poaching going on here as speak. That's why we need regulations, and why we need a stronger thing than a sanctuary. Sanctuary, I think is too open ended, unless everything is specifically prohibited. So I see the move towards sanctuary, in suggestions, as not a desirable thing for something that we can call our *kuleana*, our responsibility. So speak up and say "this is what we think we need to do to preserve it.

The vision says, "and abundant forever." That's our vision statement, I believe that. Thank you.

KM: *Mahalo...!*



Island of O‘ahu:

Jack Nāpuaokalauokalani Williams (KPA Photo JW030295)

Mōkapu and Kāne‘ohe Bay Fisheries

March 2, 1995 and March 31, 1995 – with Kepā Maly

Jack Nāpuaokalauokalani Williams (Uncle Jack) was born in Honolulu on September 2, 1915. Uncle Jack’s father was William Essie Hū‘ia Williams, and his mother was Maryann Dow-Williams. Uncle was raised as a subsistence fisherman, and fished most of his life to supplement his family’s diet.

Shortly after 1930, the Williams family purchased a lot at Mōkapu, and built a home on Pali-kilo bluffs from where they fished. The entire Williams family grew very attached to the land and fisheries of Mōkapu, and after being removed from the peninsula in 1941, the family acquired land on the coast of He‘eia, near the He‘eia pier so they could see Mōkapu, and return to the ocean fronting the peninsula.



Uncle Jack Nāpuaokalauokalani Williams granted his personal release of the oral history records to Maly on April 14, 1995.

Describes types of fish and locations where caught, in between Mōkapu and He‘eia shore:

KM: ...So your home was facing sort of toward Coconut Island?

JW: Oh yes, yes. I know that place. I used to go fishing over there. But there’s a beautiful spot. And this island here we used to go fishing...

KM: Kekepa.

JW: Yes diving over there, my brother and I.

KM: Tell me about that. You said you went canoe, and what you did?

JW: Well over here, between Kekepa and the Plymouth Rock [i.e. Pyramid Rock], you know, the beach right here, there was a reef that went out like that, you know. A small reef, the reef I would say was about 200 feet long. Yes, and it was open over here, deep water, not too deep, just about over your head. And then, this was our favorite lobster fishing ground. It’d be shallow, low tide we’d walk out with the nets on our shoulders, start from here, lay them out on the rocks, right on the edge of the reef about 200-300 feet of our net and get lobsters a good foot and a half long, big ones. And then we bring the nets in of course and on the weekends we would go to here to Pyramid Rock catch ‘ōpihis. Beautiful ‘ōpihis, just right. And there’s good surfing inside here...God, the water, good waves and everything. We used to body surf a lot.

KM: So this is the sort of the ocean side from Pyramid Rock towards the dune area. Was this the sandy beach area?



JW: Very sandy beach, very, beautiful, beautiful beach. People from the town would come down and camp and fish and swim over here too. Weekends was always busy. And I think for a while, about three weeks ago, the military using this as a picnic area. We had homes over here. As I said, we had a dock here, and then the McKinney family was right down below us over here, then the Boyd family...they were down below, see we were on the top. They're below...the McKinney family, Boyd family, and Clark family. I'm trying to think of other families, the White family, Mikihala White. Quite a few families, old family friends, old family friends. I can pick the names especially. But used to go all the way down here, there's a narrow strip, this is all grass land and the road would go right around down to the point down here [Davis Point].

KM: Did you call this point by a name, do you remember?

JW: No, we called the Sand Bar.

KM: Sand Bar. Do you remember the Davis family? Was it George Davis? He was an older Hawaiian gentleman.

JW: I can't remember. We never worried about names of people, we just *aloha*. We went to their house and ate and went home, and they come up to the house and same thing. Everybody was that way. Especially weekends, we used to have nice gatherings.

KM: So there were houses down along...all the way towards the point right here? Okay. When you folks, you were describing, so you said you had canoes?

JW: Yes, my dad built flat bottom canoes you know. He built them himself and we had two of them and my brothers and I would, and our friends would go fishing inside here, in this area, all inside here good fishing.

KM: So that's from Kekepa down, sort of down between the point ...

JW: All good fishing inside there. Oh man it was beautiful.

KM: When you were fishing, and this is just something kind of interesting, did your family, you know like your dad, or did any older people, you know how the old days before, they would kind of *ho'okupu*, make a little, set something behind, did they keep a *Kū'ula* or *Kō'a*? Do you remember any sort of traditional Hawaiian practices, respect or observance for fishing?

JW: Well my dad was a old time fisherman, throw net fisherman... He was good at that. And we had friends that would come down and spend the weekend doing that kind of throw net fishing in this area, and I don't know. I can't say there's any kind of special, my dad would have the Hawaiian way of doing things, catching the crabs or fishing. He never did wrong net or anything he knew how to do it, his own way of catching crabs you know, on a stick with stone...a stick. He had a trap over there, not trap but bait on the rock there and then when he walks around and comes back and he sees the crab and scoop up the crab, big white crab... Yes, white meat, big shell, a big shell, yeah. That's before the Samoan crabs came in...

KM: Nice, yeah. So the map that we're working with shows you some of the general...there's some wording in here that says "old ruins of former native settlements." And in around here are some walls, maybe some pens or enclosures. Did you ever...do you remember, did anyone talk about a *heiau* or ceremonial place or old village and they say, "Oh don't go there" or kind of stuff?

JW: No we never had that. Because, most the time we stay there on the beach side, like that. My dad would go hunting inside here, the ranch land whatever you call it.. It was a beautiful spot. It was all, that ramp now, all this is all in the ramp now. That's were they have the helicopters...



Fishponds of the Nu'upia-Kaluapūhi vicinity still had fish in them when he was young:

KM: Was anyone working the fishponds? Do you remember?

JW: I don't recollect anybody working the fishponds you know. But we were able to go to the fishpond catch fish.

KM: So you did. You were allowed to go and catch fish like that?

JW: Those days, yeah. But nobody took advantage. They had mullets, good size mullets. This one here and this pond here [points to Nu'upia and Kaluapūhi].

KM: ,,Did you folks...did any family, did any *tutu* them or...gather salt anywhere?

JW: There's your salt works down there [points to Ka loko pa'akai-Kapoho ponds] this side..

KM: Your salt works there. That's the Kaluapūhi or Kapoho area.

JW: Yes, right.

KM: Was anyone making salt, do you remember?

JW: No...

The reef flats between Mōkapu and He'eia were noted for their lobsters:

KM: ...What's a fond memory, good memory that you have about your time at Mōkapu or a special event or something good. You know, hard yeah, one thing but you know, what was your favorite thing about Mōkapu?

JW: Well our favorite really is lobster fishing and 'ōpihi, pick 'ōpihi all the time, and crabbing, we used to love to go crabbing down here, especially around the point over here [Kū'au] – and of course surfing over here [He'eia], beautiful, beautiful body surfing over here, this beach here.

KM: Did you ever hear a Hawaiian name Palikilo? It's a name that's been written on some of the maps. I was just curious if you ever heard that.

JW: Uhm–no.

Father used to spot fish from atop Palikilo; recalls similar practices at Kahana Bay:

KM: When you were fishing. Was there ever someone that spotted? You know what is *kilo* eh? You know *kilo* is a spotter, a fish spotter. Did anyone ever stay atop the hill area there and spot, tell you where to lay your nets or anything?

JW: No, we knew where the...We learned where the fishing ground were, where the best place to lay from experience. We didn't have anybody necessarily tell us. I know that over, that are past the point...Kahana Bay, that Kahana Bay? Around the point, is the far point before you get to Punalu'u.

KM: Yes, that would be Kahana then.

JW: The next beach. They used to do spotting on the hill up there. On both sides...because those guys were on the boat. They could see where the school was.

KM: So they were still doing that when you were young too. So you saw the fisherman

JW: Oh yes, yes, in fact I used to go help fishing over there. In fact when he lost his place over here [Mōkapu], we moved down to Kaluanui. We had a place, an old store, an old store on the beach side. And...that is across that road we worked on that place knocked out part and rebuilt and a house over there.

KM: So you folks were living Kaluanui then, that's like Sacred Falls, just above. Okay.



JW: That's when the tidal wave came in and wiped us out. 19 what, the tidal wave was 1946? Wiped us out. We stayed there...we always used to go there, every weekend. And we used to look and see, look across and see Kāne'ōhe Bay and we miss... [Mōkapu]...

Fish used for family and friends; always shared:

KM: ...And you were fisherman. Did you folks, what did you use the fish for, primarily for family or did you go to market or...

JW: For family. We brought some home for the rest of the family. And we used to have...in fact all these people here, they would have families there all the time, all year round. It was a real gathering place, all old time families...

Awa and mullet found in the fishponds:

KM: ...And you would also go into ponds? You're pointing like Nu'upia Pond. You would go to Kaluapūhi, you would go gather mullet. Any other fish in there?

JW: Mostly it's the white sole fish.

KM: *Awa*?

JW: Like *awa*, yeah. Mullet is the one—mostly people like.

KM: So no one was making salt that you ever saw.

JW: We knew there was salt works over there.

KM: And you said to your recollection at the time that whenever, at least when you would drive through the fishpond area, you didn't see any old house or anyone living there at the time.

JW: No, it could be down inside here cause its all trees. The crabbing used to be down inside here. All nice crabbing inside here [Kāne'ōhe—Nu'upia Pond side of the peninsula].

KM: Shallow the water. Did you folks gather *limu*?

JW: Oh yes...

KM: ...I think what's really important, and I'm going to ask you if you don't mind one more time, describe some of your memories about fishing out here and what you did and your lay nets and things like that. You know that's important to the family too, I think.

'*Ōpihi* collected from Kū'au:

JW: Yes. We used to every weekend, even the Uncle and I go down there Mōkapu, and we lay the lobster nets, the lobster season, and then we come in and when the family was relaxing and doing things, my brother-in-law and I would go out to the Plymouth Rock and get '*ōpihi*. When you bite it—oh the mouth. I used to love that, that's how I got to love '*ōpihi* because from here because had just the right size, the meat, about that big [one to two inches]. And when you bite it, as you say, soft.

KM: Where did you get your salt from? You folks didn't make salt out there. You brought em with you.

JW: No. Brought em with us, yeah. And then of course we lay the lobster net. That was the beautiful part.

KM: So the reef ran out towards Kekepa?

The *papa* was also a noted *he'e* fishery:

JW: Yes, short distance, short reef, really a short reef. And it goes...water that's just about over your head. Real nice. We used to lay our nets out there also and catch some fish. And also in the middle of the bay here. But good squidding inside here [pointing areas out



on the map]. Big, big squid. I remember one time we was going, my brother and I, Pershing and I on a canoe paddling and all of a sudden we see this thing in front of us, a big squid almost as big as the canoe. Yes, right on top of the water, boy.

KM: How did you squid? Did you dive, did you use the *lūhee*, drop down, hook? How did you catch your he'e?

JW: We squidded with, you saw me with the squid box. With the canoe, on the canoe you can spot em.

KM: And you would dive.

JW: Yes, dive. My brother Pershing, he was great at that you know.

KM: So he'd go down to the *puka* where the *he'e* is and grab em then. Did you ever use a *lūhee* drop hook kind?

JW: No. I know what you're talking about. I used to use that in Wai'anae for catching lobsters. In fact what I used to use a net for go fishing for catching lobsters...use the old mop head. You know the old mop head. You tie the cord on it with rock and you then you put *hauna* [bait] and you drop it inside by the rock...the lobster whole. You don't need a hook, the darn lobster get all tangled up in the mop. That's how we use to catch the lobster. All the tricks from the old timers. My dad had close friends, Filipinos and Hawaiians, used to come out and help us, teach us how to fish. They were expert in dive down and did all kind of stuff like that, fishing.

Offerings of fish to *Kū* and *Hina* still made by his father:

KM: Did anyone ever leave an offering. Did you ever see anyone leave an offering or put some fish back? You know they catch, first catch, put back or anything. Your papa them...

JW: My dad would do that himself, put the fish back and then go on and catch fish some more. He would never...he'd only take what we need, and never more fish. Only take what we need. Only take what we need.

KM: Different today, yeah?

JW: Oh different. People greedy. They start coming along with putting Clorox in the holes.

KM: And like you said, you folks didn't catch, go catch everything go sell it.

JW: No, no, no. What you could use for family, what you could bring home for the rest of the family, *pau*...

KM: Hmm. ...So all of this *papa* here you said was good crabbing.

JW: Oh yeah.

KM: All in front of this area where the ramps and stuff are and Heleloa.

'Alo'alo fished on the *papa*:

JW: It was all nice, let's see. All inside here my dad would go look for something like a lobster, about that long. They're fast, they're real fast... Yes, *'alo'alo*, they go in the sand bar, go in the sand, the *'alo'alo*. Good eating. So my dad says, "Oh I'll get these darn things. So he went take a bamboo and strip it and take this hook and the bottom of the thing and then we'd go along and find the holes where the *'alo'alo* goes and they shoved it down inside there and feel this guy [makes a cracking noise] and pull it out. Big...good eating. My dad used to love that.

My dad loved the ocean, loved fishing and stuff like that. He requested that he be buried here in the ocean. And because he had this place at He'eia, that's why we decided to take him, that's where he wanted to go because there would be his fishing ground. He and I



would go out in the canoe, in the canoe, even flat fishing boat, we would go all the way outside out here, even Wanda, I took Wanda a few times, and we just drift fish. Big fish. He loved that place...he was close to his place in Mōkapu.

KM: Well that's what's interesting is that you folks came from Mōkapu, the He'eia side here and you ended up here at, this is He'eia also. So the same land you know, here. And he was in sight of his place...



Agnes McCabe-Hipa (KPA Photo AH 030495)
Mōkapu and Kāneʻohe Bay Fisheries
March 4, 1995 – with Kepā Maly and Kawelo Barber

The late, Agnes McCabe-Hipa (*Tūtū* Hipa) was born May 22, 1912, and raised in Heʻeia. For generations her family has lived in Heʻeia, and played a significant role in the evolution of the community. In c. 1842, her great grandmother, Koʻa-mokomoko-o-Heʻeia, married Komomua, a native of Kohala, who had come to Heʻeia to help build the Catholic Church at Mōkapu (St. Katherine's). Following the demise of the Mōkapu congregation (as the result of a smallpox epidemic in 1856), the Catholic church was relocated to its present site on Haʻikū Road (St. Ann's). As a child, Tutu Hipa was



taken to the *ʻili* of Mōkapu, where her family carried on traditional fishing practices. The following narratives are excerpted from the oral history interview with *Tūtū* Hipa, in which she shared her recollections of family stories and fishing practices in the Mōkapu-Kāneʻohe vicinity.

Tūtū Agnes McCabe-Hipa granted her personal release of the oral history records to Maly on March 31, 1995.

Caught *pokipoki* crabs and other shell fish on the *papa*, fronting Mōkapu:

KM: ...What did you do at Mōkapu?

AH: [Chuckles] We used to go out to catch some crab, you know cause the tide was low.

KM: What kind crab? Do you remember?

AH: The *pokipoki* crab [a gray hard-shelled crab]. You know the *pokipoki*, that's the one with the hard shell.

KM: 'Ae.

AH: Yes, *pokipoki* crab... And another thing they used to get, they call it the *ʻōkole* [sea anemone]. And it was like the flower, you know. Oh that was my mother's favorite. Oh she used to like the *ʻōkole*. There used to have a lot of that.

KM: Did you go travel around on Mōkapu when you went out there?

AH: Well it was just a flat land eh. So we went around...

AH: No, we never stayed, we just went for the day time.

KM: Oh, just for the day time.

AH: Only for the day.



KM: So, here's the fishponds. Nu'upia is the big one. Here's...I think, well this is the low flat land. Here's Kū'au.

AH: Kū'au

KM: Pyramid Point, yeah, or rock. Pyramid Rock. Now there were houses from around the 1930s.

AH: [Looks at map] Hmm.

KM: Hard to tell, yeah.

AH: Yes its hard.

KM: This is Ulupa'u, the big crater the big mountain, yeah. [pointing at Hawai'i-loa] They call this hill Hawai'i-loa. It was the one hill that stands up on the flat lands over there. You folks didn't go *holoholo* along there?

Preparation of mullet *poke*:

AH: No. No. I used to remember...you know Wally Davis used to like the, you know the mullet fish.

KM: Oh.

AH: And you grate the coconut, you squeezed the coconut milk, and you squeeze a little lemon in and you eat it with the mullet.

KM: Just on top, raw like that.

AH: Yes, raw mullet. You *poke* [cut] the...you know. You don't know how 'ONO it is with the coconut milk, coconut juice [in a subsequent conversation with Tutu Hipa on March 31, 1995, she said that Wally Davis had gone to Tahiti, and that was how he had learned to prepare mullet in that way].

KM: 'Ono, yeah. Where did his mullet come from? The pond areas?

AH: Well—right out there.

KM: Right there.

AH: Right there, he used to catch his mullet...



**George Davis and Mary Furtado-Davis (with Edith Kenoi'aina Auld)
Mōkapu, and Kāne'ōhe-Kailua Bay Fisheries
March 8 & 31, 1995**

Oral History Interviews with Kepā Maly (KPA Photos GD030895 & MD 030895)

George Davis (Uncle George) was born on January 31, 1912, in South Kona, Hawai'i. He was the *keiki hānai* (adopted son) of Wally and Kealohanui Davis. George Davis was raised mostly on the Mōkapu Peninsula, in the *'ili* of Mōkapu which had been at least partially owned by his family since c. 1856. The Davis family also owned *kono'hiki* fishing rights in the *'ili* of Mōkapu, as a part of their land tenure rights. Though the United States government condemned Uncle George's family land in the *'ili* of Mōkapu in c. 1940, Uncle George has continued exercising his rights as a native Hawaiian fisherman by returning to Mōkapu on a weekly basis, since leaving the peninsula in 1941, under a Navy issued life-long pass.



Uncle George married Mary Furtado (born July 27, 1924 in Honolulu) in 1941. Mrs. Davis' (Aunty Mary) family also lived in the *'ili* of Mōkapu between c. 1934-1941, having purchased a lot there when the land was subdivided and sold by Sam King and Arthur Hyde Rice, Sr.

The late, Ms. Edith Kenoi'aina Auld (Aunty Edith) was born at Mōkapu on July 26, 1937 (interview of March 8, 1995). Aunty Edith's father was pilot of a Hawaiian Dredging boat, and a fisherman. While growing up, Aunty Edith was surrounded with the history and beliefs of her people, and introduced to the practices and customs associated with fishing in the Mōkapu vicinity.

Following the initial interview of March 8, 1995, subsequent interviews were conducted on March 31, 1995, with follow up, informal conversations, and a field interview on September 23, 1996. Excerpts of the several interviews are included here, as the information provides rich detail on the wealth of natural and cultural resources on Mōkapu Peninsula; and descriptions of the fisheries and customs of the families of the land in relation to stewardship and use of the resources.



Mr. And Mrs. George Davis granted their personal releases of the interview records to Maly on April 16, 1995, and October 18, 1996. Edith Kenoī'āina Auld granted her personal release of the interview records to Maly on April 4, 1995.

Describing early life as fisherman and resident on Mōkapu; *Konohiki* fish included *he'e* and *nehu*; names various types of fish caught, and resources gathered near shore and in the bay:

- GD: ...Those days we were mostly fishing, fishing. All we think is fish.
- KM: You had *konohiki* rights, your family for fisherman?
- GD: Oh yes, they had *konohiki* rights for the squid.
- KM: For *he'e*.
- GD: Yes. Anybody come in there they cannot catch any.
- KM: They gotta talk to you first.
- GD: Yes. I think even with the *nehu* too for the *aku* fishing.
- KM: Oh yeah. You know this has all been filled in [pointing to Davis Point on map] from your house going along to where all the hangars are now. Did you ever see...like when you folks went fishing, did you gather salt and dry fish with salt from Mōkapu or...
- GD: Oh yes, yes, they had salt. They had salt bed right on the mat. Right by the mat where the... [thinking]
- KM: The runway like?
- GD: Yes. They had a building, what you call, just like a fishpond but shallow eh, pour the salt water.
- KM: This was not far from your house?
- GD: No it was right by the mat, landing mat.
- KM: [Pulling the map closer] If we look, this is your house here...and see how this lagoon like came in, yeah? Is this where the salt work was here? You had salt out here or more close? See the runway would run up through here, yeah?
- GD: Yes, I forget already. Where's the runway, right here?
- KM: Yes, would be right about in here.
- GD: Yes, well I guess they get the salt water from the bay eh. And it poured all into those small little ponds. They had a pond but way up. When low tide, then see, when she dry, that's how they get their salt.
- KM: You think that's this one here? See how this comes way up like this. Now it's filled in though, more recently. After 1940's filled in. So is this how you would get your salt.
- GD: Yes, yes.
- KM: You folks would gather salt and you could dry fish or whatever.
- GD: Yes, used to get salt up the other side too.
- KM: Yeas, that's right, here, Kaluapūhi.
- GD: When big waves come and came right on the big pukas you know. Nice salt too.
- KM: Good salt. How did you do...you would gather the salt and let it dry?



GD: Yes they would let em dry, because you're not putting em in the bag. You carry em it's too heavy. So dry all the... Nice clean salt too, white. But the one by the mat was, I never see that, but they told us when we was...many, many years before that. Like I said had lot of Hawaiians living over there. We had graveyard up by where Pyramid Rock was.

KM: Here's Pyramid Rock.

GD: There's another point coming this way. On the beach side, come down round here, that's a little hill.

KM: See this little hill is right here. Had a *heiau* up here I think.

GD: Must have had. They said they had the Catholic church over there before.

KM: That's right. See that's this area here. Did you hear about that?

GD: I heard about that but I didn't see it...

Still fishes along the Kū'au-Palikilo coast line; recalls the oyster beds, old fishpond walls, and access to Mōkapu, across the *papa*:

GD: ...Fishing over there, yeah. I still go over there but you gotta walk way down this side to walk down that side. Here's the beach eh. And the mat over here someplace. Yes, we cannot cross the mat. But you can go round this way, come inside. Cannot cross the mat, although no more jet now eh. So I'm waiting for that... If they say you can cross all right. Right in front there, oh lot of 'ōpihi. Low tide...oh when the low tide then the sand fill up over there, come up the rock oh, you gotta dig underneath. The 'ōpihi all underneath oh, *pohō*. You gotta come home you gotta clean all that sand.

And oysters, right in the bay where the pier was [the old Wilson Pier, used by the Territorial Game Farm was situated near the location of the present H-3 interchange]. Right in front that pier. That's where had a lot of oysters. That's when we used to get for your father [Edith Auld's father] and the boss. His boss, our boss, Bert Close. Loved his oysters so we used to go. Dive in the morning. About 3:00 in the morning sometime. Pick up bags and then take em up to you folks house and then clean em over there. Before, never had the road the people from Kāne'ohe, they come around...Kāne'ohe, the buggy, horse and wagon. When low tide you can cross, go [pointing along the Nu'upia wall]. When high tide [chuckles]...

KM: Around the pier, around the fishpond side.

GD: Yes, yes, 'cause no more road those days over here, from Kailua [referencing Kāne'ohe Bay Drive].

KM: So low tide they would go on the *papa* with the horse and buggy.

GD: Yes, past the pheasant farm [Territorial Game Farm].

KM: And so they would be able to come on the side of the fishpond wall or what?

GD: Yes, past the pheasant farm, and coming down...

Fished between Davis Point and Kū'au, out to Kekepa Islet; set traps and dove for *he'e*:

...They say, those days, you were not supposed to go around eh... So we never go around there, we just stayed right by the beach. Fish, fish, fish that's all. In those days I never go fishing this side.

KM: You didn't.

GD: All this side [area between Davis Point and Pyramid Rock].

KM: Had the *papa* all over here, yeah. So it protected the cove like, yeah.



GD: Yes. Over here was a little island over here?
 KM: Yes. Here's Kekepa.
 GD: That's the Turtle Island, yeah?
 KM: Yes, Turtle Island.
 GD: That's where I went fishing, all inside here, all in the bay. We used to lay traps.
 KM: How did you get your *he'e*?
 GD: Oh just spear.
 KM: You spear. So you go dive down with the *puka*.
 GD: Sometimes we dive, sometimes we're on the boat eh. From the boat we just poke em. Low tide. Low tide you can walk around. Yes, the *he'e* used to be able to come right up shore, near the *papa* [reef flats] just out.
 KM: They just come out on the *papa*.
 GD: Yes, when low tide they're sleep eh. So we go out. Um, lot of fish there those days. They sleeping on there, come right on shore. Not any more.
 KM: Yes, fishing you go out at Mōkapu now? How? You go on your boat or...
 GD: No, go right through the base. Get the permanent pass eh.
 KM: You get permanent pass.
 GD: I used to work over there, the Navy eh? So when we retire they gave us permanent pass...
 EA: ...So you still go there Uncle George? You still go down to the bay, Mōkapu, fishing?
 GD: Yes.

Moi fishing at Mōkapu:

EA: Oh my. Anyway that was your favorite ground, yeah?
 GD: Yes. [pulling a picture out of his wallet] That's the kind *moi* we catch.
 KM: Oh my, look at this *moi*, big, yeah?
 GD: Yes. Some 8 pounds. Big ones they run away from me.
 KM: How you catch em?
 GD: Throw net. I try to hold em. I'm holding this one, I'm trying to get the big one from outside.
 KM: The net must bust eh?
 GD: No, big net, big throw net. But was too deep, I couldn't stand and the waves kept coming and I'm trying to hold this and I'm trying to catch the other one too eh. Bring um in the shore.
 KM: Were you in this side, fronting your house or out on the ocean side?
 GD: Outside here.
 KM: Oh outside, along the big beach? Castle?
 GD: No, Fort Hase.
 KM: Oh, Fort Hase side.
 GD: Yes, but not Fort Hase, this side.



KM: This side, Ulupa'u, just below here, oh.

GD: Yes, this is where all the mois used to be, all inside there. I still go over there. [shows a picture] This the *he'e*, this is the squid, 15 pounds. They're only catching the small ones now... Yes, you see that. Look at that *he'e*.

KM: Fifteen pounds you said. From Mōkapu?

GD: Mōkapu. Used to catch a lot of that. Get a big gunny sack and can hold on the tip, all of them inside there...

Moku Manu was noted for cave, home of the shark; elders fed that shark and it protected the families:

KM: Sure. Did you folks...in thinking about it you know just in story, you know you go diving like that, how do you feel about the *manō* the shark out there? Nothing, no problem.

GD: No, they don't bother us.

KM: Did you see the cave on Moku Manu? There's suppose to be a cave out there.

GD: Yes.

MD: Yes, we went in there one day with the boat. Yes. And then he told us feel the water. And the water was so warm. And he said don't make noise. He said, "because the sharks are in here."

GD: Clear water.

MD: Oh let's get out of here [chuckling].

GD: Yes, the water clear, about 60 feet or 80 feet. So clear the water.

KM: Inside the cave?

GD: Yes, about 60 feet in.

MD: Yes, we went in it. But he used to go in it all the time.

KM: You heard about that shark god in there?

GD: On the side, yeah. Guys used to go over there in the morning, catch the fish and feed em. That's why when they go fishing all day, they're protected, yeah. Keep the outsiders [foreign or man-eating sharks] from coming in.

MD: Is the shark still there? He's believed to be huh!

KM: Yes, believed to be. That kind they're *akua* like, yeah. They're gods like you know.

MD: Oh I know, I mean when he told us, "be quiet you guys..." All this boat has to do is run out of gas and we would be stuck in this cave [laughs]. Like that guy paddling you know.

KM: Hmm...

GD: You know we just pick up whatever the old fishermen say.

KM: Did you see any of the old fisherman, did they ever leave an offering, like for *Kū'ula* stone, or anything you know?

GD: No.

KM: No special practices, just, but they take how much?

GD: I think before that, yeah.

KM: And you still go throw net now?

GD: Yes I still do.

KM: That's wonderful.



Fish quantities not like before:

- GD: But ah, with the Marines in charge now, its pretty hard eh.
- MD: He'll back to Mōkapu till he's 90.
- EA: Oh, that's wonderful.
- MD: Sure as long as you can go back in there, you know. Sometimes they just...
- GD: But you don't see big mois like these now days. Because ah, too many surfers now, they spoil that beach.
- KM: Oh. You said 8 pounds about.
- GD: Yes, that one 8 pounds but the big ones outside the net, big, about 15 pounds. Big, they look like sharks... Gee, you know what, because when they come eh, they come in big schools, as big as this yard. There's big ones inside there. And like before, down the Fort Hase side, the guys they go surround in the bay, Fort Hase Bay, surround the school [of] *moi*... Selling at 30 cents a pound. Those days fish cheap eh. Not any more now. Five dollars a pound.
- KM: You see this crater, you see Fort Hase over here, this big hill over here. Do you know the name of that big hill?

Fishing on the Ulupa'u and Kailua section of Mōkapu Peninsula:

- GD: Ulupa'u that's all. We were more concerned with fish. Night time come, when come morning we climb the hill over here when we look out, we would look down. One place over here then another place, this guy over here, and this guy like that, and he tell him, "the fish over here." And they call out. Watch the spot.
- KM: And so they would watch. Sort of like *kilo* [spotters].
- GD: Yes. He tell them where to go surround. And the guys.
- KM: How do you feel about Mōkapu. What's...you know...what's...you *aloha* that place?
- GD: I...no more already all pau, all gone already. They all changed, everything changed. Those days the living was different.
- KM: Plenty change you saw, yeah?
- GD: Yes...

George and Mary Davis
March 31, 1995 – with Kepā Maly

Pali Kilo was an old fish spotter's station for the Mōkapu fishermen:

- KM: ...Uncle, when we were talking earlier about your house over here, and we were looking at the map from the Real Property Tax Office that showed King's subdivision, the 350 lots; you looked up here [pointing to the Pali-Kilo, high point area] and said, "Oh yes, that's..."
- GD: Pali Kaholo.
- KM: "...Pali Kaholo." or, then we were talking about "Pali-kilo..."
- GD: Uh-hmm.
- KM: ...Is an other name that they've got for that.
- GD: That's where we used to stay over here right on the hill, we look for the fish. All the fish. The fish used to come in and the guys go down with the nets, and tell them to open up.



KM: Oh, so from up top, standing here...
GD: I would guide them.
KM: You would direct them. See, and that's what's interesting about that, cause Pali-kilo...just *kilo*...
GD: Yes.
KM: Like how you look for fish; spot and you point the canoe or the fisherman down below.
GD: Yes.
KM: So interesting, that you, you folks still did that.
GD: Yes. But not now, all houses over there.
MD: This is before it became a base.
GD: Yes...

Discussing the Game Farm and Wilson Pier area along side Nu'upia Pond; noted for mullet:

GD: And in front had a long pier, and we couldn't go over there fish because the fish were so tame, and they'd always watch for people come.
KM: The fish?
GD: Yes, right by the pier.
KM: The pond? This side here?
GD: Yes.
KM: You mean Nu'upia side? The fish were all tame, they would just come up?
GD: No right where the bird farm is. A long pier out there, so we couldn't get in. We try to sneak in there [chuckles]. So two guys go, only the head [above water] go inside, going, going. Oh all the mullets you know. We'd cross that fence start putting...

'*Ōpae* (shrimp) and salt ponds on the marsh flats of Mōkapu:

MD: And then there was a shrimp pond too. Remember the '*ōpae*.
GD: A lot of shrimp was right by the corner, you know where the Searles used to live [the eastern cove and salt flats, just past the Davis' house site]. Nice, nice, a lot of shrimp in that little pond.
KM: Oh, let's see...
GD: That's where they used to make all that salt. All that salt there you know, right by the mat, the landing mat.
KM: So the landing mat is in here, Searle lived down this side by you then.
GD/MD: Ah-ha, right.
KM: And so there was like a little lagoon that cut in here or something.
MD: That's right, there was a little lagoon and that used to have all the little...and they had a little bridge too that used to go to the Nakatani's.
KM: Oh, that's what Margaret Date was saying, that had a little bridge.
MD: Yes, it had a little bridge, and it was too Nakatani's... And then we used to go get '*ōpae*. You know I remember the two bamboos [motions like with the net tied between the bamboo poles].



KM: Oh yeah?
 MD: Oh plenty, fill up.
 KM: So were they in the little lagoon area?
 MD: In the low lagoon.
 GD: When low tide, they all come up.
 KM: 'Ula? Red kind?
 GD: No, they were regular white kind...
 KM: ...As a child. Do you remember Hawaiian people coming out at all and...did you ever...like did any one ever come out...
 GD: No.
 KM: ...and have chant or ceremony or...
 GD: No. Only they come out on the boat and go fishing. That's all. On their canoe or... But nobody come inside our land eh. And nobody could come across, because never had road, and if you like come in, you gotta go through the water.

Recalls the Kū and Hina stones at Mōkapu:

KM: Hmm... Could you tell me about Kū and Hina, what you had said, that there was a *heiau*...
 GD: Oh, all we knew was that right over that corner there.
 KM: This area here below the village area, yeah? By where the *heiau*... up here you said.
 GD: Yes, some place around there.
 GD: Somebody threw Kū down. Through him in the water, either Kū or Hina. And that person got sick. So the family told him you better get the rock and put him back. So they brought him back. And he got well.
 MD: Who was that guy?
 GD: I don't know his name, was some Hawaiian guys. Fishermen you know, they go *nītele* around there...
 KM: You were saying down by this side where they had *ōpae*, that's where they had the salt pans.
 GD: Yes.

Salt made at several locations on the peninsula; used to salt the fish they caught:

KM: You folks, the families made salt down there, some of them, yeah?
 GD: Yes, when low tide you can see all the beds, you know.
 KM: But now its all buried eh?
 GD: Oh yeah.
 MD: Yes, up over here, you know when you go around, there was some salt pans here [indicating Ulupa'u]. Yes, we used to go out.
 GD: Right by the edge.
 KM: Oh so you used to go out there too.
 MD: Yes, salt ponds.
 KM: And then see, the fishpond here [pointing to Kaluapūhi–Kapoho side] had the big salt works too.



MD: Yes.

GD: Right on the side here by all those big rocks, had big holes, that's why all this salt stay in there. Clean salt, white.

KM: What did you use your salt for?

GD/MD: Salt fish.

MD: And they used to put the fish on the clothes line with pins. And then if nobody knew about the fish and the squid like that, and they'd use it for their clothes [laughs] they'd smell like a [laughing]

KM: So they'd smell like a squid or something.

MD: That's right, but oh gee, used to be beautiful seeing all these squids drying. Cause you know the ground was flat and you could walk way outside.

KM: Never have flies like that?

MD: Not too much, no. Cause the winds ah. Like up on the hill when the wind used to blow. The flies don't have a chance to sit...

Fishponds were formerly open, mangrove a recent pest; support efforts to restore ponds:

KM: Uncle, have you driven past here recently, seen the work they're doing around the fishponds?

MD: No I haven't seen.

KM: Because before when you were young, the fishponds used to be all wide open eh?

MD: That's right.

GD: Yes, yes, yes.

KM: Now all mangrove and everything, yeah.

GD: Oh yeah.

KM: Well the military got a special grant to...

GD: Yes, to clean out all those bushes, yeah. That's for the birds, the stilts eh.

KM: That's right, the āe'o.

GD: And when you go in there you can see them.

KM: That's wonderful. That's one of the things that can be done, a partnership can come...

MD: That's right.

KM: ...the community can come and share expertise, skill, and knowledge. They have some funding available.

MD: Use it to better these places.

KM: That's right. Fix these ponds, you can get fish again.

MD: That's right...



George Davis

Mōkapu and Kāneʻohe-Kailua Bay Fisheries

Field Interview of September 23, 1996 – with Kepā Maly

In this field interview, Uncle George Davis provided further details to site descriptions and site uses, discussed in the earlier interviews. He also shared additional recollections of:

1. The Mōkapu inlet salt works, and the extent to which the flats flooded;
2. The nature of the reef flats and customs of building *imu* or stone mounds on the reef for near shore fisheries;
3. Historic practices related to hunting native seabirds on the peninsula and at Moku Manu; and
4. The exact location of the shrine that had been dedicated to gods Kū and Hina.
5. He also described how tidal waves changed the eastern side of the Nuʻupia Fishpond Complex, in the vicinity of the Kaluapūhi and Paʻakai salt works. Uncle recalls that following the 1946 tidal wave, sand was mounded up along and in the ponds, and that turtles, lobsters, *ʻuluu*, and all kinds of deep-sea fish were found in the ponds.

Uncle George Davis gave his personal release of the interview records to Maly on October 18, 1996.

Sitting near the shore of Mōkapu, in the vicinity of the former Davis family home; former salt beds were along a *muliwai*-like feature; young *awa*, *ʻamaʻama*, and *ʻōpae* were abundant:

KM: ...Uncle, what is this place that we're sitting at right now? This used to be your old house area?

GD: Yes, right. That's right [looking around for any remnants, none can be seen].

KM: And there's the coconut trees and the *milo* trees in this setting.

GD: Uh-hmm.

KM: So we're on the edge of what they call Hangar 105, now. And your house was right in this place. And who planted these coconut trees and things, you think?

GD: I think the old man [Robert Wyllie "Wally" Davis].

KM: The old man, your father?

GD: I think must be...

KM: ...Was there water in between your house and Callahan's house?

GD: From here to Callahan, yeah.

KM: Ahh, had water?

GD: Yes, like a river, eh.

KM: So it was like a river?

GD: Yes.

KM: And it went pretty far in?

GD: Far inside, yeah, way up [pointing inland, toward the general area of the present runway]. Yes, it was pretty far. That's where they used to make all that salt.



KM: So you folks made salt over there?
 GD: Not us, but the older people.
 KM: Ahh. You'd mentioned that this water... It was salt water; it flowed in like a *muliwai*, an inlet, yeah?
 GD: Yes.
 KM: And the salt beds were some way in, yeah?
 GD: Yes, a lot of salt beds... ..When it was low tide, we could walk right across.
 KM: Oh, low tide you could walk?
 GD: Yes...
 KM: ...And what, the *awa* or '*ama'ama* would come inside?
 GD: Yes, they come in, the babies, eh, and when the get big, they go out.
 KM: Ahh, the *pua* [fingerlings], eh?
 GD: Yes. That's the home for the '*ōpae* [shrimp] too.
 KM: Ahh. So you folks would gather '*ōpae* out here?
 GD: Yes, good, nice and clean, clear '*ōpae*.
 KM: The '*ōpae lōlō* or '*ōpae huna*?
 GD: It's clean. That's when that guy, Chris Holmes used to come down and pick it up for bait, eh [chuckles]. That's when he had that island over there.
 KM: Oh, Coconut Island.
 GD: Yes...

Fishing was the primary activity of families on Mōkapu; describes fishing for *kala*, *uhu*, *moi*, mullet, and other species on the reef flats off of Pali Kilo and Davis Point:

KM: ...What were you doing out here?
 GD: Fishing mostly, learning how to fish, eh.
 KM: Yes.
 GD: Come down here fishing. Yes.
 KM: Ahh. We were talking last time, about Pali Kilo...
 GD: Yes.
 KM: And you'd mentioned, that from some section there, Pali Kilo, or the other little *pu'u*...
 GD: Yes.
 KM: That you used to spot fish?
 GD: Yes, that's right, you could watch, and see the fish come in and tell the guys down with the net, where to surround and how to go, eh. That's how we catch 'em. Sometimes with the boats, eh.
 KM: Yes.
 GD: And mostly *kala* like that, and *uhu*, and mullet.

[See below additional accounts of fishing customs and practices in the Pali Kilo-Keawanui-Kekepa vicinity.]



KM: *Kala, uhu*, and mullet. Had good *mōi* grounds anywhere?
GD: Not that side [gesturing to the Sumner Cove area]. The Pyramid Rock side had.
KM: Ahh... ...Did you folks make offerings of fish? Do you remember someone that kept *Kū'ula* or something?
GD: Not in my time.
KM: Not in your time.
GD: That's way before our time. All we knew was right out here, fishing this area [gesturing to the Sumner Cove-Davis Point reef flats area].
KM: Yes. Did someone still kind of keep *konoiki* fishing rights? They would *kapu* the area?

He'e and *nehu* were *konoiki* fish:

GD: Yes, we used to. The old man used to have that *konoiki* right for the *he'e* [octopus], and *nehu* [chuckles]. When the *aku* boats used to come in, we used to chase them out, eh.
KM: Oh!
GD: He'd get so mad. And the squid... It was a big job, chasing all the people out, catching *he'e*.
KM: Oh yeah.
GD: Big area over here.
KM: Yes, the *papa* [reef flats]...
GD: Yes.
KM: ...was all *he'e*, eh?
GD: Yes.
KM: And the *ula* [lobster]?
GD: Well *ula*, we never bother outside...
KM: ...When we went out last May, and your son came out with us and the group [May 20, 1995], we went up Ulupa'u, eh.
GD: Yes.
KM: And you were sharing that there was a story that...
GD: Yes.

Shark guardian took care of the fish and fishermen; salt collected at several locations around the peninsula:

KM: ...or that you remembered an old man who used to go swim, and had the shark out there too?
GD: Yes, the old diver, I think before, in his time, he told us, "The old fisherman used to dive down and get the fish and swim out and feed the *kama'āina* [native, resident] shark. And in that way, that shark would chase the other ones away."
KM: Ahh, so he took care of the man them?
GD: They fed him. That's how the story we heard.
KM: You said you folks used to make salt out at Ulupa'u side too?



GD: No, the salt was made by the ocean.

KM: Oh, you'd gather it?

GD: Gather, all when low tide, eh. We'd pick 'em up [gestures lifting the salt in the palm of his hands]. It was nice, clear salt.

KM: Good salt, eh.

GD: Uh-hmm. But over here, I don't know. It wasn't in our days, our time.

KM: So this was old salt beds, before your time?

GD: Yes.

KM: How about on this side [pointing to the Loko Pa'akai area on the map], on the Kailua side. Remember when we walked out there and had the old...

KM: Old road, yeah. Did you ever see anyone making salt out there?

GD: No, no.

KM: No. *Pau* already?

GD: I never see that, we always came towards this side [gesturing the reef route along the Kāne'ohe Bay side of Nu'upia fishpond].

Access to Mōkapu crossed the old fishponds and reefs:

KM: Do you remember, there's the channel that the road cut across on this side, so that water from the Kailua Bay could come into here?

GD: Yes, yes.

KM: You remember that. 'Cause you had to drive over it too?

GD: Yes. Before, never had bridge, nothing.

KM: Never.

GD: Just go over, go across at low tide.

KM: Ahh. Do you remember when that channel got put in?

GD: No, I don't.

KM: I know that it was after you were born, but...

GD: I think it was the people that used to lease the pond, eh. I think they are the ones that made that channel.

KM: Ahh. And game farm... When we drove in, you said the game farm was somewhere around by the H-3 Gate?

GD: Yes. To bad this map doesn't show where that farm was.

KM: Yes. It was right in this area here [pointing to the location on the interview map]. How did you folks and your father them used to come out to Mōkapu before? You'd said that you didn't need to go way over to this Kailua side?

GD: Oh, they come right alongside the beach, Kāne'ohe side, eh.

KM: So where the fishpond is?

GD: Yes, when low tide...used to get the horse and wagon, eh.

KM: So you could take the horse and wagon along the fishpond wall side?



GD: Yes. Then I don't know if they go right through [the area where] the bird farm [was], and then used to go through the gate over here [gesturing to a gate near the boundary of Mōkapu-Heleloa] and then go in. Or they got to go on the beach, eh.

KM: Oh yeah, Kailua Beach side.

GD: Yes. That would have been too long.

KM: Yes. How about in your time, did you come across this way, too [gesturing to the reef path along Nu'upia pond]?

GD: Nah, we never bother go that side. Mostly we was right at home.

KM: Oh, you were already here.

GD: Yes.

KM: And you came by boat, yeah?

GD: Yes.

KM: You would go from the Waikalua side and come out by boat?

GD: Yes.

KM: That's what you were saying before.

GD: We never bother this side.

Recalls walls and *mākāhā* of the Nu'upia Fishpond:

KM: Hmm. Do you remember where the *mākāhā*, the fishpond gate was along this area before? Or was the wall kind of falling apart when you were young?

GD: Yes it was. A man-made wall, eh.

KM: But were people still using some of the fishpond?

GD: Oh, they were still living over there, because they lease the place. And we used to come right in the corner. [Looking at the map] Where's the Kāne'ohe side?

KM: Yes, this is Kāne'ohe Bay Drive.

GD: Yes, right by the corner. We used to go over there and catch some 'ama'ama and awa.

KM: Oh, on this side, this section here [pointing to the area where the Nu'upia fishpond wall joins the inland shore]?

GD: Yes.

KM: How...

GD: Right by the opening there, had the gate there.

KM: So there was a gate on this side?

GD: Yes, that's for the fish.

KM: So by the Kāne'ohe side?

GD: Uh-hmm.

KM: So, as you recall, somewhere close to the Kāne'ohe land, the shoreline...?

GD: Yes, right.

KM: Had a gate [*mākāhā*] in this vicinity.

GD: Not the car gate.

KM: No, no. The fish gate, *mākāhā*.



GD: Fish gate, yeah.

KM: Did the gate have a screen like, or...?

GD: Yes, I guess they had.

KM: About when was this? Were you a child?

GD: Yes, small.

KM: Small. So if you were born in 1912, this would be at least 1920 time?

GD: Yes.

KM: So the gate [*mākāhā*] was on this side here?

GD: Yes.

KM: Do you remember any other gates along here [pointing to the Halekou wall section]?

GD: No.

KM: Did you go *holoholo* any time inside here [pointing to the Halekou area]?

GD: No, no.

KM: So you never went inside?

GD: No, only from Mōkapu and then come here through the gate. On the beach, eh.

KM: Yes. And you could walk on the *papa*, yeah. Along this area was shallow?

GD: Yes.

KM: Even the carriage could go?

GD: Yes.

KM: [pauses]

GD: They had that pier right outside where the bird farm was.

KM: Yes, the pier would have been something out on this side here [marking on the map].

GD: Yes. So I don't know if the wagon can go through there, out of the pier. I can't remember. So maybe after that, they come through here, on the old road, from Kailua side.

KM: Yes... ..Well, we're just kind of bouncing around a little bit. But when you were up here [pointing to the Waikulu area of Ulupa'u], and you shared with us the story on Ulupa'u, about the old man, and how he took care of the shark, the *kama'āina* shark out there...

GD: Yes.

There was a *kilo* station for fishermen in the Ki'i area, overlooking Kailua Bay; names types of fish caught:

KM: You also pointed out to me this area, here, and on this side, here [pointing to the vicinity of Ki'i Point and cove], where you used to also *kilo*. Out that side, I think you said? Remember Ki'i Bay?

GD: Yes.

KM: So you folks sometimes did come fish out this side?

GD: Yes, yes. We used to walk all the way. Walk and walk [pointing to the map at the base of Ulupa'u, below Kahekili's Leap].

KM: So you'd walk and then swim along some of the area here?



GD: Yes.

KM: And you would *kilo*?

GD: We'd go inside here [pointing to the coastline of Kī'i Bay]. Pick some 'ōpihi on this side.

KM: And did you direct canoes out to the schools of fish and stuff?

GD: No, no. Just walk over there.

KM: Just walk.

GD: That's too far to paddle, all the way down the other side.

KM: What kind of fish do you get out here?

GD: Oh, we get *moi*, *āholehole*, *manini*, and like that. Mostly we look for the *moi*, eh.

KM: Ahh. Was there a good place for 'ulua out here that you remember?

GD: Oh yes, yes, right in front of there [pointing to the area between Puka 'Ulua and Moku manu].

KM: Out in front this side here.

GD: Yes, a lot of 'ulua, come right to Pyramid Rock. Where's Pyramid Rock?

KM: Pyramid Rock is this side here. So anywhere along here?

GD: Mostly this side [Pyramid Rock side]. This side is all reef.

KM: And Moku manu is out here.

GD: Yes.

KM: You went into the cave before, yeah?

GD: Yes. We drove the boat right into it. About 60 feet in, eh.

KM: Wow.

GD: It's really high and deep. And it's clear.

KM: Clear the water, eh.

GD: Yes, about 80 feet deep too. It's clear. [chuckles] I used to fool the people, they'd jump in the water, and I'd say "Hey, there's the shark down there." And the people, they'd yell, "Come back, come back." [laughs]

KM: [chuckles] 'Cause you knew that cave was the shark home, eh.

GD: Yes, you can see 'em clear. There wasn't any shark there [laughs]...

KM: ...Remember when we went down to see the stone, Hina?

GD: Yes.

KM: Down on the ocean side, yeah. So like we were talking that time with everybody...

GD: Yes.

KM: We're going to bring her back up and put her someplace so she'll be taken care of, yeah.

GD: They brought her up yet?

Recalls the old fishermen's shrine of *Kū* and *Hina*:

KM: Not yet. Never brought her up yet. But, she's still there, and everything is all right. She's above the water's edge. You know how the old people would take for fishing and planting like that?



GD: Did you go back to look at 'em?
 KM: Yes.
 GD: And she's still there?
 KM: Yes.
 GD: If we was to go over there now, I'll show you where it was before.
 KM: We go.
 GD: Where it was, they get a magazine over there now. They dug 'em all out that place. That's where she and he was.
 [See below, the description of site and Uncle's recollection of Hina and Kū.]
 KM: 'Oia. So Kū and Hina?
 GD: Side by side, eh.
 KM: Okay.
 GD: And then after that, no more. Somebody mess around, they took 'em. Yes, that's what the old folks used to say.
 KM: Hmm. "They were the *alii*?" you said, yeah?
 GD: Yes. People threw the rocks down. The one who threw the rock got sick.
 KM: Ahh.
 GD: So the old timer said, "You gotta get the rock."
 KM: 'Ae...
 Group: [drive towards Palikilo-Keawanui]
 KM: Now, when you would go *kilo*...?
 GD: Yes.
 KM: Were you on top of the Pali Kilo, that side?
 GD: And we used to come this side, walk on the beach and walk up.
 KM: So you would come in with the canoe, or the boat...?
 GD: Yes.
 KM: Down here.
 GD: The boat, yeah. And walk up.
 KM: Oh. [pauses] We're going to just continue driving.
 Points out former fishermen's shrine site:
 GD: Right around here.
 KM: So right around here...
 GD: A-7. It's supposed to be right around here.
 KM: Now, Kū and Hina...
 GD: Yes, up that side.
 KM: Where she is now, on the water...



GD: Yes. I'll show you where they were supposed to be.

KM: Okay.

GD: Go down.

KM: Okay, past Bunker 703 [driving]...

GD: ...You can go over there. That's a driveway over there. Right over there. Park right there.

KM: So, I'm going to turn in here. We're turning into the drive for Cottages 1601 and 1602. Where should I go?

GD: Go further up.

KM: Okay.

GD: Right here. That's where the stones was, over this side.

KM: So the stones were here?

GD: And the graves was over there.

KM: The grave was over here too?

GD: Yes, big grave. They built the *heiau* over there. Let's go over there.

KM: Okay [getting out of the car]. So we're stopped in front of Cottage 1614.

GD: Yes. [walking over to the site] They built that stuff over there.

KM: Yes, so there's that bunker now, ammo depot, or something.

GD: Yes, that's where they were, right over here. They dug 'em all out, yeah.

KM: So, had like a *heiau*...?

GD: Yes, yes.

KM: Fishing gods in here, yeah?

GD: Yes. That's the place. I don't know why they picked the stone and threw 'em in the water over there.

KM: Yes. So this is what you heard, that they were here?

GD: Yes.

KM: Kū and Hina?

GD: Yes.

KM: On this area here?

GD: Right by where they've got that new bunker now.

KM: Ahh. Did you hear those names, Kū and Hina? Or did they just say fishing gods?

GD: No, they just mentioned that Hina and Kū... The old timers, when I used to go with them fishing.

KM: Ah-haa. And did they make *ho'okupu*, fish offerings or anything?

GD: No, no. They just showed me the graves.

KM: Ah-haa. So there were graves, you think in here too?

GD: Must have.

KM: Had a platform, or...



GD: Yes, something like a wall [gesturing around, like an enclosure].
KM: Oh, so around it.
GD: More a stone wall.
KM: Hmm, amazing.
GD: Yes. 'cause they didn't know was a grave over there. It's all covered up with these bushes.
KM: I'm going to go get my camera, okay. [tape off]
I'm going to take your picture right over by here?
KM: ...Some thought that there had been some graves down that side too.
GD: Yes. This side, this was the place...
KM: This was where you remember Kū and Hina here?
GD: Yes.



George Davis at Mōkapu, Pointing out Location of the Former Fisherman's Shrine to Kū and Hina (KPA Photo GD092396).

KM: Okay.
GD: Yes, we used to build a tent below that cottage there.
KM: Do you remember Lucia Whitmarsh, the White family?
GD: Yes, they used to live up the hill, eh. The house there, or what. I don't know.
KM: Nah, everything is gone. I'm going to take your picture, standing by over here okay?



GD: You want me to point? [Photograph taken, Uncle points to the area where Hina and Kū used to be located.]

KM: Yes, good. *Mahalo*.

GD: Yes, nice big grave was.

KM: So it was a walled enclosure like, and the Hina and Kū stones were inside?

GD: Right on the wall.

KM: Right on top.

GD: Yes, the old fishermen used to tell me.

KM: Now when was this, do you think? Were you young yet?

GD: Yes, young yet.

KM: Before 1920, or 1930? Were you a teenager or...?

GD: Around those days.

KM: Oh thank you.

GD: Yes, that's where they built the houses, up there [pointing to the vicinity of the white domes]...

KM: [walking along the He'eia shoreline bluff] ...So you used to like to come fishing over here?

GD: Yes, when the *moi* time.

KM: Yes. They like the sandy bottom, eh.

GD: Yes...

KM: [looking out to Moku Manu] ...Which island is the cave in, the one closer, or the out...

GD: Inside, yeah.

KM: Ahh.

GD: The one look like an Indian head, the bigger island.

KM: The bigger of the two islands.

GD: We used to go on the top, eh.

KM: Oh yeah.

GD: Yes.

KM: Had plenty birds?

GD: Ohhh! You can not look [makes a dodging motion]

KM: [chuckles]

GD: We used to go, collect the small ones, the *manu kala*, the babies. We used to fill them up in the sack and throw them over, throw 'em in the water and then go down and pick them up.

KM: Oh!

GD: We eat 'em.

KM: What kind of bird?

GD: *Manu kala*.



KM: And you would gather the birds and eat them?

GD: Yes.

KM: So that's the...?

GD: They're just like baby ducks.

KM: Oh wow. This was when you were young too?

GD: Yes, yes.

KM: So the old people would go with you?

GD: Oh. That's how we knew how.

KM: So you called it *manu kala*?

GD: *Manu kalā* [as pronounced]. Yes. Good eating when they're young.

KM: Good eating?

GD: Yes, the Samoans used to love that.

KM: Oh, I never heard that.

GD: Instead of them taking the feathers out, they split 'em right in half, and put salt and put 'em in the tub [chuckles].

KM: Ohh!

GD: Son of a gun!

KM: But 'ono, soft, tender?

GD: 'Ono...!

KM: ...Oh, below the cottage [near Kū'au] where the general or the president stays, there's a big *moi* hole down there?

GD: Yes.

Recalls the old fish trap below Keawaiki; families from the He'eia-Kāne'ohe side would come over to fish during the summers:

KM: How about below here? Do you remember that there was a fish trap, like a walled fish trap area, do you remember?

GD: They had, but those days, the old days, the old timers from Kāne'ohe would come over here when they get the mullet run, eh. Then they started blasting it with powder, that's why they disturbed the place. Yes, they busted up our ground.

KM: Oh. Had like a fish enclosure [Pā 'ōhua], a trap area?

GD: Yes.

KM: Do remember where we are in relationship to...?

GD: I think it was right where Hina was when we saw her on the shore.

KM: Down below. So you mean where she is now?

GD: Yes, right over there, someplace around there.

KM: [driving the car] I'm going to pull across here. We're coming in by the cottages on the side of Site 2883. So Hina and where you said the Whites lived down below here, it was supposed to have had...



GD: Like a *papa*, eh. When low tide, they all stick up. That's where the mullet come in.

KM: I see.

When he was young some fishermen used powder (dynamite) to catch fish:

GD: That's where they throw the powder.

KM: Oh, sad, yeah. No good fishing like that.

GD: Hands and all [gestures blowing up]. They '*ānunu* [greedy], eh. He watching, watching for the fish, but he light 'em already, he watch and [gestures blows up].

KM: And the hand goes?

GD: And eyes.

KM: '*Auwē!* So someone really got hurt?

GD: Yes. That's [thinking] Keama, David. David Keama, Harry Keama. Yes, when I was in the hospital with my leg. Hey this guy right next to me, "Hey Henry..." And he was supposed to get married the next day. That's why he trying to catch some fish for the table, eh. Too '*ānunu*. He should have waited.

KM: Yes. And no good to throw powder like that.

GD: Two hands, eyes. They had to take him all the way to Kāne'ohe, all by boat too, eh. He's lucky he never die.

The *papa* around Kekepa Rock was a good lobster area; near shore, families also used to make *imu* / *umu* fish traps:

KM: How about Kekepa Rock like that, did you folks go fish around...?

GD: We'd go fish over there. We'd lay all our net, [pointing] where all the waves are [the ocean side of Kekepa]. All our lobster nets over there. Like this, not too bad, but when rough, ohh! Hard time to get, pick up the nets. One big wave come, there you go, it just goes right into the shore, in the water. But, we used to swim around there. A lot of lobsters. But later, when had the big tidal wave, it moved all the rocks where the lobster used to live.

KM: Oh yeah. Did you folks used to make *umu* or stone mounds in the ocean...?

GD: Yes, yes. Catch *manini* like that.

KM: Ahh, so you would on the *papa*?

GD: Inside here.

KM: So when rough time, you no can go out...

GD: Yes.

KM: ...but you could go to the *umu*?

GD: Yes, that's when had a lot of the *papas* [reefs], you know. All the *manini* underneath, so put the *imu* [same as *umu*] all on the side.

KM: Yes, the *imu*.

GD: Yes. Nest day you go over there, wow! That's it.

KM: Amazing.

GD: Yes.

KM: So you folks did *imu* fishing...



GD: Yes.

KM: ...out here like that.

GD: But mostly, we use trap now, eh.

KM: Yes.

GD: They rather use traps. The traps are all over, all inside there, all over. [pointing] Way outside Kāneʻohe Bay, we lose a lot, cause we lose the mark, eh. Or somebody steal 'em.

KM: Oh yeah! You used to use any land points to mark areas?

GD: Yes, yes. We used to mark the Koʻolau mountain, eh. That's how we find our... [chuckles] even our nets. Sometimes we get hard time to find our nets. Like the trap, we gotta use the landmark. They put some kind of wire underneath the rope, but people steal 'em. So we had to use the landmark.

KM: Oh, how amazing.

GD: That's the good old days.

KM: Good. So you used to make *imu* even out here.

GD: Yes.

KM: Good yeah, for catch...?

GD: Yes, mostly on this side.

KM: The shallow *papa*.

GD: Yes. Had plenty *papa* those days. Nice *papa*, *manini* ground, eh.

KM: And how, the *manini*, you'd just *pūlehu* on top of the fire?

GD: Yes, oh yes.

KM: And did you dry some too?

GD: Oh yes. The kinds we catch in the trap, they small, eh. Not fat like the ones you catch with the net, or in the *imu*, eh. But the ones in the trap, good for fry, you know. Small, below five inches, you fry 'em up, or let 'em go, eh. Cause you don't go sell that in the market, they gotta be five inches.

KM: Oh.

Recalls a military moratorium on fishing; it caused a resurgence in the fish population:

GD: One year, the Navy had *kapu* this throw net, for five years. No body can throw net. Oh, after that, when open, oh you walk on the beach, the *manini* come right on the shore. You can kick 'em, eh. [chuckles]

KM: [laughs]

Various types of *limu* gathered along shore:

GD: Gee, after that, boy, one throw, that's it, *pau*, we go home.

KM: And how about the *limu*, had good *limu* out here?

GD: We get *limu kohu*, *limu pepe'e*.

KM: And *līpoa*?

GD: *Līpoa*, yeah. *Limu kohu*, used to be that side [pointing towards Kailua side], by the fishpond side.



KM: Ahh, Kuwa'a'ohe, Fort Hase side?

GD: Yes. [pauses] But, ever since they put that sewer line in, we go outside, all *pau*. That ground got all *hauna* [stink].

KM: Oh no good, eh, nothing lives.

GD: Sun of a gun!

KM: So you noticed a change when the sewer line went in?

GD: Yes, yes. The *limu* used to get, down that fishing area, where that Hale Koa, right in front that, *limu kohu*, *limu pepe'e*. And that kind, the *ogo*.

KM: 'Ae, the *manauea*.

GD: Bags, oh, take 'em up, clean 'em up and you take 'em to Kewalo, the *aku* boats, eh.

KM: 'Ae.

GD: I had some friends, they like that *limu*, mixed up with the *poke*.

KM: 'Ae, 'ono. *Manauea* is so good.

GD: Yes. Now, no more now. I don't know what happened.

KM: You're right. *Pepe'e* you see a little bit.

GD: Yes.

KM: *Līpoa*, remember when we came down last May [1995], the *līpoa* was all washed up on the beach.

GD: Yes, all this side. When get low tide, you go in, early in the morning, and you can pick 'em on the rocks, you know. You can go outside. Pick all the young ones. Even the 'ōpihi *limu*, you know, the crunchy one?

KM: Yes.

GD: Oh, that was good. Now, cannot find 'em. I like to come down here, go in front of the mat, since no more jet now. You can go in front and poke 'ōpihi, but I think all the civilians, maybe guys, they all go over there. They know already. Yes, I used to pick 'em up...ohh! Even the chest, those days, the commander would give us a pass...

KM: How about, would you like to see the fishponds...some restoration, now that the mangrove is gone, if they fix the walls and try to take care, so the fish can come back?

GD: Oh...you went there already? You can go in?

KM: Yes, you can go, we'll go drive over there...

GD: ...The only time we went over there, was during the...when the Navy was, eh. Yes. We used to go fish over there...

Group: [drives to Pali Kilo section]

So now, we're going up onto Pali Kilo... So you said, you would land your canoe down in this bay, the cove here [Keawanui]. And then you would walk up...

GD: Yes.

KM: ...and *kilo*.

GD: We would walk up this side, or to the other side.

KM: Ah-haa, from Sumner Cove side, the little cove there...and I guess some people lived up here later"



GD: Up this side, too [the top of Pali Kilo], but mostly down here [towards the Sumner Cove side of Pali Kilo].

KM: Ah-haa, 'cause it's sheltered, yeah.

GD: Yes. Nice for swimming and good for *he'e*.

KM: So we're by [Cabins] 1603 A & B, right now. Kekepa is out there...

GD: Whether I come from that side, or we swim over come this side, or I can pass come this side.

KM: How about, *manō* [sharks]? You folks never had trouble with *manō* out here?

GD: No. Only they come close by when mullet time, eh. Mullet season, I think they looking for the mullet, 'cause too shallow otherwise...

Driving across the *kula* and runway; uncle recalls that they formerly hunted *kōlea*:

GD: Oh yeah.

KM: You see the *kōlea*?

GD: Yes.

KM: Did you ever eat the *kōlea*?

GD: Oh yeah.

KM: Oh, you catch 'em out here?

GD: Shotgun [chuckles].

KM: Shotgun.

GD: Low tide, they come up, bang!

KM: And how, 'ono?

GD: Oh yeah.

KM: Fat, eh, when they get ready to...

GD: Around in April, eh. They get all black [gesturing the breast].

KM: Yes.

GD: That the time, when they fall down [makes a cracking noise, and gestures with his hands popping open].

KM: It just pops open because it's so fat.

GD: Yes.

KM: So 'ono, *pūlehu* [broiled].

GD: *Pūlehu*. Yes, cannot fry. We used to catch 'em low tide, right on the beach, late part.

KM: Ahh. So the *manu kala*...

GD: *Manu kōlea*, 'akekeke, the Hawaiian plovers, they smaller, yeah.

KM: Yes.

GD: Just like a small dove. But the *kōlea* was good. Taste like the *manu kalā*, babies, eh.

KM: The *manu kalā*, what type of bird, did they have red feet or what?

GD: No, all yellow I guess, and gray.

KM: That's so interesting, though, what you're sharing though.



GD: Yes.

KM: These kinds of things, people don't remember... Traditionally, your people, the old families would gather...

GD: Yes.

KM: They would get the *kōlea*, you know, they would get these other *manu*, the *ua'u* and whatever...

GD: *Ua'u*, yes.

Discusses Mōkōlea and Kailua Bay fisheries; impacts of 1946 tidal wave on the shore line and ponds:

KM: ...Did you ever go out to this little island, Mōkōlea?

GD: Yes, with the boat. I used to drop guys over there night time, evening, eh. And they go cast fishing. Pick 'em up in the morning. There's a lot of *'ulu*a out there. I used to drive in front [the ocean side]. See that low spot?

KM: Yes.

GD: Right in the back, there's a *puka*, and ohh! I used to pick a lot of those shells, *leho* [cowry]. Big one, eh.

KM: Did you ever use *leho* for catching *he'e*?

GD: Yes, I tried, but I never catch anything. You gotta get certain kind.

KM: Yes...

GD: [pointing along the shore towards Kapoho Point] Yes, we used to throw net all along that side. All the *moi* holes. But cannot fish over there no more. And when the big tidal wave, I think, 1946. Oh it came right over. These ironwood trees was all small.

KM: And it washed all into the ponds?

GD: Oh, all the fish from outside, full in there; lobsters, *honu* [turtles].

KM: For real?

GD: Yes. We used to go over there catch, eh. Then the Filipinos came in with the surround net, ohh. *Huki* net, they wipe it all out. Yes, go way in the bushes, the fish. And had one building inside one of the ponds, eh. Oh the shaky, you see them sailors jumping up, wondering what the hell's going on [chuckles].

KM: Oh yes, that 1946 tsunami washed up big in here?

GD: Yes.

KM: Is that when all the other side was jam up too, you were saying the big tsunami?

GD: Yes. And all over in Lanikai, all wipe out. Big rocks in the house, eh. Fish traps and all in the house.

KM: For real?

GD: Yes. Way down there [pointing towards Kapoho Point] at low tide, she go get the *limu kohu*, over there.

GD: Now, I don't know, if you can go over there...

KM: ...So other than that, you folks didn't come in this side, the fishponds then?

GD: No, never...



**Joseph Haia (with Karmen Haia)
and Edith Kenoi'āina Auld
Mōkapu and Kāne'ōhe Bay Fisheries
March 8, and April 4, 1995 – with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. JH030895)**

Joseph Haia (Uncle Kepa) was born in Honolulu, on August 1, 1920. His father was Moses Haia, originally of Lāhainā, Maui, and his mother was Sarah Ko'olau, originally of North Kohala, Hawai'i. Uncle Kepa was one of 26 children. Moses Haia was in construction, and in 1934, he went to work on the construction of the Pan American Radio facilities which were being built on the crest of the He'eia dune on the Mōkapu Peninsula. Falling in love with the peninsula, Moses Haia moved his family to the 'ili of Mōkapu, where they lived on the western, shoreward slopes of Pali-kilo (see "Mokapu Land Court Application 1015," Lot #55). The Haias lived at Mōkapu between the years of 1934-1941.



The Haia family (including relatives of the Keahi and Kahā'ulelio lines) were noted fishermen in the Lāhainā region of Maui, and continued their fishing customs while in residence in the Mōkapu-Kāne'ōhe fisheries. Uncle Kepa, shares his recollections of fishing, and the practices handed down to him from his elders. Uncle Kepa Haia granted his personal release of the interview records to Maly on April 16, 1995.

As a youth, taught to respect the fishery rights of others, and not to over take:

- JH: ...You know the old timers, Mr. Lemon. Lemon had a sort of a squidding rights, that's what he had. That's what they told us, he had the squidding rights in that area.
- KM: So you folks couldn't go get *he'e* without permission? Did you go talk to him first or you just kind of *malu*—underneath?
- JH: No, no. We didn't over pick. If you had a grandfather like I did, you don't overdo things. I learned one time, I went out, my neighbor and I went out to dive for squid.
- KM: What area did you dive for squid?
- JH: All in this area, all on this reef.
- KM: That's Kekepa?
- JH: Yes, ah Turtle Back. We were back all this area here, fishing area . Anyway, I picked up some squid and coming back I seen this water rippling, went home get throw nets. We caught so much fish that day, you know that *oama*; came home, told my grandfather I going give the neighbors. He said no. Cause had so much you stay there and start cleaning em [chuckling]. And I cleaned from 9:00 in the morning to 7:00 at night. Never



did stop. And I learned when he told me, “When you get something you make use of all of it.” And he wouldn’t let me go. I had to stay there and clean fish and he wouldn’t let me go give the neighbors. That’s how we learned, “Don’t over do it.”

- KM: Did your grandpa... You know *Kū’ula* [make offerings]?
- JH: Yes, I did.
- KM: Did your grandpa, sort of give back to the ocean. Did he observe...
- JH: You see, here’s another thing you can remember, he didn’t speak English. He only could speak Hawaiian.
- EA: You talking about *Tūtū* Ko’olau?
- JH: Yes, he only spoke Hawaiian, but you could see he was all fair.
- EA: He and Tutu Leeloy. You remember Tutu Leeloy
- JH: Yes.
- EA: He *wala’au* all in Hawaiian, and children should be seen and not heard.
- JH: He taught us how to take care the ah...
- EA: You only gather what you can and not...
- JH: Or what you need.
- EA: But what he’s talking about is giving you know...during the old days they used to have a shrine, whatever catch you catch, you give to the shrine. In other words like...
- JH: *Hā’awi ‘ia...*
- KM: *‘Ae, hā’awi i ke Kū’ula.* Did *tutu* still do that when you were...
- JH: Well, every once in a while he would do it.
- KM: Was there a special...and this is very important because of, those are special places to your *kūpuna*, to you *tūtū* them. Did *tūtū* have a special place where he maybe set the fish out?
- JH: No, no. He would be right in the, in our property.
- KM: Right in front of your folks property? And this was your house, yeah, here?
- JH: Right on the coast...
- KM: Yes... Did you folks salt and dry fish out here also [pointing to the map and their Mōkapu house site]? Did you bring salt or did you gather salt?
- JH: No, we brought salt in.
- KM: You brought it in.
- JH: Like I said, when we first moved in, we had to haul our own water down. Every time we went in we would have barrels of water going in with us. But it was really nice place... [W]hen I first moved there George [Davis] was the only one that lived there and was about our age. So by going fishing I used to meet him out there, squidding and we became friends. He was older than I, you say he’s 82. I’m 74. So we just about them days we about the same age. We used to go from Mōkapu here [pointing to Davis Point] to Kāne’ohe here, to go to the movies. We didn’t have any lights here. We would go around... Coconut Island. We’d come here, come in between the reefs, this was the bad one. This was a bad reef...



Remembers salt flats, fishponds and oyster beds (oysters brought from Japan):

KM: [pointing to the Mōkapu flats] ...So the road came in, like you were saying earlier around, did you, this was a *loko pa'akai*...did you...

JH: Yes, yes, this was called a flat, it was something like down here, that air strip, temporary strip, was coral [pointing towards the low flat lands between Mōkapu-Heleloa]. And the water would dry there and it would get salt.

KM: Did people go gather salt.

JH: I don't know, not during our time.

KM: Not during your time. How about the fishponds? Earlier, I think before we, at the beginning you were mentioning, was someone sort of using these fishponds. Like did you folks ever get anything?

JH: Well no. The only thing, this [Territorial] Game Farm [Executive Order 112, October 17, 1921], gee, I really don't remember exactly the year but they started raising oysters out here you know, Japanese oysters. And oh shucks, there was a pier that went out from here...the Wilson Pier, that's the Wilson Pier [points on map].

KM: About that area?

JH: Yes, just about this area. That's where just about where that road going into the base now, that's just about where that Wilson Pier was. You know where H-3 now goes come down to go in. I just off on the mauka side of that road used to have Wilson Pier, the old pier. Just like the Hanalei, Hanalei's pier, just like that.

KM: So that was along the edge of...kind of...did you see any of the fishpond walls or anything out here?

JH: Yes, the fishponds were still good then.

KM: No one was taking care that you saw, no old Chinese man or anybody?

JH: Not that we knew of, no...

Manō known as family 'aumakua; *kūpuna* of Lāhainā fished for 'ōpelu with the *manō*:

KM: How about *manō*, did you ever talk to...did you see *manō* or anything?

JH: Yes, once in a while, most of the time you see em in here, by Pyramid Rock.

KM: So did *tūtū* ever talk to you about the *manō*, about the sharks.

JH: I tell you what, on my father's side it says that, 'aumakua on my father's side the *manō*. He...Maui, Lāhainā, uncle, my father's sister married that 'ōpelu fisherman. We call him Jacob [Keahi], ..he's more or less our fisherman. I seen him go out, seen the *manō* chase the 'ōpelu. The *manō* would show him. He would follow and the *manō* would start circling, start throwing the bait.

KM: Oh he'd be on his canoe, follow the *manō* out.

JH: All the old timers...in Lāhainā...the 'ōpelu fishermen... Keahi, Jacob Keahi. He's from Moloka'i.

EA: Yes, we have a lot of family in Maui.

JH: I've seen my cousin swimming and the shark was right back of her and she keep swimming, Cousin Emma. She'd swim, she wasn't afraid of the sharks...



Fishery resources on the *papa* between Mōkapu and Kekepa; taught not to be greedy when fishing or collecting other resources:

KM: This is the reef area? Here's Kekepa, like you said, the Turtle Rock, so that's the reef. And so you folks would get *he'e* and fish, go fish inside here. But you said the *uhu* was really big up here.

JH: Big, big, big...

EA: ...The Hawaiian way was always you only take what you gonna use. That's why we used to have a lot of *limu*, used to have a lot of fish, '*ōpihi* because the families used to go and just take what they need. Don't be greedy, even on the outer islands...

KM: Did you ever get fish out of the pond here. You ever saw mullet or anything

JH: Never.

KM: You never did.

JH: That's enough from out there [pointing to the ocean].

KM: Yes, '*ono* kind, yeah.

JH: My brother and I we had a spot out there... Friday nights. I was going to high school then. Just roll up our pants and set the net. There was sand, a sand channel, wasn't too wide. Set the net there and the next morning pick up, when we'd pick up the *awa kalamoho*, deep sea *awa*...

KM: So *awa kalamoho*?

JH: Yes. Some old timers ask us where we picked that up, and we showed em. It's all shallow water. "How can you catch that inside there?" And one guy came up and he said, "Oh I know what it is." This reef, this reef here there was one channel, deep channel. The fish would come through, the fish would come through there...and then, I don't know how, some way in there they came in. And anyway, they went through this sand channel to get into Kāne'ohe Bay. *Awa*, this kind size [gestures, the length of your arm]. Three feet, better than that. That's what this one guy said. "Oh that's *awa kalamoho*, that's from the deep sea." So he said this comes from the deep sea and come in for spawn and then go back out. My mother used to get mad with me. I wouldn't even change pants, just get home from school, roll up the pants and go out there and put the net out and then go home. You know, put it out before it gets dark. And was just, I say the channel wouldn't be wider from here to the parlor... Fifty [feet] maybe, and we'd hit them every time. I think that's why that's what it is. I think they come through that channel because that's the only deep channel with deep water. Cause the other channel inland to get into Kāne'ohe goes over here, the other side and then you come down...

Joseph "Kepa" Haia

April 4, 1995 – with Kepā Maly

Kekepa was an important fishing ground and fishery marker:

KM: ...You know uncle, while you were fishing, you know how sometimes when you go out ocean and you look at the land here and here and how you come and you know where your fishing spot is. Was there any place on Mōkapu that you kind of used as a place to spot or mark your fishing or as a land...?

JH: This was a prime one [pointing to Kekepa]. This is prime and then, well like I said, we look at Kalihi valley... It's something like this you know. And then over here gets high over here gets high, you only get the glare here. So while we out here fishing, you know where the Turtle Back is, then we site, site for that hill eh. But this was back a long time when we



brought in... When Hawaiian Dredging brought in a second dredge. They had me go out there and meet the tug and bring them through the channel. Usually they going way [to] the Pākē-pāpale [Mokoli'i Island] and come around but the Captain, Edith's Uncle, Chief Captain, told me you go out there and meet the tug and bring them in. It's trick, it was trick to come in here, this channel. You couldn't come in straight. You go down and then, you more surf it in and then come this way.

KM: Skirt around eh?

Recalls beds of stone on the *papa*, around which mullet and *he'e* were caught; area now buried under MCBH outer runway:

JH: And then go back in. A lot of Sampans got hit on the reef and all that. But you know, I give George Davis credit for teaching me all those things when we go out fishing. That was a nice *papa* inside there, two of them. All rocks about this size. And that's were the mullet used to...choke mullet.

KM: That's about rocks, you know hand size kind rocks, uh huh.

JH: Wasn't coral, was just rock, rock. Two beds.

KM: So you think they were built up?

JH: No, I don't know maybe it was just current, just brought up cause they all small size.

KM: And the rocks built up you said sort of in two beds though, yeah?

JH: Yes, with the channel in between.

JH: George Davis and I used to... it was mullet season we'd be out there, go for squidding.

KM: Was that area fronting your house side or...

JH: No, was way down here.

KM: More down.

JH: In this area here.

KM: Ah so buried maybe now cause the land had extended out here, yeah?

JH: Oh they covered it.

KM: They covered it, okay.

JH: That's where this air strip goes out this way now.

KM: That's right the section goes out there.

JH: The last air strip they built covered all that.

KM: Filled a lot of land. You know when they were building, did you build any of the hangars or fill the land up there...

KM: You *aloha* Mōkapu?

JH: Yes, I do... I found out a lot of names of people who were living there before. There's a Mr. Lemon.

KM: Jack Lemon. Jack, yes, yes. That was Chaney's Uncle. Yes, so Jack Lemon. And somehow he, what I understand is that ah ... Jack Lemon had the *he'e konohiki* rights. You remember that?

JH: Yes.

KM: So people had to go ask him before they could take *he'e* or...



JH: No. He knew we lived there.

KM: Oh, if you lived there it was okay?

JH: Yes.

KM: What did he do if strangers came in?

JH: Well if boat come in and he'd go out. Like us, he'd see us swimming out, he'd know we were tight there. Old man Lemon... He was just, he lived just about here.

KM: Oh. So up on the slope. So it was above you, yeah?

JH: Well no, he was right on the beach too. But his lot is up the hill so you could be sitting up on the hill.

KH: And he watching everybody.

JH: Oh he was nice...

Fisherman spotted mullet and other fish from atop Pali Kilo:

KM: ...You know when I was with Uncle George last Friday, I went over talk story with them, he remembered. He said as a kid, remember we said the name of this cliff they called Pali-kilo? And *kilo* like for *i'a*, yeah, spot fish. As a kid that's what he said. He said as a child they would take him up there. He would stand on top the hill and look down and tell them where to go lay net.

JH: Well like I say, he and I were...you know especially ah, mullet season, gotta be September, around there. He and I ... we'd just wait. We could see the water rippling. "Ai! The mullet down there." Off we go [laughs].

KM: Off you go. You know you were talking about these stone mounds [on the papa between Davis Point and Sumner Cove] that were down here and small stones...

JH: About this kind size.

KM: 'Ulumaika size, okay, now the reason I'm curious if you think about it, if those were made by people or natural.

JH: Well I don't know, I wouldn't know.

KM: I'm curious, did you ever hear your papa them or somebody talk. You know, there's a thing called 'umu. 'Umu were mounds of stone that they would make in the water as a protect place for fish to come and feed like that.

JH: Maybe that was it. There's two see.

KM: There's two of them, that's why I'm curious.

JH: Big one.

KM: That would be about...

JH: The length of this house.

KM: You mean this room here.

JH: No, no, the whole house.

KH: The whole thing.

KM: So we're looking from the garage here, 70 feet, 50 feet?

JH: Sixty-seventy feet.

KH: Wow, it's a big one.

KM: Sixty-seventy feet, okay. And all small stones?



JH: All small stones.
KM: And not coral, just the loose kind...
JH: Not coral.
KM: Stone. But to the best of your memory, the runway...the new... how they filled in the land. They came out here like that, yeah?
JH: Well they, they started pumping from here into here, start covering them and all that.
KM: So this is all buried. So a lot of your *he'e* ground and stuff...?
JH: All gone! [picks up a stone] It was like this.
KM: So stones are basically hand to hand size. All just piled up. It's like the wall that you were talking about that ran from this side out towards Moku Manu.
JH: Yes, Moku Manu.
KM: And you had said you even thought...they...some old guys told you ran...
JH: That the wall goes out there, goes to[wards] Moloka'i, facing Moloka'i.
KM: Towards it facing. Like you know...

Waters around Mōkapu noted for *uhu*:

JH: But I, I didn't go out that far. I stayed right in here. *Uhu*.
KM: *Uhu* so big, yeah?
JH: Yes, *uhu*. It's good them days.
KM: And all built up, mounded up one line.
JH: Yes, it's just like, just like rock wall you know, stone wall.
KH: Somebody did it.
KM: Yes, hard work.
JH: Could have been one time this was all land the beach, and then it sank. Say this crater was operating and it was land and vibrating.
KM: ...So you folks didn't go in the fishponds, is that right?
JH: No, couldn't go cause had the CC Camp and all that in there. Did George Davis tell you about picking up oysters in there [laughs].
KM: You guys underwater, yeah, sneak go in or something?
JH: Yes, yes, scoop nets. But like this people took care. Oh we know these two guys. You guys only going take one, two scoop and he goes home.
KH: Just take enough for you to use...



Lucia White-Whitmarsh
Mōkapu and Kāneʻohe-Kailua Bay Fisheries
March 15, 1995 – with Kepā Maly (LW031595)

Lucia Kealiʻipoʻohinaoloʻeau White-Whitmarsh (Aunty Lucia) was born in Honolulu on October 30, 1917. Her parents were William Kekuhaipiʻo White and Helen Naheana Poepoe-White. Both of Aunty Lucia's parents, her grandparents, and other family members of their generation all spoke Hawaiian. The families approach and outlook to life intertwined as much of their Hawaiian cultural values, practices and beliefs as was possible at that time. By c. 1932, aunty's parents purchased a house lot in the 'ili of Mōkapu [Lot # 88a],



along side Keawanui Bay. The White family was descended from a long line of skilled fishermen, and it was partially the rich Mōkapu Fishery that had drawn them to the peninsula. Mrs. White shared with her daughters (Lucia and Mikahala) the importance of caring for the land and natural resources of their home. During their residency, many visitors frequented their home; among them was Princess Kawānanakoa, a leading member of Hawai'i's deposed monarchy.

Leaving Mōkapu was a traumatic experience for the Whites, and it was their expressed wish that when they passed away, that their ashes be returned to the waters which fronted their home at Mōkapu. The family honored the strength of their Mōkapu connection by returning the remains of both Wm. Kekuhaipiʻo and Helen Naheana Poepoe-White to Mōkapu in 1980. The following narrative are excerpts of an interview conducted on March 15, 1995.

Aunty Lucia Whitmarsh granted her personal release of the interview records to Maly on April 23, 1995.

'Alamihī caught along the shore:

LW: ...I forgot to tell you when we were talking about the *'alamihī* that Princess Kawānanakoa used to come down here to eat *'alamihī* at the house.

KM: Down at the house there? With your family?

LW: Yes, right. She used to come down and when she'd call my mother and say... or Flora, Aunty Flora, or whoever she could reach first, she loved *'alamihī*. So she and her chauffeur used to drive down see and after, originally we could drive right down right down in front of the house. But as the property lines got more defined and we kept the cars on the upper level. But she used to bring her chauffeur cause she was such a large woman. It wasn't easy for her to get around so the chauffeur would drive her down across this, and park right in front of the house and she'd get out. And my mother, we had this... our house was like an old fishing shack. You know big room and with all the beds and things, the kitchen, dining area and the bath. And then, she'd come in and sit at our table, the long table, oh I guess you could seat about 10 people, 4 on each side and 2, you know one on each end. And so she would sit at one end of the table with this big bowl of *poi* and another bowl, oh a good size bowl of *'alamihī* [7 or 8 inches across], full of



'alamihi.

And that was all she had, a big bowl of poi and the *'alamihi*. And she used to sit there. And she was so neat about eating *'alamihi*. You know she just ground every little piece [laughs] She was really...

KM: And was she talking like with you mama or Aunty Flora them?

LW: Oh yes, when they were there you know, but she was consuming her *'alamihi*. When she got through then she would visit a little bit...

KM: ...Okay. One of the things that was marked on these maps in the 1880s and 1890s was it says "Salt Works." And so there were little pools where water at one time were made for making salt.

LW: Yes, you could see that near there, cause they have that wild *'ākulikuki*.

KM: That's right, yes.

Family collected salt from the Ulupa'u shore line:

LW: They had some but we never stopped over there, no. With salt we went to make salt way over Ulupa'u side.

KM: In Ulupa'u, in the rock area, where the cliff and, just where the shore ends.

LW: Where the little pocket, you know the little pockets where the surf would leave water.

KM: Uh-hmm...

Collection of *'alamihi*, *pokipoki*, and other crabs:

LW: ...And Davis Point, there. And this is where we got the *'alamihis*, right in here and the old *pokipokis*.

KM: You had the, *pokipoki* you were saying was a little crab. So it was all along the flats here and you folks would gather *'alamihi* and the crabs and...

LW: And then back here, back of the house is where they have the white crab. At night you could come, there was a little pond like or...

KM: Marshy, boggy area.

LW: Yes, and yes you could get the... I don't know what the name of it, it is regular white crab. Kind of gray.

KM: So night time you would come

LW: Yes, just put the light or lantern or *kukui hele pō* or else a flashlight, just shine down in the water and scoop up the crab cause the light would just stun them. And they just stop and you scoop them up with the net. The water was very low, very low. So you just use the boat was just a flat bottom, you just skim over the surface or you could walk if you wanted to. Have you met any of the Makinis? The Hawaiian Makini, M-a-k-i-n-i. The other Makinney, M-a-k-i-n-n-e-y, they used to get confused because the both whole families were there...

Collected *pūpū* along the shore, near Kū'au:

KM: ...You also mentioned that along the shore here, mama used to gather, and you folks would gather different kinds of shells and things, yeah.

LW: Oh yes, Ni'ihau shells, all over both sides, both sides of Pyramid Rock. On this side which later became a Pan American section. And then over here, inside on the sandy side of Pyramid Rock, the Kāne'ōhe Bay side. Yes, oh lots of shells she had...

KM: And *kūpe'e* you said also?



LW: Oh yes, *kūpe'e* we gathered over here on the side of where the Pan Am, we always call it Pan Am Beach [laughs]. Because that was open ocean on that side [more were found on the Kāne'ōhe side of the Pali-kilo bluffs]. This other is a little more protected by the reef.

KM: As you went along the shore, you also mentioned that by Ulupa'u side...you mentioned that out on this area where the sand ends and the rocks begin, there were small little areas where you could gather salt or *pa'akai*.

Describes collection of salt from the natural *kāheka*:

LW: Yes. Up above it more. They had little pockets there and you just ah...

KM: Did you folks, what did you do with the salt? Can you describe you know a little bit...

LW: Oh we just let it, you know, wait until, especially in the summertime it's hot, any little deposits of salt we gathered and because hardly anyone came around so it wasn't contaminated. Now some of the other places that we used to gather salt down in other areas of the island, but there was too much traffic. Things would get contaminated. But over here it was pretty restricted and clean, so, my mother used to use just gather bags of salt. And she'd come home and wash it and then she'd add *'alae*.

KM: So would she let it out to dry some more or...

LW: Yes, she'd...yes, because she'd wash it again and then let it dry again and then just to get rid of a lot of the...just to get...there's a lot of little twigs...and let that float off and then when it starts drying again...

KM: And where would her *'alae* come from?

LW: Well she had relatives from Kaua'i who sent her *'alae*, that's what she always used...

Hīnālea, wana, ina, loli, awa, 'anae, moi, and many other fish caught:

KM: Now, fronting your house, and this comes a little bit more recently when we were talking earlier, you'd mentioned that your dad them and other families would go out fishing. What were some of the fish...in fact you'd mentioned even out in the deep ocean, what were some of the fish and things you...

LW: Well here on the Pan Am side they have lots of *awa, 'anae, and moi* because it's all open ocean. So they put their poles, just line em up at night you know, and then you sleep on the beach. When next morning you gather or whenever they hear the reels going they'd get up and go. That was for the you know open and inside they would have, well we get *uhu* and oh gosh all kinds. *Hīnālea, hīnālea* all over here. *Hīnālea* was just...my sister used to call them Hinalears. But had plenty. And there was, well even *wana* and *'ina* and of course I told you about the *loli*...Japanese.

KM: Tell me about the *loli*.

LW: Oh yes, the Ige family from Luluku would come down with their friends and relatives whenever there was a lot of *loli* my dad would contact Mr. Ige and they had, I think they had a pig farm up in Luluku. But anyway, they'd come down, a whole bunch of them and get all the just the buckets, gather buckets of *loli*. I think, I don't know...I think that they were the brown type that they prefer. There were different kinds but they preferred this one. And they just had buckets full.

KM: Did mama them eat *loli*? Do you remember?

LW: They did eat and I ate some too, but I never cared for it you know. But we had more fun just playing squirt gun [laughs]. All the kids would fight with the water. We didn't have water pistols we used *loli* [laughs]. Of course there was a lot of *'ōpihi* outside of Pyramid Rock. We used to gather *'ōpihi* over there. Always have to watch for the waves... And they had some *hā'uke'uke* but not ah...I don't remember too much of the *hā'uke'uke*. There may have been but I never paid much attention. I know the *wana* and *'ina* and lots



of...we used to have *weke* and oh lots of *manini*. That was just like rubbish. I mean, you know have so much of it at the time. But in some other areas that was rubbish as far as we were concerned, but lots of *uhu*.

Uhu were plentiful:

KM: You folks, so there were a lot of *uhu*. That's interesting.

LW: They had most of the blue *uhu*, red *uhu* too. The last time we went out there you know as I said, in the late 70s, see the *'uhu* just going along, nice size *uhu* just off the rock.

KM: Now I'm going to come back to the last time you went there in just a moment but I'd like to stay back when you were young and when papa them, your dad was fisherman. Would he canoe or flat bottom boat?

LW: The flat bottom.

KM: Hmm. And some...him and some of the other people perhaps from around there would go out.

LW: Oh yes. We had this Japanese man that we...Toaki, we called him Toaki but as I said from his obituary we found his name was Tsuaki, T-s-u-a-k-i. But we called him Toaki and somebody else called him Tobaki. And then there's another Chinese fisherman [Ah Num] that used to come there and they were the ones that knew the fishing spots so they taught my dad and his friends where to go.

KM: Did they keep, they, I think you were saying that they helped mend the nets and things.

Father made dye for fish nets from the *'ala'ala he'e*; discusses other types of dyes used for nets:

LW: Oh yes, well Tsuaki was the one. He did all the work, he made the nets and he mended the nets and my dad dyed them with the, I guess what do you call the squid...

KM: Oh the *'ala'ala*, yeah...

LW: *'Ala'ala*. And they used to dye some of the nets. But in those days they didn't have the kind of nets they have these days, you know the nylon type. They had linen, they used linen. And Daddy used to throw net over there a lot, do a lot of throw net over there.

KM: So he would get *he'e* out here too, yeah?

LW: Oh *he'e*, yeah. They got plenty *he'e*.

KM: So and they would use the *'ala'ala* to dye the nets a little bit.

LW: Yes, they used some, some of the nets, not all of the nets, certain ones they used.

KM: Did you understand why they dyed the net?

LW: No I didn't know. I wasn't curious enough at that age.

KM: This is just as a side bar but what I understand in having gone through some old texts and things from you know from Kahā'ulelio or other Hawaiian writers...

Great grandmother was a Kahā'ulelio (sister of the author of Hawaiian texts on fishing – see Volume I):

LW: Kahā'ulelio was my grandfather's family. His mother was a Kahā'ulelio.

KM: Oh... I'll share with you a story that Tutu Kawena told me about how that name came about by and by. But what they said is that the fish could see the white net, yeah? And so they would dye them so that the fish couldn't see it. But it's interesting that you mentioned using the *'ala'ala* cause I'd heard about *kukui* to dye or the *'ulu* to dye you know, or *noni* like that, the bark eh? But interesting that they used the *'ala'ala*.

LW: Well I've heard that they used *kukui*, I guess because they were at the ocean and that



was available. We didn't have *kukui* around.

KM: Makes good sense, makes good sense. How about *'ula* or the lobster like that?

'Ula (Lobsters) were plentiful:

LW: Oh yes, plenty lobster. Always lobster. I mean when I think of it I'm always ashamed to admit that I, that it was so plentiful. We'd have a whole freezer full of...this was afterward, when the electricity came in and we could have a freezer there. We had a freezer full of them, lobsters, we wouldn't touch em. And then the war came along, when we couldn't get lobster, oh those freezer's full... [shaking her head]

Recalls a visit to Mōkapu in the late 1970s, with her father; *uhu* fish still seen:

LW: ...I can't remember exactly what year that was, but ah...because my dad passed away in 1980, so it was just a few years before that. So we went out to... well as I said, what was called Fort Hase at the time, what you call Ulupa'u. And we went around there, we went back to our house site, and the old stone wall is still there, and the steps leading to the water is still there. All the coconut trees are gone. We were able to go down to that little cove and pick *pipipi*, and then we stood on the black rock out there and watched the *uhu* going by. Nice healthy, big *uhu*.

KM: So you saw the black rock that juts out into the water...

LW: Yes.

KM: And there were *uhu* still in that area.

LW: Yes! It was beautiful, we just... and we didn't have any poles or fishing line of any kind. So we just stood there and watched the *uhu*, and gathered *pipipi* on the rocks, just for the heck of it.

KM: ...In the area that you lived, the general name of the place was Keawanui. Did you ever hear that name?

LW: No, no.

KM: Then there was a small pond or fish trap, by the black rock area that you are describing called Pā'ōhua. Did you ever hear that?

LW: No, I didn't hear that.

KM: No? It's interesting that you mention it, that *uhu* in there, because supposedly it was a trap for *uhu* fish, you know.

LW: Oh. Yes, well we were just standing there, and there's this *uhu* slowly swimming by [chuckles] I don't know, my goodness.

KM: How did Dad feel; about going back to there?

LW: Well, I guess he was kind of glad and sad at the same time I think. He didn't really say too much. Except, "Oh the steps are here, and the wall is here, and the cove is here" and he walked out to stand on the... He was just glad to be able to see it again. I couldn't say what was going through his mind because he didn't say much.

KM: Well, you shared something that I think is very important though. When mama and papa both passed away, you said that their ashes...

LW: Yes, we had their ashes scattered, because that was their desire, to have their ashes scattered out at Mōkapu [this took place in 1980].

KM: In front of Mōkapu.

LW: Yes. So they, so it was between Turtle Rock and the...house.

KM: The shore?



LW: Yes, as close as we could get.

KM: Was that their request?

LW: Yes...



Henry H. Wong

Mōkapu and Kāneʻohe-Kailua Bay Fisheries

March 16, 1995 – with Kepā Maly and Kawelo Barber (KPA Photo No. HW031695)

Henry H. Wong was born at Heʻeia, near Keʻalohi on March 18, 1913 (Figure 39). Mr. Wong's father was of Chinese ancestry, and his mother (Lucy Scott) was of Hawaiian Caucasian ancestry. The Hawaiian side of the family is descended from native Hawaiian residents of the *ahupuaʻa* of Heʻeia, who can trace their ties to Heʻeia for more than 150 years. Uncle Henry's family share a close familial and land relationship with many of the Hawaiian families of the Heʻeia-Kāneʻohe region.



Uncle Henry graduated from high school in June 1931, and on June 16, 1931, he went to work for Harold Castle on Kāneʻohe Ranch. He eventually oversaw Castle's c. 17,000 acres of land and business operations in the Kāneʻohe-Kailua region, and worked c. 50 years on estate projects, and also served as an Estate Trustee. He has played a significant role in the growth and evolution of the community, and has a great deal of information to share regarding land use in the 20th century. Perhaps most significant, is that Mr. Wong oversaw the filling in of many of the fishponds in Kāneʻohe Bay, property of the Castle Estate, and in keeping with the then accepted view of "reclamation of wetlands" for community growth.

The following narratives are excerpts from the oral history interview with Henry Wong, who kindly granted his personal release of the interview records to Maly on April 17, 1995.

HW: I was born in Heʻeia. My mother was born here, my grandma was born in Heʻeia and my great grandparents. My great-great-grandparents, I don't know how far long... So I was born there [Heʻeia], and raised there. Then I went to work for Castle. And that was in 1931, Kāneʻohe Ranch...

KM: ...And they had the land that included the Mōkapu parcel as well?

HW: You see, Mōkapu is the tip of the peninsula out there. It's part of the *ahupuaʻa* of Heʻeia, you know... I might as well get the maps. Excuse me... [goes to get maps from his collection] Yes, this from back in 1932. Here's Mōkapu here, and you see, the Nuʻupia Pond and Kuwaʻaʻohe; the government had reserved that for the...the United States government had this *'ili*. Ulupaʻu was part of the holdings of Nani R. Rice. Heleloa [looking for Heleloa].

Spent a lot of time diving and fishing off of Mōkapu; Castle owned all of the fishponds as well; recalls the old Kaluapūhi salt works:

...Heʻeia, is right here. Heleloa, then Kuwaʻaʻohe, then Ulupaʻu, then Ulupaʻu Crater right here. You see, I spent a lot of time there diving catching fish and lobsters [chuckles]...



And Castle owned all that. Mōkapu, Nu'upia fishpond, Halekou fishpond, Kaluapūhi, where is Kaluapūhi?

KM: And there's a salt works.

HW: Yes, a salt work, I remember, when the waves were coming, you see this, this is all low, close to the sea.

KM: Close to the shoreline, yeah?

HW: Yes, above the sea level, and the waves would come hit against the rocky reef. The waves and the spray would go up on these other rocks you know. That had these hollowed out.... [thinking]

KM: Hollowed out rocks?

HW: Yes, I mean the water would go inside and then the salt would dry up, and you'd get salt. I remember doing it, but you see the old salt works goes way back before my time. And they must've had some way of getting it, and maybe at that time they just let the water go into the ground and might have more like a fishpond and let the sun dry it up and then they have the salt. I think...

KM: Did you see, when you were a child or when you were young, were people still gathering salt?

HW: No.

KM: No. Not out there, you didn't see anybody?

HW: No. They weren't there. Of course we were really young. We didn't go that far in you know, when we were young. As time went on I started to work for Castle back in 1931 that's when I handled the whole thing for Mr. Castle. He owned about 17,000 acres. About 80% of Kāne'ōhe and 80% of Kailua, Mr. Castle owned.

KM: You know the salt, you mentioned you saw some of the rocks were hollowed out. So they were like, they were call it "*poho pa'akai*," hollowed out areas. Were they stones that people had made or were they natural depressions?

HW: It looked natural to me. Of course I'm not...I can't...cause the old Hawaiians had their ways of chipping the rocks and things.

KM: Yes...

It is his recollection that the '*ama'ama* of Nu'upia pond were not as high quality as those in other ponds of the Kāne'ōhe Bay:

HW: ...This Nu'upia pond, you see salt water coming in here, I mean the bay you know, little brackish but then the...from the ocean salt water salt was very, very salty. That's why the '*ama'ama* they used to catch, the head was kind of big but the body wasn't right. But anyway, we helped the farmer put in a water line and had fresh water go in.

KM: Into the pond also.

HW: Yes, to make it not too salty you know, to make it brackish.

KM: So there were people taking care and working the fishponds in your time, a little bit.

HW: Yes, yes. Yes, I forget the names, but, the old records that I have...

KM: So people were taking care of the fishpond though.

HW: Yes.

KM: Did they work the gates. Did you hear *mākāhā*?



HW: The *mākāhā*, the use of the *mākāhā* was way before my time but the maps show the *mākāhā*, on the ocean side , but didn't show anything on this side was Kaluapūhi.

KM: 'Ae, Kaluapūhi right here.

HW: Yes. And somehow, they must have had a gate here because they had a gate here. And got the brackish water from here to go and mix with the...and even that, the ocean water was so salty that the mullet, for some reason or another, the mullet didn't, wasn't ah...

KB: *Momona* [fat].

KM: Not real healthy kind.

HW: Yes...

KM: Yes, right here. Here's Kaluapūhi. So the salt works would have been up in this area.

HW: Yes, right, let's see now, oh up in here [pointing to the Kaluapūhi–Kapoho salt works]...

Discusses fishponds and fisheries of Kāne'ōhe Bay:

KM: ...Now over here, is a place in the ocean, between Kū'au and sort of Keawanui, that was a fish trap that was called Pā'ōhua. It was a fish trap, a stone alignment in the water, so its protected a little bit by Kū'au, yeah, by Pyramid Rock. And it was a fish trap...at high water, the *'uhu* and other fish could come inside, low water they couldn't, and so you'd go in and get the fish. So what you're talking about doing right here is the same thing. It's a traditional practice. I wonder though if the fish is *'ono* like before.

HW: Well, cannot be because the water is contaminated, and with all the people you know. And what they've done here, oh! Especially at this area right in here [indicating the ponds around his home site], this is where the mullet came to spawn you know. All the mullet came in her to spawn, drop the little off, and take off.

KM: "Ōpa'apa'a, yeah? You're on "Ōpa'apa'a fishpond, or just about right over here.

HW: Yes, "Ōpa'apa'a. You see the corner over here, the rock sticking out, you look straight ahead and you can see the boat way down. You see between the boat and here, there's a piece, that's the wall of "Ōpa'apa'a fishpond.

KM: How do you feel about, you know as we said, we're doing this project to record the recollections of people like you, the *kūpuna* that... you've made history and you've seen things. What would you like to see for the future? Is it important to take care of the past?

HW: Actually you know, having grown up here, a few houses when you come from Honolulu, you hit the top of the Pali. With one light here, and one light there, you know. Gee the population was in the hundreds, but now its ah...I'm glad, I'm glad I was living in that time condition, now with this here, oh man. You can't go out like before.

KM: So your glad you were living in your time, yeah? When you grew up.

HW: Yes, yes...

Discussing fishponds on the windward side of O'ahu:

HW: ...It's hard to find any other fishponds outside of Kāne'ōhe Bay.

KM: Yes. were there still people working the fishponds.

HW: Well, it was just the families, the Japanese families... Oh all the Japanese, Japanese village [Nishi camp below the King Intermediate School]. And the main source of income was catching fish. High tide, and bringing it back in five gallon cans and putting them in the trucks. A couple of my uncles did that, but you know, transportation we'd go to town and put cans of fish in the back, tie em up on the back of the truck...



KM: And go, go to market like that.
HW: [Recalled after the recording, that after the close of World War II Hawaiian Dredging still had some of it's equipment in Kāne'ohe Bay. It was at that time that Castle Estate, initiated a program of filling in certain fishponds, which had been attached to their acquisition of the ahupua'a, in order to develop residential house lots.]

Used to fish between Mōkapu and Moku Manu:

KM: [Looking at the Mōkapu map from Mr. Wong's collection] Look at this, it says that Moku Manu is a part of Kuwa'a'ohe, "accessible only in fine weather."

HW: Yes, its rough in between there. I used to go out diving and fishing there.

KM: Okay, so you went diving out there.

HW: You can't go out there all the time, that's why.

KM: Did you ever notice the cave along the side of Moku Manu?

HW: Yes, but I haven't been out there for so long. But yes, I remember.

KM: Did you ever hear anyone talk to you about the shark out there?

HW: [Thinking] I think somebody mentioned about the shark out at Bird Island, Moku Manu; there was something about that shark in here [pointing towards the south side of Moku Manu].

KM: Kahekili's Leap side.

HW: I don't know if that actually means... No, I haven't really heard.

KM: There's a shark-god that was recorded as Kuhaimoana...

HW: Oh, oh.

KM: Moku Manu, and the cave in there, was the home of Kuhaimoana.

HW: Oh [shaking head, no]...

KM: ...Okay. There's a place here called Puka'ulua.

HW: 'Ulua hole, yeah, that's right.

KM: Get 'ulua out there?

HW: I don't know about now, but oh yeah had lots. Yes, that was the place to catch 'ulua.

Lobster, 'ulua, palani, uhu, and other species of fish were abundant:

KM: Did you catch *uhu* or anything out here too? What kind of fish did you catch [pointing to Keawanui side].

HW: Oh yeah! The *palani*, the '*uhu*, *hīnālea*, the ah *manini*, you know the small fishes, *pāpio*. You know one time, I hit an '*ulua* that must have weighed about 100, about 80 pounds. But I couldn't bring it in because it took off with my spear [chuckles].

KM: Oh you're kidding. You speared it? Lucky it didn't turn around and bite you [laughing].

HW: Yes it was kind of feeding or resting...

KM: Was this on the Kekepa side or over back by Puka'ulua?

HW: [Thinking] You see, I used to dive out there. Wait now, let me see...

KM: Well here's the Kawainui Shooting Club.

HW: Yes, I used to go dive over here, especially for lobster.



KM: Oh, Kī'i.

HW: Lobster, just about 15 feet from the shore, and pick up 2 or 3 lobsters under the rocks. But that was a long time ago. I guess that *'ulu*a must have been out by Coconut Island.

KM: Oh, out this side here...

HW: Yes...

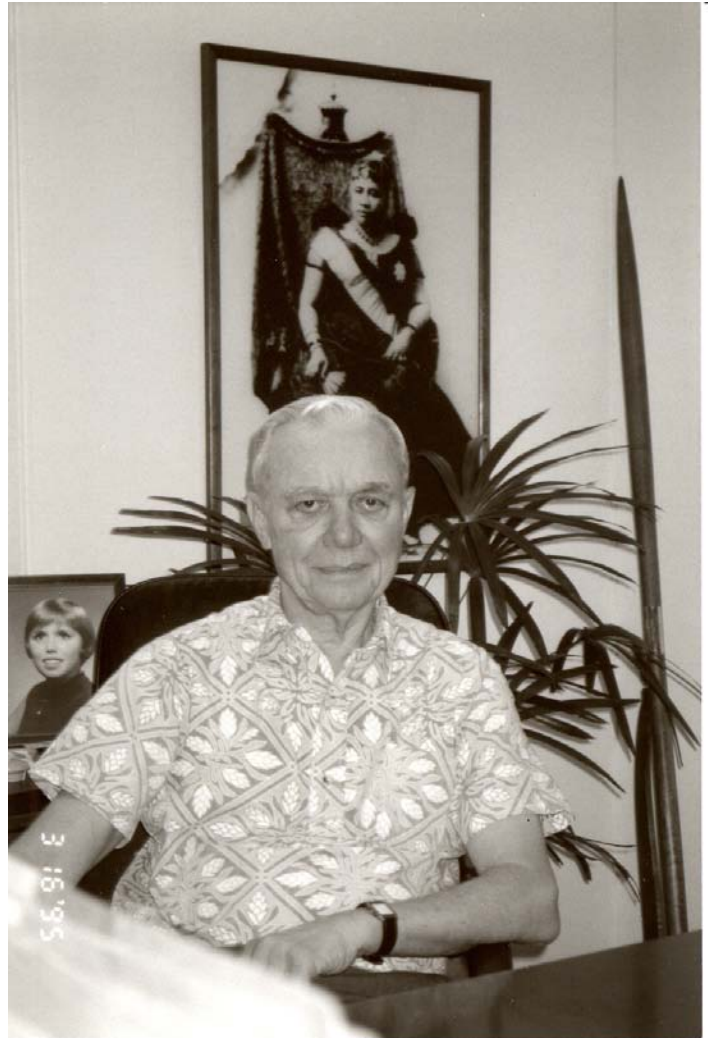


Aaron Chaney

Mōkapu and Kāneʻohe Bay Fisheries

March 16, 1995 – with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. AC031695)

Aaron MaKinney Chaney was born in Honolulu on January 16, 1923. His father, Aaron Simerson Chaney, was a licensed civil engineer, and worked for a while with Harold Castle surveying the lands of Kāneʻohe Ranch, including the Mōkapu Peninsula and other Castle holdings. Mr. Chaney's mother was Pearl MaKinney-Chaney who was of Hawaiian descent. The Chaney family moved to the 'ili of Mōkapu in the late 1920s, and lived near other family members. One uncle, James Lemon, held *konoiki* (land overseer–*ali'i*) fishing rights for *he'e* (octopus) on a portion of the Mōkapu fishery. The following narratives are excerpts from Aaron Chaney's interview. The excerpts reflect a Hawaiian ethic of respect for the resources and natural features of the landscape, and a sense of self-restraint in fishing practices.



Mr. Chaney granted his personal release of the interview records to Maly on April 17, 1995:

Konoiki fishery of *he'e* and other species still respected in the 1920s-1930s:

KM: So the He'eia dune area beach facing you, you swam, surfed out there.

AC: Swim and body surf, right.

KM: And fishing along...

AC: Fishing here.

KM: The shallows.

AC: Yes, yes. Fishing rights were held by one Uncle James Lemon. I think you can see his name there, Jim Lemmon. I don't think he had any children. Good fisherman. Had the *Konoiki* Rights. Somewhere along there. I Don't know how he acquired them but he had em. Had sheriff's badge, pistol, Tahitian canoe. See anybody out there fishing in this area, he and the Filipino man that worked for him in the yard jump in the canoe and off they went. Got along out, if they'd give him a bad time pull the gun out. Showed the sheriff's badge. "I have the right to..." actually he did.

KM: So he maintained those rights.

AC: He maintained those rights now who he got them from I don't know, I have no idea. But that was in this area... [pointing to area on map]



KM: Sort of fronting the, they call this Sumner Bay sort of now and Davis Point. The Mōkapu *'ili*, you know the parcel of land here, sort of cuts across this area...

AC: Yes...

KM: ...So you mentioned Mr. Lemon had *Konohiki* rights. Did you folks have to go check with him, do you recall?

AC: He was my uncle. He would take me out.

KM: Oh, he was your uncle, oh well, lucky then.

AC: Very lucky. He and another uncle, my mother's brother, wanted...would try to teach me about—from time to time, teach me about fishing the Hawaiian way. Particularly... the squidding here was, I think Uncle Jim's concern, *pāpio* was here. I know when he would paddle canoe, he would put one foot out on the outrigger and he would have his line for *pāpio* run wrapped around his big toe.

KM: Wow.

AC: Would bite [slaps his hand], the fish would grab it...[chuckles] he was a good fisherman, he was a good fisherman. And he liked squidding and he liked the...and he would have the nets and the boxes. You know the screen boxes to dry out the squid to keep the flies away. Quite a few. But I never became—I guess I was too “haolefied”—I never became a fisherman. I had no desire. I don't think my father wanted me to be a fisherman anyway. He didn't send me to Punahou to be a fisherman.

Elder family members always respected the fisheries, gave back offerings and never over fished:

KM: When you folks were out here did you notice...like did your Uncle Jack, did anyone ever you know still sort of practice a little bit about the traditional thought about you take a fish, put first catch back or set something out you know?

AC: Always.

KM: Always.

AC: For example, “Uncle Kainoa, you going fishing?” Never, “You going fishing!” [Slaps the desk top] What you mean fishing, I never fish, never fish!” I'd forgotten there was always some type of plant in the yard they would break off and put up underneath the bow of the boat and he'd go out. But you never told the fish you were going fishing. You never said you were going fishing; just gonna go out. If you ever fish, you won't have any fish here, they'd go Wai'anae. He never...I remember that one very strong. Never ever talked about going fishing, never. Don't breathe that word around here. Shame on you.

KM: *Pau!* Put everything away stay home right.

AC: That's right, that's right. And I don't recall, it might have been but I know there was a great deal of respect. There was never the, the, never the over fishing. You took only what you needed. You didn't take any more. That was fishing for him.

KM: Uncle Kainoa is...

AC: Makinney

KM: Oh Makinney. Now

AC: Uncle Jim Lemon is another relationship. I've got the old chart, the whole thing written out...

KM: ...Yes. Well I think you've really said it all, it's that *aloha*, the respect you know yeah.

AC: That's right. A great deal of respect for the land. Respect for the fish. Respect for the *heiau* [pointing to the location on the map], no touch. I just noticed this Pyramid Rock, what about, was this Turtle island?



KM: That's it, Kekepa, Turtle Rock or Turtle Island, Turtle back, yeah.
AC: I didn't realize it was that far out. Seems like it was closer in.
KM: Yes, actually it really, is and I've heard that through much of this area the water was fairly shallow, out yeah?
AC: Yes. Although you see where she's beginning to break up here. But I remember going along here and my job was to keep the boat going between the buoys, uncle Kainoa and others who were diving for fish with their spear guns you know, and they'd come up with one on the spear, I would row the boat on over.
KM: So it was a flat bottom boat, not a canoe?
AC: No, flat bottom boat at that time.
KM: Let's see. Did you folks, you know you mentioned your uncle dried squid and things like that. Did you folks ever go out gather salt from the natural little ponding areas or anything?

Limu, wana, and 'ōpihi gathered along rocky coast line:

AC: Never took salt, never, not that I know of. *Limu* here [was] good.
KM: Ulupa'u side.
AC: Right, 'ōpihi, 'ōpihi, 'ōpihi. I think some *wana*, more and more *wana* here if I recall, I think was more *wana* there on this side here. And the taking was never on this side because there's too rough, strong, swells, waves coming in but all along the side here you can watch and see how calm the ocean was...



Margaret Chiyoko Date
Mōkapu and Kāneʻohe Bay Fisheries
March 17, 1995 – with Kepā Maly

The late Margaret Date was born February 22, 1913, and is of Japanese ancestry. Ms. Date's father was Kosaku Date and her mother was Hatsu Date. At the time of her birth, her parents lived in Kailua and worked for Authur H. Rice, Sr. Ms. Date's family moved to Mōkapu in c. 1921, where her father continued working for the Rices. They lived there for c. five years. While living at Mōkapu, Ms. Date's youngest sister, Hama-ko, was born. The family had such a close affiliation with the land that Hamako's name (interpretively translated as "On the harbor or cove") was derived from the fact that the family was living along the cove near Davis Point at the time of Hamako's birth. While on Mōkapu, Mr. Date took care of the Rice's livestock and also operated the large Nu'upia Fishpond complex (a nationally significant cultural Complex). The family lived in two houses on the Davis Point area of the Mōkapu Peninsula.

The following excerpts of the oral history interview with Ms. Date, tells how her family came to live at Mōkapu, and shares various recollections of the fishponds, fishing, and about life on Mōkapu. Ms. Date granted her personal release of the interview records to Maly on April 18, 1995:

- KM: ...You mentioned that when your dad them would dry fish, or go out get maybe *tako* or *he'e* like that too?
- MD: Yes, my mother was a really good *tako* [octopus] fisherwoman.
- KM: When they were drying fish they would tell you something about night time.
- MD: Stories.
- KM: Yes.
- MD: No, we didn't dry the fish over there, just over night you know, my father and mother both went fishing and they couldn't leave us kids home and so we, what you call, went with them.
- KM: So you folks would sleep you said, out by the graveside.
- MD: Yes.
- KM: They would set out like little blanket, things. But you folks didn't worry. You said, you told me your mom said something though about respect or take care.
- MD: Oh, respect because the markings are out there. And she told us that we could not peepee on it and things like that.
- KM: Just to take care, yeah.
- MD: Yes...
- KM: ...What kinds of foods did you eat. You ate your fish that mama would catch and stuff like that?
- MD: And rice... And *poi*.
- KM: Oh, and so you folks would go out and buy and come back in?
- MD: No, the *poi* and stuff Kahula gave us. And daddy would buy the meat and canned goods, corn beef and some stuff.
- KM: From the store outside.
- MD: Yes. But we had enough fish. There was plenty of fish.



Recalls kinds of fish caught by family; salt gathered from Mōkapu to dry *he'e* and other fish:

KM: Plenty of fish then yeah. What kind of fish would you catch, all kind?

MD: Oh I think it was mullet and 'āweoweo and what else fish that...what other fish that...?

KM: Oh there's *manini*, 'uhu.

MD: *Manini* and 'uhu we didn't eat them. And we had *holehole* [āholehole]. And small what you call that. Oh I forgot the name of it, *pāpio*. And plenty of squid. We dried the squid and you know how we dry? We put salt and the *he'e* inside and then rock it, you know rock it. And then not a concrete, I mean it was not a concrete drum, it was a wooden keg.

KM: Keg-like, and you rock it back and forth to soften it.

MD: Yes and the feet would all shrivel up.

KM: All curl up yeah? Yes that's right. Where did your salt come from, do you remember?

MD: We had some salt from the ocean over there.

KM: You did. So you would gather salt?

MD: Yes, sometimes and if we didn't have enough... If we didn't have enough daddy bought...

KM: Oh, where, do you remember some areas where you would have gathered your salt from?

MD: The salt was around here.

KM: So on the rocky coast section. And the waves would wash it up and get caught in pockets of the rock and they when dry. And so would your mom or dad go gather the salt and then did they dry it also? Did they lay it out to dry?

MD: No.

KM: Pretty dry already?

MD: Pretty dry.

KM: So that's interesting. You folks would go out catch fish, you gather your salt and then you dry?

MD: Come home and dry...

KM: Okay, dry your fish like that... You mentioned earlier too about the fishponds. And your family worked, or did something with the fishponds?

MD: Yes.

KM: What did they do?

Father leased and worked the Nu'upia fishponds; also gathered pearl oysters from area:

MD: My father leased the fishpond, I don't know what they did. But we found pearls,

KM: Pearl oyster like?

MD: Yes. And found regular pearls and we'd dig it up and mama used to eat the oysters...

KM: The oyster meat, ah.

MD: And that's about... Oh in the fishpond, we'd lock the fish in the gate like, when the fish water comes the fishes all go to the gate, it's like a pen I guess.

KM: A gate. Did they have a gate?

MD: A gate, yes, yes. And after it's done, then my father would take the fish and put it in the truck or the car and then took it. I don't know where he took it.



KM: But to market.

MD: To market.

KM: So you had said earlier you remembered the Halekou fishpond here.

MD: Yes.

KM: And then there's the big, there's a wall that divides it from another big fishpond, Nu'upia. There were, do you remember a couple of fishponds or one.

MD: No, it's all one.

KM: One big area eh. Did your dad or did you folks walk out along the wall to the pen or to the gate area?

MD: Yes.

KM: You would walk out. It wasn't right close to the land in your time?

MD: No.

KM: So you'd walk out. This map, now see this map is 1899 so this is like 30 years later. But the map shows the gate out in the middle here. You see there's a *puka* there.

MD: Is that a fish gate or...

KM: Yes, that's what it, is indicated on the map here, there's a gate. So if you folks left the land, was there a dump over here at the time that you were out there?

MD: No.

KM: No more eh. Okay, that came later. You walked out on the wall and you would go to the gate, to a gate somewhere out on the wall. When did the fish come into the pond?

MD: When the water became high.

KM: High, high tide. Okay. And when the fish would try and get out, the water was going low tide.

MD: Receding.

KM: Receding. Okay, and would papa drop a gate down or a pen, a fence like?

MD: Yes.

KM: Yes, and so he catch the fish he want and then go. And was mullet yeah?

MD: Um hum.

KM: Did you... 'ama'ama?

MD: 'Ama'ama.

KM: Plenty 'ama'ama.

MD: And had some *awa* but *awa* wasn't, not too 'ono. But this is called *awa aua*.

KM: *Awa aua*, that's right so

MD: Is that right?

KM: You're right, yes, yes.

MD: *Awa aua*. They were a little bigger than the ordinary *awa*.

KM: Did you ever go in the water in the pond?

MD: No... We were afraid because of Samoan crabs.

KM: Were there any families living out in this area of the ponds when you were here?



MD: The only one I remember and that is Wilson.
KM: Oh, and was Wilson *haole* or part Hawaiian?
MD: Yes, *haole*.
KM: *Haole*, oh what was Wilson doing?
MD: His wife was *haole*. He worked for the fish and game.
KM: Oh, oh, oh. Was he doing with the birds too?
MD: Yes.
KM: Oh, oh so that was Wilson.
MD: Yes...
KM: ...In your time, you had to come all the way out to the Kailua Bay side.
MD: Yes.
KM: There's a note, says "salt works" over here. Would you guys drive along the edge of the water over here or did you cut across the pond somewhere?
MD: No we never did.
KM: ...What year did you leave Mōkapu about?
MD: About, when I was 13 years old, I think I left, 1926...



Anita Kahanupā'oa Gouveia and Toni Auld Yardley
Mōkapu and Kāne'ōhe Bay Fisheries
April 15, 1995 – with Kepā Maly

The late Anita Kahanupā'oa Gouveia (Aunty Anita) was born in Honolulu on June 12, 1934. Her mother, Domitila Lono, was the daughter of Sam Lono [Sr.] and Kāmeha'ikū Kea. Part of the family had resided in the 'Ioleka'a-He'eia area of Ko'olau-poko for generations, and can trace their ties to the land back to at least the c. 1770s. For generations, the family retreated to the 'ili of Mōkapu (situated within the *ahupua'a* of He'eia) to exercise traditional resource harvesting and recreational practices.

Toni Auld-Yardley was born in Honolulu in 1948. Like Aunty Anita, Toni has been active in Hawaiian politics and reclaiming of traditional customary rights that have been exercised by native Hawaiians. Toni is a researcher and interpreter of Hawaiian history.

During the interview, Aunty Anita, shared her recollections of Hawaiian fishing customs practiced in the Kāne'ōhe Bay fisheries. Of particular interest are the things she learned about the fish trap, Pā'ōhua, on the shore of Keawaiki, Mōkapu. Personal release of the interview records was granted to Maly on April 21, 1995.

Describing the fisheries and practices of families at Mōkapu in the early 1900s – accounts told to her, by her mother:

AG: ...We want to talk about Mōkapu and its relationship to the family, and as I recall being told about it. Mōkapu was a place that most families, not because it was so sacred, but because it was a food basket, it was a supermarket. All of Mōkapu was that. With the fishponds and the deep sea fishing that could be done at that particular time. But let me give you a scene of what Mōkapu was like say in 1900.

In 1900 the reef system around Mōkapu was wide. Very wide. You look at Mōkapu today, and you don't see any...especially if you go to Kū'au side; you don't see any of the vast sand beaches that were there. That connected with this reef that went out maybe about 300 yards or so...all outside. Even Kū'au, there was around Kū'au there was a little sand beach, a sand area outside of Kū'au, with a little canoe, ah...

KM: Landing?

AG: A canoe landing, yes.

KM: You remember that canoe landing then?

AG: I don't remember that, my mother is telling me about that, because every summer they would go there. There were coconut trees galore over there [The description of Mōkapu was handed down from grandmother and great-grandmother to Anita's mother; AG: 4/21/95]. And that all along the reef along the western side of Mōkapu was for *he'e* and for the white crab. But mainly, it was a...for me anyway, the way I get the story, and it's because there were not too many men involved, that during the summer, it was like a woman's time. You know, they talk about all the women going with the *keiki*, the children, and they would camp out there, say like from June to maybe about September, even October. But, they would stay there and they would fish. And the women did not fish with poles or anything because of this underwater fishpond...

Called Pā'ōhua. That was their real trip to Mōkapu. In that these women would just squat at the *mākāhā* (gate) of the Pā'ōhua, they time it for when the tide was going out. But they'd stand there with their nets, and many women indeed, just with their *mu'umu'u* would just squat right at the *mākāhā* and as the fish were trying to come out of the Pā'ōhua during low tide, they would catch their share. And all the women from the different families took turns...



KM: ...‘Ae. So talking about the women fishing at Pā‘ōhua.

AG: Yes, I think that basically from what my mom said, they had so much fun there, and it was...she never...there were men there I’m sure, but mostly when she talked about it, it was always with Freddy Kalani’s mother, Tutu ‘A’ahulole. Have you heard about her?

KM: ‘Ae, ‘ae.

Discusses the lobster fishery:

AG: Okay. She, my *Tūtū* Kahanupā‘oa, the Kukahiwa matriarch, which was Lilia Kukahiwa, and the Ahuna...next to the church [St. Ann’s] is that family Ahuna... and this woman, actually, the Ahuna would be *Tūtū* lady. I want to say Kekio, but its not Kekio... anyway, it was that ah... and I like to use the word, “the friendly alliance” of these women who would do this every year. They would go there, and it sounded like such a beautiful time. The sun was out, they had enough wind to dry their fish right on the rocks, you know, and crab. My mother used to say that when she was little, they would go there and eat their fill of the white crab that was there. I don’t know what they called it. But it was a white crab especially for He‘eia. Now my uncle, Leonard Kea must be in his 80s also. But he could tell the name of all of the reefs in Kāne‘ohe Bay. He could tell you some stories. Talk about connecting [landscapes and resources].

Another thing, it is noted for was the Disappearing Rock of Kū‘au. That is where the lobster was. And when it was calm and the tide low, my *tūtū* used to row out with the boat with my uncle Sonny and my mother on the boat, and they would go around Kū‘au where you could see this rock at low tide, and my *tūtū* would throw the big rock for her boat, you know to anchor it. And then she would just say to my mother and my uncle, she would just say, “be prepared when I come up.” Okay, and of course, the trip is that they were...well, always when she came up, they were not prepared. But, my *tūtū* would dive down and she would pick lobster one at a time, and she would put each lobster one on top of the others back until she maybe about a dozen, and she would come up and she would throw the lobsters in the boat. And of course, my uncle and my mom were never prepared [chuckles] they’d all scamper around. But they would put the lobster in the bag. That’s how she caught lobster. She would dive, get the lobster... And that’s what I thought was interesting, because you know, as a little kid you’re always saying, “How can she not get hurt? The lobster is going to bite her.” But, it was this trick of putting them one on top of the other and they held on to each other... But the white crab was one of the delicacies that they would eat to their heart’s content.

First catch were always given to *Kū* and *Hina*:

But you know always too, it was always the first that was caught, that they put one for Kū and one for Hina. And there also was, you know, my mom said that there was a big rock that had a bowl in it, and that’s where they would throw all the fish, it would hold it. And then...

KM: Was this... do you know about where, what area...

AG: Where Kū‘au, where its... you know where they have that beautiful house now?

KM: That’s the one, up top [General’s cottage]?

AG: The beach used to be right there, all sand.

KM: So on the Kāne‘ohe–He‘eia side?

AG: Yes.

KM: If we look at the map [HTS Plat 2043]. I brought this map along, its Plat 2043, it was first drawn in 1882, but... So here’s Kū‘au.



AG: The Pā'ōhua would have been around here.

KM: That's right, in around here. See here's Kū'au, and there's the little dip, and there's the other hill, and that's where the general's house is there.

AG: This is where the general's house is. But all this stuff was over here. All that...

KM: And this was all white sand in here you said?

AG: Yes! Yes! That's why this [Pā'ōhua] was so valuable. Because only during the high tide would fish be able to come in from here [pointing towards the natural deep water channels], you know.

KM: There's a natural channel or something, yeah?

AG: Yes. See this part here was all sand [pointing to the shore line between Kū'au and Pali-kilo] and right around here was a little beach, and you'd hit it. But when you came around this way, the sand beach went all the way out here, and the canoe landing was here [pointing to the ocean side of He'eia--Heleloa beaches]. Over here was the canoe landing.... Oh the canoe landing and the sand. [Pointing to the map] See all of this? Well all of this was sand.

KM: Out here. So sand out along this area here?

AG: That reef yeah. And then it would...you know, see now the water breaks closer to Kū'au because they dredged out this side here. They dredged, they dredged all of this. This is all gone [pointing to the previous location of the *papa* {reefs} which ran between Kū'au and Davis Point], all gone. Its all gone, you know. And its really sad because what it did when they started dredging, it created a new... all new, and that's how come today, this is a good surf spot. Wasn't here, was no surf spot here in 1900. Only after the dredging began did they lose all of that. But basically, you know, nobody ever taught me that Mōkapu was sacred, it is only recently that I've gotten that . How sacred it is you know. Because I've done more work. But most of my research has been on the families of He'eia, and land connected...

...But as far as Mōkapu, I do have that memory... mainly, what they said was, "That it was a time for them to go out during the summer months when they could fish, when they could go and... Because even men you know, you have to remember women were not allowed to do fishing per se "fishing." They had their thing to do, which was the Pā'ōhua. That's all that they could catch. Of course, it was quite a supermarket, because it had *humuhumu*, *weke*, you have the *moana*, you have the *manini*, you have the *humuhumu*, the *hīnālea*, all that.

KM: Did you hear of *uhu*?

AG: Oh yes! They fished for all of that, because even in our time when my uncle would... We couldn't go to Mōkapu any more, I think it was actually...when you say in the 40s, there were still people living there, I find that hard to believe. Because my mom remembers, and told me that after 19...I think it was 1937, they couldn't go there any more...

AG: See, my family had nothing to do with those lots they were selling for houses. What it was for them, was that every year they had the right to go there to do their fishing, and to do their worshipping of their gods. And that was very heavy because my mom always impressed on me that Kū and Hina were the principal reasons you know, and the people [deity] that they would share with was Kū and Hina.

KM: And you said that there was also a stone bowl?

AG: There was a big stone bowl that would, that they would put all their fish in and...

KM: Was that by Pā'ōhua or Kū'au?



AG: It was on the beach between the Kū and Hina and between the Kāne and Kanaloa. Remember that they had the Kāne and Kanaloa to commemorate the Pā'ōhua? And that big stone with the deep bowl in it was sitting right on the beach, approximately between these two features. Now, supposedly Kū and Hina was way over here near Kū'au, you know, a little bit on the hill. And then there is the Kāne and Kanaloa little place of honor [shrine]. Because of the building of the Pā'ōhua there. And that big bowl was somewhere in the middle.

KM: Okay. You'd mentioned in the story about Pā'ōhua and how Kāne and Kanaloa were commemorated there. And there were two names, this cove was called Keawa...nui

AG: Keawanui.

KM: And Keawaiki was on this side over here evidently.

AG: Yes, let me see, where's my glasses? See the features are still there. See this is...this is Keawanui, this is Keawaiki. Yes, it's the small hill. This one over here is Keawanui.

Discusses changes to landscape and fisheries following the dredging and fill of the reefs around Mōkapu and Kāne'ōhe Bay – ca. 1937-1945:

KM: Okay. When you look at the photographs that McAllister took in 1930 and then that aerial photograph [Army Corps October 2, 1930] that I was mentioning, that's shot from here...

AG: Looking in.

KM: You can see now, that everything has been changed...

AG: Yes, all. The extensive bulldozing and dredging...see actually, what they did also, when the dredged, the dredger would dredge, put it all on this barge and the barge would go out here and fill this part up. They would continuously refill, and indeed they created over 300 acres right in here [pointing to the filled area which supports the hangars] with all the fill that they made. This is, the only reason they did that was because of the runway. But it did you know, it ruined everything. And then the dredging that they did in here, you know because all you've got is nothing but boulders [pointing to the Keawanui-Pali-kilo shoreline]. There's a small little area, there's a small little area over here with a little beach.

KM: That's right, there's a small little area where Hina lays on the water's edge now...

AG: But, that's the only...and it's only a small spit of sand, maybe about five feet wide, that's it. The rest is all boulders. And I got just sick when I looked at it, because it was not so. It was all sand, a sand beach that extended out. You know like Kekepa is there? The reef went out to here you know. And this is all newly created. So really, the only connection and the only stories I can tell you is really what they did every summer until they were told they could no longer go back, which I think occurred about 1937...

KM: That's interesting...

AG: Oh Yes. Pā'ōhua, I knew about Kū'au, I knew about the disappearing [stone of Kū'au]...actually when I first heard about Kū'au, it was in the context of that. The stone that disappeared, you know. The hidden rock, *pōhaku* of Kū'au. But as I grew up of course, I said "yes, that's Kū'au," but the disappearing rock is part of Kū'au. But that one there, my uncle talked of many, many times during the summer and that my great grandmother, Kahanupā'oa was indeed a known fisherwoman in the *ahupua'a* of He'eia. That people used to be amazed at her being able to fish very well, and she had the eye to for *he'e*. You know that certain people do have the eye for it and are able to gather all this...



Sadao and Minnie (Wong) Haitsuka
Kāneʻohe Bay Fisheries and the Mōkapu Fishponds
April 18, 1995 – Interview with Kepā Maly⁴ (KPA Photo No. SH-MH041895)

The late Sadao Haitsuka was born at Pāpaʻaloha, Hawaiʻi in 1914 and moved to Kāneʻohe, Oʻahu by 1916. Shortly after their move, Sadao's father began working for Kāneʻohe Ranch with A.S. Chaney. By the early 1920s, his father was farming a large section of Luluku, growing taro and later, bananas. At early ages, Sadao and his nine brothers and one sister took on responsibilities on the farm, and some of them began fishing as well.



Both Mr. Haitsuka and his wife, Minnie Wong-Haitsuka, are very knowledgeable about families and events in the Kāneʻohe area from the 1920s. One of the many observations they provide in the interview, is a description of the closing of Kāneʻohe Bay to fishermen, following the outbreak of World War II. And of particular interest to this study is Sadao's detailed descriptions of pond use and pond modifications made in the 1950s. Sadao notes that by the 1950s, the Kāneʻohe Bay side wall of Nuʻupia Fishpond had collapsed. He and his brother-in-law, Keichi Okihiro, rebuilt the entire wall making use of equipment and other resources of the family's tractor and trucking business. The wall was widened, and the *mākāhā* was placed on the Halekou Pond side of the new Nuʻupia wall (near the present Alpha Gate H-3 entrance). Mr. Haitsuka describes stocking fish (*ʻamaʻama* and *awa*) in the ponds, use of the *mākāhā*, and harvesting and marketing the fish.

Mr. Haitsuka granted his personal release of the interview records to Maly on November 4, 1996.

KM: Thank you both so much for taking the time to see us this morning.

SH: Oh.

KM: I've enjoyed so much [seeing your fishponds outside]. You're out here in Kapoho, taking care of your own fishponds again. Your place is beautiful... And that you are still working your fishponds like before. So, what I'd like to ask if I could Mr. Haitsuka, if you would give us your full name please?

SH: Yes, my name is Sadao Haitsuka.

KM: And what year and date were you born please?

SH: I was born in the Big Island, at Papaloha [Pāpaʻaloha, North Hilo].

KM: Pāpaʻaloha?

⁴ Also in company of Dr. Diane Drigot, Head, Environmental Affairs Division, MCBH.



SH: Yes.

KM: Okay.

SH: 1914.

KM: 1914, and the month and day?

SH: January the 4th...

KM: ...Okay, you lived down in He'eia, by the fishpond area also?

MH: No, on the main road.

KM: On the main road, sort of by the bridge?

MH: Where the school is.

SH: No, you know where the King Intermediate School is?

KM: Oh is that across from Nishi Camp?... [thinking] No Nishi Camp was more low.

SH: Yes Nishi Camp was more down.

KM: ... Okay, so when I was talking with Mits Uchibori, that is how I had learned that your brother-in-law, [Keichi] Okihiro...

SH: Yes.

KM: And you folks had cared for some of the fishponds out at Mōkapu. So I went and spoke with your sister a few weeks ago and Mike her son; so we did an interview with them, and that's how she...Shizue had said that you were living up here and that we should try and talk with you folks...

KM: What did you do as a child when you lived on O'ahu?

SH: Well, the only thing I did was help my dad on the farm.

KM: And your father had a farm in what area?

SH: Luluku.

KM: Luluku.

SH: He was there, I don't know how many years. He worked for the Kāne'ōhe Ranch, when Mr. Chaney was [manager]. I don't know how many years, maybe about...oh, I can not remember. Maybe about four or five years, he was there.

KM: What did papa do?

SH: I don't know what he did for the ranch, maybe a handy man there...

KM: And did papa become a fisherman?

SH: No, no, never was a fisherman. Farmer all his life...

KM: How many years were you doing construction before your brother-in-law, with Blackie Yanagihara, got you into the fishponds?

SH: Well from about... [brief discussion between Mr. and Mrs. Haitsuka regarding the starting date of this activity] 1939 we started here, up till then I was with the City.

KM: Okay, so you started Haitsuka Brothers?

MH: No, it was Kāne'ōhe Tractor Service at that time. And the office was at home. Right in Kāne'ōhe...

Discusses Kāne'ōhe Bay fisheries and use of the fishponds:

KM: How did you get involved with Blackie Yanagihara?



SH: Well, he was in Honolulu. I think the wife was the sister of that...

MH: Otani.

SH: Otani, the big fish market in Honolulu. Then he moved to Kāne'ohe. And Blackie, he used to do that glass bottom boat.

KM: Oh, okay, from He'eia Pier?

SH: No, no, from Coral Gardens.

KM: Oh the yacht club by where your sister lives?

SH: No, no, Coral Garden, that's Waikalua side, right on that beach.

KM: There's one little boat pier down...

SH: It's all broken now. He used to have that pier.

KM: [opening up a map] We're looking, I'm going to pull this map out, this is HTS Plat 2043.

SH: Uh-hmm.

KM: I'm just going to orient us a little bit...This is He'eia fishpond. Here's 'O'ohope Fishpond. This is where your sister lives, right here.

SH: Oh that small one, yeah.

KM: The small fishpond. Here's Coconut Island, you come around Waikalua fishpond...

SH: Yes.

KM: Right here's the boat harbor, Waikalua. Had before.

SH: Yes, yes.

KM: So this is where the Coral Garden boat tour went out?

MH: Uh-hmm.

SH: Yes, the glass bottom boat.

KM: Oh, so wasn't at He'eia?

SH: No, no, He'eia was after this place.

KM: Okay, so Blackie was running tours, yeah?

SH: Yes, he used to run the tours out to Coconut Island, right around the reef and he used to come back here.

KM: Do you remember about what year, what time maybe?

MH: Before the war.

SH: Well I was in business already, he was...he did this thing before my time, so I think it was about maybe 1930, somewheres around there.

KM: Did he used to go out at Mōkapu where Davis lived...and Aunty, you said you used to go out to Davis'?

MH: Uh-hmm.

KM: There was a pier out there.

SH: Yes, yes a long pier.

KM: Do you recall if his tour went out this side or was it primarily along this side, around Coconut Island and the coral [heads].



SH: No, the tour was here [pointing to the map], where is Coconut Island?

KM: Right here.

SH: Yes, he drove to here, there was all coral reef over here.

KM: Okay, I'm going to draw a line here, so he drove from here, around towards Coconut Island...

SH: Yes. And then you know around Coconut Island, there's a reef.

KM: An open channel, here's the channel.

SH: Yes. There's reef right around there. So he used to take the glass bottom boat right around here. Then they reach another reef some place here. He used to take them around this reef and back here.

KM: Did he go all the way around Coconut Island and come back through the reef?

SH: Yes, sometimes, sometimes he goes around, sometimes not.

KM: So who was going out on these tours?

SH: From Honolulu, from all the big hotels.

MH: Waikīkī.

SH: I guess he had some kind connection, so they bring them down. Yes, he was quite a big man over here at one time.

KM: And his wife's family you said was Otani, fish people?

SH: Yes, yes.

KM: So somehow, from his...War time came and his boat couldn't run any more...

SH: Oh yeah, oh yeah. No more, no more.

Kāne'ōhe Bay was closed off to fishermen during World War II:

KM: No one could go fishing even? Is that right?

SH: Can not, can not, yeah.

KM: People were not allowed to go out fishing in the ocean like that?

SH: Yes... Then after the war, the glass bottom...real, I don't know how many years after the war, the pier where he was doing, was no good, so he moved to He'eia. He'eia Pier...

KM: So later, Blackie was running his tours then out of the He'eia Pier side?

SH: Yes. I don't know how long he run and then he gave up.

KM: Now this is after the war?

SH: Yes, after he moved here [He'eia], I don't know maybe about two-three years I guess and then business wasn't too good.

MH: Who was running that?

SH: Joe Wale and Nāmanu the cripple guy.

KM: Nāmanu?

SH: Yes, he used to live at Waikalua too. I think he's gone too.

MH: He was nice to us, free rides all the time.

SH: Oh yeah, he used to take you folks all the time.

KM: And was nice, the reefs like that?



SH: Oh yes, oh the reefs there was...all kinds of coral fish, all kinds, all kinds.

KM: When they were dredging, like, did the dredging affect...? Do you know, do you remember what was the water like when they were dredging?

SH: Well it caused a little bit murky, but it wasn't that bad, cause see where they had dredged where the plane used to come, it used to have reefs all in there. They used to go fishing, anchor the boat, and we used to go fishing there.

KM: What you see [on the map], here's Coconut Island.

SH: Okay, all right.

KM: Now this is the reef in 1916, never cut.

SH: Yes, okay, you see that Coconut Island, we used to live, lets see now. We used to live...this is...

KM: Waikalua.

SH: Yes. This is...

KM: The He'eia fishpond.

SH: Yes.

KM: Here's your sisters place here.

SH: Yes. So we used to live here some place. And from here, we used to go fishing inside here, all this reefs here. Because there's a channel here. Here's the channel here [pointing to the map]. And this channel, almost smack when you go out, the reef was almost smack. We used to anchor alongside this channel to fish.

KM: Hook fish, what kind of fish you caught?

SH: Ohhh [with emphasis] all those small fish, *ōmaka* and all those little fish. Maybe some time *pāpio*. So when they dredged, they dredged all this out here.

KM: So when they were dredging, you were still fishing some time?

SH: Yes, yes.

KM: And didn't seem to affect water too much?

SH: No, no, well in here we didn't go, we came more around this side [pointing to the map].

KM: Ah, this is more open so it was being flushed out.

SH: Yes, yes, we came out this side.

Kekepa was good squidding ground:

KM: How about out towards Kekepa, you went out this Turtle Rock?

SH: Yes, we used to go squidding there. used to be a good squidding ground. And right below that that channel, I think maybe dredged quite a bit over there. So the squid ground over there all used to be a lot of squid you know. We used to go with the flat bottom boat, two people on each side, one on this side, one on this side. My brother-in-law used to park the boat and then we just sit in the boat. Then we see the squid move, we jump in the water. By the time we come out we get a sack full. We used to throw 'em in the washing machine to make 'em...

KM: Oh yeah, to make 'em soft.

SH: So much squid, not one or two.

KM: Oh yeah to *'upa'upa*, pound with hand, eh [laughs].



SH: Oh that's too much work [chuckles]. Yes, my brother-in-law was a fisherman.

KM: So is that how you folks...because you knew Blackie Yanagihara, and your brother-in-law and his name...?

SH: Keichi Okihiro.

Describes entry into Mōkapu fishponds, and restoration and modification of the ponds in the 1950s:

KM: You folks formed a relationship with Yanagihara?

SH: Yes, yes.

KM: About when was that, and what did you do?

SH: This is what you call, oh... [thinking of when it started]

MH: Late '50s.

SH: Yes. We know Blackie before the war, but this pond thing [at Mōkapu] was after the war.

MH: Yes, after the war.

SH: Fifty.

KM: So about 1950 is when you went to the pond?

SH: No, about a few years later, maybe about three or four years.

KM: So was the Korean war going on at that time, or just *pau*, you think when you went to the fishpond?

SH: Ahh, I wouldn't remember the Korean War. Maybe was going on yet.

KM: Now what we'd like to do...I'm going to fold this map up again, and we're also working with another map that I may refer to. It's a Marine Corps Base Hawaii map of the fishponds. What I'd like to do for right now is...This map 2043, it was originally done in 1882, Chaney redrew it in 1916. This map shows you Mōkapu, we were talking about Coconut Island over Here.

SH: Yes.

KM: You remember the *papa*, the reef, yeah, came all along here...

SH: Yes, yes.

KM: Shallow, there was a cove like in Mōkapu here.

SH: Yes.

KM: And the fishponds, what did you call the fishponds, did you have the Hawaiian name?

SH: No [chuckles], I can't remember. Had a name on the fishpond but we didn't bother.

KM: You just called it...

SH: Mōkapu fishpond. That's what we called it.

KM: Now one of the things that's interesting, you see this fishpond wall that's marked in the map here?

SH: Uh-hmm.

KM: Who did Blackie Yanagihara lease the fishpond from, do you remember?

SH: I think it was from the base. He knew somebody on the base.

KM: That's right, Castle was *pau* all ready. Henry at one time took care of Castle's leases...



SH: Oh yes, yes, he was all *pau*.

KM: He was *pau* with this area here?

SH: Yes.

KM: So you think it was the military. So we're talking by 1955?

SH: Oh yes, by 1955 we had it.

MH: After that, I think so.

SH: I remember was about three or four years, maybe more. But someplace around there anyway.

KM: Okay. Now you had mentioned earlier before we started recording, that we were looking at maybe 1960. That you were still working, or that you were working the pond in 1960?

MH: I know for a fact 1960, because I had surgery at that time.

SH: Yes, 1960 we were still there yet.

KM: Okay.

SH: So I think we got the pond...let's see '60? About '55, '56 I think. So was around there, I'm pretty sure. Now I kind of recall.

KM: Good, What did the pond...This map is 1916, did the pond look...if you recall, was it pretty much wide open? And its Hawaiian name is Nu'upia. Was it one pond wall on the Kāne'ōhe Bay side, a long stretch of pond? 'Cause this road, there was a road here, yeah, by that time?

SH: Oh yes, this went into the base.

KM: The older road came across over here like that [pointing to Kailua Bay side].

SH: Yes, alongside the rough ocean.

KM: There was one road...see get housing over here, this is 'Aikahi.

SH: Right.

KM: There was a road, and I'm going to show you a photograph, this photograph is 1924 [Army Air Corps October 1924]. And you see there's an old road across here. And you see that little channel, the white...

SH: Yes, that used to be that...the water used to disturb the road all the time. Sometimes you couldn't go through.

KM: Okay, a number of people remember that sometimes they would wait for the wave before they would come across.

SH: Yes, yes.

KM: See this wall here in the photograph?

SH: Yes.

KM: That's this pond. This is where the road cuts across for the old Marine Base Entrance, Mōkapu Boulevard.

SH: Yes, yes.

KM: Now, when you were working Nu'upia fishpond, Mōkapu fishpond...

SH: Yes.

KM: Was there a wall across this area here, or was it wide open, like in 1916 [pointing to the Chaney map]?



SH: You mean the wall here?

KM: Yes.

SH: The wall here, wasn't here. It was all mudflat.

KM: What we're trying to understand a little bit is, maybe what happened? Did you folks build some walls?

SH: Yes, well you see, we had the crane. We started from the what you call, the slope of that Kokokahi Road going, the old road, the land sloping to the pond [now Kāne'ohe Bay Drive].

KM: Okay...

SH: So we come in here, maybe about a hundred feet, and then from here we drove all... Yes this is the water, here, this is the road, and then we come all the way in. All the way in here and that main highway, Kokokahi Road used to be up here. The land comes down to the fishpond, comes right to the fishpond. From there, we had a house I think someplace around here.

KM: So you think you had a house about in here?

SH: Yes, where my brother-in-law used to...some nights he used to sleep there, all depends on when the fish come. Then someplace around here, from here on, the fishpond, we had a crane with a dragline, and we made the road from here on.

KM: So you widened the fishpond wall?

SH: Yes, yes.

KM: And made a road over here?

SH: Yes. And where is the rubbish pile here now.

KM: Right here is the place where the rubbish dump.

SH: Okay, right here. So we ended up, we ended up someplace around here. And used to be an open water, water that comes into that pond here. And there was open water here, and this wall, part of 'em was in. We fixed all that wall.

KM: So part of this was existing, but you fixed it.

SH: Yes, I think this is the one here.

KM: But you fixed it?

SH: Yes.

KM: So there was a smaller pond area here?

SH: Right, right. And there's a [sluice] gate over here. We made a gate here.

KM: You made a gate on this wall here?

SH: Yes. And then, we used to drive all the fish in from here, into this gate. Into this pond.

KM: Aha, so was this a stocking or holding pond?

SH: Yes, yes. So this was connected to this other gate too.

The young fish were plentiful at that time and they were easily 'herded' into the pond gate. The fish fry would naturally come towards that area of the pond. Keichi Okihiro and I would walk on the reef flats herding the fish with nets towards the gate entrance.

KM: So there was a gate here, and it also connected to the larger pond?

SH: Yes, right.



KM: So there was a gate there also, a fishpond gate?

SH: Yes, yes we made a gate.

KM: So it ran through here, through this channel, but it fed into this pond here?

SH: Oh yeah, yeah, yeah...

KM: So, was there a wall here in your time?

SH: Yes, this wall was here, we repaired it, made it good. So we could stock the fish.

KM: Was there a [sluice] gate between?

SH: Yes, there was a gate there too, but we fixed it all up.

KM: This is where there are some gates also, between Halekou pond and the big Nu'upia pond, yeah.?

SH: Yes.

KM: There are some gates, one, two...

KM: Okay. What kind of [sluice] gate system did you use to keep fish in or out like that?

SH: We had all fixed with board and about a quarter inch mesh eye, small eye net, so the little fish can not go in or out... Yes, about a quarter inch, about oh, maybe wider than this [gesturing]. A little wider than this [the table].

KM: So maybe about three something feet wide?

SH: Yes, wide. And we had just like a trap you know on that gate, a funnel type about ten inches big, oh maybe about a foot and a half long. And you know on the end, we had a flip cover, when the tide from the big ocean goes in here, the flip cover opens up and the little fish...sometimes, the one that comes here, goes in by itself. And when the tide quit, [it'd] flip closed by itself.

KM: Hmm, so the fish couldn't get out.

SH: Yes.

KM: And so this was like a funnel that you had in the gate?

SH: On the gate here. On the gate.

KM: Okay, how about this area here? This division, see, they've numbered these ponds now, one, two, three, and four?

SH: Umm.

KM: Was there a wall, do remember across this area?

SH: No. This had no wall across there. Oh maybe had before.

KM: A little island?

SH: All marsh land, all those marsh lands.

KM: And curious about this marshy area here, it looks like it's been cut up.

SH: This was all that marshland, that seaweed, that kind of ah...

KM: Succulent?

SH: Yes.

KM: 'Ākulikuli?

SH: 'Ākulikuli, yeah you squeeze 'em all. Down here was most of that. And in here, was further up below the farm land [on the 'Aikahi side] had a lot of *kiawe*...



KM: How were the fish, what kind of fish were you taking care of in here?

SH: Oh, the milkfish they call that, 'a'awa and the 'awa.

KM: Which one is bigger?

SH: Well the 'a'awa is the longer one, it's round and long. The *awa aua* is something like, look like *aku* you know, more round and sharp. And the big one comes about, in the pond, say about 3-4 pounds, but out in the ocean, maybe 10-15 pounds. The long one, comes about that big too, but the 'a'awa, long.

KM: And how is the fish, good?

SH: They use to make fish cake.

MH: The Chinese love that.

SH: That 'a'awa, the round one make good soup. The long one, we used to send to the market, people make fish cake.

DD: Which market, do you remember which market?

SH: The 'a'awa?

KM: Was Otani, Otani's...?

SH: Yes, yes.

KM: Were they the primary market, was Blackie's family...

SH: No, no, well he had the market, but when they take the fish, they get 'em to the auction. So he gave 'em to the auctioneer and sell 'em all there.

DD: At Otani's?

KM: No, no, the auction was a separate area, yeah?

SH: Yes, yes. Near the fish market. Otani had almost the whole big block, but all gone now. So the upper fish market, they still have someplace in there. I used to do fishes in there. I don't know where now, Kekaulike Street. Yes, someplace in there. Oh, they get all kind of fish, all the fishermen bring all the fish, all kind.

KM: How was the water in the pond?

SH: The water was good, clean.

KM: Good, clear water, you could... Did you go on boat or did you just stay around the edges?

SH: The pond wasn't that deep you know. Well the mud was about...some place about one foot of mud. But, as you come down toward the ocean side, you know, it's more coral. You get really little mud, not too much. So you can walk on it easy. But, you get further in the mud gets higher, hard to walk.

KM: So the water was about how deep would you say?

SH: Oh, on the low tide, maybe about a foot or a little over, but the high tide when the water comes up, you have better than two feet. Two feet water. But in the shallow area, you don't have that much alongside the land already. Maybe it's about 6-8 inches all along there.

KM: Did the fish need a certain kind of water mix? Was there some fresh water, salt...?

SH: Well, see the food the fish get is alongside the bank of the land.

KM: Primarily on the...?



SH: On the shallow side. That's where they feed on, on this side here [pointing on the map].

KM: Did you notice...you have ponds here in your yard, there's an area where fresh water is ejecting out. Was there any fresh water that you saw welling out?

SH: Not in that pond, not in that pond. Because I don't think have...We looked around, but I don't think they have fresh water.

KM: Hmm... Now, I'd like to ask, if I could, just to make sure I've got an understanding here. Where was...on the Kāne'ōhe Bay side of this wall here, okay, so this is the fishpond?

SH: Yes.

KM: Now you widened this wall.

SH: Yes, this one to here.

KM: So that you could make...drive across.

SH: Uh-hmm.

KM: Where was the main [sluice] fed into this fishpond here.

SH: Well, at the time that we put the gate over here, it was all broken, no more gate.

KM: Ah-ha, the whole wall?

SH: Yes, no more.

KM: The whole wall.

SH: Yes, well maybe had little rocks and things, but the water was just going in and out, in and out.

KM: So from the Kokokahi Road side, out towards the dump and game farm side, the wall was pretty much broken up?

SH: Yes, all broken down, and we rebuilt it.

KM: So you rebuilt this section of wall.

SH: Yes.

KM: And put in one new gate or...

SH: Yes, we put in several gates. We put a new one here, and the ones inside here. I think about three gates we put in. About three gates.

KM: Okay, so but along this entire extent facing the bay, there was no gate over here.

SH: No gate, just one gate, we put in, one gate.

KM: And so that one gate was close to the dump site?

SH: Yes, right there.

KM: And that fed water into the pond...

SH: Yes, all this pond here.

KM: And then you had a gate here, here, and the other gate...

SH: Yes, and from the rough ocean, the water came in.

KM: And so water in here, you had a gate, there is evidence of two gates...that you can see evidence of, and now it may be earlier than yours...

SH: Yes, earlier.

KM: Then there's two gates over here. These gates were the primary gates that you used?



SH: Yes [hesitates, clarifies] right up in here [close to the dump site].

Discusses stocking the fishponds:

KM: Did you folks have to go out and stock fish, or did you just let the fish come in?

SH: Oh yeah, right where the rubbish you know, land fill; the wide mud flat over there. When there was a little...oh you could see them come in by the hundreds and hundreds. And we'd just open the gate, and we go with the small net and just squeeze 'em in.

KM: Oh, so a group of you...you were saying earlier that maybe three or so?

SH: Yes, maybe two or three people would go.

KM: High tide with the water coming in?

SH: Yes the high tide, you gotta go with the high tide.

KM: When the water is flowing into the pond walls?

SH: Yes, that's when all the little fish come in.

KM: So you never needed to go out into the bay and gather...?

SH: No, no. Never did. And had the mullet, but the two was the most, was the 'a'awa and awa. The two was the main ones that grows over there. Fast, fast growing.

DD: Did you see the barracuda, *kākū*?

SH: Barracuda, yeah they come every now and then, the little guys and they grow up in the pond. Used to get guys come in and go [gestures].

KM: Oh reel.

SH: Yes reel.

SH: Oh those guys, yeah, if you don't get rid of them, you won't get the small ones. They eat 'em all up [chuckles]. But they're good eating you know. Yes, good meat.

KM: Were there eels in the ponds also, do you remember?

SH: Oh yeah, eels, balloon fish, yeah.

KM: And had big crabs too.

SH: Samoan crab, Samoan crab, yeah. After we close everything [the walls] up, they start breeding in there. Before, they go in and out.

KM: So when you repaired this wall, some were trapped inside?

SH: Oh yeah.

KM: How about, were the eels...as a fishpond keeper, did you consider any of these fish, eel, crabs a problem, or...?

SH: No, eel wasn't a problem. The crab, the barracuda. We had balloon fishes, but they don't make trouble. The balloon fishes eat crab or shellfish. So people used to come, that balloon fish a delicacy. Worth a lot of money too, some guys used to come, used to go...

DD: ...What about the tilapia, do you remember the tilapia being that abundant?

Introduction of tilapia to Kāne'ōhe Bay:

SH: No, never one tilapia was there when we were there. They migrated all the way from where Henry Wong's house is, all the way to where his pond is [at] Waikalua. Yes, that's where the tilapia started. Fresh water.

DD: From where?



KM: Waikalua side.

SH: Waikalua, that's where the river stream ends up in the ocean. From there, it started, it wasn't bad. It came in, came in, and then all the way, I think we had Henry Wong, before Henry Wong, where my nephew lives [along the Mikiola fishpond], alongside the...his place, that's the...

KM: You mean Mike [Okihiro]?

SH: Yes Mike.

KM: Yes, Mike's place, tilapia all...

SH: You know where Mike lives eh?

KM: Yes, my father is across the street from Mike.

SH: Yes, was all clear, not one tilapia! You can find a lot of shrimp, you can find a lot of baby mullet...

MH: Didn't they bring that in?

SH: They brought it in. What it is, you know the State, the State Hospital, cause they had nice streambed and watercress patches, so they brought it there. From there on, the water comes to the ocean. So all them migrated. Now [laughs]...

KM: All over, eh...?

SH: ...Before I came here, where my sister lives, I used to have a glass bottom boat parked over there all the time. We used to go fishing all the time, throw net, and then...the boat has no more top on it... Had a long kerosene torch and a five gallon tank, kerosene, and we go out. Two or three people go out, one handle the boat, one handle the tank, and handle the net. The tilapia was in that ocean. I used to catch them in the ocean, they was about this big.

KM: Hmm, 12 inches or so?

SH: About this big, about this wide.

KM: Hand wide.

SH: I brought 'em home one time, they good to eat. Nothing wrong. Big bones, more big bone than fish in the ocean, not fine bone. Yes, they're good to eat. But the ones inside [the Mōkapu ponds], I think they adapted to the salt water now. So, I think the meat is almost the same. The people here...

MH: The Filipinos.

SH: The Filipinos, when I first came here...

MH: Five dollars a pound.

SH: They have all the black one...

MH: They prefer the black, yeah.

SH: I was getting rid of them when I was building all the pond, so I met this guy up in the...he had a little store in Pāhoa, a food stand, so I asked him if he take tilapia, and he said "Oh yes." Every Friday when we used to go to the market and come back, I used to subtract... I had about five gallons, sometimes more tilapia. I used to take it to him. Now, I can not because I feed 'em all to [laughs]

KM: You feed 'em to your [c. 20 pet 'ulua], but this is the golden tilapia, yeah, that you grow in your pond now.



SH: Yes. He wants them, but I told him I'm sorry [chuckles].

KM: You have in your ponds, there's sort of three large pond enclosure you have in your...

SH: Yes about three, yeah.

KM: The outer pond you have about six big 'ulua?

SH: Yes I have about six big ones and about 13 or 14 of those [juvenile 'ulua], I'd say about a couple of dozen mix up.

KM: Yes, beautiful. they're beautiful... ...Over in the Mōkapu fishponds, never have *limu*, or had?

SH: No, no, never have *limu*. Maybe too much salt water.

KM: For that kind of activity, and in some cases, not enough agitation also.

SH: Well could be, yeah.

KM: Because I know along this side, some of the old families talk about gathering *limu*, as well as along these areas where you have more agitation [the Kailua Bay and outer Kāne'ōhe Bay sides of the peninsula].

SH: Yes, yes, outside.

KM: Over there, you have more stimulation of the bay, Kokokahi side and He'eia, and you sister's fishpond side.

SH: Yes, oh we used to have a big bed over there. Nobody have to worry, you want, you just go out. I brought some here, but [pause].

KM: Never grow?

SH: No, can not.

KM: It may be too warm, may the water is too warm too.

SH: Yes, it's warm too.

KM: Cause this water here is being fed by warm water coming out from the lava tubes.

SH: Yes, from the mountains right. Yes, I tried lobster, I tried *kumu*, all those, squid.

KM: Yes, I think too warm.

SH: Can not.

Harvesting fish from the Mōkapu ponds; use of *mākāhā* (sluice gates):

DD: How did you harvest the fish?

SH: The harvesting, see the gate you saw over there. See, we get two gates, one here, one front and one back.

KM: Across the width of the wall?

SH: Yes, one in the inside, and one on the outside. So when we...like harvest the fish, we have "fee gate." You gotta watch for the tide. When the tide comes up, maybe early in the morning or early in the night, whatever. Then when the tide comes in, we let the gate out and let the water come in. And then when the tide is all pack, we close it for a little while you know. Then before the tide moves out, what ever you want, one or two, but you gotta be there [slaps hands], you gotta watch, because when the tide keep on going, you can see the fish going into the trap. They come inside, they want to get out to the blue ocean, eh. So there was a screen wire, swimming up and down...So when the tide just about stop, you close the gate.



DD: How many people did you need to do that?

SH: Only one.

KM: Yes, cause you're operating gates. Now you had said there were three gates, and I want to understand. This is the fishpond wall here. Here's the gate that's on the pond side.

SH: Yes, yes.

KM: Here's the ocean gate.

SH: Yes.

KM: Was there another gate in between that you kept, or...?

SH: Yes, they have one more gate, but we didn't catch fish in there. It's just a gate.

KM: So you would...to get fish in on the ocean side, we open this gate...

SH: Yes, yes.

KM: High tide, both gates open.

SH: Yes.

KM: Now, when you're catching fish, they're stocking up in this place here trying to get out to the ocean side gate?

SH: Yes, yes.

KM: So you just open...

SH: Even the...but the little guys, once they get inside, they won't try to get out. Most of them, they out in the shallow. They stick around where the food. That's where they go. Very seldom they come out to the deep. All the good size ones, maybe a little over a pound.

KM: Uh-hmm, so you're harvesting, so one person is harvesting the fish in between the gates on the wall.

SH: Yes, inside the gates. Yes that's all, maybe sometimes, the fish is plentiful in there, you work this gate, or you work this gate.

KM: The different gates on the ponds, I see.

SH: About three gates I think we have...

Discusses the value of the Mōkapu fishponds:

SH: ...If you can develop this, boy it's a nice fishpond. Beautiful fishpond, there's no more like that in the whole island. No more.

DD: Why do you say that?

SH: That's the best fishpond, nobody knows, but for raise fish, and you don't have to work hard for put the fish in here. Easy! All fishpond like that He'eia fishpond, they gotta go out and look around for fish, catch with the net, put 'em in the boat, put 'em in the car, and bring 'em. By the time they come back, maybe about one-fourth, a third all wasted, yeah. Hard.

KM: Uh-hmm, so because of the natural ocean here...?

SH: Yes.

KM: The fish were attracted into this...

SH: Yes, this was the best fishpond. Anybody can develop this, maybe some day, you can be a millionaire. Oh yes, yes. You know with the fish price now, by golly. you don't have to worry about fish, the fish just spawn in here, spawn in this water, all along here [pointing to the former main pond gate described earlier], all come around here.



DD: Would the *nehu* go in there? The *nehu*?

SH: The *nehu*, they won't go too far in. We used to do a lot of *nehu* fishing, catching where Henry Wong house is.

KM: Yes, yes, a little further over here.

SH: Yes, that side. There's no more that kind of fishing, like the *ōmaka*, used to be. You know the little guys, you could catch by the big chest before. For the *nehu*, about one hour like that, then go home, clean yourself up. Then you go fishing for the day, oh! That thing used to bite. You know on the line, we get three hooks, and three [fish] come up.

KM: For the *ōmaka*?

SH: Yes, *ōmaka*, *ōpelu*, and *halalū*. Yes, used to be, I don't know now... [chuckles]

SH: ...And you see this point?

Recalls fishes of the reef system; noted that after dredging the bay, it was never the same:

KM: Kū'au [Pyramid Rock].

SH: You come here, come here and it's right in there. Well this is where, right outside, the coral reef came right up to the land over here. Right up, and from here, people used to come with the car, come up park around and they walk down. The squid used to be really plentiful, oh man. And you could...we used to lay that fish trap, there's a lot of...oh, in the flat area, there's a lot of crevices and they used to set the trap in there. Oh [with emphasis] all kind *kūmū*, *moana*.

KM: Oh yes.

SH: Yes, there's a whole lot of fish in there, but when they dredged here, everything went.

KM: Hmm. Did you ever talk; did you ever see any old Hawaiian fisher-people, fishermen or anybody, go out talk story with anybody?

SH: No, not the people in there, the only guy I know was Davis.

KM: George?

SH: Yes, but they had a house in here [pointing to the Davis' Mōkapu home].

KM: Yes, here's Davis Point here.

SH: Yes, I think here.

KM: And so had the pier that ran off here.

SH: Yes, had the pier. We used to come with the boat to the pier.

KM: And so you knew George Davis?

SH: Yes.

KM: And Aunty Minnie, you were saying that...and you knew William Kalani them, yeah?

MH: Uh-hmm.

KM: Did you...by chance, and I know like this is how many years ago? But, did you ever hear them talk story about Mōkapu or fishing, or things that you remember?

MH: Not that I remember.

SH: Because before, those people, there were no more road, no road going toward this place. The only way they could come was by boat. That's the old people.

KM: Do you remember the families going out summer time?

SH: Oh yes, yes, by boat! And we used to go with the boat to the pier here, yeah.



KM: Did you ever see families like...we spoke with some of the families and other people remember that when they were children, or their parents tell as children that families would often go out for the whole summer at Mōkapu. Did you ever hear anything about that? And they would go fish, gather salt and stuff.

SH: Oh yeah, the Davis here, George Davis here used to tell us that. He used to tell us all the story... Well, I'm 81 years old, so maybe a little bit I could remember.

KM: Yes, that's wonderful. And you know, that you are willing to share your time and that you might be able... they're able to get something together for you folks to come down.

MH: Oh yes.

SH: If you think it is important, and if you think that I could help...I don't think so.

KM: Well you see, and that's it, you made an important statement about the value of these fishponds earlier. Could you restate how you feel about these ponds? Good...

SH: Oh, I'd like to have 'em back any time. Why you think we came here [Kapoho, Puna] look around like this [referring to his own fishponds he made in the area around his home]. It's a lot of fun.

KM: Yes.

SH: And today, that pond, if you have 'em today, I'm not saying out of my mouth, but, you can make a lot of money. Just leave 'em that pond. Easy, easy. People don't know it. People who never go fishpond, they don't know it. It's the best place in the bay over there. You can not have any more better place than that.. Have all kind of ponds, I went to every pond, all over this side, the windward side.

KM: Kāne'ohe, Kahalu'u...

SH: Yes, even Kahuku. Not like that, [Mōkapu], that's the best. The way you could gather everything so easy. And, it's not hard to restore all that. Yes, even they tell you couldn't, but you know, hard work...

KM: Take hard work, but that's how.

SH: Oh yes. You know the fish, once you get them in, while you working, you know a lot of places, they keep away from you. Yes we did put 'em in, we got to do a lot of work.

MH: Oki was a very good man, a nice man...



**Arthur Hyde Rice Jr. (Haunani Thompson-Rice)
Mōkapu and Kāneʻohe-Kailua Bay Fisheries; and
A Sighting of Moku Pāpapa
October 3, 17, and 21, 1996 – with Kepā Maly**

Arthur Hyde Rice Jr. was born in 1911 at Līhuʻe, Kauaʻi, and is descended from the prominent missionary family tied to Punahou and Kauaʻi. Arthur's grandfather was the noted historian and collector of Hawaiian legends, William Hyde Rice. In 1912, Arthur's father, A.H. Rice Sr. moved his family to Oʻahu, where he was involved in an investment brokerage, and operated a ranch in the Kailua area of Windward Oʻahu. By c. 1915, A.H. Rice Sr. secured a lease of the *ʻili* [land division] of Heleloa on Mōkapu Peninsula from Harold Castle, and also managed the *ʻili* of Mōkapu (the property generally associated with the Davis family). The elder Rice kept cattle on the peninsula during the winter, and grazed them on the inland pasturage at Oneawa during the summers.

By about 1920, Arthur Rice was riding with the cowboys, driving cattle between the family's Mōkapu and Oneawa pastures. While driving cattle Arthur was exposed to a variety of cultural sites and resources on the peninsula. Prior to this interview, Arthur prepared a diagram of sites and features in the *ʻili* of Mōkapu and Heleloa as he recalled them in 1925. He provides readers with detailed descriptions of fisheries and fishing practices around Kailua, Kāneʻohe; and some discussion on commercial deep sea fishing operations during, and shortly after World War II. Mr. Rice was at one time a manager of Tuna Packers.

On October 21, 1996, Mr. Rice accompanied Maly on a field visit to Mōkapu, and pointed out the locations of the former shrine of Kū and Hina. Mr. Rice granted his personal release of the interview records, and field notes on October 21, 1996.

Discussing the Nuʻupia fishpond complex:

KM: ...May I ask one more question regarding the Nuʻupia Fishpond, this complex here?

AR: Uh-hmm.

KM: Do you remember a *mākāhā*, the sluice gates. . . ?

AR: Yes.

KM: Where do you think that might have been?

AR: Well [thinking], I know what a *mākāhā* is, and would guess that it was somewhere around here [pointing to the location on the map].

KM: Sure. I have to tell you that this is exactly what Uncle George Davis says for that time also.

AR: [chuckles, nodding his head]

HR: [laughs]

KM: And he is a year younger than you.

AR: Is that right?

KM: Uh-hmm, but he spent a great deal of time out here in his youth. So what you are saying about the *mākāhā* being on this side at that time, is what Uncle George says.

AR: Yes.

KM: [thinking] I'm going to push your memory a little bit here.

AR: Uh-hmm.

KM: Do you remember any other walls. . . did you ever go into the fishponds at all, that you recall?



AR: Well, my father was a great throw net fisherman, and old John Kalaukoa, who lived right here [pointing to the location on the map], lived right here, a Hawaiian family.

KM: John Kalaukoa.

Describes lobster fishing on the Kailua Bay side of Mōkapu Peninsula:

AR: And he had a big old square house, right on the edge here, and he showed my father all these *moi* [thread fish] holes. So I learned them from my father, and I don't think anyone's been working them. And we also laid lobster nets.

KM: Ahh, even on this Kailua side here?

AR: Yes. [chuckles] When I came back from Kau-ai after the military had taken over, and I wanted to go down and try my luck. I went up to the gate and said "Gee, how can I get a pass to go in?" He [a gate guard] said, "Well, you have to know somebody." I said, "Well, how about you giving me a pass?" [chuckles] And the guy did.

HR: [laughs]

AR: So I went in, and I laid one lobster net. I went back the next morning and it had twenty-four lobsters [chuckles]. It hadn't been touched you know, for many years.

KM: Yes, so the *'āina* had really. . .

AR: Yes, come fat [chuckles]

HR: [chuckles with husband]

AR: I haven't been back since.

KM: So you think this was shortly after 1941?

AR: Yes [thinking], let's see now.

KM: Would it have been after the [December 1941] attack some time?

AR: Yes [thinking]. . . It was after my father passed away.

KM: When did papa pass away?

AR: [thinking] I was living on Kau-ai at the time. . . Oh, it was 195. . . [thinking]

HR: Five.

KM: Oh! Okay, I'm just marking a few of these things on the map also.

HR: Yes, so it was around there that I caught 24 lobsters in one net. There were some beautiful *moi* holes also. Particularly down at the end here, where the cliff is [pointing to the map].

KM: Ah-haa, so in the Kī'i Cove area?

AR: Yes.

KM: And along the edge of this side [pointing to the map], so good *moi* holes eh?

AR: Yes. Thanks to John Kalaukoa, he showed my father. . . This end of Kailua Bay [pointing towards the eastern side] was the Māhoe family.

KM: Yes, ah-haa. Solomon?

AR: Solomon Māhoe, and my father, as far as I know, was the first house to be built on Kailua beach. There might have been some down here [gesturing towards the east], but the rest of the. . .that's where we're sitting right now.

KM: You said this is a five-acre parcel, about, that you father originally acquired here?



AR: Yes, uh-hmm. From Castle.

[Following the interview, while standing outside, Arthur pointed out the former location of his childhood home. The address is now 42 Laiki Place. He notes that when he was a child, the shoreline was where the drive way to his house is presently located; 17 Laiki Place. Over the last c. 70 years, he has observed the shoreline extend at least another 70 feet ocean ward from where the shore was when he was a boy—approximately one foot per year. He also notes that at one time, Kawainui was reportedly open to the ocean. While the ocean has been adding sand to this coastline, he also observed that mounded sand dunes have not been formed. Indeed, when he was a child, he could see the flat sands extending some distance inland.]

KM: While you were in this area here, the fishponds. . . You notice, as you'd mentioned, you have Jackson's 1882 map showing the details of the bay, the soundings. . . ?

AR: Yes, yes.

KM: Jackson did this very detailed hatch work of salt ponds. Do you ever recall hearing of a salt works or gathering salt here?

Recalls the Kaluapūhi Salt Works; and *mākāhā* opening to Kailua Bay:

AR: Yes, yes. But, I never saw anything that I recognized as being a salt works. But, it was right in here [pointing to the Loko Pa'akai area by Kaluapūhi].

KM: So you'd heard that previously perhaps? Salt had been made here?

AR: Yes, that's right.

KM: Did you ever hear of anyone actually collecting it and actually transporting it somewhere in your time?

AR: No, that was gone.

KM: Sure. It was gone by the time you came.

AR: [pointing to the salt works vicinity] There was a big *mākāhā* here, out to the ocean.

KM: Okay, now that's very interesting, you are right. Now, you remember the old road, that went up along the edge of the water, and sometimes you even had to dodge waves? Several people have said that it crossed a part of what you described as a *mākāhā*.

AR: Yes. In the big high tide, when it was rough, it would splash over here.

KM: What do you recall about this *mākāhā*, is it an old feature, or was it a part of the historic game farm period?

AR: [thinking] Ahh—it looked like it had been recently put in.

KM: Okay.

AR: Whether there was one there originally or not, I don't know. But, this one was a wide one about, oh fifteen, twenty feet wide. And shallow, there was reef, deep reef under it. So there was no problem with sand coming in too much. And then, it was shallow when it got to the ponds, when the tide was coming in, you'd see the fish coming up to get the nice fresh water.

KM: So you could see fish in the *mākāhā*, the sluice gate?

AR: Yes, right. I think, one of the biggest *moi* we ever found was on the out side of the *mākāhā* [chuckles]. That was a *moi* area there too.

KM: Wow, that's so exciting. Now we're still talking about that period, around the mid 1920s or a little later?



AR: Yes, and a little later, this was all intact until the military took over. When did they take over, in 1928 or something like that?

KM: Well actually, the Army leased Kuwa'a'ohe, Fort Hase. . .

AR: Yes, ah-haa.

KM: In 1918. The Navy began some active acquisition by about 1938. And then, when the attack came, almost in a day's time, anyone that was out here was out. Any of the families that were living out in this area.

AR: Yes.

KM: They were out following the attack, because the Mōkapu hangar and stuff [were strafed]. They started the dredging around 1938-39, thereabouts.

AR: Yes. Yes, they filled in [pointing to the *he'e* (octopus) fishing grounds].
The reefs were famous *he'e* grounds prior to being dredged and filled in:

KM: Oh yes, this *papa* area here, it extends out like this now [indicating the filled runway land]. That pond, you'd mentioned where (we'll talk about it) you used to have your father's house, down by the pier area, and you would bring your boat in the shallows there.

AR: That's right, yeah.

KM: It was all filled in.

AR: Yes. And this was the famous squid grounds. It was all, oh, about six foot deep, just ideal to go with a goggles or glass box to the squid holes.

KM: So all along the edge, where basically the air field is now.

AR: Yes, right, ah-haa.

KM: Wow, this is really incredible. Do you recall any other walls in here [pointing to the Nu'upia Fishpond complex], or sluice gates.

AR: Well yes, there was a wall. . .well maybe its shown right here [looking at the map].

KM: Yes, here's Kaluapūhi.

AR: Right.

KM: A small wall there and some *mākāhā*, or sluice gates anywhere?

AR: Yes, there was one here, I'm pretty sure.

KM: Sort of mid-area, you think?

AR: Somewhere around there.

KM: Okay tentatively, mid section.

AR: Yes.

KM: Was anyone in your childhood, and when you were driving cattle, still working the fishponds? Were there some Chinese or. . .?

AR: No [thinking], a Japanese at one time, took over Nu'upia, and I don't think he was successful.

KM: Around 1955, the time that you came home, I think.

AR: Uh-hmm.

KM: Shortly after the time you came home from Kaua'i, Sadao Haitzuka and Keichi Okihiro were working the fishponds. They had secured a lease...



AR: Yes.

KM: ...from the military and worked the fishponds for about five years. Now, Sadao is about 85, close to your age. He lives in Kapoho, Puna. I did an interview with him last year, and he described that by the 1950s, these walls were pretty much in shambles.

AR: Oh.

KM: And they had to come in and they rebuilt them. So the wall where the H-3 sits now...

AR: Yes...

KM: When did your father build the house out here?

AR: It wasn't his house. Whether it was already existing, I don't know, but his man, working the place was Kats Date.

KM: Yes, I interviewed Margaret Date last year.

AR: Oh, did you? How was she?

HR: [chuckles]

KM: She was pretty good, she's not real well now.

AR: Oh my, she was a very attractive person.

KM: She remembers your father and I believe Damon even, would go out with him sometimes.

AR: That's right, yeah.

KM: Coming out there, and the funny thing was, they loved her mother's pancakes.

AR: Ah-haa [chuckles], yeah.

KM: So she'd leave the pancakes, and your father, as you'd said was a throw net fisherman.

AR: Yes.

KM: He would come out to fish, and always leave fish for them.

AR: Yes.

KM: That was one of her fond recollections.

AR: Well, that house is where they lived.

KM: Okay, so close to the pier area?

AR: Yes. Why my father did, I don't know, but he put in acre after acre of corn, and old Date, with a mule planted the whole thing [pointing to the *kula*, or flat lands below Hawai'i Loa]...

KM: Hmm... [pointing to location on his map] You note that this is all 'ākulikuli flats out in here.

AR: Yes, all up to about here.

KM: I see, so this line, dotted-dash line marks the extent of the 'ākulikuli. So mostly down this side, almost a wetland. Was there another...perhaps a little area that came in with some water?

AR: Yes, a little bit...

KM: It's so interesting. Just like what we're doing now, you have these clear recollections, and someone else remembers something else, and it's all intertwined like a beautiful *lei* of history.

AR: Yes. This wasn't just vacant, idle land. And Mōkapu means something too.



KM: Did you hear about that, a sense of what it meant?

AR: No, but I guess it meant “*Kapu*.”

KM: Sure and the *kapu* indicates this sacredness, there’s something to it, yeah.

AR: Uh-hmm.

KM: As you’d described earlier, you knew that there were some special places here because of the *heiau* and things.

AR: Yes. And this of course too [pointing to a location on his map].

Recalls the shrine of *Kū* and *Hina*; area was a noted fishing ground:

KM: Yes. Tell me about this area here, as being “Ancient Akua Stones. . .”

AR: *Kū* and *Hina*.

KM: And you remember them being right here.

AR: Oh, yeah. My father used to drive up, just to look at them.

KM: Do you recall how they were set?

AR: Sure.

KM: When you looked at it...could you describe that please?

AR: Yes, I’d say that this was a stone enclosure, narrow. Oh I’d say maybe ten feet roughly, and the stones were set about so, you know, not right together [gesturing].

KM: So your arm’s width apart, about five-six feet?

AR: Yes. And they were kind of a tall stone.

KM: Hmm. Were both of the stones upright, or do you recall one laying down?

AR: Yes, both were upright by my recollection. They might have laid them down later. And we used to do spear fishing, Marky Robinson and I. We had a spear gun around and I got a ten pounder once there.

KM: *Uhu*?

AR: *Uhu*, yeah. We went down for a picnic when we were kids and my father went with his throw net and he got 52 *āholehole* in one throw here.

KM: Ahh, just below *Kū’au* [on the east side of *Kū*, on the sandy shore].

AR: There was a little inlet-like in the reef.

KM: Ah-haa. Well, you’ve marked this all beautifully, so we’ll be able to see this on your map, you interview diagram also.

AR: Yes, well, I say inlet, it was an opening. . .

KM: Yes a *puka* through the rocks.

AR: Yes.

KM: And *’ulua* grounds in below the hill.

AR: Yes, one night, my father used to get a big bamboo pole, see, there is kind of a *pali* here.

KM: Yes.

AR: And he’d stick this pole in the rocks, with a little pulley at the end, and get a nice big *moi* on a hook, and run it out, and drop it right under the...it’s kind of deep water.

KM: Yes.



AR: And we stayed there till about 10:00 'o clock that night and then we came home. The next morning, Date, who lived down here, he brought this 40 pound 'ulua in. So that was an 'ulua ground.

KM: Uh-hmm... In your area here, that you've mentioned an "Uhu" fishing ground. Which is just a little ways below where Kū and Hina were.

AR: That's right below there, yeah.

KM: Do you remember hearing about a walled enclosure, that was in the water, a small fish trap?

AR: No, we didn't see it, 'cause we were spearing all the way out here.

KM: Sure, towards Kekepa Rock?

Recalls the *kilo* spot where fishermen would look for fish:

AR: Yes. And I should have marked here, the "Kilo" [fish spotters position].

KM: Oh, would you mark that? Here's a pen, you go ahead and mark that so. . .

AR: I'll just call it "Kilo," eh?

KM: Yes. So that was where you would spot fish?

AR: Yes, that's where [looking at map], around somewhere up in there [marks the map].

KM: Yes, ah-haa, along the edge of the cliff, below what is now called. . .

AR: So it must have been schools of fish that would come in.

KM: That's wonderful... Your map, diagram, is just excellent...

KM: ...How do you feel about Mōkapu?

AR: [tears coming to his eyes] Like I say, I have great memories.

KM: Great memories. You really loved your youth there eh.

AR: Surfing down there, fishing, boating. . .

KM: Hmm... Did you ever go out to Moku Manu?

AR: Oh yes.

KM: What did you do out there?

Area between Mōkapu and Moku Manu was noted for *moi*:

AR: Well, I'll tell you what happened out there. We had a *moi* hole out there, between the two islands.

KM: [looking at the interview map] Let me push this down for you. Here's Moku Manu.

AR: Yes, out here, there's a reef that the waves would break over, and there was a beautiful *moi* hole. The biggest *moi* I ever caught was out here, seven and a half pounds. One day, Marky Robinson, you know the Robinson family?

KM: Yes.

AR: He was a great friend of mine, we used to fish together, and we went out in the Nottage's boat and they dropped, he with a spear, and me with a throw net, while they went out trolling. And I had just picked up my net, and here comes Marky Robinson with the spear right through his cheek.

KM: 'Auwē!



AR: It was a big four or five prong spear with barbs in the end. It was right into his cheek. Well, we had to sit, and the boat finally came back, and I swam out, and I got a knife and a file, and a bottle of iodine, and I went in I cut the damn spear out [tears rising to his eyes; Marky Robinson had been Arthur's closest friend]...

KM: I appreciate your willingness to share your memories, and I know that they are very dear...

KM: May I ask you one more thing about Moku Manu?

AR: Sure.

KM: Do you remember ever hearing any stories of a large shark, or a guardian shark out here?

Heard of the shark god who resided in the cave of Moku Manu:

AR: Oh yes. I backed into that cave with an outboard motor once, it was real spooky, but we never saw the shark. It's all dark inside. It was a calm day, it normally has a swell in there. And I did a lot of fishing out here trolling, there are good grounds out here.

KM: Uh-hmm. So you had heard though that there was a shark of this area?

AR: Oh yeah, the shark god. That was a known story, pretty spooky. I'll tell you another thing that happened, one day I wanted to climb up to the top. And I got up to the very top and looked out, and about here [pointing to an area just west of the South line on the map of HTS Plat 2043], this whale was spinning around, and in the whale was a sword fish, it had spear him.

HR/KM: Oh!

AR: And I watched that.

HR: Wow.

KM: Amazing.

HR: Did he. . . ?

KM: Do you recall, did he lose the sword fish?

AR: Yes, I guess he did [chuckles].

KM: Did you ever used to walk along the edge of the cliff here [pointing to the Ulupa'u-Puka 'ulua vicinity]?

AR: Oh yes, we used to go pole fishing along there.

KM: Do you remember seeing salt dried up on some of the natural pools?

AR: No.

KM: You did say that you came out along this area of Ki'i and fished.

Ki'i – Kailua Bay, noted as a *moi* ground:

AR: Yes. There were wonderful *moi* grounds there. One day, I was just carrying fish for my father, I was small. The *moi* were in there and he'd throw and bring 'em in, and the *moi* would just stay there. So we had all we could carry. We had to walk down the little *pali* there. And I think that's where a barge. . . They put in the sewer line out here, and the barge went adrift, and it looks like it went right into that *moi* hole there. That's where the outlet for the sewer is now.

KM: Yes, ah-haa. This has been really exciting, wonderful. And your map is just a wonderful, wonderful addition to your interview.



- AR: Well, it's not to scale, but it's just a sketch. [pointing to the map] This is about the scale [one mile], I just blew the scale up.
- KM: Yes. And your memory of locations, of Kū and Hina, I believe, that you and George Davis are perhaps the only two people that remember this.
- AR: Is that right... [thinking] Could be.
- KM: Yes...

Arthur H. Rice, Jr.
Notes from Site Visit of October 21, 1996

Pali Kilo: A Heiau and Fish Spotter's Station

Arthur recalls that the area around the *heiau* was covered thickly with 'eke and lantana. Though he wasn't in the habit of going into *heiau*—he was taught to be respectful of old Hawaiian sites—this *heiau* was so large that he was drawn to investigate it closer. The *heiau* covered the entire top of the hill, and Arthur estimates that the outer walls were at least 100 yards long by 50 yards wide. The exterior walls were solidly built, and portions of the interior still had *paepae*, or built-up flat areas; these were still clearly visible in the 1920s. While Arthur was told about the *heiau*, he did not recall ever hearing about the Catholic Church. The site remains were visible until the Navy took the peninsula and bulldozed the hill.

The *kilo*, or fish spotter's station was on the *pali* overlooking the cove of Keawanui, on the north side of present-day cottage No. 1609 (in the vicinity of the old William's family lot).

Kū and Hina

Driving along Pali Kilo-Keawanui-Keawaiki, Arthur directed me to the location of the former shrine to Kū and Hina. Like Uncle George Davis, Arthur places the shrine and "Akua Stones" at the south side of the first hill from Kū'au. As a child, Arthur and his family often came to this site; the elder Mr. Rice regularly stopped by to "pay his respects." After a day of fishing, the family would picnic and spend the evening just to the south side of the shrine. Arthur feels that his father would even leave two fish from his catch on the shrine.

The shrine on which Kū and Hina were situated was 8 to 10 feet long, about a foot and a half high, and approximately 2 to 3 feet wide. It was like a short wall, with Kū and Hina situated about a foot and a half from the ends of the wall, with about six feet of space between them. To the best of his memory, both stones stood upright. Arthur does not recall which stone was at which end, but gave the following description of Kū — Kū was a rounded, dense water worn stone that stood upright. Kū stood perhaps one and one half, to two feet above the level portion of the wall-platform. Arthur also feels certain that Kū would have had additional base length that was set into the wall-platform (see diagram of Diagram October 24, 1996).

Pā'ōhua (Fish Trap)

While speaking of Kū and Hina, and accounts of how and when they were removed from their original location, I asked Arthur if he was familiar with the fish trap "Pā'ōhua." Though Arthur had not heard the name "Pā'ōhua," he clearly remembered an area just below the present-day cottage 1614, at which a large natural pool-like feature with rock alignments had been situated. It is his memory that this was a natural trap area, that was almost isolated at low tide. There were many *uhu* in this area back in the 1920s-1930s. Based on McAllister's historic record, Arthur suggests that this might be an appropriate area to begin the search for Kū. One reason that the evidence of the fish trap is difficult to locate, is that the 1946 tidal wave had a great impact on the reef flats of the area.



Hawai'i Loa: Triangulation Point

While driving around Hawai'i Loa, I asked Arthur if he had ever used landmarks to mark the locations of fishing grounds. Chuckling, Arthur observed that Hawai'i Loa had been one of the landmarks that he had been taught to use for an *'ōpakapaka ko'a*. While coming back into Kāne'ōhe Bay from the Kahana side, there is a point where Hawai'i Loa and Makapu'u line up. It was at that point, in about 60 fathoms of water, that the *ko'a* of *'ōpakapaka* was located. Arthur also recalled the Haunani's father, Herbert Thompson was a master fisherman, and that Makapu'u had also been one of his *ko'a*.

Recollections of Harold Castle and the Mōkapu Fishponds

Speaking of the Nu'upia and Halekou Fishponds, Arthur observed that it was his recollection, that in the period of the 1920s, early 1930s, the fish from the ponds weren't of the best quality. Like Henry Wong (oral history interview of 1995), Arthur observed that the water in the ponds was very salty, and not the best environment for the *'ama'ama* and such.

One of the expert cowboys that worked for Castle was a man by the name of Dick Mālamalama. On one of the cattle drives, coming in from He'eia along the shore, Arthur recalls that all the sudden there was this great commotion. Dick Mālamalama flew off his horse into the water, and wrestled a shark which he caught. It was maybe 4 to 6 feet long.

General Observations on Fishing Practices and Customs

Arthur spent his early life fishing with older Hawaiians and his father, learning many techniques. Fishing was his passion. The family has a beautiful collection of native Polynesian hooks, some collected and identified by Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter H. Buck), and others made by Haunani's father, who practiced traditional Hawaiian fishing customs.

A short while before the 1941 attack and America's entry into World War II, Arthur was employed by Chris Holmes and Allan Davis at Hawaiian Tuna Packers. When the war broke out, no boats were allowed out to sea, and many were confiscated. Up to that time, the Japanese had been the main fishermen in the trade and as a result of the attack, they were not allowed into the ocean. Holmes of Hawaiian Trust, and Davis (who succeeded Holmes), had connections, and secured a permit for fishing during the war.

At one time, while heading towards Mōkapu in a fishing boat, roughly between Kualoa and Moku Manu, Arthur and his crew heard a whizzing overhead, and something splashed in the water. They had been shot at by the artillery off of Kualoa. Arthur assumes that from the distance, the *aku* boat was mistaken for a submarine. After that, Arthur had two big American flags painted onto the sides of the boat cabin.

Arthur is a natural story teller, and he has a number of rich descriptions of commercial fishing activities and practices during World War II and in the subsequent years. One of the many interesting recollections that he shared was an account of Moku Pāpapa.

Moku Pāpapa

In telling this story, Arthur first asked me if I had ever heard of the disappearing island, that had been reported in the journals of Captain Cook. Arthur then described the account of Cook's men traveling in the vicinity of Ni'ihau-Ka'ula, and encountering a canoe a great distance from any known island. Upon inquiring of the men in the canoe, they told those on the ship that they were going to catch sea birds and turtles on a low sandy island called Motu Pāpapa. Cook's men never found the island (cf. Beaglehole 1967:279, 604, 631, 632).

At one point, following the war, a group of businessmen financed and opened a tuna packers cannery on Kaua'i, and Arthur managed the fishing operation. One night, Arthur



and his crew were boat fishing for *ʻōpelu* a little to the south of Niʻihau. As daylight appeared, they set off for the island of Kaʻula and began fishing along a shoal that extends some five miles south of Kaʻula. About five miles from Kaʻula, Arthur and his crew were startled to see, just at surface level, the remains of a rock islet. Apparently, this was what was left of the famous disappearing island of Motu Pāpapa.



Ruby Kekauoha-Enos
August 1, 1995 – with Kepā Maly
and
Isabella Kalehuamakanoe Kekauoha-Lin Kee
August 2, 1995 – with Kepā Maly

Lā'ie-Ko'olauloa Fisheries – Recollections of the inland fishpond of Pā'eō

The late Ruby Kekauoha-Enos (Aunty Ruby) was born November 27, 1904 in Lā'ie. She is among the eldest of the native Hawaiians to have resided in Lā'ie. Tutu's father, Kuailipo'ilani Kekauoha was born in Lā'ie on April 23, 1883. The family has been a part of the Lā'ie community for nearly 115 years. In Tutu's lifetime, she has been closely associated with many of the old native families of Lā'ie, and learned much about the land that is her birth place.

Tūtū Ruby Kekauoha-Enos granted her personal release of the interview records to Maly on August 30, 1995.

Discussing the inland fishpond of Pā'eō:

RE: ...Pā'eō.
KM: *He loko*, yeah?
RE: Yes. That's near, you know where the temple is?
KM: 'Ae.
RE: There used to be taro land.
KM: So the flat land, then there's Kahawai-nui Stream.
RE: Yes.
KM: So the pond, that was a fishpond over there. Did people get, how did you get your fish? Did you go to the pond, or did you folks go out ocean? When you were young?
RE: We couldn't go to the pond to get fish, because, the temple was built, and they were working on it, so they stopped. And we couldn't go around there to fish or anything. You had to go to the river or to the ocean. But Lā'ie, the ocean is, oh, it's...I tell you when we were little kids, run away down the beach and go to swim, the place is... I don't know, it's like, oh, we'd go down beach and swim all day long. It never bothers us. It was, oh, I don't know... Lā'ia, the swimming place is not very...well now, because the river, eh. And many people goes down the river to swim and fish and things like that. But, where the [river] mouth is, below there, that's a good fishing place. That's a good fishing place...

The late Isabella (Aunty Bella or *Tūtū*) Kalehuamakanoe Kekauoha-Lin Kee was born in Lā'ie on May 3, 1907. Like her elder sister, Ruby Kekauoha-Enos, Aunty Bella is among the eldest of the native Hawaiian residents of Lā'ie.

Tūtū is well respected in the community and is known as an important resource for learning about the history of Lā'ie. The interview below was conducted at *Tūtū*'s home; additionally, two follow-up visits with *Tūtū*, and one with her husband, Uncle Robert Kumukāhi Lin Kee, were conducted. Summaries of interview and narratives from those discussions, pertaining to fishing resources and practices, are included below. Like many residents, *Tūtū* used both Lā'ia and Lā'ie interchangeably throughout the interview when speaking about Lā'ie.



Tūtū Isabella Kalehuamakanoe Kekauoha-Lin Kee granted her personal release of the interview records to Maly on August 25, 1995.

KM: ...Another name that has been mentioned was Pā'eō?

BL: Pā'eō.

KM: Yes, a place name.

BL: Pā'eo, Pā'eō [thinking].

KM: Pā'eō, *he loko í'a*, I think?

BL: Yes, Pā'eō. It's an enclosure. But it had fish.

KM: A fish enclosure.

BL: Yes, yeah.

KM: A pond area. Have you seen across Kahawai-nui?

BL: Kahawai-nui? Yes, yes. It was further up of Kahawai-nui. This is Pā'eō.



**Joseph “Tarzan” Ahuna and Gladys Pualoa
Lā‘ie-Ko‘olauloa Fisheries**

August 3, 1995 – with Kepā Maly

Joseph “Tarzan” Ahuna (Uncle Tarzan), was born May 21, 1931, in Lā‘ie. His family has lived in Lā‘ie for at least four generations. As a youth, uncle used to go around with his grandfather, Moke (“Moke Langlang”) who was pure Hawaiian, and an agriculturalist who planted in observance of traditional customs. Moke Langlang was also a gifted Hawaiian healer practitioner. The family were also fishermen, and it was from his *kūpuna* and elders, that uncle learned fishing customs. He has fished all his life. Gladys Pualoa was born in Lā‘ie, and branches of her family have resided in the *ahupua‘a* for nine generations.

Together, uncle and aunty share some of their recollections of the fisheries and practices of the families of the land.

Personal release of the interview records was granted to Maly on August 21st and 29th, 1995.

The community *hukilau* were important events that also kept all of the families close together:

JA: ...Before, it was no pilikia, you walk through the yard, no problem. And we did a lot together as a community. One of the things that really pulled us together was that we used to have hukilaus by Hamana Kalili, Jubilee Logan, and Moke Hiram, my father, and hukilaus would bring the people together. Everybody would come out, “*Hukilau! Hukilau! Whose hukilau?*” And then, they would come out to the beach, and everybody help pull the nets in ‘cause you needed that many people to pull the nets in.

KM: Oh. What kind fish?

JA: We would get *akule*, and sometimes we would get ‘ō‘ō and schools of *weke*, and mullet, you know. And that’s what kept our community so close.

KM: ‘Ae, *laulima*, eh?

JA: Yes, *laulima*.

KM: Yes, every body moved and worked together...

GP: ...I remember the water well that was there. We used to go in and, two of us would sit at the mouth of it and plug it up so that the well would get all full and then we’d let go, and the water would push us all the way down the flue. Come home and get lickins’ [laughs].

JA: Oh [laughs]!

GP: “You’ve been up to play water up the well.” Pow! [laughs] But that was our childhood. They were good days. They were good days.

JA: All the watercress, the ‘ō‘ōpu, all the ‘ōpae...

GP: The ‘ōpae, the *limu ‘ele‘ele*. This point out here was always scented with *īpōa*, and I don’t know what they did with stream up there, the mud has come down and killed most of it. We have to go and restore it because Fish and Wildlife has come down and put about 400,000 *moi* back into this place [Mālaekahana]. So that fish can spawn again. We’ve been catching some of them, I’ve been eating it. Pretty good. But, these are our backgrounds...



Martha Maleka Mahi'ai-Pukahi

Lā'ie-Ko'olauloa Fisheries

August 4, 1995 – with Kepā Maly

Martha Maleka Mahi'ai Pukahi (*Tūtū* or Aunty Maleka) was born in Lā'ie Village on September 14, 1911. She is a respected member of the community, known for her knowledge of the history of Lā'ie. Her immediate family has lived in Lā'ie since the 1860s, with her mother's family originating in the Hakipu'u-Kualoa area. Her family was among the Hawaiian families to move to Lā'ie when the Mormon Church purchased the *ahupua'a*. By the time *Tūtū* Maleka was born, her mother and *Tūtū* had moved from the inlands to the coastal flats of Lā'ie, just behind the sand dunes. Hawaiian was the language spoken at home, and because the family was either related to or otherwise closely tied to native families of Lā'ie, she spent much of her childhood and formative years in the presence of the old Lā'ie families, where she heard and learned about the history of the land, and the practices of the families in the fisheries of the region.

During the interviews (see also the interview with members of the Kanahale-Ka'io family—August 8, 1995) and follow up meetings, *Tūtū* shared legendary accounts; comments on Hawaiian values; narratives of historical occurrences—providing insight to an otherwise poorly documented period of Lā'ie history—and described Hawaiian cultural practices about which her elders told her, or in which she participated. *Kupuna* Maleka Pukahi granted her personal release of the interview records to Maly on August 31, 1995.

Describing the larger community of Lā'ie; problems with land tenure; and the relationship between families who cultivated the uplands, and fished the ocean:

MP: Yes, there, by Kahawai-nui, that's Kānāwai. That's where all the Hawaiians was living. The reason why they live up there, because the water. There was no water here [gesturing to the location of her home in the Lā'ie Village]. So water was from the river, they depend on that river over there, Kahawai-nui. That was the name of that river. That's where my mother was born and raised up there. And she told me the story of her life, see. So interesting. So then its...you know the Mormon has a president of the Church, Joseph F. Smith. So when he came he saw lot of Hawaiians, and he was sent on a mission to be over here. In the meantime I think...see I don't know, but they bought the place, I don't even know, because my mother lived here already.

Now, like my mother was telling, when a *haole* come, in those days, there was no more school. They don't have school, they talk Hawaiian. And when the *haole* come, they like that, something like that, they say, you put an "x" over here. Yes, and they put that "x" over here, and then they write the name. They don't even know how to write. That's what my mother said. That's what she said, *hele mai ka po'e haole* [the foreigners came]...but in the meantime.

KM: *Pehea, ua kaha 'ia ka "x" a lilo 'ia ka 'āina?* [So by marking the "x," they lost the land?]

MP: *Kaha, kaha...a'ole mana'o e uku ai imua ka 'āina.* [Mark, mark...with no thought of their paying before.]

KM: *'Ae, mamua, a'ole hiki iā lākou ke kū'ai ea.* [Yes, before, they could not purchase it, yeah.]

MP: Yes, *a'ole*. But *'ōlelo mai ka haole, "Kaha 'oe ma kēia wahi."* See *'ike nō lākou, kaha wale nō, a'ole 'ike ke kākau ana, see.*

Yes no. But the *haole* [foreigners] said, "You mark here at this place." See, the Hawaiians only you knew how to mark, they didn't know writing.

KM: *'Ae, so he mea ho'opunipuni.* [Yes, so there was deception.]

MP: *Ka'u mama, a'ole wālā'au haole...mea English, but au wale nō wālā'au Hawai'i wale nō, a maopopo o wau ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i, mai ka'u makuahine. Ka'u papa nō, hiki ke wālā'au... Kēia manawa ea, nui nā Hawai'i, a'ahe hiki...a'ole 'ike lākou ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i. Wālā'au*



wale nō, wālā'au Hawai'i...ka lākou noho ana, ah unity... Lōkāhi, lōkāhi. If...noho lākou ma'ane'i, ka lākou hana lawai'a, kanu lo'i 'ai, ua hana wale nō kēlā hana, a'ohē hana [e a'e], a'ohē hana. Ka lākou hana fishing and farming, fishing and farming, that's all. A komo mai kēia po'e missionary a, you know, a'o lākou nei i ka po'e Hawai'i me kēia, me kēlā, you know. 'Ano educate them. Yes, ka po'e Hawai'i, 'ai a ma'ana a huli ke 'alo iluna [chuckles]. Ka lākou hana, hele i kahakai lawai'a, hele lākou i ka lo'i 'ai, mahi 'ai, pau ho'i mai, 'ai a ma'ana, huli ke 'alo iluna. Kēlā manawa, molowā ka po'e Hawai'i, see. Ka wā o wau li'ilii, noho wau me ku'u kaikaina i Honolulu. Where Duke Kahanamoku...kēlā wahi, ka 'āina, the ocean komo iloko where Duke Kahanamoku them, nā Hawai'i a like 'ole ma'ō, ka lākou hana, 'ai a ma'ana, huli ke 'alo iluna. Ka lākou inu, a'ohē hana, molowā. Komo mai o Kalākaua, hele 'oia la iloko o ka 'āina haole, ho'i mai you know...

My mother didn't speak English. She and I only spoke in Hawaiian, and I learned Hawaiian from my mother. Now my father, he could speak [English]... Nowadays, there are many Hawaiians who cannot...they do not know the Hawaiian language. They only talk...if they would talk Hawaiian...their dwelling would be in unity... Unified, one. If...they dwelt here, and their work was fishing, planting taro patches, those kinds of things were the tasks done, no other work. Their work was fishing and farming, fishing and farming, that's all. And then these missionaries came and they taught the Hawaiians how to do various things you know. Educated them. Yes, the Hawaiians, eat until satisfied, and then turn their face up [chuckles]. Their work was, go to the shore and fish, or go to the taro pond fields and cultivate food, and when done, they would eat until full, and then turn over and face up [lay down]. At that time, the Hawaiians were kind of lazy, see. At the time when I was little, I lived with my sister in Honolulu. Where Duke Kahanamoku...that place [Waikīkī] the land, the ocean came in where Duke Kahanamoku them, the other Hawaiians there, their business was to eat until satisfied and turn the face up. And their drinking, no work, just lazy. When Kalākaua became [King], he went to the foreign lands, and then he returned you know...

KM: *Ho'omāhuahua.* [To try and increase {the race}].

MP: Yes, yes, try to...I was trying to tell them the Hawaiians were so thick, in those days, because they don't try to improve, see they don't try to improve. That's the same thing was here. So, they went...see when my mother was living up there, the same thing. All they do is eat and sleep, eat and sleep. See? But I learned some of my [culture and beliefs]... My children tell me I stuperstitious [as pronounced], I work eh...

KM: 'Ae. Oh, so *ua lawe 'oia i ka 'aumākua a me ka...* [Yes. Oh, so she took the guardians and...]

MP: Yes, my mama said...*lawe lākou, a'ohē mamake ka po'e 'ōpio hūa'i...*you know when you say *hūa'i*? [They took it, they did not want the young people to uncover or bring back]

KM: Overflow, bring it out.

MP: Yes my mama said, "*Ho'i mākou me ko mākou*" [We go with our things]. All that. All *kēlā po'e mea* [all those things]. That's what I was trying to tell them. They don't want to be disturbed. That's what my mama was telling me, "*O mākou, lawe nō mākou ka mākou mau hana iluna o kēia honua. A'ohē mākou mamake iā 'oukou e hūa'i. No ke aha mai? A'ohē 'oukou 'ike*" [Us, we take those things which we did on this earth with us. We do not want you to bring it back. How come? Because you do not understand.] You see.

KM: *Tūtū, e 'olu'olu 'oe, e wehe mai 'oe kēlā mana'o ma ka 'ōlelo haole,* because *pono ia i kou leo.* [Tutu would you please that thought in English, because it would be good for it to be in your voice?]

MP: Yes, *pololei,* [that's right] well like you...maybe you can explain it...

KM: Well, okay.



Before fish were plentiful, they just covered the surface of the water. Feels that the old people took them with the gods and *'aumakua*, which had formerly been used to cause the increase of fish:

MP: *'Ōlelo aku nei ka'u mama, that's why. Hamana [Kalili], eh; ka wā mākou noho, nui nā i'a, my mama hana a moe iluna ka i'a. Nui nā i'a. A hele mai ana ka po'e mawaho, maloko e komo mai, a Hamana, [Jubilee] Logan, Moke [Hailama], o lākou nui ka i'a. Kēia manawa, make lākou, ho'i nō ko lākou.*

My mother said, that's why [no more those kind things now]. Hamana, yeah, the time before, there were many fish. My mama said the fish just covered the surface. And people from outside and here both would come, it was Hamana, Logan, and Moke them, they had plenty of fish. Now, they've died, and they took [their fish] with them, what was theirs returned with them.

KM: *'Oia!* [Is that so?]

MP: *Ai hea? Ai hea ka i'a? Hele!* [Where? Where are the fish? They've gone!]

KM: So, so like ah, Hamana, Logan *mā* [folks], Moke *mā*...

MP: All the fishermen.

KM: They were keeping the old gods.

MP: Yes, even Pua Ha'aheo, that was another one too.

KM: *'Ae.*

MP: You *lohe* [heard] the *mo'olelo o Pua Ha'aheo* [story about Pua Ha'aheo]?

KM: *'Ae, kilo i'a* [Yes, a fish spotter.]

MP: My tutu came over there, that used to be over there. Ah. That's why Cy Bridges wants to know, that he's...Cy Bridges part, because he knows Tutu Kalawai'a, and all that. Cause I know they're Kahana people, see? So what my...*'olelo...maika'i kēlā, lawe mākou, ka mākou mea, nalo* [that was a good saying, "We take our things with us so they will be lost!"] That's like bury eh. "*Nalo, a'ohe mākou mamake ka po'e 'ōpiopio e hūa'i mai.*" *No ke aha mai? A'ohe lākou ka i'ike ka hana ana.* [Lost, we do not want the youth to uncover it. How come? They do not understand how it is done.] See because they don't know what to do. So let them work it out themselves...

You know, my mother used to tell me, she would say, "*Hele mai ana ka lā, a'ahe nā Hawai'i. E hele mai ana nā lāhui 'oko'a, a noho ma luna ka 'āina*"

There will come a day when there will not be Hawaiians. Other nationalities will come and live upon the land, and sure enough. I believe what my mother said.

KM: So what you were saying is what mama told you?

MP: Yes.

KM: "We going take all of our things, the *akua*, or the *'aumākua*..."

MP: Yes all the *'aumākua*.

KM: "...those things, the *'aumākua* things, with us when we go, bury it, leave it, because the children..."

MP: Won't know...



Roland Ma'iola "Ahi" Logan

Lā'ie-Ko'olauloa Fisheries

August 7, 1995 – with Kepā Maly

Roland Ma'iola "Ahi" Logan (Uncle Ahi) was born in Hau'ula on November 3, 1930, and within a few months of his birth, his family returned to Lā'ie, where Uncle Ahi lived with his grandfather Lokona Kalili. His father's family, the Kalili-Logan and Kaleohano lines, and his mother's family, the Nāinoa, 'Āpuakēhau, and Keli'iwaiwai'ole lines have resided in Lā'ie since c. 1829. *Tūtū* Lokona was a master fisherman who maintained the customs of acknowledging *ko'a* and *Kū'ula* (ancient fishermen's gods and altar-triangulation stations). Uncle Ahi's father, Jubilee Logan, and his granduncle, Hamana Kalili, both inherited the fishing rights from Lokona, and together, they organized and managed the *hukilau* which gave Lā'ie an important economic boost between the c. 1940s to the late 1950s.

It is also interesting to note that even during that time, Uncle's family was still making net weights in a traditional style out of stone, and the net floats were carved out of *hau* wood. In his day, Uncle Ahi was also a lead fisherman in the community.

Discussing fishing rights and practices in Lā'ie:

AL: My grandfather was the oldest of five sons. And, and during his time that he had the fishing rights [*konohiki*] in Lā'ie, that we now know as the *hukilau*.

AL: They call my grandfather Lokona.

KM: Lokona. Okay

AL: The first the oldest son of the Kalili brothers, Hamana is his younger brother, number three brother. Also we have, if I may name all the brothers we have, Lokona, which is my grandfather, and you have Richard, then we have Hamana Kalili, they were all Kalilis. Then we have Kaleohano Kalili, and Sam Kalili. The five brothers. And they lived in Lā'ie for most of their lives. Grandpa also was part of the police force out of Hau'ula. But he was pretty much an individual person. An entrepreneur at that time. They did a lot of fishing in Lā'ie Bay, *akule* and *ō'io* were, were counted in great numbers. And he was able to, as the oldest, son, he was able to take care, not only of his immediate family, but all the other *'ohana* system.

KM: Grandpa had acquired the fishing rights, I think you, or the...

AL: Somehow he had acquired the rights. And his efforts, he and his brother Hamana had their fishing, rights or privilege under the, under the Church. So I grew up pretty much as a fisherman.

KM: I see. You had mentioned earlier before we were talking outside, that's there's a story about your granduncle, Hamana Kalili, and how the 'shaka' sign?

AL: How he got credited for the 'shaka' sign, yes. Anyway, while we were growing up as kids, Hamana was sort of the one man security person in Lā'ie. Now, he had lost three fingers on his hand. So, you know since we were making fun of him, but we would wave to him... [gestures waving with three middle fingers folded down] And we folded our fingers on our hand to show what his hand look like. And we would wave to him, and he would wave back to us. And we would laugh, because he would wave back to us without his fingers. So, and we used to call him "Hamana D.A.", like Hamana District Attorney. But, he was always like a father to all us in the, in the community. So there was a lady who had married Simao Fonoimoana. And was a faculty at BYU, and I'm talking, I think, in either the late 60s, who put a lot of effort, and was able to convince Mayor Fasi, and other people about the 'shaka' sign. And Mayor Fasi took it upon himself to declare that Hamana Kalili was the originator. And we were all in the Mayor Fasi's office to take credit for my granduncle.



- KM: And he was a fisherman, too, right? Big time fisherman?
- AL: He was a fisherman, he was a mason, he had other talents, and he was also, ah *kahuna*. He had a talent as a *kahuna*... But he was very instrumental in participating in the *hukilau*, which was fund raising project that was started.
- KM: Was that the fund raiser to build the, the chapel had burned down or something, right?
- AL: Correct. Actually the *hukilau* was started by my dad, as the President of the Elder's Quorum, as a fund raiser. And I think the first one started in 1946. And the concept was to have a *hukilau*, which is, *huki* means to pull the *lau*, and attached to the *lau* would be some fishnets. So, they would go out in the ocean, in a semicircle and pull the nets the shore, whoever was there, all the families, all the friends. And pull the net to shore, and that was the *hukilau*, part of it. After the fish was all caught and so on, then they would go to the *lū'au* part. And the *lū'au*, as you know, is a place where you can have lots of food, and have lots of entertainment. So that became the Church fund raiser. After the success of the first one. That was done.
- So, both my dad and my granduncle were the pioneers in establishment of the *hukilau*. And I think in the community, we start reflecting back to the *hukilau*. *Hukilau* gave the people of Lā'ie the impact of economic growth. Next thing you knew, the ladies went into making crafts, the children were making the coconut hats, and you had participation by so many of the community people. Hawaiians, and anyone that lived in the community. It was an opportunity for them to sell whatever they made and I think, I think the economic growth for the *Hukilau* was something that strengthened the people in the community. In fact, we still talk about that now.
- KM: Sure, sure. Everyone, everyone has spoken, you know, in the time we've been doing interviews
- AL: Yes, it was the major, major part of the community.
- KM: It actually almost sounds like it really was the forerunner, the seed for the idea that made the Cultural Center, actually a reality.
- AL: It was. Because the participation by the members of the Church was really spontaneous. The giving of themselves. We Polynesians are noted for that anyway. We give, give [laughs].
- KM: Too much *aloha*. Oh well, *mahalo*. Thank you...
- Lā'ie was a rich fishery; was taught by *kūpuna* to respect the resources, to take just what was needed:
- AL: ...Well, Lā'ie has always been a wonderful place for me. Again, all my childhood memories, everything that we do as a child, having our taro patch, and working in the taro patch, and having a farm, and working on the farm, having the boat house on the beach, and being a fisherman. And to a point, where between Hau'ula and Kahuku, I just about knew every lobster hole there was. I was, I would say I was a pretty good fisherman in my time. And Lā'ie, the bay and ocean of Lā'ie was rich. And living in Lā'ie was just wonderful. It's just great. As long as you *hana ka lima* and *pa'a ka waha*, [work with your hands and keep you mouth closed], you made out. But if you were the lazy type, going to have to go to the store [laughs].
- KM: And like you said "*hana ka lima, pa'a ka waha*," you know. Your *tūtū* taught you some basic values, yeah? And how to, to work your land, and to, to collect fish. And that's an important thing, too. How, when you go out, catch fish, how do you go? You just, did they teach you to be respectful? Or, you know.
- AL: Oh, very, very respectful. Just to give you an idea with my dad. When my dad wanted to go fishing, he would mention to me, and he would say, "Roland, we're going *holoholo* tonight." So, going *holoholo* tonight means that we going to go with some nets, maybe a



short *lau*, and we're gonna *paipai* night time. Usually, will we were gonna go fish for *nenue*. Not the small *nenue*, but the big *nenue*. And that was considered one of our family favorite, *poki* fish.

Phosphorus in the water was a bad sign to the fishermen:

So when he told me that we gonna go *holoholo*, it was my responsibility to see that the nets were together, the *lau*, the bag, and everything that we gonna need for to use to go *holoholo*. Great emphasis was placed to the point where we don't say we gonna go fishing, and don't mention it to any members of the family where we going. And there has been an incident or two that I remember that when we went *holoholo* and when we got into the water, and as we were walking towards a certain area where we knew that the *nenue* would be, there would be phosphorus appearing on our footsteps. And we would see this fire, and my dad would get very angry. "Ah, they talking about us, at home. *Ho'i, ho'i*, we going home." And we would, we would not fish.

But as far as I was concerned, I never seen anything so beautiful with the phosphorus following you as you walk through the water. I mean, it was really, really, really a beautiful sight. So we would go home, and dad would be very upset with my mom and the family, and would blame them, that while we were out fishing, they were talking about us. This phosphorus was a sign to scare the fish, and that's why we wouldn't have caught any. But those were some of the, the, ah, taboos of fishing, you might say. And of course, those were the sayings that they had.

Describes *hukilau* fishing, and customs associated with it:

Saying more about some of the kapus, or what not to do as a member of the fishing family. At the *Hukilau* beach, when we used to stand on the beach, and look out at the ocean, and to sight, or look for a school of fish, they usually would be *akule*. We would either keep our hands along our sides, or fold our arms, but never to put it behind the back, and hold hands. That was definitely a no-no...

KM: *Mahalo*. You know, I want to clarify one thing...or just, for the...to go on...you had *pointed* out on this map that the Kalili fish houses was your grandpa, and he had the fishing rights, yeah? And so these fish houses were in use for *hukilau* and stuff on the beach...

AL: Yes.

KM: Until the tsunami in 1946?

AL: Well, in 1946 the house was damaged. We didn't rebuild one, we rebuilt the other one. And it was used during the *hukilau*, which the *hukilau* was on the same grounds, because of the availability of the nets and the boat. The boat was a huge boat, about 24, 26 feet long. It was a three man oar. And it had a big ah, net space, and the nets we used were a two inch mesh. Made out of number 6 *'aho* [cordage]. And there were upward of either 30 or 36 feet high, with *pōhaku* [stones] as the lead weight.

KM: Oh yeah? So were they sort of rounded and water worn...?,

AL: It was sort of an oblong rock in the shape of an Irish potato. And we would nick the center, and tie it with *'aho*, and tie it on the rope. So that was used for, for the weights.

KM: Did anyone save some of the old nets?

AL: No, the nets all sort of *popopo* [rotten]. I saved a few of the stone weights. I have some of them at home.

KM: The *pōhaku*. Oh that's good. How amazing. Here it is, you were still using that.

AL: Yes. We were still using that.

KM: What were your floats?



- AL: The floats were made out of *hau*, *hau* sticks. And they were about 3 ½ inch diameter by 6 inch, depending on the fence, the fence net and when you got to the bag net, and they were a little smaller, but more of them. The idea of the floats was to keep the net standing up tall. As a fence. And one of my ah, one of my honored job that I had that was more or less my right, that I was the senior diver, and I would always be the diver that would accompany the net into shore. And although you might say, it was unfair, because it was either my dad's net, or my granduncle's net, but I was the top diver at that time, so the top diver gets the honor.
- KM: Oh, right. Wow. That's amazing. Still using the stone *pōhaku*, you know the sinkers at that time and the *hau*...
- AL: Yes. We used the stone. Of course, all our *lau* was made with ti leaf, we still use the *lau* and we were using inch and half manila ropes, and that's because the nets that we're using were, were deep, you know. Set to 30 feet deep, so...
- KM: 30 feet deep.
- AL: We had a fence made out of iron wood, and the fence, the fence would be at the beginning, and at the end of the semicircle nets. But the *hukilau* was not only doing the *hukilau lū'au*, but there were other times that there were a school of *akule* or school of *ō'io* and the word would get to the community that they were, "Oh they were *huki huki* and there were, at the bay, so the community would come out and join in pulling up the nets, and as the nets came onto shore, and, and the distribution of the fish. That everyone that came and helped with the net would have some fish to go home. And after that was passed out, now the distribution of the fish to the boat men. So the boatmen would get their share. And their share was like three or four times more than a person that came in to help. So the boatmen would all get their share. And ah, and the diver is part of the, part of the crew. We would get the share. And the rest of the fish would go to the, to the proprietor, or the owner of the, of the nets.
- KM: And what did grandpa, or your granduncle them, how did they divide their fish?
- AL: Well usually what they do with their fish, is if there were a lot of fish, they would take it to the market, and then their family would share. Sometimes, if it was... I remember an incident where they had maybe a total of, at the end, about 50 or 60 bags, or they used baskets at that time. They would leave the fish in the water for two or three days. And they would take the fish to Kekaulike Market, and they wouldn't take all, because the price would drop. So, they would take it three days, they would share some of the money with the regular crew. But the regular crew was usually mostly uncles and nieces, anyway.
- Cause its a, was a family thing. But of course, they in turn would come and help when the net was drying, or patch the net, and shake the net from sand, and take it back in the boat house. So it's like one continuous task that needed to be done, every time you take the nets out to go fishing.
- But I think in reading some of the books that I read now, and some of the ways, the do's and don'ts of fishing, the methods that we were doing were pretty well traditional. In the sharing of one catch, that everyone has, has something to eat. Even to the point where some of the fish would go to some *tūtūs* at home, that were unable to come.
- I remember a time that I would take *tūtūs*, aunties, that kind of a thing. But the beauty of sharing, or the tradition of sharing, and that's because, if you can believe that sharing, that your fortune would be always better. And if you can believe that by giving, you're gonna get more, then you don't mind giving. Because it's a continuous thing. So, those traditions I think was very real. And, ah, I myself witnessed the bountifulness of that.



Fishing customs, *Kū'ula*, and omens associated with fish:

KM: Did your papa, them, still honor, you know, keep a *ko'a* or *Kū'ula* [fishing gods or shrine]?

AL: Not during my time. But my *tūtū* man, the grandparents, were doing that, during the period when, I would say right after high school, where the lack of fish was coming. It was coming into the prayer. It was felt, and I'm talking after, after the tidal wave [1946], and there were some friction, friction that started after World War II. When the Army took over, moved in to our fishing shacks. And they moved into, into my dad's boathouse during the war.

Of course, you must understand that all of the beach was in place with barb wire. Nobody could go fishing, so, it was definitely a hardship. So, after the war was over, and there were amends to be made in the occupation of your house, or so to speak, it seemed like my dad had the short end of the stick. And I remember that, because they weren't too good relationship between my dad and his uncle, or my granduncle. And one of the reasons for that is that my granduncle was older than my father, my father was the heir, to my grandpa's things. But because of the brother, the older of my grandfather's brother, the fishing was divided.

And we're talking about the *Kū'ula*. I know my mom was part of it, my mom, my dad, my granduncle, Hamana, his wife, Libby, my other granduncle, Gus Kaleohano, and *Tūtū* Kauwē. They used to meet on Sunday. They would *ho'oponopono*. That I know. And the whole essence of the *ho'oponopono* was to seek a way of, of ah, making things *pono*. So, if, if, if they couldn't orally share any thoughts or any, any feelings that they had, they were to take it home with them, and come back the next Sunday. Hopefully through dreams, they might be able to, to find a way and I know my mom had shared some of her, her dreams, and she had mentioned that one particular day that she was looking out at the ocean, and all she saw was fish scales. And she couldn't understand the significance of the fish scales, except that that was her dream. And she took it to, she took it to her family, and nothing came, nothing was significant about what had happened.

So, for one, the *Kū'ula* was never found. They couldn't find where it was. Which means that during the stewardship of my grandfather...And if we are to go my grandfather passed on in '32, so prior to that, there was a *Kū'ula*, where the respect to a *Kū'ula* was kept, to a point where the best fish, or the first fish, was preserved for the *Kū'ula*. We grew up to understand that. The best of everything, so we are talking about many years later. The idea of where that rock was, was very important. But it could never be found.

KM: Did you hear any talk that perhaps Grandpa took it away, on purpose, so as, you know, sometimes you hear that you go use one time, another time, then you forget the next time, sometimes, you know, if you don't always take care. So, sometimes, there's, there's, like we had mentioned earlier, sacrifice, yeah? And sometimes they realized things were changing, and so, was there any talk that perhaps Grandpa had actually taken it away? Or, on purpose? Did you...?

AL: I think if anyone may have known, it would have been grandpa. Whether he had placed it in the ocean or not. I think I'll take it upon myself to see if I can ah, pinpoint it, find it. I would be, interested enough to want to see it, just because it was actively used in the family during the period of say about the early 1900s up to the 30s, when he passed on. And the reason I say that because the tradition that they maintained is focused through the *Kū'ula* and other Hawaiian ways. Otherwise, there's no reason for us to maintain it, if there wasn't a *Kū'ula*. *Kū'ula* is one of the key situation. But we knew, I mean, I grew up with all the do's and don'ts, and I never questioned it, and it, it made a lot of sense. It made a lot of sense. And I passed on to my sons when we used to go fishing, some of the do's and don'ts and why we do it...



Pule Moku fishery described; account of an *'aumakua manō*:

But I remember *Tūtū* Hamana told me, and this was, you know, this was before, I would say, when I was about 17. And one particular day, and I don't know what happened, we were laying nets. If you look outside of the *Hukilau*, we have a rock formation called, Pule Moku. And when the water is *mālia* we would go and set our lobster nets. On the leeward side of the *pōhaku* and there's another reef that we would set our lobster nets. But one particular day, I wasn't there, I came later, when the boat was already on the sand. But he had mentioned, that coming in towards the boat house, and in the bay, there was a *manō* [shark] that's just as big as our boat. And we're talking about a *manō* that's being like, at least 26 feet, or maybe a thirty footer. And I was saying, "Oh how come, "I wish I was there, I wanted to see it!" I said. "So what did the *manō* do?" "Nothing. The *manō* was just cruising on the surface", we had a, the boat had a motor on it, coming in , not too fast, and just cruise into the bay, and as they made the turn around, so that you would go in on the shore at the rear end of the boat, and he just turn around and headed back, headed back to sea. So I said "Well, what is the meaning of this?" He say, "Ah, *'aumakua, manō, 'aumakua.*" I said, "How do you know?" "That's the only sign I can think of." So, coming from a family of fisherman, that the *manō* is our *'aumakua*. We have to acknowledge the fact that there was a positive sign. The same token, a few days later, *Tūtū* Hamana had told me, that in all the waters in the islands, there's only two point, or between two *points* that is *kapu* to us. Now, when I say 'us,' I'm talking to us as a family.

KM: 'Ae. Your genealogy line, yeah?

AL: Yes. So he says the point Puna side maybe Puna-Ka'ū, there's a point called *Leleiwi*. And from that point outside of Hilo, there two *points*, "don't you swim." Now, he told me that many, many times, don't you swim between those two *points*.

KM: Leleiwi and the one north Hilo, or towards Ka'ū side or North?

AL: North, going back towards Leleiwi. Shark would bite. Shark would bite you. No swim. Anywhere else, the family. So I grew up with the understanding that shark was family. All those rock islands, I swam myself to go fishing. Even to a point where I had some *ōmaka* swim with me. Come into shore, and I sit down by *tūtū* lady, "Ah those fish swim with me, make me feel like a *manō*." Ah, "good sign, good sign." So, I felt very, very comfortable in the ocean. Knowing that we have a place where we shouldn't go swimming, and that was between those two *points*...

...Getting back to Lā'ie. Lā'ie has...is a beautiful place to live... My grandfather was a very resourceful person. Resourceful as an entrepreneur, so to speak. He did have some weakness, and the weakness that he had, was sometimes he didn't follow the gospel principles of the Church. To the point where they would turn off his drinking water. And the Church members would come to him and beg him to go put on a *huki huki* or a *hukilau* fishing. And then he would amend himself, and he would do it. But one of the things that was mentioned to me that was interesting, is that my grandfather would invite his friends to the drinking of *'awa*. And he would go through all the preparations during the day, to a point where catching a *manini*, and he would, would have some *'imu*...

KM: Ahh, *pūpū 'awa*.

AL: And the *manini* and the lobster and all the fish, were all the meat that they needed. And grandma would never let them drink the *'awa* in the house. It was always someplace in the yard. So he would be there all ready for his men friends, and as they came, they would drink the *'awa* and share stories and eat the food. And mom said that for some of them, they had a lot of *'awa* so they would stay there all night, or until the *'awa* wear off...



Imu fishing for *manini*, *āholehole* and other fishes:

KM: hmm. And one other point that you brought up that's very, very interesting, because not too many Hawaiians today know about it. You'd mentioned that grandpa had an '*imu* in the ocean. Now, most people not going to understand what you talking about.

AL: Well, an '*imu* actually is a fish house. Now, well, all my granduncles made it, I made it, I know how to construct an '*imu*. Not only '*imu* for *manini*, but even '*imu* for *āholehole* and other things. And the idea to that is that during the high tides, where the water is deeper close to shore, you would put up the '*imu*.

KM: And it's a pile of stones

AL: Yes, yes, built. It's really, you can say, it's like a warehouse. Somehow you construct it so that there's a large opening, underneath the rocks. And ah, and after several days...and you may even add some chew coconut or some *palu* or something.

KM: *Maunu* [bait].

AL: But you remember, for *manini*, the *manini* is vegetarian, so that wouldn't work. *Āholehole* yes. So you have to know what's the habits of the fish. And after they congregate, then you would go with a small net, and surround the '*imu* and break it down. So they have no place to hide and they're all running to the net. And that's the easy way to fish.

KM: Easy way to fish. Yes. Good, yeah. And so grandpa would make, like, *manini*, it was made raw, as a *poke* kind?...

AL: No, it would, it would, it would *pūlehu*.

KM: *Pūlehu*.

AL: Yes, it would be *pūlehu*. See would have other fishes there, too. Well, some other fish might be *āholehole*, or would be a mullet. You know to go with the '*awa*. I'm sure there's dried fish, or *pipi kaula*. He had everything, I mean. Like I said, they were very resourceful those days.

KM: Was grandpa still growing, do you think? Growing '*awa* up on his place somewhere?

AL: Oh, I'm sure, and he's still defying the Church, I'm sure [laughs]...



**William Kanahale, Agnes Kanahale-Lua, Annie Kanahale-Tau'a,
Lucy Ka'i'o-Marasco and Maleka Mahi'ai Pukahi
Lā'ie-Ko'olauloa Fisheries**

August 8, 1995 – with Kepā Maly

William Keamoku Kanahale (Uncle Gala), Agnes Mālia Kanahale-Lua (Aunty Mālia), Annie Leiloke Kanahale-Tau'a (Aunty Annie), and Lucy Kekela Ka'i'o-Marasco (Aunty Lucy), are descendants of the Ka'i'o-'Amaka families of Lā'ie. Uncle Gala, Aunty Mālia, and Aunty Annie are brother and sisters; Aunty Lucy is their cousin. Aunty Maleka Mahi'ai-Pukahi (also interviewed separately as a part of this study) is a family friend and relation to the Ka'i'o line through the marriage of her daughter to a grandson of James 'Amaka Ka'i'o.

Both the 'Amaka and Ka'i'o family lines, have many generations of land tenancy in the *ahupua'a* (land unit) of Lā'ie. The family received *'āina kuleana* land rights—residence and agricultural parcels—in the Māhele of 1848. The *kuleana* lands are still retained within the family, and at least one parcel is situated immediately below the area now identified as the NToi Heiau. Aunty Lucy's brother, Kealoha Ka'i'o, still resides on that parcel.

The Ka'i'o-Kanahale family members are closely tied to the lands of Lā'ie. Hawaiian lore and native practices of the area were a part of every day life. The family still maintained personal relationships with shark *'aumakua* (family guardian gods); planting of bananas, taro, and other crops were done by following cycles of the moon and rituals of planting.

The interviewees granted their personal release of the interview records to Maly on August 31 and September 1, 1995.

Uncle Gala's early family life and Mrs. Kanahale's experiences with their shark guardian, while diving in Lā'ie Bay:

WK: She went down...she went down on Goat Island and looking for squid and then she see something. Popping every time, bang her, bang her. She saw the shark. She ran outside the ocean, she run... [laughter] Run outside by the sand and the shark comes. She stay by the sand, stay by the... But the shark was really big, the shark. And my mom, while the shark stays by over there, every time she goes, the shark bump every time, you know. And she's scared so she went on and tell my aunty. "Every time I go in the water, this shark hit me, bang me by the side, push me by the sand.

MP: Push her down to the shore.

WK: Yes, push me down the shore. And she's scared, she no like go back over there. And then my aunty told her about you know...

KM: That the *manō* had been born. Haleola?

WK: Yes. That's you...that's your family there.

KM: So how come he pushed her—to protect her, warn her or something?

WK: Warn her because she was. She's so short and she go way outside, the water deep—and she's small, she's only about 4 feet 11. My dad was about 6 ft. and she was in water [laughs].

AT: She go in deep kind place.

WK: Deep kind place!

KM: And so when you guys were kids, mama always used to go out, to gather *'ōpae* and...

Group: Anything.



MP: She go get *‘ōhiki* in morning go make *limu*.

KM: *‘Ōhiki?* Oh, yeah, yeah.

MP: Crab, white crab.

KM: Oh, get *‘ōhiki* and...

MP: *‘Ōhiki, ‘ōpae, and limu.*

WK: And when she get too far outside, and us guys, kids we not gonna swim, too. We scared We tell, “Oh, mama, get inside, get inside, no go outside there.” And choke deep, so she stay over there and he push ‘um, push ‘um back in the shallow place.

KM: Hmm.

WK: So every time she said she and she see this thing bang her, bang her, pushing her back up by the shallow place. So my mother every time she get mad, she goes outside she go tell em, the aunt, her sister. “Why this shark bang me?” She said, “because she...the shark protect you, you not supposed to go to deeper. You saw shark and you’re so deep.” [group chuckles]

KM: So mama was a fisherwoman? She would go out all the time gather?

Group: Every time she go.

MP: Early in the morning she go- she go *kahakai*. I used to know her.

AL: But she would come home with nothing. She gave ‘um away.

MP: Every time she go...

AL: What you catch you give, you get more.

MP: That’s right...



**Viola Kēhau Kekuku ‘Āpuakēhau Peterson Kawahigashi
Lā‘ie-Ko‘olauloa Fisheries**

August 10, 1995 – with Kepā Maly

Viola Kēhau Kekuku ‘Āpuakēhau Peterson-Kawahigashi (*Tūtū*) was born in Lā‘ie on February 15, 1910. She spent much of her childhood with her grandparents, Joseph Kekuku ‘Āpuakēhau and Miriam Ka‘ōpua-‘Āpuakehau. Both families have been in Lā‘ie for many years, with the Kekuku family having resided in Lā‘ie since ancient times, and having been the recipients of land during the *Māhele* (1848).

The following excerpts of the interview describe recollections of the *hukilau* and fishing in Lā‘ie. *Tūtū* Viola Kēhau Kekuku ‘Āpuakēhau Peterson-Kawahigashi granted her personal release of the interview records to Maly on September 1, 1995.

Describing *hukilau* fishing; salt making at Moku-auia; and the large salt beds of Kawaihoa in the Waialua District:

KM: What was life like in Lā‘ie when you were growing up?

VK: We were blessed by the Lord while growing up. Oh—the *hukilau*, we had *akule* and *halalū*, and grew taro and sweet potatoes. Lokona [Logan] would spot the fish, you’d see a dark spot in the bay. We’d fish with nets in the sandy area; the Laniloa and Mālaekahana sides had coral, but in the middle, at Hukilau Beach, we could lay the nets. When Lokona would call, almost everybody would go down to help with the boats, nets, and haul. When the nets were all pulled in, and the fish all collected, the nets and boats would be pulled up and cleaned. The fish were divided first between the divers, net-men, and boaters, then fish would be given to the other families, adults and children. My grandmother and other family members would clean the fish, and then salt it for drying.

We collected our *pa‘akai* or salt from Moku-auia. During the winter season, the ocean waves would toss water into the holes and depressions in the shoreline rocks, by August the sun would dry the water and leave beds of salt behind. We would also go on our wagon out to Kawaihoa to gather bags of salt. We’d have twelve 100 pound bags and give some to other families, keeping about three for ourselves.

After the fish were salted, we would take them and dry them on the ocean side. Because we had out-houses in the village, there were flies, so we’d dry them on the shore where the flies wouldn’t bother us. My grandmother also wove *lau hala*, and I would go up and help her with my grandfather to gather *lau hala*. We also had *kuleana* land where we planted taro, and over by Kawai‘eli, my tutu had gardens with sweet potatoes, bananas and things. It was behind BYU now, that knoll over there [in the general area also used by the Kai‘o family]...



**Walter Kong Wong Sr.
Lā'ie-Ko'olauloa Fisheries**

August 15 and 30, 1995 – with Kepā Maly

Walter Wong (Uncle Walter) was born on February 22, 1929, and was raised in Lā'ie. His mother's family is descended from four generations of native families of Lā'ie, and has ties to traditional families of the *ahupua'a*. As a child growing up in Lā'ie, Uncle Walter lived with his grandfather, Mamane Keawemauhili (Lot #67 on Ivins' 1927 map)—the family is descended from an important line of Hawai'i-Maui Island chiefs and priests, and some of the family history was handed down to uncle by his elders. Uncle also lived with his *tūtū*, Pua Ha'aheo, the famed chanter-hula instructor and fisherman of Kahana.

On August 30, 1995, Uncle Walter met with the author and took him on a site visit. During the site visit, additional legendary and historical narratives were collected. The excerpts of the interviews below, provide readers with descriptions of the fishing customs practice in Lā'ie, and also document an account of a dual-formed man who also possessed a shark form:

Fishing at Kahana; *tūtū* used to go on the mountain to *kilo i'a*:

WW: ...Pua Ha'aheo Nā'ihe, but he dropped the Nā'ihe; he is from Kahana, and is my *tūtū*. I used to stay over there with him. We live over there when we was small. When he was doing all those chants, you know. We used to be there, looking at them. Oh man, scared [laughs]. They do it in the night [chanting and *hula* ceremonies] with a big full moon. That's on the *lānai* side, by the fishpond at Kahana.

He used to live over there, by the fishpond over there. Nice place over there. They used to do that, oh, every time after that, they *pau* in the night and then they stay make *pule* they all go home. I used to stay over there. And he's a big fisherman, too. We used to go on top the mountain look for the fish, *kilo*, yeah? The people in Kahana come down, work together, get home, take home fish for us eat. And he was a good fisherman. I stay there until ah, I went got little bigger, I went back with my *tūtū* again, Mamane Keawemauhili. I stay over there with grandpa, then after that my mother like me, she take me with her. I would stay with her, and then come back, go home to Lā'ie or go to Kahana. That's how my life was, going all around. And I was very close to lots of the families. I felt close to all the families...

Grandmother was a fisherwoman:

KM: And what, *tūtū* them at Lā'ie, was *tūtū* mostly agriculture, or did he fish, too?

WW: He only did agriculture. The wife...believe it or not, the wife was the fisherwoman. Ohh, she was a good fisherwoman. She dive, she squid, everything. But when the children grow up, not one of the girls fisherman [laughs]. All the sons was fishermen. My uncle was a good fisherman, Keawe, the one still living till today...You know, he was a good fisherman. Oh he can spot the kind *he'é*, any place. And he was a good fisherman diver. I have another one, Lono, Lono was diver, fisherman. And I have this other one, my youngest Uncle Joseph. Joseph Kepa Mamane Keawemauhili. He was a good fisherman, he make net, he sew net, he throw net, he dive, and all that was him. And I followed just like him. I make net, I dive, and I do anything. Throw net, surround fish with net. Just like him. So I took over his...that's my gift for giving. I'm the next fisherman of the family, and I'm the last till today...

The Shark Man of Lā'ie

In follow up discussions with Walter Wong, Maleka Pukahi, and William Kanahale (Uncle Gala) on August 30 and 31, 1995, another legendary account was collected. The following narrative, about the "Shark Man of Lā'ie" is a compilation of various details and events as remembered by the three individuals cited above, each of them adding various components to the story. Walter Wong was the



first informant to mention the story. He pointed out the location of the shark's hole, which had fronted his house, and which was situated on the lot where the family of Clinton Kanahale had lived (Lot # 10 on the 1927 Ivins map).

Uncle Walter Wong noted that it had been William Kanahale's mother who had originally told him the story (cf. shark's stories in section above titled "Lā'ie: A Cultural and Historical Context"). Auntie Maleka heard the story from her mother and tutu. Uncle Gala confirmed that his mother had told him the story as well, although no one remembered the name of the Shark Man. The following narratives are a summary of hand-written notes from all three discussions.

The Shark Man of Lā'ie lived on the coastal flats alongside a pool, behind the sand dunes, in the area fronting Mary Forsythe's home, where Clinton Kanahale had lived for a while. A pathway to and from the ocean ran past the Shark Man's house, and the Kanahale's house often had noises and sounds of people or spirits passing through. While most of the people of Lā'ie lived further inland, this man lived down near the pool where he would *kanu 'uala a me ka mea e a'e* (plant sweet potatoes and various things). The man always wore a *hinakā 'ula'ula* (red handkerchief or shawl) over his back, this was to hide *ka waha o ka manō ma ke kua* (the shark's mouth that was on his back), but no one at the time knew this. Now while the man was working in his garden, women would pass by on their way to the ocean, and the Shark Man would ask, "*Auwē, e hele ana 'oe ihea?*" (Oh my, where are you going?) And the various women would comment, "*E hele ana au i ke kai...*" (I'm going to the ocean...), where they *'ohi limu, pāpa'i, he'e, a me ka mea like 'ole ma ke kahakai* (gather seaweeds, crabs, octopus, and other things along the shore). Over the years, it was noted that often the women would not come back from the ocean.

Now, *ma lalo o kēlā puka wai, he puka mawaho i ke kai* (beneath that water hole, there was an exit out to the ocean), and the Shark Man would dive in, assume his shark form, and swim out to attack and devour the women. Over some time, it was suspected that the man who wore the covering over his back, had something to do with the disappearances. The *ali'i* of Lā'ie planned a contest and feast far in the uplands, at the waterfall and pool of Lā'ie-wai. People from all over Lā'ie gathered for the *lele kawa* (leap diving) contest and contest to see who could stay under the water the longest. The pool of Lā'ie-wai was one of the famous contest sites in Lā'ie, a place where people gathered often for competitions.

The man who wore the red *hinakā* over his back, was among those gathered to watch the events. The torches were lit, and a great competition took place, until eventually one champion was proclaimed victorious. No one else would come forward to compete. Now this Shark Man was known to be very strong, and the *ali'i* and spectators called upon him to enter the competition, but he refused. As people pushed forward along the edge of the cliff overlooking the pool, someone slipped and pushed the Shark Man into the pool. Everyone fell silent, waiting for the man to reappear at the surface. They waited and waited, and the man didn't come up. Then suddenly, a large red shape was seen in the pool, and the people called out in shock; upon hitting the water, the man had become a large shark. The people collected *olonā* nets and began throwing one, and then another into the pool, hoping to snare the shark. Many *olonā* nets were thrown over the shark, until finally he weakened, and the people were able to drag him up onto the land.

While the nets were being thrown on the shark, the chief ordered a great bonfire to be burned. When the shark was finally caught and pulled out of the water, he returned to his human form, with the shark's mouth outlined on his back. He was thrown into the fire and killed, this is how the people of Lā'ie rid themselves of this Shark Man.



***Thelma Genevieve Parish
with Arline Wainaha Pu'ulei Brede-Eaton
Oral History Interview—Lands and Fisheries of Pu'uloa-Honouliuli, 'Ewa, O'ahu
May 2, 1997 — with Kepā Maly***

Sister Thelma Genevieve Parish was born on May 26th, 1918, Her father's family descends from the Dowsett line which was granted private property interests in the 'Ewa lands in the 1850s, and her mother's line ties back to the Waiāhole-Hakipu'u region of Ko'olaupoko. Sister Parish is herself a historian, and has documented important histories of the land and ocean resources.

Aunty Arline Wainaha Pu'ulei Brede-Eaton was born in 1927, and has lived in Pu'uloa nearly all of her life. Papa Brede oversaw ranch operations for the Dowsett's—and by the time aunty was born, had bought land and built a home at Pu'uloa. Initially the family spent weekends and holidays, at Pu'uloa, living in Kalihi on week days. Fishing and gathering *limu* were among the important pass-times of the family.

In the following interview excerpts, these two women share their recollections of fishing, gathering *limu*, salt making, and practices of the people of the land in the 'Ewa District.

Sister Thelma Parish granted her personal release of the interview records to Maly on August 20, 1997. Aunty Arline Eaton granted her personal release of the interview records to Maly on May 2, 1997.

KM: *Aloha and mahalo.*

TGP: *Aloha nō!*

KM: Please, if you would share your full name, date of birth, and then if you would keep telling your story then.

TGP: I'm Thelma Genevieve Parish and I was born on May the 26th, 1918. So I'm somewhat antiquated [chuckles].

KM: Blessed.

TGP: And I have known and taken a very vivid interest in my family, on both my father's side, which was the Dowsett side. And my mother's side which comes from the other side of the island in Waiāhole-Hakipu'u. My grandmother, Mary Kaohinani Dowsett-Parish...had inherited acreage down here in the area that we now call 'Ewa Beach. We never referred to the area as 'Ewa Beach in my younger days. It was always Kūpaka [as pronounced].

And whenever we children, on Friday afternoons, we'd get home from school, we had our little duffel bags all packed because we were going to go to Kūpaka, to spend the weekend. Now Kūpaka was part of the *ahupua'a* of Pu'uloa. And my great grandfather owned, and I have to use that word in quotation marks, because, it's refuted, or questioned as to the direct ownership. But he did, in quotes, own from the entrance to Pearl Harbor all the way to approximately, Campbell High School, [where it is located] today...

My grandmother's property was always...sort of located by the height of the windmill. She had the only windmill in the area and it was a land mark.

KM: You know, on the old map that we were looking at earlier?

TGP: Hmm.

Discussing the Pu'uloa Salt Works:

KM: Alexander's 1873 map, Register Map Number 618, we see [opening the map]... See the watering hole here? [pointing to sites identified on the map] In fact, see, this says "stone wall" coming in by the salt works?



TGP: Uh-hmm.

KM: Was Kūpaka the area of your houses and was it on the shore also, or...?

TGP: Kūpaka is now, as I knew it then, is now Parish Drive.

KM: Ahh, okay, that's good to know.

TGP: And so we referred to that whole area...the area we went through, before reaching my grandmother's country home, was that of Mitsuyasu.

AE: Yes, that's right.

TGP: We had a charcoal area.

KM: Oh *kiawe* charcoal.

TGP: A charcoal burning establishment.

AE: What year did they come down here?

TGP: Mitsuyasu must have been here before 1925...

KM: So your house area... [pointing to the locations on the map] if the salt works were up here, and this is a walled enclosure, and there are some small houses indicated here.

TGP: Uh-hmm.

KM: But your grandmother's place was down, you think, on this end?

TGP: Yes.

KM: [marking location on map], Towards the end of the stone wall here?

TGP: Uh-hmm.

KM: Ahh... As we look at the Pu'uloa area here, you see the *ahupua'a* boundary line that comes up, the fishponds, fisheries, the salt works, and if we come out towards One'ula, do you have recollections of some of the resources? Or were there families out here and things as well?

TGP: It was...my guess is, that there were few...it was very, very unpopulated. Not at all populated. And I often wondered where the Pu'uloa salt works were. My guess was, as I was growing up and heard about them, that they were to the south of Fort Weaver. But I'd been told recently that there were more, up off the West Loch.

KM: That's correct, yes.

TGP: And I do remember my family referring to West Loch as being grandpa's as well. Not so much the water part, but the lands across from West Loch. So that would bring us right directly to One'ula and a little bit further than Campbell High School.

AE: Uh-hmm.

KM: Yes. Was anyone still...what did you hear about the salt works, and was anyone still making salt when you were a child, anywhere out here?

TGP: That, I wouldn't know. I've accumulated a good deal of additional knowledge through my own research, and so now, it's hard for me to delineate and pin-point what I knew as a child, and what I learned as an adult through research.

KM: Uh-hmm... Well, you've traveled quite a bit as well. In your understanding, was the salt works, did it play an important part in the history of this land?

TGP: Yes it did. In fact the salt works were the focal point of the ownership, of my great grandfather's ownership. E.B. Scott, in his *Saga of the Sandwich Islands* mentions it, and he's quoting from someone else, that the salt works were a very prominent part of the economy and the early industrialization enterprises.



KM: Sure, so was the salt used for hides and the salting and preparation of meats and things?

TGP: My great grandfather commercialized in salt, and sold it. According to research, a good deal of the salt that was produced on O'ahu was sold to the fishing fleets that would come from Alaska and take it back to Alaska for the salting of the salmon.

KM: Ahh, interesting. When we were looking at this map a little earlier, it was also interesting to note that there was, what looks to be [marking on map], almost to be like a little *kahe* or weir or something that came in off of Pu'uloa. Had you heard at all, about how water was gathered into the salt ponds? Did they did holes and make...?

TGP: No, this part I have never been able to research in depth, simply because we haven't had access to maps of this vintage. But this map seems to indicate, and I would say, in common sense, it would tell us that they had to bring the salt water in from the lower end, or away from the entrance to Pearl Harbor simply because the outer shore line is too high. And they wouldn't have been able to flood the salt ponds from the south shore. But, bringing it in from the east shore line, and into the salt pans, seems much more sensible.

KM: [copies of Register Map 618, were given to *kūpuna* Thelma and Arline] Looking at the map, it was interesting to see that it looks like there was this little channel or estuary like that fed into the area of the salt works.

TGP: Uh-hmm. I don't believe that anything remains today of the salt works.

KM: Hmm, yes, even many these fishponds along here have been destroyed. May I ask, if you've heard, because one of the things that I'll send to you, that I think you'll be very interested in... As I was going through the original *Māhele* texts, I found...and see the problem is, because the *kuleana* weren't awarded, they weren't recorded in the final Indices, and that why people don't think that any land was claimed in Pu'uloa. But I found a list of about 12 or 15 individuals who in the Native Register of claims, claimed *'āina* along this area of Pu'uloa. But by the time the Native Testimonies for awards came up, all of these individuals relinquished their claims here and moved in, particularly, a lot of them moved into the Waikele-Waipio area, you know Loko 'Eo.

TGP: Ahh the Waipi'o area.

KM: Which I though, was really interesting. Did you hear of any early families living anywhere out here at all, as a child?

TGP: Never. The only other habitation, if I can refer to it as such, was my cousin's country home, and she was the daughter of Samuel Dowsett...

KM: ...So coming out towards One'ula, like that, or even to Kualaka'i, did you hear...?

TGP: No, not that far. We weren't, no. I doubt...even now, in picking up some of the research, nothing seems to resemble anything that I had known as a child. It's all...well, this was all just wild country, all along the shore line.

KM: Yes...

TGP: I ask Arline frequently what she remembers of her father and grandfather's experiences and she as a little girl coming down to what we knew of as Kūpaka, every weekend.

AE: Uh-hmm.

KM: Yes.

AE: But, you know, the cattle were around in this area too [pointing to the One'ula area of the map], but like you said, I'm just assuming that your grandfather owned that property because Papa had to bring the cattle down in this area.

KM: Hmm, even into Honouliuli.



TGP: Probably round 'um up and move them...

Gathered *limu* and fished along the shores of Kūpaka:

KM: ...As a child, do you remember, were there good areas for *limu*, like *līpoa* or, or fish like 'ō'io...

TGP: Oh! 'Ewa, Kūpaka was noted for it's *limu*. The *limu* banks would pile up as high as three feet along the shore line.

KM: Along the area fronting here [pointing to the ocean shore fronting Kūpaka]. So there is a *papa*, a reef flats or something?

AE: Oh yes.

TGP: Yes, but it's not visible.

KM: Oh submerged?

TGP: Yes, in fact, you'd think there was no reef area because there is no line of breakers. But the *limu* was extremely plentiful [said with emphasis].

KM: So there was good *limu*; all kinds, or a particular variety?

TGP: All kinds.

AE: Yes.

TGP: And the *manauea* was particularly important.

KM: So *manauea*. Was there *wāwae'iole*?

AE: Yes.

TGP: Yes.

KM: *Līpoa*?

TGP: Plenty.

KM: *Kohu*?

AE: Yes, *limu kohu*.

TGP: Yes.

AE: There's still plenty when you go to Barber's Point, because nobody goes in. They don't have access. I just got some *limu kohu*, Mary went to make some.

KM: So was that a popular occurrence, friends and family might come down to gather *limu* or fish when you were young children?

TGP: Occasionally, it was almost untouched, as we knew it.

KM: And you said it was a much as three feet thick?

TGP: Three feet above the sand level.

AE: Yes.

TGP: And beautiful white sand beaches in the Kūpaka area, what we would call Parish Drive now. That was all beautiful white sand beach. And then, noted for it's *limu* and noted for it's cat's eyes, those little shells, the little door that flaps, opens up.

KM: Yes, on the cone-type shell.

AE: Sister, all of that Hailipō and all of that, that was all Dowsett land eh?



TGP: Yes.

KM: Hailipō?

TGP: Hailipō...

KM: Did you folks, aside from gathering *limu*, and perhaps some fishing out here, did you remember traveling down along the coast into the One'ula area?

TGP: Not that far. It would be...see, the white sand beach ends, maybe two blocks, I'm estimating, two blocks beyond my grandmother's place. And then, there was a coral shelf.

KM: Yes.

TGP: And the coral begins, and that coral shelf runs all the way down to One'ula.

AE: Uh-hmm.

TGP: Before you begin to see some sandy beach areas again. And it was densely thick with wild [chuckles] vegetation, you just couldn't go through it. The cattle could, but it wasn't a place that we would be allowed to play. It was far too far away. And there was no purpose in anyone going down there. It was easier to go by boat, if we were going to go down the shore line.

Area noted as a lobster fishery:

KM: Uh-hmm. Were there good fishing areas out here?

TGP: Lobsters. We had a Filipino yard man who would come periodically to clean up and all, and over the weekends, he would put on his tiny little goggles [gesturing single lenses over each eye], right up against his eyes, and his cotton gloves. Then he'd go off with his big gunny sack and by the time he got back, the gunny sack was full of lobsters. All he had to do was reach into the lobster holes and pick them up. They were so plentiful.

AE: Yes.

Pu'uloa known as home of shark goddess, Ka'ahupāhau:

TGP: Lots and lots of fish and lots of lobsters. And I don't remember any sharks in the area. There was no reason for them to come in, there wasn't any pollution of any sort that would attract them.

KM: So, you've mentioned sharks, and of course, Pu'uloa is famed, "*Alahula Pu'uloa, he ala hele na Ka'ahupāhau*" [The trails of Pu'uloa are those traveled by Ka'ahupāhau]

TGP: Uh-hmm.

KM: The shark goddess.

AE: Yes.

KM: Were there still stories at all being told?

TGP: Well yes, but that was into the Pearl Harbor area. I don't know of sharks being a threat when we went swimming, and we were always on the beach, and into the water.

AE: Yes. But like sister said, the growth is all dense in this area. Meque, Major Kealakai's boy, he and I would come walk up, you know where it's all rocky?

KM: 'Ae.

TGP: Uh-hmm, and you'd walk the shore line.

AE: Yes the trails over here [pointing to the map in the area of One'ula-Kualaka'i]...



Discusses beliefs and responsibilities of people to the land, ocean and resources:

KM: ...It's so interesting. I'm sure you must have been hearing stories, like the value of fisheries, or relationships of land, like, as mama was *hānai* to Ka-uku Kalā [pauses]. These histories are so important, and that we remember land use and relationships... What was the sense, even here, and this is appropriate, coming back to Pu'uloa, the relationship to the land, often the priesthood was associated with caring for, and calling upon the abundance, the growth, the proper rains so that the crops would grow. To call so that the abundance of the ocean, the *limu* or the fish, would come back. Was there a sense of...?

TGP: Caring, yes.

KM: In fact today, there is so much talk about "native rights," and...

TGP: Yes, but they are caring things, in my estimation, a little too far. Because the *maka'āinana* [commoners, people of the land], were never in possession of any "rights." They kept within, or had to keep within their areas and if they were allowed to go into the sacred lands or into the oceans and all, it was only with permission. They knew their areas. They kept within their areas. And they didn't, in my estimation, gather from here there and everywhere. They didn't take liberties. I don't think that their mode of life necessitated their going out of, or beyond their *ahupua'a*, where they were born.

KM: 'Ae. That makes sense, it falls in line with the writings of individuals like Kamakau or I'i and others.

TGP: Uh-hmm.

KM: You have rights of certain accesses within your own *ahupua'a*.

TGP: Right.

KM: But, the responsibility was that if you gather, you care for...

TGP: Yes.

KM: ...the resources. Is that right?

TGP: Yes, oh yes, yes.

KM: And you didn't go, "Ahh, look that *limu* is more 'ono over in Honouliuli, so I'm going to leave Pu'uloa now and take from Honouliuli."

TGP: I don't think that even entered their minds. This idea of gathering from here, there, or anywhere. And Ka-uku Kalā was a very, very famous fisherman. And he fished the waters from Mokoli'i all the way beyond to Kāne'ōhe Bay.

KM: So he fished all in to the Mōkapu, Kāne'ōhe Bay, and into the other side as well?

TGP: No, no, not that far. He would go the distance that he could go alone in his canoe, beyond Mokoli'i, into the deep water. And then the women gathered the *limu* and the shell fish and all from the area within their *ahupua'a*, because actually, the *ahupua'a* extended to the reef. But there was nothing of this transient gathering from here, there, and everywhere.

KM: Is this something that you remember hearing a little bit about also?

TGP: This idea of "gathering rights" sounds so extremely fictitious to me. I don't know...I think it has come about through the need of the present entertainers to go beyond what would normally be available to them.

AE: Uh-hmm.

TGP: And now are declaring that they had rights to go anywhere.



KM: This is interesting, when you talk about Ka-uku Kalā, this *kupuna* and his fishing. Because he was *kahuna nui*...

TGP: Uh-hmm.

KM: ...and he cared for these sacred lands. Was Kualoa a special place traditionally?

TGP: Oh yes! The five *ahupua'a*, from Ka-lae-o-ka-'oi'o all the way to Waiāhole, those five *ahupua'a* are the sacred lands of O'ahu...

Limu does not accumulate on the shore now, as it once did; the old *kapu* system, was an effective way of managing land and fishery resources:

KM: ...Of course we're bouncing around a little bit, and I'm thinking that maybe as we talk, other thoughts will come to mind. And while the tape was off, we were just talking once again, a little bit about some of the native "rights" or "traditional rights" in gathering, and you said that you noticed that Kūpaka now, as an example, where as before there was three feet thick beds of *limu*, now...?

TGP: Nothing. There's...in fact, we've seen people walk the beach, or go along in the low tide on their tummy's in the water, diving and plucking the very, very, tiniest of the *limu* growths.

KM: Hmm. So the old system of *kapu*, restricted seasons and gathering, and when you didn't go out, had some intelligence to it eh?

TGP: It was the real means of conservation, they would have nothing, had they not had their *kapus*. And they knew that, and no one resented these *kapus* and no one attempted to sneak around them.

KM: Hmm, they were working within their own lands, the places their families were associated with, traditionally.

TGP: Uh-hmm. If they didn't look after them, they had nothing. So they had to look after the resources and take care of them. And I don't think that our Hawaiian people were unhappy under the *kapu* system. They were perfectly content, they didn't know, they were not in a position to make comparisons. They didn't know there was a better way. It was their way.

KM: Was it better [chuckles]?

TGP: Well, they didn't...the point of comparison was eventually thrust upon them and they were taught and told that the old way was no good, and that they could no longer be the "pagans" that they were admitted to. Then they began to look to something else. But, I think that awareness was fostered and perhaps forced upon them. The awareness of, "Well, there's something else besides what we know."

Care in fishing and collection of *limu* and other resources, ensures sustainability of the resources:

KM: Well, I think this is an important point also, coming back to how your *kūpuna* [elders] lived. They lived on an island, within an *ahupua'a*, and each island and *ahupua'a* had it's wealth of resources, but it was limited. So you learned how to manage and care for it.

TGP: Uh-hmm.

KM: You take too much today, you starve tomorrow, it makes great sense. So today we see people come in to gather, even the smallest...pulling the rock, the *limu*, or take the last of the fish. And you'd mentioned the *ula*, the lobster that were out here and things, and of course there was this wealth of fishponds out here. Were you folks still gathering *anae* or *awa*, anything out in these areas? And Did the cowboy's families go traveling places that you heard of and gather fish or things like that?



TGP: Not...that would all be conjecture on my part. I would have to guess, simply because it didn't ever, ever come into my range of experience, having other people in the area. You see, by the time I was growing up, Pearl Harbor was already established and the old Hawai'i was long gone from the area.

KM: Yes. [speaking to aunty Arline] Aunty did you share that you couldn't even take a canoe... Do you remember when you were a child, could you still go in here and canoe or boat or anything? Or had the closed down?

TGP: By the military.

AE: Uh-hmm. But I noticed, that they would allow the old...especially on your papa's ranch, they would let them net fish.

TGP: Yes, in the old days.

AE: And they allowed them to go.

KM: 'Ana'e like that?

AE: Yes. They'd go in there.

TGP: But then, Fort Weaver wasn't built up as it is today.

AE: Oh no.

TGP: And you had access to the fishponds.

AE: 'Cause you had to in among the *kiawe* trees and come along Waipahū and on down Honouliuli, so in this area was like nobody.

KM: So, where the salt works was and like where your house was, everything is bulldozed and knocked down? Is that correct, there's no walls or anything left of the salt works, that you know of?

TGP: I've often wondered in going through that area, where there salt works were located, and I think they were located some what in the vicinity of the firing ranges now. They have some practice ranges out there. And just studying the contour of the land and that's probably where they were located, and probably inland from the shore line in that general area. Which is the entrance of Fort Weaver. And probably extended over into what is now the park.

AE: Yes.

KM: Which park?

TGP: The 'Ewa Beach Park.

AE: Pu'uloa Park, they've put the name back to Pu'uloa.

KM: 'Ae.

AE: We're trying to get Kimo Pelekāne put back too.

TGP: [chuckles] Kimo Pelekāne.

AE: That's her grandfather.

TGP: My great grandfather was known by the native as Kimo Pelekāne, and everyone called him Kimo Pelekāne. He knew Hawaiian as well as he knew English, and he was a member of the House of Lords, in the old legislature. He would caution the Hawaiians in their wanting to promulgate new laws, and record. "If you say it this way, be careful, because if you say it this way, it's going to mean this to the *po'e haole* [foreigners]. But if you say it this way, this is what you mean, so you say it this way. This is your intent..."

...But as far as this part of 'Ewa goes, I believe it would have been an area of periodic habitation.



KM: 'Ae, seasonal, coming down to...

AE: Like fishing.

TGP: Yes fishing.

AE: Spending time.

KM: Ahh, gather *pa'akai* [salt].

TGP: Uh-hmm.

KM: Dry fish like that.

AE: Uh-hmm.

TGP: And at the proper seasons.

KM: 'Ae. It's interesting, and of course, the *kūpuna* were so *na'auao*, how they were able to live off of the land. Even what we wouldn't drink today, the *waikai* [brackish water]...

TGP: Yes they could tolerate it.

AE: The brackish water.

TGP: They could tolerate the brackish water. I know that the area also, and this is from research, was famous for it's "dog people." You know, there was a cast, or a type of people, who had dog's tails and this area was supposed to have been one of the areas that they inhabited. And they lived in the pits, underground.

KM: Ahh, there are such things as *hula 'ilio*, the dog chants and *hula* for the *'ilio*, like that.

TGP: Uh-hmm.

KM: And my understanding is that the *'ilio* was a form of Kū, they were Kū associated. The cloud forms of the dog like that.

TGP: These were actually people and they evidently...I was reading about their having been very, very ferocious warriors. So they would join the ranks of the chiefs in battle and then they were seen in some of the...seen by people who had the fortune or misfortune of viewing the *'oi'o*, the night marchers. And they were seen participating in the night march...

KM: Hmm... Were the ocean resources important then, and do they remain important to the people, you think?

TGP: I don't think people really look to the resources as resources any more. If they enjoy the beach, it's because it's available. If they go down to One'ula, it's primarily to fish. You don't see them in groups in any large numbers there, other than to picnic.

KM: Hmm. The community has changed drastically hasn't it? After your time as a child, it sounds like there was no one out.

TGP: That's right.

KM: One'ula, no one out here.

TGP: That's right...

KM: ...There are obvious remnants of remains. You know the salt works were important, and in the earlier days where the *kāheka*, the natural salt beds.

TGP/AE: Uh-hmm.



KM: And like aunty Arline was saying when we'd met previously, there was this area where the ponds are back here, and the old house sites and wet lands [in the vicinity of Sites 3201, 3202, and 3205]. Water was such an important resources, and we were wondering about salt works, or making there. If the people didn't live down here permanently, where did they live? Where were the people coming from that made use of these resources out here?

TGP: As I sort of surmise now, I think the large areas of habitation were Waikele and then down through the lower part of what we call Waipahū. Now Waipahū is not a proper name. It's neither an area or an ahupua'a, it's just a gushing well.

KM: Ahh, yes, Wai-pahū, one site eh.

TGP: Uh-hmm.

AE: That's right.

KM: [looking at Register Map 618] See where it says "Church" here?

TGP: Uh-hmm.

KM: This is in Honouliuli, right on the edge. There was all this taro land up here, yeah?

TGP: Uh-hmm.

KM: Do you think that that's where the main people were living?

TGP: These taro lands of Honouliuli supplied the chiefs primarily. There weren't any other taro lands, that I know of.

AE: Not over there.

TGP: And that's why now, if the taro was here, the people were living not too far away from their taro lands. They had to work them, and the chiefly compound, at Waikele was conveniently close. Then, you also have Waipi'o with it's ponds.

AE: Uh-hmm.

TGP: So I would say that the main area of population circled the West Loch.

KM: 'Ae. That's interesting, and probably...?

TGP: Probably during seasons, they would come camp over here. They would have to bring their fresh water. Their tolerance of salt water could not extend for too long. [chuckles] You can't do that for lengths of time.

AE: Uh-hmm...

KM: ...Seasonally, families were coming down and fishing, yeah.

AE: Yes.

KM: That was still happening.

AE: That was.

TGP: And it was a practice that was, I think, what you would call "State wide." You know the Kona area on the Big Island, 'Anaeho'omalū, all the way to Kalāhuipua'a, and then even further towards Kohala. The people from Anahulu came down and spent portions of the year at the shore.

KM: Yes, like Alapa'i mā.

TGP: Right. And they had their shelters in these caves and they would bring only what was necessary and they would always take back their partially crystallized kai [salt water] and finish making their salt *mauka*. So it was done, these seasonal treks to other areas.



KM: So that's what you visualize as being the practice here?

TGP: Yes, rather than a permanent settlement of any sort here. I've never heard of...I think the permanency, the settlement was in the Waikele area. There are more legends related to that area.

KM: 'Ae. It's so interesting...

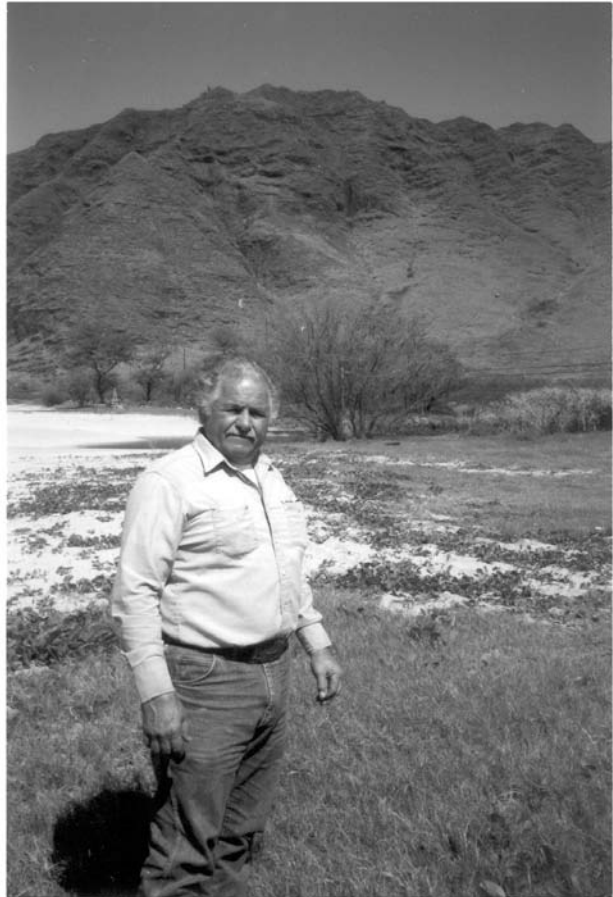


Albert “Cowboy” Hollis Silva
Recollections of Wai‘anae District Fisheries (KPA Photo No. AS020598)
December 21, 1997 – at ‘Ōhikilōlō
February 5, 1998 – Mākua-Kahanahāiki Site Visit with Kepā Maly

Albert H. Silva (affectionately called “Cowboy Silva”) was born in 1929 in Wai‘anae. His mother was Annie Kamaka‘iwa Poe McCandless-Silva, and through her genealogy he is descended from families with several generations of residency in the lands of Keawa‘ula, Kahanahāiki, Mākua, and ‘Ōhikilōlō. His father, Manuel Silva, was one of the land managers for Lincoln L. McCandless.

Uncle Albert grew up with elder Hawaiian ranch hands and fishermen, *kama‘āina* of the Wai‘anae District. His interview provides readers with rich descriptions of life on the land and knowledge of the fisheries of the region.

On February 5th, 1998, during the process of reviewing the first draft of his interview transcript, Uncle Albert accompanied Maly on a site visit to the coastal section of Mākua-Kahanahāiki. Among the significant sites seen during the visit was the location of the *ko‘a* (fisherman’s shrine at Mākua). During that visit, detailed site notes and descriptions of fisheries were taken, these were later expanded and incorporated into the body of the interview per his request. The revised interview was returned to Uncle Albert, for his review and comments on February 11th.



Albert H. Silva granted his personal release of the interview records to Maly on March 3, 1998.

Discussing the importance of traditional sacred places on the landscape, and fishing resources in native life:

AS: ...The sacred places are the sacred places, that spot, the location where they did their services, their rituals. Where they went to make offerings for good luck, good fortune, and good health.

KM: Hmm, like fishing and agriculture?

AS: Yes, for the fishing, for the agriculture. But mostly fishing. Because they had to have fish and sea food, you know, protein to live, to sustain themselves. So the *mauka* [inland areas], they planted their sweet potatoes and things. My mother told me by her time, they also planted a lot of tapioca.

KM: Oh yeah.

AS: Yes, that type of yam. So she said that’s what their staple was. In this area, sweet potato and yams, and short period kind of plants... ..They did that, so they gather all the leaves,



all the plant runners, and they nurtured it. And then they'd get a good crop. So with the sweet potato and the fish, which is abundant in this area, and the *limu* [seaweeds], they lived. Yes, they didn't need too much other things. And then they had pig—most Hawaiians kept pigs around, close by. They feed the pigs the left overs, like the leaves and what ever they could gather for the pigs to live on. But, that is what my mother told us...

Discusses the fishing customs, *ko'a*, and lead fisherman of Mākua during his youth:

AS: ...Okay, this is the stream coming down. Well, Pulu'ole lived right *mauka*, along side the stream.

KM: Sam Pulu'ole?

AS: Yes, Sam Pulu'ole.

KM: What was Sam Pulu'ole's role in the community when you were a child?

AS: Oh, Sam Pulu'ole for a while, he used to be cowboy to for L.L. He was one of the cowboys, now and then. I guess he'd gotten so old. But his primary purpose, what I call, his thing was fishing. Sam Pulu'ole was really, the fisherman.

KM: Was he almost the overseer like?

AS: Well what happened, it used to be that they all worked together. So when he decided that they were going to fish... 'cause Mākua, had a lot of fish. Even right now, if you go over there, you see a lot of *'ōpelu*. A lot of *'ōpelu*. So that's one of the best places on this whole Wai'anae coast for *'ōpelu*. You know, they're small schools. But, when they gathered in the big schools, Sam Pulu'ole, he would see them, he could tell the fish. He was a good spotter.

KM: *Kilo* [fish spotter] like eh?

AS: Oh yes, and he spent a lot of time, I guess doing that.

KM: Watching the ocean?

AS: Yes, watching the ocean. He's really...it's true, no B.S. Sam Pulu'ole was the guy, the person that was like in charge. So anytime that he saw fish, a good school, then he'd get everybody together. I forget the name, when get one school, and they stay in one area...not the *ko'a* [in this context, an ocean fishing station]; oh yeah, *ko'a*. Yes that's it, *ko'a*.

KM: So they knew the *ko'a* where the fish would come?

AS: Yes, 'cause they'd hang around, you know. They don't just come and go.

KM: Could we get an idea of where the *ko'a* might have been, generally.

AS: Oh, the *ko'a* used to be, towards La'ihau, that area.

KM: Here's the towers, we're looking at the current area map. The stream came down right in here, and the cemetery is right over here.

AS: Where's the other stream now?

KM: Here's the other stream over here, it pukas [exits] out here.

AS: Sam Pulu'ole's... Okay, where's the other stream?

KM: There's another little stream over here.

AS: Okay.

KM: This is where the stream still comes through and still has a little bit of the cement from the railroad track.



AS: Okay. I think this is the area where the *ko'a* used to be [marking a location seaward of Waihoe stream].

KM: Okay, about how far off shore would you put it?

AS: [thinking] not too far off, I would say, maybe a couple hundred yards at the most. At the most. But, they never went out too far.

KM: Okay, so sort of in between these stream areas?

AS: Two places, they used to catch... Where is the other stream, the first stream.

KM: Well, here's the first one off of Ko'iahi.

AS: Okay, I think was over here too. Right in here, fronting Mākua Stream.

KM: Okay. I'm going to, just generally, we're approximating it, make circles.

AS: And they used to also...you see that stream here?

KM: Yes.

AS: Okay, they used to, the distance was, I guess not that far out. Maybe a couple of hundred yards at the most. You know, 'cause the fish came way in.

KM: And *'ōpelu* [*Decapterus pinnulatus*] you said eh?

AS: *'Ōpelu* and *akule* [*Trachurops crumenophthalmus*]. And they used to do that. You know, the stories come back, the people know everything what's going on. They share, they say this, you know. And it wasn't a secret, because everyone participated. It was of everyone's interest, that they know what's going on, and they *kōkua*. Everybody would help.

People only took what was needed; when you helped you could always take fish:

KM: Yes. What was the protocol, if you came and helped, you'd get fish?

AS: Ohh! If you came and helped [chuckles], you get a share, I mean like... Hoo! you take all that you want. And nobody, no one took more than what they needed. Even I had a chance, I did that as a child, a youngster. Me, I'd go help, *huki* [pull] the net or whatever. And then the boat, if you helped push the canoe, you know. Like the canoe is coming up, and you go there to help, they give you what ever you want. They would tell you to take. Yes. They tell you, "take, take, take home." They'd say "Take home." So you take what you wanted. So, you know, like this archaeological site [pointing to the Site 179, a *ko'a* (fisherman's shrine) at Mākua]. That's the one just...where is this located at?

KM: Well, this is basically the old railroad, rough road area. Coming through here. And what I think they are wondering about is, were there *ko'a* still on land, like where the *Kū'ula* [fishermen's deity stones] would be. Did you ever see the old man Pulu'ole go some place and set an offering?

AS: Oh, it was over here. I think, it was over here [pointing to the Kahanahāiki Stream outlet]. Where this? Where is the house?

KM: Well, here's the cemetery and church, right here.

AS: Okay, the cemetery.

KM: And Naiwi's place?

AS: Naiwi's place was back here.

KM: Okay.

AS: Right next to the stream. This would be the stream?



KM: Yes... So talking about the fishing things down here also, below Naiwi's place, below the church.

AS: Yes, below the church and about a couple hundred yards away, is the *ko'a*.

KM: Where the *Kū'ula* was and stuff like that.

AS: Yes. Right there, you know where the... Well, my grandfather had a house right on the beach.

KM: Uh-hmm. Was it below the church?

AS: Yes, below the church.

KM: So in the vicinity of where the canoe shed was also?

AS: Oh yes, had two houses there. Next to his house, they had another bungalow, a guesthouse. And then the canoe house was on the Keawa'ula side of the guesthouse... And right next to his house, maybe 50 yards away, maybe less, there was another house, a little cottage-like bungalow. And it was in the front of that bungalow that was where the canoe house was. And that canoe house, right next to it, they had the net racks, where Pulu'ole... Pulu'ole had net racks in front of his house too, in the front by his house. But, they had racks over here too...

...You know, the old Hawaiian people lived next to sacred places – graves, *heiau*, and such—they lived right with these places. They planted, grew, and harvested their crops there. They didn't *kolohe* (play around), they respected the places, but they lived there amongst their very sacred places. You know why it was okay? Because they were respectful and they didn't have thoughts of desecration. They respected the land. And in my youth, except for Sam Pulu'ole, I didn't see anyone make offerings. The only other one I heard of was Willy Enos, evidently, he also made offerings. But, it was a no-no for us...

KM: ...Yes.

AS: So had, right next to the other house, where the canoe house was, that's where I think they had a shrine. You know, like Pulu'ole would go and give offerings.

KM: And did Pulu'ole live just above there?

AS: Yes, *mauka*. Right by the stream. Pulu'ole lived by the stream. Now, let me see, he lived...let me kind of [thinking]. Anyway, his house was close to the stream [the back of the estuary], but *mauka*. It was all fenced, where the cattle wouldn't go in his yard... Pulu'ole's place was *mauka*, above there.

KM: Yes, *mauka* of the road.

AS: We stayed *makai*, here.

KM: Okay.

AS: So the boat house, okay.

KM: Yes. Were they canoes?

AS: Yes, canoes. So Pulu'ole had his canoe in that boat house too.

KM: About how many do you think, two, three?

AS: Well, Lester Marks had one canoe, I think, and Pulu'ole had his own canoe.

KM: Uh-hmm. How about Naiwi?

AS: No, not Naiwi...



KM: ...So the families, Naiwi, Helenihi, Pulu'ole, Amoe, these families...

AS: Also had a Goo. Goo was down this way, down here, just on the other side of the stream [pointing to locations on HTS Plat 2081].

KM: Okay, this is the *muliwai* [estuary] that comes back from the beach.

AS: Yes, but down here.

KM: Down further. In fact, here's the railroad stop here.

AS: Okay back here then [pointing into Keawa'ula]

KM: Okay, so Goo was closer to the Keawa'ula Point side?

AS: Yes, we know this place as La'ihau.

KM: La'ihau?

AS: La'ihau.

KM: Okay, here's the house where you'd said the old woman and old man lived in Keawa'ula [Mākua side of LCA 5999].

AS: Okay, on this side. Let me look at the other map.

KM: Here's the other one. That's the railroad station here.

AS: Okay.

KM: And there's a *heiau*, 'Ūkanipō...

AS: Oh, on the side of the hill.

KM: Uh-hmm.

AS: Okay it would be right around in here, this would be La'ihau then...

KM: ...So this is interesting, what we see is that Pulu'ole...there is a *ko'a* or *Kū'ula* stone that he would make...

AS: Yes, that's what I understood, from...you know, the word would get out, right around in here [pointing to the location on *Figure 3-6*]. This road going up, it would be just *makai*. Right around in here.

KM: Okay, good.

AS: So the canoe house, it was right next to the canoe house. And the canoe house was over there.

KM: Canoe house.

Recalls that there was a shark god at Mākua:

AS: Yes, canoe house. We also call it boat house... ...There was one incident, it was Sam Pulu'ole's wife. They had some *lū'au* or something, I forgot what it was, some occasion. And I was thinking about that, not too long ago. But they had something, a big event happening in Mākua and this lady, she snapped, like. And she went wandering and the Hawaiian people believed that it was because somebody, somehow, they offended the shark god. And so they thought it was connected with Pulu'ole. Because when the person went insane, they always believed that the evil spirits or something took hold of the person. That's why they went berserk.

KM: Hmm. Was this in your life time?

AS: Yes, yes, I was maybe five years old or so.



KM: So his wife, did they think it associated with Pulu'ole's fishing practices?

AS: Something like that, something like the way...if I'm correct, saying that the only way the shark could express itself was through her, to possess her. That what she said was like, she didn't have a home. Yes, that was the bottom line.

KM: Hmm. How interesting, the shark god was still an important figure...

AS: Oh yes!

KM: ...in the community in the 1930s...

AS: Oh god yes.

KM: ...when you were a child.

AS: Yes.

KM: People were still...

AS: Yes, they don't bother the shark. But that's real now, Kepā. That came to my mind not too long ago. Maybe not quite a month ago. And I was thinking, "how am I going to share that summary?" This lady went off her rocker, but the Hawaiian people believed that she was possessed like. The reason that she got that way was because of some problem, whatever it was, it was with nature. And it was off balance, something that somebody did was wrong. And then the sign that she gave was that it must have been with the shark, that she didn't have a home. Like the shark lost its' home.

KM: Maybe someone didn't take care or something?

AS: Yes, well, yes.

KM: Out of curiosity, did the woman regain her senses?

AS: Yes, she regained her senses, but she wasn't the same after that. And I think Mrs. Pulu'ole died around 1934.

KM: Hmm, plenty *mana*, eh, too strong.

AS: Yes, they believed that and I think that it is time to share it. But my mother, she didn't really believe it, but she said it. That the lady said that she [the shark god] didn't have a home, and it was connected to the shark. You, know, the shark god or goddess felt that it was being neglected, being neglected.

KM: Hmm. Out of curiosity, did you ever hear if Pulu'ole called upon the shark to help him drive the schools of fish, or anything?

AS: No, I never heard.

KM: Hmm, you hear that in some of the families in various places.

AS: Yes, yes.

KM: So I was wondering if maybe he had forgotten to offer or...

AS: No, I don't know. But it was something interesting to share, because the Hawaiians, if anybody went off their rocker, it was because they were possessed. And something went wrong and that's why they were that way. But I think that's interesting.

KM: Yes! So you have Kāneana, the cave. Was it a special area?

AS: Oh yes! That was the home of the shark god. My mother said that also.

KM: Did it extend into the ocean as well, or did the shark take human form?

AS: Well, the way I heard it was, that was the home of the shark god, the goddess. And that was all that was said. But it was reasonable. And they used the cave for burials. Oh yes, they used the cave for burials, they found skeletons in there, Hawaiian kind.



KM: 'Ae.

AS: And you know, like other people that fished there, like Willy Enos, he'd see the shark, but the shark wouldn't bother him. Big, huge shark! And they know that's the home, right in the vicinity.

KM: Yes. I wonder, did you ever hear if there was a cave under the water out there somewhere?

Hawaiians respected the sharks and other species that lived in the ocean:

AS: Yes, yes, down below, there's a large cave there, that's the home for the shark. So it's understandable, it's all connected. The cave on the bottom and the cave on top, is all connected in thought. So you respect the area and you live with nature. You know, you're not bucking heads with it. You're not out there trying to catch the sharks, trying to kill 'em or destroy them No way! No! They just...good respect. Very healthy, very thoughtful for the species. Yes, they respected other species. They knew they weren't the only ones on this earth.

KM: Ahh, so you've got to *aloha*, take care.

AS: Yes! You live in harmony. So he [the shark] wants to eat fish or what ever, eh that's his right, he has to live too.

KM: In those days, when Pulu'ole was sort of the overseer of the fishing, in your recollection, did anyone come from anywhere else and go fish over there, or did they kind of ask permission first?

Before, fishing in the area was limited to those who belonged to the land:

AS: Oh, they don't go fishing, no! To begin with, there weren't that many people. You know like today [chuckles], you see thousands of people.

KM: People from all over the island come out here eh, and go fish.

AS: Oh yes. Before no [with emphasis], only a few people come out. You know, that's why, when they say...Another thing Kepā, when they tell me, "Oh, we used to use this place way back." I think, "Way back when?" How many families were here? Only a handful! Not that many people. You know, when I was a child, there were hardly any people around. You understand what I'm saying?...

Recalls the "*one kani*" (resonating sands) of 'Ōhikilōlō; and presence of *ōhiki* crabs in the vicinity:

KM: ...Now was there a place where there were "*one kani*" or barking sands out here also?

AS: Yes, over here.

KM: So just 'Ōhikilōlō side of the cave?

AS: Yes, Kāneana, right over here. Yes, barking sands, but now you got all the trees, so they don't bark any more. You know, didn't have trees before, it was just clear.

KM: Did you ever hear that?

AS: The barking sands, yeah. Didn't have trees eh. So I didn't hear the sand bark, but my mother always used to say... She was the one that always drew it to our attention. You know, the road was dirt right.

KM: Uh-hmm.

AS: And they had a corral up here, before you go up the hill. Not the new road now, the old road.

KM: So this side of Kāneana?



AS: Yes, this side of Kāneana Cave. So we'd go with the car, bumpy...not that bumpy, but slow, go down, and come to that one gate. Had to go through the corral, and that was so the cattle don't go to Mākua, keep 'um over here at 'Ōhikilōlō. So the gate would drag on the ground. So I knew at the beginning, I couldn't open that gate, but going through that, before you get to the gate, crabs by the jillions.

KM: Oh yeah?

AS: Hoo! I mean, I don't think you can ever imagine the thousands of crabs. And my mother would get all excited, every time! You know how Hawaiians, they get excited, "Hoo look at the 'ōhiki, 'ōhiki lōlō" [look at the 'ōhiki crabs, the crazy crabs], all 'ōhiki lōlō! She'd get so worked up, just be so happy to see that! And of course, that worked me up too. I was always standing up in back, looking around. Boy when I come across that 'ōhiki lōlō.

KM: So you think that's the source of the name of this land then?

AS: Sure!

KM: the 'ōhiki was so plentiful.

AS: And then they say "cracked brains," no, that's not cracked brains. You know, that book "Place Names," they wrote cracked brains or something.

KM: Oh, but 'ōhiki is for the crab eh?

AS: Yes, 'ōhiki, that's the Wai'anae version.

KM: And that 'ōhiki is 'ono [tasty], did your mom eat that?

AS: No, no. But she admired it. But I know I ate, and sweet. Hoo! You put 'um on the coals, that thing is sweet! But, Kepā, that crab was there by the jillions, just down there, the lower side. You know, when you're going on the road, on the mauka side. Hoo! Never did see anything like that. The closest thing I've seen to that, was on Guam. They've got these little kind of crabs, with the shell and they run on the sand, along the shore. When they see man, they dig, and you see a few hundred. But, no comparison to over here.

But, when they put in the road, pau [it ended]. You know, when they built the macadam road, they changed. And then I asked my mother, how come all the crabs over here, should be down by the ocean. She said, "That's why they called it 'Ōhikilōlō." 'Ōhikilōlō, they're not supposed to be here, they're supposed to be down by the ocean. Yes, that's what she told me. And then, makes sense, eh. They lōlō, they're foolish, they don't know where they're supposed to be. But what they do, she said, they come up and eat the seeds, from like the wiliwili [*Erythrina* spp.]...

KM: So we've come past Kāneana, Kūla'ila'i...

AS: Yes. Okay, over here, let me tell you about this place.

KM: Okay.

Describes the pu'uone (dune banked pond) and fishery at Mākua:

AS: You know that pond over there at Mākua Stream?

KM: Yes.

AS: They used to catch awa 'aua [*Chanos chanos* – the milkfish] in there, and I think they had that 'ōpae [shrimp] in there, some kind of 'ōpae. My cousin AhChin used to go over there a lot with his father, Harry Poe, used to go over here, night time, they paipai [drive fish into the nets].

KM: Ahh. So this was a place for awa auu?

AS: Yes, awa auu, not awa. So they used to catch some. And they used to also catch in there, āholehole [*Kuhlia sandvicensis*]. So, the tidal wave, actually, that stopped this pond.



KM: Nineteen forty-six?

AS: Forty-six. You see, it's cleaning out now. It's cleaning out now, but it's not as clean as it was originally, even with that big rain we had, it's still not as it was. The way it was before, it was larger.

KM: So this must have been an important resource for the families too.

AS: Oh yes. And this one here, and this other one down here, the one down...where's that?

KM: Here's another pond over here, the *muliwai* [dune banked estuary] at Kahanahāiki Stream.

AS: Yes, over here, this one was pretty good too. This one was short lived, over here is where you get the trestles eh.

KM: That's right.

AS: That one too. And then, the one...wait, get three of them.

KM: There's the third one at Waihoe, and here's the second one.

AS: Okay, this is the one here, they used to catch stuff too. They used to catch fish over here too.

KM: So I guess during rough ocean time like that...

AS: Yes, the fish come in.

KM: Particularly good for them to have this in-shore fishing source.

AS: Yes. And this is the one, over here, is where I saw 'o'opu [Gobidae]. All these streams, 'o'opu, if the water, you have a lengthy rainy season, the 'o'opu, the eggs would hatch. I learned that, why they have 'o'opu, because when the 'o'opu is only about so long [gestures about an inch with his fingers], do you know, they have eggs already. Yes, just about like that. And they grow, they grow that big [gestures about four inches], they have eggs all through that time. And when the water dries up, they go in the sand, in the dirt.

KM: So all these little dune ponds back here?

AS: They all will hatch. The 'o'opu, if you have enough water coming down from *mauka*, they will hatch. I promise you. Take my word for it.

KM: Oh, I do, yes.

AS: And then I heard about gold fish, the eggs can be in the sand, in the dirt for twenty years, and then if a good rain comes...see, they won't hatch until a good rain comes, they get enough water, for a period of time. Then the eggs will hatch. I read that part in a "Believe it or Not."

KM: Did these streams run at all when you were a child?

AS: No, only when rain.

KM: Okay. So the streams didn't flow continually, except for good rain times?

AS: No, no, but when rain, ho! You see springs all over the place.

KM: Uh-hmm...

AS: ...I tell you the truth. I don't know of any place that the Hawaiian people didn't walk on, didn't launch canoes...

KM: So like you were mentioning, one of the *ko'a* for the 'ōpelu [*Decapterus pinnulatus*] and *akule* [*Trachurops crumenophthalmus*] was out in front here...



AS: Yes! Over here! [pointing to the location marked on the map] This La'ihau area [pointing location marked on HTS Plat 2081].

KM: Okay.

AS: Yes, towards La'ihau.

KM: So, see this pond? Where the 'o'opu [Gobidae fish] was sometimes, somewhere out from here?

AS: Yes! Outside there.

KM: Okay.

AS: Actually, don't mind me...but you see, what's so funny is that I learned why it was that over here is a lot of fish. See, the water doesn't move that fast here.

KM: Hmm.

AS: And when it does, we have this cold current coming up here. It comes right out through here. The Humboldt current or something, and it brings all the nutrients up. It flows up with the water.

KM: Yes.

AS: And then it collects inside Mākua.

KM: Sure. 'Cause it's a natural catch, yeah?

AS: Yes! It catches it! And so the fish can live in there.

KM: Uh-hum. In your time, did you ever see the seals or turtles haul up on this shore, here?

AS: No, no. The turtles, right over here, yeah! You know, the Po'ohuna area?

KM: Yes, Po'ohuna.

AS: Yes!

KM: This one here [pointing to location on map].

AS: Yes! Over there, right in this area below Kāneana.

KM: Okay.

AS: Over here, used to have a lot of turtles.

KM: *Honu* [turtles]? Okay?

AS: Yes.

KM: How about any seals? I understand...

AS: No.

KM: ...that some have been coming more recently.

AS: Yes, recently.

KM: Uh-hmm.

AS: This is now, but way back...

KM: When you were young?

AS: No.

KM: You never saw?

AS: There was one on Ka'ena. There was one seal, way back. My brother Adrian saw it a couple times.



KM: Uh-hmm
AS: But, not that many. No, just one. Had one seal out there. You know, that was...maybe say in the thirties.
KM: Ahh.
AS: It was one seal. But, not like now. Now, there are couple seals over there.
KM: Yes.
AS: And, you know...had a lot of fish. Where the seal goes, there aren't going to be a lot of fish!
KM: Ahh.
AS: They eat them all! [laughs]

The Mākua-Kahanahāiki fisheries are still good:

KM: Is this still...it sounds like it was a really rich fishery when you were a child growing up?
AS: Oh, yeah!
KM: Even after the war, it must have been good fishing.
AS: Well, the best!
KM: How about now?
AS: Yes, still.
KM: Still?
AS: You watch the boats.
KM: Uh-hmm.

Recalls early commercial sampans anchoring offshore for bottom fishing; origin of the name Yokohama for Keawa'ula:

AS: At night. See, there's a long story about this fishing...they had a fleet of Japanese fishing boats. You know, local...I mean they were American, you know.
KM: The *sampan* like?
AS: Sampan! Well, they used to fish all over here. When I was a child. So the story is, as my mother said, that they would come out here in the evening. And they parked their boats out there. They'd bottom fish for 'ōpakapaka [*Pristipomoides* sp.] for kūmū [*Upeneus porphyreus*] and whatever other kinds fish. And this area, Keawa'ula, where the city dump used to be.
KM: Oh, yes.
AS: You know, the train used to bring all the rubbish. And dump it in Keawa'ula.
KM: Amazing, yeah?
AS: Yes! So all in there, you can see the rubbish yet.
KM: And there was no one living there?
AS: No! That time, *pau* already, these people...
KM: This old couple, like that.
AS: Yes. This couple, I think that's where they were. You know, the one at Keawa'ula?
KM: Uh-hmm.



AS: They used to ride the train to go to Honolulu.

KM: 'Cause you'd mentioned this trail. So where would you place the dump? In relationship to this Kuaokalā Trail?

AS: Oh! Down here!

KM: Oh, so the dump was out in this area [pointing to location on map]. Okay.

AS: Yes. Down around here, I think [pointed out on February 5, 1998 as sites within the area that is now a part of the State Park].

KM: Okay.

AS: You know, not by the cliffs.

KM: Yes.

AS: You know, you can see the track marks. The railroad tracks going in.

KM: Yes, okay.

AS: I think there's two, Kepā. There's two places where the train went in. And the guy that used to turn that track, or turn that rail, his nickname was Yokohama.

KM: Ah-haa.

AS: So, Yokohama...the local people called it Yokohama Switch. Because he was the guy turning that switch, for years and years.

KM: Yes.

AS: Okay. So, the fishermen didn't have to have an alarm clock. They had Yokohama's lantern. They could tell by his lantern, what time it was, when he was walking from by La'ihau.

KM: Uh-hmm.

AS: He was walking to Keawa'ula.

KM: Uh-hmm.

AS: Okay. When he's walking to Keawa'ula, they can see the lantern going. And that's how they could tell what time it was. The train was gonna come pretty soon.

KM: Ahh.

AS: So, they get ready to pull up anchor, because it was going be sunlight soon. Sun up. So they'd start pulling their anchors. But that's the...you know, 'cause they share the stories, eh?

KM: Right.

AS: The fishermen. And so everybody knew, "Oh! The fishermen out there, they watch for Yokohama's lantern." 'Cause the train coming right behind. Sure enough! So they pull anchor, and they'd go home. Go to Wai'anae, with their catch. So, you see how they used to connect?

KM: Yes. All these observations, yeah.

AS: Yes. And then Yokohama... So, what happened when they pulled out the rails, the people from Honolulu started calling it "Yokohama." Not Wai'anae people, now.

KM: No.

AS: Wai'anae people call it "Yokohama's Switch."

KM: Uh-hmm.



AS: Wai'anae people. But Honolulu people, they don't know. So they call it Yokohama.

KM: Ahh. So that's the name now for Keawa'ula.

AS: They're trying to bring Keawa'ula coming back.

KM: Good, yeah.

AS: We're getting after them. I'm getting after them.

KM: Good.

AS: Everybody's getting after them.

KM: Yes, it's interesting. Interestingly too, this other name here, Kahanahāiki...

AS: Yes! Kahanahāiki.

KM: Not many people use that, or are familiar with it anymore, yeah?

AS: Yes, I know the name of that place, Kahanahāiki. I've been over there many times when I was a kid.

KM: Are place names important?

AS: For me, yeah! Because there's a story behind that name!

KM: Hmm.

AS: That's why they got those names! And that's why it's not good that they change the names. Because then you lose the real meaning.

KM: 'Ae. The history, yeah?

AS: The history...
...You know, if they're gonna...if the people are gonna use it properly, hey I don't mind. But when they don't want anybody to go on the beach, no!

KM: And when they're not even *kama'āina* [native] to that place...

AS: They're not! They don't know, they don't understand. They don't know that we had a village there. Or people that came together and utilized the resources. See, they don't know!

KM: Yes.

AS: They want to do something else. And then, you know, that's hard for me!

KM: Yes.

AS: Because I know that that ocean provided nourishment for the people that lived on the land. Oh yes! It gave nourishment so they could live! And not so they could play politics!

KM: And the fishery is still good today, you think?

AS: Oh, yes! The nutrients! The nutrients are still flowing.

KM: Uh-hmm.

AS: You know, still collecting in that Mākua area. So that the smaller fish can survive, and they can propagate. You know?

KM: I think it's interesting that you mentioned, too, about the *awa 'aua* [*Chanos chanos*] like that and *ōpae* [shrimp], *āholehole* [*Kuhlia sandvicensis*]...

AS: Yes!

KM: ...in these ponds. 'Cause I can imagine when rough ocean times, the canoe no can go out. You still get fish stock, yeah?



AS: Yes! How true! You know, that's how they lived. They go there, they only take what they need. They don't take more than that.

KM: Yes.

AS: And they weren't fat! Hey, the people weren't fat. Oh! My mother, boy, she said, "People say the Hawaiian people lazy. That's not true!" 'Cause, the example was her grandfather, Wallace Poe. He had a saloon in Wai'anae. He sold *poi*, you know, *'ulu* [breadfruit], sweet potatoes, pumpkin. And he had this saloon. So, he also had a farm. You know, on the land. And he grew all the sweet potatoes, he grew the pumpkins. You know, seasonal?

KM: Yes.

AS: And sold or traded it down at Wai'anae. So, you think he didn't work hard? He planted bananas. You know she said to me, she said to us, "At night, he'd work in the evening. Not when the sun is up." Sun is up, he's under the shade. When the sun is going down, he goes out and works. He starts to pick with a *'ō'ō* [digging stick]. Dig and plant. He'd plant by moonlight. He planted on moonlight nights. And you know what? He used a *malo* [loincloth].

KM: Hmm.

AS: He didn't use regular clothes. No, a *malo*.

KM: That's the old style, eh? They plant with the moons, the seasonal schedule like that.

AS: Yes. And the bananas grow good. Lot of fruit...

Pa'akai collected from the shore line ponds by Mauna Lahilahi, Laukīnui, and other locations:

KM: ...Let me ask you please...you were talking, and one other thing that I'm curious about here, about some of the customs, the practices of the families. Did they dry fish out here?

AS: Yes! They dried fish.

KM: And dry meat, like that?

AS: Oh, yes.

KM: Where did your *pa'akai* [salt] come from?

AS: From the shore.

KM: From the *kāheka*, the tidal pools along...

AS: Yes!

KM: ...the natural coral?

AS: Yes. Like certain places. My mother would gather salt.

KM: So you could gather salt along these natural pools?

AS: Yes. Certain places.

KM: The *poho* [depressions] and the...

AS: Yes.

KM: ...place where that coral is uplifted over there?

AS: Yes. Over there was one of them. And down below. But down here by where the high school is. That's where my mother used to gather her salt.

KM: Oh, so that was a good salt area.

AS: Yes. Over there and on this side [north] of Mauna Lahilahi.



KM: 'Ae.
AS: The name of that place is Laukīnui.
KM: Ahh.
AS: Laukīnui is where my mother used to get most of her salt.
KM: Ahh.
AS: You go down on that street, 'Upena, I think. You go down there on the shore line. There's a big *papa* [reef flats] over there. That's where my mother used to pick all the *limu kohu* [seaweed].
KM: So everything that they needed...they'd get their *limu*, their *i'a* [fish], their *pa'akai*?
AS: Yes...

Albert Silva
Notes of a Mākua-Kahanahāiki Shoreline Site Visit
February 5, 1998 — with Kepā Maly

Mākua Stream and Muliwai:

The Mākua stream bed and *muliwai* on the 'Ōhikilōlō side of the church lot, was a very important fishing resource for the people of Mākua. When the ocean was too rough for the fishing canoes to go out, the families could catch fish like *awa 'aua* and *āholehole*. When there was a lot of rain and the stream flowed from the mountain, there were 'ōpu and 'ōpae as well. This was the fishpond for the people here...

...A little further along the shore, north of the McCandless beach house, was a guest house, in which Mrs. Marks would often stay... Today, the approximate location of the canoe house would be just La'alole Stream side of the second to the last little access road that goes to the beach, and is before the second stream crossing (south to north) in the beach road. The canoe landing of his youth, was in the area fronting the canoe house.

During his youth, prior to the war, Albert recalls that there were several canoes kept in the canoes house. Lester Marks cut a whole in one of the canoes, and set it up so he could put a motor in. He would go fishing for 'ahi, *mahimahi*, and other large fish. And he traveled all along the coast here.

Today, there are still a few people who are knowledgeable about the fishing customs and history of Mākua. Among them are AhChin Poe, son of Harry Poe; Kalākapu Pulu'ole Poe; George Ka'imiola; and Elizabeth Marks-Stack.

On the dune flats overlooking the *muliwai* of Kahanahāiki Stream (this area of the stream was also called La'alole), a little *makai* of the railroad track, is where the *ko'a* (fisherman's shrine) at Mākua was situated. This *ko'a* was built of stones and coral, and Albert believes that the terraced rectangular feature indicated on Register Map 2533, is the *ko'a*. (This site also coincides with Site 179, identified by McAllister [1933].)

Crossing Kahanahāiki Stream, the first and second crossings generally coincide with the *muliwai* indicated on Register Map 2533. The water in this stream generally ran longer than that of the other streams, and fish were also caught in the *muliwai* or dune pond here. Sam Pulu'ole lived *mauka* of here, on the land identified as LCA 9054, originally awarded to Kawa'a. Albert believes that the walled enclosure with a house identified on Register Map 2533, was Pulu'ole's house.

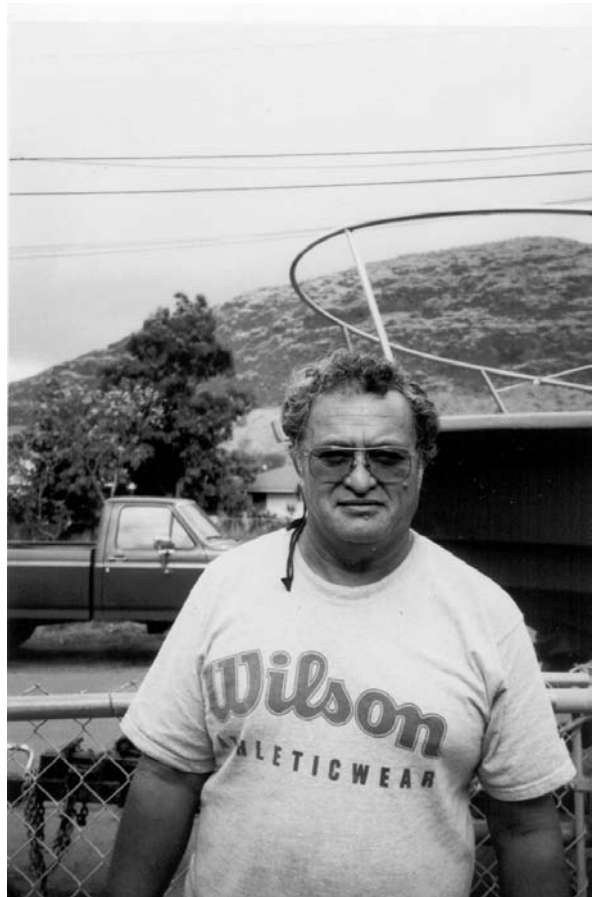


**Charles Keonaona Bailey
Wai'anae District Fisheries
January 5, 1998 – at Mā'ili
Interview with Kepā Maly
(KPA Photo No. CB010598)**

Charles Keonaona Bailey was born in 1937, and is descended from families with several generations of residency in the Wai'anae District. Mr. Bailey's father was Charles Kekai Bailey of Wai'anae, and his mother was Wilhelmina Kahuakaikahua Leinahaleloulou Naiwi-Bailey, of Mākua.

Following in the custom of his *kūpuna* (elders), Charles is a noted fisherman, having been raised fishing the waters of Mākua Bay, and in the larger Wai'anae District. Thus, his interview provides readers with insight into the wealth and diversity of the Wai'anae fisheries, and also records some of the changes—depletion of the fishery—that have occurred over the last 30 to 40 years.

Following a review of the transcript on February 4, 1998, additional information was included and corrections made to the original transcript. The revised transcript was returned to Mr. Bailey on February 11, 1998, and following some additional editing, the interview transcript was released to Maly on February 21, 1998.



KM: Yes. Now, you mentioned when we were out at Mākua, that a few of the families had been relocated to 'Ōhikilōlō; like your grandfather, Pulu'ole, and Amoe...

CB: Yes.

KM: ...If we come back to that beach at Mākua, by the canoe shed area, did you ever hear if there was a *Kū'ula*, fish-god stone, or *ko'a*, a small ceremonial site or anything there?

CB: No, I never did.

KM: Anywhere down there that you remember hearing about?

CB: No.

Fishing was important to the well-being of the families; names types of fish caught:

KM: Was fishing an important occupation to the families, for your grandfather them?

CB: Right. That was part of their food supply.

KM: What kind of fish?

CB: Well, I guess, *akule* [*Trachurops crumenophthalmus*], *'ōpelu* [*Decapterus pinnulatus*], *moi* [*Polydactylus sexfilis*], and whatever fish they got out of there. *Kūmū* [*Upeneus porphyreus*].

KM: Is it a good fishery, a good fishing ground? Do you still go out there now?

CB: It's a good fishing ground, yeah. I go out there, I surround *'ōpelu*, *akule* over there, and even *'ahi* [*Neothunnus macropterus*] come in. There are guys that have caught *'ahi* in



their nets.

KM: Oh yeah?

CB: Yes.

KM: Wow. If we were to look at this map, and maybe this is a good way to reference it... If the church lot is here.

CB: Uh-hmm.

KM: Right 'Ōhikilōlō side of that is the pond eh?

CB: Yes.

Loko Pu'uone at Mākua was an important resource:

KM: You have that written down in your uncle Ivanhoe's book as "*Loko Puuone*" [a dune banked fishpond].

CB: Yes, my uncle wrote that down.

KM: Your uncle Ivanhoe wrote that?

CB: Yes.

KM: Was the fishpond used at all?

CB: Yes, my uncle told me that they caught mullet and *āholehole* [*Kuhlia sandvicensis*], the fish that can adapt to fresh water in there. Well, it's brackish water.

KM: Yes.

CB: You get *āholehole* and *pāpio* [young crevalle or jack fish].

KM: 'Ae [yes]. And again, this is Register Map 2533. This is that that *lae pōhaku* [stone point], Kūla'ila'i?

CB: Yes, right there.

KM: [pointing to the area just south of Kūla'ila'i] And is that Po'ohuna?

CB: Yes, that spot sticking out.

KM: Was there anything that you recall about this area, any story or anything that you heard about this area?

CB: No. For me, I'm just familiar with the places around the church area.

KM: Around the church.

CB: And my grandfather's place.

KM: Okay.

CB: We used to swim there, and there are legends about the rock, that stone over there, but I don't know about them.

KM: Ahh. Speaking of legends then, there's this cave Kāneana, yeah?

CB: Right.

Heard of shark god in the region:

KM: Was there a shark or something that you heard of associated with this area?

CB: My grandfather told me about a shark man who patrolled the area, sort of like Pele does. And if the people of the area treated the man mean, he went into the cave and came back out as a shark.



KM: Oh, so he could go under [gesturing to the sea]?

CB: He'd come out through this reef.

KM: Ahh, by Po'ohuna then?

CB: Yes, used to have a lava tube that went up to the cave, and came out over there [pointing to the sea near Po'ohuna].

KM: And what happened to the guy that treated him bad?

CB: He takes care of 'um.

KM: He takes care of 'um; eats 'um [chuckles]?

CB: Yes, that's what my grandfather told me.

KM: So that's the story eh?

CB: Yes, that's the story. Simple as that, that's it.

KM: How about the fishermen, did the fishermen call upon the shark, that you heard? Or did they respect it?

CB: Well, as far as I remember, we never worshipped the shark. Like my grandparents said, we're related to the shark. Everybody seems to be related to the shark. And I don't remember anybody worshipping that shark there.

KM: Ahh. You'd mentioned that there were areas, like where you would catch 'ōpelu, akule or something, if we reference the church area, were there some ko'a [dedicated fishing grounds] in the ocean? Are there particular holes, or spots?

Names types of fish caught, and locations of fisheries; shares stories of the *kūpuna* fishermen, their practices; and the cultural landscape:

CB: Yes, you know by that stream, over here [pointing to the location on map]?

KM: Oh, the middle stream?

CB: Yes, the 'ōpelu come in there. And by this place, Kūla'ila'i, over here.

KM: So you think in this area here...?

CB: Yes, I think that's spawning grounds.

KM: And over here?

CB: We get 'ōpelu over there. And akule all in this area.

KM: [marking the general area on the map] Akule all in this area.

CB: Yes, akule and halalū [the young akule], or sardines.

KM: 'Ae [yes]. Akule, halalū...

CB: Moi [*Polydactylus sexfilis*] all inside here. And all the whole beach, 'uluu, pāpio, 'ahi.

KM: 'Ahi even come here? 'Cause the water...is there a channel?

CB: They come in to feed on the halalū, the akule, and the 'ōpelu.

KM: Ahh, interesting. Is there a channel somewhere out here?

CB: No, it's just open, the whole bay is open. The channel probably starts over here [pointing to a location near Kūla'ila'i]. That's the only channel that comes out, and then there's a reef that runs all the way out. Otherwise, the bay is all sandy.



KM: Hmm. Did grandpa ever tell you about where the canoe landing was out here?

CB: No, uncle Ivan told me. It's probably by [looking at the map]... you know where I told you the was a field over there?

KM: North of McCandless' place?

CB: Yes, someplace around there, on the ocean side.

[The actual location of the canoe landing being discussed is identified below, in relationship to the former canoe and net house.]

KM: Okay.

CB: I have a picture here [looking through the files compiled by his uncle Ivanhoe Naiwi], an open area... [looking through files]

KM: This is so beautiful, your book with all these photographs.

CB: Oh, here, that's Sam Pulu'ole, and the story about him.

KM: Oh wow! And you'd said, when we were at Mākua that he was like the main fisherman, yeah?

CB: Yes, he was the head fisherman. That's the story right there [handing Maly a typed page]. And even Tets, or Ford Ushijima wrote something about him. Pulu'ole was also moved to 'Ōhikilōlō.

KM: Who wrote this little story up here?

CB: Probably my uncle Ivan, because he was always doing that.

KM: May I just read this real quickly?

CB: Yes.

KM: [reading from typed page] "Center of Makua Beach..." and this is under Sam Pulu'ole.

CB: Yes.

KM: Here it says –

There is a large boat house called 'Hale Auwolo' which kept and housed all fishing equipment, three large koa canoes, measuring in size of 20, 15, and 12 feet, and two regular, medium sized canoes of ten feet. The fishing nets, upena moemoe, are large nets used in deep water, measuring to a height of 16, 20 and 25 feet or more. The length of these large upena are measured in 100, 200 and 400, and even 600 feet, to surround the big schools of *akule*, *halalu*, *oio*, *moi*, *amaama*, or *anae* etc., weighing in by the tons. The fishing area, was to the north side of Makaha Beach, towards Kaena Point. Sam Puluole fished in the areas of Kepuhi, Keaau, Ohikilōlō, Makua, Keawaula, and Kaena.

Sam Puluole, a dedicated Hawaiian fisherman, spoke only his native language. He was a part time family farmer. Each year during the months of November through April, because of the rough sea weather conditions, he maintained a 10 acre sweet potato (*uwala*) and used two large plow pulling mules. He was also a part time *paniola* or cowboy for L.L. McCandless Ranch. He was very dedicated and religious person.

Moving to Ohikilōlō

Sam Puluole, John K. Naiwi, Agatha Solomon, and their families settled on the beach of Ohikilōlō, on the *makai* side of Farrington Highway, on the



estate of L.L. McCandless and lived there for a period of seven years. When the time ended for both men, Sam Puluole at 79 years old, in 1948; and John K. Naiwi, at 61 years of age (July 21, 1950), their passing away just left me with a missing feeling for the *kamaaina* or native born of Makua and Ohikilōlō...

This is a very good story, and it also mentions your grandpa; that he passed away in 1950. It's a beautiful story.

CB: [looking through some of the files] I'm trying to find that picture of the area that has Lester Marks and some of the McCandless kids, and Willy Enos them. It's an open area, and I think that the boat house was *makai* of that open area.

KM: That's right. So the boat house, sort of marked the area of the canoe landing also?

CB: Yes, I believe so, but I'd never been there when the boat house was standing.

KM: Okay.

CB: So it's just from where my uncle pointed it out. In fact, I never walked over there with him. I have a picture of an open area, a grassy area.

KM: Uh-hmm. So your uncle Ivanhoe did all of this book here, putting all of this material together?

CB: Yes...in about 1989.

...He has all of these spots marked [pointing out cultural sites on maps prepared by Ivanhoe Naiwi].

KM: Yes.

CB: Like Po'ohuna, and the dune pond, or "*Loko Pu'uone*." He also marked some of the places where they used to get water. Places where nobody knew had water.

KM: [referencing a map drawn by Ivanhoe Naiwi, in Mr. Bailey's collection] So is this pond area here?

CB: Yes, this is the pond.

KM: So that's the "*Loko Puuone*" [a dune-banked fishpond]. And the church is just on the north side of the fishpond, here?

CB: Yes, the church is this side [pointing to the location on the map].

KM: Uh-hmm... So fishing was always an important practice for your family and the people out there?

CB: Yes.

KM: And still yet today? Are you and your children still going out there?

Taught as a youth, and teaches his own family to take only what is needed; lists types of fish, and general locations where fish were caught:

CB: We still fish out there. There are a lot of Kona crabs out there. I do a lot of my fishing out there. I take my family, and the water is so calm out there. I take them out there to go fishing.

KM: It's so beautiful eh.

CB: We catch enough fish for *kaukau* [food]. We're just fooling around, we go there and hook fish, set crab net, and *moemoe* [lay] net at night.



KM: Uh-hmm. So you think, if we were looking roughly at these areas that I've generally marked on the map, show you where some of the grounds are? The *moi* and stuff like that?

CB: Yes.

KM: The *akule* and *halalū* like that would be?

CB: Yes, I can show you. But usually, fishermen don't tell you where.

KM: I know, we'll generalize it on the map.

CB: When I used to live out there with my uncle, Walter Kamanā; he's a well know fisherman in Nānākuli. During the summer, my mother used to leave me out at Mākua and I used to stay with him on the beach that time. That's where we had a fishing camp.

KM: Oh yeah, when was this?

CB: This was back in the 40s.

KM: The late 40s, after the war?

CB: Yes, after the war.

KM: So some families tried to go back to Mākua?

CB: We stayed there. Like the Kukini family, and we had families that fished, you know, not just lived on the land, and just mess up the place. The people that were living there were catching fish. And we used to give people on the beach, the fish that we catch.

KM: So where would you place your fishing village, where you folks were living?

CB: It was a camp site.

KM: A camp site. And you'd stay all summer?

CB: Yes, I'd stay there all summer with my uncle. We'd set fish traps.

KM: 'Oia [is that so]?

CB: And then we used to surround 'ō'io [*Albula vulpes*] also. They used to come inside there.

KM: Ohh. So below the church area?

CB: You know where the Marks were, I told you about the McCandless house?

KM: Yes.

CB: That beach right there, fronting the house.

KM: So some of the families, after the war ended, tried to go back and kind of stay at Mākua?

CB: Well, we stayed there. And the Kukini family had ties to Mākua. And my uncle Walter Kamanā; well he was related to my grandmother, on my mother's side. My mother's mother. My grandfather married twice, so he had two families.

KM: Oh I see. So John Naiwi had two...?

CB: He had two families. The first family was all girls, then he married Louise Kāhililani Van Gieson from Nānākuli. That's my uncle Ivanhoe's mother. So I used to live there with my uncle on my mother's side. We used to stay at the beach and we used to fish, lay traps, and surround fish.

KM: So you'd said, it's not like how it was later days though?

CB: No. It was all taken care of by the people down there. The place was all clean...

KM: ...When we were out at Mākua, you said that when you folks fished, if people were there, you gave them fish.



CB: We never chased people away. That's what those other people should have learned. Take care the 'āina [land]. But they never, so even the public was against 'um...

KM: ...When did your uncle Ivanhoe pass away?

CB: March 26, 1993.

KM: And I understand that he really loved Mākua.

CB: He did. We used to go out there; he'd round us up, my brother, my cousins, and take us to Mākua. We'd spend the night there. Put up our tents in the cemetery, and we'd clean all day, then go to the beach and wash up. And we'd take some fresh water, clean up, and then we'd camp out. The next day, we'd work again.

KM: Ahh. So that was his way of taking care of the land eh?

CB: That's right. And he used to talk to us about the family and history, we'd listen to him, but too bad we didn't really listen to him as he was talking to us. We didn't expect him to pass away so soon.

KM: Hmm. How old was he?

CB: He was about 66 years old...

KM: ...You know, if we come back, I was thinking of the ocean. You mentioned earlier that this is a good fishery along the shoreline here.

CB: It is, it is [said with emphasis]!

KM: Have you ever thought...along this ocean fronting Mākua and Kahanahāiki, do you think that the boats would have...? If there is a *ko'a*, a fishing ground, here and here [pointing to locations on the map], and this is close to the proposed landing area...?

CB: They might disturb it.

(Discussing proposed military maneuvers) Modern activities have impacted the spawning cycles and health of the fisheries:

KM: Have you seen instances where a lot of activity disturbed fishing grounds before?

CB: I haven't been there for a while. But before, we used to have schools of *akule* and *halalū* and 'ōpelu. Big schools of 'ōpelu used to come in. I haven't seen that recently, but I haven't been there for a while like I said. So I don't know what the fishing is like now. But the fishing I'm talking about, when I used to fish, it's a good fishing ground.

KM: Yes, in the 50s and 60s?

CB: Up to the 1970s and 80s. But I'm not diving like I used to. We used to surround a lot of fish in there, and the fish keep coming back. That's their spawning ground. The Marines cannot come in there when the fish are spawning, they'll probably disturb 'um.

KM: Ahh, that's an important thought.

CB: Yes.

KM: So you have to know the season when the fish spawn like that.

CB: When the *akule* spawn, when the 'ōpelu spawn.

KM: If you mess up the spawning season, what?

CB: It might...I don't know what the big equipment will do to the eggs and stuff that they drop over there. You know what I mean?

KM: Uh-hmm.



CB: If they stir 'um up, they're going damage the young fish or what ever. Or scare the fish from coming back there, I don't know...

Family formerly gathered salt from natural ponds; cannot do that now, because people leave rubbish all around:

KM: Hmm... Did people make salt anywhere along this coastline?

CB: When I was young, I used to go with my grandparents to pick up salt. But not anymore, with the public all over the area, you don't know what is in the ponds now.

KM: Hmm, dirty. Was the salt making on the uplifted coral areas like this, towards Kāneana?

CB: Yes, we used to go on the...we never made the salt, it was all natural salt.

KM: Oh, so it was along this coral, uplifted area?

CB: Yes, around that area.

KM: So like Kūla'ila'i, Po'ohuna?

CB: Yes. When Mākua was clean. But now [shaking head, no]. And in the Ka'ena Point area.

KM: So you folks would go gather the natural salt. And would you folks *kaula'i* [dry] and salt *'ōpelu* like that?

CB: Yes, with that salt. And sometimes we'd put in the stone from Kaua'i.

KM: *'Alaea* [ocherous earth]?

CB: Yes, *'alae*. I have that, and I make my own *pa'akai*. I get the *'alae* from Kaua'i and Moloka'i.

KM: Hmm. So the salt must have been kind of important too, because you'd *kaula'i* your fish like that, and use it for seasoning your food, and to *kālua* [baking in earthen ovens].

CB: Right. When I was with my grandparents, we used to do that.

KM: Now, you can't because the people don't take, it's dirty eh?

CB: No way.

KM: Hmm. When they *hana'ino* [desecrate], they don't take care.

CB: Nowadays, I mean, you're crazy if you go to the beach and take salt out of the ponds. Crazy!

KM: Yes, sad.

Gathered *limu* and *wana*; *limu* resources have been depleted because too many people pick, and they don't pick in the old way:

CB: We used to do that before. What we would do is, we'd take the salt out and put it on the rock and dry it while we're picking up *wana* [urchins] like that.

KM: Hmm. How about, does it still have *limu kohu* [a seaweed, *Asparagopsis sanfordiana*], and other seaweeds, you think?

CB: Not in that area, but further down by Mākaha, and those places there. Like Lahilahi, I know all the places [chuckles]

KM: You know 'um all eh.

CB: But now, no more.

KM: Too many people go?

CB: They take the roots and all.



KM: Hmm, no good like that. Your *tūtū* didn't do that eh?
CB: No. You take the roots, you get one slap! You pinch the top, only. If you take the roots, you no going get. And now, no more, everybody pull roots and all. It's like for 'Ewa Beach, the *manauea* [a seaweed, *Gracilaria cornopifolia*] is all gone.
KM: All *pau* [finished]. [thinking] These stories that you're sharing about the land and ocean are so interesting.
CB: Like I said from when I was four years old, is when my grandfather moved out of there. But we spent many years down there, after. And then I got older.

Discusses the 1946 *tsunami*:

KM: Speaking then of getting older, you were nine years in 1946, when the *tsunami* came. In fact, the *tsunami* was close to your birthday.
CB: Yes, it was April 1st.
KM: Did something happen to Mākua then?
CB: Not Mākua, but Mākaha, yes. I heard that people were picking up fish from the cane fields.
KM: Oh wow!
CB: But never had Wai'anae High School then. And it went through Wai'anae, but I don't remember it. At that time, I was staying at 'Ewa for a while. My dad had a job there.
KM: Hmm. But your grandpa's house at 'Ōhikilōlō wasn't destroyed during the *tsunami* eh?
CB: No, it was still there.
KM: Yes, 'cause you were still going out there.
CB: He was still there.
KM: So maybe the *tsunami* didn't affect too much this coastline.
CB: No, but it did hit Mākaha and Wai'anae. But Mā'ili, I don't remember anything. In those days, we didn't have cars eh. So we didn't get around. If you go, you got to walk.
KM: Yes...



William J. 'Ailā, Jr.
Wai'anae District Fisheries
January 5, 1998, at Lualualei
Interview with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. KPA-S1478)

William Johnson 'Ailā was born in 1958, in Wai'anae, and on both sides of his family he has generational ties to the Wai'anae District. His great grandfather, affectionately called "Papa 'Ailā," a noted Hawaiian practitioner and *kahuna* (priest), frequently visited, and lived for a while, at Mākua. From his own *kūpuna* (elders), and many other families with whom he is associated, he has gained a deep sense of appreciation for the land and ocean resources of Mākua and the larger Wai'anae District. William has been a life-long fisherman, and over the years has learned a wide range of native customs from fishermen. He also still considers himself to be a commercial fisherman, gaining sustenance and pleasure from ocean resources.



In an official capacity, William is the State Harbor Agent at Wai'anae. His job has given him the unique opportunity of speaking with fishermen on a daily basis, and as a result, he has an excellent understanding of the varied uses of the resources. Also, because of his personal background and the time spent with elder fishermen, William is known for his knowledge of the Wai'anae District fishery, including that of Mākua. In the interview William provides readers with important documentation pertaining to fish habitats and their seasons of spawning and near shore activities in Mākua Bay. William also describes the interrelationship between the uplands and water resources, and the Mākua fishery, observing that both pre-military and military use of the valley have significantly altered the land and fishery.

Upon reviewing the draft transcript, William made a few minor corrections to the text. On January 30, 1998, he gave his written permission to Maly for release of the corrected transcript. Subsequently, in a follow-up discussion with William, he was asked about specific seasons and movements of fish in Mākua-Keawa'ula bay. Per his approval of the additional notes, that documentation was included in his larger transcript.

- KM: ...*Mahalo* and *aloha*. Thank you for agreeing to talk story with me on this Mākua oral history project. I'm going to just start by asking you a few simple, basic questions. And we'll talk story and get a sense of your *aloha* for this land that is your home.
- WA: Uh-hmm.
- KM: Could you please give me your full name?
- WA: Sure. William Johnson 'Ailā Jr. ['Ailā as pronounced]
- KM: 'Ae [yes]. What is your birth date?
- WA: My birth date is March 6, 1958.
- KM: Okay. Who are your parents?
- WA: My father is William Johnson 'Ailā Sr. And my mom, whose name is Carol, her maiden name was Correia.



KM: Okay. When we spoke previously, I believe you mentioned...was it your grandfather or great grandfather, that had at one time lived at Mākua? Could you recount a little of that?

WA: My great grandfather on the paternal side.

KM: So the 'Ailā?

WA: 'Ailā, yes. Was actually born in Mā'ili in Mokolē'ia, but spent most of his adult life at Kea'au. And he did a lot of fishing up and down the coast, from Kea'au to Ka'ena.

KM: 'Ae. Now that's an interesting point that you brought up. It was, you said specifically that it was Mā'ili, but in the land of Mokolē'ia?

WA: Correct...

KM: So, your great grandfather?

WA: They called him Papa 'Ailā, his full name was Louis 'Ailā. My great grandfather on the paternal side. Louis 'Ailā had three sons, Thomas, William, and Johnson, and that's where I got my middle name from.

KM: So Papa 'Ailā, he was well known as I recall.

WA: He was well known on this coast line for having very strong Hawaiian values. I have been told by my dad and his son, my granddad, that up until the 1930s, 40s, and even until the 1950s, he would continue to wear his *malo* [a native loin cloth]. And he'd be seen on the beach collecting crabs, *limu* [seaweeds], and things in a *malo*. I've had many people tell me that.

KM: Uh-hmm. Your grand father was who?

WA: William K. 'Ailā.

KM: Okay... Now you were raised in Wai'anae?

WA: Yes. Up until about 13 years of age, I was raised down by the beach, near the Lualualei Beach Park... [the family then moved inland]

KM: ...If we just talk about the land then, what is your sense? And I'd like to make sure that we talk about fisheries, what you remember being told about past practices and what's occurring today in this region, and including Mākua. And if you have something that you'd like to really talk about, let's do it.

WA: I think for me, the most important memory of Mākua has been of many, many different *kūpuna* [elders] telling of how important the fishing area of Mākua was.

KM: Hmm.

Describes Mākua vicinity fisheries; their health and dependence upon healthy land and water systems; names types of fish caught:

WA: Important enough that they singled it out as being...the *ahupua'a* [a native land unit] if you will, the best fishing on the Wai'anae coast. So given the fact that fishing was pretty good on the Wai'anae coast anyway, that has to point out, or go to the fact that Mākua had to be an exception in terms of productivity in the area. I remember being told of one particular season where the 'āweoweo [*Priacanthus* sp.] came in and the old timers talk of how that season, the water in the bay became red because of the fish, which is itself red.

KM: Yes.



WA: And the Japanese call the cuttlefish *ika*, we call it *mūhe'e* [*Sepioteuthus artipinnis*]. At one time, this area off Mākua, because of its close proximity to deep water, it was known as an area that held a lot *mūhe'e*. I can recall one time, about three years ago, leaving very early in the morning, it was still dark, and getting into the Mākua and seeing for as far as the eye can see the *mūhe'e* flashing to each other. And we're talking hundreds of acres of water being occupied by this huge school.

KM: Hmm. Wow!

WA: And that's the first and only time that I've seen that many in one place. Now, equally important I think, is the stream fishery that comes down. Because I can remember in the late 1970s after a big rain, the stream over near the [looking at the map]...

KM: [pointing to locations on the map] Yes, here's the church here.

WA: Yes.

KM: So this is the *loko pu'uone* [dune banked pond, stream estuary], the pond area.

WA: Yes. This pond being filled with 'o'opu *nākea* [a variety of *Gobidae*], very, very large ones.

KM: Wow! About how big?

WA: I would say these *nākea* were in the 12 to 14 inch, 15 inch range. And once again that was the only time that I'd seen that.

KM: And had there been big rains *mauka*, washing them down?

WA: Yes.

KM: And about how long ago do you think this was?

WA: In the late 70s, about 25 years ago. And that's a part of the natural cycle. They come down to the pond area to spawn and then the juvenile or the eggs go out to sea. I really believe that someone should do a stream assessment up there [said with emphasis]. Because I believe that they are still up there, waiting for the next big rain.

KM: There are several areas here [pointing along the Mākua shoreline] where ponds form. I guess this is the largest one, here by the church.

WA: It's interesting that you mention that, because I think historically, the middle one has been known as the largest one. But in recent times, it's always been this one.

KM: The one sort of on the 'Ōhikilōlō, or Ko'iahi side of Mākua.

WA: Correct, that seems to have held the most water.

KM: Hmm. It's interesting, because you have Kūla'ila'i stone...

WA: Right.

KM: ...that sort of juts out over there, and the way the sands have built up. And there's another ponding area in the middle, sort of off Kahanahāiki Stream. Is there a third smaller ponding area also, down where this other little stream is?

WA: Historically, there had to have been one. In my recollection, I've never seen the third pond. Historic records indicate that there was a third spring, if you will, back here. And I think you are well aware of the historical importance of that third spring, as being the spring that was held *kapu* [restricted or sacred] for royalty. Only they could bath in third stream [McAllister's Site 182]...



- KM: ...You had spoken briefly, about the relationship of streams, pond fisheries, and even, I think... Because when we spoke briefly a couple of weeks ago, you'd mentioned that you'd seen fish other than the *'o'opu nākea* in here. And I understand that something like *āholehole* [*Kuhlia sandvicensis*]?
- WA: 'Ae, *āholehole*. Present day, there's *āholehole* and *awa 'aua* [*Chanos chanos*] in both of the ponds that are fed by the streams.
- KM: Hmm. So there must still be this occasional exchange between the ocean and the fresh waters.
- WA: Yes. In fact, I can even tell from first hand knowledge, last night, there must have been a pretty good sized northwest swell, and then with *Kona* winds coming in, there's been quite a substantial addition of salt water to those ponds. Over the past two weeks, actually, longer than that, about a month, I've watched the ponds sort of dry up, if you will, recede. But they're back to full capacity now, most of that salt water.
- KM: Hmm. If you speak about this fishery, and you've already shared that Mākua has been perhaps singled out by some of the *kūpuna*. Who are some of the people that you might have been speaking of, that shared this?
- WA: Uncle Ivanhoe, Albert Silva, Jay Landis [thinking]...
- KM: That's good, so the idea is that this is known as an important fishery. It has been, in the past.
- WA: 'Ae.
- KM: What kinds of fish? What are the transitions? And does it remain important today, or is it just something that people talk about, "That's how it was."?

Near shore and deep sea fisheries discussed:

- WA: No. The area very much remains important. There is a significant amount of *akule* [*Selar crumenophthalmus*] and *halalū* [the Hawaiian name of a young stage of *akule* fish], that are being harvested even today. As they were harvested in ancient times. Because of the large schools of *akule* and *'ōpelu* [*Decapterus macarella*] that frequent this area, it is one of the few areas, close to shore that there are also one or two *'ahi ko'a* [dedicated fishing ground for the *Thunnus albacores* fish].
- KM: Ahh. Interestingly, Charles Bailey brought that up this morning, that *'ahi* came in fairly close to the shore.
- WA: Oh, I've been writing for Hawai'i Fishing News for 15, 20 years now, and I recall writing several stories about people shore casting during these period when the *halalū* are close to shore, and the *'oama* [young stage of the *Mullidae* sp. fish], and catching small *'ahi* and *kawakawa* [various tuna fishes], and *'uluu* [crevalle or jack fish].

Discusses seasons in which fish spawn and run near shore:

Following his review of the transcript, William was asked about the seasons in which the various fish spawn, and/or run in the larger Mākua-Kahanahāiki Bay. Referring to early Hawai'i fish and game laws, Hawai'i Fishing News bulletins, and his conversations with native fishermen, William provided the following documentation:

- *'Ama'ama* (mullet) spawn generally between December to February.
- *Akule* generally spawn between February to May.
- *'Ōpelu* generally spawn between November to March.
- The *halalū* (the offspring of the *akule*) are generally in the near-shore waters between August to November.



- The *ʻoama* (the offspring of the *weke*) are generally in the near-shore waters between July to September.

All of these fish are important to the fishermen of the area, and are of importance to fishermen from around Oʻahu. Indeed, when the fish are near-shore, they can be found all along the shore from Kulaʻilaʻi to Keawaʻula.

I also remember hearing from my grandfather accounts of how in his time, the mullet would migrate around the island. Leaving Puʻuloa [Pearl Harbor] the schools would split up and travel to the windward side—to places like the bays of Lāʻie, Kahana, and Kāneʻohe. The schools (fish balls) were so large, that from the points along the Waiʻanae shore, including Mākua, you could see them and tell how large the fish balls were, by the dark, cloud-like coloring in the ocean. Evidently, there hasn't been anything like that since around the late 1940s (pers comm.).

- KM: Hmm, amazing. It's interesting too, is there a relationship between what happens in a mountainous area, particularly for streams and pond systems, and the fishery?
- WA: Absolutely! The area continues to be productive today, but not as productive as in ancient times. I feel that one of the reasons is perhaps there is not enough stream flow, or this continuous stream flow. Because if you go back into the historical records, the *kūpuna* or the literature always suggest that these streams ran all year round. It may be that because of water management practices, either by the military, or prior to that, by the ranching activities, that they have some how interfered with the natural flow of water to these ponding areas. And subsequently, the nutrient feed into the ocean is less.
- KM: Sure. And your description of the *ʻahi* coming in to feed off of the *halalū* and small fish like that. The small fish rely on the close shoreline resources, that big fish come and...
- WA: Absolutely, absolutely. It's all related. The *hinana* [a *Gobidae* fish] from the streams coming down.
- KM: Yes, if you don't have the water flow, there not going to come.
- WA: Exactly.
- KM: If we were looking at this shoreline here, could you place where you might think some of the *koʻa* or *kuʻuna* [fishing grounds] as they are sometimes called, but where the fish holes might be? Is there a particular area of importance to *akule*? You know how your *kūpuna* would go and feed, they would actually *hānai* [feed], and train the fish at a particular area.
- WA: Sure.
- KM: Are there areas that you know of? And maybe I better step back here for a minute. We're talking here, you are a native resident of Waiʻanae District, but you also have a another role in the community, and your position?
- WA: I manage the small boat harbor.
- KM: Which gives you first hand knowledge of what's happening with the numbers of fishermen coming into this community. Both native and those from outside, yeah?
- WA: Yes. It gives me a unique perspective because I am able to be, actually the beneficiary of many, many fishermen's *manaʻo* [thoughts]. Regarding what has occurred in the past and what is occurring now. And sometimes, what may occur in the future. As well, I am a part time commercial fisherman myself.

Discusses *koʻa* of the Waiʻanae coast:

- KM: Okay. Now we were talking a little bit about the sea-based *koʻa*, the fishing spots or grounds, are there areas that are, say within the boundaries of this map [Register Map



2533]; and I know it's tough, you're looking at gray sheet basically. But basing it on...if this is the church here, and here's Kahanahāiki stream and the pond area, and the railroad. I believe, where I met you today at Mākua was basically in this area here?

WA: Yes, this is Kahanahāiki Stream.

KM: And we were just a little further over eh?

WA: Yes, westward. That area, the area fronting there, this past year... And this past year was sort of typical in terms of *halalū* schools. And later on in the year, having the *pā'ā'ā* [another stage of growth of the *halalū*, eventually becoming *akule*] size, both of them mixed up. Running back and forth from Kūla'ila'i or "pray for sex rock," all the way down to the telephone substation, and just working back and forth, those schools.

KM: Ahh. Fairly near to the shore.

WA: Very near to the shore.

KM: Okay, I'm just sort of marking it generally here, and we're coming down to the telephone substation area. Roughly in here.

WA: Just below 'Ūkanipō.

KM: Okay, so roughly in about this area here. So you said *halalū*, *akule*... [phone rings] Do you need to answer that?

WA: No.

KM: So they were running fairly regularly here?

WA: Yes, back and forth.

KM: And were there a lot of people using the beach?

WA: A lot of people using the beach and a lot of people fishing from shore.

KM: Where do the people that fish here come from?

WA: Many are residents of Wai'anae, but many, many are residents of O'ahu.

KM: Uh-hmm. When I first met you, last November, you shared with me a very interesting observation, your *mana'o* about fishing and what O'ahu does when it goes fishing. Do you remember what you told me?

WA: Yes, I think my statement was to you something like, "When people think of fishing Wai'anae, Wai'anae really represents O'ahu in terms of the district being fished. Because we have so many other people from other *ahupua'a* coming to Wai'anae to fish because of it's clean safe and productive waters."

KM: Yes, rich waters. Can I say what I think you said?

WA: Yes.

KM: It was like, "When O'ahu goes to fish, it comes to Wai'anae."

WA: Yes, yes.

KM: That's a great saying, that's why it just stuck with me... ..You were just beginning to share with me a little bit about some of the fisheries and the perspective that you have. And we were talking about, as you'd said in November, "When O'ahu goes fishing, it comes to Wai'anae."

WA: Yes.

KM: We were then talking about the *halalū* and the *akule* along the shore line here at Mākua, and who were the people that come fish. You said it was both residents and...



WA: Yes, both residents of Wai'anae and residents of O'ahu. Now in addition to the *halalū* and *akule* which inhabit the shore line from, say zero to about 15 fathoms. Then just immediately outside of that and more towards the guard shack area towards Keawa'ula and back towards this telephone substation, are '*ōpelu ko'a* [*ōpelu* fishing stations].

KM: Ahh, so you would place some of the '*ōpelu ko'a*, basically from Kahanahāiki out towards Keawa'ula?

WA: Right.

KM: And about how many fathoms?

WA: Between 15 and 40. So you have the *akule* and *halalū* near shore. Then beyond that, you've got the '*ōpelu*.

KM: That's great. What other types of near shore fishing do you think would be...?

WA: Okay, Mākua is a very important Kona crab fishery area because of the amount of sand that's found off shore. Secondly, it's very important because of the flat papa, reef in front of Kūla'ila'i and down towards Kāneana Cave, is a huge flats area where there is a lot of *he'e* [octopus] that's harvested. The area is known for its *he'e*.

KM: [pointing to the area on the map] So this section, roughly from where the beach ends, back towards Kāneana and the papa that sticks out there?

WA: Right, and even out here [pointing into the ocean fronting the elevated *papa*], there is a flat reef outside Kūla'ila'i, and down on this end near the telephone substation there's a flat reef that comes out. And both of those areas are well know for *he'e*.

KM: Okay.

WA: Towards the cave, or east of Kūla'ila'i is a very good *menpachi* [the '*ū'ū* (*Myripristis*) fish] and *mamo* [*Abudefduf abdominalus*] grounds. And right directly in front of the cave is an area of flat stones, coral stones that have been sort of tossed out there. And that area has long been known for the *kūmū* [*Upeneus porphyreus*], that inhabit those flat stone areas... I remember 10, 15 years ago, spear fishing for the '*ū'ū*, *kūmū*, and the *mamo*.

KM: 'Ae. And it was so interesting to hear your earlier description of the '*āweoweo*. I forget, did you see them, or did someone tell you?

WA: No, someone told me. I have seen the '*āweoweo* once, about 20 years ago in Waimea Bay.

KM: Ahh. So, you get out here, and you said the 15 to 40 fathoms is for the '*ōpelu ko'a*.

WA: Right.

KM: Are there specific areas or is it pretty much along the extent of the bay from what you recall?

WA: Well, the '*ōpelu* move. And the primary reason that they move is that somebody's always chasing, and trying to eat them. So the '*ōpelu* move, basically throughout the whole range of this area. [pointing to the Mākua to Ka'ena area on HTS Plat 2081]

KM: Ahh, out to Ka'ena.

WA: Yes. And the morning after we built the *ahu* [altar], we went diving and immediately off shore, was a huge pile of *halalū* and '*ōpelu* mixed. And they were being pursued by the *nai'a* [porpoises]. So they were running every which way, and you could hear the squeaking sounds of the *nai'a* chasing them.

KM: Ahh, what an experience.



WA: Yes it was.

KM: If we reflect back a little bit on history, is there something that you recall hearing of someone, and that might be a good description of native use of this fishery? Early, you know the time of your parents, grandparents, or earlier times?

WA: Well, I believe the *akule* was probably the most important fishery. Because it's a shallow water fishery, historically we have people like Albert Silva talking about a canoe house where he actually saw nets being hung to dry.

KM: Right.

WA: People mending nets. You know, if you want to extrapolate how much food an area like Mākua and Kahanahāiki could produce, Kamehameha tried several times to conquer Kaua'i from Mākua.

KM: Yes.

WA: So in order to provide food for an army, and it's not just show up one day and then get ready to leave the next day. There were many, many preparations to be made. The *kahuna* [priest] waited for the right winds, for the right tides, the right time of the year. So logistically, you have to have had an area that could support a huge amount of people.

KM: Thousands and thousands and thousands, yes.

WA: Exactly. And that's why I believe, Mākua was chosen. Not so much...I mean it was chosen because it was nice safe white sand beach to pull the canoes up on. But, also, it was chosen because strategically it could provide subsistence to these armies.

Has heard traditions of shark gods and 'aumakua:

KM: Yes. Have you heard anything about a shark or something? You know the 'aumakua tie or some type of shark of traditional knowledge?

WA: There are...I've heard of two types. One is the traditional *mo'olelo* [story] that comes with Kāneana Cave. Of a shark god inhabiting the cave, and its... [thinking] ...consuming people in pre-historic times. I've also been told by my second brother, Manny, who...when my father and mother divorced, he went to live with my mom and step-dad. He told me of a time when they were out diving off of Mākua where he witnessed the shark that he identified as our 'aumakua shark. The 'aumakua is always a specific shark and I had never seen it, I felt its presence. I've been diving, fishing, swimming you know many, many times. And the fact that my brother described this shark without having the benefit of [thinking] being with my great-grandmother who originally told me the stories about our 'aumakua.

KM: What was her name?

WA: Mary-Ann Francis Ke'umi.

KM: Ke'umi?

WA: Ke'umi was her maiden name, Tavares was her married name. But she shared with me her great-grandfather, Henry Kaha'awenui was the last known keeper of the 'aumakua in our family line. And this is back in Nāpo'opo'o. It's interesting that the name of the shark is a very specific name, Kamohoali'i.

KM: 'Ae.

WA: I find later on in many legends, it's mentioned as sometimes a shark god, sometimes other things. Kamohoali'i is something that she made me commit to memory.

KM: 'Ae.



WA: To memory. Very important. And as I grew up and she watched me take a path as a fisherman, she instilled upon me that the things like the first fish you bring in, you throw back. The respect for those deities.

KM: 'Ae.

WA: So I feel very comfortable.

KM: Is it your understanding that anywhere you could go in the ocean...

WA: Yes.

KM: That you could call on Kamohoali'i?

WA: Correct.

KM: And that he would come to you, not just because he was at Nāpo'opo'o?

WA: Correct, correct. In fact she told me of a story once of her brother fell into...he was working on the tug boat and he fell in to the ocean off the tug boat. In the channel area, I believe it was between Lāna'i and Maui. She tells of a red shark swimming at a distance, and just maintaining it's presence.

And then getting back to the story about my brother, diving off of Mākua, mentioning without even having any previous knowledge of the color of the shark. As having a reddish hue, or color to it.

KM: How interesting, yeah.

WA: It's very interesting. So, in those two circumstances I've had people tell me about sharks. I personally have seen huge tiger sharks along the area. Huge! Ka'ena Point, I've seen as many as five tiger sharks between twelve to fourteen feet.

KM: Yes, that weekend in November, when I met you and your wife them. That Sunday [November 23, 1997] I walked... In fact were you down there?

WA: Yes...

KM: ...The shark was just incredible, a tiger as you said, maybe ten, twelve feet long, you know. And it was very interesting also to observe the community effort where people, all kinds of people just came together. Focused on getting that shark out of the net and getting it back to the ocean.

WA: That to me, that was...the fact that they chose to release it and respect it, said a lot. The average person would probably have killed it and just left it on the beach.

KM: Yes.

WA: Showing no respect, whatsoever.

KM: Yes.

WA: So you know, to me those people were taught well. If you're not going to eat it don't take it.

Discusses numbers of fishermen coming to Wai'anae in the present-day:

KM: Okay. If we talk a little bit about fishing, just to get some of this formally. Could you share with me what you think is the percentage? What are the percentages of fishermen, that are local from the Wai'anae District you think? And those from away? And how many families do you think in Wai'anae? If it's possible is fishing important to the livelihood and well being of families in this district? Is fishing important for sustaining and caring for families?



WA: Fishing is important for the district as a whole and specifically to Mākua, for the amount of productivity that is still found here today. At many levels. One is the simple, subsistence level. Catch *kaukau* [food] to take home and we're going to eat. The other one is also at a spiritual level. You go to Mākua and you participate in fishing. As soon as you get to the area you just [pauses, thinking], you just know that you're at a place where things are special. As soon as you make that turn past Kāneana Cave, and you look down at the whole sweeping panorama from the cave to Ka'ena Point. You just can see the specialness about Mākua.

KM: Hmm.

WA: And then to have a nice white sand beach, which allows access to some of the most productive fishing grounds on the island, just adds more to the specialness about the place... Let me back up. One of things that... See, equally important as 'ōpelu and *akule* are to historical fisheries and to present day fisheries. You have an *aku* [*Katsuwonus pelamys*] fishery immediately off-shore of the 'ōpelu fishery. So, Mākua has always been known as an area where... Once again from Kāneana Cave to Ka'ena Point, that's the fishery area. It includes Mākua, but it involves the whole district. It has always been known as an *aku* and 'ahi ko'a. And I remember...till today you still can fish 40 fathoms off Mākua and Kahanahāiki, when there are no birds, but run back and forth and you'll be able to catch *aku* or *kawakawa*. So it's a very special and important place.

KM: Uh-hmm.

WA: Presently and because of those species of fish, culturally...

KM: Quite a bit of diversity eh?

WA: Wow, diversity and because of seasons of abundance. You know, the *aku* were always in abundance when the 'ōpelu were, less abundant and vice-versa.

KM: I see.

WA: So that was very important to managing those particular fisheries.

Access to the shore line and fisheries is important; participated as a member of a group to establish a shrine to Kanaloa (god of the ocean and fishermen):

KM: So, protecting access to the shore line and to the fishery is an important issue?

WA: Very important! Important, not just to native Hawaiians but important to fisherman of non-native ancestry.

KM: Uh-hmm. Along the shore here, in fact you know you shared with me and you wrote an article in the October 1997, Hawaii Fishing News [Oct. 1997:31]. You participated with a group of people in construction of an *ahu* [altar].

WA: Yes.

KM: On the beach at Mākua. And if I were to look at this [looking at Register Map 2533], here's Kahanahāiki Stream. So this is where the railroad trestle can still be seen...

WA: Uh-hmm.

KM: The upright cement part of it?

WA: Yes.

KM: Just a short distance over, roughly I would say something like in about this area or so, of the beach, I think?

WA: Yes, I would think.



KM: You know roughly, the shore has probably changed a little bit you know since this was 1912. Interestingly that location, I believe, is fairly close to the division point between... Let me pull out one other map [pauses opening a map] this is HTS Plat 2081. This one shows us a little better the dividing line between Kahanahāiki on the Ka'ena side and Mākua on the Wai'anae side. Here's that area, here's the division line, basically running into the estuary, the *muliwai* [dune banked stream estuary] area here.

WA: Yes.

KM: And so we would place the *ahu* here [pointing to the locations on the map]. Share with me, if you can and I know that you're not speaking on behalf of anyone except yourself and your family. So it's not like "oh so and so said." What is your personal relationship, your personal *mana'o* [thoughts and feelings] relative to this *ahu*. It's placement. To where it is, what it represents?

WA: To me, the placement of the *ahu*, signifies the center of... [thinking] ...where both valleys meet. And it's location provides a window, if you will, or an originating point... Because the *ahu* was dedicated to Kanaloa. A place to focus the energies, the energies of our ancestors who came before us. The energies of the [thinking] gods of the past. Gods first. Ancestors and *'ohana* [family] that came before us. The energies of the *kūpuna* that are still alive. The energies of the younger folks who have sort of taken the bull by the horns and said "This *ahu* actually represents the starting point to locating the original *heiau* [temple] dedicated to Kanaloa," that is up in the valley somewhere.

The people who are familiar with the protocols, tell us through legends and chants, that at one time, there was a *heiau* up in the valley that was dedicated to Kanaloa. So this *ahu* represents a starting point in that search for the *heiau* dedicated to Kanaloa. It also serves as a starting point for notifying the powers that be, whether it be the United States government or the State government, or what ever entity that currently has the legal, perhaps not the moral right, but the legal right to use of the valley. That the people of Wai'anae have made a conscious decision. And that decision being that it's inappropriate to use the land in the fashion that it's currently being used. And to put the powers that be on notice that in 2029, we expect, if not before that, the stewardship, the control of the valley, Mākua and Kahanahāiki to come back to the... I'll say "local" people, because there are some non-native people who are also involved. But to the local people of the district of Wai'anae. And that's what the *ahu* means to me.

For me on a personal level, it means, again that origin, that starting point of the renaissance of myself and my wife, our renaissance of our own cultural quest for knowledge.

KM: 'Ae. You'd shared with me, when we originally spoke in November, that it was like this "cultural restoration," relearning.

WA: Yes, of the cultural and the protocol... ...We were taught the protocols of the *'awa* ceremony. Certain people were chosen to set rocks. Other people were then authorized to pass stones. But only certain people were authorized to set stones. A spear, a very nice spear, hand crafted spear, was produced specifically for internment in the *ahu*. Cowry shells of various types, various sizes were specifically procured. A *he'e* [octopus] of the appropriate size was specifically procured.

KM: 'Ae.

WA: And some other things which I believe may have been of ceremonial importance and significance to the land...I'm not sure, were part of the protocol.

KM: It's interesting in the selection of several things. The spear, to see the *he'e*, to see the *leho* [cowry], body forms, or *kinolau* of Kanaloa and deity.

WA: Right.



KM: So what you are describing is that there was serious thought taken into how it would proceed. Is it my understanding that the work on the *ahu* was done in one night's time?

WA: Yes...

Land use impacts health of fisheries:

KM: ...You mentioned something about the grasses, when we were out at Mākua, that "when a fire goes..."

WA: Sure, because the grasses tend to burn very readily, burn very fast and burn to the level of the top soil. If you have a big, heavy rain after a fire of that magnitude, you have a lot of top soil, a lot of ash debris wash down into the streams and eventually into the water. Which then smoothers the coral that grows off shore there.

KM: That's very interesting, because you see that there's a relationship, as you said, in the *ahupua'a*. The inland to the fishery.

WA: Yes.

KM: And that's just as important because if the inland are stripped and all of that runs down...

WA: Yes. The coastal nursery and resources are so interdependent upon what happens *mauka*. We in the western way of looking at things make a distinction, when there really should be no distinction made. It should be treated as one piece *'āina* [land]. So restoration of *mauka*, but let's not forget restoration in the *kai* [ocean].

KM: 'Ae.

WA: That would be vision.

KM: Good... ...I'm going to just touch bases on this one more time. Access to the shore line...you would say that protection of access to this shore line, to the fishery in this region is something that you are interested in?

WA: I would say that I am committed to it. More than interested. I would say committed to ensuring it. I think for me, I can't speak for the other members of our *hui* [organization], but for me, I would think that because we have reestablished the practicing of our culture. And it's been practiced for almost [thinking] five, six months now, there is a precedent to go into federal court, and sue under the Freedom of Religion.

KM: Yes, the Native American Religious Freedom Act.

WA: I think that that precedent has been set. With the building of the *ahu*, with the continued practices at the *ahu*... I'll be very up front with anyone that wants to listen to this tape. I've documented every day that I've gone down there. Why I went down there. In anticipation of having to say it in a deposition. Say it in an affidavit.

KM: Okay. Are the inlands...and I know that this is getting out of my limited scope of work, but are there resources inland that are important to the welfare, the well being of people in this community today? Is hunting an important resource?

WA: Hunting is an important resource, and hunting continues to go on in the valley, despite the no trespass signs. Despite the fences, despite the activity. I know many people that continue to hunt today.

KM: And is the hunting sport, or is it actual...?

Care of mountain resources integral to health of stream and ocean resources:

WA: It's subsistence hunting. For me, I would...I think the resources *mauka* are very important. Especially reestablishing the stream resources. I think that, if it were up to me, I would, in addition to making the military clean the unexploded ordinances from the area,



I would make them clean these two pond areas. Because of their activities, the fires et-cetera have allowed all of this top soil to come in now and basically become the bottom of the *muliwai*.

KM: What do they call that, it like a sump pond...?

WA: Yes, it's become like a settlement pond. So the water quality of those two *muliwai*, where in the past, were brackish, but still yet palatable. Today, because of the activities of the military... Uncle Ivanhoe never mentioned anything about cattle ranching to the point where there was erosion of land. So based on that, I have to place the blame on the military's management of the valley as to the two reasons for the *muliwai* having suffered some economic damage. And that may be the reason that we don't see more 'o'opu and *hinana* returning. I have not gone up into the streams, but I would hope that there would be *hīhīwai* [*Neritina*] and 'ōpae [shrimp] up there.

KM: Man, that's going to be tough, because particularly with the *hīhīwai*, they require this agitation, movement of the water.

WA: Yes. Kahanahāiki, it's possible. I don't know if anyone has...I'd be real curious, it's probably buried somewhere, but if there is any water being taken from *mauka*, and diverted *makai*. Or if there is any water being taken *mauka* from Kahanahāiki or Mākua and diverted to Schofield.

KM: Ahh. Well, Mr. McCandless had a great hand in the...

WA: Yes, he built a couple of tunnels where there shouldn't have been tunnels.

KM: Yes, at one point, it was all driven economically at that time.

WA: Sure... Who is the *wahine* that did the work for the military earlier? Kelly?

KM: Oh, Marion Kelly.

WA: I think in some of her work, she mentions that a lot of these *kuleana* had their own wells.

KM: Yes, you can see it in the documentation for some of the *kuleana* as well.

WA: To me, that spoke of a water table that was higher than it is today. I see evidence of that around here, in this...the river that used to run around, behind this property, that fed into this reservoir, no longer runs. Why? Because up near Mount Ka'ala, they continue to dig wells and tap into the dikes that would have fed those streams. In Luualualei, the military doesn't have to report to anyone how many wells they've dug, how many dikes they've tapped. And I think our children pay the price for that. They don't see the waterfalls. They don't see all the wild ducks that...30 years ago, some of the old folks around here said the sky would turn black because there were so many ducks. It's a different Hawai'i...

KM: *Mahalo*, thank you so much for taking the time to share...



Charles K. Reiny
Wai'anae District Fisheries
February 4, 1998, at Mākua – Interview with Kepā Maly

Charles K. Reiny was born in 1927 and is of Hawaiian ancestry. His father, Sebastian Reiny, was one of the foremost cowboys in the Territory of Hawai'i. When Uncle Charlie was about seven years old he moved to Mākua with his family. It was at that time, that L.L. McCandless hired the elder Reiny to manage the ranch operations at Keawa'ula, Kuaokalā, Kahanahāiki, Mākua, and 'Ōhikilōlō. From that time on, through most of World War II, Uncle Charlie lived at Mākua and later, 'Ōhikilōlō.

Uncle Charlie has fished the Wai'anae coast line all of his life, He is an animated story teller, with an excellent memory of the families, sites, activities, and practices of residents in the Mākua-Kahanahāiki area, leading up to the 1940s. On February 11, 1998, the first draft of the interview transcript was returned to Uncle Charlie. At that time, he gave his verbal release of the transcript, noting that what he said, was what he knew. The author asked him to take the time to review the transcript, and to make sure that it had been accurately transcribed. On February 23, 1998, Uncle Charlie gave his formal release of the interview record.

The following excerpts from the interview provide readers with documentation pertaining to fisheries of the Mākua-Kahanahāiki section of Wai'anae District.

Recalls fishing when he was young, fished for “*kaukau*.”

KM: [indicating uncle's fishing nets] ...I see your '*upena* [nets] out here.

CR: Yes.

KM: And I heard that the old man Pulu'ole was a good fisherman.

CR: Yes, with a throw net. He'd ride the horse and go down...most, I'd see him throwing net. He'd ride the horse, and go down. Old man Pulu'ole. He had a daughter Kalā, but I don't see her anymore. I don't know what happened to her.

KM: What was the good fish out here?

CR: '*Āweoweo* [*Priacanthus* spp.] and *moi* [*Polydactylus sexfilis*], what ever. And before, by my time, we'd hardly go fishing. Seriously. We hardly go fishing. I don't know, then after a while, Willy Enos started going, he had nets. But before that, they used to go diving, just get *kaukau* [food] kind, for eat. That's about all.

KM: Hmm. How about your '*ōpelu* [*Decapterus pinnulatus*] and stuff out here?

CR: Oh yeah, you get '*ōpelu*, like that.

KM: And I see you folks still go fishing out here today [pointing to Mr. Reiny's nets].

CR: Oh yes, yes.

Fishing today is nothing like what it was; the catch has dropped significantly:

KM: How would you compare the fishing then and now?

CR: Oh, no comparison. This is nothing. Before, you have one piece of net, you'd get a whole cooler full of all kinds of fish; '*āweoweo*, *moi*, mullet. Now, you have to lay four or five pieces of net and sometimes, you catch only about eight, nine, ten fish, sometimes. You know what I mean?

KM: Hmm.

CR: It's not like before. They brought this fish over here, the *taape*, and they're eating all the baby eggs. And that's why, when they bring stuff in, they should study what that thing is going to do.



KM: That's right. So there is a big difference now. But the fishing, what, why do you guys go fishing now?

CR: To make a few dollars and eat.

KM: So to make a few dollars.

CR: Yes, a few dollars and eat. Yes. That's all our nets over here. That's all my stuff, but I let these guys use 'um.

KM: Yes, I think you're like the *kupuna* [elder] out here, the fisherman for these guys.

CR: [chuckles]

KM: You teach them eh?

CR: That's my boys, they're my good friends, they listen.

KM: Yes. It's good when they can learn. You knew the old people like that.

CR: Oh yeah.

KM: You know, if we were to look at that little map. You mentioned...

CR: [reaches for a pair of glasses] This is Ivanhoe's glasses here [chuckles].

KM: Oh yeah! So handed down eh?

CR: Yes.

KM: Nice. You and Ivanhoe were born the same year, yeah?

CR: Yes, that was my partner.

KM: So sad he passed away young.

CR: We went in the Army. He was in Korea and so was I.

KM: Hmm... ..Here's the church. So the church didn't get destroyed right away in 1941 then?

CR: No, no, no... ..And then they made a movie here. You remember the movie Hawai'i?

KM: Yes.

CR: They made it right by the church too.

KM: Oh, so the village area and stuff like that was right out here at Mākua?

CR: Yes, yeah, right here [pointing to the grassy area where we were sitting]. Over here.

KM: So this flat area.

CR: Julie Andrews and them.

KM: Were you involved with any of that?

CR: No, I used to come down [chuckles], I knew all the guys eh.

KM: So actually, where McCandless' house is on this map, that's the house here [pointing to the site on the map].

CR: Yes, that's right down there, on that side [pointing to the location on the shore].

KM: Then there was a small guest house.

CR: Yes.

KM: And then the canoe house, or boat house.

CR: Yes, that's where all ...it was coconut leaves on top of that. I don't know what happened to all the canoes. Had nice canoes, you know.



KM: So had canoes in there when you were young?

CR: Oh yes [with emphasis], nice canoes, *koa* canoes. Big canoes! Yes, I don't know what happened to 'um.

KM: I heard that the old man Pulu'ole...do you remember where he lived, if we are looking at this map?

CR: [pointing to the area, *mauka* of the beach road]. I tell you right now, he lived right around this area inside here.

KM: Okay, so was it this side, the 'Ōhikilōlō side of the stream, or just across?

CR: Just across.

KM: Okay, I'm going to mark it generally. Was it *makai* or *mauka* of the railroad?

CR: *Mauka*.

KM: Okay, *mauka* side of the railroad.

CR: Yes. And where is Helenihi's house? You saw that eh?

KM: Yes, you showed me the picture. So Helenihi's house was...?

CR: [pointing across the Kahanahāiki Stream] Down this side, by the main road over here by the railroad.

KM: Okay. So we're roughly sitting around in this area now [pointing to the location on the map].

CR: Right.

KM: Because the stream is just a little further over here.

CR: Right.

KM: So this flat grassy area is kind of where they filmed Hawai'i also, the movie?

CR: Yes, right here...

KM: Hmm. Do you remember if there was a *ko'a* [fisherman's shrine] or *Kū'ula* [stone form of a fisherman's god] that they used to take care of out here?

CR: You mean the *heiau* [temple] like?

KM: Yes, for the fish...

CR: No, no, no. But I think, I kind of forget, that end, had about two *heiau*, on the other side [pointing towards the lower Kahanahāiki cliff side].

KM: On the *mauka* side, Kahanahāiki?

CR: Yes. But I forget, it's been a long time.

KM: That's above the telephone area?

CR: Yes, yes.

KM: So the one, 'Ūkanipō...

CR: That's right.

KM: ...you can still see some of the walls.

CR: That's right...

KM: And like you'd mentioned the Mākua Railroad Station.

CR: Right.



KM: That's what's marked over there.

CR: Right.

KM: Here's the little stream that we're sitting next to now.

CR: Right over here.

Discusses the dune-banked fishpond; recalls 'o'opu, 'ōpae, and other species of fish:

KM: This area, did it used to pond up and have fish inside, the *muliwai*, the pond area here?

CR: Just when had big waves. Then they get *āholehole* [*Kuhlia sandvicensis*] and all that kind, would come in. When get the big waves.

KM: 'Ae. Do you remember 'o'opu [*Gobidae*] ever coming down the stream in storms some time?

CR: [thinking] Yes, I think had. That's right, we used to go down to the stream over here. That's right. And I know in Kaua'i, get plenty.

KM: Yes, the *hinana* [*Gobidae*] like that.

CR: And one time, way back, me and this old man...he's passed away. His name was Willy Pakū. So anyway, we were down the beach and he said, "Charlie, look, the beach is red, red." And we went down there, and it was all 'ōpae [shrimp]. That was the first time I ever saw that at Mākua. We picked up bags and bags and bags of those things.

KM: Oh yeah, all on the sand here?

CR: All on the sand, the beach was red. But they said it probably came from Kaua'i. That's the first time that ever happened.

KM: And you never saw that again?

CR: Never saw it again. The old man Willy Pakū, he had one eye, and he patched all my nets.

KM: This is the location of the old ranch house complex, I believe, right in here.

CR: Yes...

KM: ...Did you ever hear about any *manō* [shark], or anything out here?

CR: Sharks. I catch plenty out here.

KM: Remember that day last November, that big shark in the nets? Did you hear about that?

CR: Over here?

KM: Yes. They had the shark one Sunday...

CR: We just caught one two weeks ago, a ten-foot tiger shark. I used to catch bigger ones, you had to pull 'um up with the dune buggy. Sixteen footers, I catch.

KM: Ohh! How about the cave, Kāneana side?

CR: Well, that's a legend. That's way back, I don't know. The people say, "this guy walk across the water ..." I don't know [chuckles].

KM: That's their stories.

CR: There's only one man upstairs [pointing heavenward], he knows. They say "walk across the water right to Kaua'i." I say, "Yes, that's right on." Yes, the shark cave eh. I wouldn't doubt that. Don't play with mother nature.

KM: Yes, you've got to respect.

CR: That's right.



As a youth, was taught to respect fisheries and land; don't take more than you need:

KM: ...When you go fishing like that, what? And like these young men you're teaching now, are you teaching them about how they take care?

CR: That's true, don't take more than you can handle. Some times, you get these guys, they have no money. I tell them, "Go sell them, make a few dollars."

KM: Yes.

CR: They go buy *poi*, what ever.

KM: So that's important for them today eh?

CR: That's right. That's right. The guys, they patch net, they do this, they do that...

KM: ...If we look at this beach area here, to the best of your recollection, you said you don't remember a *heiau*, or *ko'a* down on this side for fishing or something?

CR: No. No, no.

Discusses various *ko'a* in the region; fisheries not like they were before; people have used Clorox and killed the fisheries:

KM: How about when you go out to the ocean. You know how they have in the ocean, *ko'a* or *ku'una* [fishing stations], special places eh?

CR: Yes.

KM: I know that the fisherman doesn't like to give away his spots, but...

CR: Oh I show. I used to go by Yoko...well, not Yokohama, but Keawa'ula side. And I know all the channels out there. And where I'm at now at the ranch in 'Ōhikilōlō, I know all the spots. But it's not like before, like I told you. Now, they Clorox the holes, you know what I mean?

KM: Oh *aloha 'ino* [it's so sad], yeah.

CR: Yes? Everything goes. So the holes, it's not like before. Before, you take for *kaukau*. Now, they go over there and the hole is empty. No more nothing.

KM: Out here, has *he'e* [octopus] and stuff too?

CR: Oh yeah, yeah. Has big *he'e* out here.

Turtles frequented the beaches; native seals are increasing; they eat a lot of the fish. Did not see seals when he was young:

KM: Did they used to get *honu* [turtles] out here?

CR: Oh yeah, turtle, by my place is loaded, they stay in a cave. But you can't fool around with it, they have the law.

KM: How about, did the *honu* ever come up on top of the beach here and lay eggs in your time?

CR: Oh yeah. Yes. And the big monk seals right by down here.

KM: Even now?

CR: Right now, they're on the sand, they're about 800 pounds. And the law is, you cant' go by them, you've got to stay 100 feet away. You can't go by 'um, 100 feet away.

KM: Out of curiosity, did you ever hear if anyone ate that seal, in the old days?

CR: Yes, they ate 'um, but it doesn't taste too good, that's what I heard. This guy on Kaua'i caught one and went to jail eh.



KM: Oh yeah, it's an endangered species too. But I was wondering if the *kūpuna* ate that.

CR: That's what that guy was saying on Kaua'i, that he ate it because his old people ate it before. But I was talking to the game warden, and he told me, there are only about 1,500 of them over here, that's all. They come from the Necker Islands, and half don't reach over here. The sharks get 'um.

KM: Yes.

CR: They say, there are no fish. I don't understand, supposed to get plenty fish, nobody fishes there. So they come down from the Necker Islands.

KM: Yes, the Leeward Islands.

CR: Yes, there are a couple of mothers, a big one over here, they go grrr, grr, grr [growling like the seals]. They're cocky buggars too boy! [mimics the growling of the seals].

KM: That's what I heard. [chuckles] And if you lay your net, what, they eat fish from your net?

CR: They steal all the fish, the best ones. The best ones!

KM: Ahh, they're smart eh.

CR: You want to get the s.o.b. sometimes. You see the fish with all the guts hanging down and the seal looks at you, "high" [waving it's flippers].

KM: 'Auwē!

CR: Before never had that over here.

KM: Hmm...



**Masato Yamada (with Joseph Hines and Niki Ahuna-Hines)
Recollections of Waimānalo Fisheries
November 15, 1999 – with Kepā Maly (and Lisa Ferentinos)**

The late Masato Yamada was born in 1917, at Waipahu (Waipahū). By 1922, his family moved to Waimānalo, where Mr. Yamada grew up, learned to fish with Hawaiian families of the area; worked, and lived there most of his life.

Uncle Joseph Hines and Aunt Niki Ahuna-Hines have known Mr. Yamada for years, and helped to make arrangements for this interview. Aunt Niki, a relative of the co-authors of this study, is descended from families of fishermen, who have resided in Waimānalo for generations. All three of the interviewees shared their recollections of the Waimānalo fisheries and landscape, and their past and present conditions. The interview was originally recorded as a part of a Waimānalo Watershed Study; documenting conditions of the forests, streams, estuarine systems and fisheries.

Personal release of the interview transcript was granted to Maly on December 18, 1999.

KM: While we're talking story, we'll refer to this map HTS Plat No. 2166. So we're here in Waimānalo with Mr. Masato Yamada. May I call you uncle?

MY: [chuckles] Okay.

KM: *Mahalo*. Uncle, would you please share with me, your full name and date of birth, and where you were born.

MY: My name is Masato Yamada, I was born in Waipahu, December 19, 1917.

KM: Amazing. You look good, you sound good, good memory.

MY: I forget a lot [chuckling].

KM: No.

NA-H: He's wonderful.

KM: Yes. So, we're here in Waimānalo, with Aunt Niki Hines, and her husband, Uncle Joe, and with Lisa. We're talking story about some of your recollections of Waimānalo. How you came here, and some of the things you did. And this map is really good, because it shows some of the names of the streams, ditches, and locations in Waimānalo. So we'll just start talking...

KM: ...As you were growing up, what kinds of things did you do up here, as a teenager?

MY: Hard to say [chuckles].

KM: Did you folks go *makai*, down the ocean? Or did you go up the mountain, did you get 'ōpae or 'o'opu in the streams?

MY: We used to go get mountain apples up the mountain.

KM: So close to the *pali* side?

MY: Yes. All past the sugar cane land, the top side, next to the mountain.

KM: Yes. This map shows us the Maunawili Ditch...

MY: Above that.

KM: So mountain apples, bananas?

MY: Rose apples, all those things.

KM: And all below the ditch, was sugar?

MY: All sugar, right up to the ditch, Maunawili Ditch.



KM: Hmm... Did you folks ever, like when you went up to the mountain to gather the mountain apples, did you ever get 'ōpae or 'o'opu?

MY: No, we never did that.

KM: Hmm... ...If we talk about the sugar for a moment, [pointing to map] if this is Waimānalo Valley, Kumuhau Street, this is sort of the pine trees area, the beach lots. How far did the sugar go out across this land over here?

MY: They came pretty far.

KM: Past uncle them's house, where we are now [the Hawaiian Homes section]?

MY: Yes, here was sugar cane before.

KM: So we're about out here [pointing to location on map]. Oh look, Kailua Ditch actually runs all the way out to here.

MY: Yes, it goes pretty far down, you know.

KM: Yes.

MY: It's a little hilly, but still had sugar cane.

JH: This is where we're at, now, right here.

MY: Where's that park now, out here?

JH: This is Waimānalo Beach Park.

The Waimānalo coast line has changed in his life time:

MY: Waimānalo Beach Park, that's where had the pier.

KM: Yes, it shows the pier right here.

MY: You see the pier right here?

KM: Uh-hmm.

MY: The train used to go on the pier and unload all the sugar bags.

KM: Hmm.

MY: The sugar that they made. They used to unload it and put it on the ship. But at the same time, the ship brought the supplies in. And then they would carry it into the camp. Whatever supplies they needed.

KM: Hmm.

MY: Those day, I think the beach was deeper. Now it's shallow.

JH: Yes, shallow.

KM: So the sand is piling up inside?

MY: Maybe. Before it was deep. I don't know if the big ship could come in now. But before, it was deep.

JH: They would come all the way to the pier?

MY: Oh yes, they come right near the pier. Not like Big Island. Big Island, even the cattle, they throw 'um in the water.

KM: Yes. So if Kailua Ditch comes all the way out here, past the pier, then this was pretty much sugar...?

MY: Yes, was sugar in here... ...The sugar cane in this area, doesn't grow that good.

KM: So the Makapu'u side sugar cane wasn't too good?



MY: It's all hilly.

KM: Plus out here, the soil isn't that good eh?

MY: Well, from what I heard, here, the sandy-loam soil produced the most sugar.

KM: For real?

MY: Per acre. But when you come towards this mountain area, the cane grows tall and big and everything, but the production wasn't as much as at Bellows. The sugar content. See, when you produce sugar, it's not how big the cane is, it's how much sugar can come out of there. The people who worked in the mill told me, they take samples all the time. [looking at map] Where's Bellow's Field now?

KM: Here's Bellow's Field.

MY: Bellow's Field, up to a certain area, close to Lanikai, even had sugar cane.

KM: Oh, so even out on the sandy area here? Waile'a, the point is right out here.

MY: Yes, the point is here.

KM: Yes... ..Was there a big water area out here?

MY: Yes, they had a big pond-like, in Bellow's some place. And I guess they used to take the water for irrigation. But every time, the water ducks come inside here.

KM: Oh, so in the Bellow's field...?

MY: The water place...way into Bellows.

KM: Oh... ..From when you were young, compared to today, how would you describe the weather, and the amount of water flow?

MY: We don't have rain like before. Waimānalo used to rain a lot.

KM: Did you know when the rains would come? Seasonal?

MY: Well, no, but almost every year rain. Some years, the rain falls for three days and three nights. Heavy rain, it doesn't stop.

KM: Hmm. What happened then?

MY: It would be all flooded, the water would go right over the road. But now, you don't see that for how many years. No more now.

LF: That used to happen often?

MY: Yes. It used to happen. But now, you don't see it go over there.

KM: [pointing to area on map] This is the polo field area here?

MY: Uh-hmm. Probably, they've improved the stream too, you know, they clean it up and all that.

KM: But you said that "before, someone was out cleaning the ditches and streams."

Dune-banked ponds along shore filled with *āholehole*, *pāpio* and other fishes; washed out to the ocean during floods:

MY: But used to get heavier rains. That's why. See we had more rain before. Now, compared to before, it's dry... ..When the big flood comes, the thing is going to fill up. So they open the mouth and let the water go out to the sea. That's when all the fish comes out [chuckles]. All of the fish goes out into the ocean.

KM: 'O'opu, pua like that?

MY: No, the *pāpio* and all that. *Āholehole*, what ever. They all go out.



KM: So they get in and the dune builds up...?

MY: They get in at the same time, yeah. They get in, they get out.

KM: So down here at Pūhā, the stream, Bellow's side?

MY: Yes, they have to open it like that.

LF: Would the ocean get all brown and dirty?

MY: Yes, it would all come real muddy.

KM: From young time, did you go out on the ocean for pass-time?

MY: Yes, I go out on the ocean.

KM: From young time?

MY: No, I didn't go that much.

KM: When did you start going out fishing?

MY: Lately.

KM: But you knew the old man Alona them, eh?

MY: Alona them, yes, I was a small kid. That's how I know Alike too [uncle Alike Ahuna, aunty Niki Ahuna-Hines brother].

KM: You didn't go out fishing with them?

MY: No, no, I get sea sick, so I never go. Otherwise, I catch plenty fish [chuckling].

KM: [chuckling] Well how about this reef out here, like in front of Bellow's have you seen a change in the reef system itself?

Uhu, moi, awa 'aua, and many other fishes caught along the Waimānalo shore line; names types of fish caught by diving and netting; *limu* also collected:

MY: I went a couple times with Camacho them. They were good divers. Me, I cannot dive. I went once with Tony and this Filipino man they called Ventura. See, I watch the boat, and they go down dive, and they bring the fish up. When the sharks come around [chuckling], the Filipino man jump in the boat. So Camacho said, "I know why you come up. Your friend them, down there." They don't want to mention the word shark. But Tony them, they're not afraid of the shark. They go down. Those days, they go get the *uhu* and all kinds.

KM: Hmm. What kind of fishing would you do out in front of the Bellow's area?

MY: *Pāpio* mostly. *Pāpio* and *awa 'aua*. They used to get a lot of *'ō'io*, but I don't know...and *moi*. But cannot find *moi* nowadays. We used to go *kā moi* over there. You get the net, and you get two people pound the stick, make noise, *paipai*. But funny you know, those days, the ocean brings in a lot of *limu* when the water is rough out side. The sandy beach used to be full of *limu*.

KM: Wash up on the beach?

MY: Wash up on the beach.

KM: What kind, green kind, *wāwae'iole* or *līpoa*...?

MY: Well, we get all kinds. Get even the sea lettuce, you can eat, and *ogo*.

KM: *Pahapaha* and *manauea*.

MY: All kinds, but some, no can eat. But in a little while, the thing comes stink too. But what is no good with that, when we go *paipai*, the thing is all stuck in the net.



KM: Yes.

Does not see *limu* nowadays, as he did when he was young:

MY: Nowadays, I don't see *limu* come up on the beach like that. No more. Probably the turtle is eating up all the *limu*. I don't know. No more.

KM: Hmm. So before, the water when storm, the water would wash out from the mountain, they would open the river, Pūhā?

MY: Yes.

KM: At the mouth of the ocean?

MY: Yes.

KM: The water would go out, brown?

MY: All brown.

Sedimentation has damaged the reefs; no longer sees *moi*, as he once did; other species also declined:

KM: Did the reefs get...have you seen, did the reefs or rocks get silted over? Is there more silt now?

MY: We don't go in the water, so I don't know. But we know it's brown.

KM: Hmm. Have the fish change, like you said "the *moi*, no more, now?"

MY: No more.

KM: 'Ō'io?

MY: 'Ō'io, they have, but very little.

KM: How about *he'e*, you don't go out for *he'e*?

MY: *He'e*, I used to go for *he'e*. I used to go, I learned from the Hawaiian old ladies.

KM: Kealoha?

MY: No. Mrs. Carlbaum taught me how, and then I used to go with Alona's wife.

KM: Yes, Kealoha?

NA-H: Aunty Lily

MY: Yes.

KM: And who was the other Hawaiian lady?

NA-H: Carlbaum.

MY: Mrs. Carlbaum. You see, her, she used to go all of the time. Really good eyes. She'd go with the box and go. I used to follow and go with her. But in the end [chuckles], not enough squid go in the box, so I dive and go. Cover more area [chuckling].

NA-H: And the squid are smaller too, yeah?

MY: Yes.

KM: Hmm. Out in this area, at Pūhā or Bellow's now...

MY: Uh-hmm.

KM: The *āholehole* like that, would be in back of the dunes?

MY: Yes. I think there are a lot of Samoan crabs in there too. But I guess the ocean fish, they get used to the fresh water. They get semi-salt.



NH/KM: Yes.

KM: How about *‘o‘opu*, did you folks ever go get *‘o‘opu* down below?

MY: No, we never looked for that.

KM: How about *‘ōpae*, *mauka* for bait?

MY: We don’t ever go for bait. But they used to have plenty shrimps.

KM: *Mauka*?

MY: Yes, but we don’t bother. But I know in Maui, when I went up in the mountains, plenty. And the *hīhīwai*.

KM: Yes. But not up here, in Waimānalo?

MY: No not up here, Maui.

KM: Yes, Ke‘anae.

MY: That’s where we went. But up here, used to get plenty crayfish, and because of the plantation, the Filipinos used to go catch ‘um all. But I never used to go get.

Discussing the Pūhā *muliwai* (estuary):

NA-H: Where is Pūhā Steam?

KM: It’s this *‘ili*, lower Waimānalo.

MY: The stream that goes by Frankie’s, that’s the main one.

JH: And the next one, by Flamingos?

MY: That’s small. I think that goes to the golf course side.

LF: They come together

MY: But the big one comes by Frankie’s.

KM: The *‘ili* was called Pūhā, and all of these *kuleana* that were awarded in 1848-1850, are in the *‘ili* of Pūhā, and then there are more up here. But Pūhā, it’s interesting what you described, it means to burst forth. And there is a tradition that the stream flowed so strong at times, that they would bust open the dune, and they would surf out into the ocean on the stream, just like rapids.

MY: Yes, could be.

NA-H: And that’s where they women also used to go clean their scalps the Pālolo pond.

MY: You know, where the stream comes out, there’s just like an undertow. One time we went *paipai*, we never know, that this Filipino man didn’t know how to swim. He was holding the net, and he went down, the current took him way out. He was all excited. So Pua told him hold onto the net, the current would take him up, and then stop. He would come inside. Oh, I thought we were going to lose him. But has that undertow.

KM: Hmm. I wonder if that’s a product of the stream cutting down...?

MY: Before, I think it was a strong flow.

KM: The water system now, is all different.

MY: Well, I don’t go into Bellow’s like before. Before, we used to go *paipai* for *moi* all the time. But the trouble was, when had the *limu*. We had to clean the nets. But no more *limu*, nowadays.

NA-H: When the *īpoa* comes in, it comes in plentiful.

MY: Oh, was thick when it came in.



KM: Hmm. There's an algae or something that people have been seeing now?
LF: Oh, some times the water gets really green.
MY: Oh yes, that algae.
LF: We were wondering, was it always like that, or only nowadays?
NA-H: It's changing.
MY: Before, you don't even look at that kind of stuff. It wasn't in the ocean, it was in the stream.
LF: So the ocean didn't get that?
MY: No, no more. But I take notice, even now, the water looks green. When I go with my boat, I can see it, passing the green area.
LF: Do you notice it more in one area?
MY: Only certain areas, right in front of Bellow's.
LF: Where the stream comes out?
MY: No, not necessarily. I don't know what makes it green though.
KM: It wasn't like that when you were young?
MY: I don't think so. I didn't go with a boat then, but I don't think it was like that.
LF: You can see it from the shore.
MY: Yes. You go with the boat, you can tell.
KM: When you worked out here, were there dumps of barrels that were buried out here, that you remember, in Bellow's? What could be the source of this changing...?
MY: Well, you know, when the war came, that's when they put the barrels in there. I don't think the plantation threw any barrels in there. The only thing I know, those days, had the sand dune, the hills.
KM: Yes.
MY: We used to throw the dead horses or cows like that, just throw 'um on the sand and just cover 'um. Easy to work with.
KM: Yes.
MY: But barrels, if I'm not mistaking, when I was working in Bellows, they were burying equipment and things like that. I don't know how true the story is, but.
KM: Uh-hmm.
LF: Well, they're digging it up now. So they know that it's there.
MY: I don't know how true, even brand new equipment, they buried it. This is what you hear. But actually, I didn't see it with my own eyes, I only heard. So, if you see a lot of barrels or what ever buried in there, it's possible that they did it. Nobody else could bury that, only the military. Nobody has that equipment. Or Hawaiian Dredging, they used to have the contract.
KM: For making the runway like that?
MY: Yes. That's why. But we don't know actually who did it.
KM: You worked out here at Bellows for a while, before, or after the war?
MY: After the war...



Group discusses the old fishermen of Waimānalo; and Pā Honu Pond:

MY: Those days, had about four fishermen in Waimānalo. But you know, Waimānalo is always rough, they could not make a go. Had about three or four Japanese families fishing.

NA-H: Also had Hawaiian families fishing.

KM: Yes.

MY: I used to go to Hirayama. You heard of the old man?

NA-H: Yama.

MY: Yes.

JH: Yes, he used to take of the judge's place.

MY: Steiner. Hirayama used to get the sampan over here, a long time ago.

NA-H: Do you remember the people that used to live over here [indicating the Pā Honu section]?

MY: I know one is Akimoto.

NA-H: Do you remember the old man Charles Alona?

MY: No I knew the other one, with the mustache. But when we were young, I don't know what they drink, but they sleep all day, all night.

NA-H: 'Awa. You know the old man Charles Alona, he and the wife used to be the *konoiki* of that area, and he was the one who would let people go over to Mānana and Kā'ohikaipu. Just on kapu trips. And he was the man who took them. And then from him, came to his son Alona, and then from Alona to my brother Alika, and then Alika's kids.

MY: Yes, Alika used to take all those people out.

NA-H: Not anybody can go.

KM: Were the people fishing out here, still respectful of the ocean?

There weren't too many fishermen in the early days; discusses *akule* fishing, past and present:

MY: Before, not too many fishermen. Like I said, this was when we were young. And all I remember, when they spot *akule* out here, they get together, join their nets, and then they used to go out and catch the *akule*. And they would divide their own. I don't know how they would divide them, one net get their share, or both get their share.

KM: Was there sort of like an overseer, who was the would spot the fish?

MY: Who ever spot the fish, I think they got one share too. If you own the boat, you get one share.

NA-H: I used to see papa them practice that.

KM: Uh-hmm. Amazing yeah. Are there *akule* out here now?

MY: Get, the plane comes over here and come spot. There is a spot where the *akule* always come in, and the *akule* are always over there.

KM: Junk when everyone can come from all over and take...

MY: They come with the plane and they can spot 'um.

Uhu, an important fish of Waimānalo-Makapu'u:

KM: You know, there is an interesting account in the native language newspapers about the *uhu*, the famous fish of this place. And there is a cave?

NA-H: Yes, papa took over there, below Makapu'u, to show me. This was the home of the red *uhu*, it comes only in August and December.



MY: You know that Makapu'u point, when you look with the boat, you can it hollow, is that the one you're talking about?

NA-H: The one below where the stairs go. The metal stair case, Alona put that in the wall to climb up to the lighthouse. Right below that, has one flat outcropping, and at high tide, you cannot see it. It covers that cave.

KM: And that cave is for the *uhu*?

NA-H: For that *uhu*, that's what he told me.

KM: Supposed to be almost like magical.

NA-H: Yes.

KM: This place was famous for *uhu* fishing outside there. Still yet?

MY: I don't know.

Reefs fronting Waimānalo have changed over the years; *limu* and fish not as plentiful:

KM: Hmm. Out in this area here [Pūhā – Bellows section], with the way the water and things have changed, have you noticed if there is a change in the *papa*, the reef area?

MY: There's some change. Like I said, when I used to go to Bellows a long time ago, to *paipai*, they used to have flat rocks and a lot of *limu* on top. *Moi* used to come inside, and used to get a lot of shrimp. The *moi* used to come in for the shrimp. You don't see that any more. You don't see the flat rocks like before.

NA-H: No.

MY: The flat rock were like this [gestures laying down], and then there is a drop because the waves come in.

KM: So this is like a shelf under the dunes?

NA-H: Yes, it is.

KM: So the green *pahapaha*, *limu* like that would grow...?

NA-H: All on there. It's from the fresh water coming out.

KM: And the *moi* would all come in and eat then?

NA-H: Yes.

MY: But now, you don't see that, I think.

KM: Because that fresh water, that's how you can tell, when it's coming out.

MY: Maybe it's covered.

KM: *Limu 'ele'ele* had out there before?

NA-H: Still has some.

KM: Still yet?

NA-H: Yes, and *huluhuluwaena* too?

KM: *Huluhuluwaena*?

NA-H: Yes. In certain areas, not all over.

KM: Yes.

NA-H: That's where the turtles come to nest.

KM: Still yet?



NA-H: Oh yes, still yet.

MY: I wonder if Bellows turtles still come up to lay eggs?

NA-H: Still yet. By the stream, the guard house, the first stream.

MY: Long time ago, that's why, had.

NA-H: They come, it cute the tail, they dig, dig, put the eggs inside.

KM: Hmm. Good, *mahalo nui!* Thank you so much... ...One other thing, did you ever try to climb over the *pali* and go over to the other side?

MY: No, I only went when the road opened, and that was in the 1930s, about '34, '35... [thinking] No maybe earlier than that.

NA-H: Twenty-nine, about

KM: Okay.

He'e formerly came out and sunned themselves on the rocks:

MY: I remember when they opened that, us young boys road bike to Hanauma Bay. The old road stopped near Alike's place. And you know, the *he'e* like that, before when you go over there, you could see 'um red on the rock, taking sun bath.

KM: Really, they'd come up on the rocks?

MY: Red, on top of the rocks, and nobody poked squid that time.

KM: Amazing!

MY: Amazing. Then I know, they used to go *huki lau*. You know passed Alona's place, The Hawaiian man, *kūkū*, he'd come down to the beach, he could see the fish. All the *kala*, the *pāpio*, he had so good an eye, he'd see where all the fish stay [chuckling].

NA-H: That was by Pā Honu.

MY: The left hand side, all plenty rocks inside. They used to go *huki lau* inside there.

KM: Oh *mahalo!*

MY: Okay...



William Kulia Lemn

Traditions and Practices of the Moanalua-Pu'uloa Vicinity, Island of O'ahu

Oral History Interview at Anahola, Kaua'i

February 15, 2003, with Kepā Maly (KPA Photo No. S282)

William Kulia Lemn was born at Moanalua in 1914. His mother was pure Hawaiian, and descended from the Mokumai'a line of Moanalua. His father came to Hawai'i from Illinois with the United States Army. As a child, *Kupuna* Kulia was surrounded by Hawaiian elders, and he traveled from the uplands to the shore with his mother, visiting *kūpuna* and places of traditional importance to the family. In those same years, he also traveled from the shore, across the fishponds, and 'āpapa (reef flats) with his uncles, Solomon 'O'opa Mokumai'a and Kulia Mokumai'a. From them, he



learned about the diverse fisheries of Moanalua and Pu'uloa. The greater part of the formerly rich estuarine, fishpond and 'āpapa fisheries of Moanalua have since been covered by development and the Honolulu International Airport. Similarly, the Pu'uloa fisheries have also been filled in and contaminated through military operations.

During the interview, *Kupuna* Kulia described the fisheries, types of fish caught, and practices of the native families in the region. He is an animated story teller, and shares a part of the history of O'ahu that few people today have direct memory of. *Kupuna* William Kulia Lemn, granted his personal release of the interview records to Maly on July 8, 2003.

Speaking of his family line and their settlement in Moanalua:

WL: ...This was told to me by my mother. I wanted you to know. I'm going to jump around, give you something, then you could put it together.

KM: Yes.

WL: Moanalua. Grandma, why she left Kohala with her *kāne*, and wanted to find some place on O'ahu. A valley, two big valleys. And these two valleys had two rivers that came from these valleys. She was looking for these two, because she left Kohala. Because when the missionaries came, they came to the haumānas, they told them, "you go to the ali'is," *pa'a* the mouth.

KM: 'Ae.

WL: They went to the *ali'i* and they got what they wanted... Grandma was married to Mokumai'a at that time. She told him, "We go." She left Kohala on the canoe in the night.

KM: Amazing!

WL: During the day they were down at Wai'anae.



KM: The next day?

WL: Daylight. She looked, she got off the canoe and walked in. Came back out. This is what mama was telling me and I cannot forget.

KM: Yes, yes.

WL: She walked out and told her *kāne* "This is not the place." So they went back. They passed Pearl Harbor.

KM: Pu'uloa?

WL: Yes. She went in, not the place. She came out. She went inside the *'āpapa*, not outside, inside. Came in, then she looked up and she seen these *ahupua'a* of Moanalua, the two big ones.

KM: Yes.

WL: They came closer they passed the island of Mokueo, Moanalua.

KM: Mokueo, 'ae.

WL: She saw the breakers, just like a channel like.

KM: Yes.

WL: They went in all the way, they came into Moanalua. She told her *kāne*, "wait." Because she saw these two, one river here and one river here.

KM: 'Ae.

WL: We were taught that Moanalua was on the right facing into the mountain. Aliamanu, that name Aliamanu is on the left. These two rivers meet into one.

KM: Ah.

WL: And then get that channel coming out to the *kai*.

KM: To Mokueo side?

WL: That's Moanalua. She went in and she found what she wanted.

KM: So she had a dream, a vision?

WL: That's it, she had a vision. She came out she told her *kāne*, "This is the place." She walked all the way in. [pointing to general location on Register Map No. 2848 No. 7] The river of Moanalua, when it comes in, there's two stone walls here right to the river.

KM: Yes.

WL: Wall here, wall here. She crossed and came inside. Here was a wall of stones. When she seen all that she said, "This is the place," she told her *kāne*... Because *Tūtū* Kamaka, when she got there, she was well respected by the people, because of the name. When they found out, and I found, Kepo'okapu. Kamaka's father which is my great-grandfather.

KM: 'Ae... And you said, that from Miloli'i? So grandmother Kamaka married Mokumai'a from Miloli'i?

WL: From Miloli'i. Get K. Mokumai'a... Then when Kamaka came into Moanalua, she Mokumai'a, and all that. There she raised her children. At that time Damon was in control of Moanalua.

KM: Yes, Moanalua.

WL: This is where Damon, Pauahi, the princess. She married Bishop. Damon was Bishop's business partner.



KM: Yes...

WL: Prince Lot, Princess Ruth, Pauahi. They were all a part of Moanalua. But then when Pauahi gave that *ahupua'a* to Damon. That's what happened, the *ahupua'a* from the mountain to the sea, to the *'āpapa*. Outside of that island.

KM: 'Ae. Mokueo.

WL: That was where my uncle, mama's brother who lived as a fisherman. Solomon 'O'opa Mokumai'a. A fisherman, his whole life, and my mama. Kamaka with Mokumai'a had five children.... ..Now, my sister Margaret and I are the last descendants of daddy and mama. The Lemn family, Mokumaia. I'm the last, and my sister Margaret is 96, she's still alive, strong. I'm 88.

KM: 'Ae.

WL: The rest of us, brothers and sisters gone...

WL: ...Now I'm jumping around, but it comes back to where mama is the last descendant of Kamaka's children, the rest left Moanalua. Mama was supposed to take food to the old people in the valley.

KM: 'Ae.

'O'opu and 'ōpae collected from the streams, taken as food for the *kūpuna*:

WL: That food was 'o'opu and 'ōpae. And that 'ōpae was the red one, the small 'ōpae. In the *wai*, in the river.

KM: Came from the *kahawai* in Moanalua?

WL: Right in front of our house. Mama used to *lāwalu* weekends, I see. *Lāwalu* was part of our food anyway [chuckles], the 'o'opu and the 'ōpae. Wrap in the ti leaves and *huli* till cooked.

KM: 'Ae, *lāwalu*.

WL: 'O'opu, the 'ōpae. The taro she don't cook, the sweet potato she doesn't cook. The 'ulu, we had all that in our yard. It is a must with the Hawaiian people to have these. And one more, what? Sugar cane, the red sugar cane.

KM: 'Ae.

WL: The red sugar cane and the taro, the red one. You know what that resembles to? Pele.

KM: 'Ae. Do you remember the name, was it *uahi a Pele*?

WL: The taro, I forgot the name of it, all I know is we had that. When I came here they had some of the old folks had taro.

KM: Red *kalo* and red *kō*? Sugar cane?

WL: The red sugar cane.

KM: For Pele?

WL: That resembles Pele...

KM: ...Where was your house in relationship to the *pu'u*?

WL: My house was down in the *puka*.

KM: On the bottom?

WL: In the river, along side the river, and all those homes I'm talking about. And you get to Damon on the right. Papa and mama Damon on the left. Looking into the valley of Moanalua.



KM: 'Ae...

'Ōpae and 'o'opu fishing above Waipuka; protocols observed:

WL: At Waipuka, the *pali*, get one cave. Uncle Tom Kealanui was the caretaker of that valley up there. He can see right down, who comes in. Then he tell the people, "Go back." Only mama, in that valley, can go up, the two of us. That's how I know the valley, then all the way inside beyond Waipuka. The waterfalls, and mama wants to go up there to get 'ōpae, the red ones. When I was going into the valley all the way in. We passed the stream, cross, cross.

KM: 'Ae. Crossed the stream in different areas.

WL: When we come to there mama said, "No make noise." This 'ōpae when they hear, they going be all on top the *pōhaku*. When they hear people come, they hide. We go, and do not eat anything like the mountain apple, the guava all that. Do not pick the flower of the *lehua*, bumbly the *ua* come. When we come back. then we can pick. When we got up there sure enough you can see the red. Mama went get 'ōpae, when she get enough, we coming home. Then we catch 'o'opu with our hands.

KM: In the stream, *kahawai*?

WL: Yes. And the 'ōpae, what we can get. We come by this Waipuka, mama call uncle Tom in the cave. She made one *pū'olo* of 'ōpae for him. We, my sister Clara and I and my brother Ward, we said, "How come you give uncle Tom? They live right by the river, they get plenty 'ōpae." Mama said, "No talk," she made [gestures with finger to his mouth]. Even when we come up to go hook 'o'opu when the *wai* come down from the mountain. Plenty 'o'opu we hook, mama make one string for uncle Tom. That's the way they are.

KM: 'Ae. That's how, always share.

WL: That's the way they lived, share. And when we get all these things, my mom cook with sister Clara take 'em to Namakahelu. That is where, we come back to Namakahelu now.

KM: Yes.

WL: That is where sister Clara told me, "Brother, it's your turn now, you go with mama. You help mama carry these two *pū'olo*." I said, "Okay," oh I happy. I carry two, mama carry two *pū'olo*. We passed, we took the back road up on top. First we past this big *pōhaku*, the road that the dairy is on top now?

KM: Yes.

WL: The dairy, then that road that goes to Gertrude's house, right in this area here.

KM: In the V of the road.

WL: Get the big *pōhaku*, the V. Mama stop over there, mama *pule*.

KM: Oh yeah.

WL: Then we came to the cemetery, we pass the cemetery, the cemetery is still there.

KM: Yes.

WL: Mama *pule*. And just past the cemetery, now they get a house over there, but there's a road that goes down. It's that road, goes down. And then we have to cross the main road pass the camp. There was a camp there, Japanese... One camp was by Kodama store, the old Pu'uloa road. That Kodama store is right at the corner. There's another camp there. It's Japanese. Then papa and mama Damon, their workers at the main house, all Japanese...



...Gertrude same thing. There's all these Japanese working, no Hawaiians. That's what made me really kind of think... ...what they are doing to the Hawaiians, the Hawaiians needed work. The Hawaiians need work, they live poor.

KM: They no hire?

WL: Was lucky that the Hawaiians had all the fish to eat. So much!

KM: So you folks would go get 'ōpae, 'o'opu?

The *kapu* fish of Moanalua was 'ama'ama:

WL: So much. The *kapu* of Moanalua is the fish. Each *ali'i* had their own. The *kapu* in Moanalua was, the *konohiki* was 'ama'ama, mullet. But mama can catch with our net, if the mullet *pa'a* under the net mama can eat the mullet as long as she cannot sell.

KM: 'Ae.

WL: And the other Hawaiians cannot eat the mullet, they had to bring 'em to the *ali'i*.

KM: The *konohiki*, Pauahi or?

WL: They cannot, that's *kapu* for the *konohiki*... ...In the valley of Moanalua had everything. Because of Pauahi giving that *ahupua'a* to Damon. Pauahi knew ahead, before she gave, that the valley was set aside for Hawaiians, for learning. Because we had everything in there to learn. Right down to when Kamehameha fought his last battle he came down there to rest.

KM: At Moanalua?

WL: Moanalua. The Queen came with her canoe from Kohala, all the way down into Moanalua Valley.

KM: Ka'ahumanu?

WL: And the canoe was hidden in the cave behind Hattie's place, mama's place. Papa Damon's house, below the lava tube there...

Resources from mountain to sea all interrelated; families gathered *limu 'ele'ele* from areas where the streams met the sea. Elders held the fresh water and salt water in high esteem; both were used medicinally; and as children he and his siblings were taught to respect them:

WL: ...I told my niece, Lillian, remember this, "In everything, there is the good and there is the bad, everything." Uncle 'O'opa told me this, the *manō*, you wonder why.

KM: 'Ae.

WL: In Miloli'i the people there were fishing people. The *kai*, the salt water, the *wai* that come from the mountain in the river, and above, and from the 'āina of the springs. Then the question I put to mama them was, a silly questions, "Mama how come the *wai* come down and meet the *kai*?" Because mama them used to sit down right by the old bridge and pick up the *limu 'ele'ele*.

KM: 'Ae.

WL: The long *limu*, just like the woman's hair.

KM: 'Ae, 'ae.

WL: They sit down and we go pick up and we bring to her. They clean and they eat and they talk story and they eating and they cleaning inside their *mu'umu'u*.

KM: 'Ae.



WL: But then mama tell, "You go ask uncle," uncle was older then her. Mama always refer to the older ones. When I went down I talked to my uncle. Uncle told me, "The *wai*, the *kai*," he laugh, smile. I tell uncle, "Why do they meet?" By and by he tells me, "The *wai*, for you to *inu*, to drink for your body, to wash your body, to wash your clothes, to water the plants and all that, the *wai*." Now the *kai*, "All the fish, the *limu* everything you get from the *kai* is for you to eat. And you drink the *kai*, salt water, you drink. It's good for your body because your body needs the *wai*, needs the *kai*." You need fresh water, you need salt water in your body.

KM: 'Ae.

WL: Just like you need sugar, you need salt for your body. And he tell, "Man, you in the center." He grab me [tears welling up in his eyes], "Boy you *mālama* you take care the *wai* and the *kai*. And then you *mālama* the '*āina*.'" These three, he told me. "Man doesn't own, it was given by the *akua* for us to take care." But then when he told me all these things. And when mama when send me on the island already brother was down there because he humbug mama to send him on the island. Go learn how to fish, how to make nets.

Family at times lived on Mokueo Island, and fished from there (area now destroyed); describes fisheries of the region:

KM: Mokueo?

WL: Mokueo Island. That's when the navy when cut 'em in half. That's where they made the reef runway.

KM: So you folks went down and fished at Mokueo?

WL: I lived on that Mokueo island, most of the time.

KM: [opening Register Map No. 2848] Here it is, Mokueo right here. This is No. 7 of the fishery maps.

WL: Nice, we used to fish over there.

KM: 'Ae. So here's Āliapa'akai.

WL: Salt Lake. Āliapa'akai, yes.

KM: Here's the old Pu'uloa road.

WL: That's right! Damon, Pearl Harbor.

KM: And look at all the fishponds too. This is his fishery, Moanalua out here.

WL: That's the one they went cut! Mokueo fishery.

KM: Mokueo, Mokauea, all the fishponds. You folks lived out on the island?

WL: At Mokueo. We lived on this island.

KM: And you went fishing out there?

WL: There's supposed to be one channel.

KM: Yes. Here's the channel right here.

WL: That's the channel for us. That's the one that grandma found.

KM: Kamaka?

WL: When she came this way from Pearl Harbor side.

KM: 'Ae. Here's Kalaeokaiki?

WL: Here's, Kalihi Channel. All these Hawaiian names I don't know.



KM: Kaliawa fishery.

WL: Yes, that's what they said, the fishponds, two big ones.

KM: Yes.

WL: Here, this one [pointing to pond on map].

KM: Ananoho, here's Pāhounui.

WL": That's the two big one's. This one is down the Pu'uloa road. Yes, and Mokumoa. You see this here, that big fishpond. We used to walk all the way through here. And then we walk when the tide is low we walk on the island.

KM: 'Ae.

WL: During low tide, we can walk to the island with mama.

KM: Amazing!

WL: And then when high tide Uncle 'O'opa bring us up with the canoe. We fish all on canoe.

KM: What kind of fishing did you do?

WL: Inland, uncle was inland fishing, 'āpapa inland, was the 'ō'io, the *awa*, the *āholehole*, the *kūmū*, the *kala* and all those other fish that belong inside. And then the 'ama'ama, the mullet.

KM: And you said that was the *konohiki* fish?

WL: Was *konohiki* for the Moanalua people, for the *ali'i*. But mama can get when *pa'a* the net. Uncle he go fish for mullet. He goes down by the entrance to Pearl Harbor in that area.

KM: *Ma'ane'i*, over here.

WL: He go down there where is the end of Moanalua.

KM: 'Ae, right here.

WL: He knows the boundaries outside of Moanalua. He gets the mullet, and then comes back on the island and brings it up.

KM: You see on this [map] the Moanalua entry. Here is the entry to Pu'uloa. Pu'uloa, so Fort Kamehameha would have been down here.

WL: That's the reserve down here.

KM: Yes, that's right the reserve, Fort Kamehameha.

WL: This is Hālawa.

KM: That's right, Hālawa. Nice though. I knew you would enjoy looking at these maps and seeing the old names like that. So you lived out at Mokeo?

WL: I lived on this island.

KM: What was the house like?

WL: We lived in an old house. Roofing iron, they get roofing iron because they put 55 gallon on each corner to catch the water. And that water is only for bathing. When we want drinking water we got to go with the canoe when the tide is right. Uncle makes his own canoe. Not out of log, he made it out of redwood. You know when the plantation brought in those planks for water flumes?

KM: Yes.

WL: Those inch and a half redwood, 18 inch wide and an inch and a quarter thick. Some 24 feet, 30 feet long. He had this big canoe can hold five barrels.



KM: Wow!

WL: He made his own. The outrigger of the canoe was made of *hau*. He come up on land down at Moanalua he look for the *hau*. The that has the shape already.

KM: For the *'iako*?

WL: He takes it to the island with the skin and everything outside. He gets a pin in the *'āpapa* in the shape of what he likes because *hau* bends.

KM: Yes.

WL: He bends it to the shape that he likes. He lays it there and covers it with mud so the *mū* don't get it, the bugs. Once the shape is made and it looks strong, that's the one he took. And the *'ama* same thing, *hau*.

KM: He would bury it to shape it?

WL: To get what he wants. And the bugs won't get it.

KM: The *mū no 'ai*.

WL: And to polish that we use the *ulu*. When the *ulu* bears fruit that long one, the outside skin. The skin of that *ulu*, oil. He rub that all on.

KM: When you *pīlali*, sticky the sap.

WL: And then glossy. And when you go in the water that thing is like oil, it's smooth.

KM: It glides on the water.

WL: Smart yeah, he's smart. When he makes that, and then when the *'ama* goes out, and get the two, on top there, get *papa* on top.

KM: Yes, yes across the *'iako*.

WL: Make the *papa* and get the nets all on top there. I throw the net. That thing going out like that on top there. Uncle in the front, the *kilo*, my brother behind. When uncle looks and sees the fish the pole. Because inside is three feet, four feet, six feet high.

KM: Yes, on the *'āpapa*?

WL: Inside of the *'āpapa*. We use pole. But when you pole you no go hmm [gestures pounding the *'āpapa*]! You got to go down slow.

KM: Soft.

WL: No hit.

KM: Gentle.

Taught not to make noise while fishing; names types of fish caught:

WL: Because the fish get ear. Cannot talk, no more talking on the canoe. Uncle don't like nobody talk. I used to play in the water, oh I get scolding from uncle. Because of the noise, he said, "No noise."

KM: He said, "No noise," because the fish can hear?

WL: The fish hear. And then his fishing is all done by the moon. By the moon, by the wind and the current, the tide. He knows what kind of fish to go get and wait for. If the big *'āpapa* here, open, another big *'āpapa*. Then the big fish, like the *'ō'io* the big kind, the *awa* [gestures size].

KM: Two feet.



WL: The big kind that comes in. That he sells them in the market at 'A'ala Park get one market over there they make Japanese fish cake, the *'ō'io*. The small kind he sells it to the Chinese then the Chinese sells it to the Hawaiians or who like buy. The *'ō'io* on Kekaulike Street. Right hand side get this Chinese fish market. And the *weke*, he makes his own nets. I stay up night time with him fill up the *hi'a*.

KM: 'Ae, the needle for sew.

WL: I make my own lobster net. I make my own gill net, when they come up, I catch 'em in the river at Moanalua.

KM: You cross the river?

WL: Yes, Pauahi Bridge. And then the railroad track and then the other railroad track. Between the two railroad tracks is the mudflats where get the clams, shell clams.

KM: 'Ae.

WL: Right over there had one big fishpond, across had another big fishpond. Right where the mudflats is. One is on the Pu'uloa one and one is on the other side. One more Damon used to live on that island over there.

KM: Yes.

WL: And then that's the valley. See, Fort Shafter, then you go down, get one long name over there, that valley before you come up to [thinking of the name]...that valley [thinking]

KM: [opening Register Map No. 2848 No. 7] Here's Moanalua, Fort Shafter, Kahauiki, Kalihi, Kapālama. I trying to think, Weli Fishpond, Kaikikapu Fishpond, Māpunapuna, Mokumoa... Interesting though.

WL: Don't say nothing about that river that's coming out from Moanalua now?

KM: Here's the Moanalua stream.

WL: Where they meet.

KM: Just what you said how grandmother came in the canoe and then the stream one goes this way, one goes the other side.

WL: That's what she was looking for the valley in her dream that big valley the two streams.

KM: Very interesting. Let's look at one other map, it may be better. [opening Register Map No. 2848 No. 8] Oh, this one only comes as far over as the Pu'uloa-Hālawa section. Though here's Lelepaua Fishpond, Ahua, the big *'āpapa*, Moanalua. Fort Kamehameha, Water Town.

WL: Water Town, that's going to Pu'uloa then you go to Water Town before you reach Pearl Harbor.

KM: Yes. Off of the Pu'uloa road. Interesting!

WL: Damon was never satisfied with what they had.

KM: Never enough?

WL: Never enough.

KM: So uncle, when you folks would go fishing, you said that your uncle would go fish on the *'āpapa*?

WL: Yes.

KM: And then he would go out in the ocean also? Would he fish in the sea?



Discusses *he'e*, *'ō'io*, *weke*, and *awa* fishing:

WL: See, his fishing... See, we go with the tide. When the tide is low the canoe, you cannot use the canoe too much. We have one small and the wife had one small one. We go look for *he'e*, squid. The wife get one he get one made out of lathes.

KM: Yes.

WL: They tow that. When they get the squid they put 'em inside here.

KM: In the back, in the water then?

WL: Us, sometimes we walk because the *'āpapa* is open. The canoes go in between. But when the tide comes in and is high, that's when they go look for the *'ō'io*. But in this low tide they have these pukas, sand hole's is what they are called. In there get the *weke*, the small kind *'ō'io*, the *awa* [gestures size]

KM: Nine inch kind.

WL: *Pāpio*, all the small kind fish in the sand hole, he had the net for that.

KM: When the water, *kai make*, the water is in these pukas and they fish inside there?

WL: Yes. But then when the tide is high that's when the big one's come in.

KM: Yes.

WL: We go with the big eye net, the five and six inch to get the big kind *awa*, we gill 'em. Make one pocket over here go like that and another one. The fish up there, then brother stay this side we stay this side with the small canoe, we go up.

KM: You *paipai*?

Uncle fished with a *manō* that warned him when outside sharks were coming in:

WL: Then hit, and then the fish come down and we get 'em. They hit the net and they go inside this pocket, we get 'em. But then, sometimes the *manō* comes by the canoe. I tell uncle, "The *manō*!" He look up he see the water. "Pick up the net, the other sharks coming in." The shark, *pilau* eating the fish.

KM: This one?

WL: This one that comes around the canoe, what he pick up and some comes down and hits the net. He take the fish and throw 'em to the *manō*.

KM: Ahh!

WL: Give 'em to the *manō*. Next day, sometimes we go one, two days like that. We no can get nothing because the *manō* come for eat.

KM: Outside *manō* come eat?

WL: The outside ones, they come inside for eat. And this one tells him.

KM: Friend, that's their *'aumakua*?

WL: That's their *'aumakua*. That's the one he takes in the channel. If he no come around night time when he go torching, he gets all the good fish. He keeps some fish. When he go up in the morning to go take to market he goes by the channel and hits the canoe. The shark comes.

KM: The shark comes and he feeds him?

WL: He feeds 'em. I see all that because I was *nīele*, and I wanted to know.

KM: Good.



WL: But then, like uncle always tell me. “In the *kai* there’s the good and sometimes they are the kind of shark that eats man.” I tell, “Uncle but you get ‘*aumakua*, how come?” “No, this *pilau*, no good. You know the *honu*, the turtle?” I said, “Yes.” “The turtle underneath the body is white, the *manō*... [gestures shark biting]” That’s why, the Hawaiians, the old folks, some they’re feet underneath, they put charcoal. All the old surfers before, charcoal, rub their feet. But now they cover up so don’t show the whiteness.

KM: Because the *manō*...?

WL: Yes, maybe you surfing and your back feet stay outside your feet outside, right by the surfboard.

KM: Yes.

WL: You don’t know if the *manō* coming.

Honu eaten and used for medicine:

KM: The *manō* thinks you’re one *honu*.

WL: The *honu* they come up, and the see the *honu* pass by, it’s like the *honu*.

KM: Interesting.

WL: The *honu* is something that the old folks respect very much. The *honu* is a medicine for the old people. The one’s who get *hānō*, asthma, cannot breathe. The *honu* is not fish. The blood is warm, so the old folks would get the *honu*, cut and drink the blood of the *honu*. Your body come warm. The asthma go away.

KM: Then the *hānō* goes away? Interesting.

WL: My boy Bobby the one just died now. When he was born a nine pound baby. When he was three, four years old he started to get *hānō*. No can do nothing, he came skinny. People tell, “You go try this, you go try this.” Down here had a Japanese fisherman, I go down there all the time and talk story with him. He told me, “Wiliama, you know the *honu*?” “I know the *honu*, my uncle tell me about the *honu*.” “You don’t drink the blood?” “Uncle drink at home,” but never dawn on me. The blood of the *honu* is good for *hānō*. “We go catch.” I tell him wait, what I did was, I came home. To catch the *honu* I made the eye of the net ten inches.

We set it down here, the *honu* came *pa’a*, we caught one, we bless ‘um. My nephew same age as Bobby, *hānō*. When they tasted the blood, oh, they no like. The old Japanese man he drink ‘em, I took Bobby’s I drank a little, “Here Bobby you drink the rest.” Bobby went drink, the boy drink. No more *hānō*.

KM: *Mahalo ke akua!*

WL: The *honu*, the old folks, they like. Me, I like turtle, the meat and everything they don’t throw away. The old folks they don’t throw away nothing.

KM: Nothing.

Kala fish and *limu kala* used medicinally:

WL: There’s always something that’s good to eat. Even with the *ōpū* of the fish. Like now, the *kala*, you know what *kala* is?

KM: ‘Ae.

WL: If you happen to get a big one. You cut the tail let the thing bleed out. Don’t throw it away, let it bleed out. You go on the charcoal, the *ōpū* and all. The young kind about four, five, six pounds. When it cooks, you take the skin no eat the rest, eat the skin first. The skin is roughage. It’s like sandpaper when it goes down. When that skin goes down your *ōpū* it cleans all the *pilau* in your stomach. Sandpaper, that’s Hawaiian roughage.



KM: Yes.

WL: The fisherman, the old folks, the skin, see.

KM: That's how they take care, *mālama kino*.

WL: You eat the skin first and then you eat the meat, then the last you eat the 'ōpū. The *kala* they eat the coral, they eat the *kala limu*.

KM: *Limu kala*.

Before, nothing was poisonous; now, people don't care for the land and ocean, and they can get sick from eating the fish:

WL: Nothing poison, only today is different. *Kāpulu!* That's why they say all the head you got to cut off the fish.

KM: They don't take care of the land. They put *pilau* in the water.

WL: Our river here no can.

KM: No can.

WL: *Kala* even the *palani* they get *hauna* fish. The *kala*, the *palani*, the *nenuē* all this rock fish. You don't clean with fresh water, you clean with salt water. Because the *limu* what they eat is strong. When you open the 'ōpū, the smell.

KM: Strong.

WL: Some people they don't like, but they don't know how good the fish is. I make poke out of the *kala*, *nenuē*, the *palani*. They don't know the difference.

KM: And 'ono, *miko*?

WL: I put my *limu*. When I make for them have to get the chili pepper and *limu* together. But the dietician tell me a spoonful of chili pepper water is good for you. I get my *pa'akai*. But this food cannot beat, that's why sister 96 years old, never get sick. Everything was cooked outside. Either *lāwalu* or *pūlehu* your fish outside. Light the *imu*. I was brought up with uncle Willie Kau to learn the *imu*.

KM *Kālua?*

WL: For *kālua* in the *imu*. I learned the hard way, mama sent us down to learn. Put our hand over the flame to know what the flame is.

KM: To know the heat.

WL: Then I hear uncle, it comes right back to Pele, the flame the heat. Nothing was wrong with Pele. When Pele get *hūhū* that means they did something wrong.

KM: That's right.

Discusses beliefs associated with nature, the land and ocean:

WL: When all this storm comes, when the *makani* comes, *hūhū*, she knocked down everything. *Nui ka hūhū* and really angry she takes life the *makani* but when it comes *mālia*, the *makani*, the wind. You cannot see the wind but you can feel the wind it touches your body. When that wind come in and touch their body, first thing their hands go like this [gestures, *pule*]. They *pule*, it's the spirit of the *Akua*. You can feel, but you cannot see... These are the old ways of the old people. And then, like the *kai*, *kai mālia*, *kai hūhū*, *kai nui ka hūhū*. The *makani* three, the *ua* three. The *kai*, when it gets angry, you know what happens. It comes right up on shore, takes everything.

KM: 'Ae.



WL: Life and all. But when *mālia*, good. Then the wind, up here. Us, the *kai*. When *kāne* and the *wahine* get *pilikia*, they go down by the *kai*. They wait, when that *kai* is *mālia*, that's when they talk about *mālia*. When that *kai* is *mālia*, good. They *pule*, pray. But then up the mountain, here, and we have that too in Moanalua. But up here, my wife showed me hers. Up here [*mauka* in Anahola] there are plenty stone walls... When we *pule*, we were close.

KM: 'Ae, everything is *mālia*.

WL: We came home, and we lived. I stayed 55 years with my wife...

KM: Hmm... Beautiful stories, important recollections and history. Uncle, thank you it's so good that you share... May I ask you a question?

WL: Yes.

KM: You talked earlier about your uncle Kulia Mokumai'a and how he would fish and certain moons you get certain fish a certain time.

Uncle fished by cycles of the moon:

WL: Yes, right.

KM: What do you remember, when would he go to get certain fish. What kind of moon?

WL: The moon coincides with the tide. This is when we go torching. When the moon is setting maybe from 8 o'clock, 9 o'clock in the night or sometimes from midnight down till in the morning. In the three hours span the *kai* is dry. He studies all that, he knows. When it's time to go, sometimes from the island and the canoes are outside we have to walk because it's dry. We get on the canoe and we light the torch. He goes down towards the Pearl Harbor side, we come up towards the channel side. We get the *manini*, the *weke*, the *uhu*, all the kind night fish we can see in the sand holes or on the 'āpapa, even the lobster come out and we catch. Uncle goes down towards Pearl Harbor, down there get some big kind *pōhaku*, coral. The red *kūmū*, the good fishes is all underneath there sleeping. You go on the 'āpapa you can hear the *uhu* snoring. You can hear the noise.

KM: Yes.

Names types of fish formerly caught, from sea to streams:

WL: Uncle tells, "That's the *uhu*." We go with scoop net, we make our own net, round [gestures].

KM: Round net.

WL: With a handle and we scoop. All the fish are scooped. We get the fish sleeping on the sand, and then we kick with our leg.

KM: Amazing!

WL: When we take 'em to the market the fish is not damaged. All good

KM: Clean. Beautiful good condition!

WL: The *kūmū*, all the red fish, he take 'em to this Chinese they like, or the Japanese. Certain times he gets good price for the *kūmū* and the 'ū'ū, the big eye red fish. Or sometimes the other good kind fish would get more. Still yet we catch what we call 'ōpala fish, all kinds. And even the *pūhi*, the white *pūhi*. The *pūhi* we get the white kind, the Portuguese people they love the white *pūhi*. We catch all what we can we take 'em to the Chinese market and the market calls the Portuguese. They come down and they buy 'em all. They like that *pūhi*. But the Hawaiians their *pūhi*, they dry. The *pūhi*, the red one, Morey, they say. That one there they dry it because it's fat. The oil, the fat one, all dry for us to eat.

KM: You go out on no moon night or full moon or...?



WL: Right now when the moon is full we don't go out. We stay home patch nets. Certain times we patch nets. He studied the tide. But then during the day get the same thing the tide low, he always studied the tide. They cannot fool my uncle, he knows. He knows when the tide is certain height, and he knows what kind of fish coincides with the moon and the tide.

KM: Yes.

WL: He knows all that. He taught my brother Wally that. My brother Wally was well known after my uncle died... [Wally's sons are Warren and Tommy, who work for Kamehameha Schools; Warren is the fisherman, who followed his father.]

KM: So you folks lived by fishing the ocean?

WL: Yes. And the *wai*, the 'o'opu, 'ōpae. Sometimes get the small kind fish, we call it mosquito fish but they call when it's dry, just like *nehu*.

KM: Yes, the *nehu*.

WL: To clean that mama would get a bucket of water put, salt inside put the fish and she just squeeze the 'ōpū. Squeeze the 'ōpū come out then we poke the eye with the inner part of the *hau* then we hang it up.

KM: Leis of these fish.

WL: With the small kind 'o'opu, dry. Pau school we come home [gestures, eating the dried fish]

KM: *Hinana*, the small...

WL: We dry 'um come home, that's for us to eat lunch. We take the sweet potato, taro and the *ulu* cook. We just grab a coupled dried ones and that's the life for us, how we lived when we were young. But daddy liked chowder so with all the *kala*, would make good chowder. Any white meat fish makes good chowder.

KM: Yes.

WL: Mama knows, she tell, "Uncle, if you get *kala* bring 'em." Mama get the *kala* she take the skin out only the white meat then she go by the Chinese place gets the vegetables to make chowder for daddy. And clams. Mama would go get the clams in the mud flats, wash 'em, steam them and boil. The clams open, then we take the meat put 'em on the side. But while we're cleaning, we're eating [chuckling].

KM: Yes, yes.

WL: Those clams, she would make chowder. She beat the eggs, so with the eggs and the clams she fried it for daddy's lunch go work. She make chowder out of the clams and fish for daddy. Daddy is satisfied.

KM: You mentioned the clams. Did you folks have the *pipi* oyster out there also?

WL: The clams were brought in, I think by Damon, from Japan.

KM: No more oyster out here?

WL: No more now, down there. It's different from oysters it's regular clams. These clams, and oysters Pearl Harbor get. That's the home of the oysters, Pearl Harbor. The story goes way back the story of the pearl, Pearl Harbor.

KM: 'Ae. When you were saying uncle didn't like you to talk when you were out on the water.

WL: Yes.

KM: Like the oyster, they say "*i'a hāmau leo.*"



WL: [chuckles] Oh, I don't know that. What I talk to you...I never understood Hawaiian. Mama never had time to teach us. That's why she prepared us to work, or helping other people. Mama was always like that, we were like that. I don't worry, I can stay by myself here. The old folks, Hawaiians here, they had practically nothing. Money, very few...

KM: Not much money, but *nui ke aloha!*

WL: No. We get plenty food. Mama always shared what we had. Sometimes we'd get mad, my brother would say "Mama?" We'd go down Pauahi Bridge, that's our swimming hole when the tide is high. Okay, we set one net below Pauahi Bridge, then we go by the first railroad track, one net behind. Then we go more down before the mud flats, one more net. When the people come mama takes dry mango leaf. When we see the mosquito we light the mango leaf, the smoke, the mosquito no come by us. When the people pass they like go fishing they say, "Oh, Hattie over here already." They know we control the river already [chuckling].

KM: So they don't bother?

WL: They no bother. Hattie was here already they go home. When we go pick up our net mama knows just who to give.

KM: Yes. They always share?

'O'opu fishing, and sale:

WL: She shares. She tell aunty Malia, aunty Kau, "Come, I get fish." But my brother Wally, he like sell... [chuckling] Next night when we go, mama says, "You sell this, this is for you." He happy. He take the fish in the morning, take the streetcar, take 'em to the park and sell 'em he come back he's feeling good [chuckling]... For us to go home, we have two 4x12, span the river, we join 'um over with cable, tie 'um to the mango tree. That's how we cross the river, get water underneath. We sit down on that and hook 'o'opu.

KM: Hmm... When you hook your 'o'opu, do you use bait or just hook?

WL: Hook and worms [chuckling]. Right by the house the water comes out. Mama get the small patch with the red *huli* and the sugar cane. All like that...

KM: 'Ae... ..So uncle, you grew up in Moanalua?

WL: From baby time, I was born November 5, 1914.

KM: From baby, you fished and to *kuahiwi*. You'd go get 'ōpae from the waterfalls *mauka*?

WL: Yes.

KM: From all the mountains out to the ocean?

WL: From the mountains to the sea...

Family made *pa'akai* on Mokueo:

KM: Where did you folks used to dry your fish, where did you get your *pa'akai* from? Were you still making *pa'akai*?

WL: The salt?

KM: Yes.

WL: From uncle, the salt water, evaporation.

KM: Mokueo like that?

WL: Yes, from the salt water.

KM: You were making the salt?



- WL: And even over here, when I came, my wife Annie had.
- KM: 'Ae... So when you were young you made your own *pa'akai*?
- WL: I know how to make, I made my own. This *pa'akai* comes from Hanapēpē. Home, back in Moanalua uncle used to make outside. He had the 'āpapa, coral, he dug into it. When the tide comes in he would fill it up. During the summer time the evaporation. He made just enough for him. This is the *lepo 'alaea*. There are two kinds. One is for medical purposes, *koko* for the wahine when they get *ma'i*, no can stop, they drink this. Daddy had bleeding ulcers, he was at Fort Shafter in the hospital. The army doctor said, "They couldn't stop the bleeding." Mama told the doctor, "I get my medicine." He told mama, "Go and try." We got the young coconut water and mama grated that 'alaea, and she mixes the coconut water with it. "Drink." Three months mama was giving him every day, one glass. The blood healed, the stomach healed because this cakes over. Once it goes inside the lining of the *ōpū*, it covers the sore.
- KM: Yes.
- WL: And then the sore, no can open, no can bleed...
- KM: ...Uncle these stories you share, your memories, it's so important. How it was, how you folks worked, the things that you did.
- WL: There's so much. I can go back on a lot of things, the *kapu* of this, the *kapu* of that. *Kapu* of the *imu*...
- Discusses *kapu* and protocol associated with fishing:
- KM: ...How about when you go *lawai'a*, go fishing has *kapu*?
- WL: Fishing, no talk. Uncle Kulia, no talk. Everything is prepared. If we're going in the night, fishing, prepare then he tap us, we sleeping. He no sleep. He's patching net or something. There's certain things that he had, mostly it's talking. The respect of the ocean, the *kai* and the food that they're going to have, the fish that they're going to catch. All these things.
- KM: *Pule*?
- WL: Hawaiians were great one's for that. It happened when the missionaries came and convinced the *ali'i* that theirs was the right one . It is true they had a good religion but they forgot that word *aloha*... ...In the preparation of the *kapu* way back, when grandma taught mama. There were certain *kapu*, *pau*... But I always go back to Moanalua, I go to my mama's grave, I *pule*. I always go back... ...Mama also taught me, anything that I take that I did not plant in the 'āina and I'm taking, either you find out who owns that or you *pule* before you take it, and you tell why you're taking it, that's how it was...
- KM: ...Yes. *Kupuna*, your history is so good. You know, you were talking about fishing and *kapu*, go out.
- WL: Yes.
- KM: Did you folks go out in the ocean and fish also on canoe?
- WL: No not outside the 'āpapa.
- KM: Hmm, not outside of the 'āpapa...
- WL: But later, I was with Hawaiian Dredging, we dredged Port Allen, we dredged Nāwiliwili and Ahukini. We went home with the tug on the boat take the dredge go back. I was all on that, I had my own operator's license for a 65 footer. I studied the current and the stars in order to get my license. In all my studies on the tug out in the ocean, I began to study currents. So I learned about the ocean... That I knew, all those things...



KM: Yes... You know uncle these *mo'olelo* that you've shared in this interview, are so important.

WL: Well you go, you pick out the good. You have to pick out the good, what you think is the right thing.

KM: Yes. Your stories about how you lived, and how they taught you to respect the ocean and land, are rich stories... Thank you so much for sharing, it's so important, and we're going to bring these stories together.

WL: That's the old way of the Hawaiians.

KM: Then people can understand the history.

WL: Or these things will be lost. The people got angry. But now people are beginning to do research.

KM: Yes...

WL: ...I learned about the *kapu* of the *'āina*, everything was there, the *kapu*. That's why, they were very, very strict. Very strict. The separation of the *wahine* and the *kāne*.

KM: 'Ae. Uncle, so like when you were fishing, did your uncle give fish back?

WL: The one that hit the net first. Uh-hmm. The new nets, and any net that we go out and fish. Like out here [Anahola], with Andrew Lovell, he was the *akule* fisherman. At that time, we pull, *huki*, not gill. He was the diver. He dives out there, he can go 30, 40, 50 feet water, right down and come back up. When he gets there, the *akule*, he tells his people, "The first one, grab the fish and [gestures, throwing it] over.

KM: Yes.

WL: I go and set my nets for my own personal use, the first fish [gestures, throwing it] over. I look for the live one and throw 'um. Or not, the first one that hits the net, over. Everything, is return back.

KM: So you give back, like thanks?

WL: Yes, you take, you give back. Everything, even on the *'āina*. You go up the mountain, you get the ti leaves, you cut, you pull... Like now, they go up *kāpulu*, they broke 'um, they throw down. I go up there, I might take three or four from one, four or five from this one, and leave the others.

KM: And you would plant new ones?

WL: Always, put it right back inside. All that kind.

KM: This is important, that the children now, that when they read your story, that they understand that you have to work like this. You put back, you give back.

Discusses Moanalua of his childhood, and how things have changed:

WL: I tell them that, and it's up to them. I'm not going to be there, do I tell them the story, like my son. I learned this from my people, mama them, and I learned it here, from a Japanese farmer who worked with us in the pineapple fields above here. and what he brings, he brings fish, tomato, pineapple to eat. But it is the custom, that you plant in the *'āina* for you to eat. Now, for you to eat what is planted, you drink *wai*, water, you give water. You wear good clothes. That means you clean the place, no *kāpulu*. What you plant in the *'āina*, no *kāpulu*. Never *kāpulu*. People now, they *kāpulu*.

KM: Yes... *Mahalo*, thank you so much for being willing to talk story...

WL: ...Moanalua, there is just so much of everything. How can you describe it. Pauahi Bridge, our swimming hole. Just past Pauahi Bridge, had a big tower and that tower is made out



of stone and you go around like that on the point. You can look at the whole valley of Moanalua. When Pauahi gave the *'āina* to Damon [shaking head]... When I left, it was after the war, and all those things were torn down, development.

And right by the big tower was the railroad track. In order for us to come in with the canoe from the outside, we past the first one, they made it wide enough for the *ama* to pass, the *'iako*. Low tide you can come in. When uncle go home you got to go home enough, where the canoe cannot touch, but he cannot paddle, he got to lay down in the canoe and go out.

KM: Yes.

WL: If it's too high he cannot go, he has to wait till the tide goes down. The mud flats on the right, the big fishponds on the Pu'uloa side, and the ones on this side [Honolulu]. All those things are so clear in my mind.

KM: Yes, Kaikikapu pond.

WL: I can just picture it... There is so much about Moanalua.

KM: *'Ae, mahalo nui!*

WL: Our good days, the hum-bug days. The fishpond, when get big storm like rain storm, strong winds, the Pākēs no come out watch the fishpond, they stay home. I go out there with the gallon wine, take it to them. My brother and Char, go in the fishpond, and the next morning they take 'um to the market. [smiling]

KM: [chuckling]

WL: Hum-bug, yeah. Salt Lake, the same thing.

KM: All the *'ama'ama* like that?

WL: Yes and big kind *āholehole*.

KM: So Salt Lake, Āliapa'akai?

WL: Yes, Salt Lake. One of the Damon son's had a house up there. The one married to Julia Waterhouse. That's where they stay up there.

KM: Yes. Did they make salt at Āliapa'akai?

WL: Salt ponds in there, not that I know of.

KM: Used to go up and down with the ocean, the tide?

WL: The salt is mostly, that *kai*, according to my uncle 'O'opa, is a lava tube. No fish was put in there by the people, it came from under.

KM: Underneath?

WL: Yes. That's why that place is Pele. Pele went there, too much water she moved someplace else.

KM: Yes.

WL: Punch Bowl, she came Kaua'i, Hā'ena, up Līhu'e mauka.

KM: 'Ae. So your uncle 'O'opa told you?

Discusses the Pu'uloa-Honolulu fisheries:

WL: My uncle O'opa knows that place and Pearl Harbor. He said all the fish that comes from Moanalua, comes from Pearl Harbor. They come this way past Moanalua, comes to Honolulu Harbor goes out Waikīkī go around.



KM: All the way around the island?

WL: Around and comes down to Kahalu'u. My brother Wally knew all that.

KM: The 'ama'ama?

WL: The 'ama'ama travel. You see the 'ama'ama jump like that [gestures jumping straight up]. And if the 'ama'ama drop, they're eating. Yes, when they go up like that. But when the 'ama'ama go like that [gestures, skimming the water], they're moving for a different feeding ground.

KM: Yes.

WL: That's what you got to watch. We watch that down at Moanalua. The 'ama'ama come from Pearl Harbor, we get 'em. He makes his own net.

KM: Uncle told you about them going around the island?

WL: Yes. Those days was *aho*, all cotton line. Number three, was the softest one, then came number six, number nine, and number twelve. These four, all cotton twine. Then came the number ten thread, uncle knew that was better than the number three. So he made this for the mullet. The Japanese, in the making of their nets, they go the long way, they go down the depth. Then they start going. If the depth is six feet net so many eyes then they go, put their net together. The Hawaiians, they make their eyes first, five hundred eyes and from there they go back.

KM: Back and forth.

WL: To get the depth, then they open. Then they soak 'em in the water to stretch 'um with *pōhaku*, stones. I make my own needle. When I came here it was not hard for me to make my own lobster net. Me and the wife set down here. Five, six pieces, the next morning 3 or 4 o'clock, go pick 'em up. Enough to make money and we get fish for eat, fish for sell. Make extra money.

KM: Hmm.

WL: Those days were good.

KM: Good Life.

WL: I like that life...

KM: 'Ae. Mahalo nui...!



Walter Melville Kaiapa Pomroy
Recollections of Waikīkī-Kapahulu, Waimānalo, and other O‘ahu Fisheries
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly
February 15, 2003 at Anahola, Kaua‘i (KPA Photo No. 1804)

Walter Melville Kaiapa Pomroy (Uncle Walla) was born in 1928, and raised at Kapahulu, O‘ahu. Historical records document that Walter’s *kūpuna*, were fishermen for Kamehameha I, at Keauhou, Kona Hawai‘i. Over their subsequent generations, the Kapuku‘i-Pomroy line continued to fish through the birth of Walter. Members of the Pomroy family were well known in the Waikīkī-Kapahulu region as fishermen. Walter’s father, Louis Pomroy, died while fishing off of Leahi; and his grand uncle, Kaloli‘i Puku‘i, died while fishing off of Mauna Lahilahi.

Uncle Walla learned fishing techniques and practices from his father, uncles, and extended ‘*ohana*. Over the years he also perfected his own practices. The following interview narratives, describe fishing in the Waikīkī-Kapahulu region, and at other locations around the island of O‘ahu. Though Uncle Walla gave up diving about ten years ago, he still regularly goes out to gather *limu*. He gathers in a way that helps to ensure longevity of the *limu* species, and shares with readers, his thoughts on how fisheries have changed, and how they might be cared for, for future generations.



Following the interview, Uncle Walla, reviewed the draft transcript, added notes, and provided Maly (his son-in-law) with copies of articles in which he had been interviewed as a fisherman. Walter Melville Kaiapa Pomroy granted his personal release of the interview records, including his notes, to Maly on June 24, 2003.

KM: Aloha.

WP: Aloha.

KM: Would you share your full name and your date of birth?

WP: My name is Walter Melville Kaiapa Pomroy. Date of birth, October 11th, 1928...

KM: ...Your mother was who?

WP: My mother was Violet Kaiapa Pomroy.



KM: Yes. And your dad?

WP: Was Louis Melville Pomroy.

KM: Yes. In your family, on mama's side Kaiapa is the Hawaiian line?

WP: Yes.

KM: Who is your dad's line because your dad was half-Hawaiian also right? That line is?

WP: The Pomroys and the Hubbells and the Pukui.

KM: Pukui is dad's line right?

WP: Yes.

KM: Okay. Because your father's mother as I understand it was Lā'ie?

WP: Lā'ie.

KM: Married to a Pomroy?

WP: Walter Melville Pomroy.

KM: That's right. So you're namesake in part for your grandfather by first name?

WP: Yes.

KM: When you were born where was your family living?

WP: I just, amazing I just looked at my birth certificate and it was a different name than I thought I was living at. I remember that we were living at James Street in the 3400 block which is one or two streets over from Hinano Street where we actually lived from about 1934, in Kapahulu, O'ahu.

KM: Okay.

WP: Until we sold the place, around 1959.

KM: Basically you were living in the Waikīkī area. And we have a map here from 1909 it's Register Map 2848, Number 6 of Monsarrat's Fisheries, but it shows the Waikīkī area...

WP: Yes...

WP: My dad was brought up by the Holt family and one of the Holt's was Uncle Rusty and his name was Lemon Holt.

KM: Ohh.

WP: And that became Lemon Road just a block or two in from Kalākaua.

KM: Yes. And you see basically right above the shoreline 'cause this is the beach road yeah?

WP: Uh-hmm. In fact there was a concrete wall around here because the water came right up to the wall of this place.

KM: Yes.

WP: Then the sandy beaches, was really rocky. Now days they bring in all the sand from...

KM: Away?

WP: Far, far different islands.

KM: Some, they use to bring it in from Hale o Lono, Moloka'i and stuff?

WP: Yes.

KM: But they stopped that, now from Australia and places. As a child, so you traveled all of this land around here in fact this I think must be the fountain area, yeah?



WP: Yes. That's the fountain area...Diamond Head side of Kapi'olani Park.

KM: Down here.

WP: And they would drive, there were roads where cars could come in the Park, with many parking areas for about a dozen cars all through the Park.

KM: Yes. Was it paved at that time?

WP: Yes...macadamized, asphalt.

KM: All paved.

WP: But no curbing just...

KM: Pavement.

WP: And very narrow maybe one car, it wasn't a big wide road maybe lucky if ten feet. There's enough room for one car.

KM: When you were young your father had a regular job right, to support the family? He worked somewhere?

WP: No. Evidently he was involved in politics a lot and when he followed a particular mayor he would get a job.

KM: I see... ..If mom was teaching school, dad had job sometimes because he was on the right party.

WP: Uh-hmm.

KM: Other times he didn't have a party. How did he kind of support your family or? Did he go out did he *lawai'a*, did he go fishing like that?

Father was a net fisherman:

WP: He did a lot of fishing. Lots of throw net and lay net fishing that way he would augment our...

KM: Diet?

WP: Diet, especially our good dinners, we ate fish three or four times a week. He did a lot of net fishing mostly.

KM: Did your dad net fish out this Waikīkī area?

WP: Yes, he did. He did in this area where...

KM: Castle?

WP: Castle and beyond, between Campbell and Dole this area belonged to Dillingham.

KM: That's right.

WP: Dillingham and my dad worked for Dillingham part of, he may have worked on the dredge that was dredging Waikīkī, the Ala Wai Canal.

KM: Yes, yes.

Net fishing on the *papa* fronting Leahi; names types of fish caught:

WP: Anyway, Mr. Dillingham owned quite a bit of property here. My dad would throw net and do a lot of throw net fishing right in front of...

KM: Dillingham's?

WP: Actually we would drive our car into the Dillingham's property and then we'd walk through their tennis courts and stuff. And I had orders never to pick up the tennis balls because there were always tennis balls laying all over and it seemed I would love to pick 'em up.



But my dad said, “You don’t take any home because it belonged to them.” My dad would go out fishing along the *papa* in front of Dillingham’s that was his favorite areas. And often time at certain tides you could actually walk.

KM: Out?

WP: Yes. Walk way out and the reef would often be dry and so he’d just jump on different reefs. On the reef they had lot of *limu kohu* and we’d pick some from there.

KM: Was the *limu kohu* out near the edge of the reef facing to the waves or was all the way in?

WP: Was all the way in...at least...I was so young...it seemed to me.

KM: All the way in?

WP: Yes. And out, both out and in they were all over the place. And we would always leave some fish for Mrs. Dillingham.

KM: Oh, for real!

WP: That was almost like the tax man.

KM: Yes. You see this name Kaluāhole?

WP: Uh-hmm.

KM: The name ties to an old account about the *āhole* fish out here but this fishery that’s marked here just what you said, Dillingham. It was private at this time the time that this map was surveyed. And so what you just described is that old practice though. So your dad would go out fish, catch, then he would bring to the car and give some to Dillingham?

WP: Yes. When we got in before we left we would take it to the kitchen and give to Dillingham’s cook.

KM: The cook or somebody there?

WP: Yes. So they would know, it’s like my dad paying taxes.

KM: Yes. What kinds of fish was on this *papa* out here?

WP: There were some *moi*, mostly mullet and once in a while you would catch *akule*.

KM: Oh yeah! Throw net?

WP: Yes. ‘Cause, just like when Peter throws net out in Moloa’a here and once in a while he’d catch *akule* when a school gets dispersed by a shark or *‘ulua*, it hits the school and the school disperse all over seeking shelter.

KM: The *papa*?

WP: Yes, on the *papa* sometimes you catch. Same thing in Moloa’a, my dad used to find these pockets where these *akule* would try to hide. He’d catch a few here and there.

KM: Yes. *Moi*, *‘ama‘ama*, mullet?

WP: Yes, *‘ama‘ama*.

KM: And *akule* like that.

WP: Yes, and *akule*.

KM: Those were the primary. No more *āholehole* that you remember?

WP: There was *āholehole* but I don’t remember him catching any.

KM: Not plentiful.

WP: And he didn’t like to throw on the *āholehole* too because he would get all busted up on his arms and chest.



KM: The fish?
WP: Yes. Because *āholehole* the bones would, you know when you gather your net you get all poked by the fins they had all these sharp points.
KM: On the edge?
WP: Yes and gills.. And sometimes you get so badly beat up you got all these punctures all over you.
KM: For real, ohh!
WP: They all keep struggling as you try to pick up the fish. Sometimes it was like he didn't want to.
KM: He would avoid trying to throw on the *āholehole*.
WP: Even though it was delicious.
KM: That's one of your favorites right?
WP: My favorite, that was the fish I loved the best. It still is today.
KM: Yes. You know I see marked on the map here it says an entrance. I guess these are little channels on the *papa*. Do you remember that?
WP: Yes. I remember those channels. Till today I still see these channels out here in fact they don't have other entrances here. I know the entrance in this next area, Ke'au'au.
KM: Ke'au'au, yes.
WP: This is where I used to spear *āholehole*.
KM: Ohh.
WP: And there were plenty of *āholehole* in this area. I never went out that way because it was closest, when I went down that Diamond Head Lighthouse road.
KM: Yes.

Practiced netting with his father – tossing a stone into a school of mullet, prior to throwing the net:

WP: It ended up just below the lighthouse and from there I went diving straight out. And there were several entries that I recall very well and along these entries was about ten feet deep and I would spear a lot of fish, *āholehole*. But getting back to my dad when I was growing up he used to practice in our back yard at Hinano Street house we used to practice. Mullet is very interesting because what happens is if you throw a rock at a school of mullet they will swim away real quick and they'll dash and come back.
KM: I see, so they're curious.
WP: They're very curious, they come back and see what that noise was about. So we used to practice in the back yard and I would throw a rock and have it land on the ground and my dad would tell me to throw it up a certain height and as it was coming down my dad used to throw his net right over the rock so it would, the fish would be simulating that the fish ran out and when the fish came in the net would drop.
KM: Yes.
WP: On the fish as they got back.
KM: Wow!
WP: And he would catch more. We would practice, so I would carry these rocks and follow my dad right behind him in his shadow. And I wouldn't move unless he moved and he would kind of signal me to follow him and I would be behind him and then he would sort of nod



to let me know what area that I could see and I would throw a rock. Because a lot of times the mullet would be too far out.

KM: Yes.

WP: So I would drop the rock close enough so he could throw the net and the mullet would be further out it would come dashing in to see what this noise was about.

KM: Wow!

WP: And the net would drop on the fish and we would catch a lot.

KM: That's amazing!

WP: Yes.

KM: What kind size mullet you think the 'ama'ama?

WP: Lot of 'anae.

KM: Oh, 'anae even. Big?

WP: Very big, real huge.

KM: Almost two feet?

WP: Yes. Almost two feet.

KM: Wow!

WP: A good eighteen, twenty inches, really big.

KM: You tossed the stones and he would give you the nod which place like that?

WP: What area he would with his eye and his nose and he'd nod his head and I would be aware as to where he would like me to throw the rock.

KM: You toss 'em?

WP: Yes.

KM: When it hit the water within a moment?

WP: Yes, the net is right coming over too.

KM: Wow!

WP: And boy that fish come right back in, boom! It would quickly go on and when the net drop you would have all these areas where the reef, a little rock and there would be one, what they call a *puka*.

KM: Yes.

WP: He would quickly gather and close up all those gaps where the mullet could sneak out. And these nets were all made with linen, today you see all these suji nets you don't see any linen.

KM: Yes. Did you hear him, *aho*?

WP: Oh yeah.

KM: It was all *aho* right?

WP: Yes. He made all his nets...he also added a "skirt" which is added to the bottom so fish can't sneak out. With mullet and *moi*, one or two fish would lift the net so the rest could escape.

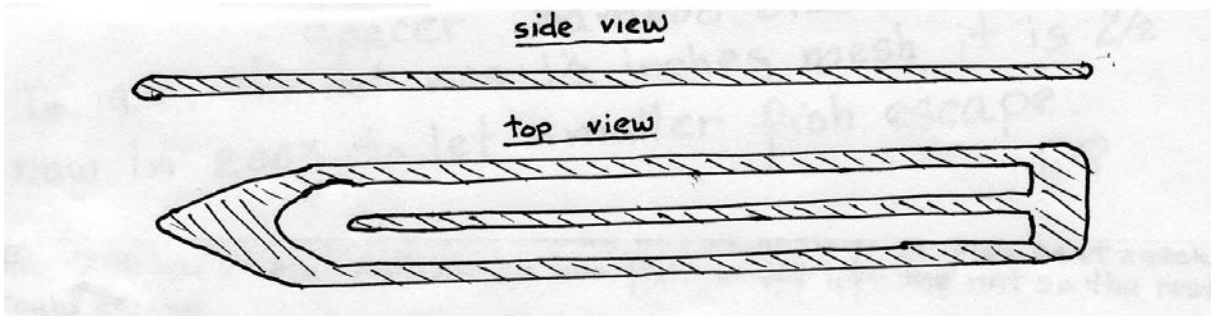
KM: He made all his own nets.

WP: And he repaired all his nets he had all these bamboo Japanese kind.



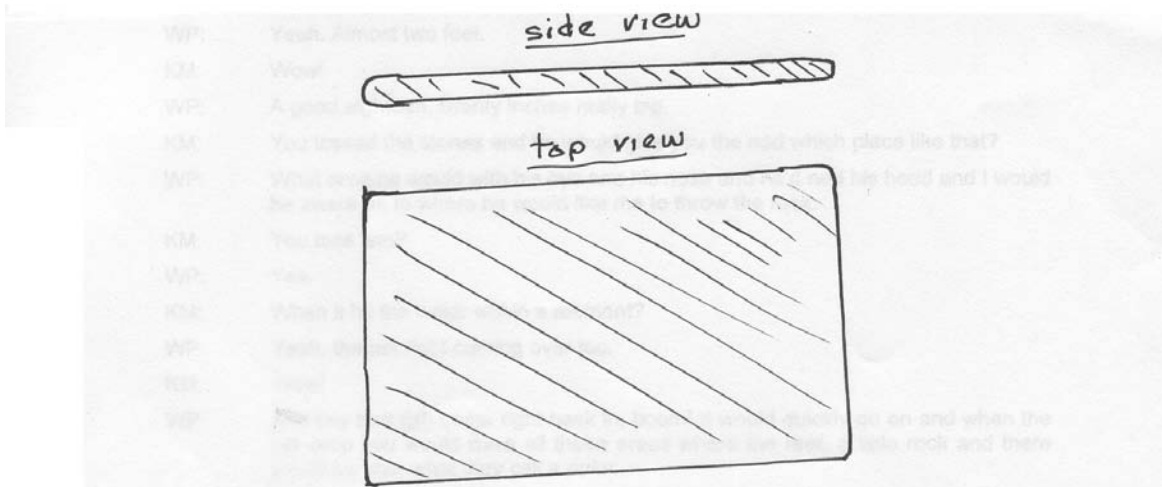
KM: Hi'a, the needles.

WP: Yes, the needles that were all different sizes. And he would wind the linen on it and then be able to weave...new net...or repair.



Bamboo needle

Dad, Louis (Loui) Pomroy would wind the linen in the center until a good amount of string filled that area. He had many kinds, various lengths and sizes. wb



: spacer Bamboo block
In 1930's the net was $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, mesh, it is $2\frac{1}{2}$ "
now in 2003 to let smaller fish escape. wb

Sketch of Hi'a and Maka (Net shuttle and spacers) Used for Making and Repairing Nets
(Courtesy of Walter Pomroy)



KM: *Kā.*

WP: What did they call that?

KM: *Kā 'upena.*

WP: Yes. He would make his own repair. I remember we'd bring all these nets, and when we got back from the ocean he would wash it and hang, tie the net to the clothes line and then spread the net on the grass.

KM: Yes.

WP: Open it like a fan to dry out, we would wash it down and soak it. And then when it dried he would turn it around and put it, I don't know did anybody ever tell you the Japanese had a solution called *shibu*, I think.

KM: Yes.

WP: It was very stink. You had to soak your linen net in that it would have a *kelemania* and they would pour in this solution of water and this *shibu*, stink.

KM: Oh, for real.

WP: He would just soak it and soak it and then he would hang it up again and let it dry. Evidently it strengthened it.

KM: He did that regularly?

WP: He did that regularly. After every time we got home.

KM: For real?

WP: Yes, he always did that.

KM: And the *shibu*, the idea was?

WP: To preserve the linen.

KM: Preserve the linen.

WP: Otherwise the linen would rot if you are not careful. If you didn't dry your net and keep it in a dry place the cordage would all get weakened by moisture.

KM: Rot or break when the fish hit it?

WP: Yes.

KM: We hear about it you know when they *ku'u*, when they set net?

WP: Uh-hmm.

KM: They dye their net so the fish cannot see and to preserve it too?

WP: Uh-hmm.

KM: But you don't really need to, doesn't matter if the fish see your throw net so it was a preservative?

WP: Yes. It was a preservative.

KM: Did you ever hear if he used *kukui* or something also or no?

WP: No.

KM: Not your dad's time.

WP: No, must have been before his time.



Kaluāhole and Ka'alawai were important fisheries to his father; various *limu* collected by his mother at Ka'alawai:

- KM: Not him. Interesting though, that's really a neat idea, practice with your partner, throw stone, how, where you going throw like that. You think this Kaluāhole was his main fishing area?
- WP: Yes. That was his main fishing area. It was among his favorites, you know. And I guess maybe he knew that he shouldn't go to some of these other fishery places.
- KM: Maybe so.
- WP: And we used to go down in this other area, Ka'alawai.
- KM: 'Ae. Here it is Ka'alawai.
- WP: Right where Doris Duke Cromwell has her place. There was one little road that we used to drive down and park our car.
- KM: Along the edge of the water?
- WP: Yes, from Kāhala road.
- KM: It must be this one here right.
- WP: Yes. And we used to drive and then park our car and my dad used to throw net along this area and then I would stay with my mom and we would pick *limu* in that area.
- KM: What kinds of *limu*?
- WP: There were three kinds of *limu*, *līpe'epe'e*, *līpoa* and no four kinds, *līpoa*, *līpe'epe'e*, *wāwaei'ole* and *manauea*.
- KM: For real!
- WP: There was good amount here.
- KM: Was it a sandy area?
- WP: Very sandy. And when we picked we were very careful to not take the roots off of the rock so we would still be able to get more.
- KM: Okay, that's really important.
- WP: My mom would make what they call chop-chop *limu*.
- KM: Mix?
- WP: She'd mix 'em up and cut 'em in little maybe quarter inch chunks.
- KM: Sections?
- WP: Yes. And she'd make that and make sure its clean.
- KM: *Līpe'epe'e*, *wāwaei'ole*, *līpoa* and *manauea*?
- WP: And *manauea*, yes.
- KM: Wow! Good *limu*.
- WP: And we always had that at home.
- KM: Did she mix anything with it?
- WP: The salt.
- KM: Like *nīoi*, salt little salt, chili pepper?



WP: She always salted it. We never really ate too much chili pepper. When I was naughty and I said bad words.

KM: Then you got chili pepper?

WP: I got chili pepper in my mouth so chili pepper never was my favorite. Because it was always like a punishment, that chili pepper. So I laugh when I see people pouring all this chili pepper water on their food at lūa'u's and restaurants.

KM: You see, you know what's interesting, down here it says Kapahulu?

WP: Yes.

KM: The Ka'alawai Fishery you're talking about was attached to Kapahulu *mauka* where you folks were living in this section up here.

WP: Hmm.

Discusses the fisheries of Kaluāhole and Ka'alawai; *papa* noted for *he'e* and lobster fishing:

KM: So it's really interesting you know because in the old days different lands had a fishery even if they didn't have other, if they didn't run all the way to the ocean. So, interesting to see you folks were still visiting primarily it seems like these fisheries out here. Kaluāhole and Ka'alawai. Now, this was sandy out here so what kind of fish did *papa* get out here?

WP: Only some *manini*, my dad got a lot of *manini* in this area. And an occasional *kūmū* and once in a while *'ū'ū*, *menpachi* they call that. Also *uhu*, and *pānuhu* (sleeping *uhu*).

KM: What time, day time or night time?

WP: Both day and night.

KM: For real. He knew *pukas* where the *'ū'ū* would hide like that?

WP: Yes. He picked them out, they were at the right moment in time.

KM: Was this spear or throw?

WP: Some spear, he did some spearing too. And he'd get some lobster out here there was quite a bit of lobster out here. And squid too.

KM: On the *papa* or below for the lobster?

WP: The lobster was below.

KM: On the ledge?

WP: Under the ledges...in cracks, too. We harvested lots of *wana* using long iron two-prong hooks to lift it from the bottom...placing them into "Floating" burlap bags. When we got enough, two persons would roll the sack back-n-forth until all the spines were removed. We finally were able to get the remaining ball open to remove the meat. It was very rich, you can't eat too much at once, almost like eating butter. My mom liked to rub a little on her raw fish...me too.

KM: I can see another channel entrance in here. Now *he'e* were on the flat out here?

WP: On the flat.

KM: How was the *he'e* ground?

WP: Was quite good, we used to catch quite a bit.

KM: Good size *he'e*?

WP: Good size *he'e*. We ate a lot of raw squid we really enjoyed that. This was quite rich in fish and food.



KM: When you folks were fishing out here, lets say dad was out on the *papa* getting *he'e*, did other people come out or did they stay away?

WP: No. Other people came.

KM: Other people came.

Women gathered together talking Hawaiian and cleaning *limu*:

WP: Yes. And they would often talk to my mom and pick *limu* too. Sometimes we would be sitting in little groups talking and my mom would be talking in Hawaiian with the other ladies. They would be cleaning their *limu* and putting them in their flour bags.

KM: Out of curiosity did you ever hear, did your mom or some of the other people that came out did they ever talk story about something out here, a *mo'olelo* old legend kind or? Did you ever hear about sharks or anything out here?

WP: Well, I never heard too much about sharks but I had some encounters with sharks out here.

KM: Yes. Was it out here or?

WP: Not where my dad used to go. Just below the lighthouse. I did a lot of diving after I got older. And it was kind of interesting because I did a lot of diving below the lighthouse when I was still in school, on the shallow *papa*. Was nice during low tide.

KM: High school yet?

WP: Yes. And during the summers I would, my dad made me a special spear gun. We used to use, this was before the second World War. We used to get rubber from the truck tires and the car tires was made out of rubber not synthetic.

KM: Right.

WP: They were good for making spear guns so my dad made me one small, a pipe type of spear gun with a trigger and he had to weld the trigger on and we had to file a "V" on the spear several notches like an arrow you know. [See sketch on next page.]

KM: Oh yes, so you could?

WP: Yes, and then we would have this rubber holding that thing down and whenever I'd load the gun and put it so many notches, when I press the trigger the spear would shoot. I used to have all these spears and I used to just go looking for *manini* 'cause *manini* was always in these small holes. And sometimes you look in the hole all you see is the stripes. And what I would do is just spear it and kind of shake it till it past the barb and then I'd get it out. I'd have to be careful of the eels. I used to catch a lot of *manini*. And my mother liked eating *manini*.

KM: When you ate the *manini* real quickly and we're going to go back to your shark story which is a little later. When you folks prepared *manini* like that you eat 'ōpū everything or did she clean 'em all up good?

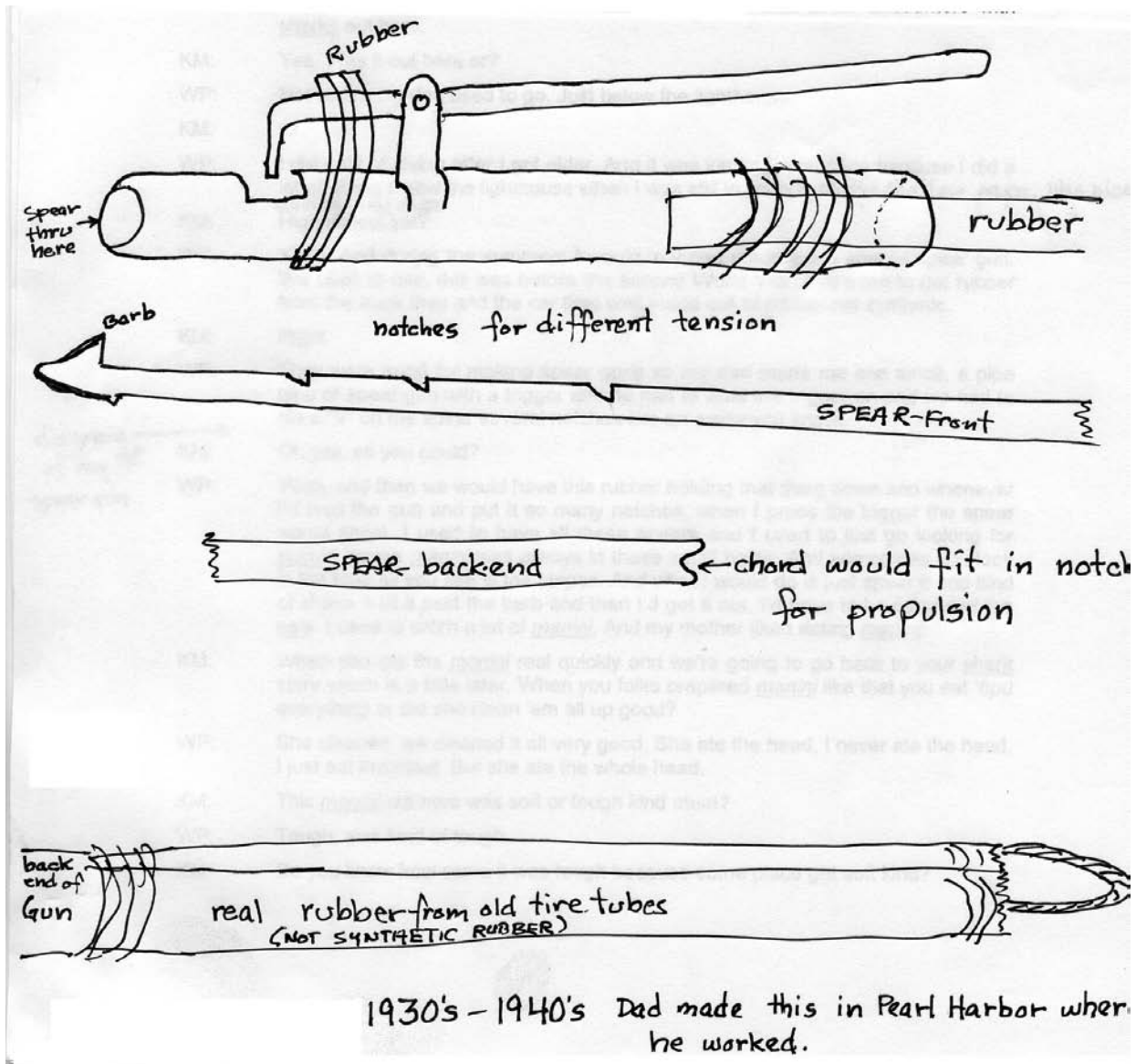
WP: She cleaned, we cleaned it all very good. She ate the head, I never ate the head, I just eat the meat. But she ate the whole head.

KM: This *manini* out here was soft or tough kind meat?

WP: Tough, was kind of tough.

KM: Do you know how come it was tough because some place get soft kind?





Sketch of Spear Gun (Courtesy of Walter Pomroy)



Eating the head of certain *weke* (*weke pahulu* or *weke pueo*), caused nightmares:

WP: I don't know why. I don't know what contributed to why it was tough and why certain places are, there was a lot of yellow *weke* too. The yellow *weke* and we ate a lot of that. I laugh because my mother she used to eat the heads and she used to have nightmares a lot.

KM: Yes, from that *weke*?

WP: Yes. I don't know one day when I had a couple days off from work. I was working at the post office then and we were staying with my mom. This one particular time I said, "Oh, I'm going to try eating the head," because it was almost like a drug you know. One day I had the next day off and so I ate all the heads and that night I had nightmares to the max.

KM: For real?

WP: Yes. The recurring dream: The airplane I was in was going to crash...over and over, weird. I would wake up from fear, then fall asleep...then dream the same 'un...over and over again...sure was strange but interesting.

KM: Did you hear the term *weke pahulu*?

WP: No, I don't know.

KM: That's the nightmare kind *weke*.

WP: Is that what that is?

KM: Yes.

WP: That was sure something.

Discusses practices and customs observed while fishing:

KM: That's what they say right, "Don't eat the head," certain fish like that okay. One of the interesting things about *manini* and stuff like that. Some they say and so tell me if this sounds reasonable to you or if it's something you heard. Where get big ocean current and stuff where the fish always fighting the current it's more tough where it's *mālie* more *palupalu*.

WP: Well, I tell you that place was rough. You don't go fishing if it's rough.

KM: Were there seasonal times that you folks would go out here and know you could get certain fish on these Waikīkī areas?

WP: Well, my dad was aware of the mullet, there's seasons where you could not catch mullet and he abided by the rules and he avoided going for mullet at that time. We're not supposed to.

KM: Yes.

WP: I did a lot of diving as I grew up. With my dad like I said I didn't get to go with him that much on his ventures and to tell you the truth it really became boring for me.

KM: Of course.

WP: Because all I had to do was just stay in his shadow, follow him and be quiet.

KM: Throw stones? [chuckling]

WP: Don't move and throw stones. And I had to be quiet and don't move unless he moves and then I follow him.

KM: How come your dad told you, "Be quiet." You could talk to him, or no could talk?



WP: No, you couldn't talk.

KM: How come?

WP: Because it would scare the fish.

KM: Even your voice?

WP: Yes. Even your voice you had to be quiet so there was very little talking going while you're stalking fish. It really was kind of, I don't know it got boring to me.

KM: Yes.

WP: And the thing is we would stand there, and wait and wait. And we would go like after work, and then it would get dark and we still there until he can't see and we'd quit and then we'd walk and go home. And I laugh, because his favorite term you know, if we didn't get any fish or he didn't throw his net, he would just say, "Wet ass and water balls."

KM: [chuckling]

WP: When we'd get home my mom would ask, "You caught anything?" He said, "Yes, wet ass and water balls." That was the term he used for when he didn't catch anything, he didn't even throw his net. Because of that I got interested in diving. Another thing, whenever he went fishing he said, "I'm going to pick leaves!" Never say, "Going fishing." Another bad luck was to wear red clothing or take banana. You didn't question this!

KM: Yes.

Discusses experiences while diving for *āholehole* and other fish:

WP: Because one thing with diving you can see the fish, and if you missed it you missed. But this other way you don't even get to throw because sometimes the mullet would hang out just beyond your reach. And they'd sit there and sometimes other fishermen would gather around, maybe a little channel, and they would all be with their nets ready to throw, and we're all waiting to see. They're hoping that maybe an *'ulua* would chase the school, and chase the fish, and everybody would try and throw. So it was like if the *'ulua* doesn't chase the fish in, nobody gets any fish. So it really was kind of to me, boring. Then I started going diving and I started, then after a while I realized that my favorite fish was *āholehole*, you very seldom can see a mullet and get close enough to spear one or *moi* either.

KM: Uh-hmm.

WP: The *āholehole* was always sitting in the cracks. Like fish in an aquarium so it was so easy to spear, you stick your head in this little cave, when you got used to the dark all of a sudden you see nothing but hundreds of *āholehole*.

KM: Glitter?

WP: Just glittering and not even dashing around, they just milling around slow you could easily pick 'em off. I would go...

KM: And when you shoot one?

WP: Sometimes at the very beginning there's so many you try to line up two or three. And sometimes one is going right and the other one left and then.

KM: And?

WP: Would shoot blindly, taking a chance before upsetting the school. On the first shot I'd catch three, if I was lucky.

KM: Wow!

WP: And sometimes one is right at the edge almost breaking off by the tail and I grab that one first because that one's going to rip the tail off and swim away. And then I would catch three and then after that they get scared and they start...getting scared.



KM: But they still stay in the small area?

WP: Yes. But a lot of times there's a lot of series of cracks and caves so if you shoot in this cave and next time you go back down you take one fish out you go back down they're gone. Then you go around the other side, oh there's a little pocket from the lower or higher then you look in they all hiding back there. I spear one and then they run in another place. Sometimes there's about four different parts of a big rock that they'll go in.

KM: Right.

WP: So, every time you dive, you dive and you look in nobody's there that means they're all on this side. And I used to catch so much, so easy to catch because I had a spear gun that I made, I didn't invent it but a couple guys showed me how to make this simple gun. So easy to spear *āholehole*.

KM: Amazing!

WP: I remember this one time we had a group of four guys we used to go diving a lot as I grew up. I went with [thinking of names] Harry Yamaguchi, Takeshi Onuma and this Filipino boy, he died a while back. But anyway, the four of us used to go diving. And we used to go out and we used to take this one big balsa-wood floater and we had all these different lines hanging down with the nail like a sharp point, so you can string it through the eye or the gills and then when you drop it the fish will stay on.

KM: Right.

WP: And we used to go, and Takeshi and Harry, used to go out in the deep water to spear.

KM: In Diamond Head section?

WP: Yes, Diamond Head. Always just before the lighthouse this became our favorite place.

KM: Ke'au'au.

WP: And they'd go down and they would spear the *uhu* and maybe the larger fish and this guy Harold Herras was the other, the fourth guy. He and I we had the same kind of gun and we were the *āholehole* spear guys and the *menpachi*. Because the *āholehole* and *menpachi* and *kūmū* you could find in the pukas. We made *arbolet*, small spear guns...with the spear attached with a cord to the gun. The cracks and crevices were too narrow to slip into...so we would quickly yank out the fish before the eels got it. Those big brown spotted ones were called, "*Pūhi Paka*," big, dangerous, ugly and mean!

KM: In the pukas.

WP: Often time they would spear the *uhu* and we would hang the *uhu*. They would come in hook it up and we had the floater near us because we were catching more *āholehole* 'cause was so full of *āholehole* in the cracks. Here we are, they're getting big fish, we're getting small. And we ended up maybe we got around hundred, hundred-twenty fish on a good day and sometimes even three hundred.

KM: Wow!

WP: And I remember this one time we had been fishing and taking the line in. This one particular time there was the two guys. The floater was so full of fish I couldn't believe. They came past us they said, "Nough, let's go in." And so they went in and we were still outside this big channel and they swam in and Harold and I he tied the line around his pants...with lots of knots, because of the heavy load.

KM: [chuckles]

WP: He started swimming in and I stayed out, I speared *āholehole* I swim up and I add it to the stringer. Then this one time I turn around and look there was this shark behind me. I swam real quick and I told him, "There's a shark right there!" He tried to take off the knots



but he had made too many knots, he was going take off his pants to let the shark have it. We just stayed side by side and kept the line as long as possible and the shark came and took all the fish.

KM: Wow!

WP: We just kept being thankful that we were still alive.

KM: Right. About how big do you think the shark was?

WP: About ten feet at least. Big!

KM: Big shark!

WP: In fact looked like one *aku*, one over sized *aku*, same shape.

KM: Right, yes.

WP: In fact shaped like one *'ahi* that's what I thought it was, "Hey, that's one *'ahi*." I never did ever figure out what?

KM: Like a tiger shark or something? A big shark then?

WP: Yes. And the next time we went diving we bought a small boat.

KM: [chuckling]

WP: And we put the fish...

KM: Put the fish in the boat?

WP: ...out of the water and in the boat without dragging. I guess you know you shoot enough fish there's all this *'ōpala* or the blood and the guts hanging out. It attracts the big sharks.

Cross-netting the channels of Ke'au'au, Ka'alawai, and Waikīkī:

KM: Wow! You know you mentioned your dad used to set net also?

WP: Yes.

KM: On this same *papa*? In front of Dillingham?

WP: Yes. In this area too, not by Dillingham this area was more accessible for net. This place was not too many channels. Over here you had better channels in here.

KM: Ke'au'au so closer to the lighthouse side like that?

WP: Yes. There was a lot of area that was good for laying net.

KM: How about this Ka'alawai section?

WP: All that, that one too.

KM: He would cross channel or what? Or just out on the?

WP: Yes. Cross channel but not the deep portion of the channel he would go around the edge of the channel hoping to catch lobsters coming out at night. And funny how in those days when we used to leave the net over night, a lot of fish would be eaten by the eels and the shark. They leave big holes in the net and my dad would do a lot of repairing.

KM: Yes.

WP: And it was scary going out trying to pick up the net late at night.

KM: Must be.

WP: Scary boy.

KM: You went with *kukui hele pō*?



WP: Yes, we had torches.
KM: Torch?
WP: We had that torch with kind of a gas kind of torch. Kerosene, kerosene torches too.
KM: Yes. Did you folks fish further down into the Waikīkī area at times or you stayed pretty much out here?
WP: We did some fishing right by the Cunha place where Kapahulu Avenue by Makee Island?
KM: Yes.
WP: We did some fishing along here?
KM: In Hamohamo.
WP: Yes. But there was a lot of homes around here like the Cunha family had a home that's why out here, Kapahulu Avenue came right down. This is Kapahulu Avenue.
KM: Yes.
WP: And this is the end of the streetcar line. The streetcar ended up right here.
KM: Right there.
WP: It went back and forth along Kalākaua Avenue. It didn't go up to Kapahulu when I was growing up.
KM: You would fish out Cunha section?
WP: Yes. But I didn't know if we had a problem with Mr. Cunha, we were kind of careful not to spend too much time over there.
KM: Sounds like there were a number of Hawaiian families, and I guess others, when you were young fishing out here?
WP: Uh-hmm.

Father fished to supplement the family income:

KM: And again it was mostly for home use or were you selling some also?
WP: My dad he sold some, he sold some to make some money.
KM: *Kenikeni*?
WP: Yes. To buy some meat and stew.
KM: Did you folks sell locally or did you take it in town like Kekaulike or something?
WP: Yes. By Kekaulike and some of the chop suey houses and the restaurants.

Fishing along the Windward Coast of O'ahu in the 1930s-1940s:

KM: For real. When you and I were out Mōkapu like that before. You had mentioned that your father worked out there right?
WP: Yes.
KM: Did you folks go fishing at other places then on O'ahu?
WP: My dad, from Kapahulu we would go on our car and we'd go over the *pali* and we'd go down into Kailua. Every summer when I was growing up when I was in elementary school we used to actually camp in Kailua beach park, right where the flat island is.
KM: Yes.
WP: There was a big park there. We set up a tent and we'd spend maybe a month or so just camping. And my dad would go out with, did you know Solo Māhoe?



KM: Yes.

WP: My dad and Solo Māhoe in fact had some pictures of my dad and Solo holding up big lobsters on a canoe. My dad used to go diving with him. We have some nice pictures of my dad holding the lobsters. Watajeen I think, ended up with a lot of family pictures that we used to have. My sister Arma took the pictures with her to the mainland so I really lost a lot of the family pictures.

KM: Yes. So, you folks would go out Kailua?

WP: My dad went out diving.

KM: Dive like that?

WP: Pick lots of lobster and squid and I remember lots of *uhu*. They would come in on the canoe I guess maybe that was Solo Māhoe's.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: And then my dad was working in the 1938, '39, he was working, dredging that Marine (Navy) base in Kāne'ōhe. We were living in Kapahulu and he would, evidently my mom would take him to the Board of Water Supply.

KM: Yes. In town right?

WP: And they'd catch a bus, would take the crew down. He would work different shifts, the graveyard shift, swing shift and the day shift. He would alternate and then on those days that he worked on the swing shift it was really interesting there was, my mom would have to go down and pick him up...

KM: ...So you folks would go *holoholo* go out, sometimes to other sides of the island, to go fish like that too.

WP: Yes. We went to Wai'anae. That was such a long way. We were really in the country, it was a long trip through Pearl Harbor and the roads were not all that great. Seemed like it took so long, we would go down Wai'anae and my dad would fish down there too.

KM: Your dad mostly was net, some diving though you said?

WP: Yes. But mostly net.

KM: Mostly net.

WP: And he seemed to be real good at that and my son Peter he seems to have inherited that eye for seeing fish in the water. He's a good throw net fisherman too.

KM: Your father loved fishing and that seemed like his passion.

WP: Yes, he loved fishing.

KM: And of course in your genealogy under the Kapuku'i or Puku'i line, your folks family in Keauhou, Kona were famous fishermen. You remember *Tūtū* Kawena's story—Kamehameha appointed La'akea, your great (time 3) grandfather, head fisherman of Keauhou, and from La'akea, it was handed down to his son, Kahu-a-moa, and from him, to his son, Kapuku'i.

WP: Yes, that's the genealogy.

Father died while net fishing off of Leahi; died doing what he loved:

KM: Now, something happened in '47?

WP: In 1947, I was in school and I was in class, what was interesting was that I was in the Social Science class and Tom Mountain was the school teacher. Anyway, one of the students came in and walked up to the teacher and handed him a note. Mr. Mountain



said, "Walter Pomroy, stand up and come to my desk." I walked to his desk he says, "I want you to go to your room," we were boarding and living up at the school.

KM: Yes.

WP: "Go to your room and pack your clothes you're going to go home on vacation." I said, "Oh, good!" He said, "You may leave now." I thought, "Hey, happy times." I ran up to my room, I packed a small bag of overnight change of clothes. I ran down to Pākī Hall where my mom and dad always picked me up whenever I was going out on pass, the weekend passes. So I sat there and I'm looking and I'm thinking, "Gee, I'm so lucky, I'm going on vacation." And then all of a sudden here comes this Ford sedan, 4-door sedan that my mom and my dad owned. And it's driving up and I see, I'm happy and I'm kind of running toward the car and they pull in and they stop right by the basket ball court. I ran up to the car ready to get in. Then all of a sudden they both started crying.

KM: Your mom and sister?

WP: Yes, my mom and sister, Arma. They looked at me and all I said was, "Dad?" They said, "Yes." I knew my dad had passed away so we cried all the way home. My dad had gone fishing in Diamond Head and he was with his throw net walking the reefs. And there was only one other man close to him, one Japanese man at the time when my dad was fishing. And the man said it was strange that my dad kept coming close to him. Like he was getting annoyed because my dad was kind of following him. And he was like, "Why are you following me," you know. And then this one time the guy said he heard a splash, when he looked my dad had fallen over. Evidently he had a heart attack. He walked over and dragged my dad. He left the net and dragged my dad to the shore. And then went back to pick up his net. In the mean time Arthur Trask, Sr., he lived...and believe it or not Arthur Trask, he told me later. He was watching my father with his throw net going all over the reef. He was watching him with his binoculars. And he actually saw my dad fall and he saw the guy pick my dad up and he watched him bring him in. And he called the ambulance so the ambulance was there when my dad was brought in, but my dad was already dead.

KM: Was it in front of the Kaluāhole, Dillingham section?

WP: Yes, the Dillingham.

KM: Then Trask was living somewhere out here also?

WP: Yes. Right next to Dillingham there were more houses around this by the Dole area.

KM: By Dole?

WP: Yes.

KM: This was in '47?

WP: In 1947.

KM: What's the date? Do you remember?

WP: [thinking] March 14th.

KM: Okay, in March, 1947 out fishing?

WP: Yes.

KM: He loved that.

WP: Yes.



Kupuna Kapuku'i was also lost while fishing at Keauhou in 1875; another child of Kapuku'i was also born dead and taken by the gods and turned into a shark; and it was believed that this shark son had come to take his father:

KM: Now, you have interesting family histories with some of your *'ohana* about fishing. Even in the *kūpuna* time. *Tūtū* Kawena told us that one of the Kapuku'i children was born dead, and believed to have been taken and transformed into a shark. Later, Kapuku'i himself disappeared from the canoe while fishing, and was believed to have been taken by his shark son, to join him in the sea.

WP: Yes.

Remains of *kupuna* returned to the sea:

KM: Then your grand uncle Kaloli'i Pukui died while gathering *limu*, fishing out in Wai'anae.

WP: Yes. Right in front of the Waterhouse family. Evidently he was good friends with them they would let him go and pick *limu* in front of their place. From what I heard he just had a heart attack and he died right there. And that was kind of sad.

KM: When was that? That was before your dad?

WP: Before my dad, about 1943, I forget what grade I was in but I was still at Kamehameha and they had his services and the ashes. He wanted his ashes to be spread at sea. So what had happened was it was during the summer and uncle Harry agreed to go on his boat and take my dad and I. The three of us went in about 1943 and uncle Harry's boat was at Kewalo Basin so we drove our car, parked there and got in front of uncle Harry's boat with the urn. And we took our boat straight out to sea about three miles and then uncle Harry turned around and he was controlling the boat. He said we got to line up the Roosevelt dome which was colored red and yellow and we had to line it up because his parents were buried in that graveyard there and he wanted to be in the ocean.

KM: Kaloli'i's parents?

WP: Yes.

KM: Your great-grandparents?

WP: Yes, great-grandparents but I didn't know the names and who they were. Evidently they were buried long time ago and he wanted to be lined up with them. And they used that as a landmark, Roosevelt high school.

KM: The Roosevelt dome?

WP: Uh-hmm. Pensacola street.

KM: The cemetery behind?

WP: Yes. In the front of Roosevelt dome...

KM: From all that, three miles out though, you could mark the land points?

WP: You could see. It was easy because there were no high rises then was all low, and maybe only apartments three or four stories at the most.

KM: Yes.

WP: Not like today you see this [shaking head], you can't see the dome at all...

KM: ...You mentioned that they used landmarks and some cases modern landmarks to triangulate where they were. Did you hear about the old practices of using landmarks to mark where you would go fishing outside or? Did you go on a boat much at all when you were young?



Personal experiences diving for fish in the Waikīkī region; fished the Waimānalo, Mānana, Kāohikaipu fisheries with family members:

WP: No, not at all.

KM: You folks were shore and reef fishermen, diving?

WP: Yes. And we knew exactly where we were going. Wherever we went we knew, I knew every rock and Diamond Head area. I went down so often that I knew every crack, in fact I knew where whatever fish I needed.

KM: Just where to go?

WP: This crack had *menpachi*, this one had *āholehole*, I could just pick whatever fish I wanted I knew just what I would get.

KM: You have a cousin who married a man from Waimānalo?

WP: Alika Ahuna...cousin Dudee Pomroy married him.

KM: You folks went out Waimānalo fishing?

WP: Ohh Alika and I yeah, we used to go fishing a lot. Surprising like you know when we bought that boat to put our fish in so the sharks wouldn't bother us.

KM: Right.

WP: At that point from then on I never went fishing with a floater. At that point I don't know how, somebody gave me a surfboard, a balsa redwood surfboard. And the surfboard had a solid skid on it and what I did is I drilled a hole so I could tie a rope. I put, in a coffee can I made an eye bolt and I filled a part of the coffee can with melted lead and I made an anchor. I still have that faded board in the storage shack in back of our farm in Anahola, Kauai.

KM: Oh yes, yes.

WP: So I could go out on the surfboard and paddle out to where I want to go diving and in front of me where I laid down I had a basket that I put my fish in. And I would tie a rubber band around the basket and underneath the surfboard and come up on the other side so I had two big strong rubber bands, usually out of synthetic tire-tube. It would hold the basket on to my board. And then on the very top of the wire basket I had all rubber so I could open up drop the fish in and the rubber would snap close, keeping the fish in.

KM: Oh, yes.

WP: If the board tipped over in the wave.

KM: If it *huli* doesn't matter?

WP: Yes, it doesn't matter. And I could always wet the fish down if it's very hot.

KM: Right.

WP: And plus the shade from the rubber would keep the fish from drying up too much. So every time I'd just come up splash water and keep the fish damp so it wouldn't dry and get ugly. Anyway, with that in mind I started diving and I never got bothered by sharks because I would quickly take the fish out of the water and put it right in the basket. That way there was very little blood to attract eels or sharks. After a while I ended up buying a trailer, a small two wheel trailer that was just a pipe frame kind of thing. I could tie the surfboard on that because it was hard to put on my car.

KM: Right.



WP: I would go in Waimānalo and I'd go diving and often times just by myself. In Waimānalo they had lot of game wardens. So I'd have to watch out because a lot of time I'd catch illegal size lobster less than a pound or get lobster with eggs and lobster out of season. There were seasons so I would...also, it was illegal to spear lobster because if it had eggs, it would die. The "Fine" was expensive.

KM: Were you catching them on purpose or by mistake?

WP: On purpose because I was hungry. That was for our dinner that augmented our dinners, my Post Office pay was too cheap then.

KM: Yes.

WP: Anyway this one time I went to Waimānalo and parked along the beach just before Alika's house. And this one time I remember I went out there and I parked my car and the trailer and I got on the board and I paddled way out. I was way out at the edge of the reef. I was spearing for hours and I got plenty *āholehole*. So here I am diving over there then Alika comes driving by on his motor boat heading toward Rabbit Island. He sees me so I wave at him and he comes by and says, "Hey, cousin, he said, You want to go with me? I said, Where you going?" "I going out to Rabbit Island," that area is good fishing.

KM: Uh-hmm.

WP: He pulls my surfboard, we put it in his boat it's big enough to fit, and I'm sitting there so we go to Rabbit Island. We go over there and the first thing we did was we picked *ōpihi*. He had two *ōpihi* knives and two extra bags so we started picking *ōpihi* on Rabbit Island. And you know it's illegal to go on Rabbit Island, not supposed to.

KM: Even back then?

WP: Yes. We picked a whole bunch of *ōpihi* then he got his throw net, and Rabbit Island you land on the side facing O'ahu and then if you walk toward Makapu'u direction it goes around and then it abruptly ends and there's a little *papa* and right at the end she opens up a little bit, there's a nice flat area and had *āholehole* over there, all in there. So he took his throw net and he threw on one whole bunch of *āholehole*. And then we went diving after that and then we speared some more fish and then we brought all that and loaded it in the boat and then we went and we caught lobster. And then we went by Flat Island and we caught *menpachi* (*ū'ū*).

KM: You mean the little island next to it right?

WP: Yes that black island.

KM: Kāohikaipu.

WP: When we finally get back it's almost dark. I'm at his house and we eat a little bit. Instead of me calling my wife I stayed there kind of long and I never, and my wife is worried she's ready to call the Coast Guard 'cause I never got home from diving...after dark.

KM: Right.

WP: I finally leave and instead of telling them to call, I didn't, so when I got home in Kapahulu, we were living in Kapahulu then, my wife was panicking ready to call the rescue guys. I come in with all this, I remember we had lobster, I had bought in lobster and *ōpihi*. I spent almost all night cleaning fish. It was such a nice catch we had.

KM: It's interesting you mentioned because the island Mānana, Rabbit Island was evidently restricted, not supposed to go on that time. But uncle Alika's family had fished that area for generations that was their old traditional fishing grounds for him I guess it was like, "this is where we belong."



WP: But you want to know something funny. Alika, this one particular time in the '50s I guess the fishery guys, I forget what they're called now, but anyway they were wishing to start abalone in Hawai'i thinking the water is not cold like it is in California, but maybe if they brought maybe fifty abalone and planted it around Rabbit Island along the shore and everything perhaps they would propagate and establish themselves. So, they made announcements on the newspaper and the radio that no one is to go near Rabbit Island and because of this. What had happened was Alika used to take guys in the evening almost dark, and drop guys off to go hook 'ulua.

KM: Uh-hmm.

WP: These guys would go in there and he'd pick 'em up the next day. And whatever they caught...

KM: Would they hook off the back side or?

WP: Yes. The backside.

KM: Backside.

WP: What had happened was while he was doing that not thinking, he wasn't really doing anything else except taking people. What they discovered in their research was that somebody was picking the abalone. And they found out, so they were looking for the culprit, or somebody to hang the blame on. And Alika happened to be seen and they caught him going to Rabbit Island and he had to pay a fine and he had a suspended sentence. Otherwise he was almost going to be thrown in jail.

KM: Wow!

WP: They really took it seriously. He was reprimanded, so he got kind of a stern warning that if he was ever caught on that island again he would be in jail. So he had kind of a bad experience after that.

KM: Yes. Because I know with *Tūtū* Kawena, Papa Wong or A'alona took *Tūtū* Kawena them into Waimānalo and talked story about and with Kenneth Emory showed him because there were some old *ahu* sites on Mānana also. And drew it out it was Papa A'alona who was Alika's grandpa right?

WP: Yes.

KM: Who taught them about some of the history and the fishing spots out there. Amazing!

WP: I know like Alika was kind of interesting because he used to tell me that there was one cave that you had to go under water below Makapu'u lighthouse and there's a canoe in this cave. He kept telling me, "I going take you there, I going take you there." I said, "Okay, when, when, when?" And the water was never that good and when it was good I wasn't around so we never did.

KM: And fifty years later?

WP: Yes. Fifty years later. Like that guy who came to my house and said he got lost. He went through that cave, oh man!

KM: Yes. You know I just thought of something else that was really interesting in your description about out here. 'Cause, when did you start the post office, in '48?

WP: In 1948.

KM: Shortly after graduating?

WP: Yes.

KM: [looking at map] I think we get it in here. [folding map] One of the interesting things [turning off light] you started working?



Recalls the old salt works on the Ward Estate:

WP: The post office in 1948.

KM: And see this it says Mrs. C.P. Ward?

WP: Ohh.

KM: And here's the big pond in here the fishpond. Now, can you describe the area for me and you spoke about an old woman also, Mrs. Limburgh?

WP: Lily Limburger. When I was delivering mail along Kapi'olani boulevard there was this junction of Kapi'olani, Ward street and King street right across Thomas Square. This is Ward street right here[indicating on map].

KM: Yes.

WP: And they had this Ward Estate, it's called Old Plantation.

KM: Yes.

WP: And although the entry was a circular entry in and out from across Thomas Square, King street. There were people living way in the back.

KM: *Makai* side?

WP: *Makai* fence. There was a gate, an opening for cars to enter and exit and a person walking through a little door in the wooden fence in that area.

KM: What street would this be?

WP: This would be Kapi'olani Boulevard.

KM: Kapi'olani, okay.

WP: There was this lady called Lily Limburger and evidently Lily used to go to Kewalo Basin and pick salt from the salt flats out there with the three Ward sisters, Lucy, Hattie and Victoria. They were the three Ward sisters. I guess because they were of the same age and they were good friends they let her stay and live in a house that was located back here. It was at 970 Kapi'olani boulevard and I used to deliver Lily's mail. And Lily Limburger would once in a while she'd have a registered letter so I'd have to, I'd yell, "Lily! Lily!" And then she'd come out and open the gate and I would have her sign for a registered mail or something. On one of the occasions she asked me if I would like to visit. I said, "I'd love to." She said, "You bring your family on Sunday." We packed up the kids like on a picnic and then we drove and I knocked on the gate and she was waiting so she opened the two doors so I could drive my car in. I had a Model-A that time so the boys were in the rumble seat, Onaona wasn't born yet.

KM: No. This was in '53 about?

WP: Yes. In '52, '53. We went in there and she closed the gate. She took us to her one room house, it was such a small cottage. The porch was full of bags of salt. They had been collecting, her and the Ward sisters. And so she immediately opened one bag and started filling up the flour sack with salt so we could take home. She said, "You take home."

KM: It was a really big thing and you see here it says, Kūkulu'ae'o this fishery?

WP: Yes.

KM: This is an old fishery and in Kūkulu'ae'o below Kewalo section I was telling you yesterday that even in the Māhele in the 1840s one of the main resources, here it was. this salt works it was very important in the old days.

WP: Wow!



KM: And it's amazing that in 1953, 1952, a hundred years after the Māhele, Mrs. Limburger, pure Hawaiian?

WP: Uh-hmm.

KM: That they were still able to gather salt from here. Imagine now?

WP: Yes.

KM: If you took something from there maybe you get *ma'i*, sick, yeah?

WP: Yes. Amazing!

KM: You said that Old Plantation it was totally fenced in, is that right?

WP: Totally fenced in with one by twelve lumber. And what was interesting the city eventually bought the Ward Estate, the Old Plantation and intended to turn it into the HIC, Honolulu International Center which is now NBC, the Neal Blaisdell Center.

KM: Yes. That's the place?

WP: They bought this place from the Ward Estate so the Ward guys vacated and the city hired contractors to knock down all these planks...

KM: ...This was something though, this opportunity to go in, in the final years of Old Plantation.

WP: Sad to see that go.

KM: Lily Limburger?

WP: Yes.

KM: But the salt too, that's really interesting.

WP: Yes. I couldn't believe the salt, the bags, all flour sacks full.

KM: Yes. And here it is right here the fishery for Kūkulu'ae'o, Kewalo.

WP: And funny a lot of this ended up as the Ala Moana park.

KM: Yes. That's what you were saying...

Discusses dredging and development of the Kūkulu'ae'o-Kewalo reefs:

WP: ...Kewalo Basin is here. When Ward hits here Kewalo Basin, it's in here. This is Honolulu.

KM: That's the entry into Honolulu Harbor.

WP: Yes, that's Honolulu Harbor.

KM: They dredged out some of the 'āpapa out here?

WP: Yes.

KM: The other thing you were saying because you'd been interested by, you'd noticed 'Āpuakehau over here.

WP: Uh-hmm.

KM: And where would Ala Wai Yacht Club be? This section yeah, Kālia? Here's the old, yeah because Ala Moana would be in here right?

WP: Yes.

KM: Kālia section, Moana road.

WP: Uh-hmm.

KM: You were saying something about the way this opened up I think. The *papa* before?



WP: Okay. When they made, see the Ala Wai canal is not here now.

KM: Right.

WP: The Ala Wai?

KM: This is Kalākaua.

WP: Yes, Kalākaua so Ala Wai is up here.

KM: Up here somewhere.

WP: And came down swinging right down in this area or down here, I'm not really sure.

KM: Yes.

WP: It could be right here.

KM: Right here this is a natural.

WP: This is it.

KM: Yes.

WP: Right here was this Ala Wai Yacht Harbor evidently they dredged this area and they did not go through to the ocean in the 1940s and 1950s.

KM: The *papa*?

WP: Along here there was this deep channel that the boats in Ala Wai Canal would sail up along the Ala Moana Park shore.

KM: Yes, what is now Ala Moana park.

WP: Right in front of Ala Moana park there would be a channel and they would hit Kewalo Basin so the guys trying to get to Ala Wai Canal had to come in through Kewalo Basin and go over there.

KM: Was this a natural channel or had it been dredged?

WP: I think this was dredged. This was dredged so the guys could be in a safe harbor here. Then eventually what they did was they blasted all this coral out and made this...what was to become the Ala Wai Yacht Harbor.

KM: Kālia went out?

WP: Yes, Kālia went out and then they backfilled, this was all swamp.

KM: Yes.

WP: And maybe rice paddies too like these others and they filled that area and that's where Ala Moana shopping center is now.

KM: Yes. Because Miki, like this here, was a fishpond. There were fishponds all through here. And you see this section here?

WP: Yes.

KM: All of the dredging, soil fill?

WP: The dredging, they had these big, thirty-six or forty inch pipes from the dredge and they would actually shoot all the coral and sand and mud.

KM: And you saw this right?

WP: Yes.

KM: This is while you were working?

WP: I used to watch it. Yes. I was delivering mail in here.



KM: In the fifties?
WP: Yes. In the fifties, in the forties and fifties. Then I would see them guys, in fact Sheridan street was my route. My route came from right over here on Sheridan all down here to Kapi'olani or is this Queen street?
KM: This became Moana, Queen.
WP: Kapi'olani is over here so Sheridan is down here and then I delivered along here. All these guys this is Waimanu and Kona Streets. There were different streets between Queen Street.
KM: Right. So it really changed! It's amazing because the whole...
WP: When I look at this now I mean like, "What!"
KM: Yes, you would never know, yeah?
WP: Yes...

Fishing not like it was in his youth—people have wiped out the fisheries; discusses the Waikīkī one year on, one year off fishing system:

KM: ...Now, even after you left Waikīkī, you continued fishing, you fished all your life. Out of curiosity, from when you were young till now, what if you were to give a report card of what you think how the fisheries are today compared to when you were young. Do you have an idea? What do you think?
WP: One thing, you see where I did a lot of diving right.
KM: Uh-hmm.
WP: Diamond Head my favorite. They eventually for the last ten, twelve, fifteen, twenty years now. They don't allow fishing on odd years. You can fish, or take from the ocean only on even years. The Diamond Head area is a sanctuary, by that I mean you cannot fish for a whole year, then all of a sudden you can fish and then stop again. They got to be on and off. And that to me, the kind of fishing I did, I don't think I ever depleted the fish stock.
KM: Yes.
WP: Except the people who would be fishing along the shoreline would literally wipe out...
KM: Everything.
WP: ...the *limu* they would clean to the max so there was really... This closing I think it's something good. I've been wishing that I could go back once more in my life and go diving in that area just to look. I probably can't stay down as long as I used to. I have this tremendous respect for the amount of the fish that I took out of Diamond Head. I really appreciate having had the luck.
KM: The privilege?

Introduction of foreign species not good for the native fisheries:

WP: To find such a nice place that had lots of, especially *āholehole*. I love that *āholehole* I could eat that every night. It's a little sad and I see people introducing so many foreign kind of fish that are taking over. I remember there was so much mosquito fish and other small baby fish in the Kapi'olani park area. All those little rivers.
KM: Right.
WP: I remember going down there and finding a lot of *dojo*'s an *o'opu*-looking fish. The little bait fish that people get for hooking fish.
KM: Yes.



Respects the ocean and fisheries; discusses practices associated with picking *limu*:

WP: It's kind of little on the sad side that people take more than they should.

KM: Okay. See that's, you brought up you said you don't think in your fishing, in your youth and young adulthood. You didn't think that you took, that you contributed to depleting the fish? And you probably didn't?

WP: I never took the small, the illegal kind.

KM: But the thing that happened when you guys were young. How many people were fishing, now compare it to today especially for people who are not from Hawai'i.

WP: Yes.

KM: And they have a different attitude about it. Right?

WP: Right. I know like you take the *limu* like even now I pick *limu* from Aliomanu. Your wife has gone with me, my daughter we really enjoy picking *limu* and we pick, as we pick we scrub on our bag. Scrub down all the roots.

KM: How come?

WP: That's to lay the seeds down for continuation.

KM: What you do is?

WP: We're actually propagating more.

KM: You're picking, you're pruning just like a plant on land.

WP: Yes.

KM: And then you're washing it in the water so those seeds are scattered again and the roots parts?

WP: They're scattered and I actually see them. In fact I pull the *limu* and I'd leave like a big pocket of emptiness on the coral like a hole. But then I'll walk over to a place where there's none growing and I'd scrub down and I'd literally see all those seeds falling. And I know, when I come back two, three, four months later we had no *limu* here and now we got.

KM: Now there is.

WP: And I'm thinking, "God if everybody did what I did, shouldn't be any problem." And I even told some of the guys, couple times had game wardens come and check me out. They asked me, "What I'm doing?" Then I show him, I said, "Look you see how I'm doing, I'm picking, I'm going like that [demonstrating what he does]." They were stunned they said, "Oh, they never, nobody thought about that." Guys were going with scissors, I laugh guys say, "Oh, I picking with scissors, I just cutting, so I not pulling out the roots," which is on paper sounds good. But, I say to myself, "Really you know, as good as it sounds it's better if you actually pull and leave a pocket there," because the *limu* surrounding it begins to expand and close up that hole.

KM: Fill in?

WP: Yes. I come back that hole is filled, I say to myself, "This is a better way." I even wish that I would one day, if you going to Miloli'i and I can fly up the day before if the water is nice I'd love to pick a bunch of *limu*. Pull from here and actually put 'em in a cooler and take 'em up to Miloli'i and go out there and clean 'em, let all that go down and let that settle in and let that *limu* saturate itself on the *papa*.

KM: So it will grow?

WP: Yes. I believe it would grow in Miloli'i. I think they're missing out by not having someone do that.



KM: Even when I was talking with uncle Walter Paulo and some of his *‘ohana* them, they said had little bit *limu kohu* one place or another but not plentiful. And it’s so logical you know, you think well, go plant some seeds.

WP: I’d love to, I said to myself, “Man, go one day just go out there, grab ‘em and then squeeze ‘em out, keep ‘em refrigerated so it’s alive al well.” Go out there and [makes sound] pick one nice spot.

KM: One *āpapa*.

WP: Tell Eugene [Kaupiko], go down there.

KM: He wants to see you. And I’m supposed to see him within a week or so, but the ocean is kind of *‘ino’ino* right now.

WP: Tell him I just want to do that. When are you going to see him?

KM: Maybe this coming weekend supposed to go but the water is kind of *‘ōkaikai* right now too choppy, everything.

WP: Yes, I know. But boy couple times the water looked kind of nice I’m thinking...

Old *kapu* system helped protect fisheries; was still enforced when he was a youth. Feels that a system like that at Waikīkī, could be applied to other island locations. Over fishing and over taking of *limu*, and alien species are a problem:

KM: How do you think then and we were talking you’ve seen the change. In your *kūpuna* time before dad them, they did have *kapu*.

WP: Yes.

KM: And indeed you know like this O’ahu map here. If you lived in Wailupe you only fished this area out. If you lived in Niu you fished this area out. You didn’t go *maha’oi* everybody’s places you know like that.

WP: Yes, they kick you out. They catch you, you had it.

KM: That’s right. They were *kapu* and so you think that this idea about setting aside, rotating fisheries once a year like that is a way of resting the spot?

WP: I agree. I’m agreeable with that. But it is kind of, I don’t know you have that *limu* now that is a pest.

KM: That foreign seaweed, alien.

WP: And I hear about those guys in Waikīkī a line of people was lining up and the guys picking *limu* and passing it putting it in bags and passing it to someone on shore. About fifteen, twenty guys lined up?

KM: Yes.

WP: They’re trying to get rid of that and yet when they get to the shore they are looking to pull out what edible *limu* that they don’t want to throw away. They’re trying to pick that out and either drop it back in the ocean so that it will continue.

KM: Was *līpoa* a big thing out there in Waikīkī?

WP: Oh, big thing! In fact it was, we hardly ate any *līpoa*.

KM: Because it was so much?

WP: There was so much and when the Kona wind storm picked up, you get about two feet of the *līpoa*.



KM: On the shore?

WP: Yes. And it was stink, real *hauna*. They would have the county guys come in and have those equipment, big like road sweepers or something and cart that away and go take it to the dump.

KM: Remember our trip to Mōkapu? When we went out to the edge of the point, the Kū'au side?

WP: Yes.

KM: And the *lipoa* was all, I'd never seen that but that's what you saw all the time right?

WP: Yes.

KM: And thick pile fortunately that was fresh so not *hauna*. It's amazing that the *limu* would be so plentiful.

WP: And the thing is like you take Noelani my daughter-in-law she makes *kini lau*.

KM: 'Ae.

WP: *Kini lau* is a process of making raw fish chunks with shoyu and *lipoa*. That combination gives, and not too much *lipoa*. In fact she likes to gather *lipoa* and put 'em in Gerber baby food bottles because you don't need too much when you do make *kini lau*. If you got 'em in the freezer you just put one bottle that takes care of one nice amount maybe two, three pounds of *kini lau* and it is so delicious. We never really used that much *lipoa* because it's strong.

KM: Strong.

WP: Sometimes people don't, they can't stand that it's strong. That's why lot of people would not eat the *kala* because of the *kini lau* and even the *uhu*. Lot of times when I see an *uhu* and when I go home to clean it or I clean it on the shore I like to cut the 'ōpū and when I open the 'ōpū the *uhu* seems to eat only *limu*. I cut the 'ōpū and I open it up and I stick my nose in it and it smells good. Smells almost like the chop-chop *limu*.

KM: The *limu*, yeah.

WP: All these small pieces of *limu* all gathered in his big full stomach.

KM: Right.

WP: That was kind of neat.

Discusses fish that make noises; and fishing for 'ū'ū, *uhu* and other species:

KM: Yes. You mentioned the fish hear you so you no like make nose. Did you ever hear about fish snoring?

WP: No.

KM: Fish don't make noise that you ever heard? 'Ū'ū like that?

WP: 'Ū'ū in a hole makes noise.

KM: Okay.

WP: As they dot around [making sound].

KM: They're clicking.

WP: Almost they make that 'ū sound.

KM: That's right that's what 'ū.

WP: That's why they call it 'ū'ū?



KM: Yes, because 'ū is to grunt or moan, 'ū'ū doubles it they going ū, 'ū, 'ū all around.

WP: Like when I go in a hole, a cave or a crack and see the āholehole they just kind of slowly going forward and turn around go back in one direction, north and south or whatever. You see when you get 'ū'ū they dot they go [making sound]. They go maybe two, three feet and stop. They go real quick [makes sound] like they make short dashes and they stop and they go ū, 'ū, 'ū, 'ū and so lot of times when you want to spear 'em you got to be real ready.

KM: Yes.

WP: As soon as they stop you got shoot 'em because they begin to shoot again they get more nervous when they see you looking at them. Whereas the āholehole they look at you like nothing. You shoot 'em and it's almost like one shooting gallery it's so easy to spear āholehole. Except āholehole once in a while you have to be careful because of you go around one rock which is about four or five or six cracks then you dashing all over. As the fish go in one area you move around and follow them till you find them and you spear one and then it goes back some other place. They come back round and round.

KM: Uh-hmm.

WP: What happens is sometimes you miss or the blood that oozes from the wounded āholehole attracts the eels, especially the pūhi paka (moray).

KM: The bad?

WP: That big, ugly guy. They come around and now they start trying to bite the injured one's.

KM: Competing with you right?

WP: Yes. So lot of times if they're far in the back and I spear one before I have a chance to pull it, it grabs my spear and he has the fish in his mouth and there's no way I cannot, the fish is gone. I start to let him keep ripping it off the spear and then he'll go away with the fish in his mouth. What happens is sometimes when we used to go with the boat, with the four of us. We would have a real big heavy spear and spear gun, the eels would eat about five, six fish and then we would take that big gun and wait for 'em and put one āholehole and when he go for the āholehole we would spear it. Now it's real strong but we have a real heavy spear.

KM: Uh-hmm.

WP: We would take 'em up into the boat and hit 'em with the ice pick and cut the stomach after we'd kill the eel and then we'd take out all the fish. And what's amazing is sometimes the big pūhi paka would have five, six āholehole so when we'd kill the eel and we'd cut the head off we'd slice the stomach open. The first āholehole was perfect. The second āholehole was pretty good, the third āholehole you know all the fins and the tail were all melted.

KM: Melted off? Ohh.

WP: Almost like one filet and then further in, the next one further, the longer it sat in it's stomach the tremendous...

KM: More dissolved.

WP: A tremendous amount of digestive chemicals in the stomach and you can see. And towards the end you see only one small almost like one filet, just a round blob.

KM: Amazing!

WP: Yes. You see all the stages of digestion but we keep the outer one's, the rest we just throw away.

KM: Did you folks eat the eel? Did anyone eat eel?



WP: No. If we knew anybody who liked eel for bait for dunking, pole fishing we'd give them. But I never did, I don't know why. Even what they call that [thinking] *tohei* which is the Japanese name for white eel that was another one that we'd have to fight with. And that one was good for eating.

KM: Yes, yes.

WP: The Portuguese liked to eat that they call that vengadorsh or something, there was a Portuguese name that they pickled it, they cooked and with vinegar or something.

KM: Interesting.

WP: It made a really good dish the Portuguese people liked it.

KM: You folks didn't eat. And your family?

WP: My family never ate the eel.

KM: Did you ever out of curiosity, did you ever hear about 'aumakua, about shark or?

WP: Well, we always knew that our family supposedly our 'aumakua was the shark on my father's side, that was from aunty Mary. And aunty Mary Pukui I remember this one legend she had given us that was all kind of faded. Did you ever read that?

KM: Yes.

WP: It talked about the Pukui family they kept having boys and they were all dying and they said they had to sacrifice one to a shark. And when they did after that all the children lived.

KM: That's how your grandmother's generation them, Lā'ie and Kaloli'i them. How all those children survived.

WP: Yes. That's amazing!

KM: It is.

WP: I used to always say, you know when I went in the water and I saw a shark. I said, "Our family worships you, but do you know they worship you?"

KM: [chuckling]

WP: I always used to be afraid.

KM: A little skeptical.

WP: Yes. In fact I don't know if I told you but when I used to pick *limu* at 'Aliomanu when Mary Jackson owned the house. She'd always come out and watch me and you know she'd tell me every time I was picking *limu* there was always a shark in the bay. She always said, "Don't go in the water because there's a shark."

KM: You know what's really interesting of course is on your Pukui or Kapuku'i side that your family ties back to the Kona, Ka'ū, Hawai'i.

WP: Yes.

KM: But on your mama's side remember what we found? Kaiapa originated here.

WP: Uh-hmm.

KM: Your *tūtū* was at Wailua, the great *kūkū* got the *Māhele* land. Your grandfather Theophilus is that right?

WP: Yes. Theophilus.

KM: Is born here at Moloa'a.

WP: Hard to believe!



KM: And so your family you know maybe that's your family too, over here you know.

WP: Uh-hmm. When Mary told me, she said, "Every time you're picking *limu* there's a shark in there." In that one little bay right next to the *limu* place and I was thinking, "Holy, smokes." But I never did look in the water I was too busy picking *limu* all the time. She said, "Don't go in the water, there's a shark in there every time." They always used to be so afraid.

KM: [chuckling]... So this place though, Waikīkī, has changed big time, yeah?

WP: Yes, it's so different.

KM: But you folks, there were good things. Good things about that time.

WP: Yes...

KM: ...We think about, you know, like the fisheries too and things. How are our children, *mo'opuna* or someone not my kids obviously. The ocean, the fish resources are so important you know.

Recalls night diving experiences in Waimānalo:

WP: I remember like I was delivering mail, about the later 1950s I delivered mail to Nobuhito Yoshimura and he had the Queen's Cabinet shop on Queen's street. He ended up, one day I saw him on Queen's street, in the 900 block, 977 was their address. Two guys, Nobu and Mr. Higa, had the cabinet shop anyway I walked in to deliver mail and this guy Nobu he had this kind of a light. You know like a motorcycle head lamp and he had a brass pipe with a wire coming out to one battery.

KM: Uh-hmm.

WP: He was looking at that and I said, "Hey Nobu, what's that?" He said, "Oh, that's the kind underwater light, I go night diving." I said, "You kidding!" He said, "Yes." I said, "How works?" When I asked him how does it work, he said he puts a battery inside this truck tube with the stem they take out the high pressure valve and then they solidify, he made one round wooden portion that he sealed. And then so the thing is big.

KM: Sure, that's how she floats?

WP: Yes. Open, so he put the battery inside?

KM: Yes.

WP: Then he closed this other one and got a switch a toggle switch that turns the light on and off. The wire come out to the light and then you blow air and then the thing floats. And you pull this around with an extra shorter piece of wire than the wire that's for the light. So he told me, "You ever go night diving?" I said, "No." He said, "You like go?" I said, "Yes." He said, "You go spear?" I said, "Yes!" So, that began our relationship and we went for years.

KM: For real! Nobu?

WP: Yes, Nobuhito Yoshimura, but we call him Nobu. And he and I would go once, twice, three times a week at night. And we get to Waimānalo more by where Sea Life Park is?

KM: Yes.

WP: But wasn't built then. We'd park our car and walk down the rocks and the water would be shallow and just when it's light, starting to dusk we in the water. We pick our way through the shallow rocks and then gradually and then we work on the outer edge of the reef. And we would, we would work in tandem. I would spear and he would shine the light and we had it down to a system. He would take the light and it had a long cord so I would hold the cord that pulls the light without tearing the regular light wire. Everything was all sealed and the light, the battery would last about four hours, four and a half hours. We would go and I would pull he would, we had it down to a system where he would go down like a crack, a



ledge. He would go under the ledge and I would kind of go so I can watch him. And I'd be holding on to the battery giving him all the line. And then if he went like this "Wiggling the light" that means I just take a deep breath and come down and then there would be one *uhu* sleeping.

KM: Wow!

WP: Or one *kūmū* just creeping around. I'd nail and I'd put my spear only about two inches away from it. What a, it's kind of sad in a way but you get these big *uhu* and small one's any kind and all just laying there, sleeping.

KM: Two feet kind.

WP: There's a little pocket in the crack in the cave they go in there and just lay there with their eyes big wide open but they're sound asleep.

KM: Sound asleep.

WP: And I'd just go by the eye and I go back an inch or down by the brain, I just [makes sound] I had a trigger and spear. I'd hit it and then I'd fit my hand on the other side because there's a wall then I'd push it so the barb would secure the fish. I'd put it in our floater.

KM: And all this by this time it was all for your own family, share?

WP: All family and share. We share we give to anybody, he take half home, he take half I take half. And we had it down to a wire, we went for years. Every once in a while I'd call him up and we would talk.

KM: Yoshimura is still alive?

WP: Yes. Getting old he was a little older than me so he's maybe 80 now. Boy we had some memories we had so much fish.

KM: Good.

WP: I'm glad that we had that time for night diving. Before lot of guys diving now you see lights all over the place, like one Christmas tree. When Peter goes out Moloa'a or Wainini side...ohhh you see lights all over the place.

KM: For real?

WP: Yes. Everybody goes. Them days was just a few guys.

KM: Yes, you really got to think, there has to be some sort of system of setting up.

WP: For controlling?

KM: Control. People should be able to fish but you can't get a hundred people taking fish from the same *papa*, where before only the families of the land. Maybe five, ten people would take. Month after month you just can't keep it up. And with all of the pollution things that are going on. Now you hear about problems you eat this come sick you know. Ciguatera?

Discusses ciguatera poisoning:

WP: The ciguatera is such a problem now. You got to be really careful what you eat.

KM: What kinds of fish, ciguatera?

WP: Ciguatera is *nenuē*, *āholehole*, *kala*, *kole*.

KM: Ohh.

WP: It's sad. And a lot of 'em on Kaua'i, Kaua'i has lots of ciguatera. They have a report in the Hawaii Fishing News [fishing magazine]. They always...print the ciguatera incidents i.e. Date – island – community and fish - name. Fishing stores sell Test Kits that can easily tell if the poison exists. It is worth it to avoid catching the disease. If you get it...you are sick for months with lots of pain and suffering.



KM: *Kala* like that, *manini*?

WP: *Manini* so far I don't think *manini*.

KM: Good. 'Ama'ama like that?

WP: No.

KM: Not that you've heard. *Āholehole* you said?

WP: Uh-hmm.

KM: *Kala, nenuē*?

WP: *Nenuē, weke*.

KM: *Weke*. Interesting, you wonder why some fish get and other one's who's eating the same things don't get then.

WP: And almost two, three cases a month.

KM: Wow!

WP: Sometimes one Maui, one Kaua'i and one Big Island, and the next one only Kaua'i the next month Maui and Big Island.

KM: Yes.

WP: It is a sad thing. And they're selling these kits now that you can use to test.

KM: Test your fish right? Those kits are expensive though I bet.

WP: The guys who don't they sorry when they get it by not testing.

KM: Yes. [chuckles] The kits are expensive or not cheap?

WP: Yes, they're not cheap.

KM: More expensive to get the sick right? [chuckling]

WP: Months of pain and misery. God, that's so sad.

KM: Makes you scared?

WP: Uh-hmm.

KM: This was really nice, good to talk story like that. Nice recollections. It was nice because we were really able to focus in on fisheries nice to learn about Kaluāhole and Ka'alawai. What's your best, best fish story? You get one really good fish story.

A Leahi (Diamond Head), *āholehole* fishing story:

WP: Okay. On Diamond Head I told you after the four of us guys, me Harry, Takeshi and Harold. We went diving and now we got the boat after the shark incident.

KM: Right.

WP: This particular day, a Sunday I guess it was. It was one of them perfect days the water was like glass. Not a cloud in the sky, smooth, warm and instead of Tokeshi and Harry going for *uhu* we all went for *āholehole*. For whatever reason, it was just so nice. We all speared almost every time we went under water we came up with *āholehole*. And would you believe the boat almost sank.

KM: Ohh, you're kidding!

WP: We had so much *āholehole*. We finally had about four or five hundred *āholehole* in there, I mean you couldn't it was getting almost to the gunnels the water started to splash in. And lucky the water was smooth so we decided, "Oh, oh we got to stop now!" We threw all our



spear guns in there and we all four of us gently pushed, we were kind of way out by the lighthouse. We came in and we beached the boat, thank goodness. So we started unloading and now you got two Japanese, Harry and Takeshi and one Filipino-Hawaiian and me. And while we're unloading the fish, there was so much fish. And we're putting 'em in gunny sacks and flour bags and a big tub too. This Japanese lady was pole fishing and she ran up to me and she got down on her knees and she grabbed my leg.

KM: [chuckles]

WP: And she wrapped her hands around my leg and she tell, "I like some, I like some fish." I look at those guys Takeshi, I mean this lady Japanese she didn't grab the Japanese guys. She grabbed me.

KM: She went to the Hawaiian?

WP: And the guys they kind of nodded like, "Give her." So I reached in and there was so much fish. I gave her eight fish and ohh she kissed my leg, she ran back to her pole so happy. I look at those guys I was so embarrassed because she had picked me. And the guys said, "Oh, that's okay, that's alright." We had so much fish and that was right at Diamond Head.

KM: Amazing!

WP: And another time I have this picture in the back about us guys and our catch all four of us guys, I have our picture on one of the times we came in this guy a photographer and writer for the Star Bulletin or Advertiser John Tichen and I saw, he took pictures and he wrote this article. And I think I saw something in Bob Krauss's column about John Tichen. Within the last four or five months I kept thinking, "Wow, I wonder if the guy is still alive." If there is a bunch of his fishing stories. Anyway he caught me at another time when I was, the tricky part was whenever I went fishing believe it or not, like my dad always told me never to say you going fishing. You always say you going pick leaves or you going gather something but not fish because that's bad luck. Anyway me, to make things worse, almost insulting to my father whenever I went fishing I took a pan for the fish, I took a scaler so I could clean the fish and I took a big butcher knife so I can clean the fish.

KM: [chuckles]

WP: And, I always caught fish. So I would go get my pan and I'd use my surfboard like a cutting board for cleaning the fish and gutting 'em. And I would sit near the water edge and I would clean my fish.



Skindiver Walter Pomeroy of Waimanalo cleans his catch of aholehole, aweoweo and menpachi caught off Diamond Head. Walter paddles out on a surfboard and carries the heavy mesh basket to prevent his catch being eaten by sharks.—Star-Bulletin Photo.



Recalling the circumstances around the day of fishing records in the newspaper photo, Walter wrote:

Sorry I didn't log the date 50s or 60s, boo! Even though I knew I was not supposed to take my fish scaler, knife and pan. BAD LUCK TO COUNT CHICKENS BEFORE THEY HATCHED, I did it anyway. The biggest problems were my discarding of the fish "Inards" into the water would attract eels, some swam between my legs on and near those tide pools. I had a few scary moments from eels: *Puhi Paka* (Morey) and To-hei (White). You can see the full pan and I still had lots more to clean. I went by myself and having the basket out of the water was so much safer. I had my special places where I knew the fish was plentiful. So many fine memories.

WP: This one time I had caught maybe about twenty-five *āholehole*, good size one's. And I was cleaning, I was nearing the end of cleaning and John came and took my picture. Then he asked me questions so it came in the paper too.

KM: Wow, cool!

WP: It showed me with my surfboard and showed a pan three-quarters filled with fish and I thought that it was kind of neat.

KM: You mentioned that your dad and Uncle Solo?

WP: Yes.

KM: Would go out. You said you have a photograph of them with the lobsters?

WP: Yes.

KM: Do you know where it is?

WP: I think I know.

KM: Lets look later and I'll try and if I can I'll try and take a photograph of it. The photograph that John Tichen took of you. Was it a black and white?

WP: Yes. In the newspaper so kind of hard to pick it up.

KM: Maybe so. Maybe we could look, try see.

WP: Yes.

Discusses fishing in Pearl Harbor:

KM: Good though, thank you very much. It's good fun to talk story like that... Oh, did you folks ever go, your father worked out at Pearl Harbor right?

WP: Yes he did.

KM: Did he go out fishing in the Pearl Harbor area before?

WP: Yes, but I never went with him.

KM: You didn't go.

WP: And a lot of that Pearl Harbor area was secured.

KM: Yes.

WP: You had a real hard time. But you know this one time uncle Harry retired from the Navy as a chief petty officer, whatever after many good years of service. And believe it or not he had a permit to go fishing in Pearl Harbor. Except there were some restricted areas like West Loch. West Loch I think was restricted.

KM: Uh-hmm.



WP: I remember this one time we went on his same boat that he built, me, him and Alika. We went to West Loch, we had been throwing net, Alika was throwing net and I was just around for the ride and helping on the way. But we went into West Loch in one area and Alika threw net and as they picked the fish up and put it in the boat the guys drove up, the shore police drove up in a jeep.

KM: On the ledge?

WP: Uncle Harry he cranked up the motor and we went across the bay. Then those guys had to drive all the way across. When they came back we drove back over here and we threw fish. In the mean time they angry with us so they called the harbor patrol so now when we're coming out of Pearl Harbor we coming out in this area.

KM: Yes.

WP: This is what Ford Island by Ford Island we came through, we went to Hospital Point and then we came back and just as we are kind of coming out of here there's one pier and the harbor patrol came down with guns raised.

KM: Ohh wow!

WP: They stopped us. And then the jeep that the guys had come, they came right by the pier and we were maybe from here to the front gate where the pier was.

KM: So about a hundred feet or something?

WP: Yes. The patrol boat the guys had all their guns strained on us. They had a boarding party came down and then uncle Harry he opened the front of his boat and he reached in for this packet, identification papers and sealed in a...

KM: Water proof kind?

WP: Yes, water proof packet. He handed it to the guy and the guy opened it up. And then the guy read all the orders that allowed us to do what we were doing and the guy went like that [gesturing a salute]. He saluted uncle Harry. And the guys went back and the guys went put their arms down. And all the guys said, "Alright chief."

KM: [chuckling]

WP: And the guys was pissed over there. So, they let us go.

KM: They thought they were going to get some kanaka's?

WP: Yes they thought we was...boy, I was so scared.

KM: You folks actually took your boat into Pearl Harbor from?

WP: From Kewalo Basin.

KM: Ohh, I see. Wow!

WP: Was a long haul was beautiful though.

KM: Nice, it's good water, yeah?

WP: Yes, good water. And he had a good strong boat it was really nice. That was an interesting one. But my dad worked in this area, right in this area [showing area on map].

KM: U.S. Navy reservation.

WP: Or maybe here I forget exactly because it's later developed and they don't show too many, all the facility but my dad worked for this floating dry-dock. Was before the war and when the Pearl Harbor attack occurred he had some ships that were on the dry-dock and got sunk during the attack. That was an interesting time because before the attack my dad used to go, once in a while they'd have submarines being dry-docked and refurbished



and repaired, upgraded and improved on. My dad would bring some of the submariners to the house and he'd bring 'em home they'd spend the weekend with us. And they would bring steaks and butter.

KM: They had all the choice foods right?

WP: Yes. They had the best food! And they'd bring steaks in boxes these wooden boxes. We'd go in and all like filet mignon, I mean we never even eat that kind steak, all we eat was stew.

KM: Yes... [chuckles] ...You look at this area in the old days there were maybe a hundred fishponds scattered throughout all of this Pu'uloa. Big salt work areas here then you come out here these are all fishponds over here and like when we were talking with Mr. Lemn this is all his 'āina that he's *kama'āina* too. This section here.

WP: Over here, the Hickam Field was around here too.

KM: At Fort Kamehameha?

WP: Yes. Fort Kamehameha. Uncle Jim [Adams] was working for the telephone company and this was his area for telephone repair and installation. He used to tell me he used to take his throw net in his phone truck and he said, he would *hemo* his pants for lunch, he had an hour lunch.

KM: Oh gee! [chuckling]

WP: Only his bebedees (underwear) and go with his throw net. He'd carry a cooler with him and he'd come home with mullet all the time. At Fort Kamehameha there's all these flats over here.

KM: Right. All that *āpapa*.

WP: All loaded with mullet. He said he used to have so much fun.

KM: Good! Thank you was good fun...!

Following the formal interview Walter Pomroy reviewed the draft transcripts and added some of his recollections to the interview. Below, he describes some of the experiences shared by him, his family and friends:

Not only did I love to fish and play along the Diamond Head area, so did my children. Of course, we stayed away when the ocean was rough for safety reasons. There was one time, low tide and *mālia* (calm). I was walking with son Paul, maybe age 10, at my side. We are just looking into the tide pools, enjoying the beauty and serenity of-it-all, suddenly I am a-bit startled! He bends over reaches into a crack in the black-hardened lava, and pulls out a silver looking thing. I am flabbergasted because it was a fifty cent coin, and he was so happy at this "find." Imagine, he only was the very edge of it, stuck for how long? What a great adventure. After he handed it to me, I gave it back and I'm not sure where he spent it or what he bought? Too bad I didn't think about looking at the date on the coin, so as to estimate the amount of time it stayed "Lodged" in that black-lava-crack. Is this a good story or what?

Irma's Pole Fishing – Diamond Head 1950-1960

I had been spearing plenty *āholehole*, Irmalee wanted to have fun too. We decided that next good tide, she wants to "hook" some. Okay. We buy pole, line, sinker, hooks, bait, shrimp, bread. Us dumb guys, we don't know that *āholehole* only feed at certain time of day! Tide low, have to go through "waist" high water until we reach a series of cracks full of fish with about six inch of water, over this *papa*. Irma wears long pants, long sleeve shirt and hat. At water's edge I decide to carry her on my back so she will be dry while fishing. She is now on my back. She has all the gear, plus a tall metal stool for her to sit



on, while fishing. If she is dry, she won't be cold. We're supposed to cross about 100 feet of waist deep water but I lose my balance and we both get wet. We laugh, Irma goes and sets up. I put on my diving mask and I see tons of *āholehole*, big ones too. She begins, I go back to shore and get my diving gear and go in about three hours, ready to call it a day! I get to Irma—caught nothing! I am shocked because when I look into those cracks, filled with fish. I finally load my spear and shoot many big ones. She thought I was fibbing about the fish, we called it a day. We had lots to eat. I learned later that *āholehole* only can be hooked at twilight hours—short periods when they get into their feeding frenzy. There are a lot of tricks to good fishing.

Hanauma Bay, 1950s

I remember once we had rough weather all over Oahu so we decided on diving in Hanauma Bay when fishing was allowed. As we pulled into the parking stall we noticed a car with three men unloading their diving gear. What was unusual, only one had a spear-gun (a *Haole*), the other two were Japanese, each carried burlap sacks in which to put their catch. Our diving group, Harry, Takeshi, Harold and I followed them, staying way behind to avoid looking suspicious. As they ended on the far right side of the bay. All three jump into the 60 to 70 foot depth, too deep for us all. We all got into the water, especially to observe that one diver. I saw the *haole* dive, and I couldn't understand how he could hold his breath for almost two to three minutes? He slowly dived to the bottom at around 70 feet and crawled in-and-out of various cracks and crevasses. All the time while I am watching him from the surface. I had no idea that such persons, existed? I then understood why he had to have two bag persons!! With such talent, he must have caught a big pile of fish every time. I was inspired to improve my diving skills after that experience. I learned to hold my breath longer by moving slowly while under water. Also, not to fill my lungs to over-flowing, but breathe in comfortably. This experience helped me a lot.

Lost Engine, Runaway Trailer Wheel

In the 1950s I had a small boat and second hand Evinrude out-board engine I bought from Mr. Ray Apana of Apana's Repair Shop at 736 Ward Street between Kapi'olani Bowl Bldg and Hawaiian Electric maintenance yard. We lived on 41-791 Ala Koa Street, Waimānalo, Oahu. One day I pulled the boat and trailer with my car and went to Kahana Bay. Took the whole family for picnic, fishing, frolicking, etc. We had been having fun going up and down the rivers. Due to my carelessness, I forgot to constantly tighten the bolts that kept the motor attached to the back part, called the "Transom." Anyway, we are having fun and then the "Running" motor falls off and sinks to the bottom of the deep part of the river. Everything is quiet because the roar of the motor is "Gone!!!" We are drifting. Finally, everybody starts to laugh!! And laugh!! Me, I wanted to cry. Shame! Stupid! I forgot to attach a safety line. I finally dove into the water and was able to get the motor in the boat. We called it a day, though still early, we headed home. As we enter Kāne'ohe town there was lots of road construction and due to my error, the right wheel of the trailer hit a barricade and the tire and rim started to break and then the trailer lost the wheel, and since I started to use my brakes, the separated tire kept rolling toward the Kāne'ohe Barber Shop front door. This Filipino man was sitting on the bench, we were afraid that he would get hurt from that "Run-away" tire. Lucky for us, the tire's momentum ended at the man's foot. Paul and Peter were laughing and screaming because that guy couldn't understand where the tire came from. All the kids hid by the floor, it was truly hilarious. Anyway, I dragged the trailer to a safe place and was able to buy a new tire and make repairs, etc. Never did get the outboard repaired. That was a crazy day.



This skin diving article of us three divers mentions a lot about the Jordan brothers Lee and Ted. I was delivering their mail at 1342 Kamaile Street, between Sheridan and Ke'eaumoku Streets. I did go diving with them in 60 foot water off Diamond Head. Their business was called Centralized Refrigeration. They both were in the Navy Submarine Service. They also made home-made beer. What made their diving method safe was that there were two compressed-air "Tanks" so if the motor quit, there was still lots of air for the diver to get to safety. Only problem was that the length of the hose wouldn't let you go too deep or too far. One person always watched the diver from a glass box, in case of trouble and could easily signal the diver of danger. Another plus, because the diver stayed within the 60 foot range it reduced the possibility of getting the "Bends", a big problem for those who dive deep, for long periods.

Samoaan Crab Story

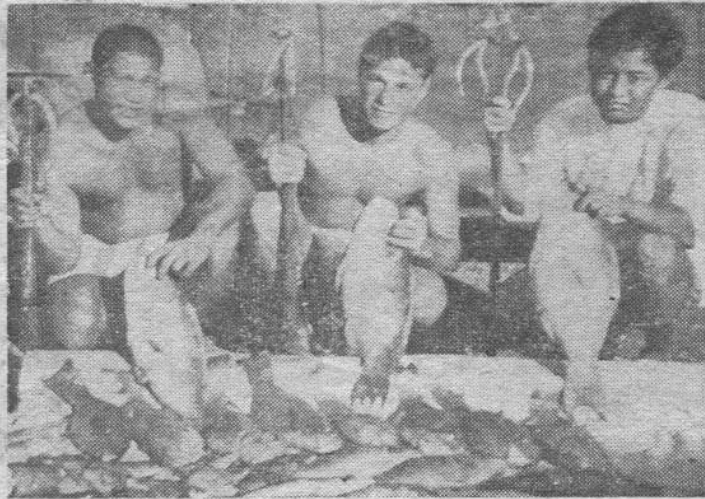
Around 1987, while delivering mail at Kapa'a Post Office. Can't remember date?

Bob Mandap returns from delivering his route and calls all employees outside to his truck parked at the loading dock. He had a huge Samoaan crab in an empty plastic mail container. He had stopped at Tony's Mini Mart and bought a soda and took his lunch break in the parking lot. He opened all the doors to cool off and eat. All of a sudden he is distracted by something moving on the coral gravel near his truck, while biting on his sandwich. When he turned his head to look and he sees this 4-5 pound Samoaan crab crawling toward him. He couldn't believe his eyes, he is stunned to say the least. Nobody else was in the parking lot. First thing he thinks, "Am I on Candid Camera? Since nobody else is around, he grabs some empty mail sacks to cover the crab and he secures the crab in the truck. For the next few hours he finishes his deliveries. Now we are all looking at this beauty and we even took pictures using our Post Master Gulston Iuli's camera. After work Bob put that crab in the river next to Pono Kai Condo. He felt sorry for it, and felt that it was fate that he found it so far away from the water source. He should have called a newspaper reporter. That was the end of that, until...

About seven years later, 1995, I am delivering mail on my route. I'm at 484 Kūhiō Hwy, approaching the Tradewind Bar. The bartenders always served me a Coke or orange juice, since I gave them a continuous supply of free gardenias from our farm. Then, while I am sipping orange juice one guy sitting near me starts a story, to all of us, but no one in particular. He says, "You guys wanna hear an interesting story? Let me tell you, "I went crabbing in the river next to Pono Kai Condo about seven years ago. I caught this huge Samoaan crab. I was so proud of my catch. I live just above Tony's Mini Mart, I chuck that crab in the bed of my truck. On the way home, I stopped at Tony's to buy a twelve pack of beer to go with my cooked crab, and dam, when I checked my truck at home, no crab. I retraced everywhere, I lost my prize. *Auwē!*

I was shocked, now I knew the rest of the story, as the saying goes. I told that guy, "Do you know the mailman Bob Mandap? He said, "Yes, he's my good friend!" I suggested that he should tell that story to Bob, and they both would enjoy each other's portion. Bob could give him the photos of us and the crab.





Displaying the results of a week-end's spearfishing with their homemade equipment are Harold Herras, Walter Pomroy and Harry Yamaguchi, Honolulu skin diving enthusiasts.

Skin Diving

By LEN HUGHES

Brothers Lee and Ted Jordan are partners in a venture that does credit to their ingenuity.

In the back of their washing machine repair shop, they have put together a used refrigerator compressor and a motor scooter engine, connected it to some surplus hose, and fitted it with a standard, shallow-water, Navy-type face mask. The results have surprised neither man.

Ted was formerly a qualified salvage diver for the Navy, and they fitted the device together with full confidence.

THEIR success will be of particular interest to skin divers on Islands where SCUBA air is not readily available.

The brothers reportedly have been to depths of 55 feet and remained below the

surface up to 105 minutes.

Particularly for salvage work, they believe their equipment is superior to any other amateur rig.

Thus far, they use it for pleasure only, but their triumphs include an especially attractive specimen of "spoon coral" that they picked at 30 feet and presented to the Y.W.C.A. Fernhurst Women's Residence.

Ray Ewing decided to end his tour on Oahu by spending his spare time pursuing

the ocean sport he helped popularize.

He came in with some nice results, including a four foot coronet or "pipe fish" and a generous helping of shells.

Ray says many skin divers are passing up a delicacy by not pursuing the coronet. It is easy to tire and not difficult to hit.

To his shell collection, Ray added a four inch *Conus Spiraetus*, a beautiful, poisonous cone with sharp markings.

He says he spotted it "shining like a jewel" in the water near Barking Sands.

Ray adds that malacologists (shell enthusiasts) should take advantage of the dredger activity on ocean projects.

He followed the dredger at the Kaiser lagoon and picked a small bucket full of shells that, with the application of caustic soda, will be the envy of any collector.

The Hawaii Skin Divers Association meeting night has been set for the first Tuesday of each month at the Honolulu Aquarium.

Attendance is made up of a variety of folks—ranging in age from white haired athletes to sons and daughters of members.

There are high moments when differences of opinion are aired.

And always there is a report on the accomplishments of this organization, that has as its goal the unification of all the Islands' clubs for the common benefit and sharing of mutual, underwater pleasures.

Article from the Newspaper, courtesy of Walter Pomroy



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When the fish were schooling, families of the Miloli'i vicinity would share the main <i>ko'a</i> , one dropping the net, then another, when the first one was done.	401
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> .	403
Practices associated with gathering <i>'ōpihi</i> along the shore from Miloli'i-Pāpā vicinity.	403
During his youth, <i>Lāpule</i> (Sunday), was a day that all fishing activities stopped, you let them rest.	404
Discusses the fishing seasons for <i>'ahi</i> , <i>aku</i> and <i>'oe'oe</i> .	404
Discusses use of <i>umu</i> and other near shore fishing customs.	405
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, he never heard of "make dog" or other " <i>pilau</i> " baits.	406
Discusses the <i>ko'a 'ahi</i> marked by Moku Nai'a.	407
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> .	408
Discusses <i>'ōpelu</i> fishing out of Honolulu—problems with tourist submarines, boats, and lights from Honolulu.	409
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.	410
Feels that the old Hawaiian <i>Ahupua'a</i> and <i>Konohiki</i> system of managing fisheries should be reestablished.	411
Discusses the source of the <i>'ōhua</i> fish.	411
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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.	413
‘Āhele ‘a‘ama (snaring crabs).	413
Recalls Tūtū Lohi‘au and his <i>mo‘opuna</i> , Kamuela Kumukāhi. Lohi‘au made the <i>kuku</i> for the ‘ōpelu nets from ‘ūlei gathered at Okoe.	414
Discusses sharks in the Kapalilua region; <i>manō</i> protected the fisheries and helped the fishermen.	414
Discussing various <i>ko‘a</i> and place names of the Miloli‘i vicinity.	416
Place names important in history; discusses the meanings of certain place names.	416
Discussing traditional practices associated with the protection of Hawaiian Fishery Resources; and finding the right balance in the present-day.	417
 Valentine K. Ako (Recollections of Fisheries – Native Practices and Commercial Enterprises in the District of North Kona, Island of Hawai‘i, and the Island of Kaua‘i)	 420
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‘Ahi and <i>aku</i> fishing in Kona in the 1930s-1940s.	422
Fishing to depths of more than 1,000 feet.	423
<i>Lupe</i> (sting rays) considered to be guardians of the ‘ōpelu fisheries.	423
‘Ōpelu <i>māmā</i> and <i>onopu‘upu‘u</i> also guarded the <i>ko‘a</i> ‘ōpelu.	423
Where you find the ‘ōpelu <i>kala</i> , you will find the ‘ōpelu.	424
<i>Kūpuna</i> previously traveled great distances in canoes to fish; discusses <i>aku</i> fishing.	424
Fishermen respected other’s <i>ko‘a</i> .	426
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<i>Kūkaula</i> fishing for ‘ōpakapaka, <i>ehu</i> and other species, to depths of more than 900 feet.	428
Discusses <i>ko‘a</i> and types of fish caught in the North Kona region.	429
‘Ōpelu fishing on Kaua‘i different than in Kona.	430
<i>Kina‘u</i> tuna fishing.	430
Discussing the preparation of fish as food; and conservation of fishery resources.	431
The moratorium on fisheries that is in place, accomplishes short-term objectives, but does not provide lasting benefits. The old Hawaiian system of management was best.	432
Does not believe that fish aggregation buoys are good for the fish.	433
Technology, has improved the ability to take, but led to depletion of fisheries.	435
Take only what you need, and share with others.	437
<i>Kupuna</i> Ako discusses <i>ko‘a</i> of the North Kona District; marking map, indicating depths, types of fish, and baits.	437
Use of dirty or <i>pilau</i> baits, contaminates the fish and <i>ko‘a</i> .	438
<i>Ko‘a</i> developed and worked by <i>kūpuna</i> for many species of fish; different <i>palu</i> used at various locations.	439
Discusses thoughts and recommendations on how to take care of fisheries for future generations.	441
Currents determine the locations at which fish may be found.	442
Long line fishing off of Kaua‘i and Ni‘ihau.	443
Worked for Hawaiian and Pacific Island fisheries with DLNR-Fish and Wildlife in the 1950s-1960s; describes operations and findings of fish habitats.	444
Objected to introduction of <i>taape</i> ; <i>taape</i> now impacting native species.	446
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Names various fish caught in the waters of Kailua, Kona.	449
<i>Akule</i> fishing at Kailua; Tūtū Maunupau had the <i>Kū‘ula</i> and fished with a shark.	449
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Discussing his background and familial connections to the lands and people of Kapalilua.	470
Describes mission of <i>Paʻa Pono Miloliʻi</i> , an organization of native Hawaiian Miloliʻi residents, dedicated to the perpetuation of the traditional Miloliʻi lifestyle.	472
ʻŌpelu fishing was the practice of the families who lived in this region, from Miloliʻi to Kapuʻa, and the neighboring lands.	474
Fishing was the primary livelihood of the families; goods exchanged between families.	475
Discusses development of the “commercial” fishing business in Miloliʻi.	476
Discusses various fishing <i>koʻa</i> of the Kīpāhoehoe-Kapuʻa region.	476
Describes ʻōpelu fishing.	477
People respected the ʻōpelu grounds and fishing customs; fish dried on the flats, to send away to markets.	479
Names <i>koʻa</i> for ʻōpelu and ʻahi along the Miloliʻi-Kapuʻa coast line.	481
Names <i>koʻa ʻōpelu</i> from Miloliʻi towards Kīpāhoehoe; and describes currents.	483
By going to the <i>koʻa</i> and feeding the ʻōpelu, you trained them to come to you.	483
Names fish caught while <i>kūkaula</i> (hand line) fishing.	485
Gathered <i>limu</i> , ʻōpihi, and <i>wana</i> for family gatherings.	488
Fished for ʻūʻū, <i>kūpīpī</i> , <i>akule</i> , and many other fish at various locations along coast.	490
<i>Kūpuna</i> wouldn’t go out to fish when fish were spawning.	491
Discusses traditional <i>palu</i> used by families of the region; meat baits change the <i>koʻa ʻōpelu</i> ; keeping the <i>koʻa</i> clean is important.	491
It is important to respect the ocean and the land; people from outside should not come and take the fish from the Miloliʻi vicinity fisher-families—it is the livelihood of the families.	492
The quantity of ʻōpelu is not like before, but is still good.	493
<i>Paʻa Pono Miloliʻi</i> is working to enact protection of the main Miloliʻi vicinity <i>koʻa</i> , setting them aside for the native families of the land—to protect the <i>koʻa</i> and lifestyle of the traditional families of the land.	494
Shares a Miloliʻi song about ʻōpelu and other fishes of the land.	496
<i>Kūpuna</i> fished with <i>manō</i> ; certain ones considered ʻaumakua.	498
Samuel Kamuela Waha Pōhaku Grace	
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Discussing his background, and ties to the families and lands of the Kapalilua region.	500
Lived his life as a fisherman, as did his <i>kūpuna</i> . His father and elders were also canoe makers.	501
Planted <i>kalo</i> and other crops in the uplands, and traveled to the shore to fish for ʻōpelu and other fishes.	502
Fished for ʻōpelu as a youth, in the Kolo-ʻŌlelomoana section of Kapalilua.	503
Taro and pumpkin were the baits used for ʻōpelu.	504
Describes, and names parts of the ʻōpelu net.	504
Currents determined which <i>koʻa</i> would be used at any given time.	505
Kolo Rock marked an ʻulua fishing ground.	506
Describes ʻōpelu season; fish shared with families.	507



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Use of meat baits in the <i>ko'a 'ōpelu</i> of Miloli'i is not good; it draws big fish-predators into the <i>ko'a</i> .	507
Elders kept <i>Kū'ula</i> , and uncle 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.	509
Has fished the entire shore line from 'Ōlelomoana to Kaulanamauna.	510
Recalls a tradition of <i>Nāpōhakuloloa</i> ; the stones also marked near-shore fishing grounds and a <i>ko'a 'ōpelu</i> .	511
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> .	513
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.	515
Fished for <i>akule</i> at Honomalino; fish not like they were before.	516
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.	517
<i>Kū</i> and <i>Hina</i> are fisherman's gods, and the <i>manō</i> is also a guardian of the fish and fishermen.	517
Feels that the <i>ko'a</i> of Miloli'i should be set aside and protected for the native families of the land.	518
Let the fish and <i>ko'a</i> rest one day a week, like <i>Lāpule</i> , as practiced before.	519
Describes the <i>ko'a 'ahi</i> fronting <i>Pōhaku Ke'oke'o</i> .	521
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.	522
Discusses use of <i>'ala'ala</i> bait to catch select near-shore fish.	523
Believes that if we will take care of the ocean, the fish will come back.	524
 Robert Ka'iwa Punihaole (Lands, Fisheries, and Customs of the Families of the Kekaha Region in North Kona, Hawai'i)	 527
<i>Ai no ka i'a i ka 'āina!</i> (The fish are known by markers on the land!).	527
Discussing the impacts of economics on Hawaiian customs and practices associated with the fisheries; and the division in use of <i>'ōpae 'ula</i> and <i>palu</i> baits.	527
<i>'Ōpelu</i> fishing customs.	528
The right to take fish is based on the responsibility of caring for the ocean and fishery resources.	529
Discusses the <i>ko'a</i> of Makalawena and neighboring lands of the Kekaha region.	530
Knowledge of currents important to success in fishing.	531
<i>Lawai'a kai uli</i> (deep sea fishing) – <i>Kūpuna</i> formerly sailed hundreds of miles to fish; during his youth, they still sailed in canoes several miles out on the sea to fish.	532
Family still kept <i>Kū'ula</i> for <i>'ōpelu</i> fishing.	533
Names types of fish caught; depths of <i>ko'a</i> ; and methods of fishing.	534
Describes use and making of <i>pā</i> (lures) and <i>makau</i> (hooks).	535
<i>Kapu</i> and practices associated with making the <i>pā</i> .	536
Families fished in given areas; others respected their fishing grounds.	537
Discusses regional use of types of <i>palu</i> for <i>'ōpelu</i> ; <i>kūpuna</i> avoided using "chop-chop," as it would draw <i>pōwā</i> (predators) to the <i>ko'a</i> . Fishing was a way of life. <i>'Ōpelu</i> were exchanged for other goods; and always taught not to over take.	538
Take care of the fishing ground, the fishing ground takes care of you.	540
Describes practices associated with the making and use of <i>pa'akai</i> to dry fish.	541
Discussing <i>ko'a</i> as marked from the land — " <i>Ai ka i'a i ka 'āina!</i> " How <i>ko'a</i> are developed.	542
Discusses seasons in which certain fish were caught; seasons also noted by the blooming of certain plants.	545
<i>'Ōhua</i> fishing.	546



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Makalawena previously noted for highly prized <i>kūpe</i> 'e.	547
Collection of <i>limu</i> ; seasonal varieties.	548
Fishing today is nothing like previous years – “Where they used to be, nothing!”	548
Feels that greed - people have over fished, is the primary cause of the change in fisheries.	549
Pollution and commercial fishing, also problems in health and quality of fisheries.	551
Suggests a <i>kapu</i> system similar to that of the past, by which fisheries could be managed.	552
Formerly ate <i>honu</i> , and never saw the tumor growths that now appear on turtles; <i>honu</i> formerly used to help care for fishponds.	553
Discusses the <i>weke</i> of Ku'unakeakua.	555
The <i>Kū'ula</i> of Pōhakuolama.	556
Ciguatera unknown to him until recent years; names types of fish caught along the Kekaha coast line.	556
The <i>hou</i> (snoring fish); how caught.	556
The <i>pūhi ūhā</i> can be heard to make a sound like sneezing.	556
Collection of <i>ōpae kowea</i> , and <i>ōpae 'ula</i> ; describes the pond of 'Ōpae 'ula at Makalawena.	557
Recalls the tradition of the fishpond, Pā'aiea, covered by Pele in 1801.	559
Describes <i>po'o holoholo</i> net fishing; types of fish caught.	560
Education important in care for fisheries and land; pollution from chemical runoff impacting fisheries.	561
If you use <i>pilau</i> bait, you are going to eat <i>pilau</i> fish.	562
Speaking of residents in Kohanaiki Village and fishing at Kaloko.	564
Fishing the Kaloko fishponds.	565
There was a difference in the quality of the water and fish, between Kaloko and Honokōhau ponds.	568
Practices associated with restocking fishponds.	568
Transporting the fish from Kaloko to Kailua.	569
<i>Lūhe</i> 'e fishing at Kaloko; there was an <i>'aumakua he</i> 'e known in the Kaloko area.	570
Describes various fishing locations along the coast of Kekaha, North Kona.	572
Always pray and ask first, before taking fish, or working the land.	573
May Melapa Makanui-Corr (and family)	
(Stream and ocean fisheries of Hanapēpē, Kaua'i)	575
Discusses the significance of the pond of Kūmimi.	576
Father kept the <i>akule Kū'ula</i> .	577
Stream flow was good before; water pure, no one got sick from the water, like today.	580
<i>Māno</i> previously built in stream to divert water to <i>lo'i</i> and to develop <i>kahe</i> for <i>'o'opu</i> fishing.	582
Discussing <i>ōpae</i> , <i>'o'opu</i> , mullet and <i>āholehole</i> fishing in Hanapēpē River; fish found three miles inland.	583
Describing types of <i>'o'opu</i> , and seasons when caught.	585
Father fished for <i>akule</i> and <i>ō'io</i> in Hanapēpē Bay; father was member of a fishing <i>hui</i> , he had the <i>Kū'ula</i> .	586
Hawaiian customs and practices observed while fishing.	587
'Ōpae and <i>'o'opu</i> populations have diminished; describes <i>'o'opu</i> fishing.	587
Father left offerings at Kūmimi Pond.	589
Family has <i>'āina pa'akai</i> at Pū'olo Point; describes salt making practices and customs.	590
Seasons have changed for <i>'o'opu</i> and salt making; changes thought to have taken place following the atomic testing in the Pacific.	593
Pollution, run off impacting salt works.	594
<i>Āholehole</i> and other fish traveled more than three miles up the river; netted as food for family.	597



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'O'opu fishing was important to the family, customs and practices were handed down over the generations. Family is hoping to be able to teach their grandchildren and great grandchildren the practices – has had difficulty with the DLNR regarding <i>kahe 'o'opu</i> .	598
Wayne Takashi Harada and Keikilani Andrade (Haumea) Harada (Halele'a-Nāpali, Kaua'i – Fisheries and Practices)	601
Some families relocated from shore line after the tidal wave of 1957.	601
'O'opu and 'ōpae were found in the 'auwai, lo'i, and streams.	604
Describes locations and types of fish caught, and <i>limu</i> gathered, along shore from Kē'ē to Naue.	605
<i>Hukilau</i> fishing for <i>akule</i> with Hanohano Pā; community participated, and shared in the fish.	609
Describes the division of fish, and who the main fishermen were in the Hā'ena-Wainiha vicinity (1950s-1960s).	610
<i>Lae</i> skin used to make <i>aku</i> and <i>'ahi</i> lures.	613
Hanohano Pā and some other area families still traveled along the Nāpali coast to go fishing. Hanohano Pā instructed people to respect the <i>manō</i> (sharks); discusses lobster fishing in Hā'ena.	613
Describes cultivation of <i>kalo</i> in Wainiha; also fished in the <i>muliwai</i> and coastal areas of Wainiha.	615
<i>Huna</i> , goldfish caught in Wainiha.	616
Customs observed when fishing and hunting with Ipo Haumea and Hanohano Pā.	619
Discusses fishermen who worked particular fisheries.	621
<i>Pinao</i> , a sign that there would be a lot of fish.	622
<i>Wī</i> were once plentiful in Lumaha'i; transplanted <i>wī</i> into other regional streams, including Limahuli; also fished for 'ōpae and 'o'opu.	622
Fishing at Lumaha'i.	624
<i>Kupuna</i> Rachel Mahuiki was a <i>he'e</i> fisherwoman.	625
Greg Kan Sing Ho (Halele'a, Kaua'i – Fisheries and Practices)	626
Father learned fishing from the Hawaiians, and he in turn learned from his father; they fished from Hanalei, to Waikoko, Lumaha'i, and out to Hā'ena.	628
Names types of fish caught.	628
Still makes throw nets; describes net making; and recollections of some of the old fishermen.	629
Discusses difference in weather today, compared to before; there is less rain now.	632
Caught 'o'opu from the streams and 'auwai.	633
Stanley Ho (Halele'a-Nāpali, Kaua'i – Fisheries and Practices)	637
Father fished with the old Hawaiians and spoke Hawaiian fluently.	638
Names some of the families living around them in Hanalei, when he was young; father was friend with Hawaiian families in the Wainiha and Hā'ena section as well.	638
Hanohano Pā used to fish with a <i>sampan</i> along the Nāpali Coast; names types of fish caught.	639
His own family mostly threw net and did <i>hukilau</i> fishing; notes that there are no fish now in the old areas where he used to go.	639
Describes <i>hukilau</i> fishing for <i>akule</i> , and division of fish in Hanalei.	639
Describes fish caught out in the Kalalau region.	642
Hanohano Pā and other families fished in the Kalalau area during the summers; taro and watercress were still growing out there when he was a young man.	643
Describes fishing in the Kē'ē-Limahuli vicinity, and types of fish caught.	643
Discusses changes in fishing practices, and diminished catches.	644
Fished in the Hanalei River, caught various fish like mullet, <i>āholehole</i> , and went crabbing.	644



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During World War II, Hanalei and other coastal areas were fenced off with barbed wire; fishing decreased during that time.	646
Discusses shore and reef fisheries in the Wainiha and Hā'ena vicinity.	647
Discusses tidal wave of 1946, and impacts on the residents of Kē'ē.	648
Bottom fished along Nāpali and fronting Kalalau; also went deep sea fishing.	649
Sampans used to be able to come into Hanalei River, about a quarter of a mile.	650
Feels that construction of groins on the shore below the hotel changed the system, and caused sand to fill in the river mouth area.	651
Changes have also impacted the health of the fish, people now get sick from eating certain fish.	652
In youth and young adulthood, fished at Kalalau during the summers.	653
Discusses fishing at Kanahā, Hā'ena Kū'au, and Wainiha Kū'au.	654
Annie Tai Hook-Hashimoto and Violet Hashimoto-Goto (Halele'a-Nāpali, Kaua'i – Fisheries and Practices)	656
Families went <i>mauka</i> to gather <i>wī</i> and <i>'ōpae</i> .	658
Discusses the 1946 tidal wave; impacts on the communities of Wainiha and Hā'ena.	658
Discusses fishing and types of fish caught in Wainiha and Hā'ena— <i>akule</i> , <i>'ō'io</i> , <i>moi</i> and <i>pāpio</i> .	660
Family fished along the Nāpali coast for <i>moi</i> during the summer.	662
Families regularly fished in Maniniholo Bay; La'a Mahuiki, would <i>kilo</i> from the <i>pali</i> .	663
Frequently saw fire balls and other phenomena associated with spirits between Hā'ena and Wainiha.	664
Discusses <i>lau</i> fishing and division of fish; father had a fish stick used to attract the fish.	665
Before it was only <i>kama'āina</i> families who fished in the region, not like today.	667
Discusses fishing between Wainiha, Hā'ena and Nāpali; sharks thought of as guardians.	668
Discusses types of fish caught, and <i>limu</i> and shell fish gathered at Limahuli, Hā'ena, Wainiha and Hanalei.	669
<i>Pūpū</i> gathered from various locations; used for making <i>lei</i> and medicines.	670
Discussing fishermen in the Hā'ena-Wainiha region, during the 1930s-1950s.	671
Fishing today, not like it was before. There are fewer fish. There has been a decline in the <i>limu</i> as well. This is in-part attributed to the tour boats (fuel leaks) and people breaking rocks on the <i>'āpapa</i> .	671
Names various types of <i>limu</i> and locations found.	672
Discussing fisheries, the need to make <i>kapu</i> , like in the olden days, to restore areas; and the need for education.	675
Discussing <i>honu</i> , and imbalance in marine systems – noting that tumors are growing on the <i>honu</i> .	678
Discusses <i>he'e</i> fishing at Hā'ena.	680
Discussing Naue and the <i>hala</i> trees that formerly grew there; and fish caught along the <i>'āpapa</i> .	681
Thomas Hashimoto (Halele'a-Nāpali, Kaua'i – Fisheries and Practices)	684
Begins giving detailed descriptions of <i>'āpapa</i> , <i>ku'una</i> , and other fisheries between Kē'ē and Wainiha; marking them on the aerial photo; also names the types of fish caught and <i>limu</i> gathered at the various locations.	685
It was always the custom to share the fish among families in the community.	690
Only catch what you need and can give away, don't catch and put fish in the freezer.	690
Continues naming <i>ku'una</i> and sites along the Kē'ē-Hā'ena shore line; identifying types of fish and resources collected.	690
Recalls <i>akule</i> fishing with <i>kūpuna</i> and <i>kama'āina</i> families.	693
Continues naming <i>ku'una</i> along the Hā'ena coast line.	696



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Discusses old location of the Hā'ena-Wainiha Boundary – originally, Kahaki, not Kāmoa.	702
Continues describing <i>ku'una</i> along the Hā'ena-Wainiha coast line.	703
<i>Kū'ula</i> still used while fishing by some <i>kūpuna</i> , when he was young.	704
It is the traditional practice to take the fish you need, and let the rest go.	705
Catch always shared with families in community.	706
<i>Hana ka lima, 'ai ka waha!</i>	706
Fished in Kalalau and other Nāpali locations.	707
Continues describing, and identifying fishery sites between Wainiha Kū'au, Kaleina Kauila, Kē'ē, and Hanakāpī'ai.	708
Discusses families, where they lived, and some of the events in the community, when he was young. Also revisits some of the fishing grounds discussed earlier.	709
Does not believe that <i>imu</i> fishing was practiced in Hā'ena fisheries.	711
Discusses <i>imu</i> and trap fishing methods.	712
Discusses experiences fishing by canoe from Hā'ena; and deep sea fishing from a boat for <i>'ahi</i> and <i>aku</i> .	714
<i>'O'opu</i> caught in the <i>kahawai</i> and <i>'auwai</i> .	717
Describes the impacts of the 1946 tidal wave on families in Kē'ē, Hā'ena and Wainiha.	718
Nāmoku (the stones in Maninihola Bay), exposed when the water receded for the tidal wave.	719
<i>Nā hala o Naue</i> (famed <i>hala</i> grove of Naue) destroyed by the tidal wave.	722
Discussing sites and fisheries along coast (Naue to Kē'ē) which will be visited on February 11 th .	723
" <i>Kepalo</i> " used to try and take their fish, or drive fish away from the <i>ku'una</i> .	725
 Thomas Hashimoto (Ko'ōnohi to Kē'ē–Field Interview)	 734
Walking along beach from the Ko'ōnohi-Naue section towards Kahaki and Kāmoa. Discusses the alteration of the boundary between Wainiha and Hā'ena; and types of fish caught and <i>limu</i> gathered in the area.	736
Before, every <i>'āpapa</i> , and fishing site along the shore had a name, but many have been lost.	736
<i>Pūpū</i> were gathered by family members for making <i>lei</i> .	741
During World War II, the beach was fenced off, families had to get permission to go fishing.	743
When he was young, there were plenty of fish, not like today.	743
<i>Kapu</i> were observed, mullet, <i>moi</i> and <i>pālā moi</i> were caught.	744
Discusses <i>ku'una</i> and types of fish and resources collected along the Hā'ena coast line.	744-758
Discusses shifting sands; comments on cycle of sands between Lumaha'i and Nāpali.	758
Discusses <i>ku'una</i> and types of fish and resources collected along the Hā'ena coast line.	759-761
La'a Mahuiki would <i>kilo</i> the <i>akule</i> school from atop the cliff overlooking Maninihola.	761
Salting and preservation of fish.	763
Discusses misuse of Hawaiian place names; it is important to keep the old names.	764
Discusses <i>ku'una</i> and types of fish and resources collected along the Hā'ena coast line.	764-766
Not many <i>mo'olelo</i> were spoken of during his youth. He did hear of <i>Tūtū</i> Pa'itulu caring for a shark in the Papaloa vicinity, and his riding it to Kalalau.	766
Discusses <i>ku'una</i> and types of fish and resources collected along the Hā'ena coast line.	767-769
Families cared for one another; sharing was a way of life.	769
Discusses <i>ku'una</i> and types of fish and resources collected along the Hā'ena coast line.	769-771
Families exchanged fish and <i>kalo</i> and other items among themselves, for supplies.	771
Discusses <i>ku'una</i> and types of fish and resources collected along the Hā'ena coast line.	773-782
Discusses fishing sites along the Nāpali coast.	782
Recalls the shark that swam in the waters fronting the <i>hula</i> platform at Kē'ē.	784



Interviewee and Topics:	Page
Valentine K. Ako	
(Recollections of Kaua'i Fisheries and Native Practices)	786
Fishing from Wainiha to Kalalau with Barlow Chu.	786
Regularly went to Kalalau every May to go fishing; <i>hinana</i> came down the Kalalau stream by the millions.	787
<i>Kama'āina</i> of the area had no problem with the sharks.	787
Discusses method of collecting and preparing 'ōpihi and pūpū from Nāpali.	788
Fished for various species along Nāpali, May through August.	790
<i>Nenuē</i> were plentiful along Nāpali, and were an important fish to be served at <i>pā'ina</i> on Kaua'i.	790
Through the 1950s, it was mostly only <i>kama'āina</i> who fished along Nāpali; the <i>moi</i> grounds were highly valued.	791
Discusses impacts of pollution on the Nāpali and Kekaha fisheries.	792
Preparation of 'ōpihi.	792
Before, the <i>kama'āina</i> families regulated the picking of 'ōpihi; seasons were observed and the stock allowed to replenish itself. Outsiders did not impact the grounds.	794
Barlow Chu used to use the Hawaiian names of the places where they fished together.	795
Hā'ena noted for the <i>ka'ala</i> , a large 'āweoweo.	796
When large schools of 'āweoweo (<i>'alalauwā</i>) come in, it is a bad omen.	797
Discussing fisheries outside of Maniniholo.	798
Lobster fishing at Hā'ena Kū'au.	798
Discusses <i>honu</i> fishing.	799
The first time he noticed tumor growths on <i>honu</i> was outside of the Kalaeloa-Barber's Point area.	800
Fishing for <i>kawele'ā</i> out of Wainiha.	801
Recalls that Henry Gomes was a well known fisherman in the Hanalei region.	802
<i>Akule</i> came into the Hā'ena-area coves.	802
<i>Kama'āina</i> families knew the seasons and locations to fish for various species in the Hā'ena region; discusses seasons in which fish were caught.	803
Describes <i>pa'ea</i> crab fishing.	804
Discusses various types of <i>limu</i> .	805
Discusses deep sea fishing, and methods of fishing at various locations around Kaua'i.	807
Recalls the <i>kina'u</i> tuna used to come in to Hanalei; also the mainland mackerel.	809
<i>Pāpa'i</i> "Kona Crab" were also caught outside of Hanalei.	810
<i>Walu</i> fishing outside of Kīlauea.	810
Discusses Hawaiian values and conservation ethics.	812
Akanas formerly held the <i>Konohiki</i> rights in the 'Anini section; discusses last <i>Konohiki</i> fisheries on Kaua'i.	813
It's not enough to keep making regulations; existing regulations must be enforced.	815
Revive the old <i>Konohiki</i> system to restore the fisheries.	816
Recalls hearing that Barlow Chu's mother was a skilled <i>he'e</i> fisherwoman.	817
Recalls Kalani Tai Hook as a fisherman in the Halele'a District.	817
Discusses a <i>ko'a aku</i> , fished outside of Hanakāpī'ai, Nāpali.	818
The <i>mā'ula'ula</i> fish.	819
Describes the Hā'ena style of making <i>lāwalu</i> fish.	820
Agnes Leinani Kam Lun Chung and Mary "Lychee" Kamakaka'ōnohi'ulaokalā Tai Hook-Haumea (Halele'a, Kaua'i – Fisheries and Practices)	823
Mother taught her to respect the land and sea, you "don't <i>kāpulu</i> the place; and you always ask permission."	825
Family gathered 'o'opu and 'ōpae from the <i>mauka</i> streams, also gathered 'uwī'uwī fern. You never just discarded the bones of the fish, but carefully disposed of them.	825



Interviewee and Topics:	Page
Caught <i>manini</i> near the shore and collected <i>loli</i> (describes preparation).	826
Collected <i>ōpihi</i> , <i>limu</i> , and <i>wana</i> from the shore along Wainiha and Lumaha'i.	827
Families would only take what was needed; observed <i>kapu</i> of not eating <i>ōpihi</i> when collecting them, and also never turned back to the ocean.	827
Names types of <i>limu</i> they collected.	827
Taught to respect the ocean and land.	828
Names types of fish caught with nets between Wainiha and Hā'ena; families always shared the catch.	828
<i>Kupuna</i> worked the <i>lo'i kalo</i> and helped to rebuild the <i>'auwai</i> and <i>māno</i> for the irrigation of fields.	830
The families fished for <i>'o'opu nākea</i> and <i>'akupa</i> and <i>ōpae</i> in the streams and <i>muliwai</i> .	830
Both <i>Kūpuna</i> discuss near shore fishing.	832
<i>Kupuna</i> Lychee's brother, Kalani, was a fisherman; fished <i>hukilau</i> at various locations.	832
Recalls that <i>Kupuna</i> Hanohano swam from Hā'ena to Kalalau, the <i>manō</i> was his guardian.	833
<i>Kupuna</i> Lychee, discusses her brother Kalani, as a fisherman.	833
Both <i>kūpuna</i> discuss the <i>'auwai</i> and <i>māno</i> system in Wainiha; used to make <i>kahe</i> to catch <i>'o'opu</i> from the streams. When the mountain apples bloom, is the season for catching <i>'o'opu</i> .	834
Bernadette "Bernie" Ka'iulani Alapa'i-Mahuiki (Halele'a-Nāpali, Kaua'i – Fishing and Practices)	836
Discusses Mahuiki family <i>hukilau</i> fishing at Maniniholo.	837
La'a Mahuiki would <i>kilo</i> for fish from atop the <i>pali</i> overlooking Maniniholo; describes <i>hukilau</i> fishing	837
Fish such as <i>akule</i> and <i>ō'io</i> were always shared among the families.	839
Recalls Hilario Aquino (Shibroka), who died in the 1946 tidal wave; he saved a number of children.	839
Charles Kininani Chu (Halele'a-Nāpali, Kaua'i – Fishing and Practices)	841
Discusses family background and ties to the Hā'ena region	842
Fished for <i>'o'opu</i> , goldfish and <i>pūpū</i> in the Limahuli Stream.	843
Traveled with grandmother into Limahuli Valley to gather <i>'o'opu</i> ; wild cattle roamed the valley.	844
Family regularly made " <i>pani wa'i</i> " to direct the stream flow, and trap <i>'o'opu</i> and <i>ōpae</i> .	844
Also made <i>kahe</i> from bamboo to trap the <i>'o'opu</i> .	845
Recalls a bad flood from which Ka'ala Kelau rescued the family.	845
Recalls Pa'ikulu – he was consulted for right times to fish.	846
Never saw anyone <i>hula</i> at the <i>hula</i> platform; though they did go gather <i>ōpihi</i> on the rocks below it.	847
Gathered <i>limu</i> from Kanahā.	848
Hailama launched his canoe from opening in <i>'āpapa</i> fronting Limahuli, would go <i>kā'ili</i> (line) fishing.	849
Hailama would fish for lobster on the <i>'āpapa</i> fronting Limahuli; mother was an expert <i>ō he'e</i> fisherwoman.	850
Families would share their catch, and always took only what was needed.	851
Hanohano Pā was a lead <i>akule</i> fisherman; La'a Mahuiki would <i>kilo</i> fish from atop Maniniholo.	851
Fish would be kept in the net for a couple of days, and taken as needed, then released.	852
Names various locations on the <i>'āpapa</i> between Maniniholo and Limahuli.	853
Family worked the land, rotated <i>kalo</i> planting times, and sustained itself from the land and ocean.	853



Interviewee and Topics:	Page
Fished with Hanohano Pā along the Nāpali coast line, at Hanakāpī'ai, Kalalau, Honopū, and Nu'alolo.	855
Turtle fishermen would travel as far as Nu'alolo for turtles.	857
Never saw tumors growing on <i>honu</i> when he was young.	857
Hailama generally fished from Pu'u Kahua to Paweaka.	857
As a youth, traveled to Hanakāpī'ai to gather <i>wī</i> from the stream.	859
Charles Kininani Chu (with Susan Chu; joined at Limahuli and Kē'ē by Thomas and Annie Hashimoto (Hanalei, Hā'ena and Limahuli-Kē'ē Site Visit)	860
Driving from Hanalei Bridge towards Hā'ena — Families fished for 'o'opu akupa and other species in the Hanalei River.	860
'O'opu nōpili was the most common species caught in the Hā'ena and Limahuli streams.	861
Driving through Wainiha; Hā'ena families fished for <i>hinana</i> ('o'opu fry), in the <i>muliwai</i> of Wainiha.	861
Maniniholo was an important <i>hukilau</i> fishery, mostly for <i>akule</i> , 'ō'io and <i>moi</i> , the <i>pālā moi</i> .	861
<i>Kupuna</i> Chu notes that the tidal wave took out many land marks; he believes that the <i>pōhaku wahine</i> (female – sister stone) was removed from the 'āpapa at that time as well. Group discusses the three stones, Pōhaku Kāne, Pōhakuloa, and their sister.	862
Traveled into valley with <i>Tūtū</i> Puaokina to gather 'o'opu and 'ōpae.	864
Discusses closing off water flow and making traps for 'o'opu and 'ōpae; and locations of 'auwai and <i>lo'i kalo</i> .	864
Recalling Uncle La'a and Aunty Rachel Mahuiki and family.	865
Discusses 'upena ho'opae fishing for <i>pūili</i> fish.	866
Group discusses torch fishing for <i>uhu</i> and other species.	868
You never asked a fisherman where he was going.	868
Paweaka was <i>Tūtū</i> Uluhane's favorite <i>he'e</i> ground.	870
Group drives to Kē'ē — discusses place names; many remembered because they were associated with collection of specific fish.	870
Group driving along the Ka'ilio Point area towards Kila Pā's former residence and <i>poi</i> mill; discussing various fishing and <i>limu</i> locations.	871
Charles Kininani Chu (with Susan Chu), Agnes Leinani Kam Lun Chung, Thomas Hashimoto and Annie Tai Hook-Hashimoto, Violet Hashimoto-Goto, Kapeka Mahuiki-Chandler, Mary "Lychee" Kamakaka'ōnohi'ulaokalā Tai Hook-Haumea (Halele'a-Nāpali Region Fisheries and Practices)	876
<i>Kupuna</i> Chu expresses <i>aloha</i> for the land and families, that one cannot forget about Hā'ena.	876
Agnes Leinani Kam Lun Chung introduces herself – family background and ties to Wainiha and Lumaha'i.	877
Mary "Lychee" Kamakaka'ōnohi'ulaokalā Tai Hook-Haumea introduces herself – family background and ties to Wainiha.	878
Kapeka Mahuiki-Chandler introduces herself – family background and ties to Hā'ena and Wainiha.	879
Thomas Hashimoto introduces himself – family background and ties to Hā'ena.	881
Charles Kininani Chu introduces himself – family background and ties to Limahuli-Kē'ē at Hā'ena.	881
Fished in the Nu'alolo-Kalalau vicinity with Hanohano Pā.	882
Violet Waioleka Hashimoto-Goto introduces herself – family background and ties to Hā'ena.	882



Interviewee and Topics:	Page
Susan Anela Ahn-Chu introduces herself – family background, wife of Charles Kininani Chu.	883
The Hā'ena dunes and <i>kula</i> lands were formerly bare.	883
Recalls <i>Tūtū</i> Pa'ikulu and Hailama observing phases of the moon, and consulting on the best time to fish.	884
Group discusses elder members of the Mahuiki family.	884
Group discusses <i>hukilau</i> at Maninihola; entire community was involved and fish were always shared.	884
Hā'ena, Wainiha and Hanalei all had their own <i>hukilau</i> and fishing locations; people fished where they were from, not going to other people's areas. "Take only what you need, and tomorrow, it's still there."	885
Group discusses differences in respect for the ocean and land, between earlier times and the present-day; earlier way was respectful, and you always asked and gave thanks for what you got.	886
Aunt Kapeka <i>mā</i> discuss Waikapala'e and Waikanaloha; as youth, they were instructed to respect the places.	887
Group discusses customs and practices associated with fishing.	887
Ka'ala and Kalei were the turtle fishermen in the Kē'ē vicinity; turtles were taken from as far as Nu'alolo.	889
<i>Apelehama Kauila (An account of the weke pahulu on Lāna'i)</i>	893
<i>Solomon Kaōpūiki (Lāna'i fishing notes)</i>	895
<i>Henry Kau Aki (Fishing on Lāna'i)</i>	896
Discusses fishing practices and sites at Kaumālapa'u.	900
<i>Akule</i> fishing at Kaumālapa'u.	901
Diving for fish and making salt at Kaumālapa'u.	902
Has seen a change in the ocean currents and waves since the atomic testing in the Pacific.	903
Names types of fish caught when diving and net fishing.	903
<i>Limu</i> collected from the <i>papa</i> .	904
Mother told him that certain sharks were family guardians.	905
<i>Samuel Kaōpūiki (Lāna'i fishing notes)</i>	907
Kaumālapa'u and Keōmoku fisheries; types of fish caught.	907
Over take by outsiders has been a problem on Lāna'i.	907
Traditional fisheries management on a small island – take only what you need.	907
<i>James Keolaokalani Hū'eu, Jr. (Ko'olau and Hāmākua Region, Island of Maui)</i>	908
Discusses varieties of <i>o'opu</i> in Ke'anae vicinity streams, and the former residences of families in the uplands; exchange between upland and near-shore residences took place.	909
Tells a story of a family that resided in the uplands of Kaho'okuli, and an account of a shark man.	910
In old days, families lived in <i>mauka</i> and <i>makai</i> regions; it was the custom to exchange goods between one region and the other.	911
Discusses customs of resource collections; the <i>ahupua'a</i> – <i>Konohiki</i> systems practiced in his youth. Explains the origin and traditions of place names in the Ko'olau region.	912
Retells the account of the family shark raised at Kaho'okuli; and how another shark was cared for by it's mother, near the shore of Ke'anae.	913



Interviewee and Topics:	Page
Discusses <i>'inikiniki pūhi</i> (fishing for baby eels, trapped between one's fingers).	914
Discusses Kaho'okuli and story of the <i>manō</i> (shark) that was raised in the uplands; when grown, the <i>manō</i> swam down stream to Waia'ōlohe, and lived in the <i>muliwai</i> (estuary); Luahi'u, a red stone in the stream, marks the <i>kōwā</i> (channel) from the stream out to the sea.	915
Fears that if he does not tell the stories, they will be lost when he passes away. Wants his stories to be known and shared in the historical study, so that the traditions of the place names, families, and practices can be remembered.	916
Stephen Cabral (Ko'olau-Hāmākua Region Fisheries)	917
Discusses changes in rivers, water flow, and collection of <i>'ōpae</i> . When he was young the Hawaiian families and other residents collected enough for personal use, not for sale. <i>'Ōpae</i> could be collected all the way out to Hāmākua Poko; Wailoa Ditch was "home of the <i>'ōpae</i> ;" a newly introduced (black) algae seems to be one cause of the diminishing population.	917
Discusses <i>mōi</i> fishing, and fishing customs taught to his father by elder Hawaiians, and to him, by his father; fishing at Hiana'ulua.	919
Mina Marciel-Atai (Ke'anae-Honomanu Vicinity, East Maui)	922
Punalau Stream formed a <i>muliwai</i> (estuarine pond system), which the family used; native fishes, <i>'ōpae 'oeha'a</i> , and <i>koi</i> were caught in the area. The family also went to the uplands for <i>'ōpae</i> and <i>hīhīwai</i> .	922
Discusses gathering <i>'ōpae</i> , <i>'o'opu</i> , and changes in stream resources; and collection of <i>pūhi</i> and other near shore fishes. Introduced prawns had significant impact on the native stream fish.	923
Helen (Helena) Akiona-Nākānelua (Wailua-Ke'anae, Maui)	926
Describes Wailua – meaning of place name. Every <i>kahawai</i> had water flowing; used to catch various <i>'o'opu</i> and <i>'ōpae</i> ; also gathered <i>pohole</i> (fern), <i>'āweoweo</i> (mountain <i>lū'au</i>) and other mountain resources.	926
Learned from her grandmother that families lived both <i>makai</i> and <i>mauka</i> , and they exchanged goods with one another.	927
Regularly traveled the streams to gather <i>hīhīwai</i> and other stream fish.	928
<i>Hīhīwai</i> supplemented meat in diet; uncles also hunted (with permission from EMI), for wild pigs in the mountain.	928
Gathered <i>'ōpae</i> in EMI Ditch Tunnels.	929
<i>'Ōpae</i> are not like before because the water doesn't flow in the streams. She and other native residents want water returned to all the streams.	929
Joseph C. Rosa, Jr. (Fisheries of the Waipi'o-Honopou Vicinity, Hāmākua Loa, Maui)	930
Families worked together on the land, in the streams and in fishing; <i>'āweoweo</i> , <i>'ū'ū</i> and other fish caught from canoes, and shared with neighboring families.	931
There was an abundance of <i>'ōpae</i> , <i>hīhīwai</i> , and <i>'o'opu</i> in the Honopou Stream during his youth, and through Nālani's youth (found even in the vicinity of their <i>lo'i</i>).	931
When he was young some of the <i>pa'akai</i> (salt) used by his family was still made by native families of the Kīhei side, and traded for goods from the Hāmākua side.	932
It is his observation that the water flowing in the <i>kahawai</i> is the same today as when he was young; he and Nālani both note that people above them use the water in ways that are damaging to the system (putting soaps and oils into the water). Nālani notes that the water is not as cold as it was, because of changes in the flow volume and source, and this is problematic for taro growers.	933



Interviewee and Topics:	Page
Describes customs associated with gathering <i>limu</i> , fish, and other resources – one took carefully, respectfully, and with prayer; taking only what was needed.	935
Discusses the practice and belief that if you “Care for the land, the land will care for you.” <i>Wai</i> (water) is of great importance and value for the people and the land – “ <i>Wai o ke ola!</i> ” (Water is life!).	937
Describes life on the land – and fishing when he was a youth; traveled with his mother, and fished various locations along the coast for <i>moi</i> , <i>pua ‘ama</i> , <i>‘ōhua</i> , <i>he‘e pali</i> , and other fishes. The land and ocean, and their hard work sustained them; they bought only a few items, and mostly fed themselves by their own work and care of the land.	937
V. Leimamo Wahihākō-Lee and Pōhaku Miki Lee (Recollections of Lands and Fisheries of Hāna, Maui)	940
Coral used as medicine by her father.	941
<i>Moi</i> fishing at Waikalua.	942
Family had the <i>weke</i> fishpond of Kumaka, at Haneo‘o.	943
Describe fishing at Nāhiku; naming types of fish caught, and resources collected.	944
Tradition of naming the surf of Hāna Bay.	946
<i>Akule</i> fishing Hāna Bay described.	946
Discussing the <i>wahi pana</i> (storied places) in the lands of the Haneo‘o-Hāmoa vicinity; the fishponds; <i>Kū‘ula</i> ; and types of fish caught.	949
<i>Hā ‘o‘opu</i> (‘O‘opu trap) method of fishing practiced in the streams of Ke‘anae.	952
Discusses the fishpond of Leho‘ula, made by <i>Kū‘ula</i> in antiquity.	953
Samuel Ponopake Chang (Recollections of Mākena, Maui)	955
<i>Akule</i> Fishing – <i>Tūtū</i> Lu‘uwai was the lead fisherman; you didn’t cross your hands behind your back in front of him.	959
A <i>manō</i> (shark) was the family <i>‘aumakua</i> ; and was formerly cared for by <i>Tūtū</i> Ha‘eha‘e.	961
Describes <i>akule</i> fishing with <i>hukilau</i> at Mākena.	961
Discusses various fish regularly caught by families in the Mākena vicinity.	962
<i>Pa‘akai</i> made from <i>kāheka</i> along the shore.	963
James Tatsuo Tanaka (Recollections of Lands and Fisheries of Maui, Moloka‘i, and O‘ahu)	966
Large <i>he‘e</i> formerly caught on Moloka‘i.	967
<i>Aku</i> fishing from Kewalo after the end of the war.	970
Describes fishing in the Wai‘anae District, during his youth.	972
Describes closure of fisheries during World War II.	972
Over fishing led to demise of fish populations.	973
Spawning season critical time to manage fisheries; commercial fishing pressures too great for Hawaiian fisheries.	974
Old system of <i>kapu</i> and <i>konohiki</i> management was the best way to ensure sustainability of Hawaiian fisheries.	975
Pollution, diversion of fresh water sources, and introduction of <i>taape</i> and other alien species have contributed to demise of the Hawaiian fisheries.	976
James Tatsuo Tanaka (Recollections of the Mullet Fishery and ‘Anae holo of Pu‘uloa, O‘ahu)	982
The importance of the streams and estuaries to healthy fisheries; and steps needed to ensure sustainability of Hawaiian fisheries.	982
Discusses the past and present conditions of Hawaiian fisheries.	985



Interviewee and Topics:	Page
Robert Joseph Lu'uwai	
(Recollections of Mākena Region and Kaho'olawe Fisheries)	988
Names types of fish caught in the Mākena region when he was younger.	990
Over fishing by outsiders has depleted the Mākena area fisheries; in the old days, there was always plenty of fish, the native families management of the resources; outsiders did not intrude.	991
<i>Imu</i> fishing practices.	992
<i>Lau</i> and <i>kā'ili</i> fishing along the coast line; types of fish caught.	992
<i>Limu</i> was formerly good.	995
Discusses management of fisheries; suggests, rotation of <i>kapu</i> seasons, fee for licenses; and special management areas in which native families tied to the fisheries, participate in long-term management with agencies.	
A part of subsistence is perpetuation of the practice, through teaching the youth.	996
<i>Honu</i> fishing.	999
Frank Harrison and Teresa Smith-Neizman	
(Recollections of Fisheries at Lāhainā and Māla, Maui; and Kaunolū Lāna'i; and 'Ōpelu Fishing in the Present Day)	1002
<i>Pala'ai</i> , and preparation of <i>palu</i> for the evening's 'ōpelu fishing.	1003
Describes 'ōpelu fishing; 'ōpelu <i>māmā</i> (barracuda), used to train the 'ōpelu to feed.	1004
Discusses traditional fishing grounds, learned from his <i>kūpuna</i> ; and still used to the present-day.	1005
He and his wife have fished all their lives.	1006
Discusses care of the <i>ko'a</i> 'ōpelu and the barracuda guardians.	1006
Previously fishermen respected one another's fishing grounds.	1009
Commercial and tourism fishing, and the cruise ships now impact the traditional <i>ko'a</i> ; have scattered the 'ōpelu and killed the 'ōpelu <i>māmā</i> .	1011
Discusses other types of fish caught—the <i>moelua</i> , <i>moano hulu</i> and other species.	1012
Collection of <i>limu</i> .	1013
Identification of <i>ko'a</i> ; and use of the 'ōpelu <i>kala</i> .	1015
Currents used to determining <i>ko'a</i> .	1016
Fishing at Kaunolū (Lāna'i) for 'ōpelu.	1017
Discussing the 'ōpelu <i>kīkā</i> .	1018
Fishing today, not like before; people respected the fisheries in the past; discusses impacts of commercial and tourist operations on traditional fishing grounds and practices.	1018
Isaac Harp	
(Fishing along the Wai'anae and Kahalu'u Coasts of O'ahu; the Mā'alaea-Lāhainā Coast of Maui; Off of Lāna'i and Kaho'olawe; and thoughts on the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands; and Recommendations for the Long-Term Management of Hawaiian Fisheries)	1020
Fishing in the Wai'anae Region; learns fishing practices from an elder uncle.	1021
Over fishing, exportation of fish, and degradation of the ecosystem has led to a decline in the health of the fisheries.	1022



Interviewee and Topics:	Page
Fishing along the Wai'anae and Kahalu'u coast lines; types of fish caught.	1026
He and his wife, Tammy, have fished for years; are active participants in fisheries management councils.	1028
Commercial fishing practices have had a diverse impact on Hawaiian fisheries.	1029
Fishing in waters off of Lāna'i; changes in bottom fishing resources.	1029
Each island and district has it's own variations in seasons when fish spawn, and mature; the present centralized management, and one regulation fits all has failed to protect Hawaiian fisheries. The traditional Hawaiian system of management was the best to long-term management of fishery resources.	1030
Learned from elder fisher people, about bottom fishing practices in the waters between Maui, Kaho'olawe, and Lāna'i; names types of fish caught.	1034
Discussing the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands (NWHI); impacts and fisheries; and value of NWHI to archipelago fisheries.	1038
Discusses a 2001 study on currents running North-South from the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands; and the importance of the NWHI as a nursery source for the Main Hawaiian Islands.	1041
Discussing currents between Maui, Moloka'i, Lāna'i and Kaho'olawe; used to determine locations of fisheries.	1045
Need to establish regional management programs for fisheries.	1046
 Gilbert Neizman (Recollections of Lāhainā Fisheries and Fishing Practices)	 1050
Describes 'ōpelu fishing with his grandfather in the 1940s; as many as seventeen canoes could work the Wahikuli and Māla ko'a.	1051
Kupuna fished with the 'ōpelu māmā; describes 'ōpelu fishing grounds and practices when he was a youth.	1052
Fish always shared with community.	1054
Describes bottom fishing and ko'a markers on the land used to mark fishing grounds.	1055
Technology has led to depletion of fisheries; fish have no chance.	1056
Black coral zones; important habitat for bottom fish.	1057
Collection of black coral, impacted the deep nurseries of bottom fish.	1058
Has noticed a significant change in the fisheries over his life time.	1058
Many more recent residents of Hawai'i are now fishing here, and have impacted Hawaiian fisheries; many do not fish with respect for the resources.	1059
Existing regulations are not adequately enforced.	1060
Importance of the 'ōpelu māmā in traditional fishing practices.	1061
Fishing today, does not compare with fishing when he was a youth; describes changes in the fishery systems.	1062
Believes there is still hope for the fisheries; offers thoughts on protecting fishery resources for future generations.	1064
Families cared for one another and exchanged fish and other goods when he was young; it was a good system.	1066
Fishermen watched out for one another.	1066
Recalls early fish markets; and their efforts to seek out the native ko'a.	1067
Fishermen of old respected one another and the fish; Sundays, fish were allowed to rest.	1069
In 1958 the alalauwā (baby 'āweoweo) appeared on the shore by the thousands; fish fed striking plantation workers.	1070
Recalls fishing experiences in the Huelo vicinity.	1071
 Moon Keahi (Recollections of Lāhainā Region and Lāna'i Fisheries); with Stanley Chock ('O'opu Fishing at Kahakuloa)	 1073
Discusses Keka'a Rock, and the appearance of the young 'āweoweo (alalauwā) in 1958	1074
Discusses other species of fish caught in the Keka'a vicinity.	1075



Interviewee and Topics:	Page
Describes 'ōpelu fishing from Māla, Kā'anapali, and Lāhainā; the present-day jet ski platform is situated on top of the Wahikuli ko'a 'ōpelu.	1076
'Ōpelu māmā (a barracuda) used to keep the 'ōpelu at the ko'a; father always prayed before fishing, and upon return home.	1078
Regularly fished around Lāna'i.	1079
Fished for turtles; discusses locations and types of 'ōpelu caught.	1079
Fishing today is not like it was when he was young; respected the ocean in the old days.	1080
Currents determined where palu was thrown, and net was set.	1081
Fish from the first catch of 'ōpelu always given back to the ocean.	1082
Family collected limu and pūpū.	1083
Fishing in Kahakuloa; 'o'opu caught in streams.	1085
Daniel Alapa'inui Kekahuna (Recollections of West Moloka'i Fisheries and Landscape)	1087
How some fishponds and coastal villages of West Moloka'i came to be named.	1087
White coral used to mark the ancient trail.	1088
Hawaiians of old could call upon winds and other forces of nature.	1089
Discusses various sites and fisheries of West Moloka'i.	1090
Native residents fished all along the coast, and made pa'akai.	1093
Names various promontories and pu'u that were used as kilo spots for fishing.	1094
Recalls account of a pūhi turned to stone.	1095
Discusses fishing grounds of the Kaluako'i vicinity; and traditional subsistence practices.	1096
Mac (Kelson) Poepoe (Hui Mālama o Mo'omomi)	1098
Scott Ka'uhanehonokawailani and Sylvia Mililani Adams (West Moloka'i fisheries and native customs)	1099
Wayde Lee (Hui Mālama o Mo'omomi)	1099
Lawrence "Brother" Joao, Sr. (Recollections of West Moloka'i Fisheries and Landscape)	1101
Names locations noted for various fish and 'ōpihi, around the West Moloka'i shore line.	1103
Kealapūpūkea, an ancient trail lined by white shells.	1103
Salt making at Kawākiu li'ili'i and vicinity.	1104
Kupuna used to kilo i'a from Pu'u Kai'aka.	1108
Discussing fisheries and resources of the Kanalukaha-Haleolono vicinity.	1110
John Dudoit, Jr. (Recollections of East Moloka'i Fisheries)	1113
His kūpuna lived and fished at Kainalu.	1114
Fished Kainalu shoreline from when he was approximately six years old; has always seen the fishpond walls.	1114
In shore pu'uone pond was also a source of mullet; had a mākāhā leading out to the ocean.	1114
Describes Ipukaiole Fishpond; types of fish caught there; and the protocol of taking fish.	1115
Describes Ipukaiole Fishpond and deterioration of walls in his life time.	1116
Speaks of residents in Kainalu and vicinity in c. 1940.	1116
Discusses former residents; protocol in fishing; and impacts of 1946 tsunami on Ipukaiole and the Kainalu shoreline.	1117
Remembers Ipukaiole Fishpond from when he was six years old; walls were in better condition.	1117



Interviewee and Topics:	Page
Discusses impacts of 1946 <i>tsunami</i> on fishponds and coastal area.	1118
Erosion has changed shore line.	1118
Discusses importance of fishponds in old Hawai'i.	1118
Kainalu area was rich fishery; changes in environment and commercial fishing have caused the changes.	1118
Kainalu stream formerly flowed almost year round; was a source of 'o'opu.	1120
Names types of fish and <i>limu</i> gathered; notes that the <i>limu</i> and <i>pāpa'i</i> , have disappeared.	1121
Australian mullet introduced to Moloka'i fisheries.	1123
<i>Tūtū</i> told him not to be afraid of sharks; story of Pauwalu.	1124
Shark stone situated across from his house.	1124
Heard of people using <i>Kū'ula</i> to catch fish.	1124
Salt gathered from Kaunakakai and Kalaupapa areas.	1127
William H. Kalipi, Sr.	
(Recollections of East Moloka'i Fisheries)	1130
Discusses <i>kapu</i> and protocol in working on <i>loko i'a</i> , <i>heiau</i> , and in all aspects of traditional life.	1131
Fishing in the vicinity of the Kainalu-Ipukaiole Ponds; uncle told them not to be greedy.	1132
Role of <i>Kū'ula</i> in fishpond management.	1133
Fishponds tied to land management and ownership.	1134
Different gods and their role in fishpond management.	1135
Role of fishponds in traditional times, and on the cultural and natural landscapes	1137
Always just take what you need; <i>kapu</i> system enforced stewardship.	1137
Fishpond management and importance in landscape.	1138
Ecosystems—importance of fresh- and salt-water quality.	1139
<i>Kū'ula</i> , <i>Hina</i> and other fishpond deity.	1139
Types of fishponds and relationship to the landscape.	1140
Restoration of Ipukaiole and other fishponds—community and economic benefits.	1142
Stewardship—fishpond restoration.	1145
Ancient construction of fishponds; the <i>ali'i</i> called and the people came to work.	1146
Salt making on West Moloka'i and trade of resources.	1146
Elia Ku'ualoha Kāwika Kapahulehua	
(Fishing Trips from Ni'ihau to Nihoa and Hawaiian Sailing Skills)	1148
" <i>Inā mālama 'oe i ke kai, mālama no ke kai iā 'oe. Inā mālama 'oe i ka 'āina, mālama no ka 'āina iā oe.</i> " (If you care for the ocean, the ocean will care for you. If you care for the land, the land will care for you.)	1148
Annual fishing trips made to Nihoa from Ni'ihau.	1149
Preparation of canoes and supplies for fishing trips to Nihoa.	1150
' <i>Ulua</i> fishing on Nihoa.	1150
Hawaiian navigation traditions and practices.	1152
Elia Ku'ualoha Kāwika Kapahulehua	
(Recollections of Native Fishing Customs and Traditions on Ni'ihau)	1155
Discussing the Halali'i marsh lands and salt making beds; and 'ama'ama fishing.	1155
Discusses fisheries and types of fish caught around the island of Ni'ihau.	1158
<i>Pūpū</i> gathered on shores of Ni'ihau.	1159
Families cultivated dry land crops on Ni'ihau, and sailed to Kalalau to cultivate, and exchange goods for <i>kalo</i> (taro).	1160
Names types of fish caught around Ni'ihau.	1161
Discusses annual fishing trips made by <i>kūpuna</i> to Nihoa.	1163
Traditions of <i>manō</i> ; and 'ōpihi fishing at Lehua and Ka'ūla.	1167



Interviewee and Topics:	Page
<i>Honu</i> were plentiful around Ni'ihau.	1169
Salt making at Halali'i.	1169
Names types of <i>limu</i> gathered around Ni'ihau.	1170
You care for the land and ocean; gather what you need today, leave the rest for later.	1170
Describes fishing techniques practiced on Ni'ihau; and the types of <i>ko'a</i> known.	1172
<i>Pūpū</i> abundant on Ni'ihau, and important to the livelihood of the Ni'ihau natives.	1175
Fisheries have declined from past quality and quantities; the old system and manner of fishing was sustainable, needs to be revived.	1176
Louis "Buzzy" Agard, Jr.	
(Stream Fisheries of Keālia, Kaua'i; Recollections and Thoughts on Hawaiian Fisheries of the Northwestern- and Main- Hawaiian Islands)	1179
Lessons learned from fishing at Nihoa and other Northwestern Hawaiian Islands.	1179
Began fishing as a youth, for <i>āholehole</i> , <i>o'opu</i> and mullet in the Keālia Stream.	1181
Began working in the <i>aku</i> fishing industry when he was fifteen years old; worked with Japanese fishermen. Describes commercial <i>aku</i> fishing practices.	1184
Discusses traditional values and practices observed as a youth, while <i>hukilau</i> fishing.	1185
<i>Kū'ula</i> and <i>'aumakua</i> observed by Hawaiian fishermen who worked with him in the 1940s-1950s; development and maintenance of <i>ko'a</i> .	1186
Began fishing in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands in 1946.	1187
Schools of <i>moi</i> caught off of French Frigate Shoals.	1188
Species rapidly declined; populations did not replenish themselves.	1189
It is important to allow breeding stock to remain in the ocean.	1189
By 1956, fishing in the NWHI was unsustainable and too costly.	1189
Likens the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands to a <i>Pu'uohonua</i> (Sanctuary) for breeding stock to replenish Main Hawaiian Islands fisheries.	1190
Scientists have documented that a counter-current (flowing north-south) exists; such a current carried larvae from the breeding stock down to the Main Hawaiian Islands.	1190
Suggests that the NWHI be left alone, and that <i>kapu</i> (regulations) based on traditional subsistence practices be reinstated for all Hawaiian fisheries.	1192
Recalls how Hawaiian fisheries rebounded as a result of their closure during World War II.	1193
Discusses weaknesses in present management of fisheries, and suggestions for improvement.	1194
Began to notice tumor growths on <i>honu</i> in the 1940s-1950s.	1196
Serves as a member of the Reserve Advisory Council (RAC); recommendations for long-term management of Hawaiian fisheries.	1197
Nā Moku 'Aha (The Northwestern Hawaiian Islands) — Louis "Buzzy" Agard, Valentine and Elizabeth Ako, John Dudoit, Eddie Nāmakani Ka'anā'anā, E. Kāwika Kapahulehua, and Walter Keli'iokekai Paulo	1200
"You <i>mālama</i> the <i>ko'a</i> , the <i>ko'a</i> is going to <i>mālama</i> you. You <i>mālama ka 'āina</i> , the <i>'āina</i> is going to <i>mālama</i> you." <i>Kupuna</i> Walter Paulo describes traditions and customs associated with <i>ōpelu</i> fishing.	1203
<i>Kupuna</i> Agard shares personal experiences while fishing in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands (NWHI); discusses the importance of the mature breeding stock for various species found there, and their significance in the larger fisheries of the Main Hawaiian Islands.	1204
Describes decline in abundance of the NWHI fisheries; and the decimation of the lobster fishery.	1205
<i>Kupuna</i> Agard is an original member of the Western Pacific Fishery Management Council.	1206
Worked with Isaac and Tammy Harp, and others to promote protection of the NWHI fisheries; President Clinton signed into Law Executive Orders 13178 & 13196.	1207



Interviewee and Topics:	Page
Traditions of Hawaiians sailing to Nihoa and Moku Manamana to fish.	1208
' <i>Ulua</i> fishing at Nihoa and other islands of the region.	1210
Turtle fishing at Nu'alolo and Kalalau; and <i>akule</i> schools at Nihoa	1211
Moku Manamana.	1212
Preservation of the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands breeding stocks is important to the well-being of the Main Hawaiian Islands fisheries.	1213
Discuss types of fish caught in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands.	1214
' <i>Ōpihi</i> fishing, collection of sea birds, and deified sharks at Ka'ūla.	1216
Practices (protocol – <i>mea ma'a mau</i>), associated with fishing, and care for the resources.	1217
<i>Kupuna</i> Ka'anā'anā learned from his <i>kūpuna</i> at Kapalilua, South Kona, that in the generation preceding his, <i>kūpuna</i> still traveled from Hawai'i to Ni'ihau, and on up to <i>Nā Moku 'Aha</i> . <i>Kupuna</i> Ka'anā'anā and <i>Kupuna</i> Kapahulehua discuss travel to <i>Nā Moku 'Aha</i> , done in part to train navigators in practices of sailing and way-finding, and staying connected to the <i>wahi pana</i> (storied and sacred places) of lore.	1217
Conservation was a way of life for the old people.	1219
Group discusses approach of subsistence fishing versus commercial fishing; common values shared among native residents of the Main Hawaiian Islands, and with others of Polynesia.	1222
Group discusses fish caught for subsistence while working in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands.	1228
<i>Kūpuna</i> Paulo and Ka'anā'anā describe storms encountered in the NWHI.	1229
Fish caught for subsistence in the NWHI.	1231
<i>Kupuna</i> Ako first noticed the tumor growths on turtles in 1944, in the Kalaeloa area of O'ahu.	1232
Cultural "subsistence" still practiced, and being revived through a relationship with resources of the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands.	1234
<i>Kupuna</i> Kapahulehua does not recall seeing the <i>'īlio holo kai</i> on Ni'ihau when he was a youth.	1234
Group discusses turtle fishing.	1236
Concerns on over fishing and export of Hawaiian fish to foreign markets.	1238
Allow subsistence practices to continue as necessary in the NWHI.	1242
Cultural "subsistence" relates not only to taking what is needed as food when up in the NWHI, but also, perpetuation of the practices and knowledge associated with travel and visitation to <i>Nā Moku 'Aha</i> .	1243
Technology and things like the Fish Aggregation Devices are having negative impacts on the Hawaiian Fisheries.	1246
Introduced species also impact the Hawaiian fisheries.	1247
Northwestern Hawaiian Islands are likened to <i>kūpuna</i> —to be treasured and respected.	1248
<i>Nā Moku 'Aha (The Northwestern Hawaiian Islands) — Louis "Buzzy" Agard, Eddie Nāmakani Ka'anā'anā, and E. Kāwika Kapahulehua</i>	1249
<i>Kupuna</i> Agard shares his <i>mana'o</i> pertaining to the importance of the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands Sanctuary.	1250
<i>Kupuna</i> Agard recalls his own experiences and findings that the NWHI marine systems are fragile.	1250
<i>Kupuna</i> Ka'anā'anā describes subsistence fishing and how knowledge was handed down in Kapalilua.	1252
<i>Kupuna</i> Kapahulehua concurs with <i>Kupuna</i> Ka'anā'anā, and adds his <i>mana'o</i> as learned from his own elders.	1255
<i>Kupuna</i> Agard discusses alternative management opportunities for the NWHI; and speaks of the differences in management and economics of fisheries and lands tended by farmers.	1255



Interviewee and Topics:	Page
<i>Kūpuna</i> discussing difference in practices of subsistence and commercial fishing.	1257
Kāwika Winter discusses the Hawaiian concept of Subsistence (<i>Hānai a 'ai</i>), which, in its cultural context, also means <i>kuleana</i> (responsibility).	1258
Group discusses alternatives for management of the NWHI; commercial uses are ill-advised. Traditional subsistence practices acceptable—traditional practices based on a spiritual connection, and the relationship of the people to the land and ocean.	1259
<i>Kupuna</i> Ka'anā'anā recalls ceremonial observances associated with first caught 'ahi, of a young, first-time fisherman.	1260
<i>Kupuna</i> Agard discusses possible management strategy for the Reserve, as a "Monument."	1262
 Jack Nāpuaokalauokalani Williams (Mōkapu and Kāne'ōhe Bay Fisheries)	 1264
Describes types of fish and locations where caught, in between Mōkapu and He'eia shore.	1264
Fishponds of the Nu'upia-Kaluapūhi vicinity still had fish in them when he was young.	1266
The reef flats between Mōkapu and He'eia were noted for their lobsters.	1266
Father used to spot fish from atop Palikilo; recalls similar practices at Kahana Bay.	1266
Fish used for family and friends; always shared.	1267
<i>Awa</i> and mullet found in the fishponds	1267
'Ōpihi collected from Kū'au.	1267
The <i>papa</i> was also a noted <i>he'e</i> fishery.	1267
Offerings of fish to <i>Kū</i> and <i>Hina</i> still made by his father.	1268
'Alo'alo fished on the <i>papa</i> .	1268
 Agnes McCabe-Hipa (Mōkapu and Kāne'ōhe Bay Fisheries)	 1270
Caught <i>pokipoki</i> crabs and other shell fish on the <i>papa</i> , fronting Mōkapu.	1270
Preparation of mullet <i>poke</i> .	1271
 George Davis, Mary Furtado-Davis (and Edith Kenoi'āina Auld) (Mōkapu, and Kāne'ōhe-Kailua Bay Fisheries)	 1272
Describing early life as fisherman and resident on Mōkapu; <i>Konohiki</i> fish included <i>he'e</i> and <i>nehu</i> ; names various types of fish caught, and resources gathered near shore and in the bay.	1273
Still fishes along the Kū'au-Palikilo coast line; recalls the oyster beds, old fishpond walls, and access to Mōkapu, across the <i>papa</i> .	1274
Fished between Davis Point and Kū'au, out to Kekepa Islet; set traps and dove for <i>he'e</i> .	1274
<i>Moi</i> fishing at Mōkapu.	1275
Moku Manu was noted for cave, home of the shark; elders fed that shark and it protected the families.	1276
Fish quantities not like before.	1277
Fishing on the Ulupa'u and Kailua section of Mōkapu Peninsula.	1277
Pali Kilo was an old fish spotter's station for the Mōkapu fishermen.	1277
Discussing the Game Farm and Wilson Pier area along side Nu'upia Pond; noted for mullet.	1278
'Ōpae (shrimp) and salt ponds on the marsh flats of Mōkapu.	1276
Recalls the Kū and Hina stones at Mōkapu.	1279
Salt made at several locations on the peninsula; used to salt the fish they caught.	1279
Fishponds were formerly open, mangrove a recent pest; support efforts to restore ponds.	1280
 George Davis (Mōkapu and Kāne'ōhe-Kailua Bay Fisheries)	 1281
Sitting near the shore of Mōkapu, in the vicinity of the former Davis family home; former salt beds were along a <i>muliwai</i> -like feature; young <i>awa</i> , 'ama'ama, and 'ōpae were abundant.	1281



Interviewee and Topics:	Page
Fishing was the primary activity of families on Mōkapu; describes fishing for <i>kala</i> , <i>uhu</i> , <i>moi</i> , mullet, and other species on the reef flats off of Pali Kilo and Davis Point.	1282
<i>He'e</i> and <i>nehu</i> were <i>konohiki</i> fish.	1283
Shark guardian took care of the fish and fishermen; salt collected at several locations around the peninsula.	1283
Access to Mōkapu crossed the old fishponds and reefs.	1284
Recalls walls and <i>mākāhā</i> of the Nu'upia Fishpond.	1285
There was a <i>kilo</i> station for fishermen in the Ki'i area, overlooking Kailua Bay; names types of fish caught.	1286
Recalls the old fishermen's shrine of <i>Kū</i> and <i>Hina</i> .	1287
Points out former fishermen's shrine site.	1288
Recalls the old fish trap below Keawaiki; families from the He'eia-Kāne'ohe side would come over to fish during the summers.	1292
The <i>papa</i> around Kekepa Rock was a good lobster area; near shore, families also used to make <i>imu</i> (<i>umu</i>) fish traps.	1293
Recalls a military moratorium on fishing; it caused a resurgence in the fish population.	1294
Various types of <i>limu</i> gathered along shore.	1294
Driving across the <i>kula</i> and runway; uncle recalls that they formerly hunted <i>kōlea</i> .	1296
Discusses Mōkōlea and Kailua Bay fisheries; impacts of 1946 tidal wave on the shore line and ponds.	1297
 Joseph Haia (with Karmen Haia) and Edith Kenoi'āina Auld (Mōkapu and Kāne'ohe Bay Fisheries)	 1298
As a youth, taught to respect the fishery rights of others, and not to over take.	1298
Remembers salt flats, fishponds and oyster beds (oysters brought from Japan).	1300
<i>Manō</i> known as family <i>'aumakua</i> ; <i>kūpuna</i> of Lāhainā fished for <i>'ōpelu</i> with the <i>manō</i> .	1300
Fishery resources on the <i>papa</i> between Mōkapu and Kekepa; taught not to be greedy when fishing or collecting other resources.	1301
Kekepa was an important fishing ground and fishery marker.	1301
Recalls beds of stone on the <i>papa</i> , around which mullet and <i>he'e</i> were caught; area now buried under MCBH outer runway.	1302
Fisherman spotted mullet and other fish from atop Pali Kilo.	1303
Waters around Mōkapu noted for <i>uhu</i> .	1304
 Lucia White-Whitmarsh (Mōkapu and Kāne'ohe-Kailua Bay Fisheries)	 1305
<i>'Alamihī</i> caught along the shore.	1305
Family collected salt from the Ulupa'u shore line.	1306
Collection of <i>'alamihī</i> , <i>pokipoki</i> , and other crabs.	1306
Collected <i>pūpū</i> along the shore, near Kū'au.	1306
Describes collection of salt from the natural <i>kāheka</i> .	1307
<i>Hinālea</i> , <i>wana</i> , <i>ina</i> , <i>loli</i> , <i>awa</i> , <i>'anae</i> , <i>moi</i> , and many other fish caught.	1307
<i>Uhu</i> were plentiful.	1308
Father made dye for fish nets from the <i>'ala'ala he'e</i> ; discusses other types of dyes used for nets.	1308
Great grandmother was a Kahā'ulelio (sister of the author of Hawaiian texts on fishing).	1308
<i>'Ula</i> (Lobsters) were plentiful.	1309
Recalls a visit to Mōkapu in the late 1970s, with her father; <i>uhu</i> fish still seen.	1309
 Henry H. Wong (Mōkapu and Kāne'ohe-Kailua Bay Fisheries)	 1311
Spent a lot of time diving and fishing off of Mōkapu; Castle owned all of the fishponds as well; recalls the old Kaluapūhi salt works.	1311



Interviewee and Topics:	Page
It is his recollection that the 'ama'ama of Nu'upia Pond were not as high quality as those in other ponds of Kāne'ohe Bay.	1312
Discusses fishponds and fisheries of Kāne'ohe Bay.	1313
Discussing fishponds on the windward side of O'ahu.	1313
Used to fish between Mōkapu and Moku Manu.	1314
Lobster, 'ulua, palani, uhu and other species of fish were abundant.	1314
 Aaron Chaney (Mōkapu and Kāne'ohe Bay Fisheries)	 1316
Konohiki fishery of he'e and other species still respected in the 1920s-1930s.	1316
Elder family members always respected the fisheries, gave back offerings and never over fished.	1317
Limu, wana, and 'ōpihi gathered along rocky coast line.	1318
 Margaret Chiyoko Date (Mōkapu and Kāne'ohe Bay Fisheries)	 1319
Recalls kinds of fish caught by family; salt gathered from Mōkapu to dry he'e and other fish.	1320
Father leased and worked the Nu'upia Fishponds; also gathered pearl oysters from area.	1320
 Anita Kahanupā'oa Gouveia and Toni Auld Yardley (Mōkapu and Kāne'ohe Bay Fisheries)	 1322
Describing the fisheries and practices of families at Mōkapu in the early 1900s – accounts told to her, by her mother.	1322
Discusses the lobster fishery.	1324
First catch were always given to Kū and Hina.	1324
Discusses changes to landscape and fisheries following the dredging and fill of the reefs around Mōkapu and Kāne'ohe Bay – ca. 1937-1945.	1326
 Sadao and Minnie (Wong) Haitsuka (Kāne'ohe Bay Fisheries and the Mōkapu Fishponds)	 1327
Discusses Kāne'ohe Bay fisheries and use of the fishponds.	1328
Kāne'ohe Bay was closed off to fishermen during World War II.	1330
Kekepa was good squidding ground.	1331
Describes entry into Mōkapu fishponds, and restoration and modification of the ponds in the 1950s.	1332
Discusses stocking the fishponds.	1338
Introduction of tilapia to Kāne'ohe Bay.	1338
Harvesting fish from the Mōkapu ponds; use of mākāhā (sluice gates).	1340
Discusses the value of the Mōkapu fishponds.	1341
Recalls fishes of the reef system; noted that after dredging the bay, it was never the same.	1342
 Arthur Hyde Rice Jr. (Haunani Thompson-Rice) (Mōkapu and Kāne'ohe-Kailua Bay Fisheries; and a Sighting of Moku Pāpapa)	 1344
Discussing the Nu'upia fishpond complex.	1344
Describes lobster fishing on the Kailua Bay side of Mōkapu Peninsula.	1345
Recalls the Kaluapūhi Salt Works; and mākāhā opening to Kailua Bay.	1346
The reefs were famous he'e grounds prior to being dredged and filled in.	1347
Recalls the shrine of Kū and Hina; area was a noted fishing ground.	1349
Recalls the kilo spot where fishermen would look for fish.	1350
Area between Mōkapu and Moku Manu was noted for moi.	1350
Heard of the shark god who resided in the cave of Moku Manu.	1351
Ki'i – Kailua Bay, noted as a moi ground.	1351



Interviewee and Topics:	Page
Pali Kilo Heiau and fish spotter's station.	1352
<i>Kū</i> and <i>Hina</i> .	1352
Pā'ōhua (Fish Trap).	1352
Hawai'i Loa: Triangulation Point.	1353
Recollections of Harold Castle and the Mōkapu Fishponds.	1353
General Observations on Fishing Practices and Customs.	1353
Moku Pāpapa.	1353
 Ruby Kekauoha-Enos and Isabella Kalehuamakanoē Kekauoha-Lin Kee	 1355
Lā'ie-Ko'olauloa Fisheries – Recollections of the inland fishpond of Pā'eō.	1355- 1356
 Joseph “Tarzan” Ahuna and Gladys Pualoa (Lā'ie-Ko'olauloa Fisheries)	 1357
The community <i>hukilau</i> were important events that also kept all of the families close together.	1357
 Martha Maleka Mahi'ai-Pukah (Lā'ie-Ko'olauloa Fisheries)	 1358
Describing the larger community of Lā'ie; problems with land tenure; and the relationship between families who cultivated the uplands, and fished the ocean.	1358
Before fish were plentiful, they just covered the surface of the water. Feels that the old people took them with the gods and <i>'aumakua</i> , which had formerly been used to cause the increase of fish.	1360
 Roland Ma'iola “Ahi” Logan (Lā'ie-Ko'olauloa Fisheries)	 1361
Discussing fishing rights and practices in Lā'ie.	1361
Lā'ie was a rich fishery; was taught by <i>kūpuna</i> to respect the resources, to take just what was needed.	1362
Phosphorus in the water was a bad sign to the fishermen.	1363
Describes <i>hukilau</i> fishing, and customs associated with it.	1363
Fishing customs, <i>Kū'ula</i> , and omens associated with fish.	1365
Pule Moku fishery described; account of an <i>'aumakua manō</i> .	1366
<i>Imu</i> fishing for <i>manini</i> , <i>āholehole</i> and other fishes.	1367
 William Kanahēle, Agnes Kanahēle-Lua, Annie Kanahēle-Tau'a, Lucy Ka'i'o-Marasco and Maleka Mahi'ai Pukahi (Lā'ie-Ko'olauloa Fisheries)	 1368
Uncle Gala early family life and Mrs. Kanahēle's experiences with their shark guardian, while diving in Lā'ie Bay.	1368
 Viola Kēhau Kekuku 'Āpuakēhau Peterson Kawahigashi (Lā'ie-Ko'olauloa Fisheries)	 1370
Describing <i>hukilau</i> fishing; salt making at Moku-auia; and the large salt beds of Kawailoa in the Waialua District.	1370
 Walter Kong Wong Sr. (Lā'ie-Kahana, Ko'olauloa Fisheries)	 1371
Fishing at Kahana; <i>tūtū</i> used to go on the mountain to <i>kilo i'a</i> .	1371
Grandmother was a fisherwoman.	1371
The Shark Man of Lā'ie.	1371
 Thelma Genevieve Parish with Arline Wainaha Pu'ulei Brede-Eaton (Lands and Fisheries of Pu'uloa-Honouliuli, 'Ewa, O'ahu)	 1373
Discussing the Pu'uloa Salt Works	1373
Gathered <i>limu</i> and fished along the shores of Kūpaka.	1376



Interviewee and Topics:	Page
Area noted as a lobster fishery.	1377
Pu'uloa known as home of shark goddess, Ka'ahupāhau.	1377
Discusses beliefs and responsibilities of people to the land, ocean and resources.	1378
<i>Limu</i> does not accumulate on the shore now, as it once did; the old <i>kapu</i> system, was an effective way of managing land and fishery resources.	1379
Care in fishing and collection of <i>limu</i> and other resources, ensures sustainability of the resources.	1379
 Albert "Cowboy" Hollis Silva (Recollections of Wai'anae District Fisheries)	 1384
Discussing the importance of traditional sacred places on the landscape, and fishing resources in native life.	1384
Discusses the fishing customs, <i>ko'a</i> , and lead fisherman of Mākua during his youth.	1385
People only took what was needed; when you helped you could always take fish.	1386
Recalls that there was a shark god at Mākua.	1388
Hawaiians respected the sharks and other species that lived in the ocean.	1390
Before, fishing in the area was limited to those who belonged to the land.	1390
Recalls the " <i>one kanī</i> " (resonating sands) of 'Ōhikilōlō; and presence of <i>ōhiki</i> crabs in the vicinity.	1390
Describes the <i>pu'uone</i> (dune banked pond) and fishery at Mākua.	1391
The Mākua-Kahanahāiki fisheries are still good.	1394
Recalls early commercial sampans anchoring offshore for bottom fishing; origin of the name Yokohama for Keawa'ula.	1394
<i>Pa'akai</i> collected from the shore line ponds by Mauna Lahilahi, Laukīnui, and other locations.	1397
Mākua Stream and Muliwai.	1398
 Charles Keonaona Bailey (Wai'anae District Fisheries)	 1399
Fishing was important to the well-being of the families; names types of fish caught.	1399
<i>Loko Pu'uone</i> at Mākua was an important resource.	1400
Heard of shark god in the region.	1400
Names types of fish caught, and locations of fisheries; shares stories of the <i>kūpuna</i> fishermen, their practices; and the cultural landscape.	1401
Taught as a youth, and teaches his own family to take only what is needed; lists types of fish, and general locations where fish were caught.	1403
(Discussing proposed military maneuvers) Modern activities have impacted the spawning cycles and health of the fisheries.	1405
Family formerly gathered salt from natural ponds; cannot do that now, because people leave rubbish all around.	1406
Gathered <i>limu</i> and <i>wana</i> ; <i>limu</i> resources have been depleted because too many people pick, and they don't pick in the old way.	1406
Discusses the 1946 <i>tsunami</i> .	1407
 William J. 'Ailā, Jr. (Wai'anae District Fisheries)	 1408
Describes Mākua vicinity fisheries; their health and dependence upon healthy land and water systems; names types of fish caught.	1409
Near shore and deep sea fisheries discussed.	1411
Discusses seasons in which fish spawn and run near shore.	1411
Discusses <i>ko'a</i> of the Wai'anae coast	1412
Has heard traditions of shark gods and <i>'aumakua</i> .	1415
Discusses numbers of fishermen coming to Wai'anae in the present-day.	1416
Access to the shore line and fisheries is important; participated as a member of a group to establish a shrine to Kanaloa (god of the ocean and fishermen).	1417



Interviewee and Topics:	Page
Land use impacts health of fisheries.	1419
Care of mountain resources integral to health of stream and ocean resources.	1419
 Charles K. Reiny (Wai'anae District Fisheries)	 1421
Recalls fishing when he was young, fished for " <i>kaukau</i> ."	1421
Fishing today is nothing like what it was; the catch has dropped significantly.	1421
Discusses the dune-banked fishpond; recalls ' <i>o'opu</i> , ' <i>ōpae</i> , and other species of fish.	1424
As a youth, was taught to respect fisheries and land; don't take more than you need.	1425
Discusses various <i>ko'a</i> in the region; fisheries not like they were before; people have used Clorox and killed the fisheries.	1425
Turtles frequented the beaches; native seals are increasing; they eat a lot of the fish.	1425
Did not see seals when he was young.	1425
 Masato Yamada (with Joseph Hines and Niki Ahuna-Hines) (Recollections of Waimānalo Fisheries)	 1427
The Waimānalo coast line has changed in his life time.	1428
Dune-banked ponds along shore filled with <i>āholehole</i> , <i>pāpio</i> and other fishes; washed out to the ocean during floods.	1429
<i>Uhu</i> , <i>moi</i> , <i>awa 'aua</i> , and many other fishes caught along the Waimānalo shore line; names types of fish caught by diving and netting; <i>limu</i> also collected.	1430
Does not see <i>limu</i> nowadays, as he did when he was young.	1431
Sedimentation has damaged the reefs; no longer sees <i>moi</i> , as he once did; other species also declined.	1431
Discussing the Pūhā <i>muliwai</i> (estuary).	1432
Group discusses the old fishermen of Waimānalo; and Pā Honu Pond.	1434
There weren't too many fishermen in the early days; discusses <i>akule</i> fishing, past and present.	1434
<i>Uhu</i> , an important fish of Waimānalo-Makapu'u.	1434
Reefs fronting Waimānalo have changed over the years; <i>limu</i> and fish not as plentiful.	1435
<i>He'e</i> formerly came out and sunned themselves on the rocks.	1436
 William Kulia Lemn (Traditions and Practices of the Moanalua-Pu'uloa Vicinity, Island of O'ahu)	 1437
Speaking of his family line and their settlement in Moanalua.	1437
' <i>O'opu</i> and ' <i>ōpae</i> collected from the streams, taken as food for the <i>kūpuna</i> .	1439
' <i>Ōpae</i> and ' <i>o'opu</i> fishing above Waipuka; protocols observed.	1440
The <i>kapu</i> fish of Moanalua was ' <i>ama'ama</i> .	1441
Resources from mountain to sea all interrelated; families gathered <i>limu 'ele'ele</i> from areas where the streams met the sea. Elders held the fresh water and salt water in high esteem; both were used medicinally; and as children he and his siblings were taught to respect them.	1441
Family at times lived on Mokueo Island, and fished from there (area now destroyed); describes fisheries of the region.	1442
Taught not to make noise while fishing; names types of fish caught.	1444
Discusses <i>he'e</i> , ' <i>ō'io</i> , <i>weke</i> , and <i>awa</i> fishing.	1446
Uncle fished with a <i>manō</i> that warned him when outside sharks were coming in.	1446
<i>Honu</i> eaten and used for medicine.	1447
<i>Kala</i> fish and <i>limu kala</i> used medicinally.	1447
Before, nothing was poisonous; now people don't care for the land and ocean, and they can get sick from eating the fish.	1448
Discusses beliefs associated with nature, the land and ocean.	1448



Interviewee and Topics:	Page
Uncle fished by cycles of the moon	1449
Names types of fish formerly caught, from sea to streams.	1449
'O'opu fishing, and sale.	1451
Family made <i>pa'akai</i> on Mokeo.	1451
Discusses <i>kapu</i> and protocol associated with fishing.	1452
Discusses Moanalua of his childhood, and how things have changed.	1453
Discusses the Pu'uloa-Honolulu fisheries.	1454
 Walter Melville Kaiapa Pomroy (Recollections of Waikīkī-Kapahulu, Waimānalo, and other O'ahu Fisheries)	 1456
Father was a net fisherman.	1458
Net fishing on the <i>papa</i> fronting Leahi; names types of fish caught.	1458
Practiced netting with his father – tossing a stone into a school of mullet, prior to throwing the net.	1460
Kaluāhole and Ka'alawai were important fisheries to his father; various <i>limu</i> collected by his mother at Ka'alawai.	1464
Discusses the fisheries of Kaluāhole and Ka'alawai; <i>papa</i> noted for <i>he'e</i> and lobster fishing.	1465
Women gathered together talking Hawaiian and cleaning <i>limu</i> .	1466
Eating the head of certain <i>weke</i> (<i>weke pahulu</i> or <i>weke pueo</i>), caused nightmares.	1468
Discusses practices and customs observed while fishing.	1468
Discusses experiences while diving for <i>āholehole</i> and other fish.	1469
Cross-netting the channels of Ke'au'au, Ka'alawai, and Waikīkī.	1471
Father fished to supplement the family income.	1472
Fishing along the Windward Coast of O'ahu in the 1930s-1940s.	1472
Father died while net fishing off of Leahi; died doing what he loved.	1473
<i>Kupuna</i> Kapuku'i was also lost while fishing at Keauhou in 1875; another child of Kapuku'i was also born dead and taken by the gods and turned into a shark; and it was believed that this shark son had come to take his father.	1476
Remains of <i>kupuna</i> returned to the sea.	1476
Personal experiences diving for fish in the Waikīkī region; fished the Waimānalo, Mānana, Kāohikaipu fisheries with family members.	1476
Recalls the old salt works on the Ward Estate.	1479
Discusses dredging and development of the Kūkulu'ae'o-Kewalo reefs.	1480
Fishing not like it was in his youth—people have wiped out the fisheries; discusses the Waikīkī one year on, one year off fishing system.	1482
Introduction of foreign species not good for the native fisheries.	1482
Respects the ocean and fisheries; discusses practices associated with picking <i>limu</i> .	1483
Old <i>kapu</i> system helped protect fisheries; was still enforced when he was a youth.	
Feels that a system like that at Waikīkī, could be applied to other island locations.	
Over fishing and over taking of <i>limu</i> , and alien species are a problem.	1484
Discusses fish that make noises; and fishing for 'ū'ū, <i>uhu</i> and other species.	1485
Recalls night diving experiences in Waimānalo.	1488
Discusses ciguatera poisoning.	1489
A Leahi (Diamond Head), <i>āholehole</i> fishing story.	1490
Discusses fishing in Pearl Harbor.	1492
Irma's Pole Fishing – Diamond Head 1950-1960.	1494
Hanauma Bay, 1950s.	1495



Using satellite data, we detected a wind wake trailing westward behind the Hawaiian Islands for 3000 kilometers, a length many times greater than observed anywhere else on Earth. This wind wake drives an eastward ocean current that draws warm water from the Asian coast 8000 kilometers away, leaving marked changes in surface and subsurface ocean temperature. Standing in the path of the steady trade winds, Hawaii triggers an air-sea interaction that provides the feedback to sustain the influence of these small islands over a long stretch of the Pacific Ocean.

In a strongly stratified atmosphere, an isolated ocean island of high elevation forces the impinging air flow to split, generating a wake of weak winds downstream and stronger-than-ambient winds on the flanks. Because the height of waves generated by local wind instead of swells increases with wind speed, the ocean surface tends to be smooth under the weak wind conditions in the wake and rough under the strong wind conditions outside the wake. Such contrast in surface roughness behind an island is often visible from aerial views and in satellite sunglint (1) and scatterometer (2) images. Under certain conditions, wind wakes can become unstable, leading to the formation of spectacular vortex streets (3–5). Standing in the steady northeast trade winds and far away from a major landmass, the Hawaiian Islands are an ideal natural laboratory for studying wake phenomena.

In summer, Hawaii is under the control of a strong Pacific-wide subtropical high. The well-mixed planetary boundary layer (PBL) is capped by a strong temperature inversion at around 1 to 2 km height. The elevation of the major Hawaiian Islands generally exceeds 1 km. Particularly, Haleakala (3055 m) on Maui and Mauna Loa (4169 m) and Mauna Kea (4201 m) on the island of Hawaii (hereafter the Big Island) penetrate far above the trade inversion. The high-resolution Quik-SCAT satellite (6) reveals that a wake of weak winds forms behind each of the major Hawaiian Islands (Fig. 1): Kauai, Oahu, Molokai-Lanai-Maui, and the Big Island (7). The weak winds in the wake and the strong winds on the flanks generate four pairs of dipole vorticity anomalies, with positive vorticity to the north and negative vorticity to the south. (The vorticity signal of the Kauai wake is weak.) These individual wakes of the separate Hawaiian Islands start to dissipate and become much less distinct about 300 km downstream as a result of surface drag and mixing [appendix A in (8)]. Even further downstream, a wide band of weaker winds appears.

A broad satellite view of the subtropical North Pacific reveals that the influence of Hawaii extends far west (Fig. 2). The wind speed minimum can be seen to 175°W, beyond which it is obscured by the strong background gradient. The curl and convergence (or cloud water) of wind velocity, whose spatial derivative helps filter out the large-scale background fields, trace the island-induced wind anomalies as far west as 175°E, just north of the Marshall Islands [Fig. 2 and appendix B in (8)]. This 3000-km wake is 10 times longer than any individual island wake observed until now. Such a long-lasting influence of Hawaii is not unique to the year 1999 and stands out in the climatology of the central North Pacific. Our analysis of longer term satellite observations confirms that the island influences extend to 175°E [appendix B in (8)].

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In order to investigate the physical mechanisms that sustain this Hawaiian wake over such a great distance against dissipation, we use additional observations of sea surface temperature (SST), wind speed, and cloud liquid water (LW) from the Tropical Rain Measuring Mission (TRMM) satellite (9). We will show that the ocean, by adjusting its SST, provides the feedback necessary for the wake's great extension to the west.

SST generally decreases poleward. West of Hawaii, however, SST reverses its meridional gradient around 15°N, reaching a local maximum around 19°N. This creates a peculiar warm tongue that extends far from the western Pacific and stops abruptly at Hawaii. To the south is a cold tongue that emanates from the southern tip of the Big Island and extends westward. The TRMM satellite detects a definite atmospheric response to this change in the meridional SST gradient: A band of high cloud LW forms directly over the warm tongue, whereas relatively clear skies prevail over the cold tongue to the south (Fig. 2C). This high-LW band is most likely associated with lowlevel clouds, given the strong capping of the PBL in this subtropical region. The surface wind speed distribution (Fig. 2B) provides further evidence of an atmospheric response to the warm tongue. The local wind speed minimum is located between the warm and cold tongues and is flanked by two higher wind zones. The wind speed difference between the wake and high-wind zones is typically 0.5 m/s. The northern high-wind zone apparently originates from Kauai and is then reinvigorated around 165°W, probably in response to the warm tongue. The background trade winds have a much broader meridional scale than the Hawaiian Island chain and its wake. In order to highlight the narrow wake, we apply an 8° moving average in the meridional direction and remove it as the background state. Whereas east of 155°W this high-pass filtered map is nearly featureless, west of the Islands a band of high SSTs appears that stretches along 19°N to 175°W and then slants gently toward the southwest. Anomalous meridional winds converge onto this warm water band (Fig. 3), supplying the moisture for the cloud band seen in Fig. 2C. This association between meridional wind and SST gradient on the flanks of the warm tongue can be traced to west of the international dateline. The fact that separate measurements by independent satellites come together and fit into a physically consistent picture gives us confidence in our results.

What causes the warm water band? We first consider surface processes such as heat flux and upwelling that are major mechanisms for SST changes in the equatorial oceans (10–12). The filtered map shows that the anomalous wind vectors just behind the Hawaiian Islands are roughly symmetric about the centerline of the warm water band. West of 165°W, the Coriolis force acts on the converging meridional winds, and the zonal winds become asymmetric—westerly on the southern edge and easterly on the northern edge of the warm band. South of the warm band's center, these anomalous winds weaken the background northeasterly trades, reducing evaporative cooling at the ocean surface and increasing SSTs; north of the band's center, the winds enhance the trades, increasing evaporation and lowering SSTs. In the tropics, interaction among wind, evaporation, and SST provides a positive feedback and shapes the spatial (10) and temporal (11) variability of the climate. In the subtropics, however, the interaction becomes stable and cannot sustain the higher SSTs in the warm band, because the strong Coriolis effect forces a 90° meridional phase difference between anomalous SST and wind speed. (Instead, this interaction creates a tendency for SST anomalies to move southward.) Moreover, the locally enhanced cloud LW over the warm band reflects more sunlight into space and acts to lower SSTs. The local Ekman pumping velocity is anomalously upward over the high SST band and again is a damper, if anything (12).

With the surface processes eliminated as the cause of the warm band, we now turn to the subsurface ocean. The Hawaiian Islands block a broad westward-flowing North Equatorial Current (NEC). West of the islands, an eastward current, the Hawaiian Lee Counter Current (HLCC), is observed along 19°N (13). In boreal summer when a strong zonal SST gradient is observed between 15° and 25°N, the warm advection by this HLCC amounts to a substantial heat flux of 30

Wm22 for a 50-m-deep mixed layer. We thus suggest that HLCC's warm advection causes the warm tongue west of Hawaii.

The HLCC has only recently been identified from a painstaking analysis of historical data (14). Our analysis below indicates that the dipole wind curl in the Hawaiian wake is a major driving force. In general, wind curl drives geostrophic currents by vertically displacing the thermocline both locally and via westward-traveling Rossby waves. The resultant ocean circulation has the same rotation as the wind curl. Consistent with the Ekman pumping pattern in Fig. 2A, the observed HLCC straddles an anticyclonic and a cyclonic circulation to the south and north, respectively [fig. 5 of (13)].

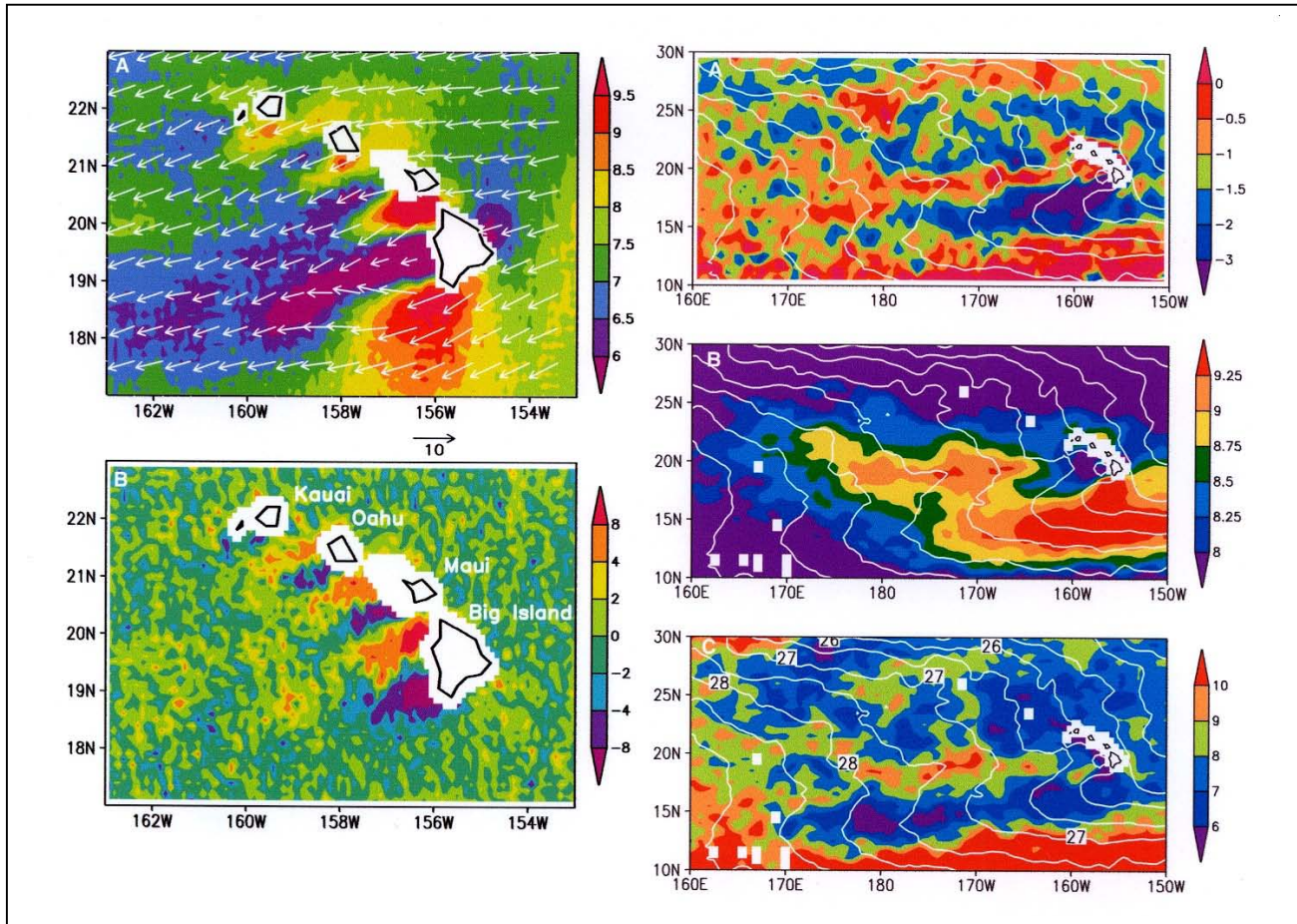


Fig. 1 (left). (A) Wind speed (color scale is in m s⁻¹) and velocity vectors, and (B) wind curl (1025 s²) observed by the QuikSCAT satellite for 1 to 31 August 1999.

Fig. 2 (right). (A) Ekman pumping velocity (1026 m s²); (B) wind speed (m s⁻¹); and (C) cloud LW (1022 mm) and SST (white contours at 0.5°C intervals), averaged for 21 July to 31 October 1999. Ekman pumping velocity (We) is defined as $We = 5 \text{ curl}(t/f)/\rho$, where t is the wind stress vector, f is the Coriolis parameter, and ρ is the water density. Because f changes only gradually with latitude, most features in (A) result from the wind curl.

We used three ocean models with different physics to infer what causes the HLCC. The first is a high-resolution ($1/4^\circ \times 3/4^\circ$) ocean general circulation model (GCM) forced by the wind product of the European Center for Medium-range Weather Forecast analysis that assimilates satellite scatterometer data (15, 16). The model reproduces the HLCC at the observed latitude and speed (Fig. 4A). The second is also an ocean GCM, but its $1^\circ \times 1^\circ$ resolution does not permit mesoscale eddies (17). The HLCC is reproduced west of Hawaii but is only half as strong. The third is a linear reduced-gravity model, which again reproduces the HLCC [appendix C of (8) compares these models in more detail]. The success of the third model, which contains only the Sverdrup dynamics, supports the wind-driven mechanism for the HLCC, a conclusion corroborated by the observed thermocline structure. In contrast to its gradual northward deepening east of Hawaii, the thermocline displays a peculiar shoaling between 18° and 20°N west of the islands, which is indicative of an eastward geostrophic current near the surface (Fig. 4, C and D).

Figure 4A suggests that the eastward current is not confined to the vicinity of Hawaii but extends all the way into the western Pacific and covers a distance of 8000 km. This narrow current, which starts in the western Pacific and ends abruptly at Hawaii, can often be seen in operational surface current analyses in Japan Meteorological Agency (JMA) Monthly Marine Reports. The western portion of this eastward current has long been known to Japanese scientists and is called the subtropical countercurrent (18). Its cause, however, remains poorly understood. Although thermal forcing plays a role (19, 20), the continuous westward extension of the countercurrent shown in Fig. 4A is indicative of Rossby wave adjustment in response to the Hawaii-induced wind curl (21, 22). Imbedded in the broad westward NEC and in a background SST field increasing toward the west, this eastward countercurrent leaves a distinct signature as a warm current even in the annual mean SST climatology (Fig. 4A).

Thus, the long Hawaiian wake should be viewed as the coupled ocean-atmosphere response to perturbation by the islands. The chain of interaction may be summarized as follows. As the broad, steady northeasterly trades impinge on Hawaii, a number of mechanical wakes form behind the individual islands. These individual wakes dissipate rather quickly, and a broad wake takes their place 300 km downwind. The wind curl associated with this broader wake forces oceanic Rossby waves and generates an eastward current that advects warmer water from the west, giving rise to a warm SST tongue pointing toward Hawaii. The attendant SST gradient forces meridional winds to converge, and a local maximum in cloud LW forms. These anomalous winds weaken the northeasterly trades south of the warm tongue and intensify the northeasterly trades north of the warm tongue, allowing the wake and the wind curl pattern to persist over a great distance.

Wakes behind ocean islands are commonly observed, but they usually do not affect large-scale ocean circulation because of synoptic/seasonal changes in wind direction. Owing to the steady trades and the broad width of the island chain, the Hawaiian wake exerts a steady and substantial forcing on the ocean. This gives rise to the unique attributes of the Hawaiian wake: its long tail and its interaction with the ocean. How the atmosphere responds to extratropical SST anomalies is poorly understood and is a stumbling block to further progress in the study of non-El Niño climate variability (23, 24). Our results demonstrate that surface winds react to modest subtropical SST variations as small as a few tenths of a degree. The simulation of the far-reaching effects of Hawaii can serve as a test for the next generation of high resolution climate models.

The physical processes we have described here probably give rise to other changes in the Pacific Ocean and atmosphere. For instance, Hawaii, with its volcanic and human activities, is a major aerosol source for the surrounding region. The long convergence line in the wind wake detected in this study may influence the transport of aerosols and trace gases in the PBL and their exchange with the free atmosphere. Regarding the ocean, the banded structures in upwelling velocity may lead to variations in the distributions of plankton and other fishery resources.

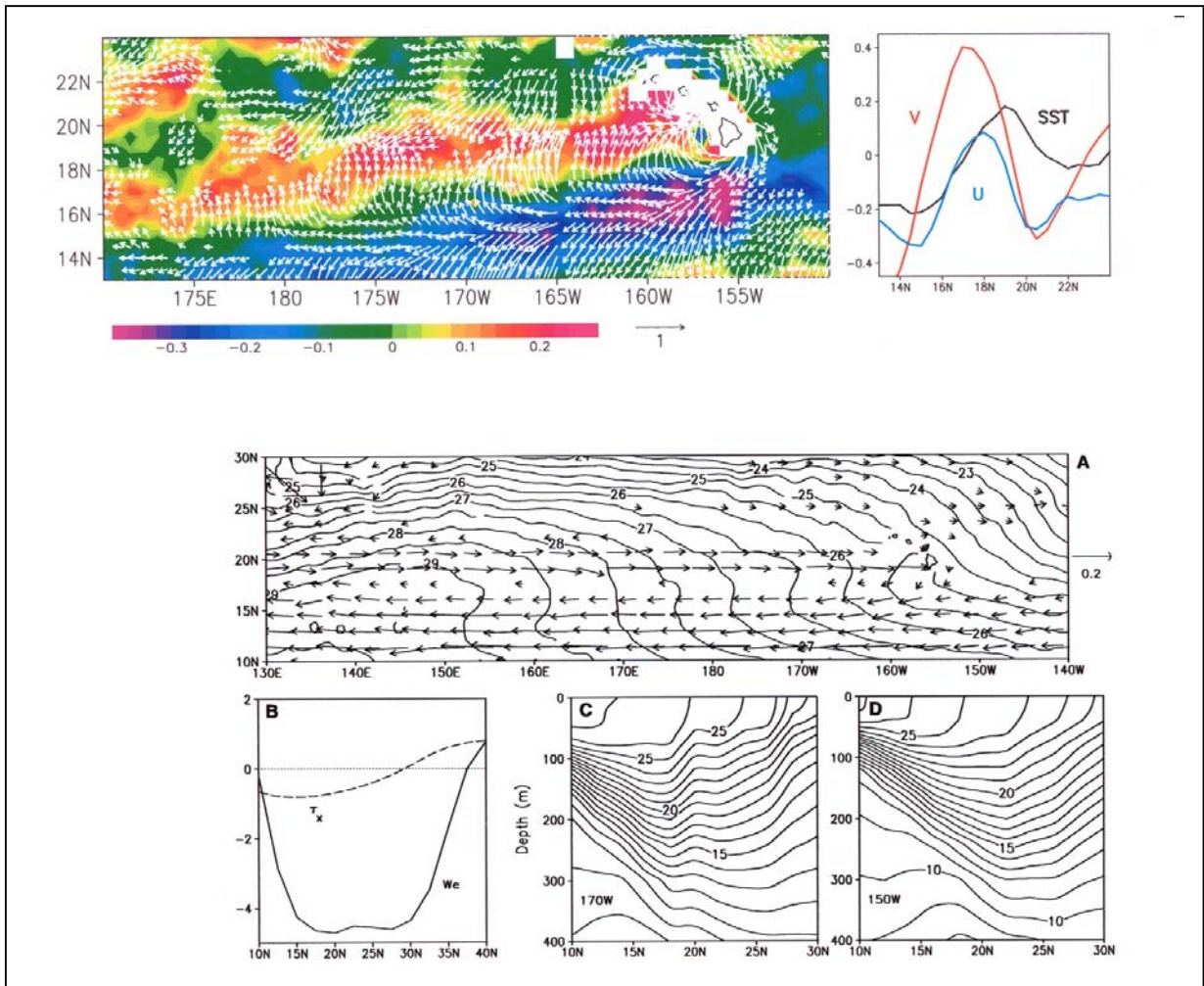


Fig. 3. (Left) High-pass filtered SST (color scale is in °C) and wind vectors (m s⁻¹), along with (right) their zonal averages for 175°W to 165°W. The vector scale is changed to 3 m s⁻¹ for winds east of 165°W for clarity. The latitudinal filtering is done by subtracting an 8° moving average from the original data to remove the large-scale background fields. *U* and *V* are zonal and meridional wind velocities, respectively.

Fig. 4. (A) Current vectors (in m s⁻¹) at 37.5 m averaged for 1992–98 in a high-resolution ocean GCM and annual mean SST (contours in °C) for 1999 observed by the TRMM satellite. (B) Climatological mean zonal wind stress [τ_x , in Nm⁻² (29)] and Ekman pumping velocity (1026 m s⁻¹) averaged for 155°E to 170°W as a function of latitude. Observed ocean temperature (30) (in °C) averaged for 1959–98 as a function of latitude and depth is shown (C) west and (D) east of Hawaii.

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7. The winds on and near the Big Island have been the focus of previous field campaigns (25, 26). Reduced wind speed on the windward side of the Big Island results from orographic blocking (Fig. 1). The strongest winds are found between Maui and the Big Island, reaching 11 m/s in the monthly-mean map of Fig. 1 in comparison to the ambient speed of 7 m/s. The winds between these two tallest islands can often exceed 20 m/s, and these strong winds are blamed for having damaged the foremast of the ship *Resolution* in 1779, forcing Captain James Cook to make his fatal return trip to the Big Island. The strong positive wind curl probably contributes to the formation of the cold eddies often observed northwest of the Big Island (27).
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21. West of Hawaii, ocean current direction is especially sensitive to the curl of the wind wake off the islands, because the large-scale Ekman pumping field has little meridional gradient (Fig. 4B) to drive background zonal current.
22. The existing in situ measurements are insufficient to ascertain the western extent of the eastward countercurrent that ends at Hawaii, but a hydrographic section maintained by the Japan Meteorological Agency along 137°E since 1967 hints at its existence in the far western Pacific. Geostrophic calculation using the long-term mean data in this 137°E section indicates that at 19°N, the eastward shear reaches a meridional maximum in the upper 300 m, and the current, albeit weak, is eastward near the surface (28). The use of new satellite data here allows us to determine for the first time that the high mountains on the Hawaiian Islands, by blocking the air flow, are the ultimate cause of this eastward countercurrent along 19°N [appendix C in (8)].
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