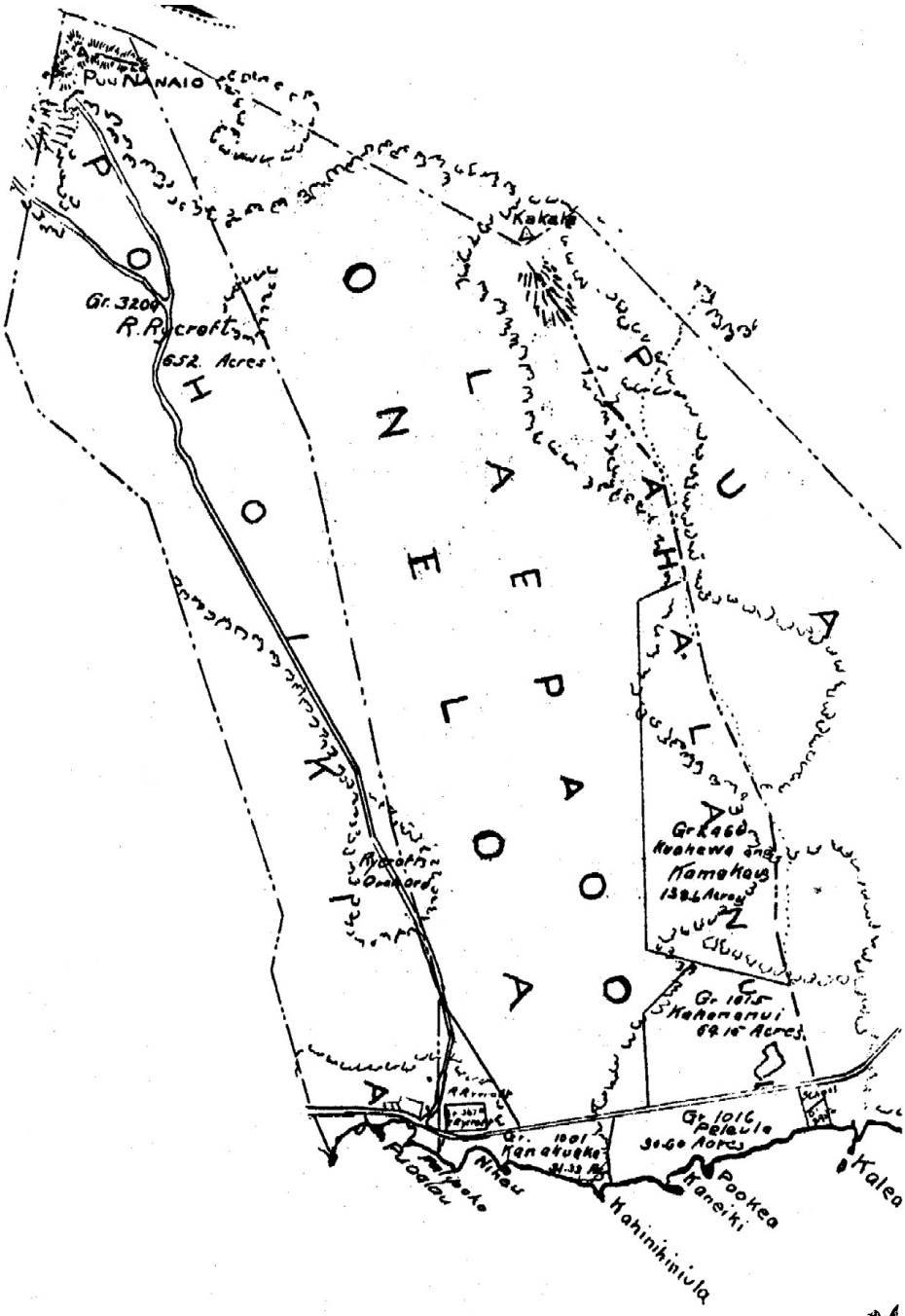
"PUNA, KA ʻĀINA I KA HIKINA A KA LĀ"

A Cultural Assessment Study – Archival and Historical Documentary Research and Oral History Interviews

For the Ahupuaʻa of ʻAhalanui, Laepāoʻo, and Oneloa (with Pohoiki), District of Puna, Island of Hawaiʻi



Lands of ʻAhalanui, Laepāoʻo, and Oneloa (with Pohoiki), Puna, Hawaiʻi (Portion of Register Map No. 2191; June 1904)

Kumu Pono Associates

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

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BY

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PREPARED FOR

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Overview

At the request of Mr. David Matsuura, of A & O International Corporation–Oneloa Development, Kepā Maly, Cultural Resources Specialist (Kumu Pono Associates), conducted a cultural assessment study (including archival and historical documentary research and oral history interviews) in conjunction with the preparation of an Environmental Assessment Study (EA), for the ahupuaʻa (native land divisions) of ʻAhalanui, Laepāoʻo, and Oneloa, in the district of Puna, Island of Hawaiʻi (TMK:1-4-02; por.07,13,73,74,75). The overall project area consists of approximately 500 acres on the southeastern side of the island of Hawaiʻi. The property extends approximately 1¼ miles from the mountain to the shore, descending from the 200 foot elevation to 20 feet above sea level.

Archival and Oral Historical Research

The archival historical documentary research reported in this study was conducted primarily between November 1997 to February 1998, and includes archival resources from land documents, survey and cartographic records, historic literature and journals, native Hawaiian texts from Hawaiian language newspapers, and selected archaeological studies. As a part of this study, the author also conducted oral history interviews with Hawaiian *kūpuna* (elders) and representatives of native families with generational residency ties to the lands of eastern Puna. The oral history interviews reported in this study were conducted between November 21, 1997 to July 21, 1998. The interviews add important documentation to the historical record, and specifically describe the continuing relationship shared between native residents of the land, and the natural landscape and resources of the project area *ahupuaʻa* and the larger Puna District.

It is noted here that this study does not duplicate all that has been previously written in archaeological and ethnographic studies about the ʻAhalanui-Oneloa vicinity. Instead, pertinent references are cited, and the primary texts focus on historical records which have been recently identified as valuable sources of information for the study area lands.

Findings and Recommendations

As a result of the literature research and oral historical interviews, readers are given access to rich traditional and historical narratives. To the greatest extent possible, the documentation is site specific (recorded for the immediate study area), but because of the limited historical resources for the lands of ʻAhalanui, Laepāoʻo, and Oneloa, and close relationship of the lands to the Pohoiki community, additional documentation from neighboring *ahupuaʻa* and the larger Puna district is also cited here. This information may be used to formulate a better understanding the general practices and customs of the native residents of the ʻAhalanui-Oneloa area.

The interviews cited in this study also document the continuation of certain aspects of traditional knowledge and practices associated with the land, as handed down in families over the generations. The interviews record that families share a "cultural attachment[Ψ]" with the

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

lands, sites, resources, and place names of Puna. This is seen as love for the landscape, a sense of the importance of the history of the land, and the continuation of native practices—whether occurring physically on the land, or being orally taught to successive generations.

As a result of the combined records of archival and oral historical accounts, a wide range of features in the cultural landscape were identified within, and neighboring the Oneloa Development project area. These features fall into at least six general categories, including — (a) the cultural-geographic landscape (e.g. the Haleolono agricultural complex of ʻAhalanui); (b) ceremonial sites (e.g., Kuaokalā Heiau); (c) native Hawaiian *ilina*, or burials; (d) *ala loa* and *ala hele* (regional and inner *ahupuaʻa* trail systems); (e) sites associated with permanent and temporary habitation activities; and (f) sites associated with resource collection and stewardship practices.

Based upon the commitment of A&O International Corporation-Oneloa Development to preserve the Hawaiian cultural sites (site identified during archaeological investigations), and to protect the remnant native forest in ʻAhalanui, the interviewees generally feel that the proposed project will have no adverse effect on the lands of ʻAhalanui, Laepāoʻo, and Oneloa. It was noted by all the interviewees—individuals who have lived on, and/or worked the land since ca. 1919—that the area of the primary area of proposed development and construction, has been previously cleared and bulldozed for papaya cultivation.

During the course of conducting the interviews, several recommendations were offered, that provide A&O International Corporation-Oneloa Development with guidance for development of long-term management objectives. These recommendations include historic site preservation, protection of natural resources, and interpretive programs in the study area. Because of their importance to the interviewees, key recommendations for the care of cultural and natural resources in the study area—based on either specific interview comments, or significance of text in the interviews—are cited here:

1 – *Pā ilina* (burial sites): Family members should be consulted regarding treatment and long term protection of the *pā ilina*. It is generally felt that burials should be preserved in place.

2 – Work with the families of the land in developing preservation plans for cultural resources in the ʻAhalanui-Oneloa area.

3 – Protect the native forest and other trees such as *kamani* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), *niu* (*Cocos nucifera*), and *ʻulu* (*Artocarpus altilis*).

4 – Work to protect the quality of the water, ponds, and fisheries.

5 – Provide people who will come to the area with historical information on the lands, families and customs of the ʻAhalanui-Pohoiki vicinity.

6 – Develop work opportunities for native families and residents of Puna.

Acknowledgements

There is a Hawaiian proverb, "*A'ohe hana nui, ke alu 'ia*" (No task is too big, when done by all). Completion of this study was made possible because many people contributed to it. Among the many contributions to this study, are the writings of *kūpuna*, who in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries chose to record both traditional accounts and historical events on the lands, and in the lives of the residents of the land. There are also, the *kūpuna* who are with us today, that share decades of relationship with the lands and families of the Kapoho-Pohoiki, and 'Ōpihikao vicinity. Also, there are the individuals who have taken the responsibility to serve as stewards of the land in these changing times. To all of you who shared your *mana'o*, *aloha*, and history —

> George Enriquez, Sam Gon III, John and William Hale, Gabriel Kealoha, Keikialoha Kekipi, Joel Lau, Arthur Lyman, Kahu John and Violet Makuakāne, Joni Mae Makuakāne-Jarrell, Kamakaonaona Pomroy-Maly, Randy Hashimoto (State Survey Division), and Marc Smith (State Historic Preservation Division). Also, to the many people unnamed here, who provided logistical support, and helped to ensure that the archival research and interviews could be completed. And to David Matsuura and his team who cared enough about the land to encourage the undertaking of this historical work by which to best formulate a plan for the perpetuation, protection, and interpretation of the cultural and natural resources of the 'Ahalanui-Oneloa area —
>
> — *Mahalo nui nō, ke aloha o ke Akua pū me 'oukou a pau!*

In reading this collection of archival documentation and oral histories, I wish to ask you to think of a saying taught to me by my *kūpuna hānai* (adoptive grandparents) on Lāna'i — "*O ka mea maika'i mālama, o ka mea maika'i 'ole, kāpae 'ia*" (Keep that which is good and set that which is not good aside). With this saying, I wish to share with readers that I can only speak from the door of my own house, from that of which I have experienced. I do not profess to have recorded all that could have, or should be said about the 'Ahalanui-Oneloa area, the neighboring Puna region, or the study matter. But, a sincere effort has been made to present readers with an overview of the rich and varied history of the area, and to accurately relay the thoughts and recommendations of the people who contributed to this study.

'o wau nō me ka ha'aha'a — Kepā Maly

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I. INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

At the request of David Matsuura, of A & O International Corporation–Oneloa Development, Kepā Maly, Cultural Resources Specialist (*Kumu Pono Associates*), conducted a cultural assessment study (including archival and historical documentary research and oral history interviews) in conjunction with the preparation of an Environmental Assessment Study (EA), for the *ahupua'a* (native land divisions) of 'Ahalanui, Laepāo'o, and Oneloa, in the district of Puna, Island of Hawai'i (TMK:1-4-02; por.07,13,73,74,75). The overall project area consists of approximately 500 acres on the southeastern side of the island of Hawai'i. The property extends approximately 1¼ miles from the mountain to the shore, descending from the 200 foot elevation to 20 feet above sea level (*Figure 1.*).

This study was conducted in a manner so as to comply with the basic guidelines and requirements of the Antiquities Act of 1906, as amended (16 U.S.C. 431-433); the Historic Sites Act of 1935, as amended (16 U.S.C. 461-467 [cf. Sections 106, 110, 111, 112, and 402]); the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's "Guidelines for Consideration of Traditional Cultural Values in Historic Preservation Review" (ACHP 1985); National Register Bulletin 38, "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties" (Parker and King 1990); the Hawai'i State Historic Preservation Statue (Chapter 6E), which affords protection to historic sites, including traditional cultural properties of ongoing cultural significance; the criteria, standards, and guidelines currently utilized by the Department of Land and Natural Resources-State Historic Preservation Division (DLNR-SHPD) for the evaluation and documentation of cultural sites (cf. Title 13, Sub-Title 13:274-4,5,6; 275:6); and recently adopted guidelines of the Office of Environmental Quality Control (OEQC), for development of cultural impact assessment studies (November 1997).

Approach to Conducting the Study

The primary objectives of this study were to — (1) identify native Hawaiian cultural sites or other historic properties within the project area; (2) to describe the historical context of those sites in the larger *ahupua'a* (land divisions) of 'Ahalanui, Laepāo'o, Oneloa, in the district of Puna; (3) based on archival and oral historical documentation, to describe the Hawaiian cultural or historic significance of those sites; (4) to assess the effect of the project on the significant sites; and (5) based on interviews and consultation discussions, recommend mitigation of possible adverse effects of the project.

This study seeks to provide readers with detailed narratives that describe the cultural landscape—which in this context, also includes the natural environment—of the 'Ahalanui-Laepāo'o-Oneloa study area. Because the traditional Hawaiian system of land management by ahupua'a (a native land division based on traditional knowledge of the landscape and ecosystems management practices), the study extends beyond the proposed project area, and provides readers with an overview of native accounts that describe the relationship between both coastal and inland resources of the ahupua'a. The study also describes some of the recorded customs and practices of native families within those ahupua'a, and their relationship to lands and people of neighboring *ahupua'a* of Puna district.

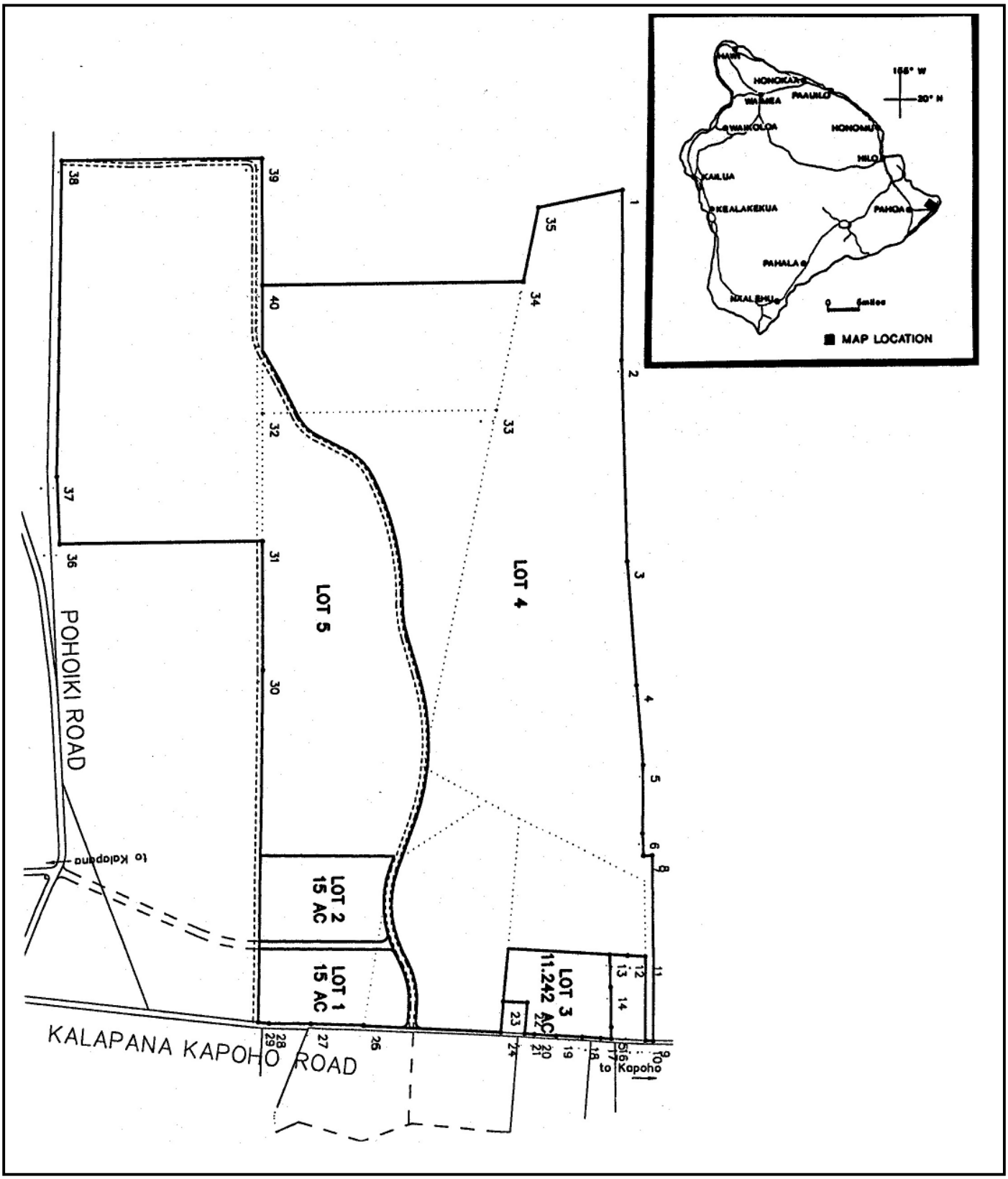


Figure 1. The ʻAhalanui, Laepāoʻo, Oneloa Study Area, District of Puna, Island of Hawaiʻi

Archival Research

In preparing the archival-historical documentary report for this study, the author reviewed both published and manuscript references in English and Hawaiian. These references included, but were not limited to: land use records, including Hawaiian Land Commission Award (LCA) records from the *Māhele* (Land Division) of 1848, and Boundary Commission Testimonies and Survey records of the Kingdom and Territory of Hawai'i (c. 1874-1876); D. Malo (1951); S. Kamakau (1961, 1964, 1976, and 1991); Wm. Ellis (1963); Titus Coan (1882); Chester Lyman (1924); A. Fornander (1917-1919 and 1973); Thrum (1908); Stokes and Dye (1991); J. W. Coulter (1931); M. Beckwith (1919, 1970); Hudson (ms. 1932); Barrere (1959); Handy and Handy with Pukui (1972); Bevacqua and Dye (1972); and McEldowney (ms. 1979). The study also includes several native accounts from Hawaiian language newspapers (compiled and translated from Hawaiian to English, by the author), and historical records authored by nineteenth century visitors to the region.

Archival resources were located in the collections of the Hawai'i State Archives, Land Management Division, Survey Division, and Bureau of Conveyances; the Bishop Museum Archives; University of Hawai'i-Hilo Mo'okini Library; and private collections. The documentation cited here-in was compiled primarily between November 1997 to February 1998.

It is noted here, that only a limited number of ethnographic and archaeological studies have been previously conducted and published for the 'Ahalanui-Laepāo'o-Oneloa study area. As a part of the present project, archaeological inventory surveys and subsurface testing were conducted by Archaeological Consultants of Hawaii (Kennedy et al. 1990 & 1991) and P. H. Rosendahl, Ph.D., Inc. (PHRI) (Dunn et al., 1995), and those studies may be referenced for additional site descriptions and limited historical documentation. Because of the limited number of studies conducted in the immediate project area, this study also includes documentation recorded for neighboring lands in the district of Puna. From the combined information—that written specifically for the 'Ahalanui-Laepāo'o-Oneloa study area and Pohoiki, as well as historical documentation from neighboring lands—we are able to gain a fairly detailed understanding of practices and customs of native residents in the area.

Oral Historical Research

As a part of this study, the author conducted four oral history interviews, with seven participants, between November 21, 1997 to July 21, 1998. The interviewees included *kūpuna* (elders) and representatives of native families with generational residency ties to the lands in and neighboring the study area. The primary focus of the interviews was to elicit information from knowledgeable individuals regarding traditional Hawaiian lore and practices (both past and those that are on-going), spiritual beliefs, the presence of traditional sites, land and resource use, and on-going subsistence practices in the study area. Interviewees were also encouraged to offer recommendations for long-term protection and interpretation of the cultural and natural resources of the 'Ahalanui-Laepāo'o-Oneloa study area.

Study Organization

As noted above, this study includes documentation that has been collected from two primary resources. The first chapters of this study report on documentation gathered from literature and archival resources. This information is generally cited in the chronological order of original publication. Subsequent chapters introduce the oral history study, present

an overview of the methodology of the oral history interview process, and provide a summary of the documentation collected as a result of the oral history interviews. The final chapters of the study presents the complete interview transcripts, as released by interview participants, including the personal release of interview record forms. *The interview records are the result of both* formal, tape recorded interviews and informal interviews for which hand written notes were taken and later expanded. All interview narratives (recorded and written) were reviewed by the interviewees for accuracy and context.

II. PUNA, ʻĀINA I KA HIKINA A KA LĀ — PUNA, LAND AT THE ARRIVAL POINT OF THE SUN

In the ancient lore of the people of Hawaiʻi, there are several things for which Puna is most famed—among them are the rising of the sun; Pele and the geologic phenomena; the groves of *hala* (pandanus); and growth of *ʻawa* (*Piper methysticum*). Perhaps because of her ever present eruptive and geologic presence, Pele, goddess of the volcanoes is first in the minds of many people today. But of greater antiquity, Puna is famed for its association with Kāne, a Hawaiian god and ancestor of the chiefs and commoners, a god of sunlight, fresh water, verdant growth, and forests (cf. Pukui 1973). Puna's association with Kāne is described in the Hawaiian saying —

Puna, ka ʻāina i ka houpo o Kāne
Puna, land [held] in the breast of Kāne
(Kihe, Wise, and Desha – In *Ka Hōkū o Hawaiʻi*; Sept. 16, 1915)

The saying commemorates Puna, of which it is said that before Pele migrated to Hawaiʻi from Kahiki, there was that "no place in the islands was more beautiful than Puna" (Pukui 1983:11, No. 79). More than a god of the verdant forests of Puna, Kāne is also the Hawaiian god of sun light. And the relationship between Kāne, the sun and Puna is significant throughout the Hawaiian Islands. In his role as giver of light, Kāne, also known as Kāne-i-ka-ʻōnohi-o-ka-lā (Kāne-in-the-eyeball-of the sun). One of the *mele* (chants) handed down from the *kūpuna* (elders) of this land, demonstrates the significance of this portion of Puna in Hawaiian traditions of the arrival of the sun in Hawaiʻi —

Hiki mai ka lā ma ka hikina	The sun arrives from the east
Ke piʻi mai aʻe la i Hanakaʻulua	Climbing above Hanakaʻulua[1]
Ka hikina a ka lā ma Kumukahi,	The sun arrives at Kumukahi,
Ka welona a ka lā, kau i Lehua…	And the sun is seen fluttering as it sets at Lehua…
	(pers comm., M.K. Pukui; 1977)

In the context of her landscape, Puna is synonymous with the groves of *pū hala* (pandanus trees) with their fragrant clusters of *hua hala* (pandanus fruit born on the female trees), and the *hīnano* (blossoms of the male pandanus). The fragrance of which permeated the *kula* (plains) and *kahakai* coastal region of most of Puna, hence the saying —

Puna pāia ʻala i ka hala (Puna, with walls fragrant with pandanus blossoms)
Puna, Hawaiʻi, is a place of *hala* and *lehua* forests. In olden days the people would stick the bracts of *hala* into the thatching of their houses to bring some of the fragrance indoors (Pukui 1983:301. No. 2749)

Also, the people who dwelt in Puna were known as master weavers. The most famous mat of Puna was one which was called *puahala* (G.S. Kahanai IN Fornander 1919 Vol. V-Part

[1] Hanakaʻulua is a cove in the land of Kapoho, near the southwestern the boundary of Kapoho and Pūʻālaʻa;
Kumukahi is the eastern most point on the island of Hawaiʻi, situated in the land of Kula; and Lehua is one of the Northwestern most of the Hawaiian Islands.

III:626). This mat was woven from the leaf sheaths of the *pua hīnano* (male pandanus tree blossoms), and it was particularly favored because of its silky texture and pleasant fragrance. To this day, Puna is known for its growth of *hala*, and the floors and furniture of some of the old households are still covered with fine woven mats and cushions. Weaving remains an important occupation of many native families of Puna as well.

Puna: An Overview of Hawaiian Settlement

The information presented in this section of the study provides readers with a general overview of Hawaiian colonization, population expansion, and land management practices in on the island of Hawai‘i and in the Puna study area. A more detailed discussion on settlement, based on archaeological evidence is presented in the final report on the "Archaeological Inventory Survey, A & O Golf Course Project; Lands of Ahalanui, Oneloa, and Laepao‘o, Puna District, Island of Hawai‘i" (Dunn et al., 1995). That report should be read for further site-specific details.

For many years, archaeologists have proposed that early Polynesian settlement voyages between Kahiki (the ancestral homelands of the Hawaiian gods and people) and Hawai‘i were underway by AD 300, with long distance voyages occurring fairly regularly to ca. AD 1250. It has been similarly reported that the early Hawaiian population came primarily from the Marquesas and Society Islands (Emory in Tatar 1982:16-18). For generations following initial settlement, communities were clustered along the watered, windward (*ko‘olau*) shores of the Hawaiian Islands. Along these *ko‘olau* shores, streams flowed and rainfall was abundant, and agricultural production became established. The *ko‘olau* regions also offered sheltered bays from which fisheries could be easily accessed. It was around these bays that clusters of houses where families lived, could be found (McEldowney ms. 1979:15). In these early times, the residents generally engaged in subsistence practices in the forms of agriculture and fishing (Handy and Handy 1972:287).

Over the period of several centuries, areas with the richest natural resources became populated and perhaps crowded (by ca. 800 to 1000 AD), and the residents began expanding out into more remote regions of the island. While the Puna study area generally receives ample rainfall (nearly 100 inches annually) and is graced by mature forests which could shelter cultivated crops and provide natural resources necessary to life, it was (and remains) also subject to the affects volcanic and other geologic phenomena. Thus, even with the pressures of growing populations, the *ahupua‘a* of ‘Ahalanui-Laepāo‘o-Oneloa and neighboring lands, may not have been actively sought out for long-term residency and investment of labor resources until such time as population demands made it absolutely necessary.

Lava flow ages in the Ahalanui-Laepāo‘o-Oneloa *ahupua‘a* range from c. 750 years before present to 200 years before present. Following flow patterns from the inland east rift zone vents, the lava flows are made up of both *pāhoehoe* and *‘a‘ā* which cross the ‘Ahalanui-Laepāo‘o-Oneloa *ahupua‘a* at various elevations (cf. Dunn et al. 1995:6,7). The lower elevations (those extending from near sea level to approximately the 50 foot elevation) and the upper project area (around the 200 foot elevation) in ‘Ahalanui are made up of the oldest flows. It is also in those areas where only minimal historic modification has occurred, that the greatest density of Hawaiian and early historic sites have been recorded. Indeed, the upland corner of the project area in ‘Ahalanui, is within an agricultural field system that native residents in the mid to late 1800s identified as "[Ka] Haleolono" (see records from Land Grants, Boundary Commission Testimonies, and Surveys later in this study).

One interesting historical record regarding the larger district of Puna—and one which is of relevance to the discussion of settlement in Puna—is found in the writings of Hawaiian historian, Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, in the Hawaiian Language newspaper, *Ku ʻOkoʻa*. Kamakau wrote of the arrival of the priest, Pāʻao, came to Hawaiʻi from Kahiki in c. 1275 AD (cf. Barrere 1959:28):

> *O Puna ka aina o Hawaii i loaa mua ia Paao, aia ma Puna ka haiau mua a Paao i kukulu ai i hale no kona akua, o Ahaula ka inoa, ua kapa ia o Ahaula, he luakini. Mai Puna mai o Paao ma a pae ma Kohala*… (*Ku ʻOkoʻa Ianuari* 5, 1867)
>
> Puna was the land on Hawaiʻi that Pāʻao first landed at, there in Puna, is the first temple built by Pāʻao for his god. ʻAhaʻula was the (god's) name, and the *luakini* [a temple at which human sacrifice could be offered] was called ʻAhaʻula [Wahaʻula]. Pāʻao and his companions then departed from Puna and landed at Kohala… (*Kū ʻOkoʻa*, January 5, 1867; see also Kamakau 1991:100).

If the date of ca. AD 1275 for Pāʻao's arrival in Puna (based on successive generations since that time) is correct, his arrival in Puna would generally coincide with the occurrence of the oldest surface flows in the ʻAhalanui-Laepāoʻo-Oneloa study area. One might wonder if Pāʻao's move from Puna was at least partially influenced by the volcanic activity of Puna's goddess Pele[2], or if the population necessary to support a royal priestly order, had not yet developed in Puna.

The earliest dates recorded at Hawaiian sites in the present study area are c. AD 1250 (Site 12125) in the land of ʻAhalanui, and c. AD 1284 (Site 12131) in the land of Laepāoʻo (Dunn et al. 1995:48, B-28, B-72). The dates from Site 12125 (Feature T) and Site 12131 (Feature 12148) were found in residential complexes—Feature 12148 is also interpreted as having a possible ceremonial function. While we may never know if earlier sites once existed in the study area—their evidence covered by ancient lava flows, lost as a result of other geologic phenomena, and/or their having been destroyed by historic period land use—the above referenced sites appear to be among the earliest permanent residences in the study area. It is also interesting to see that the legendary, geological, and available archaeological records all come together in a fairly close time period.

With the above discussion in mind, and based on patterns witnessed throughout the Hawaiian Islands (cf. Malo 1951, Ellis 1963, Fornander 1973, Stokes and Dye 1991, Handy and Handy with Pukui 1972, McEldowney ms. 1979, Kirch 1983 & 1985), the following settlement and population expansion pattern may be applied to the study area:

1– By the 12th-13th centuries the lands of ʻAhalanui-Laepāoʻo-Oneloa were being settled. It is likely that the early settlers brought with them those things which were necessary for their survival—e.g., dry- and wet-land *kalo* (taro); *ʻuala* (sweet potatoes), *piʻa*[3]*, uhi,* and *hoi* (yams); *hue* (gourds), *pia*

[2] The *heiau* complex at Waha'ula remained in use till c. 1817, and remained unimpacted by lava flows until the 1980s.

[3] *Piʻa* and *pia* are still found among the agricultural terraces, planting mounds and pits in the ʻAhalanui study area.

(arrowroot); *ʻawa* (*Piper methysticum*), *kō* (sugarcanes); *wauke* (paper mulberry); *maiʻa* (bananas); *ʻulu* (breadfruit); and *niu* (coconuts) etc. Also, as a result of the Hawaiian place- and environment-based religious system, the ancient settlers also brought with them their gods and goddesses, as "they were in their minds and souls..." (M.K. Pukui Ms.:2). In this early time, the primary livelihood focused near-residence agriculture, and on the collection of marine resources.

2 – By the 14th-16th centuries, the population increased, thus, the need to expand agricultural systems to the uplands increased. The *ʻohana* (extended family) system of social, religious, political, and economic values linked coastal and inland inhabitants. The stringent political and religious system introduced during the Pāʻao-Pili migration gained increasing control in the islands.

3 – By the 16th-18th centuries, there evolved a greater separation between the *aliʻi*, or chiefly class and the *makaʻāinana* (commoners). Concurrently, as the Hawaiian population grew, land use practices expanded and became further formalized. In Puna, residences began expanding away from sheltered bays with near-shore forested zones and ample rainfall, pushing southwest towards more arid coastal regions with longer stretches of dry land between the shore and forests.

It was also in the early sixteenth century, that the entire island of Hawaiʻi came under the rule of one chief, ʻUmi-a-Līloa, and the native system of land management by district (*moku-o-loko*), smaller land divisions (*ahupuaʻa*), and still smaller land units (e.g. *ʻili, kōʻele, māla*, and *kīhāpai*, etc.) was formalized. In this system, the land provided the fruits and vegetables for the diet, and the ocean provided most of the protein, and in communities with long-term royal residents, divisions of labor came to be strictly adhered to.

This system of land established by the late 17th and early 18th centuries, and strictly adhered to, also set the basis of Hawaiian land use and distribution through the nineteenth century.

Hawaiian Land- and Resource-Management Practices

As briefly discussed above, the ancient Hawaiians developed a sophisticated system of land and resources management. By the time ʻUmi-a-Līloa came to rule the island of Hawaiʻi in ca. 1525, the island (*moku-puni*) was divided into six districts (*moku-o-loko*). Puna, the eastern-most of the districts on the island of Hawaiʻi, is also the smallest district on the island, and is the only one that does not take in a mountain peak. The boundaries of Puna are described by the saying —

Puna, mai ʻOkiʻokiaho a Mawae.

Puna, from ʻOkiʻokiaho to Mawae.
The extent of Puna is from ʻOkiʻokiaho on the Kaʻū side to Mawae on the Hilo side (Pukui 1983:301, No. 2747)

The large districts like Puna, were further divided into manageable units of land, and were tended to by the *makaʻāinana* (people of the land) (cf. Malo 1951:63-67). Of all the land divisions, perhaps the most significant management unit was the *ahupuaʻa*; these are

subdivisions of land that were usually marked by an altar with an image or representation of a pig placed upon it (thus the name *ahu-pua‘a* or pig altar). *Ahupua‘a* may be compared to pie-shaped wedges of land that extended from the mountain peaks, or in the present case in Puna, some other feature of geological significance (e.g., a rift zone or crater) to the ocean fisheries fronting the land unit. The boundaries of the *ahupua‘a* were generally defined by cycles and patterns of natural resources occurring within the lands (cf. Lyons, 1875; In The Islander).

The *ahupua‘a* were also divided into smaller, manageable parcels in which cultivated resources could be grown and natural resources harvested. As long as sufficient tribute was offered and *kapu* (restrictions) were observed, the common people, who lived in a given *ahupua‘a* had access to most of the resources from mountain slopes to the ocean. These access rights were almost uniformly tied to residency on a particular land, and earned as a result of taking responsibility for stewardship of the natural environment, and supplying the needs of ones' *ali‘i* (cf. Malo 1951:63-67; Kamakau 1961:372-377; and Boundary Commission testimonies in this study).

Entire *ahupua‘a*, or portions of the land were generally under the jurisdiction of appointed *konohiki* or lesser chief-landlords, who answered to an *ali‘i-‘ai-ahupua‘a* (chief who controlled the *ahupua‘a* resources). The *ali‘i-‘ai-ahupua‘a* in turn answered to an *ali‘i ‘ai moku* (chief who claimed the abundance of the entire district). Thus, *ahupua‘a* resources supported not only the *maka‘āinana* and *‘ohana* who lived on the land, but also contributed to the support of the royal community of regional and/or island kingdoms. This form of district subdividing was integral to Hawaiian life and was the product of strictly adhered to resources management planning.

The Ahupua‘a of ‘Ahalanui, Laepāo‘o, and Oneloa

‘Ahalanui, Laepāo‘o, and Oneloa are three of some 50 *ahupua‘a* found in the district of Puna. These *ahupua‘a* extend from the fisheries fronting them, approximately 4 miles inland reaching about the 390 foot elevation, where they are terminated (cut off) by the larger *ahupua‘a* of Kapoho. Within these *ahupua‘a* are found resources for deep sea and near shore fisheries, fresh and brackish water wells or springs, humus covered lava flows, which, with ample rains allow for extensive cultivation and the growth forest resources. Thus, residents in these *ahupua‘a* were able to sustain their families and contribute to the larger community which supported the *ali‘i* of Puna.

Inoa ‘Āina (Place Names)

There are a number of place names that have been recorded within the *ahupua‘a* of ‘Ahalanui, Laepāo‘o, and Oneloa (*Figure 2 – at end of study*). The occurrence of place names demonstrates the broad relationship of the natural landscape to the culture and practices of the people. In “A Gazetteer of the Territory of Hawaiian,” Coulter (1935) observed that Hawaiians had place names for all manner of feature, ranging from “outstanding cliffs” to what he described as “trivial land marks” (Coulter 1935:10). In 1902, W.D. Alexander, former Surveyor General of the Kingdom (and later Government) of Hawai‘i, wrote and account of “Hawaiian Geographic Names” (1902). Under the heading “Meaning of Hawaiian Geographic Names” he observed:

> It is very difficult, if not impossible, to translate most of these names, on account of their great antiquity and the changes of which many of them

> have evidently undergone. It often happens that a word may be translated in different ways by dividing it differently. Many names of places in these islands are common to other groups of islands in the South Pacific, and were probably brought here with the earliest colonists. They have been used for centuries without any thought of their original meaning… (Alexander 1902:395)

History tells us that named locations were significant in past times, and it has been observed that "Names would not have been given to [or remembered if they were] mere worthless pieces of topography" (Handy and Handy with Pukui, 1972:412). In ancient times, named localities served a variety of functions, including — (1) triangulation points such as *koʻa* (markers for fishing grounds); (2) residences; (3) areas of planting; (4) water sources; (5) trails and trail side resting places (*oʻioʻina*), such as a rock shelter or tree shaded spot; (6) *heiau* or other features of ceremonial importance; (7) may have been the source of a particular natural resource or any number of other features; or (8) the names may have recorded a particular event that occurred in a given area.

Two of the three *ahupuaʻa* names in the study area may be translated in a straight forward manner, the meaning of the name of the third *ahupuaʻa*, remains uncertain:

1. One-loa may be literally translated as meaning "Long-sand" or "Long-cinder."
2. Lae-pāoʻo may be literally translated as meaning "Goby fish point."
3. ʻAhalanui on the other hand, has perhaps undergone changes over the centuries, and its origins have perhaps been lost. In old survey and Boundary Commission texts, the name is written both "Ahalanui" and "Aahalanui." Over years of working in old survey documents, the author has found that not every double occurrence of the same vowel is meant to be pronounced. Some surveyors and transcribers in the mid to late 1800s often wrote the same vowel twice, as a way of indicating emphasis, a lengthening of the single vowels' pronunciation. In other words, two of the same vowels in a row would be written with a macron today. Based on how the author has heard the name pronounced by older native residents of the Puna region, a glottal mark has been put at the beginning of the name; this because the name is pronounced with emphasis with other words in sentences, and not slurred together with the word that proceeds it.

   As Alexander pointed out above, depending on spelling, pronunciation and how the words within the name "Ahalanui" are broken apart, the name could mean any number of things, including, but not limited to: "Large-pandanus-root;" Gathering-on-a-great-day;" and perhaps the most logical "[the "a" indicating that the land has the nature of] A-large-pandanus-grove;" etc. (please note that the preceding translations are interpretive, and the original "meaning" has not been identified to-date).

Fortunately, historic land records have preserved a number of place names within each *ahupuaʻa*, and those names tell us something about the natural or cultural landscapes, and history of the name localities.

Table 1 is a list of selected place names that have been recorded for sites and features in the lands of ʻAhalanui, Laepāoʻo, and Oneloa. Where possible, the author has included either literal or interpretive translations for place names that lend themselves to such interpretations. It is noted here, that some place names are easily translated, being either a single word, or a compound of two or more words that remain in common usage. Such names are generally descriptive of a landscape or event. Between 1975-1977, the author discussed place names and their interpretations with *kūpuna*, Dr. Mary Kawena Pukui (Tūtū Kawena). In those conversations, Tūtū Kawena shared with the author her opinion that where obvious translations could be made (ones for which traditional interpretations existed, or which were made up of words that remained in common use in the language); those names could be given "literal" translations. For other names, generally, a compound of two or more words that lent themselves to various translations, "interpretive translations" might be given. But, it is important to make clear that the translations are "interpretive." And for some names, it is inappropriate to offer translations, as the possible meaning is too obscure (pers comm. M.K. Pukui).

Table 1. Selected Place Names of the Study Area Ahupuaʻa

Place Name & Source	***Meaning***	***Ahupuaʻa and Location***
Pali-poko (BC, HGS[4])	Short-cliff – literal	Pohoiki-Oneloa (shore line) and *koʻa ʻōpelu*
Kupakia (BC)	(pronunciation and meaning uncertain)	Upper point, inland on boundary of Pohoiki and Oneloa
Ka-ʻena (BC)	The-heat or the-wrath – literal	Lower, mid zone *ulu hala* (pandanus grove) on boundary of Pohoiki and Oneloa
Puʻu-ʻulaʻula (BC, HGS)	Red-hill – literal	Oneloa (inland boundary)
Nīheu [transposed to "Niehu" on some maps] (HGS)	Perhaps named for the *kūpua* (a supernatural dual-formed demigod), Nīheu, who had both human and sand crab body forms. With his brother Kana, the two traveled the islands fighting evil *kūpua*. One such *kūpua* had the body form of a *pāoʻo* (Goby fish). The fights took place in Puna, with	Oneloa (shore)

Table 1. Selected Place Names of the Study Area Ahupuaʻa (continued)

Place Name & Source	***Meaning***	***Ahupuaʻa and Location***
Nīheu (continued)	encounters both along the shore and at various craters of the east rift zone. A place called Kapuaʻi-a-Nīheu (The-foot-print-of-Nīheu), is situated near the shore of Kūpahuʻa, Puna (near Wahaʻula Heiau).	

[4] Table Key: BC=Boundary Commission Testimony; HGS=Hawaiian Government Survey Records.

Table 1. Selected Place Names of the Study Area Ahupua'a (continued)

Place Name & Source	***Meaning***	***Ahupua'a and Location***
Ka-hinihini-'ula (HGS)	The-red-moss (or algae) – literal	Laepāo'o (shore)
Pakoi (BC)	(pronunciation and meaning uncertain)	Upper point, inland on boundary of Pohoiki & Laepāo'o
Kīpaepae (Reg. Map 1884) or Kipaipai (Reg. Map 1777)	This name is written in the two forms (to the left) on early maps. Though the Register Map numbering sequence is higher, Reg. Map 1884 is the older of the two maps; the preliminary map that Loebenstein used to develop Reg. Map 1777. Written "Kīpaepae," the place name literally translates as "Paved with stones," and is perhaps descriptive of the area around the waterhole.	A coconut grove and water hole in 'Ahalanui, near the boundary of Pū'āla'a; on the *makai* side of Grant 2466, also on the *mauka-makai* trail.
Iawa (BC)	(pronunciation and meaning uncertain) Identified as the name of an ancient *kō'ele* (royal cultivating field). By association of the cultivating ground, the "*awa*" may have had to do with cultivation of the *'awa* (*Piper methysticum*) for which Puna was famed.	Near boundary of 'Ahalanui/Pū'ala'a
Kaloi	(pronunciation and meaning uncertain)	Near boundary of 'Ahalanui/Pū'ala'a
Kua-o-ka-lā (native account in this study)	Back-of-the-sun – literal. Figuratively, the name describes the alignment followed by the sun as it rises and crosses over the area of that name. A native writer in 1929 (in this study), identified Kuaokalā[5] as a *heiau* near the government road–from where one could look inland and see the hills of Kalehua. By association with the sun, it can be posited that the functions of the *heiau* were tied to the god Kāne, who is closely associated with Puna.	Visible from the Government Road in 'Ahalanui

[5] While conducting research for this study, the author reviewed all historic maps and original field survey note books in the collection of the Hawai'i State Survey Division in an effort to identify the location of Kuaokalā Heiau (or some feature that surveyors may have identified as a possible ceremonial site in the Pū'āla'a-'Ahalanui-Oneloa and Pohoiki study area. The material reviewed included note books dating from the ca. 1852 surveys of the Lyman brothers and continued through the 1907 surveys of Cook and Arioli. Unfortunately, no references to Kuaokalā or the "hills of Kalehua" were located.

III. NĀ MOʻOLELO ʻĀINA – TRADITIONS OF THE LAND

Overview

This section of the study presents readers with historical accounts from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (narratives written by both native and foreign historians). The texts include accounts that describe native traditions (those generally before 1778), and historical narratives that record events following western contact. From such narratives we can begin to understand how this land shaped the lives, customs, and practices of its native inhabitants, and how their attachment to the land has been expressed in successive generations. Because no early traditional accounts for the lands of ʻAhalanui, Laepāoʻo, or Oneloa have be identified in archival research, pertinent narratives from neighboring lands and the larger east Puna region are included here to provide some cultural context to the features and customs of the land.

Puna: An Overview of Native Traditions and Customs of the Land

Kāne, the Forests, Sun, and Shark Deity

As discussed earlier in this study, native accounts describe a period in Puna's history when Pele did not cause lava flows to move across the face of the land. Puna was loved by the god Kāne, and forests seemed to move from the mountains to the shore. Sayings like —

> ***Ka makani hali ʻala o Puna***
> The fragrance bearing wind of Puna (Pukui 1983:158, No. 1458)

and

> ***Maʻemaʻe Puna i ka hala me ka lehua***
> Lovely is Puna with the *hala* and *lehua* (ibid.:221, No. 2035)

— were used to describe Puna which was famed for the fragrance of its forest of *maile*, *lehua*, and *hala*. Pukui (1983) observed, "It is said that when the wind blew from the land, fishermen at sea could smell the fragrance of these leaves and flowers (ibid.: 158, No. 1458)

In this early time, Puna was not only famed for its verdant growth, but throughout history, it has been noted as the "portal" of the rising sun. The god Kāne in his attributes as giver of light and life, plays an important role as healer, and many native customs and practices of healing are associated with the sun rising from the east in Puna. In the Hawaiian Ethnological Notes (HEN) of the Bishop Museum, compiled by Mary Kawena Pukui, we find an account that describe Puna and the rising sun. Though not specifically named, the geographic location of this narrative includes the lands of ʻAhalanui, Laepāoʻo, and Oneloa:

> In Hawaii the sun strikes first at Ka-lama-ula, the seashore at Poho-iki, Puna, then rises above Hana-ka-ulua (*ka-ulua*, delay), three *eho* rocks (*eho* is a hard stone that rings when struck), I have heard at least one of which was taken by King Kalakaua for the Palace [from] Cape Kumukahi where the rocks of Hana-ka-ulua were located; [the sun] then passes over the high hill of Haʻehaʻe at Kapoho. [source, Mrs. Kukona Porter]

> The daily journey of the sun, typifying the span of life, is expressed by the saying, "From the rising of the sun at Cape Kumu-kahi to its setting at Lehua (the Sun-snatching Isle, Ka moku Ka-ili La) – "*Mai ka hikina a ka la ma Kumu-kahi a ka welona a ka la i Lehua*." The N. and S. boundaries of the journey of the sun [in Puna] are Haʻehaʻe and Makānoni.
> At Cape Kumukahi, Queen Emma erected two stone heaps (*eho*) [in 1883]. Queen Liliuokalani erected one there, too. Each of Emma's marked the northern and southern limit of the sun. When she died, her stone heaps fell down. [Bishop Museum HEN Vol. I:799-800]

In her compilation of "Hawaiian Mythology" Martha Beckwith (1971) adds to the information regarding Kumukahi. The point was reportedly named for an *ʻaumakua* (family god) that came to Hawaiʻi with the chief-navigator, Moʻikeha. One of Kumukahi's forms was that of a *kōlea* (golden plover). Kumukahi —

> …settles at the point of land that bears his name, where he is represented by a red stone at the extreme end of the point. Two of his wives, also in the form of stones, manipulate the seasons by pushing the sun back and forth between them at the two solstices. The place is called "Ladder of the sun" and "Source of the sun" and here at the extreme eastern point of the whole [island] group, where the sun rises up out of the sea, sun worshipers bring their sick to be healed[6] [information from M.K. Pukui]… [Beckwith 1971:119]

In other notes compiled by M.K. Pukui, we also find that guardian sharks (*manō kiaʻi*) lived in the waters of the Kapoho vicinity. Paraphrased, the notes record:

> Pani-lā (shutting out the sun) was so called because of his enormous size. He was the largest of the Hawaiian sharks, and he lived off of Cape Kumukahi. His usual haunts extended from Ka-lae-o-Lamaulu in Kapoho, to Ka-lae-o-Kumukahi at the eastern extremity of Hawaiʻi. He was a friend of the natives and by appearing at times above the surface of the sea, would give them timely warning of the approach of hostile sharks…
> Another shark, Keau also lived at Kapoho, where the sun rises out of the ocean. At Kumukahi, there are two *eho* (sharp rocks), the most northerly is Makanoni, and the southern most is Haʻehaʻe. In the summer, the sun rises between them. Another shark of Puna was Hīkaweloʻula, the son of a shark of Kaʻū and a woman of Kalapana. He had two forms, that of a shark in the sea, and that of a human on land. [April 2, 1886 and December 1892; Bishop Museum HEN I:573-574]

Nā Huakaʻi a Pele
(Journeys of Pele)

Following the arrival of Pele on Hawaiʻi, Puna changed. One might wonder, if perhaps the early accounts of Puna in which lava flows were quiet and forests matured, are traditional descriptions of a period of relative geologic quiet in Kīlauea's eruptive cycle. That Puna has undergone significant changes as a result of geologic phenomena is well documented in

[6] The tradition of healing in association with the sun and the Kumukahi vicinity is discussed in the interview with Mr. Arthur Lyman.

both native traditions and scientific documents. In his compilation of "Pele and Hiiaka" Nathaniel Emerson (1915) published a detailed account of the arrival of Pele in Hawai'i and subsequent events in which she participated (that publication should be referenced for further details). Another account of Pele's arrival at Puna, was written by native writers and published in the Hawaiian newspaper *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i* (1916), has recently been translated by the author of this study. That account is presented here. The narratives come from the tradition of Ka-Miki (in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i* 1914-1915; cited later in this section), but were written as a historical footnote about the history of the area from Koa'e to Keahialaka and further along the east rift zone of Kīlauea (thus passing the lands of the present study area).

> The land of Koa'e (Tropic bird) lies a short distance north of Kapoho and Kumukahi. Ke-awa-o-Pele (The-canoe-landing-of-Pele), at Koa'e is one of the most celebrated canoe landings in all of Puna. Here is the story of this place:
>
> > When Pele came to the Hawaiian Islands from Tahiti Pakapaka-ua, she landed at various places on the islands searching out a suitable home. Pele first sought out a home for her family on *ka moku kā'ili lā* (the island that snatches the sun), which is also called Kamāwaelualani or Kāwili; and known today as Kaua'i, *ka mokupuni kīhāpai pua* (the garden island). On Kaua'i, Pele dug at a few places seeking a home for herself and her family. She dug into the earth at Ka'inapele, Pu'uopāpa'i, and Leleiwi at Pu'ukāpele, but none of the places were suitable.
> >
> > Pele-Honuamea (Pele of the red earth) then moved to the island of O'ahu-a-Lua, and for a short time she dwelt at Āliapa'akai and Kalua'ōlapa. Because Pele was not satisfied on O'ahu, she departed and went to Moloka'i-nui-a-Hina, where she dug a new home at Kauhakō. But there, she struck water. Pele then moved once again, and dwelt at Honokalani, Maui, and she dug a new home for her for herself at Haleakalā.
> >
> > It is at this point that some stories of Pele differ. Some people say that Pele was killed at Haneo'o and that she left her body at Ka-iwi-o-Pele (The-bones-of-Pele), at a hill near the pond of Haneo'o, between Hāmoa and Ka'uiki. Though another story states that *Pele* was not killed, but that she dwelt with her sister Kapo-kohelele, and that when she left Maui, she built the hill Kaiwiopele, which is also called Pu'u-a-Pele (Hill-made-by-Pele).
> >
> > Before Pele-Honuamea departed from Honokalani, Maui, she sent one of her sisters, Hi'iaka-pa'i-kauhale (Hi'iaka-who-thatches-the-house) to find a home for her on the island of Hawai'i. The first place that this Hi'iaka arrived at was Kona, and she dwelt at a cape which came to be called Hi'iaka-noho-lae (Hi'iaka-who-dwells-at-the-point). That is why to this day, the place is still Hi'iaka-noho-lae.
> >
> > Because of the long delay in Hi'iaka's return, Pele journeyed to Puna, near Pū'ula (Red-conch-shell), Koa'e, and landed at the place called Keawaopele. From Pū'ula, Pele dug the hills above Poho-iki (Little-depression or Little-hollow) and Ke-ahi-a-Laka (The-fire-of-Laka). From there, she moved up to He'eia (To be washed away or to have slipped

away) and on to Kaʻauea, where she looked upon Kīlauea and made her royal home at Mokuʻāweoweo – *Mele pule* (prayer chant):

Eō o Pele Honuamea	Respond o Pele Honuamea of the sacred earth
O hulinuʻu ke ahi ʻā loa naueue Tahiti	Of the highest rank, long burning fire which shakes Kahiki
Hoʻohākuʻi nei nākolo ka leo o ka pōhaku	Striking and rumbling are the voices of the rocks
Kawewe ʻuʻina ka ua maka o ka uwila	Crackling and ringing rains fall before the thunder
Nākolo nakeke i ka mole o Hoʻokūhonua	Snapping, crackling at the very core of Hoʻokūhonua
ʻŌlapa ke ahi - Kūlapa ke kai	The fire flashes, the sea is writhing
Hōʻeʻe ke kai a Pele haki nuʻanuʻa i ka moana	The sea of Pele rises breaking upon the swelling ocean
Ko kapuaʻi e Pele Honuamea e keʻehia	It is your foot steps that cause this
Kuhia i ou pōkiʻi la	Direct your siblings
I-ka-ʻale-ī,	Hiʻiaka of the rising waves (*ʻale ʻī*),
I-ka-ʻale-moe	Hiʻiaka of the receding waves (*ʻale moe*)
E ala Mihakalani,	To arise and quiet the heavens (*Mihakalani*),
Mihakahonua	And quiet the earth (*Mihakahonua*)
Hālō-pā ʻeliʻeli kau mai e	Peering upon this, awe posses me
Eō i ka inoa	Answer to the name
O Pele ke Ahi ʻā loa – e ola!	O Pele the long burning fire, let there be life!

(*Ka Hōkū o Hawaiʻi*; December 16, 1915)

Around the turn of the century, W.D. Westervelt compiled a collection of "Hawaiian Legends of Volcanoes" (1963). One of his tales provides readers with an account of one of Pele's journeys to the shore of Puna, and describes how certain rift zone features were formed. This tradition also describes eruptive activities that were in the upland region near the Kapoho-ʻAhalanui boundary, and interestingly also describes native *hōlua* (sledding) activities in the region. Register Map 1777 (*Figure 2*) in this study, documents the vicinity of one of the *hōlua* "training grounds" near the *mauka* boundary of Pūʻālaʻa and ʻAhalanui. Paraphrased, the narratives state:

> Kahawali was a chief who dwelt for a while at Kapoho during the time when Kahoukapu was king of Hawaiʻi (ca. thirteenth century). Kahawalis' mother lived at Kūkiʻi, and his sister Koaʻe, lived at Kula. Kahawali and his younger brother, Ahua were skilled in the sport of riding the *hōlua* [a narrow Hawaiian sled], down the lava hills that were covered with verdant grass, ferns, and forest growth. One such hill is situated in the land called Halekamahina, and the sled track on it is still pointed out as Ka-hōlua-o-Kahawali (The-sledding-track-of-Kahawali). One day, Kahawali and Ahua were competing with other Puna residents, and a woman appeared before him, asking if she might use his *hōlua*. Not knowing the woman was Pele, Kahawali refused and teased her. He then jumped on his *hōlua* and began

> his ride down the slope. When he turned around, the woman had assumed her goddess form, and stamped her foot, causing a lave flow to arise. Pele then chased Kahawali on her own *hōlua*. Kahawali then fled to Puʻu-kea, he kissed his prized pig, Ālo‘i-puaʻa goodbye. At Kūkiʻi, he bid *aloha* to his mother, and near the shore of Kula, Kahawali bid *aloha* to his sister, Koaʻe. He then leapt into a canoe and paddled out to sea. Standing on the shore, Pele threw molten lava after him, and where the lava landed, there can still be seen outcroppings extending out from the shore… [Westervelt 1963:37-44; see also Ellis 1963:207-210]

In the 1920s, historian Theodore Kelsey collected two native sayings which illustrate the effects of the volcano on the landscape and community of Puna. One saying records —

> "My house of *lehua* [figuratively the forest] by the sea in Puna, is leveled flat by the water" (ms. Kelsey; from the collection of June Gutmanis). This saying perhaps describes the events associated with the April 1868 earthquakes, *tsunami*, and subsidence of the shoreline of Puna.

Another saying collected by Kelsey observed —

> "My house of *lehua* [the forest] is seaward of Ku-kiʻi;" site of the *heiau* near the sea below Kapoho, Puna (ibid.). Today, when one looks at that are, the Kapoho flows of 1960 cover what was once described as a *lehua* forest.

"Kaʻao Hoʻoniua Puʻuwai no Ka-Miki (The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki)

One of the most detailed native accounts of places, people, and events of the island of Hawaiʻi, was recorded in "The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki" (Ka-Miki). Ka-Miki was published over a period of four years (1914-1917) in the weekly Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ka Hōkū o Hawaiʻi*. The narratives were primarily recorded for the paper by Hawaiian historians John Wise and J.W.H.I. Kihe (with contributions from Steven Desha Sr.). While Ka-Miki is not an ancient account, the authors set the account in the thirteenth century (by association with the chief Pili, who came to Hawaiʻi with Pāʻao). They used a mixture of local stories, tales, and family traditions in association with place names to tie together fragments of site specific history that had been handed down over the generations. Thus, while in many cases, the personification of individuals and their associated place names may not be "ancient," the site documentation within the "story of Ka-Miki" is of both cultural and historical value.

It is in this account, that we find detailed discussions of the "traditional" communities and customs of Puna (the longer narratives include documentation on approximately 800 place names of the island of Hawaiʻi). While the narratives do not specifically mention the ʻAhalanui-Laepāoʻo-Oneloa study area, they do provide us with a cultural context within which to describe the general practice of the ancient residents of this area of Puna. The narratives below, describe features and resources of the forests of Kaliʻu, extending from the coast to the uplands at Kapuʻeuhi (Glenwood); and the forest of Malama which extended east to Kaniahiku in Kapoho. They also tell readers of how Pūʻālaʻa came to be named, and about the royal community center of this region which was situated in the vicinity of Pūʻālaʻa, at Koaʻe, Puna (a short distance north of Kapoho).

The English translations below (prepared by the author of this study), are a synopsis of the Hawaiian texts, with emphasis upon the main events of the narratives. Also, when the meaning was clear, diacritical marks have been added to help with pronunciation of the Hawaiian.

> Ka-Miki is an account of two supernatural brothers, Ka-Miki (The quick, or adept, one) and Maka-ʻiole (Rat [squinting] eyes], who traveled around the island of Hawaiʻi along the ancient *ala loa* and *ala hele* (trails and paths) that encircled the island. During their journey, the brothers competed alongside the trails they traveled, and in famed *kahua* (contest arenas) and royal courts, against *ʻōlohe* (experts skilled in fighting or in other competitions, such as running, fishing, debating, or solving riddles, that were practiced by the ancient Hawaiians). They also challenged priests whose dishonorable conduct offended the gods of ancient Hawaiʻi. Ka-Miki and Maka-ʻiole were empowered by their ancestress Ka-uluhe-nui-hihi-kolo-i-uka (The great entangled growth of *uluhe* fern which spreads across the uplands), one of the embodiments of the goddess *Haumea* (the creative force of nature; also called *Papa* or *Hina*; who was also a goddess of priests and competitors).
>
> …While traveling through Puna –*ka ʻāina i ka houpu o Kāne*– Ka-Miki and Maka-ʻiole met Kapuʻeuhi[7] at his trail side compound. Feigning friendship, Kapuʻeuhi secretly plotted to ensnare the brothers and steal their possessions. Discerning his true intentions, Ka-Miki thwarted Kapuʻeuhi's plans and defeated him in a contest. Kapuʻeuhi then devised another plan by which he could kill the brothers. To do so, Kapuʻeuhi enlisted the aid of the *ʻōlohe* chiefess Kaniahiku (of Kapoho) to help him fulfill his quest…
>
> Kaniahiku was a guardian of the forests of Kaliʻu and Malama, and the famous *ʻawa kau lāʻau a ka manu* (*ʻawa* [*Piper methysticum*] placed in the branches by the birds) which grew in the grove called Mauānuikananuha. This *ʻawa* grove was also a body form of Kaniahiku's god *Kūlilikaua-i-kanahele-o-Kaliʻu*, and was poetically referred to as "*Ka ʻawa ʻili lena a ka manu i kanu ai iluna o ka lāʻau* — The yellow skinned *ʻawa* planted by birds atop the tree branches. Strict *kapu* [restrictions] were observed while picking this *ʻawa*, and one fish each of the *ʻāhuluhulu* and *ʻōlapa* needed to be placed in the spot from where the *ʻawa* was removed. People who broke the *kapu* [restrictions] associated with gathering *ʻawa, lehua*, *ʻōhelo*, and various plants that grew the forests of Puna, were enveloped in mist rains, and lost in the forest. Many people died while carelessly traveling through the forests, breaking plants, or loudly calling out and disturbing the silence. [October 14, 1915]
>
> Once lost in this forest, there was no way out. Calling out in the forest caused an echo which sounded like a person calling, but following the echo led one deeper into the forest, and this is that those who travel through Puna's forests are warned —

[7] Kapuʻeuhi is the ancient name of the area now called Glenwood.

E nihi e ka hele mai hoʻopā, mai pūlale i ka ʻike a ka maka o ako hewa i ka nui o ka lehua, a hoʻopuni ʻia e ka ʻino

(Travel cautiously, being careful not to touch [the *lehua*], don't rush to see things lest you mistakenly break something and the many *lehua* become offended, causing you to be overcome by misfortune).

Hearing his request for help, Kaniahiku told Kapuʻeuhi that to kill Ka-Miki and Maka-ʻiole he should gather offerings from Kalapana and Kapuʻulena and prepare them for the god of Mauānuikananuha. She told him to gather a little *ʻawa* from Mauānuikananuha, and place the offerings at the site where the *ʻawa* was taken from. Kapuʻeuhi was to take this *ʻawa* to Ka-Miki and tell him that the grove guardians had nearly killed him while gathering the *ʻawa*, thus he was unable to get enough *ʻawa* to satisfy Ka-Miki *mā* [*mā* is a Hawaiian word that means "folks, them, and companions"].

Kapuʻeuhi was to then urge Ka-Miki *mā* to avenge this wrong and lead the brothers into the forest. Kaniahiku told Kapuʻeuhi to secretly pick *lehua* (*Metrosideros polymorpha*), *ʻōhelo papa* (*Fragaria chiloensis*), and *kupaliʻi* (*Peperomia*) along the way. When Kaniahiku saw the signs that Kapuʻeuhi had picked these plants, she would know they had proceeded into the depths of the forest, and she would send a thick cloud cover to block the trail from view.

Kaniahiku then told Kapuʻeuhi that she would call on her elder female relatives to cause forest growth of *ʻieʻie* (*Freycinetia arborea*), *hāpuʻu* (*Cibotium splendens*), *ʻāmaʻumaʻu* (*Sadleria*), and other plants to securely envelope them in the forest. The elder relatives of Kaniahiku included her mother *Olokeʻa-nui-a-hinapū*, an aunt *Manono-nui-aloha*, and the five sisters *ʻŌpikoʻula*, *Ka-lehua-ʻapapane*, *Ka-lehua-kea*, *Ka-lehua-makanoe*, and *Ka-uhi-wai-noho-i-ka-liko*, goddesses of the Puna forests. The five sisters were the supernatural children of *Kū* and *Hina-nui-moku-lehua-i-ka-wao*; the sisters were exceedingly beautiful, and their history is told in the story of *Ka-lā-puka-i-Haʻehaʻe* – The sun arrives at Haʻehaʻe… Lastly, Kaniahiku told Kapuʻeuhi that she would then send her sister, who had the body form of an *ʻAkialoa* (*Hemignathus obscurus*) bird to guide Kapuʻeuhi out of the forest, thus leaving Ka-Miki *mā* lost and wandering in the tangled growth of Kaliʻu. [October 21, 1915]

Following Kaniahiku's instructions, Kapuʻeuhi led Ka-Miki *mā* deep into the forest. Once there, Kaniahiku caused a thick mist to cover over the forest, blocking the sun from sight, and the forest plants grew in tangled mats. Anticipating the deception, Ka-Miki called out in a *mele* [chant] to Ka-uluhe and his forest formed ancestresses to assist them:

Lani-pipili, Lani-ʻoaka,[8]	Clinging and flashing heavens,
Lani-kiʻei, Lani-hālō,	Peering and peeking gods,

[8] Each of the names called upon in the *mele* are various forms of female deities of nature.

Lani-kilo, Lani-papanuʻu,	Divining gods and gods of the highest stratum,
Lani-kaʻahele, Lani-hākoʻi,	Traveling and agitated gods
Lani-mamao,	God who clears (the heavens),
Lani-Uli-wahine o Nuʻumealani,	Uli-wahine of Nuʻumealani
Ia Haumea! Ia Haumea-nui-a ke aīwaiwa...	Oh Haumea! Great mysterious Haumea...

Thus, the darkening of the sun was ended, the sun deity, *Ka-ʻōnohi-o-ka-lā* caused the mists to recede. The forest growth withdrew before Ka-Miki *mā*, and was scattered as a path way for their feet.

Seeing that Ka-Miki *mā* had escaped from her efforts at killing them in the forest, Kaniahiku sent her ʻAkialoa formed sister to warn Mauā-nuikananuha and Kūlilikaua and have them carry the sacred *ʻawa* to her compound and hide it in her house where an altar was prepared. Ka-Miki *mā* reached Mauānuikananuha and climbed upon the tree form of the god. Kaniahiku called to Mauānuikananuha to extend its body high into the sky and then fall to the forest, thinking this would kill Ka-Miki *mā*. But before the deity could grow, Ka-uluhe caused forest growth to cover Mauānuikananuha, and thus this plan was thwarted as well.

Ka-Miki then captured Kapuʻeuhi and imprisoned him underneath the tangled branching growth of Mauānuikananuha, telling him that he would remain there until Maka-ʻiole and he had their fill of the *ʻawa*. Kaniahiku then sent her sister *ʻAkialoa* to fetch her grandson Keahialaka, and she herself prepared to fight Ka-Miki.

Now at that time, Keahialaka was under the guardianship of Pānau and Kaimū, and he enjoyed the ocean waters from Nānāwale to Kaunaloa, Puna [symbolic of controlling those regions]. [October 28, 1915]

Ka-Miki turned to Kaniahiku, and told her, “It is because of your mistaken ways, that we two are here before you.” They exchanged taunts, and Kaniahiku stood up and turned to fold her *pāʻū* [skirt], at the same time, she reached and took up her *pīkoi* [tripping club] and a *lāʻau* [spear]. Kaniahiku then attacked Ka-Miki with the *pīkoi* but he dodged it, and it became tangled in the branches of Mauānuikananuha.

Kaniahiku then threw her spear, Papalauahi, which Ka-Miki dodged as well. Where the spear landed, the hills named Nā-puʻu-o-Kaniahiku were formed; the place is now called Nā-puʻu-a-Pele. Kaniahiku then prepared to use her sling stone, Kaueleau. This stone was eight feet long and weighed several hundred pounds, whatever it hit was completely crushed. Kaueleau was made of dense *ʻalā* stone and was bound with coconut sennit and *olonā* [*Touchardia latifolia*] cordage, in a technique called *makuʻu*.

When Kaniahiku swung her sling above her head the cordage broke, sending the stone flying to the sea where it landed. The stone was so large that it caused the ocean mist to rise, darkening [hanging over] the

shore. To this day the place where the stone landed is called Kaueleau [interpretively translated as – suspended, or placed above; and also the name of deity associated with the red glow of the eruption]. When the cordage broke, it flew in the opposite direction of Kaueleau, and landed at the place now called Maku‘u [for the lashing technique].

Kaniahiku called her ocean-form brothers Pūhi-kauila [Red-eel] and Nalu-nui-o-Kumukea [Great-wave-of-Kumukea] to her aid, they took the stone and threw it back to the uplands for her, but she was unable to retrieve the stone. Seeing that all her weapons had missed, Kaniahiku took up her *hōkiokio* [gourd nose flute] Waha-lau-li‘i, and called to Keahialaka, urging him to hurry to her aid. Hearing the *hōkiokio*, Keahialaka rushed to his grandmother, and seeing Kaniahikus’ predicament, he leapt to attack Ka-Miki. Though Keahialaka was exceptionally skilled in various fighting techniques, he was worn out and bound by Ka-Miki. [November 4, 1915]

Kaniahiku urged Keahialaka to release himself, but he was unable to. And when Kaniahiku attempted to release Keahialaka, Ka-Miki threatened to kill her should she try breaking his *kapu* — that all outside of her compound was his, while that which was in side remained hers. Thus Maka-‘iole bound Kaniahiku and placed her with Keahialaka. Ka-Miki compared his easy victory over Kaniahiku *mā* to the simple action of birds gathering *‘ōhelo* berries to eat; or children playing *kimo* [a Hawaiian game of jacks]; he then chanted —

O pū‘ili ‘ai ‘ōhelo a ka manu	The *‘ōhelo* (*Vaccinium reticulatum*) berries are grasped as the food of the birds
Ke ‘ai holoholo ala i ka uka o Puna	Eaten while traveling to the uplands of Puna
I walea ka manu i ka ‘ula o ka lehua	The birds rejoice in the beauty of the red *lehua* blossoms [descriptive of the *pōhaku kimo* (game stone) being tossed in the air]
Kohākohā i ka lani, ‘elima ia lohelohe	Resounding in the heavens, five *‘ai* (stones pieces) are retrieved
‘Eono ia kau a ono,	Then six are placed together,
‘Ehiku ia kau a hiku	Then seven are set aside
‘Ewalu ia Kamalālāwalu	Eight to Kamalālāwalu
‘Eīwa ia Kaholokuaīwa	Nine to Kaholokuaīwa
I ka holo keke‘e ia a ‘umi	And with a jagged sweep ten are taken
‘Eīwa au puni i ka ‘umi la pa‘i wale	Nine are encircled with ten and all are drawn together.

Kaniahiku and Keahialaka realized that the wisdom and stamina of these two youth excelled any *‘ōlohe* they had ever met, for Kaniahiku *mā* had never been beaten. Kaniahiku wondered if even her teachers, Kahulu‘īlio-a-me‘eulani, the spear fighting expert of Ka‘ū; and Kaho‘ālalā‘au, the war club fighter, instructor of the Pili chiefs (sons of Olokuamea and Kahuilanui-mākēhā) of the land of the waterfall of Hi‘ilawe on the sacred cliffs of Waipi‘o, would be defeated as well. [November 11, 1915]

Ka-Miki then went into Kaniahiku's house to get the *ʻawa* from the altar, but she called to him asking that he allow her to care for the ceremonies of the god Kūlilikaua, which were associated with collection and preparation of the *ʻawa* of Puna. Kaniahiku told Ka-Miki *mā,* "We surrender to your knowledge," she then asked Ka-Miki *mā* to take Keahialaka as a *hoʻāikāne* (companion) stating, "Anywhere you travel through Puna, you will be welcomed." Ka-Miki agreed and Maka-ʻiole released Kaniahiku *mā*.

The offerings were made to the gods, a pig and other foods were prepared and they enjoyed the *ʻawa* of Kaliʻu. The *ʻawa* was so powerful that it seemed the house itself shook, the fragrance of the forest danced across the *pāhoehoe* plains, like the wavering waters of Mānā and Nohili, Kauaʻi.

Kaniahiku, Keahialaka and Maka-ʻiole were embraced by sleep, and Ka-Miki left them sleeping in the house. Stepping outside, Ka-Miki saw Kapuʻeuhi in his sorrowful state, where he left him till later… Ka-Miki then departed for the royal compound of the chief Pūʻula.

Descending to Keawaopele, Ka-Miki met with the chief Pūʻula (Red-conch shell). Pūʻula inquired of Ka-Miki where he was from and what the nature of his journey was. Ka-Miki responded, telling the chief that he was from Puna, but that he rarely traveled from the uplands of Kaliʻu and Malama, where his elder female relative, Kaniahiku dwelt. Ka-Miki then told Pūʻula that he had come to gather some fish as the *pūpū ʻawa* [condiments for the *ʻawa* drink] for his companions.

When Pūʻula heard the name of Kaniahiku, he asked Ka-Miki if he had been trained in fighting skills; for everyone knew of Keahialaka's exceptional skills. Ka-Miki said, "Yes," and Pūʻula then asked what was the purpose of his training. Ka-Miki answered —

> *Hele kaʻapuni i Kuauli [Hawaiʻi] a puni ma ke ʻano hoʻopāpā ikaika, hoʻopāpā ʻike, hoʻopāpā kamaʻilio, hoʻopāpā ʻōlelo, hoʻopāpā nanenane a me nā ʻike apau o ka ʻoihana mokomoko.*
>
> [It is] A journey around Kua-uli [Hawaiʻi] to compete in contests of strength, knowledge, conversation, words, riddles, and all manner of fighting skills.

Pūʻula invited Ka-Miki to join him at his *hālau* [long house], and instructed his fishermen to get the fish for Ka-Miki. Pūʻula had a large compound which had many houses dedicated to contests. There, Ka-Miki and Pūʻula discussed arrangements for contests with some *ʻōlohe* of Puna. Pūʻula told Ka-Miki about the *ʻōlohe* chiefs, ʻŌpihikao and Kūpahuʻa, who were experts in *haʻihaʻi* and *lua* (hand to hand combat techniques), and who had trained under Meʻeulani and Kaʻauea (who was also called ʻUwēkahuna). He also told Ka-Miki that Keoneopokoiki had been his own instructor, and that Keoneopokoiki was a master with war clubs, weapons, and all manner of hand to hand combat… [November 18, 1915]

Ka-Miki and Pūʻula agreed to share a friendly contest to see if Pūʻula should call his master *ʻōlohe* to meet with Ka-Miki. Though Pūʻula had

learned all he could from his instructors, their knowledge had not prepared him to meet with Ka-Miki, and shortly Pūʻula was securely bound. It was from this account that the saying about the spring of Pūʻula came about —

Pau ka wai o ka punawai o Pūʻula
The water [knowledge] is gone from the spring of Pūʻula
[meaning–it is useless to continue on a journey, or pursue a particular task]

Pūʻula was the son of Keauohana (k) and Kehena (w); Kamāʻili was their *konohiki* [land administrator], Keʻekeʻe was their *kūkini* [runner-messenger], and Mākena was Pūʻula's *kiaʻi*, or guardian and *ʻāʻīpuʻupuʻu* [steward]. [November 25, 1915] Pūʻula sent Keʻekeʻe to call the Puna *ʻōlohe* to his contest *hālau*. After Pūʻula and his master instructor, Keoneopokoiki sparred, Ka-Miki told Pūʻula that meeting *ʻōlohe* like Keoneopokoiki was the reason for his journey around Hawaiʻi. And much to the surprise of Pūʻula, Ka-Miki compared Keoneopokoiki to a *kōnane* pebble about to be eaten —

O ke kuʻi kēlā, O ka holo kēia, Hāpala ke kea, Na ka ʻele ka ʻai
That one is hit, this one moves, the white one is smeared, the black one devours.

Pūʻula arranged the contests for Ka-Miki, and Pūʻula served as the *ilāmuku* [overseer] of the contests between Ka-Miki and the Puna *ʻōlohe*…

…Kūpahuʻa was called to compete with Ka-Miki, during their contest the roar of the crowds gathered at the *hālau*, reached Kaniahiku, Keahialaka and Maka-ʻiole, in the uplands of Kaliʻu. Kaniahiku was curious about the source of these voices, and Maka-ʻiole told her that it was Ka-Miki competing with the *ʻōlohe* of Puna…

…Maka-ʻiole and Keahialaka then went to the *hālau* and contest site of Pūʻula, and Keahialaka told Maka-ʻiole that various land parcels and districts of Puna were named for the *ʻōlohe* of this district. Kūpahuʻa was quickly beaten and he called upon his alternate, Kahaualeʻa to fight for him… [December 2-30, 1915]

…The lands of Kahaualeʻa were named for Kahaualeʻa, one of the famous warriors and *ʻōlohe* of Puna. Kahaualeʻa dwelt near Koʻokoʻolau. After Ka-Miki defeated Kūpahuʻa, he called upon Kahaualeʻa as his alternate. As Kahaualeʻa prepared to enter the *kahua*, Pūʻula called out in a chant in which he spoke of Puna —

…Paʻa ʻia ka hanohano o Puna i ke kai Kōloa	…Secured is the glory of Puna along the sea of Kōloa
E nū mai la i ka ulu hala o Keaʻau	The sea that rumbles through the pandanus grove of Keaʻau
I ka lā puka i Haʻehaʻe	(Puna) the source of the sun rising at Haʻehaʻe

I ka lae oni o Kūkiʻi a me Makanoni	(Puna) of the protruding points of Kūkiʻi and Makanoni
Oni mai o Mauna loa me Kūlilikaua	Mauna loa appears above with [the mist of] Kūlilikaua
Nā lae ani makani o Kaniahiku	The points of Kaniahiku wave in the breeze
Huki iluna ka papa lohi o ʻĀpua…	Pulled upon the long plain of ʻĀpua…

It was agreed that Kahaualeʻa and Ka-Miki would compete in three contests; *uma* (hand wrestling), *kūpahu* (pushing one's opponent from the arena), and *kūkini* (running) contests. In the *kūkini* contest, Ka-Miki and Kahaualeʻa were to required to gather certain famous items to prove that they had actually reached the designated places. These things were: [1] the sacred water of the goddess *Waka-keaka-i-ka-wai* and accurately describe the nature of the spring Keakaikaliʻulā and forest of Pali-uli; [2] a valuable bark-cloth sheet–*kuina kapa ʻŌʻūholowai-o-Laʻa* for which Puna was famed; [3] ten *olonā* (*Touchardia latifolia*) leaves of ʻŌlaʻa; [4] one of Puna's famed *moena makaliʻi pua hīnano* (fine mesh mats woven from the pandanus flower sheaths); and [5] to bring back living *ʻoʻopu ʻai lehua* (*Gobidae* fish) of Hiʻilawe and *ʻanae momona* (fat plump rich mullet) which swam in the waters of Pākaʻalana. [January 6, 1916]

At the outset of the competition, Keahialaka provided the *kapa*, *olonā* leaves, and *moena*, thus eliminating Ka-Miki's need to gather those items. The two competitors then participated in the *uma* and *kūpahu* contests and the roar of the crowd was heard from the shore to the depths of the *waokele*, the upper forests of Kaliʻu and Malama [c/3]. Kahaualeʻa was defeated in both of those contests. Then the *kūkini* contest between Kahaualeʻa and Ka-Miki began. Ka-Miki was carried to Pali-uli on *ʻŌhiʻa-nui-moe-awakea* [one of the body forms of Ka-uluhe]. Thus, he arrived at the spring Keaka-i-ka-liʻu-lā which was the dwelling place of Lāʻie-wai (who came to be called Ka-wahine-i-ka-liʻulā) and Lāʻie-lohelohe, the scared chiefesses and wards of Waka-ke-aka-i-ka-wai and Ka-puka-i-haoa-ka-lā-o-lalo. This was an exceedingly sacred area. Guarded by Waka, it was encircled by rainbows, filled with the songs of *ʻiʻiwi,* and *ʻōʻō* birds, and surrounded by all manner of plants. On the lands around the spring were grown the prostrate sugar cane called *Mikioi-o-lehua*, the bananas called *Mānai-ʻula-i-ka-wao*, the taro called *Pāpākole-koaʻe-o-lele-kea*, and the *ʻawa* called *Waimaka-a-ka-manu o Puna*.

Ka-Miki took a leaf of the *pāpākolekoaʻe* taro, and folded it into a cup (*ʻaʻapu lāʻalo*) to hold the water…and returned to Pūʻula *mā*. Ka-Miki presented the water to Pūʻula and described the beauty of Paliuli to those assembled. Kahaualeʻa had been unable to reach Paliuli and the spring of Keakaikaliʻulā, so instead, he brought the water of Wai-uli, at Kapuʻeuhi. His deception was detected, because of the dark nature of the water, thus Ka-Miki won this part of the *kūkini* contest… [January 13, 1916]

The two contestants then departed for Waipiʻo, Ka-Miki was carried upon the mist body form of Ka-uluhe, Ka-ʻohu-kolo-mai-iluna-o-ka-lāʻau. Ka-

> Miki visited the cliffs and wondrous waterfall of Hiʻilawe which cascades from the cliff of Kapaʻihi, below the long plain [cliff face] of Maukele.
>
> The voice of Hiʻilawe was carried to the ocean at Pākaʻalana, and the water flowed with such force, that it broke the sand ridges allowing the *ʻanae* (mullet) and fish of all kinds to swim in the river water. When Ka-Miki took the *ʻanae momona o Pākaʻalana*, some of the *ʻālapa* (warrior - fishermen) of the sacred Pili chiefs of Waipiʻo tried to stop him. *Ka-ʻohu-kolo-mai-iluna-o-ka-lāʻau* caused a thick mist to settle on Waipiʻo, and Ka-Miki bound the *ʻālapa* in the supernatural net *Kuʻukuʻu*, leaving them along the cliff of Haʻinakolo.
>
> Ka-Miki then went and gathered the famous *oʻopu ʻai lehua o Hiʻilawe* [*ʻoʻopu* [goby fish] that eat the *lehua* flowers (petals) which fall into the pool at the base of Hiʻilawe] and returned to Pūʻula *mā* with the items. Kahaualeʻa arrived at Waipiʻo later, and was set upon by the *ʻālapa*, and barely escaped with his life…
>
> Thus, Ka-Miki won all the contests, and Kahaualeʻa surrendered, giving his thanks to Ka-Miki and acknowledging Ka-Miki's superior skills… [February 10, 1916]

As the narratives continue, readers learn that Keahialaka, left Puna with Ka-Miki and Makaʻiole, and traveled through the districts of Hilo, Hāmākua, and Kohala, and returned to Kona, with the brother. Along the way, they participated in many events. One additional narrative from this tradition tells readers that the land of Pūʻālaʻa was named for a chief who shared a relationship with other aliʻi and lands on the island of Hawaiʻi:

> Pū-ʻālaʻa [interpretive translations – Mound-of small taro tubers; or *ʻĀlaʻa* (*Planchonella sandwicensis*) tree]. In Puna, there are two lands named Pūʻālaʻa, one is at the ʻĀpua boundary of Kaʻū and Puna, and the other is the *ahupuaʻa* which bounds ʻAhalanui on the east. [February 3, 1916]
>
> The lands of Pūʻālaʻa were named for the chief and fisherman, Pūʻālaʻa, the eldest son of Waʻawaʻa [a chief and place in Puna and Kona, and Anahulu a chiefess-seer, and site in Kona]. Pūʻālaʻa was an expert fisherman, but he was hard pressed to provide adequate supplies of *heʻe* [octopus] and *pāʻouʻou* (young fish of the *Thalassoma* species] to satisfy his sisters Puakō and ʻAnaehoʻomalu. As a result, Puakō and ʻAnaehoʻomalu traveled from Puna, in search of suitable husbands, who could satisfy their needs. They settled in the lands of Kohala which now bear their names. Because of their great love for their daughters, Waʻawaʻa, Anahulu and their attendants also moved to be near the chiefesses.
>
> Puakō married Lālāmilo and she discovered the *leho* (cowry octopus lure shell) which came to be known as *Kalo-kunu*, a famous octopus lure… Ka-Miki stole this lure for the chief Pili-a-Kaʻaiea. With the help of ʻIwa (the grandson of Haʻaluea an octopus goddess), Lālāmilo retrieved his lure… [July 19, 1917] After Lālāmilo retrieved the octopus lure, he divided it with Pūʻālaʻa, who returned to dwell in Puna. The divided lure looked like broiled taro thus it came to be called *Kalo-kunu* or broiled taro… [September 6, 1917]

Puna: Political Alignment and Chiefly Associations

Citing native accounts, ethnographer, Dorothy Barrere (1959) offered the following summary o Puna's political environment in pre-contact Hawai'i:

> …Puna, as a political unit, played an insignificant part in shaping the course of history of Hawai'i island. Unlike the other districts of Hawai'i, no great family arose upon whose support one or another of the chiefs seeking power had to depend for his success. Puna lands were desirable, and were eagerly sought, but their control did not rest upon conquering Puna itself, but rather upon control of the adjacent districts of Ka'ū and Hilo (Barrere 1959:15).

By the time of Līloa (ca. 1475), Hawai'i had been divided into the six major district that remain intact today. While each of the districts were ruled by independent chiefs, all of them recognized Līloa as the supreme chief (Kamakau 1961:1). When 'Umi-a-Līloa, the son of Līloa ascended to the throne of his father (ca. 1525), he brought all of the districts directly under his rule, subjugating rebel chiefs. Kamakau reports that:

> Hua-'a was the chief of Puna, but Puna was seized by 'Umi and his warrior adopted sons… Hua-'a was killed by Pi'i-mai-wa'a on the battle field of Kuolo in Kea'au, and Puna became 'Umi-a-Liloa's… (Kamakau 1961:17-18)

Fornander (1996) also notes that at this time, parts of Puna came under the rule of the famed, blind chief 'Ī-mai-ka-lani, of Ka'ū. It was only after lengthy battles, that 'Umi was able to secure all of Puna and Ka'ū under his rule (Fornander 1996:34). Another one of the early "legendary" accounts which discusses Puna, documents the relationship between various *ahupua'a* of the district, and ties Puna's history to that of other islands, was collected by Abraham Fornander prior to the 1880s (Fornander 1919). The legend is titled "*Ka'ao no Halemano*," and is set in the period of ca. 1500, just before 'Umi's rise to power. The account also supports the previous statements regarding Puna's joint rule under chiefs of neighboring districts.

> Halemano was the royal son of Kukaniloko and Wahiawā, of the O'ahu line of chiefs. In his dreams, Halemano met with the sacred chiefess Kamalālāwalu of Puna. Kamalālāwalu was the daughter of Hanaka'ulua and Ha'eha'e, and they were the chiefs of the land of Kapoho. Falling in love with Kamalālāwalu, Halemano's health began to fail, because he could not locate the chiefess. Laenihi, the supernatural sister of Halemano instructed Halemano how to learn the whereabouts of Kamalālāwalu. And when he did, Laenihi consented to travel to Puna and make preparations for Halemano to meet with her.
>
> At this time, Hua'a was the king of Puna, and Kulukulu'a was the king of Hilo. Both of these kings were courting Kamalālāwalu, giving her large quantities of properties from Puna and Hilo, with the idea that in time one of them would win her hand and take her as a wife… When Laenihi arrived at Kapoho, she learned that Kamalālāwalu loved to surf at Kaimū, and she devised a plan to meet Kamalālāwalu and her brother, Kumukahi on the

> shore there. Hearing of the good surf at Kaimū, Kamalālāwalu traveled there to go surfing. She was able to befriend Kumukahi, and in that way, she met Kamalālāwalu… (Fornander 1919 Vol. V-Part II:228-232).

Based on her study of all available historic literature, Barrere (1959) noted that Puna remained under the control of outside chiefs from the time of ʻUmi, through the rule of Alapaʻi-nui, which ended in c. 1752. Alapaʻi-nui was succeeded by Kalaniʻōpuʻu, and shortly before his death in 1782, Kalaniʻōpuʻu's rule of Puna and portions of Kaʻū were challenged by the Puna chief, ʻĪ-maka-kōloa, a descendant of ʻĪ-mai-ka-lani. Fornander (1996) reported Kalaniʻōpuʻu had arranged his "worldly and spiritual affairs, and then:

> …started with his chiefs and warrior for Hilo, in order to subdue the rebel chief of Puna. In Hilo, *Kalaniopuu* consecrated the *Heiau* called Kanowa, in Puueo, to the service of his war-god; then took up his abode at Ohele, in Waiakea, and then the war with *Imakakola* commenced. The rebel chieftain fought long and bravely, but was finally overpowered and beaten. For upwards of a year he eluded capture, being secreted by the country-people of Puna. In the meanwhile *Kalaniopuu* moved from Hilo to the Kau district, stopping fist at Punaluu, then at Waiohinu, then at Kamaoa, where he built the *Heiau* of Pakini in expectation of the capture of *Imakakoloa*. Finally exasperated at the delay, and the refuge given to the rebel chief by the Puna people, *Kalaniopuu* sent *Puhili*, one of his Kahus, to ravage the Puna district with fire, i.e., to burn every village and hamlet until Imakakoloa should be found or the people surrender him. Commencing with the land of Apua, it was literally laid to ashes… (Fornander 1996:201-202)

After Kalaniʻōpuʻu's death in 1782, Kamehameha I, moved to make the rule of Hawaiʻi his. In the battle of Mokuʻōhai, South Kona, Kamehameha's uncle Keʻeaumoku (later, his father-in-law), killed Kalaniʻōpuʻu's heir, Kīwalaʻō. Discord among the remaining chiefs, saw the island of Hawaiʻi divided into three chiefdoms — Kamehameha I (Kona, Kohala, and a portion of Hāmākua); Keawemauhili (the remaining portion of Hāmākua, Hilo, and part of Puna); and Keōua-kuahu-ʻula (the remainder of Puna, and Kaʻū). By 1793, Kamehameha I brought all of the island of Hawaiʻi, including Puna under his control (cf. Kamakau 1961:121,151,153,157).[9]

[9] Historical accounts describing the political environment of Puna and its relationship to the *aliʻi* of Kaʻū and Hilo were handed down in the family of Mr. John Hale (oral history interview of June 12, 1998). Mr. Hale's family has resided in the vicinity of the study area since before 1850. He conveys that as a youth, he heard his *kūpuna* describe Puna as traditionally being under the rule of chiefs of the neighboring districts of Kaʻū and/or Hilo.

IV. PUNA: DESCRIBED IN HISTORICAL LITERATURE (CA. 1779 TO 1845)

The earliest written account describing the district of Puna comes from off-shore, recorded by early European visitors from their ships in 1779. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, an increasing number of foreign visitors brought with it further recordation, but it does not appear that a well recorded walk through in Puna occurred until 1823. This section of the study includes excerpts from a few of the early narratives that describe Puna (the natural landscape and practices of the residents). The narratives come from both native and foreign writers, and as in preceding sections of the study, because there is only limited documentation for the ʻAhalanui-Laepāoʻo-Oneloa study area, the materials are representative of neighboring lands and the eastern Puna region.

The Journal of Captain James Cook and Officers

In March 1779, the ships Resolution and Discovery sailed along the shores of Puna and Kaʻū, Hawaiʻi. Captain King, commented on the apparent scarcity of inhabitants and provided the following description of the landscape:

> …the SE sides of the districts of *Opoona* & *Kaoo* [Puna and Kaʻū]. The East part of the former is flat, coverd with Coco nut trees, & the land far back is of a Moderate height. As well as we could judge this is a very fine part of the Island, perhaps the best. *Terreeoboo* [Kaleiʻōpuʻu] has one of his residences here.
>
> On the SW extremity of *Opoona* the hills rise abruptly from the Sea side, leaving but a narrow border, & although the sides of the hills have a fine Verdure, yet they do not seem Cultivated, & when we saild pretty near & along this end of Opoona, we did not observe that it was equally Populous with the Eastern parts; before we reachd the East point of the Island, & all along this SE side the snowy mountain calls *Roa* (or extensive) [Mauna Loa] is very conspicuous. It is flattish at the top or makes what we call Table land… (Beaglehole 1967:606)

The Journal of William Ellis

Following the death of Kamehameha I in 1819, the Hawaiian religious and political systems began undergoing radical change. Just moments after his death, Kaʻahumanu proclaimed herself "*Kuhina nui*" (Prime Minister), and within six months the ancient *kapu* system was overthrown. Less than a year after Kamehameha's death, Protestant missionaries arrived from America (cf. Iʻi 1959, Kamakau 1961, and Fornander 1973). In 1823, British missionary William Ellis and members of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) toured the island of Hawaiʻi seeking out communities in which to establish church centers for the growing Calvinist mission. Ellis' writings (1963) generally offer readers important glimpses into the nature of native communities and history as spoken at the time. Ellis and his party offer a few specific references to the area neighboring the Puna study area. While no specific reference is made of ʻAhalanui, Laepāoʻo, or Oneloa, the narratives provide us with descriptions residences and practices that are applicable to the study area.

Departing from Kīlauea, Ellis and party entered Puna, stopping first at Kealakomo; he wrote:

[Southwestern Puna, traveling east]
As we approached the sea, the soil became more generally spread over the surface, and vegetation more luxuriant. About two p.m. we sat down to rest. The natives ran to a spot in the neighbourhood, which had formerly been a plantation, and brought a number of pieces of sugar-cane, with which we quenched our thirst, and then walked on through several plantations of sweet potato belonging to the inhabitants of the coast… [Ellis 1963:182-183]

Leaving Kealakomo, walking towards Kaimū, Ellis observed:

> The population in this part of Puna, though somewhat numerous, did not appear to possess the means of subsistence in any great variety or abundance; and we have often been surprised to find desolate coasts more thickly inhabited than some of the fertile tracts in the interior; a circumstance we can only account for, by supposing that the facilities which the former afford for fishing, induce the natives to prefer them as places of abode; for they find that where the coast is low, the adjacent water is usually shallow.
>
> We saw several fowls and a few hogs here, but a tolerable number of dogs, and quantities of dried salt fish, principally albacores and bonitos. This latter article, with their *poë* [*poi*] and sweet potatoes, constitutes nearly the entire support of the inhabitants, not only in this vicinity, but on the sea coasts of the north and south parts of the island.
>
> ***Dried Fish an Article of Commerce.***
> Besides what is reserved for their own subsistence, they cure large quantities as an article of commerce, which they exchange for the vegetable productions of Hilo and Mamakua [Hāmākua], or the *mamake* and other tapas of Ora [‘Ōla‘a] and the more fertile districts of Hawaii. When we passed through Punau [Pānau], Leapuki [Laeapuki], and Kamomoa [Kamoamoa], the country began to wear a more agreeable aspect. Groves of coca-nuts ornamented the projecting points of land, clumps of kou-trees appeared in various directions, and the habitations of the natives were also thickly scattered over the coast… [ibid.:190]
>
> ***[Kaimū and vicinity]***
> …About three p.m. we approached Kaimu. This was the birth-place of Mauae [Ellis' guide], and the residence of most of his relations... The old people from the houses welcomed him as he passed along, and numbers of the young men and women came out to meet him, saluted him by touching noses, and wept for joy at his arrival. Some took off his hat, and crowned him with a garland of flowers; others hung around his neck wreaths of a sweet-scented plant resembling ivey [*maile*], or necklaces composed of the nut of the fragrant pandanus oddoratissime… [ibid.:191]

While being hosted at the home of Maua‘e’s father, Ellis and his companions met with the natives in worship services, and also learned about some of their beliefs and events which

had occurred around Kaimū. Ellis notes that it was during the time of the chief Alapa'i (c. AD 1736-1754) that Kaimū was overflowed by lava (Ellis 1964:194). Ellis and his companions were also told of a great earthquake which had struck about two months earlier. A four foot thick stone wall which surrounded a garden on the north side of the village had been demolished, and Ellis also went to a house site of sixteen by twelve feet through which a chasm had passed (ibid.:195). Ellis offered the following description:

> ***Geologic-Volcanic Phenomena***
> We examined the aperture, that still remained open at one end of the house, and found its sides perpendicular, and its breadth one foot and eleven inches. The north-west corner of the house was broken by the shock.
>
> We next traced its course through the fields of potatoes. in some places the ground seemed hardly disturbed, yet it sunk six or eight inches beneath our tread. At other places we saw apertures upwards of two feet wide. The potatoes that were growing immediately in the direction of the fissure, were all spoiled. Several roots of considerable size were thrown out of the ground, and, according to the representations of the natives, appeared as if they had been scorched... [ibid.:195-196]
>
> …In the afternoon, Messrs. Thurston and Bishop walked over to Makena, a pleasant village about a mile southward of Kaimu where they collected about one hundred people…a greater number would probably have attended, but for the rain which fell during most of the afternoon. Mr. Bishop numbered the houses in the village, and found them, including Makena to be 145.
>
> Kaimu is pleasantly situated near the sea shore, on the S.E. side of the island, standing on a bed of lava considerably decomposed, and covered with a light and fertile soil. It is adorned with plantations of cocoa-nuts, and clumps of kou-trees. It has a fine sandy beach, where canoes may land with safety; and, according to the houses numbered to-day, contains about 725 inhabitants.
>
> Including the villages in its immediate vicinity, along the coast, the population would probably amount to 2000; and, if water could be procured near at hand, it would form an eligible missionary station... The extent of cultivation in the neighborhood, together with the decent and orderly appearance of the people, induced us to think they are more sober and industrious than those of many villages through which we have passed… [ibid.:196-197].

Continuing their journey eastward, Ellis' party drew closer to the Pohoiki-Pū'āla'a area (neighboring the study area):

> ***At Keahialaka.***
> Near five p.m. we reached Keahialaka, the residence of Kinao, chief or governor of Puna. We found him lying on a couch of sickness, and felt

anxious to administer to his comfort, yet did not like at so early an hour to halt altogether for the night. I therefore remained with the suck chief, while Messrs. Thurston and Bishop went on to a village at the east point, about two miles distant. When they reached Pualaa, the above mentioned village, they were kindly welcomed by the headman…The chief furnished the travellers with a hospitable supper and comfortable lodgings. [ibid.:201]

At Pualaa—Discussion with Three Priests

…I joined Messrs. Thurston and Bishop at Pualaa, where we took breakfast, and afterwards spent the forenoon in conversations with the natives who thronged us. Two or three old men, whom we afterwards learned were priests, seemed to dispute what we said about Jehovah's being the only true God, and the Christian the only true religion. They said they thought their taõ [*ka'ao*] (traditions) respecting Tu, Tanaroa, Rono, or Orono, and Tairi, were as authentic as the accounts of our book, though ours, from the circumstance of their being written, or, as they expressed it, "*hana paia i ka palapala*," (made fast on paper,) were better preserved… We continued talking to them on the subject of their traditions, one of which we wrote down as they repeated it.

Lava Flow During Time of Capt. Cook

About half-past eleven we took leave of them, and directed our way across the eastern point. A most beautiful and romantic landscape presented itself on our left, as we travelled out of Pualaa. The lave covered with a tolerably thick layer of soil, and the verdant plain, extending several miles towards the foot of the mountains, was agreeably diversified by groups of picturesque hills, originally craters, but now clothed with grass, and ornamented with clumps of trees.

The natives informed us that three of these groups, Honuaura, Malama, and Mariu [Kali'u], being contiguous, and joined at their base, arrested the progress of an immense torrent of lava, which, in the days of Taraiopuu, the friend of Captain Cook, inundated all of the country beyond them. We soon left this cheerful scenery, and entered a rugged tract of lava, over which we continued our way till about two p.m., when we reached Kapoho… [ibid.:205]

Early Nineteenth Century Population Statistics

One year after Ellis' tour, the ABCFM established a base church in Hilo. From that church (Hāili), the missionaries traveled to the more remote areas of the Hilo and Puna Districts. David Lyman who came to Hawai'i in 1832, and Titus Coan who arrived in 1835 were two of the most influential Congregational missionaries in Puna and Hilo.

Based on missionary calculations (partially a result of the Ellis Tour cited above), the population on the island of Hawai'i was estimated at 85,000 individuals in 1823 (Schmitt 1973:8). In his analysis of census records, Schmitt (1973) reports that the Missionary Census of 1831-1832 combined the total figures for Puna, 'Ōla'a, and Hilo, giving a total population of 12,500 (ibid.:9). In 1835-1836, we find a figure of 4,800 individuals residing in the district of Puna (ibid.); the smallest total district Population on the island of Hawai'i. In

1841, Titus Coan recorded that most of the 4,371 recorded residents of Puna, lived near the shore, though there were hundreds of individuals who lived inland (Coan IN Holmes 1985:7). By 1850, the total population of the island of Hawai'i had dropped to 25,864 (Schmitt 1973:8).

The United States Exploring Expedition of 1841

In 1841, Commander Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition, toured the Hawaiian Islands (Wilkes 1845, Vol. IV). Though not making specific reference to the 'Ahalanui-Laepāo'o-Oneloa study area, Wilkes does provide readers with documentation of the landscape and practices of the natives in the lands around Kapoho (*Figure 3*). His narratives include the following documentation:

> …Almost all of the hills or craters of any note have some tradition connected with them; but I found that the natives were now generally unwilling to narrate these tales, calling them "foolishness."
>
> After leaving the *pahoihoi* plain, we passed along the line of cone-craters towards Point Kapoho, the Southeast part of the island.
> Of these cone-craters we made out altogether, large and small, fifteen, trending about east-northeast. The names of the seven last are Pupukai, Poholuaokahowele [Pu'u-hōlua-o-Kahawali], Punomakalua, Kapoho, Puukea, Puuku, and Keala. On some of these the natives pointed out where there had formerly been slides, an amusement or game somewhat similar to the sport of boys riding down hill on sleds. These they termed *kolua* [sic – *holua*].
>
> This game does not appear to be practiced now, and I suppose that the chiefs consider themselves above such boyish amusements. The manner in which an old native described the velocity with which they passed down these slides was, by suddenly blowing a puff; according to him, these amusements were periodical, and the slides were usually filled with dried grass.
>
> As we approached the sea-shore, the soil improved very much, and was under good cultivation, in taro, sweet-potatoes, sugar cane, and a great variety of fruit and vegetables. At about four o'clock, we arrived at the house of our guide, Kekahunanui, who was the "head man." I was amused to find that none of the natives knew him by this name, and were obliged to ask him, before they could give it to Dr. Judd…
>
> …The view from the guide's house was quite pretty, the eye passing over well-cultivated fields to the ocean, whose roar could be distinctly heard… [Wilkes 1845: Vol. 4:186]
>
> During the night, one of the heaviest rains I had experienced in the island, fell; but the morning was bright and clear,—every thing seemed to be rejoicing around, particularly the singing-birds, for the variety and sweetness of whose notes Hawaii is distinguished.

Figure 3. Part of the Island of Hawaii. U.S. Exploring Expedition; Wilkes, 1841 (Hawaiian Government Survey Map No. 424; State Survey Division)

[Departing from Kapoho, traveling towards Nānāwale]

…Previous to our departure, all the tenantry, if so I may call them, came to pay their respects, or rather to take a look at us. We had many kind wishes, and a long line of attendants, as we wended our way among the numerous taro patches of the low grounds, towards Puna; and thence along the sea-coast where the lava entered the sea, at Nanavalie. The whole population of this section of the country was by the wayside, which gave me an opportunity of judging of their number; this is much larger than might be expected from the condition of the country, for with the exception of the point at Kapoho, very little ground that can be cultivated is to be seen. The country, however, is considered fruitful by those who are acquainted with it, notwithstanding its barren appearance on the roadsides. The inhabitants seemed to have an abundance if bread-fruit, bananas, sugar-cane, taro, and sweet-potatoes. The latter, however, are seen to be growing literally among heaps of stones and pieces of lava, with scarcely soil enough to cover them; yet they are, I am informed, the finest on the island… [ibid.:188]

The Journals of Titus Coan and Chester Lyman

Titus Coan arrived at Hilo, Hawai'i in 1835. From Hāili Church, he *directed* the Protestant congregations of Hilo and Puna. During his tenure, he traveled throughout Puna, and in his autobiographic journal, he recorded various aspects of the work he undertook. Coan also commented on the native communities and districts through which he traveled (Coan 1882). Very focused on the conversion of the natives, he wrote little of native customs or practices, but from his narratives we find a few references that are perhaps relevant to the present study. Of interest, Coan records the occurrence of bird catcher's dwellings being situated in the upland forests of Puna. Traveling through Puna with Chester Lyman in 1846, Coan wrote:

> We were returning from Puna over the highlands where, for fifteen miles there were no inhabitants. Our trail lay through forest and jungle and open fields of wild grasses and rushes. We heard that about midway between the shore and an inland village there was a small grass hut built by bird-catchers, but now abandoned… [Coan 1882:144-145]

Writing of the great earthquakes in March and April 1868, and their impacts on the native communities of Puna and Ka'ū, Coan recorded that on:

> April 2d, a terrific shock rent the ground, sending consternation through all Hilo, Puna, and Kau. In some places fissures of great length, breadth, and depth were opened… Stone houses were rent and ruined, and stone walls sent flying in every direction… …the sea rose twenty feet along the southern shore of the island, and in Kau 108 houses were destroyed and forty-six people drowned… Many houses were also destroyed in Puna, but no lives were lost. During this awful hour the coast of Puna and Kau, for the distance of seventy-five miles subsided seven feet on average, submerging a line of small villages all along the shore. One of my rough stone meeting houses in Puna [Kapoho-Koa'e], where we once had a congregation of 500 to 1,000 was swept away with the influx of the sea, and its walls are now under water… [ibid.:314-316]

In 1846, Chester S. Lyman, "a sometime professor" at Yale University visited Hilo, Hawai'i, and stayed with Titus Coan (Lyman ms., in the collection of the Hawaiian Historical Society). Traveling the almost 100 mile long stretch of the "Diocese" of Mr. Coan, Lyman reported that the district of Puna had somewhere between "3000 & 4000 inhabitants (Lyman ms. Book III:3). Entering Puna from Hilo, and traveling to Kea'au along the coast, Lyman offered the following observations, commenting on the condition of the land, agriculture, and communities of Puna. He reported:

> …The groves of Pandanus were very beautiful, and are the principal tree of the region. There is some grass and ferns, and many shrubs; but the soil is very scanty. Potatoes are almost the only vegetable that can be raised, and these seem to flourish will amid heaps of stone where scarcely a particle of soil could be discovered. The natives pick out the stones to the depth often of from 2 to 4 feet, and in the bottom plant the potato – how it can expand in such a place is a wonder.
>
> Nearly all Puna is like this. The people are necessarily poor – a bare subsistence is all they can obtain, and scarcely that. Probably there are not $10 in money in all Puna, and it is thought that not over one in five hundred has a single cent. The sight of some of these potatoe patches would make a discontented N.E. farmer satisfied with his lot. Yet, I have no where seen the people apparently more contented & happy… [Lyman ms. Book III:3]

Lyman described the warm reception he and Coan received at Koa'e and the church of Pū'ula, commenting on the abundance of food which was provided for them and a group of nearly 300 residents (Lyman ms. Vol. III:3). Departing from the church, Coan and Lyman traveled to Pohoiki, passing Waiapele (Kapoho Crater). Though not mentioned by name, Lyman's narratives describe the warm pools on the shore of Pū'āla'a-'Ahalanui. Departing from Waiapele, he observed:

> …we passed over a rough and naked lava flow, doubtless comparatively recent. Just before arriving at our stopping place we came to a small pool of brackish water in the lava, warmed by heat from below – Temp. 83º – Enjoyed a fine bath. The water 2 or 3 feet deep, and full of minute red fishes[10] from ¼ to ½ inch in length. [Lyman ms. Book III:7]

Lyman's narrative continues, describing the village and landscape at Pohoiki, and he also notes that the population was aging, with only a few young children present:

> Our stopping place for the night was *Pohoiki*, about 7 miles from *Koae* and nearly the same distance S.W. from the Eastern point of the island. The natives brought us the *Ki* or *Ti* root baked – it was very sweet & juicy. There are fine groves of cocoanut and the situation of the hamlet on an inlet of the sea is very pleasant…
>
> Friday July 10th. At low water a small spring of warm water issues from the beach – the temperature I found to be 90º.

[10] Probably the *'ōpae 'ula* (*Crangon ventrosus*), described in oral history interviews with John Hale, Gabriel Kealoha, and Arthur Lyman (see the oral history section of this study).

Mr. Coan began his meeting in the church at 8. There being much preliminary business I did not go in till 9. There were several infants baptized, and I noticed a greater proportion of old people than I had observed before. About 200 people were present – mostly seated on the ground, as is usually the case except in the larger and more central churches… [Lyman ms. Book III:7]

V. RESIDENCY AND LAND USE (ca. 1848 to 1917) ('AHALANUI, LAEPĀO'O, ONELOA AND VICINITY)

Overview

As noted in the preceding section of the study, in the early to middle nineteenth century, Puna's population was the smallest of the six districts on the island of Hawai'i. This apparent scarcity of residents was reported in the earliest records of foreign visitors to Hawai'i, in 1779. It is possible that the accounts of the conflict between Kalani'ōpu'u and 'Īmakakōloa to determine the rule of Puna, which culminated in c. 1780, had a greater impact on Puna's residents than recorded by native historians (cf. *Section III*). An example of the oft-times devastating effects that the battles between warring chiefs had on native communities, can be found in Hawaiian history of the period. On Lāna'i, during the rules of Alapa'i-nui, Kalani'ōpu'u, and Kamehameha I (cf. Kamakau 1961:85-91), the native population was decimated, and never recovered (cf. Menzies 1920, and Munro ms. 13-14). Similar events in Puna, even in the time of Kamehameha I (cf. Kamakau 1961:151-153), may also have had a negative affect on the numbers of native residents, and may subsequently have led to the dispersal of communities in the district (cf. Jarves IN the Pacific Commercial Advertiser; July 2, 1857).

The decline of remote area populations is also partially explained by the missionary's efforts at converting the Hawaiian people to Christianity. One year after the ABCFM tour around Hawai'i (cf. Ellis 1963 in *Section IV*), mission centers around the island were established. Logically, churches were placed first in the areas with the largest native communities and where chiefly support could be easily maintained. On the eastern coast of Hawai'i, this was in Hilo, at what became the Hāili Church. In this way, the missionaries got the most out of the limited number of foreign ministers and teachers. Being situated in the large community centers also meant that large groups of natives could live under the watchful eyes of church leaders, close to churches, and in "civilized" villages and towns.

Overall, historic records document the significant effect that western settlement practices had on Hawaiians throughout the islands. Drawing people from isolated native communities into selected village parishes and Hawaiian ports-of-call, had a dramatic, and perhaps unforeseen impact on native residency patterns, health, and social and political affairs. In single epidemics hundreds, and even thousands of Hawaiians died in short periods of time (cf. I'i 1959, Kamakau 1961, Doyle 1953, and McEldowney 1979).

This section of the study includes documentation of residency and land use as recorded in several sources, among which are Interior Department; Public Instruction; the Boundary Commission and Hawaiian Government Survey Division; Hawaiian newspaper articles written by native residents and documentation from other historical publications; and church records. The documentation is generally presented in chronological order, under various headings which identify the primary sources of the documentation. This approach of presentation has been employed here to help readers put into perspective, the context of the documentation.

Land Tenure: Ka Māhele 'Āina (The Land Division) of 1848

In pre-western contact Hawai'i, all land and natural resources were held in trust by the high chiefs (*ali'i 'ai ahupua'a* or *ali'i 'ai moku*). W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General of the Hawaiian Kingdom wrote:

> …It is admitted that under the ancient feudal system, the allodium of all land belonged to the King, not, however, as an individual, but "as the head of the nation or in his corporate right…" (Alexander; Survey Letter Book No. 9, September 30, 1891:107. Hawaii State Archives)

The use of lands and resources were given to the *hoa'āina* (native tenants), at the prerogative of the *ali'i* and their representatives or land agents (*konohiki*), who were generally lesser chiefs as well. In 1848, the Hawaiian system of land tenure was radically altered by the *Māhele 'Āina* (Division of Land). The *Māhele* defined the land interests of Kamehameha III (the King), the high-ranking chiefs, and the *konohiki*. As a result of the Māhele, all land in the Kingdom of Hawai'i came to be placed in one of three categories: (1) Crown Lands (for the occupant of the throne); (2) Government Lands; and (3) *Konohiki* Lands (Chinen 1958:vii and Chinen 1961:13).

Laws in the period of the Māhele record that ownership rights to all lands in the kingdom were "*subject to the rights of the native tenants*;" those individuals who lived on the land and worked it for their subsistence and the welfare of the chiefs (*Kanawai Hoopai Karaima*... {Penal Code} 1850:22). The 1850 resolutions in "*Kanawai Hoopai Karaima no ko Hawaii Pae Aina,*" authorized the newly formed Land Commission to award fee-simple title to all native tenants who occupied and improved any portion of Crown, Government, or Konohiki lands. These awards were to be free of commutation except for house lots located in the districts of Honolulu, Lāhainā, and Hilo (cf. Penal Code, 1850:123-124; and Chinen 1958:29).

In order to receive their awards from the Land Commission, the *hoa'āina* were required to prove that they cultivated the land for a living. They were not permitted to acquire "wastelands" (e.g. fishponds) or lands which they cultivated "with the seeming intention of enlarging their lots." Once a claim was confirmed, a survey was required before the Land Commission was authorized to issue any award (ibid.). The lands awarded to the *hoa'āina* became known as "*Kuleana* Lands." All of the claims and awards were numbered (Land Commission Awards or LCA), and the LCA numbers remain in use today to identify the original owners of lands in Hawai'i.

By the time of its closure on March 31, 1855, the Land Commission issued only 8,421 *kuleana* claims, equaling only 28,658 acres of land to the native tenants (Kame'eleihiwa 1992:295). None of those claims were made for the lands of 'Ahalanui, Laepāo'o, or Oneloa. Indeed, except for the islands of Kaho'olawe and Ni'ihau, no other land division of its size (Puna consists of c. 325,120 acres), had fewer claims for *kuleana* from native tenants, than the district of Puna.

Disposition of 'Ahalanui, Laepāo'o, Oneloa (and neighboring lands): Hawaiian Government Land Records

Records found in the collections of the Hawaii State Archives, Department of Land and Natural Resources-Land Management Division, and Bureau of Conveyances, provide us with detailed documentation of residency and land use in 'Ahalanui, Laepāo'o, and Oneloa. Because so much of the activity that occurred at Pohoiki was of direct importance to the welfare of families who resided in the study area *ahupua'a*, selected documentation for Pohoiki is also included here.

One of the interesting facts that comes out in the records cited below, is that upon R. Rycroft's moving into the Pohoiki area of Puna in ca. 1877, native families and the original lessee of ʻAhalanui, Laepāoʻo, Oneloa, and Pūʻālaʻa (J.E. Elderts), began having trouble with Mr. Rycroft (cf. communications of April 26th and July 28th, 1884). Additionally, we learn several important things about land use and agriculture in the area from at least the 1870s: (1) lands of ʻAhalanui, Laepāoʻo, and Oneloa were valued for there groves of coconuts and breadfruit trees; (2) *ʻawa* was licensed and grown commercially in the Pohoiki-study area vicinity; and (3) that portions of the land from Pohoiki–including the lands of the study area–to Kapoho, were used for pasturage from at least the 1870s to the 1950s (ibid. and oral historical records).

One of the most significant sources of historic information on land use and residency in the Puna District, is found in testimonies to the Commission on Boundaries (from ca. 1874-1876). Further documentation—on residency, customs, and the community—both pre- and post-dating the Commission proceedings, is summarized in *Table 2* (beginning on page 44), covering the period from ca. 1848 to 1953. Because of the extent of the documentation presented to the Boundary Commission, excerpts from those testimonies are presented separately, below.

Puna: Proceedings of the Boundary Commission (1874-1876)

In 1862, a Commission of Boundaries (the Boundary Commission) was established in the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi to legally set the boundaries of all the *ahupuaʻa* that had been awarded as a part of the Māhele. Subsequently, in 1874, the Commissioners of Boundaries was authorized to certify the boundaries for lands brought before them (W.D. Alexander in Thrum 1891:117-118). While no testimonies were collected for the Government land of ʻAhalanui, Laepāoʻo, and Oneloa, testimony was required for the neighboring lands of Pūʻālaʻa and Kapoho on the northeast and Pohoiki and Keahialaka on the southwest–lands which share common boundaries with the *ahupuaʻa* of the study area.

The primary informants for the boundary descriptions were old native residents of the area being discussed; in this case some of the witnesses had been born in ʻAhalanui in the late 1700s and early 1800s. The native witnesses usually spoke in Hawaiian, which was translated into English and transcribed as the proceedings occurred. The narratives below are excerpts from the testimonies given the by native residents of the area, or that were given by surveyors who recorded the boundaries based on the testimony of native guides. Not all of the documentation provided by each witness, is repeated here. All documentation regarding *ahupuaʻa* boundaries in the study area, and narratives regarding native customs and practices are cited. Underlining and square bracketing are the author's, and used to highlight particular points of historical interest.

Pūʻālaʻa

February 29, 1876 [Vol. B:406-407] D. A. Alapai K. Sworn says:

> I was born at Ahalanui, Puna, Hawaii. I do not know when. My mother tells me that I was able to walk when Keopuolani died [1823]. I have always lived there. I know land of Pualaa, and a *kamaaina* there. I know the boundaries between this land and Ahalanui, and have been told the points on the boundary between this land, Pualaa and Kapoho, but have never been all along that boundary. Oili an old *kamaaina* told me the boundary between this land and Kapoho. Oili is dead. I went with Henry M. Lyman

when he surveyed the boundary between Pualaa and Kapoho. He surveyed from the shore to an *ohia* tree by the Govt. road at place called Kapele o Kane. He marked the letter H. on the tree. Oili was the *kamaaina* who pointed out the boundary. A point at shore called Pohakuopala is the boundary at the shore between these two lands. A *mawae* [fissure or fracture] called Kakala is where land of Kapoho cuts this land off. It is *mauka* of the trees, *mauka* of where the old *kauhale* [dwelling] was. The tree that was marked at the *mauka* corner of this land at time of survey, has been killed by fire and is dry now. Kalaiwaa [also written Kalauwaa, and the name of a grantee in 'Ahalanui] and I went with F.S. Lyman when he surveyed the boundary between this land and Ahalanui. I was the *kamaaina* as Oili was dead. Kalaiwaa was a *malihini* [newcomer], but was *konohiki* [overseer] of the land. The land of Ahalanui has been sold and patented from the shore to place called Haleolono. The land of Ahalanui is on the Kau side of this land and Kapoho on the Hilo side. From Haleolono *mauka*, this land is bounded by the Govt. portion of Ahalanui, and the boundary runs to *the old koele* [field cultivated for the chief] called Iawa. There is a large *iwi aina* [rock wall] on the boundary. Thence the boundary runs *mauka* to place called Kaloi, where it is cut off by land of Kapoho. There is a large wall (or *paa* [*pā*]) on the boundary. I didn't go with Pele (F.S. Lyman) above Haleolono as I fell in to a hole and hurt my foot. It is only a short distance from there to the *mauka* boundary. I told Kalaiwaa where to go. Kaloi is an old *kauhale* on Pualaa by boundary. There is an *iwi aina nui* [large rock wall] on the boundary between these lands. The *mawae* is by the *ohia* at *mauka* end of the land on the boundary of Kapoho…

…Pualaa is bounded *makai* by the sea and had ancient fishing rights extending out to sea.

F.S. Lyman K. Sworn says [Vol. B:407]

I surveyed the land of Pualaa in 1855, I think it was [cf. Reg. Map 923]. Kalaiwaa was the *konohiki*, and I think he went with me, also Oili and Alapai. The boundary between this land and Kapoho was on the *aa* [rough lava] so we could not go along it. We surveyed across the land at the seashore to the boundary of Kapoho, and surveyed across again at the Govt. road, and marked an *ohia* tree on the boundary of Kapoho. The tree is still standing. I saw it the last time I was in Puna. The map and notes of survey I have filed, agree with the notes of survey of land patented on Ahalanui. I have compared it with the notes of survey given in our book of surveys, made by my brothers and myself. H.M. Lyman surveyed Kahananui's land and School lot. I surveyed the small lot at the shore and Hewahewa's [more commonly written as Kuahewa – Grant 2466 to Kuahewa and Kamakau] lot. *Mauka* of land sold I surveyed the boundary between this land and Ahalanui as the *kamaaina* pointed it out to me…

Pohoiki

February 29, 1876 [Vol. B:408-409] Kaluahine K. Sworn:

I was born at Keahialaka, Puna, Hawaii, at time of the death of Kamehameha I [May 1819]. I now live on Pohoiki. I have always lived on these two lands, and am a *kamaaina* of these lands. I know part of the

boundaries of Pohoiki. There are old *ahupohaku* [stone cairns] on the boundary. Kaulana an old *kamaaina* of these lands pointed out part of the boundaries to me. He is dead now. The land of Keahialaka bounds Pohoiki on the Kau side. The boundary between them at the shore is at a point called Kahuna… …thence to place called Paakoi, where Keahialaka and Kapoho cut this land off. This place is *mauka* of place called Punanaio. Thence the boundary between this land and Kapoho runs *makai* along old trail. Pohoiki ends at *Oioina* Pakoi [the trailside resting place, Pakoi]; and the boundary runs *makai* along trail along land of Laepaoo, until come to *pahoehoe* at the *mauka* corner of land of Oneloa, Pohoiki being on *Aa*, and Oneloa on Hilo side of *Aa*. Thence boundary runs *makai* to place called Kupakia. Thence *makai*, both lands being on *Aa* to *ahu* [cairn] at place called Paliuli. Thence *makai* into *uluhala* [pandanus grove] called Kaena to an old pile of stones. Thence *makai* to Govt. road on Hilo side of church . Thence *makai* along land on Oneloa, sold and patented to Makaimoku, to place called Palipoko. Bounded *makai* by sea, ancient fishing rights extending out to sea.

[Vol. B:409] D.A. Alapai K. Sworn (same witness as on Pualaa)

I was born at Ahalanui, Puna, Hawaii. My mother says that I was able to walk when Keopuolani died. My *kupuna* were from land of Pohoiki. I have heard them tell what the boundaries of Pohoiki are, between it, and the lands on the Hilo side of it. And they always told me the same boundaries as the last witness has given…

Keahialaka

June 2, 1873 [Vol. A:177-178] Owiholu K. Sworn

I was born at Keahialaka at the time of *Kui o ka wai o ka Lae* [digging of the water hole at Kalae, in c. 1815]; in Puna, Hawaii. Have always lived on said land and Pualaa. Am a *kamaaina* of the former. My father showed me boundaries. It was at a time of famine, and we went into *nahelehele* [forest] to collect food, and it was then he showed them to me so as to keep me from trespassing on other lands. For if we were caught on other lands, the people of that land took our food away from us. Kaukulau, is the land is on the southern boundary, it is at a place called Pokea, an old canoe landing. The boundary is a few rods on the south side, then the line between these lands runs to a wall built by prisoners for Mr. Coney's wife. The boundary between Keahialaka and Kaukulau runs to Kalehuapau a mound in *Nahelehele* and *uluhala* [pandanus grove]. Thence to wall which is the *mauka* end of Kaukulau, and where Ki joins Keahialaka. Thence *mauka* to Komo in *Uluhala*, an *oioina* [resting place] on old cultivating ground, where Malama cuts Ki off. Thence the boundary between Keahialaka and Malama runs to Puulena, a crater, passing the *makai* side toward Kau to Kanunu, where the old road used to be in the *ohia* woods. Thence to Kilohana, Malama ends at the crater and Kaaula joins Keahialaka there. And from thence these two lands run side and side to Kilohana, an *oioina* on the *pahoehoe* in the woods. Kilohana is a low hill. Waikahiula cuts off Keahialaka at Kilohana, and Kapoho joins said land at Papalauahi, an old *pahoehoe* field where the old road to Hilo used to go. Thence the boundary

between Kapoho and Keahialaka runs *makai* to Papakoi, a *pali* [cliff] covered with lava on Kapoho. Keahialaka is at the foot of the *pali*. Thence *makai* to place called Punanaio where houses used to be and a cultivating ground was at the *mauka* side of it. Here Kapoho leaves Keahialaka and Pohoiki joins and bounds it to the shore ending at the *pali* on the Kau side of Pohoiki landing. The beach in the cove belonging to Pohoiki and said land belonging to King Lunalilo. I did not see Keahialaka surveyed. The land has ancient fishing rights.

Kamilo K. Sworn [Vol. A:178-179]

I was born at Keahialaka, at time of Aikapu [perhaps the breaking of the ‘ai kapu, or eating restriction in 1820]. Am a *kamaaina* of said land and know the boundaries. My parents, now dead, showed them to me, and their parents showed them. As we lived on Keahialaka we could not go on to other lands for if we did the people belonging to them would take our things away from us… …along Kapoho to Punanaio (woods being on Kapoho) the *mauka* boundary of Pohoiki. Thence the land of Pohoiki bounds Keahialaka to the sea. Tall *ohia* trees and *kipuka pili* [an open area of *pili* grass growth], an old cultivating ground are at Punanaio. Thence along Pohoiki to grove of *ohia* trees. Kaumaumahooho on Keahialaka, thence *makai* to *lae hala* [prominence of pandanus growth] called Kukuikukii, the middle of grove. Thence *makai* to Government road to Keahupuaa the *pali*, cracks are on the brow of the *pali*. Thence to seashore, & point called Palikaha on the Puna side of Laeakahuna on Puna side of Pohoiki harbor…

Kapoho
July 15, 1873 [Vol. A:204-205] Hoapili Sworn

I was born at Kehena, Puna, at time of Keoua [pre 1793]. I have lived on Kapoho with Keawe K. my father now dead. Am a *kamaaina* of Kapoho and know a part of the boundaries. Pualaa bounds Kapoho on the Kau side next to the shore. The boundary running on the Kau side of a point called Kapahu, thence *mauka* to the Government road and to Kapeleokane, an *ahua* [mound] by *awaawa* [a little gulch or valley-like feature]; said *awaawa* is the boundary. Thence *mauka* to Mohonui, a *mawae* [fracture] on the Kau side being the boundary. Thence to Kahuamoa a *puupili* [*pili* grass covered hill], thence to Kaluaelapii, a chasm. Thence the boundary follows along said chasm to three small hills called Puuainako. At this place Pualaa ends and Pohoiki bounds Kapoho. My father pointed out these boundaries to me.

Thence Pohoiki bounds Kapoho to Pakoiki. Thence the boundary runs *mauka* to Kepaahi an *ahu pohaku* [stone cairn] on the line where Keahialaka cuts Pohoiki off and bounds Kapoho. Thence the boundary runs along the *pahoehoe* to Kiapu a large hill on Keahialaka. The boundary runs some distance this side of the hill on the *pahoehoe*, and a short distance from Kaukiwai a swampy place on Keahialaka. Thence *mauka* the *pahoehoe* on Keahialaka and *aa* on Kapoho. Papalauahi is on Kapoho. From Kaukiwai the boundary runs to Puainako, on the *makai* side of *oioina* [a trailside resting place], on the *pahoehoe* is Kauaea, ending at Wahineloa…

Table 2. Disposition of Land (Residency and Land Use) in ʻAhalanui, Laepāoʻo, and Oneloa (with Selected Information from Neighboring Lands)

Date	*Source*	*Documentation*
1848	Public Instruction (State Archives, Series 262: 1848-Hawaii)	For the year 1848: Kanono, the teacher at Pohoiki, recorded that 52 students attended classes. At Pualaa, Mose recorded that 35 students attended classes [note below: Following the Māhele, the Pūʻālaʻa school lot was moved to ʻAhalanui.]
Sept. 10, 1850	Int. Dept. Bk. 3:3	Laepaoo (having been previously held by Wm. Lunalilo, ceded to the Government in the division (Māhele) of 1850.
1850	Privy Council Vol. 6:146 & Vol. 6:160	Kahale applies for a 10 acre parcel in Ahalanui. Application of Kahale approved, reserving the rights of the natives.
1850	Privy Council Vol. 7:37	The sale of 30 acres in Laepaoo to Peleula, approved. The sale of 60 acres in the lands of Laepaoo and Ahalanui to Kahananui, approved.
Oct. 18, 1850	Royal Patent 1001	Makaimoku to Minister of Interior; applies to purchase 25 acres of government land in the *ahupuaa* of Oneloa. He offers 25 cents per acre for the fertile land (*aina momona*); 12.5 cents per acre for poor quality land (*aina ino*); and 5 cents per acre for very poor quality land (*aina ino loa*). (*Figure 4*)

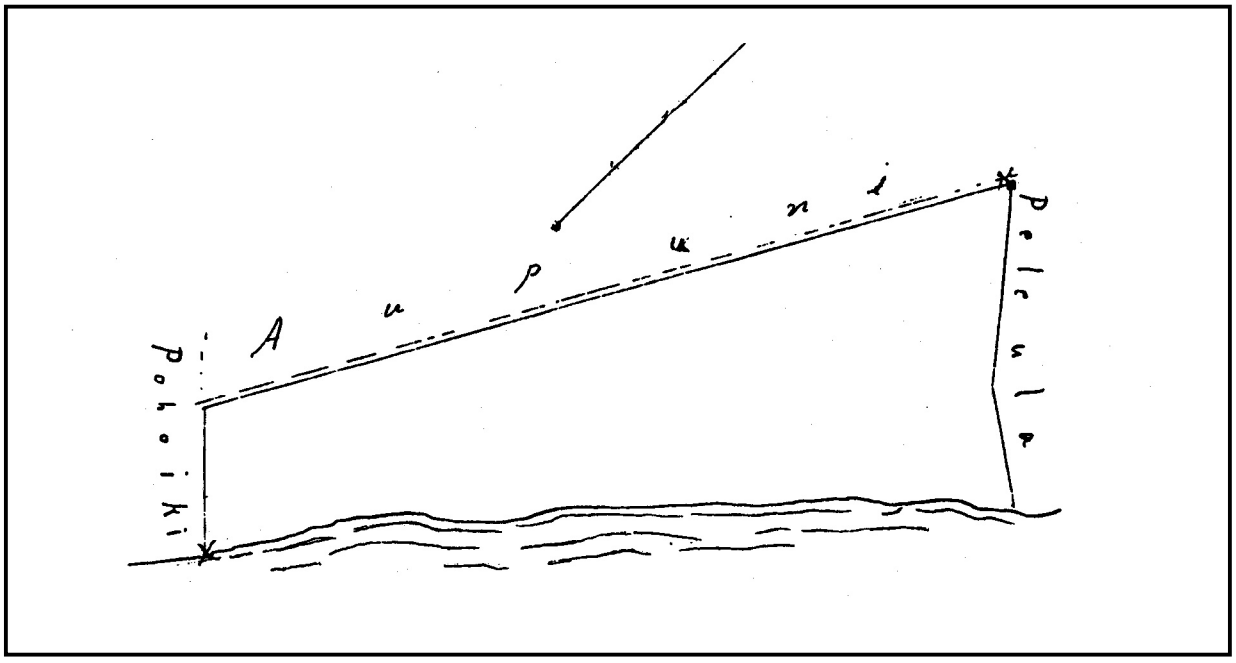


Figure 4. Survey of R.P. Grant 1001, to Makaimoku at Oneloa; Oct. 18, 1850 (Land Management Division)

Table 2. (continued)

Date	*Source*	*Documentation*
Nov. 22, 1850	Privy Council Vol. 6A	Approval of sale of land to: · App. No. 338 – Makaimoku; 25 acres in Oneloa for 50 cents per acre; and · App. No. 339 – Kahale; 10 acres in Ahalanui for 50 cents per acre.
Dec. 28, 1850	Int. Dept. Bk. 3:106	Notifying Kahale that the 10 acres in Ahalanui will be sold to him at 50 cents an acre; reserving the rights of the native tenants etc; (Kahale's claim was never formalized and patented).
Dec. 30, 1850	Int. Dept. Bk. 3:107	S.P. Kalama to Makaimoku; the Privy Council approved sale of 25 acres in Oneloa, 50 cents an acre; reserving the rights of the native tenants etc.
Dec. 3, 1852 enrolled	Public Instruction Reports (Archives Series 262 Hawaii Reports – 1852)	Kamakau [co-recipient of Grant 2466] was the teacher at the Pualaa School. In the period between Sept. 1st to Dec. 3rd, 1852, 28 students were in classes
Dec. 13, 1852	Int. Dept. Ltr.	Privy Council – Resolved that the following sales by Rev. D.B. Lyman in…Puna…be and are hereby Confirmed to: · Kamakaimoku at Oneloa; 31 acres at 25 cent per acre. · Peleula at Laepaoo; 30 acres at 20 cents per acre (*Figure 5*);

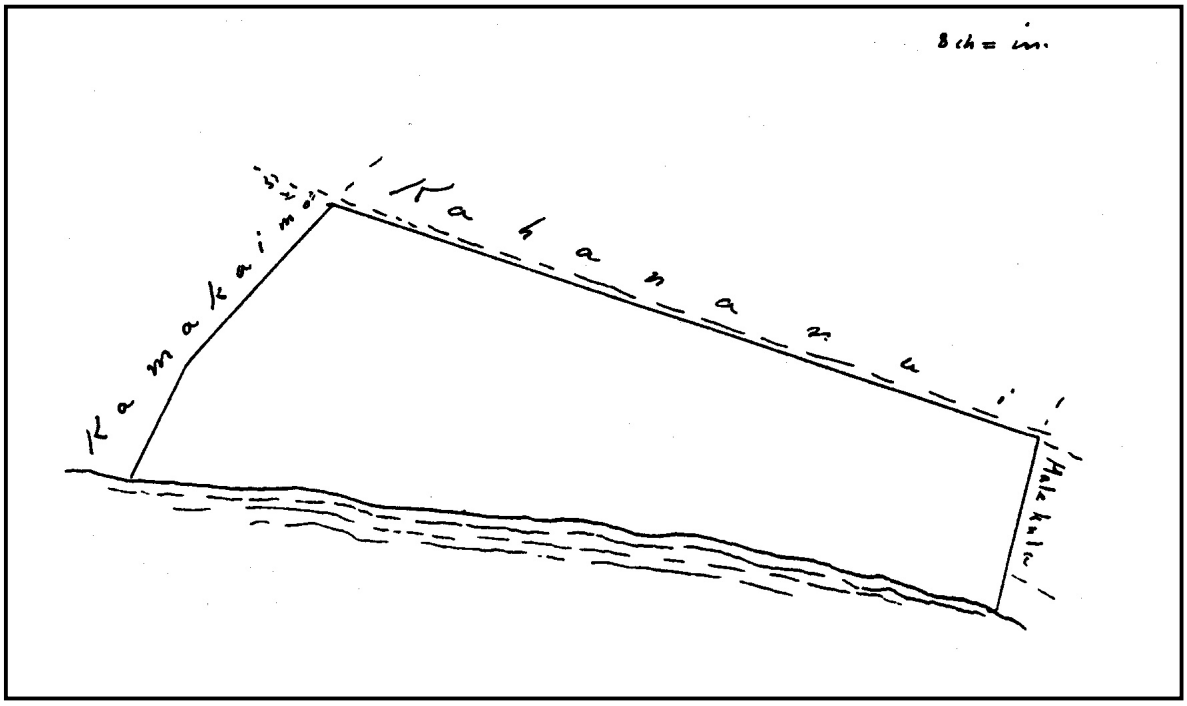


Figure 5. Royal Patent Grant 1016 to Peleula; lands of Laepaoo & Aahalanui, Puna, Hawaii (Land Management Division)

Table 2. (continued)

Date	*Source*	*Documentation*
Dec. 13, 1852 (cont'd.)		· Kahananui at Laepaoo & Ahalanui; 69 acres at 19.50 cents per acre (*Figure 6*).

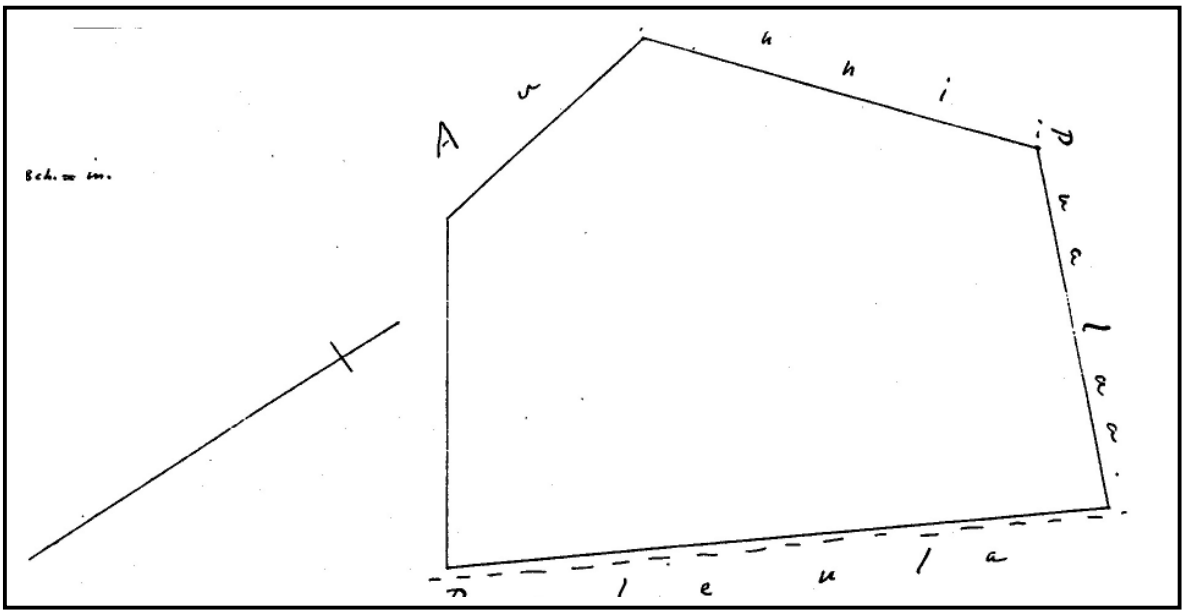


Figure 6. Royal Patent Grant 1015 to Kahananui; lands of Laepaoo & Aahalanui, Puna, Hawaii (Land Management Division)

Aug. 30, 1853:2	Public Instruction	Survey of 1.75 acre school lot at Aahalanui, Puna, approved (*Figure 7*). Pohoiki school lot of 1.40 acres approved on same date.

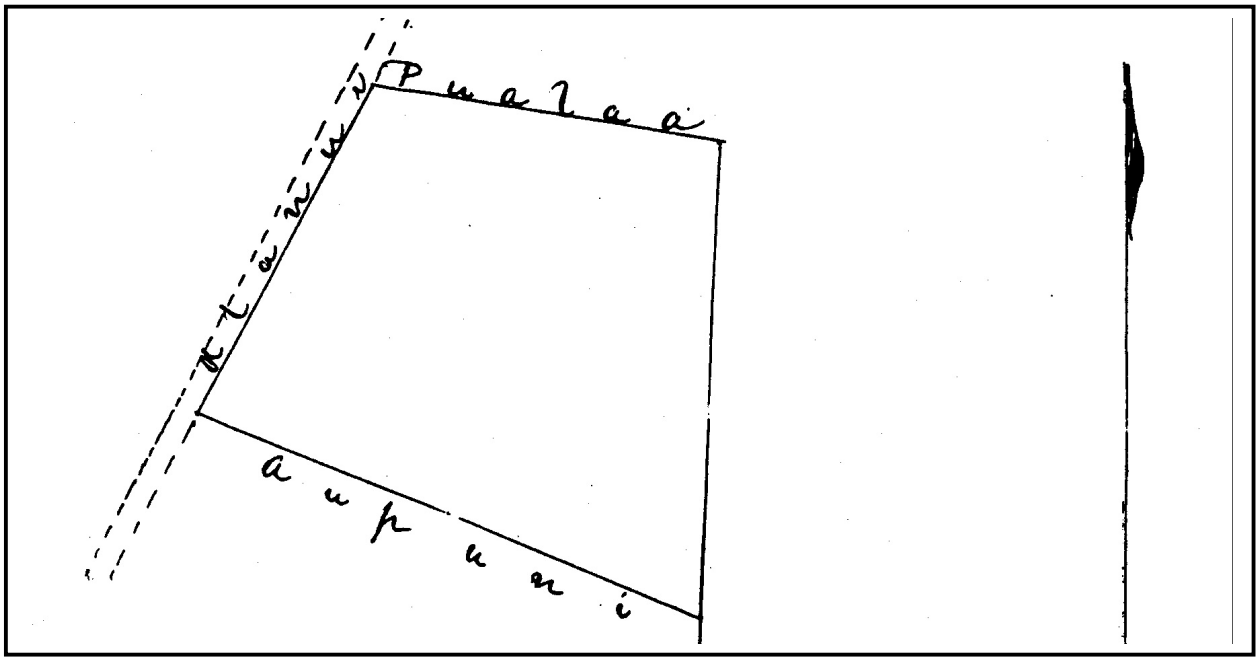


Figure 7. Kahuahale Kula ma Aahalanui, Puna, Hawaii; Aug. 30th, 1853 (State Archives, Public Instruction Survey Book)

Table 2. (continued)

Date	*Source*	*Documentation*
1858	Royal Patent Grant 2466	F. S. Lyman submits the survey of the lot at Ahalanui and Laepaoo, Puna; 139 6/10th acres awarded to Kuahewa and Kamakau (*Figure 8*).

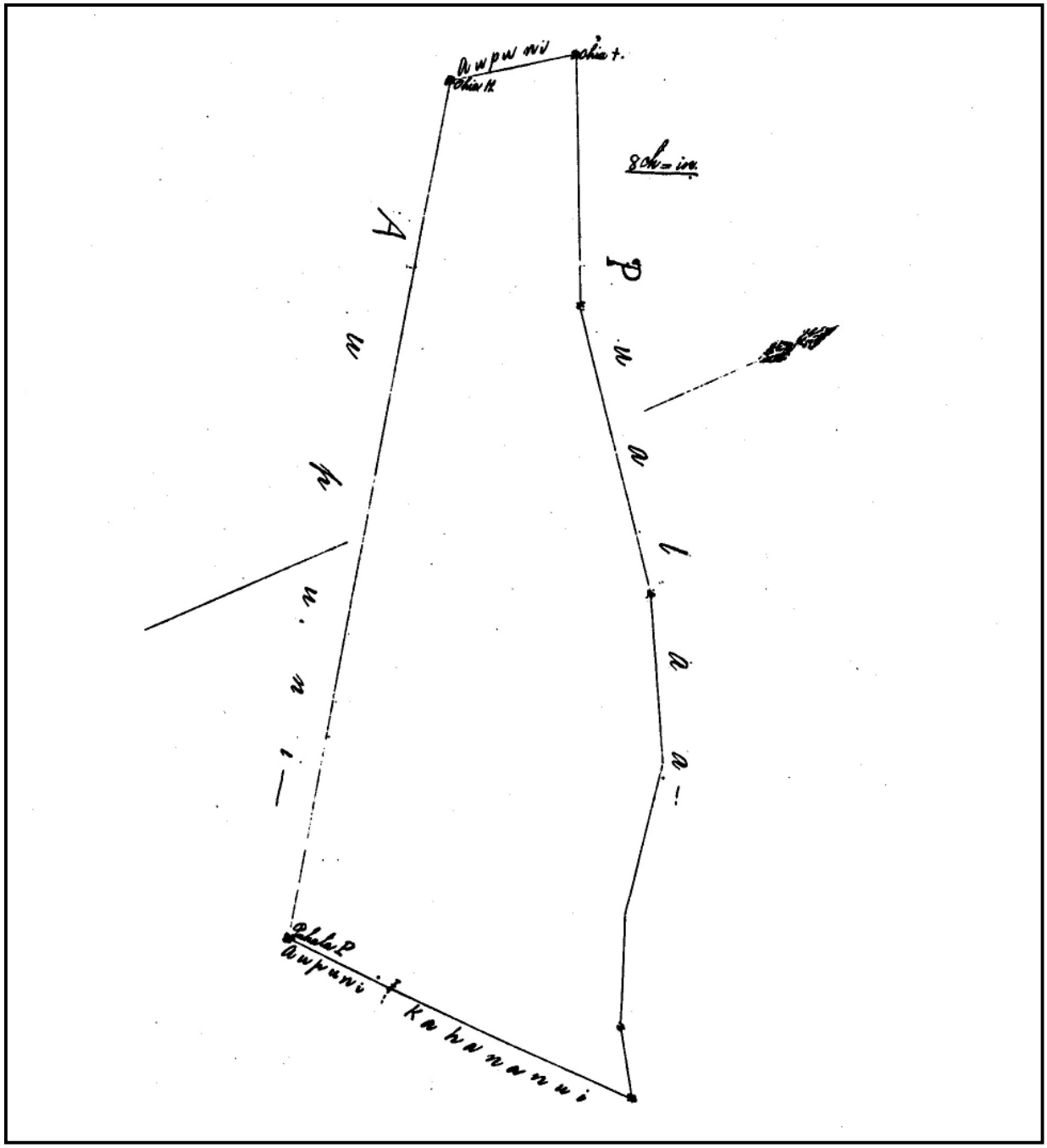


Figure 8. Royal Patent Grant 2466, to Kuahewa and Kamakau; Ahalanui & Laepaoo, Puna, Hawaii 1858 (Land Management Division) (reduced to 80% of original)

Table 2. (continued)

Date	*Source*	*Documentation*
Nov. 1862	Royal Patent Grant 2982	F. S. Lyman submits the survey of the lot at Ahalanui, Puna; 1 3/10th acres awarded to Kalauwaa [also written as Kalaiwaa] (*Figure 9*). Conditions of the grant, state – "Reserving the (public) place where canoes land, near the large stone."

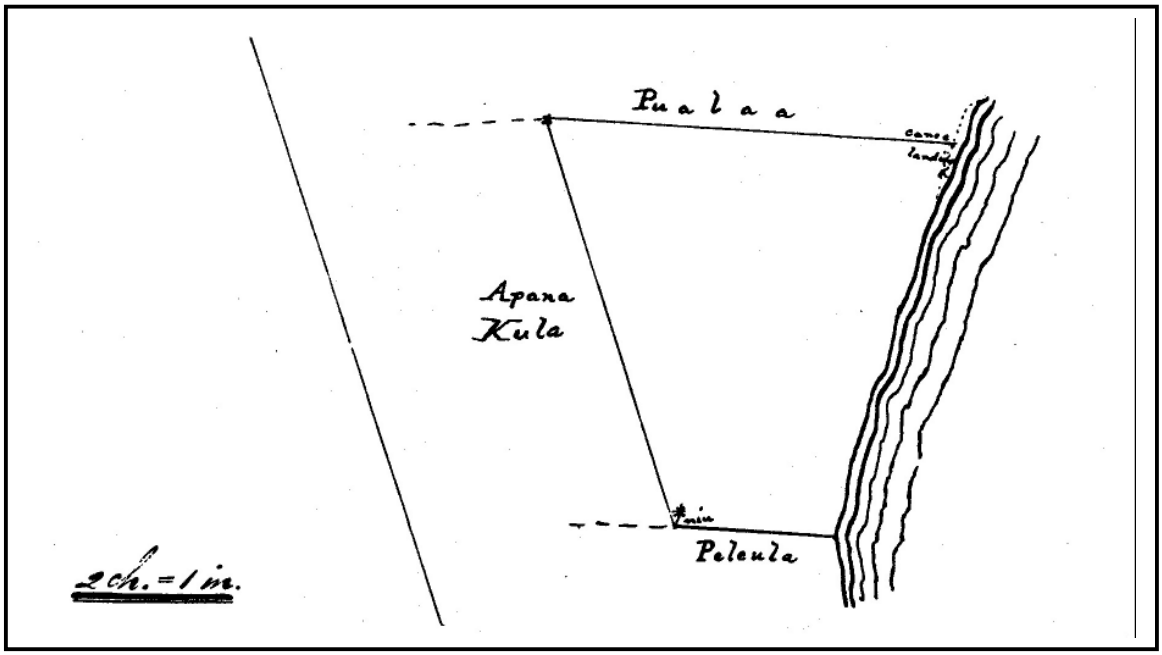


Figure 9. Royal Patent Grant 2982, to Kalauwaa at Ahalanui, Puna, Hawaii; Nov. 1862 (Land Management Division)

Dec. 31, 1862 Jan. 26, 1865 Dec. 31, 1868	Int. Dept. Letters	L. Kaina, Government Land Agent, Puna, submits rental payments for land in Oneloa.
1865	Public Instruction School Reports (Archives Series 262 Hawaii Folder - 1865)	Pohoiki, a stone concern standing on original ground, including a church site. Reading, writing, and geography were good, but arithmetic was not so good. 37 scholars. There is an ancient school lot at Aahalanui, not far off, which should be occupied as working grounds for the children, or else exchanged for a nice site *mauka* of the road near the present school house… (page 24)
March 4, 1869	Int. Dept. Letter	Father Clement to Minister of Interior; requesting a piece of land in Oneloa for a church site.

Table 2. (continued)

Date	*Source*	*Documentation*
Apr. 27, 1869	Int. Dept. Letter	L. Kaina to Minister of Interior; reporting that 5 acres for the church site is good, and that the Catholics are building a church thereon.
Apr. 28, 1869	Int. Dept. Letter	Having not received a response, Father Clement Resubmits application for a piece of land in Oneloa.
May 10, 1869	Int. Dept. Book 11:33	Minister of Interior notifies Father Clement that a Resolution was passed, granting a *kuleana* piece of Oneloa in order to build a church.
Jan. 25, 1871 Jan. 11, 1872	Int. Dept. Letters	Rental fees for lands in Oneloa transmitted to Min. of Interior.
Feb. 25, 1874	Int. Dept. Letter	L. Kaina notifies Min. of Interior that remaining Government lands in Oneloa are covered with rocks & *Ohia* trees.
Jan. 1, 1875	Bureau of Conveyances Lib. 41:441-443	Ten year lease agreement for the land of Pualaa between H.R.H. Ruth Keelikolani and J.E. Elderts; for the period of ten years. [Elderts also leased Kahuwai from R. Keʻelikōlani at the same time. Additional documentation on Elderts business operations and interest in the study area lands is presented below.]
Apr. 28, 1877	Board of Education (Archives Series 262 Hawaii Report 1877)	H.R. Hitchcock to C.R. Bishop. …The schools of Opihikao and Pohoiki are in the hands of in-experienced teachers and have rather retrograded. I have asked the school agent to make up a complete statement of the amount of money obtained by the pupils of the schools, since the operation of the school labor law. Puna is a district overrun by cattle, goats and hogs, which regard not stone walls, and patiently wait until the crops begin to be valuable, then appropriate them largely to their own use. This has a depressing effect upon the little workers, who add cubits to the height of the walls, until it becomes a matter of peril to the inspector to climb over them in order to enter the school house… (pages 1 & 2)
June 13, 1877	Bureau of Conveyances Lib. 51:80-81	*Bill of Sale* – R. Oliver, having obtained a lease on an area of about 2 ½ acres of land in Pohoiki, grants said lease to R. Rycroft. The parcel included the store of the grantor, as well as out buildings, fixtures and appurtenances (stock and trade in the store valued at $1896.24). Also included in the Bill of Sale were:

Table 2. (continued)

Date	*Source*	*Documentation*
(June 13, 1877, continued)		
		· About 20 acres of pasture land in Pohoiki; · All, *awa* belonging to the grantor, cultivated and uncultivated in the Detract of Puna; guaranteed to be of an amount not less than "five thousand walus;" · Also one half interest in the *Awa* License at Hilo…
Oct. 27, 1877	Bureau of Conveyances Lib. 51:334-335	Kaluhiwaha (residing at Ponahawai), widow and sole heir of Peleula, grants the deed to the land in Laepaoo and Ahalanui, described in Royal Patent Grant 1016, to her grandchild, Ainaike.
April 28, 1882	Int. Dept. Letter	R. Rycroft to W. Armstrong, Minister of Interior; petitions for year-to-year lease of the lands of Oneloa, Laepaoo, Ahalanui, Malama, Kaukulau, Puna, at $40.00 per year.
May 9, 1882	Int. Dept. Letter	C. Lyons to W. Armstrong; replies that Judge Lyman has said that the lands of Oneloa, Laepaoo, Ahalanui, Malama, and Kaukulau are of "little value." As such, he recommends that the lands be rented, providing that "no valuable trees be cut down."
May 9, 1882	Int. Dept. Bk. 20:450	Records that a certificate of rental for the lands of Oneloa, Laepaoo, Ahalanui, Malama, and Kaukulau in the amount of $40.00 a year has been made to R. Rycroft; with the condition that not trees shall be cut down upon any of said lands during the terms of this rental.
May 13, 1883	Bureau of Conveyances Lib. 86:43-44	Kekuko (w), her husband, Joseph Flores, and Kekuko's daughter, Ainaike (granddaughter of Peleula); sell the land of Laepaoo & Ahalanui, as described in Royal Patent grant 1016 (30 6/10^{ths} acres) to R. Rycroft.
Nov. 8, 1883	Int. Dept. Bk. 23:257	Minister of Interior to R. Rycroft, confirming that he became the tenant for one year or at will of the Minister of Interior for "the remaining unoccupied portions" of the following named lands situated in the District of Puna Island of Hawaii, Oneloa, Laepaoo, Ahalanui, Malama, and Kaukulau. A lease of the lands was not granted in regular form because the location and area etc., were not definitely known.
Jan. 7, 1884	Int. Dept. Letter	J.E. Elderts, Kapoho Ranch; to the Min. of Interior, stating:

Table 2. (continued)

Date	***Source***	***Documentation***

(January 7, 1884, continued)
In 1871 he entered into a lease with L. Kaina, Government Land Agent, for lands between Pualaa and Pohoiki, known as Analoa [Oneloa] and Ahalanui, etc., and paid $30.00 per year, paid up to 1883.
States that Rycroft knew that he was occupying and paying rent for the whole of the lands of Oneloa, Laepaoho [Laepaoo], & Ahalanui, etc…

Jan. 15, 1884 — Int. Dept. Book 23:454 — J.A. Hassinger, Chief Clerk to J.E. Elderts, Kapoho Ranch replies:

In your letter you describe the lands and between Pualaa and Pohoiki and named Analoa and Ahalanui and part of Kiipuka. We find none of these names on our Record of Leases to you, but they may perhaps be included in the lands above described [several lands of Puna, north of Kapoho].

In regard to Mr. Rycrofts claim, we can only say that under date of May 9th 1882; he became tenant at will of the Minister of the Interior of the remaining unoccupied portions of Oneloa, Laepaoho, Ahalanui, Malama, and Kaukulau, Puna…
I suggest that where you have leases nearly expiring, and you desire to retain the lands that you make prompt application for renewal.

Apr. 26, 1884 — Int. Dept. Letter — J.E. Elderts (Kapoho) to Chas. Gulick, Minister of the Interior. Elderts, having made inquiries of the old natives, replied to the Minister's letter of January 15, 1884:

[Elderts names lands in northeastern Puna, within Lease #180; transferred by Hawaiian Agricultural Company, in 1877 to Shipman and Elderts, and subsequently transferred to W.H. Shipman upon dissolution of their partnership.]

…You say that in my letter to you, I describe certain land between Pualaa and Pohoiki (the lands that I asked for information about) as named Analoa and Ahalanui, and part of Kiipuka, which is an error on the part of someone, either the one who wrote the letter for me, or you must have misunderstood my meaning, as there is no Kiipuka between the land of Pualaa and Pohoiki. The names of the three lands that I wish information about are Oneloa, Laepaoho, and Ahalanui, and they are land that I rented from L. Kaina, Govt. Land Agent (at the time), somewhere about the year 1871, for five years at an annual rent of twenty dollars per annum.
These three lands, with one-half of a Kiipuka [*kīpuka*] (or an opening in the Aa), on the land of Koae, and also leased from L. Kaina (but at a later date than the first three lands.) at an annual rent of Ten dollars, makes the annual rent of thirty dollars, which I have always paid year after year, form that date until now (13 years).

You say that under date of May 9th 1882, Mr. Rycroft became Tenant at will, from or by your consent, of the unoccupied, or rather, remaining unoccupied portions of Oneloa, Laepaoho, Ahalanui, Malama and Kaukulau in Puna.

Now, Mr. Rycroft knew that I had been, and was occupying, and paying the rent year after year for the whole of the lands of Oneloa, Laepaoho, and Ahalanui. For when he first came to Pohoiki to live [c. 1877], the natives wished to make him

Table 2. (continued)

Date	Source	Documentation
		(continued from communication of April 26, 1884) trouble for allowing his stock to run on the above three lands, but as I saw him soon after that, I told him that I had all the Government Lands between him and me rented [the lands from Oneloa to Kapoho], and that I was willing for him to let his stock run on the lands without any charge to him for it… Mr. Rycroft claims the whole of the lands of Oneloa, Laepaoho, and Ahalanui, and says that he has a written lease of them, but that he could not show it to me, as it is in Mr. M.P. Robinson's safe in Honolulu. And further, he has ordered my men off those lands when they were sent by be after Breadfruit and Cocoa-nuts, and taken all to himself for his own use…
July 28, 1884	Hawaii Government Survey (DAGS 6, Box 10)	Letter of J.E. Elderts, Kapoho Ranch; to C.J. Lyons, Government Surveyor, states: As I have written to the present Minister of the Interior several times about the Govt. Lands of Oneloa, Laepaoho, and Ahalanui, and cannot get a satisfactory answer from him, I now address you on the same matter… [reviews information as cited above, and adds] Now, I cannot get a lease from the Govt. to show that I am entitled to the land and what Cocoa-nuts, Breadfruit, &c grows on it, to them, and as I cannot get them without being in trouble and hot water all the time the aforementioned R. Rycroft, and as I prefer to live in peace with my neighbors, I now hereby notify you that I give up and relinquish all my rights in anyway in and to the aforesaid lands. And in doing so, I would ask that you will use your influence to obtain a lease of them for a native named Kapukini (K.) who is now living on the land, and who is a constable and the Jailer of our jail in the district, and a good man to have the lease, and I think if it is possible to obtain a lease of said lands the he, Kapukini is entitled to, and should have the first chance to lease them. Any information I can give you in addition to what I have already written, I shall be pleased to impart, and any communication you may wish to sent to the said Kapukini, through me, I will see that he gets it… [11]
Aug. 12, 1884	ditto	Elderts to Lyons – further documentation as above. (also, cf. Elderts to L.A. Thurston; Int. dept. Letters, Oct. 13, 1887)
Dec. 23, 1884	Int. Dept. Book 25:435	J.A. Hassinger, Chief Clerk, on behalf of the Minister of the Interior to R. Rycroft, Esq.: Acknowledging Rycroft's proposal for construction of the landing and breakwater at Pohoiki; the Department will assist in the amount of $350.00. When the work passes inspection, Rycroft's draft in the above amount will be honored.

[11] Kapukini (John Kapukini) was a native of Maui, who moved to Puna sometime prior to 1884. Kapukini was the great grandfather of John Hale (see interview of June 12, 1998).

Table 2. (continued)

Date	*Source*	*Documentation*
Aug. 17, 1887	Int. Dept. Book 30:206	J.A. Hassinger to C.N. Arnold, Esq., R.S. in Chief Hilo, Hawaii:

In re – the landing at Pohoiki Puna – which was built or being built in December 1884, by Mr. Rycroft and for which he was to receive $350...and which wharf was swept away before completion. Mr. Rycroft now reports the wharf rebuilt… Mr. Rycroft also giving a written agreement that the landing which is on his private property shall be allowed free for the use of the public as a consideration for this assistance…

Aug. 15, 1891	Int. Dept. Letter	R. Rycroft applies to purchase lands of Ahalanui, Laepaoo, and Oneloa etc.
Sept. 1, 1892	Int. Dept. Letter	J. Kapukini to Minister of Interior; applies to purchase 4 acres of land in Laepaoo, adjoining Rycroft's land in Pohoiki.

A note with the same communication also references the application of A. Dickman. Loebenstein's Reg. Map 1777 places Dickman's house in Pū'āla'a, with coffee patch in an opening of the *hala* forest crossed by the 'Ahalanui-Pū'āla'a boundary. Dickman's coffee patch is situated mid way between the Kahaleolono and Kākala agricultural fields, 'Ahalanui side of the old *hōlua* at Pū'āla'a (*Figure 2*).

June 8, 1893	A.B. Loebenstein – Field Survey Book Vol. 37 State Survey Division	A.B. Loebenstein surveyed and pinned a 2 acre lot in Oneloa for John Kapukini (*Figure 10*). [As will be seen in the following documentation, Kapukini's Oneloa grant parcel was not patented, it was absorbed into R. Rycroft's Grant No. 3670 on Nov. 16, 1893. Interestingly, the oral history interview with John Hale (June 12, 1998), records that Mele Kapukini-Hale (J. Kapukini's daughter and John Hale's grandmother) lived in Rycroft's house on that lot until her passing away in c. 1928.]
Feb. 22, 1893	Government Survey Office Letter	J.T. Brown to R.A. King – recommends approval of the sale, at auction, of 4 acres of lands in Laepaoo to Kapukini (Application No. 494).
Nov. 16, 1893	Patent Grant 3670	Sold at Auction to R. Rycroft; 4.12/100th acres at Oneloa, Puna (*Figure 11*).
Mar. 5, 1894	Int. Dept. Letter	A.B. Loebenstein to Minister of Interior, transmitting request of R. Rycroft to purchase remaining portions of Government land in Oneloa, Laepaoo, and Ahalanui.

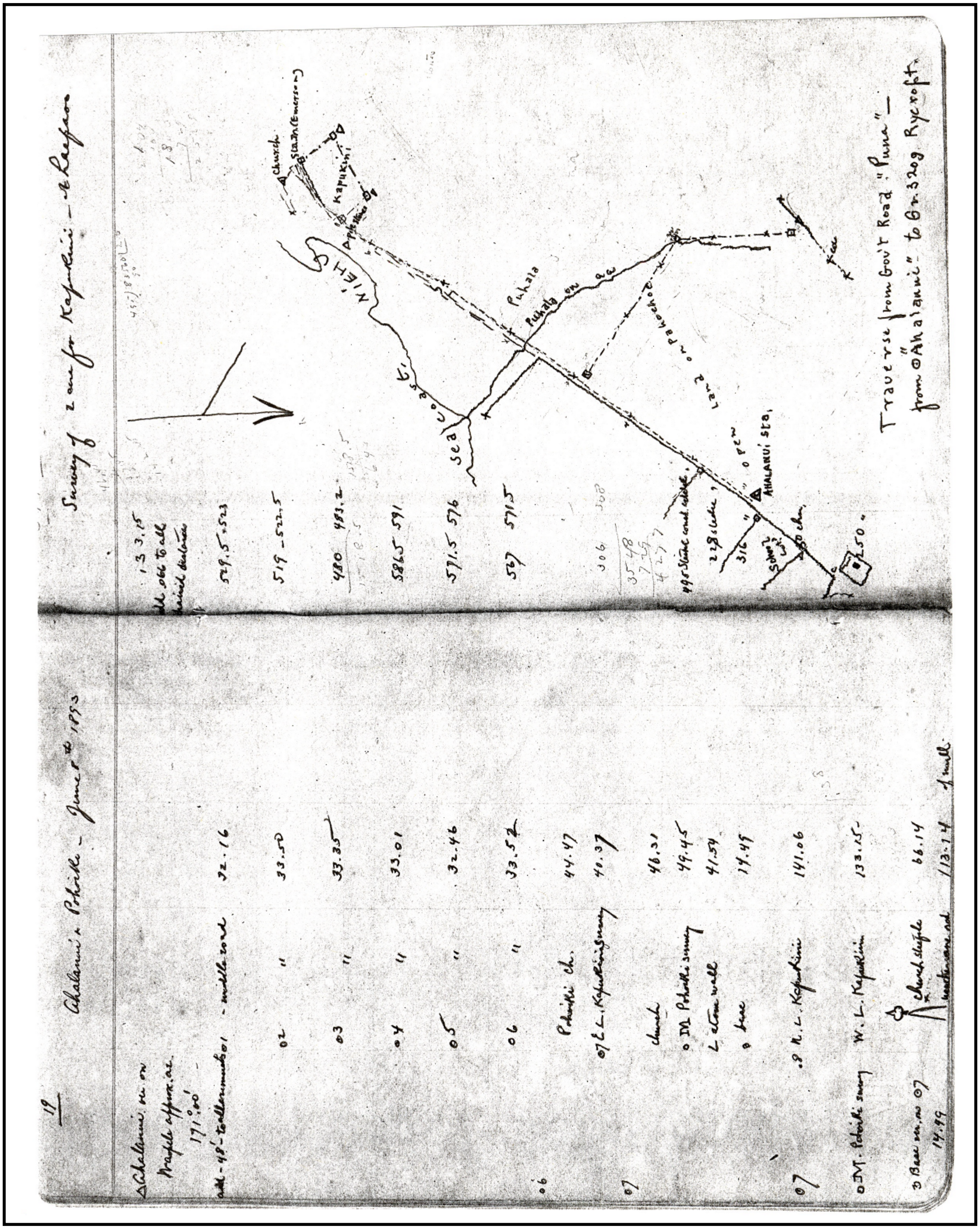


Figure 10. Field Survey of a 2-acre lot in Oneloa for J. Kapukini; June 8, 1893. (A.B. Loebenstein Field Note Book No. 37:19; State Survey Division)

Table 2. (continued)

Date	Source	Documentation

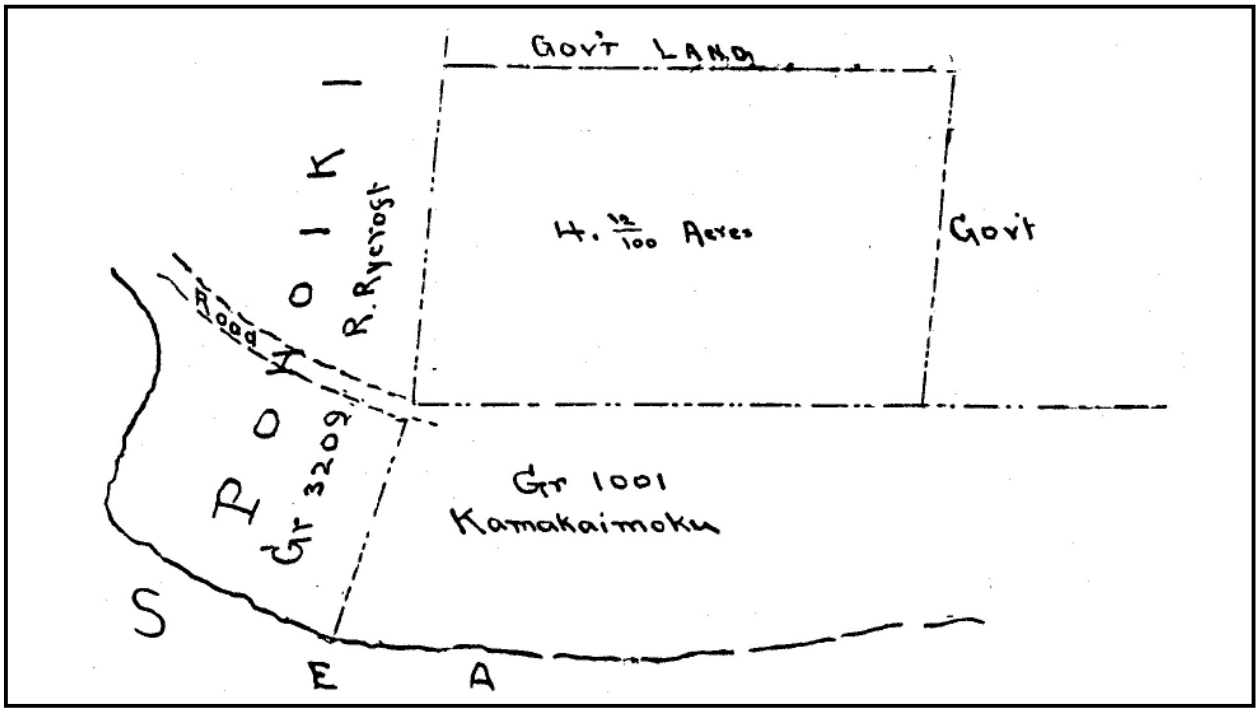


Figure 11. Survey of Patent Grant 3907, to R. Rycroft at Oneloa, Puna, Hawaii; Nov. 16, 1893 (Land Management Division)

Apr. 6, 1895	Int. Dept. Letter	Wm. Kumahoa, Constable (Pohoiki), to J.A. King, Minister of Interior; asking for permission to fence a one acre parcel of land at Oneloa, and to build a house there.
Apr. 27, 1895	Int. Dept. Letter	R. Rycroft to J.A. King, Min. of Interior; applying to purchase and additional parcel of approximately 15 acres in Oneloa, situated "just *mauka*" of Grant 3970; and adjoining Pohoiki. It is *āā* with *lauhala*. Offering an "upset price" of $1.50 cents per acre.
May 8, 1895	Int. Dept. Letter.	J.T. Brown, of the Hawaiian Government Survey Office to J.A. King; reports that he believes the price of $1.50 per acre as offered by R. Rycroft is too low.
May 20, 1895	Int. Dept. Letter	Harry Rycroft, to J.A. King; applying to purchase an additional 50 acres in Oneloa. Reporting that the previous piece was smaller than anticipated, and that a large percentage of the land included in the survey is not capable of cultivation…

Table 2. (continued)

Date	*Source*	*Documentation*
May 28, 1895	Int. Dept. Letter	Wm. N. Kumahoa to J.A. King; applies for a 30 acre homestead lot in Oneloa. (Note: J.A. King recommends waiting on decision, until action in matter of new land law are resolved; June 21, 1895 — this was resolved by the "Home-Stead Lease and Right of Purchase Lease" system; Part VII, Land Act of 1895)
July 31, 1895	Patent Grant 3940	Awarding to R. Rycroft, the 14.78 acre parcel in Oneloa which he had requested on Apr. 27, 1895 (*Figure 12*).
June 26, 1900	Bureau of Conveyances Lib. 209:267-268	A.D. Kanaaukahi, son of Kahananui, sold his interest in Grant 1015 (conveyed to Kahananui n 1850), totaling 34 ½ acres more or less to Mele Hale.
June 12, 1902 & Aug. 1, 1902	C.P.L. to Gov. Letters Public Lands Letters	Lands of Oneloa and Ahalanui now opened for Settlement purposes under the Homestead-Right of Purchase system of 1895.
Sept. 1, 1902	Right of Purchase Lease (RPL) No. 424	RPL 424 – Grant 6845, to Napalapalai for a 999 acre pastoral lot in Oneloa and Ahalanui. The grant required that: …He shall allow the Agents of the Territory of Hawaii and the United State at all times to enter and examine said premises. The lessor herein, on behalf of the Territory of Hawaii, reserves the right to take any fifty foot strips across their Lot for Roads, also the right to quarry rock, or reserve a portion of this Lot for a quarry, for Road building purposes, whenever the same may be required; and to take same without compensation, if from unimproved land. All trails crossing this Lot are reserved for the use of the Public… (*Figure 13*)
Feb. 4, 1903	Bureau of Conveyances Lib. 269:482-483	Maunakea, son of Makaimoku – recipient of Grant 1001 at Oneloa in 1850 – and wife, Lilia, resident at Laepaoo; conveyed four acres of Grant 1001, *makai* of the Government Road, to Mele Hale of Pohoiki.
May 6, 1903	Bureau of Conveyances Lib. 269:481-482	Mele Hale and husband, Keoni (John) Hale, of Pohoiki, convey four acres of the Ahalanui parcel purchased from D. Kanaaukahi – son of Kahananui (Grant 1015) – to Maunakea of Laepaoo.

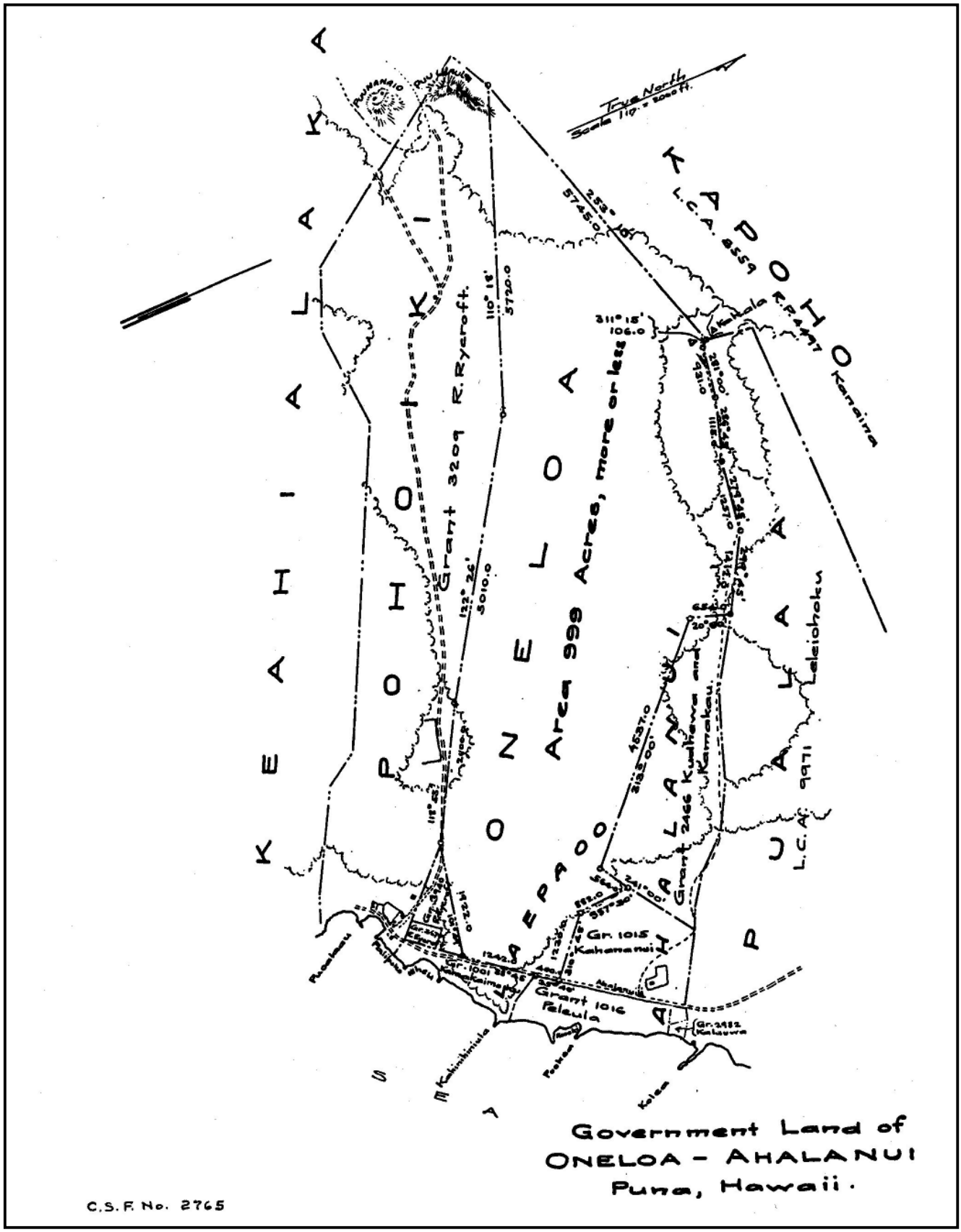


Figure 12. Patent Grant 3940 to R. R. Rycroft in the land of Oneloa (Hawaii State Archives)

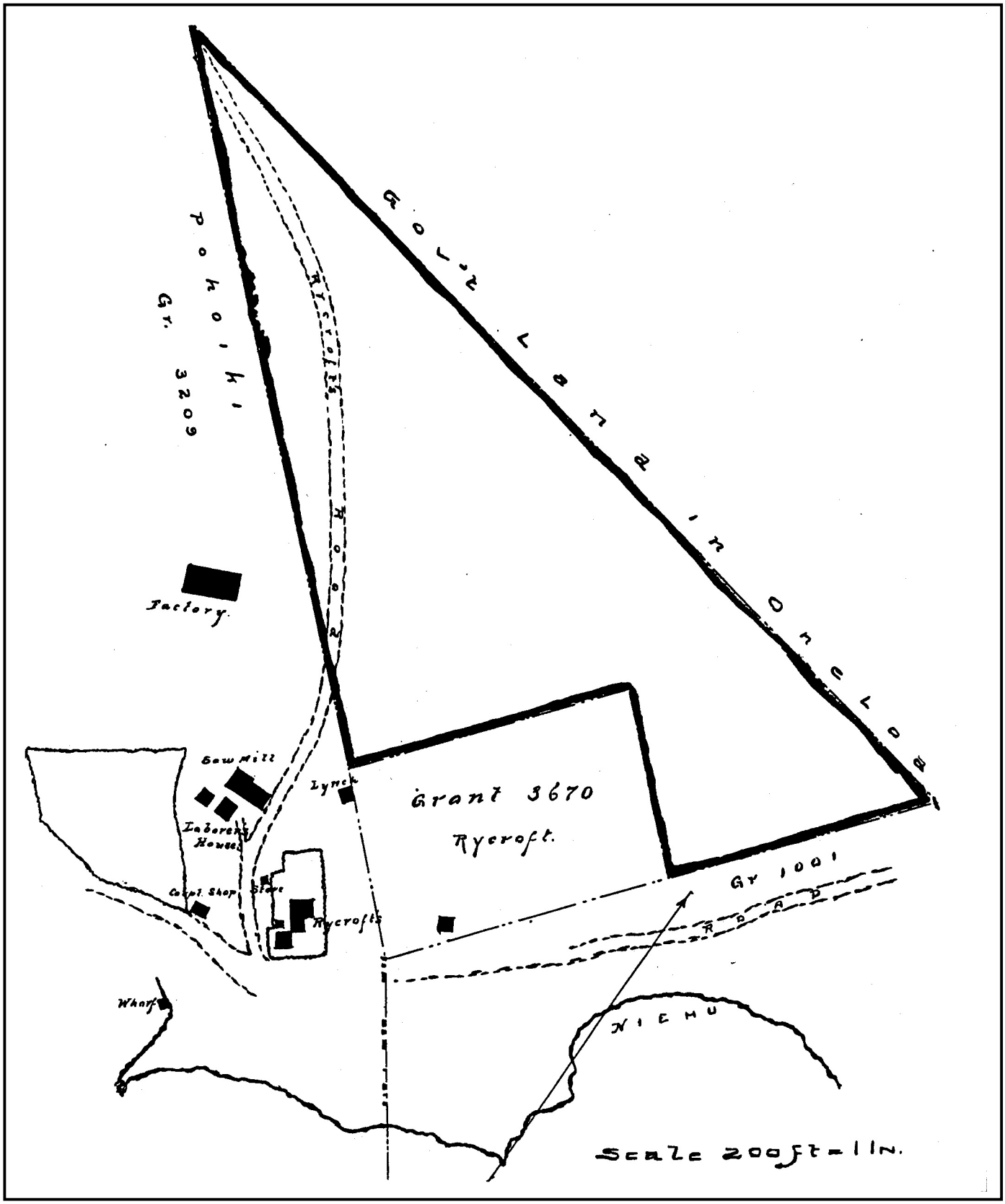


Figure 13. C.S.F. 2765 – Grant 6845 to R. Napalapalai in the lands of Oneloa-Ahalanui (Map from Survey Approved Apr. 16, 1917; State Survey Division – not to scale)

Table 2. (continued)

Date	*Source*	*Documentation*
Jan. 30, 1911	Ex. CPL to Gov.	CPL applies to Gov. Frear for permission of taking possession of RPL 424; 999 acres in Oneloa and Ahalanui, as a result of Napalapalai's non-Compliance with conditions of said lease. Governor's approval granted.
Jan. 8, 1917	RPL No. 424 – Grant 6845	Napalapalai appeals loss of RPL 424 – Grant 6845 Eugene Lyman provided the following documentation regarding Napalapalai and the subject property under "Testimony of Witness:"

I have known R. Napalapalai since boyhood, living first at Pa'auhau, Hilo, then on Homestead, then Waimea…

Mele Hale & Maunakea have residences near this lot.
He uses it for pasture. Napalapalai has been a cowboy at Hilo for Lyman & Co., then a homesteader & since 1906, a laborer for Parker Ranch. His family lived on the land from 1903 to 1906; they now reside in Waimea. Their house on the land is a frame building 16x20 ft., – 3 rooms – value $50.00. There is no cultivation because it is classed as pastoral. There are quite a number of cocoa-nut trees & pandanus.

R. Napalapalai testifies:
I am 46 years of age, and a laborer. I applied for and received the 999 acre pastoral lease and moved on the land in March 1903. My wife and I resided there continually between March 1903 to 1906. At present, we live in Waimea.
We built a frame house, 16 x 20 ft.; 3 rooms, iron roofing, and habitable at all seasons of the year. It is valued at $50.00. The house was built by myself and a Japanese in January 1903. The house was moderately furnished when we lived there.

On average, there are over 2000 trees per acre planted and/or maintained on the land. Because I am employed by Parker Ranch, I have lived at Waimea. I use the land as pasture.

Apr. 16, 1917	C.S.F. 2765 – Grant 6845	Certified Survey (2765) approved for Grant 6845; awarding lot to R. Napalapalai. (see *Figure 13*, above)
Feb. 5, 1927	Bureau of Conveyances Lib. 864:181-182	Mele Hale, resident of Pohoiki, conveys to her nephew, Lawrence Rowe (of Honolulu), the four acre parcel of land at Oneloa (her portion of Grant 1001). Mele Hale included specific documentation pertaining to succession of title; specifying that: "…I command by this document, that the land parcel conveyed by this document not be sold or mortgaged…"

Table 2. (continued)

Date	*Source*	*Documentation*
Oct. 22, 1953	Royal Patent Grant 2982 Land Management Division files	M.K. Ashford, Commissioner of Public Lands, to N. Doi, County Attorney (Hawaii); regarding ancient trail, path or road over and across Grant 2982 to Kalauwaa, situate at Aahalanui, Puna (*Figure 14*). Abstractor George Awai reports:

> There is no map showing any roadway across Grant 2982 to Kalauwaa. Issued 4/13/[18]65, this grant is subject to the following reservations: 'Reserving the canoes landing place near the said large rock' Sketch plan shows the landing place near the northeast corner of said grant.) 'Reserving the rights of the natives' (This would include roadway, etc. C. Code 1859, Chap. 34. Sec. 1447)
> Undoubtedly there must have been a roadway from the government road to this spot, and possibly the only landing place of canoes in that locality of Puna district.
> Solution – contact old kamaaina of that area, especially those who attended the Hawaiian School at Aahalanui, School Grant 3 Apana 2.
> [refer to File No. 2.1231]

Another interesting historical record regarding the ʻAhalanui parcels of Kalauwaʻa (generally written as Kālaiwaʻa) and the neighboring *mauka* land of Kahananui (Grant 1015), was found in the genealogical records of Elizabeth Makuakāne (in the collection of the author). David Kapuaaloha Makuakāne (born ca. 1848), grandfather of Kahu John Kumukahi Makuakāne was married twice (see interview of July 21, 1998). His first wife, Emily Kalāiwaʻa Kahananui-Makuakāne (who passed away at a young age), was descended from both the Kahananui and Kālaiwaʻa lines. As noted above, Kahananui received Grant 1015 (a portion of the land was retained by members of the Makuakāne family until ca. 1989). Kālaiwaʻa received Grant 2982, which now makes up a portion of the County's ʻAhalanui Park. It was from that genealogy that the late Daniel Makuakāne was descended (see interview of July 21, 1998).

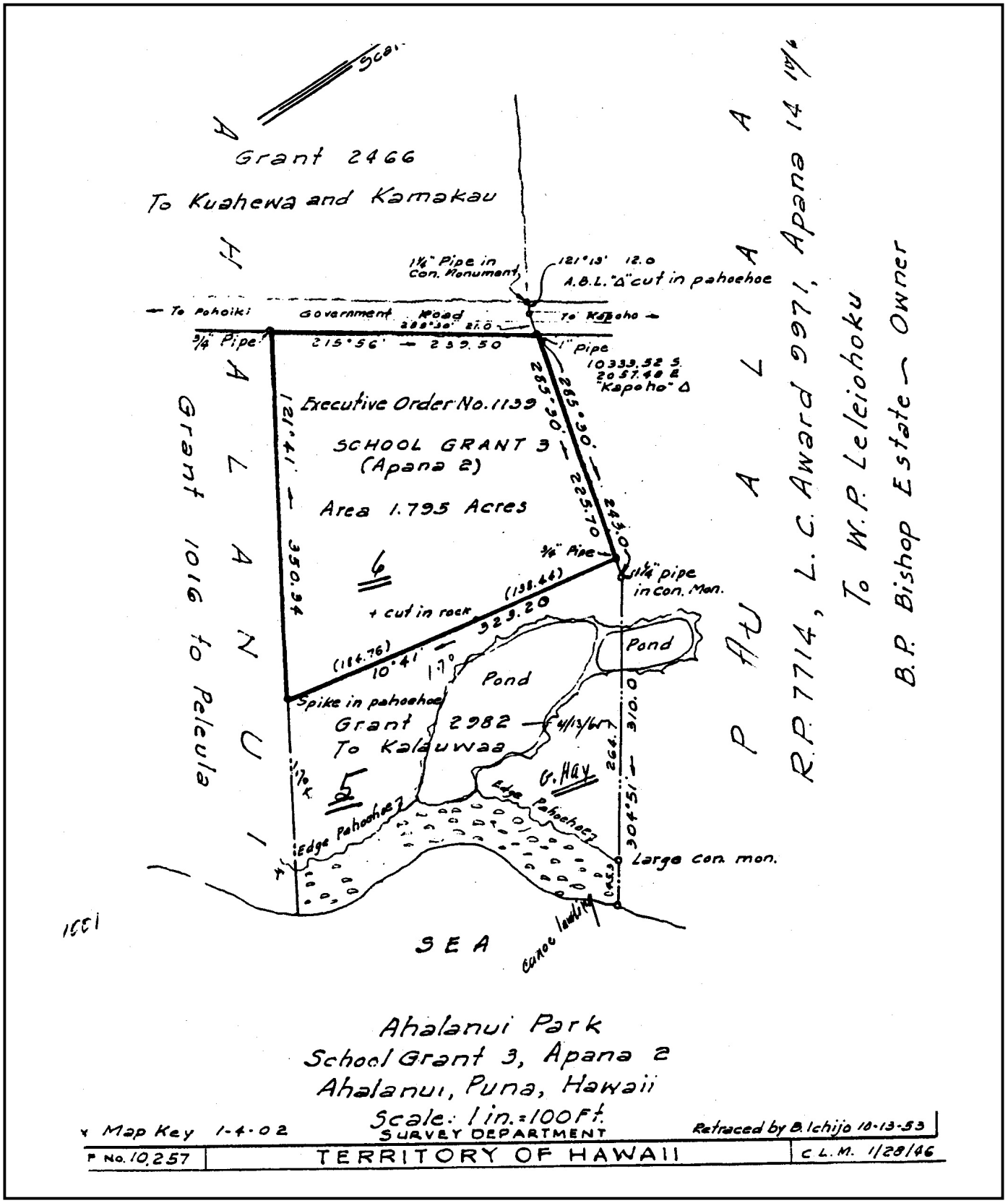


Figure 14. CSF No. 10,257 – Ahalanui Park, School Grant 3, Apana 2; January 28, 1946 (Land Management Division; not to scale)

Hawaiian Government Field Surveys

As seen the documentation cited above, in this section of the study, surveyors collected a great deal of information regarding the natural and cultural landscapes of Puna. They also provide us information on who the native resident were, and where they lived; and documented a wide range of native customs and practices. The author has been conducting a review of original field survey note books and correspondence from the field staff to Surveyor General, W.D. Alexander, and various parties[12]. As a result, additional documentation relative to the lands of ʻAhalanui, Laepāoʻo, Oneloa, Pohoiki, and the larger Puna District has been identified. Some of this information is useful in helping to explain historical data that was cited above, or adds to the general historical record if residency and land use in Puna. Unfortunately, some of the original Hawaiʻi Island survey documentation is not presently available for public review, because it was chemically treated in the 1920s-1930s, and is highly toxic. So it is possible that some time in the future, following decontamination of those records, that additional survey documentation of historical importance will become available for the study area and other lands of Hawaiʻi. The following excerpts come from some of the available field survey communications:

Table 3. Field Survey Documentation (1878 to 1895)

Date	***Source***	***Documentation***
1876	Reg. Book No. 304	Notes from the surveys of Hamakua and Pohoiki by J.S. Emerson and C.J. Lyons:

p. 36: Sta. I of Pohoiki corner of Kapoho & Laipaoo – *Lehua* tree marked I just *makai* of large boulder by path.

p. 40 Sta. J of Pohoiki corner of Laipaoo & Oneloa – *lehua* tree marked J surrounded by large pile of stones on aa lave flow.

p. 46 Sta. K between Oneloa and Pohoiki – large pile of stones by *hala* tree marked K at Kahalewela.

p. 48 Sta L between Pohoiki and Oneloa – large pile of stones on N side of Rycroft road marked L.

Sept. 12, 1878 — HGS DAGS 6, Box 10 (Hawaii State Archives) — J.S. Emerson, Surveyor to C.J. Lyons, Government Survey Div; from R. Rycroft's at Pohoiki:

We arrived here all right Friday evening, Sept. 6, and have been very kindly provided for. Saturday, Monday & Tuesday morning I went with Mr. Rycroft & a *kamaaina* around Pohoiki fixing the corners of the land. Since then have proceeded with the regular survey. As the place is densely covered with trees and brush so as to shut out the view, I can but guess roughly at the area. It is probably over 350 acres, most of it very rough *aa*, some pasturage, and considerable fine *Ohia lehua* timber, with a good supply of cocoanut trees. The only landing between Hilo & Keauhou [Kaʻū] is in the little bay *makai* of this land. The whole country here is fearfully rough on shoe leather. Scarce any soil. Cocoanuts, potatoes, breadfruit & *awa* do well. The best *awa* in the country.

The timber would be valuable if it were accessible. Mr. Rycroft thinks the land is worth $300. The native judge says it is worth 50 cents an acre…

[12] Materials housed in the collections of the State Survey Division and State Archives.

Table 3. (continued)

Date	***Source***	***Documentation***
July 20, 1891	HGS DAGS 6, Box 3 (Hawaii State Archives)	A.B. Loebenstein, Surveyor to W.D. Alexander, Surveyor General; reports:

…I have been engaged for some time on the location & preliminary survey of a road through Puna. It was at the minister's request this job was undertaken. My instructions were to pick out if possible a suitable location of an eventual carriage road through the interior, & by means of this road to open up tracts suitable for agriculture or homestead purposes. The actual field work was begun about the middle of May & up to date has progressed as far as Kamaili, a short distance from Kaimu. The initial pt. of the survey starts from the junction of the Volcano and Puna road Ramie ranch about 1 mile outside of the Panaewa woods (a short cut to the seacoast at Makuu, begun but not completed by the Thurston administration) & follows a general contour line. A bench mark established by McBruner at the time of his survey of the Volcano Road, served as the basis of elevations carried forward. The features of the country of one which the road traverses for the first 10 miles are of little account for purposes of agriculture, consisting mainly of broad & flat belts of *Pahoehoe*. It is of a very friable nature however & there are few irregularities, rendering the construction of a road over the same a simple and comparatively cheap affair.

Between the 10th and 13th miles are large tracts of fine agricultural land, among them being the lands of Nanawale & Kaniahiku, those being the tracts you have instructed me to subdivide for homestead purposes…

Beyond the 14th & to the 17th mile old *aa* flows are again met with. Most of them however, in a very decomposed state of a friable nature & covered with dense jungles of *Ti, Ie*, and *Ohia*. Between the 17th & 19th miles, the road crosses the head of the lands of Kapoho, Keahialaka, Malama & Opihikao. In this section are to be found the grand craters and crevasses which extend from Heheihulu & the Volcano down to the Pukii [Kukii] hill of Kapoho. From Kapoho to the terminus of the survey, the land is all fit for agricultural purposes…

Aug. 1, 1991	HGS DAGS 6, Box 3 (Hawaii State Archives)	A.B. Loebenstein, to W.D. Alexander; reports:

…I note your instructions in the matter of Honuaula hill station [directly inland of the Oneloa-'Ahalanui boundary] & will get a couple of men to clear the top of the hill which like all the other Puna hills is covered to the crest with *ohia* timber…it is going to be a difficult matter to get men for the Puna work. In itself it is a "*mehameha*" [lonely or solitary] place with few inhabitants…

Jan. 3rd, 1892	HGS DAGS 6, Box 3 (Hawaii State Archives)	E.D. Baldwin, to W.D. Alexander. Speaking of the survey of lands in the Kaimū to Kahauale'a vicinity, Baldwin describes the value of inland kalo, or taro lands in Puna:

…in the woods the natives say there is good soil, and that they raise all their *kalo* there, so that the real demand here is for upland or *kalo* land…

Table 3. (continued)

Date	Source	Documentation
June 26, 1893	HGS DAGS 6, Box 3	A.B. Loebenstein to J.A. King, Minister of Interior:

> …Gov't. remnants Oneloa, Laepaoo & Ahalanui, Puna. I enclose communications just come to hand from R. Rycroft re. The same. Your Ex. will please note that though frequently requested by him to survey the aforesaid tract, I could not properly do so without first receiving instructions from your department, although he verbally to me accepted the proposition made him by the Gov't. in December 1891 to the effect that they would put up the land at auction at the upset price of $500, with the understanding that he was to pay the costs of survey…

Hawaiian Agricultural and Subsistence Practices

In "Native Planter in Old Hawaii," Handy, Handy, and Pukui (1972) provide readers with descriptions of the practices of native Hawaiian farmers in the Puna region. As noted by Wilkes (cf. *Section IV*), and Loebenstein and Baldwin above, the land, though not richly soiled, was known for its agricultural production.

A walk-through of the coastal portion of the study area and *mauka* in the land of 'Ahalanui, on the Pū'ala'a boundary, still provides visitors with examples of ancient and early historic period agricultural features. On a January 15th, 1998 site visit with botanists Sam Gon III and Joel Lau, remnant plantings of the *pia* (the arrowroot – *Tacca leintopetaloides*) were observed among various walled planting features (*Figure 15*). This is an interesting find, as *pia* is not a hardy plant, and generally disappears when left untended.

Figure 15. Pia (Tacca leintopetaloides) Growing at 'Ahalanui (Sam Gon III and Joel Lau in the field)

Discussing agriculture in Puna, Handy *et al.* observed that in the upland forests of the region, there was rich humus, and in such areas (like the older section of 'Ahalanui—the Hale-o-Lono a cultivating ground) patches of the forest were opened (Handy et al. 1972:103). The authors explained:

> Holes about nine inches deep are dug in the soul just large enough (about 9 to 12 inches across) to take two [taro] cuttings. With rootlets already sprouting, the cuttings are dropped into the holes and left uncovered until they have begun to root vigorously. The holes are then filled with earth and

> the taros are straightened when the first two leaves (*lau pa'i*) have unfurled. Then the whole field is covered with a mulch of fern leaves, or rubbish in general… In Puna and Hilo, where it rained during all seasons, dry planting may be done any time… [Handy et al. 1972:103-104]

Handy et al., also described a particular type of planting that was apparently unique in the south-eastern portion of the Puna District; a method that made use to the abundant growth of *pū hala* (pandanus trees). Joseph 'Īlālā'ole, an elder relative of Mary Pukui's noted that, in certain area, wholes would be made in the *'a'ā*, by clearing out selected stones. Mulching material would be placed in the wholes and allowed to rot. Then young *huli* (taro cuttings) would be wrapped in *lau hala* (pandanus leaves) and placed in the mulched holes. After leaves began to appear on the *huli*, a sign that rooting had occurred, large branches of the *hala* trees would be cut and placed over the planting holes. These branches with the *lau hala* attached covered everything in the planting field, including the young *huli*. After the *hala* dried, a fire would be lit, burning off all of the leaves. The *huli* would remain undamaged and the ashes provided the new taro growth with all the nutrients needed for the growing season. This method of planting was called "*pā-hala*" or "pandanus clearing" (Handy et al. 1972:104-105).

Describing the lands in and neighboring the study area on the northeast and southwest, Handy et al. wrote:

> The fern-covered plains between the forest and seacoast in northeast Puna used to be planted in taro by the burning-over, digging up, and planting process…On the outer slopes of Kapoho crater there were a few dry-taro patches in 1935. Inside the valley made by the craters are now many old breadfruit trees…The wet and sometimes marshy pandanus forests from Kapoho through Poho-iki to 'Opihikao used to be planted with taro in places [as well]...Seven miles inland from Kapoho through Malama to Kamaili [passing to the southwest of the study area], there are steep slopes largely covered with rich soil. These slopes are now mostly in sugar, but anciently were planted throughout with taro. That this was ideal taro land is demonstrated by the flourishing plantations still maintained by several Hawaiian families in the Malama homestead area… [ibid.:540-541]

As noted in several locations above, one of the important native crops in this region of Puna was the *'awa* (*Piper methysticum*). In the mid 1800s, Hawaiian historian S.M. Kamakau (1976) wrote :

> *'Awa* was one of the choice foods of the planter. *'Awa* is a handsome plant, with nicely rounded leases and stems and shiny jointed sections… *'Awa* grows well on lands with plenty of rain, and on warm lands… From of old there are places made famous by the intoxicating quality of their *'awa*, such as…Puna on Hawaii. In places where *wauke* and dry taro are planted, *'awa* may also be planted. These plantings together with those of bananas and sugar canes, were the pride of the farmer [Kamakau 1976:41].

Tradition relays that the gods Kāne and Kanaloa brought the *'awa* to Hawai'i from Kahiki, and planted it various localities. In places where no water could be found with which to prepare the *'awa*, Kāne even caused water to appear, thus forming many springs and

streams in the islands (cf. Kamakau 1961:193 & Handy et al., 1972:189). The *ʻawa* was important as an offering in rituals, used in ceremonies, and in general use among the people of the land. Kamakau wrote:

> *ʻAwa* was a refuge and an absolution. Over the *ʻawa* cup were handed down the tabus and laws of the chiefs, and the tabus of the gods, and the laws of the gods governing solemn vows and here the wrongdoer received absolution of his wrongdoing… [Kamakau 1976:43]

Through prayers and offerings of *ʻawa*, the ancient people sought to ensure the well-being of the native population. Planters offered *ʻawa* to ensure the success of future crops, and the fishermen did so, to ensure bountiful catches (ibid.:43-44).

In the traditional period (pre 1800), many sayings were used to describe the rich and potent growth of *ʻawa* in Puna. In the recently translated legend of Ka-Miki, cited earlier in this study, are several descriptions of Puna's *ʻawa* and its effects on those who drank it. We find that Kaliʻu, just inland of the study area, was praised for it's growth of *ʻawa* in chant:

Mūkīkī wai ʻale lehua a ka manu	The birds sip the nectar of the *lehua* blossoms
O ka ʻawa ʻili lena i ka uka o Kaliʻu	(Above) The yellow barked *ʻawa* which grows in the uplands of Kaliʻu
O ka manu ʻāhaʻihaʻi lau ʻawa o Puna	It was the birds who carried the *ʻawa* to Puna
Aia i ka uka lāʻau ka ʻawa o Puna	The *ʻawa* grows there in the uplands of Puna
Māpunapuna mai ana ko aloha ioʻu nei...	Your love stirs within me... [In *Ka Hōkū o Hawaiʻi* May 20, 1915]

One of the varieties of *ʻawa* which grew in this region, was also famous, because it reportedly grew in the branches of trees, and is commemorated by the saying:

Ka ʻawa ʻili lena a ka manu i kanu ai iluna o ka lāʻau

> The yellow skinned *ʻawa* planted by birds atop the tree branches. [ibid. Oct. 21, 1915]

The *ʻawa* was also evidently so potent that drinking it caused one to become intoxicated as with no other *ʻawa*. It brought about:

> ...a comfortable sleep nestling the drinker in the gentle whisper of the sea of Kōloa, Puna; [the sea] which caresses the *hīnano* (pandanus) grove and the fragrant pandanus flowers of Keaʻau...And perhaps one might dream of Hōpoe the woman who gently moves, dancing in the ocean spray of Hāʻena. [ibid. June 22, 1916]

Puna: A Community in Transition

As was the case throughout Hawaiʻi, the nineteenth century brought with it significant changes in the Hawaiian community in Puna. The writings of both natives and foreign visitors from ca. 1864 to 1930 provide readers with both compelling and entertaining descriptions of circumstances in Puna. The selected excerpts from some of these accounts, help to fill in further details on the community, which have been already introduced under preceding titles in this section of the study.

The first account was written by J.W.H. Kamohai, who visited the Kula-Kapoho vicinity of Puna and saw first hand, some of the famous places that he had only heard of, and apparently not believed to be true:

Not to be Mistaken Again!

On the 3rd of February, 1864, we went to Hilo and then to Kula, Puna on the 5th. We stayed at the house of one of the natives there and on the 7th, I went to see Waiakaea and Kamiloholu. Waiakaea is a fishpond and Kamiloholu is where the *milo* trees encircle the edge of the fishpond with the leaves (falling) within the pond. Thus, it is called "Kamiloholu at Waiakaea," and it is a famous place. Traveling to the left of Waiakaea there is a great amount of *aa* along the trail, by which one reaches to Kumukahi. The nature of this place is one with mounds of *pahoehoe* and *aa*. At this place, there are two jagged stone cairns. One stands on the eastern side and the other on the western side. One mound is to the east, that is the side from which the sun rises; and another mound is on the western side, where the sun sets towards Lehua. Each one looks to be about 6 feet tall. I asked one of the natives, "Is this Kumukahi?" To which the native answered, "Yes!" So I then composed this little song:

Ma kai au o Puna i hele ae nei,	I traveled to the shore of Puna,
Kau pono ana ka la i Makanoni.	Where the sun sits directly over Makanoni.

I thought to myself, "So this is Kumukahi, and the mounds of *aa*." I went to the northeast and came to Haehae. Haehae, is like a pond and beyond it, one can see Makanoni set out there. It is a stone that is there in the ocean, and its length is about 3 cubits. On the 11th, I climbed up to the diving place at Waiwelawela. The nature this pond is that it is very clear and when you enter the water, your skin glistens like that of the people of Africa. This pond is there on the shoreward side of *ala loa* (trail) on the southeast of Kukii. I then looked and saw the fluttering of [the stone] Pohakuolekia and then went on to Waiapele where I saw the large pond. Based on what I saw, it is about 80 fathoms long and 30 fathoms wide, perhaps more. It is a yellowish pond there above Kula. Then on the 19th of that month I heard the call of the rain *huki-he'e nehu* of Hilo calling me to return, and on the way, I saw the *lehua* trees moving [spread out] upon the plain of Hopoe, and extending down to Haena. Thus bringing to mind thoughts of wonder upon seeing Wahine-ami. The length of this stone [*Hopoe, ka wahine ami i ke kai*] is about like the height of a person and it is there in the sea. So finished is this account of the new things I've seen. [*Kuokoa* April 30, 1864:3/c3]

The second narrative was written by Robert Kahao, Kauaea, Puna, in it he speaks of some of the sites in the Kapoho-Kula area, and describes the difficulty of maintaining the churches in Puna:

Na Hiohiona o ka Apana o Puna nei
The Appearance of the District of Puna

The nature of this land is good, and it is extensive. The great problem, given by God are the *a'a* and the great forests of *hala* and *lehua* trees.

> They are very difficult to penetrate. When visitors come to this land they sometimes speak despairingly of it, looking to the east, north and all around the district. But, within this district there are many *wahi pana* (storied place). The point of Kumukahi is in this district. It faces directly to the portals of the sun. And many visitors travel to see it. It is also there that you will see the two winds. The winds separate there, one wind blowing into Puna and another wind blowing into Hilo.
>
> Also here, are Waiakaea, Kukii, and Kamiloholu, and atop the hill [Kukii] is the *heiau* of Umi, that may still be seen to this day. Waiapele is also here. It is a mysterious pond. The water is like the urine of a pig, greenish, with an unpleasant odor. But the really peculiar thing about it is that when the thunder claps, all of the fish in the pond die. It is also in this district that Kamapuaa mated with Pele following the end of their battle. There also is Nakiokanu, the reclining coconut trees of Kalapana, and the dancing woman Hopoe.
>
> About the Churches–There are six churches in the district, two Catholic and four Protestant.
>
> About the fish–There are great quantities of *opelu* fish. In one day, six *lau* [2,400] can be caught.
>
> The nature of work being done for God–The work of God moves slowly in this district. The brethren go to church, but do not contribute to the well being of the minister. At Opihikao they do not properly care for the minister, and he does not even have a house for his family. The church at Pu‘ula is without a minister. Because of the lack of care Rev. Hanu left to go work the *pulu* harvest at Kau. Thus, the church has been left in great distress. Therefore I ask all of you church members from Hawaii to Niihau, not to be like these churches. [*Ku ‘Oko‘a* Dec. 7, 1873:3/c2]

In 1875, Henry M. Whitney, Editor of the Hawaiian Gazette, published a “Hawaiian Guide Book.” The publication was produced as one of the early promotional guide to encourage visitation to the Hawaiian Islands, and included descriptions of the islands, harbors, agriculture, plantations, scenery, volcanoes, climate, population, commerce, and places to stay while visiting. His publications of 1875, 1890, and 1895 provide readers with interesting commentary on the district of Puna, and of particular interest to this study, he describes the endeavors of J.E. Elderts and R. Rycroft. *Figure 2* (Reg. Map 1777) provides readers with the locations of sites described by Whitney. It will also be noted that in the 1895 guide, Whitney transposed the names of Kapoho and Pohoiki (fixed in square brackets by the author of this study). The author here, also posits that Whitney’s description of the Pohoiki community actually includes the residences of the Oneloa to ‘Ahalanui area. His narratives described the scattered houses of the various villages, and his description of Rycroft’s business interests, were likely the primary employment of residents in the Pohoiki-‘Ahalanui region.

To The Volcano Kilauea [1875]

…Two routes may be taken to the crater Kilauea, on the slope of Mauna Loa, one by Puna, the other by Olaa. It will be advisable to combine both, by going one way and returning the other… [Whitney 1875:78]

The Puna route leaves Hilo by way of the bay beach, through cocoanut groves, bamboo thickets and fish ponds across the Waiahuma [Waiolama] and the Waiakea bridge, through the bread-fruit orchard, out of Hilo village into the uneven pasture land of Waiakea, whose broad acres soon become thickly set with the pandanus (screw palm), and after four or five miles enters the forest that stretches from the ocean to the limit of vegetation on Mauna Loa… [ibid.:79]

Twenty-five miles of fair riding will carry the traveler to the comfortable ranch of Capt. Eldarts, who entertains guests for a reasonable compensation. This vicinity is noticeable for the ancient *heiau* upon a palm crowned cone [Kukii]; for a fresh water reservoir in an extinct crater [Waiapele]; for a hot water cave; and for an open stone basin, below a lofty cliff which contains a pool of warm, blue water that sparkles when stirred [Waiwelawela]. The temperature is so delightful that a half hour's bath is delicious. The greatest depth is not less than 18 feet, and the water is so buoyant as to make diving difficult. This section of Puna is quite fertile, whenever soil for cultivation can be found. Bread-fruit and cocoanuts are abundant. After a good rest at Eldart's the route continues over a vast tract of rough lava, on which the *ohia* woods are beginning to secure firm and permanent hold; the sea is skirted by successive rows of cocoanut trees, some so thickly planted as to hide the ground from the rays of the sun. Eighteen miles of road rough and smooth, volcanic scenery variegated by bread-fruit, guava, *ohia*, pandanus and cocoanut trees, and interspersed with miniature churches and grass houses, ends the journey at Kaimu, near the sea, where comfortable quarters for the night may be obtained at a native house…[ibid.:78-79]

District of Puna [1890]

…Some 18 miles from Hilo the country begins to improve, and away from the main road, upon the slopes of the mountain there are many acres of excellent land, suitable for coffee and fruit growing. The south eastern part of Puna has some celebrity for its groves of cocoanuts, the trees being more abundant here than in any other part of the islands. The traces of volcanic action are extremely prominent in this district, flow after flow of lava from the disintegrated ones of ages past to those of a comparatively recent date are to be found. The most striking flow is that of 1840, which after pursuing an underground course for many miles suddenly burst forth in the woods and rushed down to the sea, overwhelming a small village in its course. During the great earthquakes of 1868, the southern coast of Puna was lowered. Traces of this may be seen in the stumps of cocoanut trees which are left sticking up amid the constant surf.

The tourists selecting to go through Puna should obtain letters for either Kapoho or Pohoiki, where the first night would be spent, and for Kaimu, which should be the second stopping place…. [Whitney 1890:64]

Kapoho, twenty-three miles from Hilo, is a ranch occupied by Captain Eldart, an old pioneer. The position of the ranch buildings is quite picturesque. Behind, or *mauka* of the ranch, are a group of volcanic cones, embosomed in the lower of these is the famous Green Lake [Waiapele]. The water of this lake has always an olive green tint. It occupies a circular basin, the tides [sic? – sides] of which rise at a slope of forty-five degrees. Around the edge are cocoanuts, guavas, bananas and other trees and shrubs. In 1868, when the coast sank some four feet, the water in this lake rose just that height. Before that time it was possible to walk round the edge, but the former beach has sunk beneath the surface, and those desiring to reach the other side must now swim for it… [ibid.:65]

About a mile *makai* or seaward of Kapoho ranch is a warm pool or spring [Waiwelawela]…The water is pleasantly warm, not hot. It has the curious property of making the skin look like alabaster. Constant bathing in this pool is said to be very good for rheumatism. The hill or mound [Kukii], at the foot of which this spring lies, is of itself a curiosity. On the top are the foundations of a temple made of the most accurately dressed stone. It was built in two terraces and a long flight of steps must have approached it from the lower portion of the mound. The stones are well made but set together without cement. This was the site of a fishing temple. It commands a magnificent view. Due east is Cape Kumukahi, north and south stretches the open sea, while west lie the slopes of Maunaloa, the foreground relieved by the broken mass of craters, among which is embosomed Green Lake. On the cape are numerous heaps of stones each representing the work of an Hawaiian Sovereign. The most recent have of course been erected by King Kalakaua and Queen Kapiolani.

At Pohoiki three miles from Kapoho is another cattle ranch. A saw mill has also been established here and a quantity of lumber is exported to Honolulu. The place is the property of the Hon. M. Robinson, and is in charge of Mr. R. Rycroft.

From hence to Kalapana the road presents varied scenic beauties and the traveler has an opportunity of seeing the Hawaiian in his villages away from any foreign influence. After leaving Pohoiki there is no white family resident till the Volcano House… [ibid.:65-66]

[1895] COFFEE DISTRICT. – A number of coffee planters have located in this vicinity, and groves of coffee trees may be seen every few miles. Among those engaged in this business, are Mr. Gowdie, at Waikahiola [Waiakahiʻulā], Mr. R. Lyman near Pohoiki, and Mr. R. Rycroft. Each of these have fine healthy groves, numbering from 25,000 to 60,000 trees. It is probable that during the next year or two, several hundred thousand coffee trees will be growing in this vicinity. At Pohoiki [sic – Kapoho] three

> miles from Kapohoiki [sic – Pohoiki] is Mr. R. Lyman's cattle ranch [formerly Elderts', Kapoho Ranch]. At Kapoho [sic – Pohoiki] a saw mill has also been established, and a quantity of lumber is exported to Honolulu. The place is the property of Mr. R. Rycroft [see *Figure 12*]…From hence to Kalapana the road presents varied scenic beauties and the traveler has an opportunity of seeing the Hawaiian in his villages away from any foreign influence. After leaving Pohoiki the villages are all small , the houses being scattered irregular along the road. Opihikao is about five miles from Pohoiki, and Kaimu is some eight miles still further on…. [Whitney 1895:93]

Another article published in the 1890s, reported on an interview with A.B. Loebenstein, who surveyed much of Puna, including lands of the study area. Excerpts from that interview provide readers with a first hand account of the landscape and features seen in the district.

> ***WONDERS OF PUNA***
> ***Mr. Loebenstein Gives a Few Pointers on the District***
> ***IT WILL FETCH TOURISTS***
> ***Thousands of Acres of Coffee and Tobacco Land–Ancient Burial Caves of Hawaii–Pit Craters and Tree Ferns–***
> ***A Monster Petition for a New Road.***
> Mr. A.B. Loebenstein, who has been in town for the past few days, has for a long time been engaged in making surveys in Puna, and has acquired in consequence a more thorough knowledge of that district than perhaps anyone else in the group… Asked his opinion on the agricultural resources of Puna.
>
> Mr. Loebenstein said: "There is an extensive acreage in Puna suitable for cultivation of different products, particularly of coffee and tobacco."
>
> "How much is there of it?" asked the reporter. "Well, it is scattered… Sometimes there are large tracts and sometimes pieces of a few hundred acres only. Twenty-two miles from Hilo, by the new road survey above Kapoho, on the lands of Rycroft and others, there must be 10,000 acres of the finest coffee land. This land can't be plowed–it is rocky, but very rich. Most of the good lands are covered with a dense forest, but here and there are open spots called *kipuka*, covered with a growth of the *ki* plant, tree-ferns, sugar cane etc., which are patches cultivated by the natives in ancient times, and were called by them "*kihapai*" and "*mahinaai*."
>
> "What do you think of Puna as a coffee district?"
>
> "It is the coffee district… The climate is dry and the drainage perfect. It is good for tobacco too… There is plenty of tobacco growing wild, which has received no cultivation for years. It grows where the soil is very thin, in crevices of stone walls and rocky localities…" [Hawaiian Gazette , March 22, 1892]

In 1894, Robert Rycroft himself wrote an article on coffee cultivation on his Pohoiki-Oneloa and vicinity lands, and about developments in the community. Excerpts from his article,

published in Paradise of the Pacific (August 1894) are included here, as they help describe the community and changes which were underway at the time.

Coffee Culture in Puna, Hawaii

> The cultivation of coffee in Puna is still in its infancy and it will remain in its present state until a good road runs through the district. The surveyed line of the proposed "new road" is about three miles from the coast… [cf. Loebenstein, July 20, 1891, above] If this road is built it will open up a large area of coffee land that is now inaccessible. Then again, good landings are scarce in Puna, there being but two, viz., Keauhou and Pohoiki, but notwithstanding these drawbacks there is more or less evidence of moving forward on the part of the people, and new places are being started with a view to raising coffee…
>
> William Gowdie has two hundred acres in Wakahiola [Waiakahi'ulā], and is going ahead as though he meant business. He has twenty men on his roll, and at this writing they have cleared about fifteen acres…Mr. Gowdie's Chinese are now clearing it under contract. Then there are four foreigners who are located on Government homesteads who own trees, now about two years old. The Natives in the vicinity have more or less coffee. All of these places are on the line of the proposed road…
>
> Mr. Lyman, who is located three miles to the east of Pohoiki, and about one and a miles from the sea-coast, is also planting and has quite a lit of coffee in, and all of it is looking well. At Pohoiki we are more advanced than any other portion of the district. Our planting place is situated about three miles from the beach, at an altitude of four hundred and fifty or five hundred feet. We have about thirty-five acres planted, about one-half of which will bear light crop this year… I have cleared about twenty more acres of land and will soon fill it up with some very fine nursery places… [Rycroft 1894:99]

Rycroft died on February 3, 1909, in Honolulu, where he had relocated. His obituary, in the Honolulu Advertiser provides us with a closing chapter in Rycroft's Pohoiki-vicinity agriculture ventures. Rycroft first came to Hawai'i in 1859, when he was 16 years old. After staying for several years, he left for Australia, returning in 1877. At that time, Rycroft moved to the island of Hawai'i, Pohoiki, where he went into the *'awa* shipping business. He did well in this and took up land, going later into the cattle business (Honolulu Advertiser Feb. 3, 1909:5). The notice then reported:

> He was one of the first to start coffee growing and planted three hundred acres in lower Puna, but this venture was not a great success and he sold out his Puna holdings to a sugar syndicate. He had so much faith in the future of Puna as a sugar raising country that he took a large amount of stock in the new company [Puna Sugar Company] and came to Honolulu in 1899… [ibid.]

Schools and Churches of 'Ahalanui and Pohoiki

Of interest to the 'Ahalanui study area, are records of the lot set aside for a school near the shore of 'Ahalanui. Based on Government records, it appears that while the lot was

confirmed, a school was never opened there. Tax records indicate that prior to the Māhele of 1848, the area school was at Pūʻālaʻa, but by 1853, it had been, or was in the process of being moved to Pohoiki (cf. pages 42 & 44 of this study). It may be recalled, that in writing of his travels through the Puna District with Titus Coan in 1846, Lyman (1924) stated that the church of the area was at Pohoiki. He also recorded that approximately 200 people from around the area had gathered for the service, but the population appeared older to him, than that of other areas he had visited (Lyman 1924:96). In his own writings, Coan recorded that it was not until 1868 that the first of the Puna churches with a native pastor, became established. And in 1869, two other Puna churches with native pastors were established (Coan 1882:136). Though not named, it is likely that these churches were Pūʻula, ʻŌpihikao, and Kalapana. (See letter of Rev. William Kamaʻu, below; observing that the pastor of ʻŌpihikao also held services at Pohoiki.)

As noted in *Sections IV & V*, from the period of western contact, throughout the nineteenth century, the population of Puna was in continuous decline. Schmitt (1968) reports that in 1860, the population of Puna totaled 2,156 people, but by 1890, there were only 834 people (Schmitt 1968:71). Interestingly, in 1896, the population throughout the island, including the district of Puna began to increase (ibid.). Rather than reflecting a growing Hawaiian population, this increase reflects new policies of plantation immigration following the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy. Thus, it is unlikely that the increase in Puna's population which began in c. 1896, had little immediate effect on the Pohoiki-ʻAhalanui vicinity.

Records from the Hawaiʻi State Archives, Public Instruction files provide readers with documentation of the changing community of the Pohoiki-ʻAhalanui community by the turn of the century. Among the records, is the following documentation (see *Figure 2* for location of church and school lots).

On October 14, 1907, W. Babbitt, Superintendent of Public Instruction wrote to Theo. Richards, Esq., of the Hawaiian Evangelical Assoc., regarding the church and school at Pohoiki. He reported:

> I have learned that the church was broken down about six or seven years go. There is no church there now. The only buildings standing on the lot are small huts that belong to some fishermen. [Hawaii State Archives, Public Instruction, Folder 261]

On October 18, 1907, Theo. Richards responded to W. Babbitt, writing:

> As the people of the church in that community claim to have services it is possible that these fishermen's huts of which you speak are used for services. I am referring, however, your letter to those people who were at one time intensely interested in this matter… [ibid.]

Responding to a communication from Richards, Reverend William Kamaʻu (an elder relative of the Mākuakāne family, members of which still tend to the ʻŌpihikao Protestant Church), wrote:

Aloha oe;

I have received a letter from J.P. Kuaioholani asking me to answer you with reference to the church and school land at Pohoiki, Puna, Hawaii. I am of the opinion that the land belongs to the church and here are the facts:

(1) In 1886 I came to Puna and became a preacher for three months of the United churches of Kalapana and Opihikao and this church site at Pohoiki then belonged to the church of Opihikao.

(2) In the year 1887 I became a regularly installed pastor of the United churches of Kalapana and Opihikao and it was my regular duty to go on Sunday to Pohoiki for six years. I do not remember any school house or any teaching there. I lived as pastor from March 1888 to September 1904 and at all that time there was no school house at Pohoiki.

(3) The church has been standing there and services have been continually held although the church itself has rotted out of existence, - since 1901. I sold the old lumber for $25.00 to J.P. Kuaioholani and he has the money at the time of my writing. The purpose was to build again the church at Pohoiki. The following sums were received.

William K. Kalaiwaa	$ 15.00
J.P. Kuaioholani	25.00
W. Kamau	10.00
	$ 50.00

As this work has come under the charge of J.N. Kamoku I left the matter of collection at Pohoiki.

(4) J.P. Kuiaoholani built on this site a summer house not however with the idea of taking the site from the church. Mrs. Kuaioholani and all her family are members of this church and she very greatly aids in the good cause therefore I granted them this permission. The time will come to build again the church on this site at Pohoiki. There are standing here a boat house of Mr. R. Rycroft's and a ware house for Mr. C.L. Wight. On this same site also is a wharf for receiving freight of R. Rycroft. In all there are about four houses standing on this site. Two of these people built at their own risk but Kuaioholani on account of my giving permission.

What is this agitation of the Board of Education? Look up the law concerning church and school house. They have held services constantly at Pohoiki and at the house of Kuaioholani when they had no other house of worship. What does the Board of Education wish? I do not understand what they would like to do.

With kind regards. Signed W. Kamau [ibid.: Nov. 19, 1907]

He Huakaʻi Mākaʻikaʻi—A Site-Seeing Journey (1929)

One of the few articles written which specifically mentions a land in the study area—ʻAhalanui—was written by George K. Kāne in the Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ka Hōkū o Hawaiʻi*. The article series titled "*Huakai Makaikai a ike i ka He o kou Kupunawahine Aloha o Mauhonua Lapuwale*" (A Site Seeing Journey to see the Grave of my beloved grandmother

Mauhonua Lapuwale), ran from September 10th to December 17th, 1929. In his introduction, Kāne reported that though he was born and raised on Kauaʻi, his beloved grandmother, Mauhonua, had been the wife of Lapuwale, the *konohiki* of Ahukini, Keaʻā, and Kamāʻoa, Kaʻū, under Kamehameha I, and his family originated on the island of Hawaiʻi.

Excerpts from this article have been cited in several earlier ethnographic and archaeological studies of the Puna District, with the article cited as "anonymous." This is not the case, a review of the Hawaiian texts offers "*Kakauia e George K. Kane*" (Written by George K. Kane). Also, it has been previously reported that the name of the *ahupuaʻa* mentioned in the article was written "Aa-hala-nui" (cf. Barrere 1959:32); this also, is not the case[13]. Below, is a verbatim transcript of the original Hawaiian text, and a translation prepared by the author for the area of immediate interest to this study:

> *…hala mai la hoi o Kapoho, a ia hele ana aku ma keia wahi, he pololei ke alanui a aole hoi nukee i ke kapakahi, he pololei wale no a o keia o na alanui ui o Puna, a ia hele ana mai la au a loaa ia oe o pahoehoe Kuaokala, he heiau hoi keia makai o Ahalanui, na puu hoi o Kalehua mauka, a loaa mai la oe o Pohoiki he awa pae keia i ka wa o na moku pea kuna e holoholo ana ma keia mau kai… O keia kekahi wahi kaikuono nani, a he oluolu nae ke kai o keia wahi ma kaʻu nana aku, a o ka mea kupaianaha he kakaikahi no na wahi hale, aole hoi oʻu i ike aku i ka nui o na wahi hale, ua paa paha i ka nahelehele*… [George K. Kane In *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, Oct. 15, 1929]
>
> …having passed Kapoho, traveling in this place, the road is straight, with nothing causing one to go astray, or off to the side. This is the straightest section of the beautiful roads of Puna. Traveling as I did, you will come upon the *pahoehoe* [stones of] Kuaokala, a temple near the coast of Ahalanui, with the hills of Kalehua to the inland. Then you arrive at Pohoiki, which was the harbor, at the time when the sailing schooners plied these waters… As I've seen it, this is a beautiful bay with pleasant waters, but the amazing thing is that there are few homes. I did not see many places with houses, perhaps they are surrounded by shrubbery…

By the articles and letters cited above, we begin to see the nature of the community in the late 1800s and early 1900s. The Hawaiian families worked at trying to maintain their community. Some native families in the Pohoiki vicinity tried to enter into coffee cultivation, and worked at gaining a livelihood from the land. The closure of Rycroft's operation, selling of his land interests, and shifting economic development (with plantation operations focused in the Pāhoa to Kapoho vicinity), probably had a significant impact on the remaining native residents. The necessary incomes, with which to pay property taxes, maintain a residence, and pay for various living expenses were tied to jobs that were removed from the small ʻAhalanui-Pohoiki community. The result being that more families left the area. While families maintained attachments and short-term residences on the land, for the most part, by the 1920s, only a few full time residents remained in the ʻAhalanui-Oneloa area.

[13] Dorothy Barrerè (1959) cites the original translation as done by M.K. Pukui. It is possible the Tūtū Kawena wrote the name–Aa-hala-nui–as she heard it spoken earlier by natives of the area; thus "correcting" the spelling–Ahalanui–used by the author of the 1929 article.

Overview of Historic Archaeology

The most recent archaeological study conducted in the ʻAhalanui-Laepāoʻo-Oneloa study area was conducted by PHRI in 1990-1991 (Dunn *et al.* 1995). The PHRI report includes a detailed overview of archaeology in the district of Puna, and review of findings for the immediate study area. Rather than repeat that information here, this section of the study provides an overview of findings reported in historic studies, and lists the types of sites discussed in the historic documentation cited above. The PHRI report should be referenced for further sites specific information.

The earliest report on archaeological features on the island of Hawaiʻi, was compiled by Thos. Thrum (1908). Thrum's work was the result of a literature review and field visits. Thrum listed one *heiau* each at Keahialaka (Mahinaakaaka), Pohoiki (Oolo), and in the Kapoho vicinity (Kukii); no sites were identified in the study area (Thrum 1908:38-40). In 1906-1907, J.F.G. Stokes conducted a field survey of *heiau* on the island of Hawaiʻi for the B.P. Pauahi Bishop Museum (Stokes and Dye 1991). Like Thrum, Stokes did not record any sites in the present study area. Stokes did record that local information indicated that Mahinaakaaka was "dedicated to Kamehameha's god Kāʻili," and used for human sacrifice (Stokes and Dye 1991:151). Stokes repeats the information regarding the association of ʻUmi-a-Līloa with the *heiau* of Kūkiʻi, in the land of Kula, near Kapoho (as cited in historic accounts earlier in this study). Though he adds another account, stating that it had built by Pākaʻa, and used for "poisoning" (Stokes and Dye 1991:152).

In between 1929 to 1932, A.E. Hudson conducted an archaeological survey of sites from Hāmākua to Kaʻū, on the island of Hawaiʻi for the Bishop Museum (Hudson ms. 1932). The study has remained in manuscript form since 1932. While it is noted as having weaknesses, Hudson collected information on some sites from area residents, who are no longer living, and he collected documentation that would otherwise have been lost. The following narratives are among the observations Hudson made regarding archaeological features in Puna:

> [paraphrased] Cracks in lava flows are often filled with stones and boulders in Puna and Kaʻū, and many such filled cracks were used to conceal burials [Hudson ms. 1932:301]
>
> The region around Kapoho was well known for its *holua* slides for which the steep slopes of the numerous cone craters were well adapted [ibid.:332]
> Site 109. *Holua* slide; in the land of Pualaa about 1500 feet east of the railroad and midway between the north and south boundaries of the land of Pualaa… [ibid.:334]
>
> Site 110. In the vicinity of the *holua* slide are former agricultural patches marked by piles of stones cleared from the small plots.
>
> Site 111. Among the agricultural patches are a number of areas averaging 15 feet by 4 feet which are outlined on three sides by a rectangular border of stones. The open side is always the short dimension of the area… [ibid.:336]
>
> ***Lower Puna to Pulama***
> The southern part of Puna district offers more favorable conditions for archaeological investigation that any other of the regions examined…

> A large part of the region is semi-arid or covered with lava flows… Furthermore there is still a numerous Hawaiian population whose ancestors lived in the same locality so that it is relatively easy to obtain information about particular sites… [ibid.:337]
>
> The whole coastline and particularly the northern part around Kapoho is subject to marked seismological changes. Brigham (13, p. 112) quotes a letter from Coan of August 1868 explaining that after the earthquake of that year the "…subsidence along the coast of Puna, from the east cape at Kapoho to Apua on the western line, is four to seven feet…"
>
> …A further subsidence, though limited to the area around Kapoho, occurred in April, 1924. Jaggar (42, p. 20) describes a new lagoon at Kapele which appeared at this time as extending 200 feet inland and being from 6 to 8 feet deep… [ibid.:338]
>
> The population, as elsewhere generally, lived mostly along the coast. A few sites (204 to 215), were found two or three miles inland but they may not have been inhabited permanently… [ibid.:339]

Hudson spends some time describing features in the coastal portion of Kapoho, and then moves to Pōhakupala point in Pūʻālaʻa, where he reports:

> Site 144. Near the large brackish pool a hundred yards from the beach at Pohakupala is a roughly built platform 16 feet square. [ibid.:364]

Entering the ʻAhalanui-Laepāoʻo-Oneloa study area (by location in text, without mentioning the *ahupuaʻa* names), Hudson identifies the following sites:

> Site 145. Three quarters of a mile Northeast of Pohoiki an area about 24 feet square on the rough boulder-strewn beach has been cleared of stones. The beach is nearly level at this point and the spot may have been a house site without the usual platform.
>
> Site 146. Close to the site mentioned above is a triangular walled enclosure with poles laid across the top as supports for a roof. [ibid.:364]

Hudson then moves to Pohoiki, citing Thrums notation on the *heiau* called Oolo; noting, "None of my informants in the neighbourhood could give any information about it" (ibid.:365). He then reports:

> Around the boat landing at Pohoiki and for some distance up and down the coast are evidence of former extensive occupancy. The lines of old walls can be followed although the stones have been removed and there are traces of former platforms and paving on the beach. [ibid.:366]

In specific reference to sites within the lands of the study area, we find two historical references that of particular interest: (1) the *heiau* Kuaokalā; and (2) the agricultural field of (Ka)Hale-o-Lono:

(1) *Kuaokalā* — other than the information recorded in the 1929 article in *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i*, identifying the site as a *heiau* in Ahalanui, no other information is known about it. The name may be literally translated as "Back-of-the-sun," and as such, one might expect that it has some function with the sun's travels, and possibly the god Kāne;

(2) By name, the *Hale-o-Lono* cultivating grounds of 'Ahalanui-Pū'āla'a are associated with the Hawaiian god Lono. The name may be literally translated as, "House-of-Lono" (a name associated with ceremonial functions). Not surprisingly, there are localities on all of the islands that are known by the same name. The name Hale-o-Lono is also a kind of *heiau*, of which David Malo wrote:

> When the people and the priests saw that their services of the *luakini* [*heiau* of state] were well conducted, they had confidence in the stability of the government, they put up other places of worship, such as the *mapele*, *kukoea* [sic. *kūkoa'e*], and the *hale-o-Lono*. These *heiau* were of the kind known as *hoouluulu* (*hoouluulu ai*, to make food grow) and were to bring rain from heaven and the crops abundant, bringing wealth to the people, blessing to the government, prosperity to the land. [Malo 1951:176]

Stokes (Stokes and Dye 1991) observed that the:

> Hale-o-Lono, a house of the god erected on a designated site–his temple with its ancient altar. It was for procuring rain and raising crops. When there was famine in the land on account of drought, the king built this house for the purpose of supplicating the god for rain. [1991:31]

Thus, based on the association of Lono with agriculture practices and *heiau*, it is highly possible that the Hale-o-Lono cultivating grounds of 'Ahalanui-Pū'āla'a had, or have ancient ceremonial sites associated with them. Additionally, other types of cultural sites, and their associated uses have been documented in the preceding sections of the study. *Table 4* identifies sites that have been recorded in historic literature, for the 'Ahalanui-Laepāo'o-Oneloa study area.

One additional type of site should be mentioned here, *ilina* or graves. Though not specifically mentioned in historic documentation for the 'Ahalanui-Laepāo'o-Oneloa area, it was the general practice of those individuals who lived upon the land to bury their departed family members near their place of residence. Throughout the islands, many *kuleana* and grant land awards have *ilina* associated with them. Of this practice, Kamakau (1961) commented:

> In the old days the inheritance of the family burial place, the caves and secret burial places of our ancestors was handed down from these to their descendants without the intrusion of a single stranger unless by consent of the descendant, so that wherever a death occurred the body was conveyed to its inheritance. These immovable barriers belonged to burial rights for all time. The rule of kings and chiefs and their land agents might change, but the burial rights of families survived on their lands. Here is one proof of the people's right to the land.

> With this right of the common people to the land is connected an inherent love of the land of one's birth inherited from one's ancestors, so that men do not wander from place to place but remain on the land of their ancestors... [Kamakau 1961:376]

It is noted here, that as a result of the 1990-1991 archaeological work in the study area (Dunn *et al*., 1995), fourteen confirmed burial features and five possible burial features were identified in the study area. Of that total number of sites, seventeen(+) *ilina* were identified—most within the land of ʻAhalanui, though two of the identified *ilina* are believed to be in Laepāoʻo. Twelve *ilina* are associated with platforms, five (+) *ilina* were "laid out in caves" Four *ilina* were associated with residential complexes, and four others were single feature sites. Eight of the *ilina* were identified as being associated with the historic period (generally nineteenth century), five others were identified as being from the pre-contact, and one other *ilina*—in a cave—was of an indeterminate period (Dunn et al., 1995:86). For further documentation on historic sites and *ilina* within the ʻAhalanui-Laepāoʻo-Oneloa study area, see *Section VI*., titled "*Oral History Interviews*…"

Table 4. Cultural Sites and Site Uses identified in Historic Literature

Site Type	**Time Period**	***Ahupuaʻa***	**Source of Documentation**
Coastal House sites	17/18[14] 19th E/20th	Study area	BC BC, RPG, & Maps RPL
Inland House sites	17/18 19th	ʻAhalanui/Pūʻālaʻa Study area	BC BC, RPG, & Maps
Canoe Landing	19th	ʻAhalanui	RPG
Trails (& associated Features)	17/18 19th E/20th	ʻAhalanui/Pūʻālaʻa Pohoiki/Oneloa	BC BC, RPG, & Maps RPL
Agricultural fields	17/18 19th	ʻAhalanui/Pūʻālaʻa	BC BC, RPG, & Maps
Coconut, Breadfruit, and/or Pandanus Groves	19th	ʻAhalanui/Pūʻālaʻa Pohoiki/Oneloa	BC, RPG, & Maps
Waterhole	19th	ʻAhalanui/Pūʻālaʻa	BC, RPG, & Maps
Stone walls	17/18 19th	Study area	BC, RPG, & Maps
Ahu or stone cairns	19th	Study area	BC, RPG, & Maps
Government Road	19th E/20th	Study area	BC, RPG, & Maps

A & O International, Oneloa Development has committed to preservation-in-place of all burial sites, as well as the preservation of all other cultural and historic sites within the ʻAhalanui-Laepāoʻo-Oneloa project area. The natural and cultural landscape of the Puna region are seen as unique and integral parts of the area and the proposed project (pers comm. David Matsuura, March 25, 1998). For further information on preservation,

[14] Table Key – 17/18=1700s-early 1800s; 19th=mid to late 1800s; E/20th=Early 1900s;
BC=Boundary Commission; RPG=Royal Patent Grant; RPL-Right of Purchase Lease

restoration and interpretive-educational programs, see the archaeological mitigation plan (Walker 1998), in the EIS, which lists the mitigation measures, and the Development Agreement in the EIS, submitted for approval with the General Plan Amendment and rezoning application request.

VI. ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS – ʻAHALANUI, LAEPĀOʻO, ONELOA AND EASTERN PUNA (1997-1998)

Overview

This section of the study presents readers with oral historical accounts of individuals who lived in or near the lands of the ʻAhalanui-Pohoiki study area from ca. 1913 to the present-day. The oral historical component of this study was conducted in an effort to gather traditional and historical narratives, and documentation of the continuation of cultural attachment and on-going practices from knowledgeable individuals, familiar with the lands, cultural resources, and families of the *ahupuaʻa* of the study area and larger Puna region.

Oral historical studies of this nature seek to record information pertaining: to land-use; traditional sites; cultural practices; and to record traditional values, experiences, and events in the lives of both native Hawaiian residents and other individuals with several generations of residency in the lands of the study area. The interviews also sought to document past and on-going examples of the relationship of the coastal resources to the practices, beliefs, customs, and access practices of native residents (both past and present-day) and natural resources of the study area *ahupuaʻa* and larger Puna region. In the process of conducting the interviews, interviewees were also asked to record their concerns and recommendations for long-term protection of the cultural and natural resources of the ʻAhalanui-Laepāoʻo-Oneloa study area.

Importantly, the interviews cited in this study, demonstrate that traditions of the land have been handed down through time, from generation to generation. They also provide both present and future generations with an opportunity to understand the relationships—cultural attachment—shared between people and their natural and cultural environments.

Readers are asked to keep in mind, that while this component of the study records a depth of cultural and historical knowledge of the Puna study area, this record 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 us with only a glimpse into the stories being told, and of the lives of the participants. The author/interviewer has made every effort to accurately relay the recollections, thoughts and recommendations of the people who shared their *moʻolelo ponoʻī* (personal histories) in this study.

As would be expected, participants in oral history interviews sometimes have different recollections for the same location or events of a particular period. The differences may be the result of varying values assigned to a history during an interviewees formative years, or they may reflect localized or familial interpretations of the particular history being conveyed. Also, with the passing of many years, sometimes that which was heard from elders during one's childhood 70 or more years ago, may transform into that which the interviewee recalls having actually experienced. It is noted here, that the few differences of recollections raised in the cited interviews are minor. If anything, they help direct us to questions which may be answered through additional archival research, or in some cases, pose questions which may never be answered. The diversity in the stories told, should be seen as something which will enhance preservation and interpretive opportunities in the ʻAhalanui-Laepāoʻo-Oneloa study area.

Interview Methodology

The oral history interviews documented in this study were conducted between November 21, 1997 to July 21, 1998. Four primary interviewees, ranging in age from 85 years to 71 years old, participated in three interviews. The interviews were recorded on a Sony TCM-R3 cassette recorder, using TDK D90 High Output standard cassette tapes. A fourth limited interview was conducted for which hand written notes were taken and later expanded and returned to the interviewee for clarification and release.

The primary focus of the interviews was to elicit traditional information—knowledge handed down in families from generation to generation—and to document traditional values and practices that are still retained by the native Hawaiian families associated with the lands of the study area and neighboring *ahupua'a*. Interviewees were asked about their knowledge of sites or features which were associated with native families and cultural practices in, and neighboring the study area. During the course of conducting the interviews, several historic maps were referred to, and when appropriate, site names or locations were marked on the maps. *Figure 2* (at the end of this study) is an annotated interview map, including approximate locations of place names, natural features, and trails as recorded in the oral history interviews.

In order to facilitate collection of oral historical data, a general interview questionnaire was developed and referenced during the interviews (*Figure 16*). As various potential interviewees were contacted, they were told about the nature of the studies being undertaken, and asked if they had knowledge of traditional sites or practices associated with the study area, and if they would be willing to share their knowledge. In the process of identifying potential interviewees and in conducting the interviews, the author sought out individuals who:

a. Had genealogical ties to lands of the study area—were descended from families recorded as having early to mid 1800s residency ties to the land, or individuals descended from recipients of Land Grants from the Kingdom or Territory of Hawai'i (ca. 1850s to 1930s).
b. Were old enough to have heard first-hand from their elders some of the traditions, customs, practices, and beliefs of the native residents of the land (generally born prior to 1930).
c. Were identified by community members as possessing specific knowledge of lore or historical wisdom pertaining to the lands, families, practices, and land use activities in the study area.
d. were currently involved in cultural and/or natural resource stewardship activities.

Having completed the interviews, the tapes were transcribed and/or handwritten notes expanded, and draft copies of the interview transcripts were returned to the interviewees, for their review and input on corrections, modifications, and additions. Follow up discussions were then held with all of the interviewees who participated in taped interviews. The latter interview participant did not respond to further communications.

Question Outline for the ʻAhalanui, Laepāoʻo and Oneloa Oral History Interviews

The following questions are meant to provide a basic format for the oral history interviews. The interviewee's personal knowledge and experiences will provide direction for the formulation of other detailed questions, determine the need for site visits, and/or other forms of documentation which may be necessary.

Interviewee–Family Background:

Name:_____ Phone #:_____

Address: _____

Interview Date:_____ Time:_____to _____ Location:_____ Interviewer:_____

When were you born? _____ Where were you born?_____

Parents? (father) _____ (mother) _____

Grew up where?_____ Also lived at? _____

Raised by? _____

· Additional family background pertinent to the Puna study area — e.g., generations of family residency in area... (time period)?

· Kinds of information learned/activities participated in, and how learned...?

Detailed Information—To Include Discussions of both Historic and Current Practices:

· Naming of the *ahupuaʻa* or sections of the land that are of particular significance in the history of the land and to native practices…?

· *Heiau* — Ceremonial sites or practices (for example – *kūʻula, ʻilina*…)? Land based *koʻa* (cross *ahupuaʻa*) — ocean based *koʻa*; *kilo iʻa* (fish spotting stations) locations and types of fish? Names of *heiau* and *koʻa* etc.?

· Burial sites, practices, beliefs, and areas or sites of concern (ancient unmarked, historic marked / unmarked, family)…? Representing who and when interred …?

· Fishing — describe practices (i.e., where occurred/occurring, types of fish; names of fishermen; and what protocols observed…?

· Historic and Current Practices — What was growing on the land during youth (planted and wild)? How was water obtained (i.e. wells, caves, springs, catchment)? Changes observed in life time?

· Village or house sites – church – stores – community activities — Names of native and resident families…?

Historic residents – Kahale, Kamakaimoku, Peleula, Kahananui, Kalaiwaa (Kalauwaa), Kuahewa, Kamakau, Kaluahine, Kumahoa, Napalapalai, Maunakea, Makuakane, (others)…

Figure 16. Oral History Interview Questionnaire

- Who were/are the other families that came and/or come to collect area resources, and protocol?
- Gathering practices (who and what)? Shore line and *mauka-makai* trail accesses?
- Relationships with neighboring *ahupua'a* and residence locations?
- Historic Land Use: Agricultural and Ranching Activities…?
- Do you have any early photographs of the area?
- Are there particular sites or locations in the *ahupua'a* of 'Ahalanui, Laepāo'o and Oneloa that are of cultural significance or concern to you?
- Comments on caring for Hawaiian cultural resources and changes to the cultural and natural landscapes...?
- Do you have some particular sites or locations of concern or recommendations—cultural resources and site protection needs—regarding the proposed A & O development?

  Describe sites and define boundaries…

cf. HiPu15-QA-RL.doc / release DM 11/13/1997

Figure 16. Oral History Interview Questionnaire (continued)

For the three recorded interviews, this process resulted in the recording of additional hand written narratives with several interviewees. The hand written notes were expanded, and requested modifications made to the original interview transcripts.

Following completion of the interview and consultation process, the interviewees gave their written permission for inclusion of their "released" transcripts in this study (at the end of the individual interview transcripts). Only the final released transcripts from the interviews may be made available for public review.

Summary of Information Recorded in the Puna Oral History Interviews

As a result of the oral history interviews, a significant contribution to the history of the Kapoho-Pohoiki and ʻŌpihikao region has been compiled. There is notable similarity in the historical accounts of the four elder interviewees. Their *moʻolelo ponoʻī* (personal histories), bridge the past demonstrating time depth—a relationship to accounts recorded in historic literature—and demonstrating the on-going values of the customs, traditions and practices in the lives of the interviewees. All of the interviewees expressed a deep *aloha* (love) for the cultural and natural landscapes of Puna, and all share a commitment to the perpetuation of the history of the land and the continuation of native practices—whether occurring physically on the land, or being orally taught to successive generations.

Table 5, below, provides readers with an overview of key references to sites, practices, and recommendations made during the interviews.

Table 5. Overview of Historical Documentation and Recommendations made by Interviewees

Interviewee[15]:	***AL***	***JH***	***GK***	***JM***
Has lived on the lands of ʻAhalanui-Oneloa with elders.	No	Yes	No	No
Has walked across and worked the lands of ʻAhalanui-Oneloa with elders (e.g., gathering *lau hala*, and *ʻawa*).	No	Yes	Yes	No
Has personal knowledge of Hawaiian historical sites in ʻAhalanui-Oneloa.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Has personal knowledge of a *heiau* within the lands of ʻAhalanui-Oneloa.	No	No	No	No
Has personal knowledge of a family burial(s), or other remains In the lands of ʻAhalanui-Oneloa.	No	Yes	No	No
Has personal knowledge of fisheries (on-shore, near shore and deep sea) and fishing customs as handed down by *kūpuna*.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Has personal knowledge of grading and clearing activities on the Lands of ʻAhalanui-Oneloa (ca. 1950s to 1980s).	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

[15] *AL=Arthur Lyman; JH=John Hale; GK=Gabriel Kealoha; JM=John Makuakāne*

Table 5. Overview of Historical Documentation and Recommendations made by Interviewees (continued)

Interviewee:	***AL***	***JH***	***GK***	***JM***
Pā ilina (burial sites): Recommends that family members be consulted regarding treatment and long term protection of the *pā ilina*. It is generally felt that burials should be preserved in place.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Recommends working with the families of the land in developing preservation plans for cultural resources in the ‘Ahalanui-Oneloa area.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Recommends protection of the native forest and other trees such as *kamani* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), *niu* (*Cocos nucifera*), and *‘ulu* (*Artocarpus altilis*).	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Recommends taking steps to protect the quality of the water, ponds, and fisheries.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Recommends providing residents and visitors with historical information on the lands, families and customs of the ‘Ahalanui-Pohoiki vicinity.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Recommends the develop of work opportunities for native families and residents of Puna.	Not asked	Yes	Yes	Yes

As noted in the preceding section, David Matsuura of A&O International Corporation-Oneloa Development has committed to the protection, restoration, and interpretation (when appropriate) of the Hawaiian cultural sites (sites identified during archaeological investigations) within the lands of ‘Ahalanui, Laepāo‘o, and Oneloa. Additionally, Mr. Matsuura has already initiated work on a plan for the protection of the remnant native forest and traditional agricultural field systems in ‘Ahalanui. For further documentation on the preservation, restoration, and interpretive commitments, please see the EIS prepared as a part of the A & O proposal.

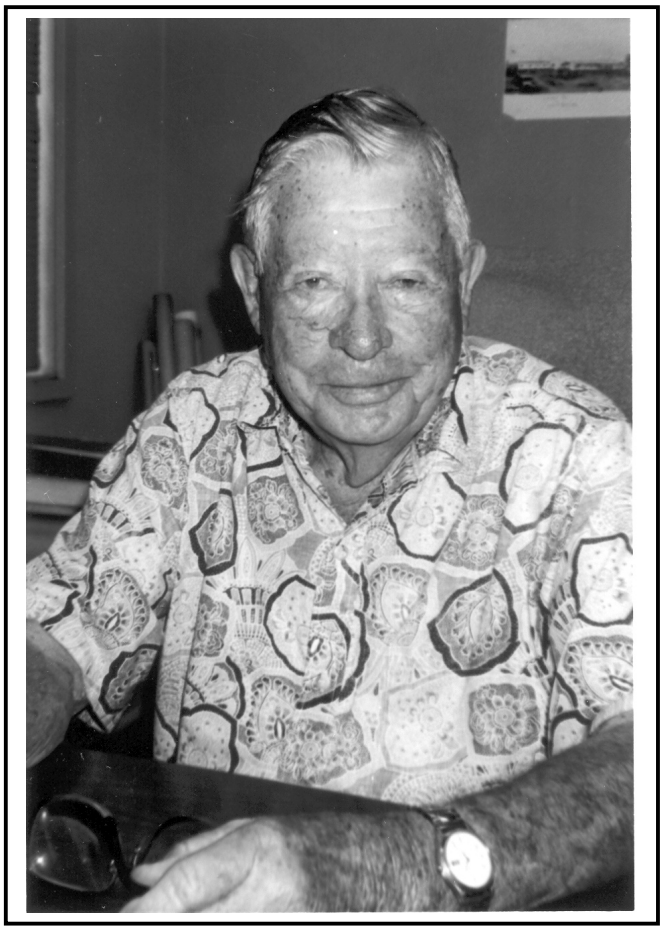
In light of the interviewees knowledge of past uses of the A&O property, and the commitments of A&O to preservation/interpretation of the historical resources in the project area, the interviewees generally feel that the proposed project will have no adverse effect on the lands of ‘Ahalanui, Laepāo‘o, and Oneloa.

Released Oral History Interview Transcripts

The following pages offer readers the opportunity to read the full released transcripts from three recorded interviews and follow-up discussions. Also, the record documents efforts to conduct and complete a fourth interview. Because the information was not released, it cannot be included as a part of this study.

Readers are humbly asked here — Please respect the interviewees, reference oral history narratives in their context as spoken, not selectively so as to make a point that was not the interviewee’s intention.

C. Arthur Lyman at Hilo, Hawai‘i
Oral History Interview of November 21, 1997 – with Kepā Maly (with discussion notes from November 14, 1997 and June 17, 1998)



Charles Arthur Lyman (Arthur) 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, and by the 1830s, the family was actively involved in mission operations in Hilo and Puna. By the early 1850s, H.M and F.S. Lyman were conducting official government surveys in the lands of Pū‘āla‘a, ‘Ahalanui, Laepāo‘o, Oneloa, and vicinity (survey records from the Lyman brothers are included in the historical report prepared as a part of this study). In the late 1880s, Arthur'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 it's operations in the Kapoho-Pāhoa vicinity. Arthur has maintained a life-long interest in the family lands of Puna, and in between 1931 to 1960, Arthur 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 study prepared for the lands of ‘Ahalanui, Laepāo‘o, and Oneloa, Arthur 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. In the 1950s, he was in charge of the formal clearing of large sections of the lands in ‘Ahalanui, Laepāo‘o, and Oneloa for AmFac's papaya cultivation venture. In his description of the early land clearing operations, he noted that large "fruit trees" such as *‘ulu* (breadfruit) and mangoes, and any stone walls and other historic features were left in place when he oversaw the clearing operations. During the interview, Register Map 1777 and HTS Plat 812 were referenced while identifying various sites and locations being discussed. Selected sites are indicated on an annotated interview map at the end of this study (*Figure 2*).

Mr. Lyman gave his release of the interview records on July 9, 1998. In doing so, he observed:

"My answers may be disputed by other historians. My answers to questions, in the interview, are from years of handed down information from my elders and my longtime residence in the area."

Interview:

KM: I'm here with Mr. Arthur Lyman, and we're going to be talking story about the land of Puna, your birth place at Kapoho. And also trying to gather a little bit of historical information, your recollections about the lands of ʻAhalanui, Laepāoʻo, and Oneloa. *Mahalo*, thank you so much for agreeing to talk story. You are among the few of your generation, that lived in this land and who knew the old timers. *Mahalo!*

AL: [nods head]

KM: Could you please give me your full name?

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.

KM: Hmm, you've seen so much! Where were you born?

AL: I was born in Kapoho.

KM: We're looking at Lobenstein's 1895 map, Register Map 1777; it shows walled enclosures for Lyman's House [the old J.E. Elderts, Kapoho Ranch property] . Showing some of the houses and the ranch paddocks, on the side of Kapoho Crater. Is this where you were born?

AL: No, I was not born there. That was my grandfather's house. My grandfather moved from Paʻauhau to Kapoho to go into ranching and raising sugar cane down in the Kapoho area [in the middle 1880s]. My father lived further up the road, in a plantation home [looking at Reg. Map 1777].

KM: This map shows us a trail, sort of skirting the crater of Kapoho and Puʻu Kea. And so your house, as you'd pointed out to me when we met last week, was a little further up, on the western slope, inland side of Kapoho?

AL: Yes [looking at the map], this is a very old map, it doesn't show the present roads.

KM: Yes, I also have a 1915 map, which at least comes up to the time of your birth. This map is HTS Plat 812 [opening map]. Here are the roads that were in place when you were born. So this is Kapoho hill here, and the road comes around [pointing out locations], there's grandpa's ranch area. Here's the road coming along the slope…

AL: Well, I was born just about here.

KM: Okay, I'm going to go ahead and mark that. Here's the road, and some railroad tracks. Do you remember the railroad running through some of this area?

AL: Oh yes, I remember it very well because I went to school on the train from Kapoho to Hilo. The reason I went to Hilo to school was because the school at Kapoho, only went to the 3rd or 4th grade, and my mother was the teacher there. A one room school, and she didn't think that it was a good idea for me to continue school there [smiling]. So I went to school in Hilo, from the 2nd grade until the 4th grade. Then [ca. 1920] I went to school in ʻŌlaʻa, which is now Keaʻau, because, at that time, they segregated the students from going outside of their district to another school. So I had to leave the Hilo Union School and transfer to ʻŌlaʻa. I finished the 8th grade at ʻŌlaʻa and then went to the Hilo Intermediate School, which is now, not in existence. At that time, the Hilo Intermediate, was directly across from the Hilo Union School. It is now a playground. Then, after I finished the 9th grade there, then I was transferred to the Hilo High School, which is in its' present location. Then I went to Punahou in my 11th and 12th grades.

KM: Oh. Was Hilo Boarding School still in operation when you were a child, of school age?

AL: Yes it was.

KM: Ahh. And did your family still have any involvement with the school?

AL: No, my father was not directly involved in the Hilo Boarding School, but his cousin, Levi Lyman, was the principal coordinator of the school services, which was teaching students from the country, and from outside islands reading, writing, arithmetic, and so on. Also, how to be cabinet makers, farmers, and blacksmith's work.

KM: Hmm. So it was similar, I guess to a program like Lāhaina Luna, with some agriculture skills?

AL: Right, exactly. After all, Hilo Boarding School was fashioned after the Lāhaina Luna High School.

KM: Ahh, interesting. Now you'd mentioned that you were born in 1912, at Kapoho. What was your father's name?

AL: Richard Lyman.

KM: Was papa the Richard Lyman, trustee at Bishop Estate?

AL: No, that wasn't my father, that was my older brother, who became trustee. He also had the same name, and naturally, he was called "Junior."

KM: *ʻAe* [yes]. And what year was papa born?

AL: Eighteen seventy-two.

KM: Who was his father?

AL: Rufus Lyman, who settled in Kapoho.

KM: So that's the ranch, Lyman's, here [pointing to the location on Reg. Map 1777]?

AL: Right.

KM: So this is Rufus Lyman. I see, just below grandpa's house, on the map, it looks like it's in Mahina or Kula, it says that there is a school lot.

AL: That's the one I went to school at.

KM: Ahh. So this is the school where mama was a teacher then also?

AL: Yes.

KM: What was your mama's name?

AL: Phoebe Williams, from Kohala.

KM: Do you remember about what year she was born?

AL: Eighteen eighty-three.

KM: Now, you're papa…you are of Hawaiian ancestry, as well. Who, of your parents, was Hawaiian, of your parents? Both your mama and papa?

AL: Yes, my father got his Hawaiian from his mother. His mother was Hawaiian Chinese, and my mother was Hawaiian Italian. My [maternal] grandfather married my grandmother over in Kohala. He was pure Italian and my grandmother on my mother's side was pure Hawaiian.

KM: Do you remember who the Hawaiian family was out in Kohala?

AL: Yes, I used to go there and stay there a couple of summers, [chuckling] I never enjoyed it because both of them spoke Hawaiian all the time and I couldn't understand a word. I'm sorry I never did learn to speak Hawaiian.

KM: *ʻAe* [yes]. Do you remember the Hawaiian name of your mother's mother?

AL: [thinking] I can look it up.

KM: Okay. How about papa's side. You said that your papa was also part Hawaiian, is that correct?

AL: That's correct.

KM: So your grandfather Rufus married a part Hawaiian woman, who was Hawaiian Chinese.

AL: Yes.

KM: Who is her line?

AL: I would have to look that up too.

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 Puʻu Kūkiʻi area. This is still your *ʻāina* [land], I understand?

AL: Correct.

KM: Could we talk a little bit about your recollections of the landscape, and about Kūkiʻi?

AL: My recollection of Kūkiʻi was that it was sort of a sacred hill. We all knew from my mother and father talking about a *heiau* [temple] up there. So it was sort of a forbidden place to go. But, the sugar company did raise sugarcane on the side of the hill.

KM: So around the slopes of the *pu‘u* [hill], going up slope, had sugarcane?

AL: Correct?

KM: Puna Sugar Company?

AL: No, at that time it was ‘Ōla‘a Sugar Company [incorporated in 1899].

KM: Ahh.

AL: See, Puna Sugar Company was a plantation that was supposed to be only in Kapoho. They had the mill site picked out, next to Green Lake hill [in ca. 1899].

KM: Ahh. So here’s the Kapoho Hill here.

AL: Yes.

KM: And Green Lake is the name for the water, the small lakes inside? Is that correct?

AL: That’s correct.

KM: Did you ever hear the name Ka-wai-a-Pele?

AL: No, I can’t recollect that.

KM: Okay. So Puna Sugar Company was going to build a mill on the side of the Kapoho Hill?

AL: Yeah [looking at the map], about some place in this area here.

KM: Okay, I’m going to mark this on the map as approximate location of mill. Now, you’d said that they were supposed to. Had they begun the construction, or they never did?

AL: They never got off the ground [by ca. 1905, Puna Sugar Co. was bought out by ‘Ōla‘a Sugar Co.]. The plantation, leased the property from my grandfather, and they must have planted some areas in sugarcane, but they never really ever harvested and milled their own cane. By that time, the Hilo Railroad had built a railroad track from Hilo to Kapoho so that they could quarry rocks for the Hilo Breakwater.

KM: Ohh! So they were gathering rocks out in Kapoho?

AL: Correct. I would say that maybe 50% or more of the Hilo Breakwater is rock that was gathered in Kapoho and transported by the railway system to the Hilo Breakwater.

KM: Wow, that’s amazing. I knew that some of the stone had come from along the Hāmākua side, but I didn’t know about the Kapoho source also.

AL: Yeah, some came from Hāmākua.

KM: Now, this *pu‘u*, you mentioned also, that they used to dry flume the sugarcane off the side of Kūki‘i like that.

AL: [chuckling] That’s the only way they could get the harvested cane from the slope, down to where they could transport it to a railroad track so that they could haul it all the way to ‘Ōla‘a, which was where the mill was. ‘Ōla‘a is now called Kea‘au.

KM: Do you know where Kea‘au, as a place name came from, out of curiosity? Was there a particular area called Kea‘au.

AL: I am not sure. But I can recollect Mr. Herbert Shipman saying that ʻŌlaʻa was not a "good name, it was a bad name." That's all I can remember. And so sometime after he became a trustee, or board member of American Factors, they had the name changed from ʻŌlaʻa Sugar Company to Puna Sugar Company [in 1960].

And in a conversation with him, I said, "Mr. Shipman, you have changed the name ʻŌlaʻa Sugar company to Puna Sugar Company." I said, "Do you know that Puna Sugar Company was once a sugar company that was supposed to raise sugarcane and mill its' own sugarcane at Kapoho. It went broke." [smiling] And he just didn't like my statement, so that was the end of the conversation [chuckling].

KM: How interesting. And indeed, what you're describing about the railroad tracks, the more recent map from 1915 [HTS Plat 812], does show the track fairly close, down to Kapoho Hill, so they would have…were they using machinery, or were they hauling with horses or oxen, the sugar when you were a young boy?

[pointing to locations on map] Here's Kūkiʻi, and up by your house, you can see the railroad track coming down towards grandpa Rufus' place. And this is Kūkiʻi.

AL: Yeah. See, this is the railroad track that went all the way into Pāhoa and Keaʻau and also to Hilo.

KM: Sure, here's the section I believe that would have come up to Pāhoa.

AL: Yeah.

KM: Then it continues on to Hilo?

AL: Yeah, on to Keaʻau, Glenwood.

KM: Uh-hmm, there was a branch going up.

AL: Yeah. And all the way to Paʻauilo.

KM: Ahh. Now in Hilo, there's what they call "Railroad Avenue," that name source, was because of this railroad? That railroad ran through there?

AL: Yes.

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

AL: The warm springs was…as far as I know, we called it "Warm Springs." Waiwelawela 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 Waiwelawela 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 Waiwelawela.

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

AL: Twenty-four earthquake. Waiwelawela, 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 Waiwelawela.

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 Kumukahi, 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*." Also, you said you heard something about the *heiau* Kūkiʻi, on Puʻu Kūkaʻe though, if I recall? That it had a special function; there some association with healing or something?

AL: Yes, I am told that the *heiau* was built by ʻUmi [ca. 1525] and it was for healing purposes [healing practices at this site are also recorded in traditional accounts].

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 [see historical report for documentation of use of warm springs as early as the 1870s for healing].

KM: Had you ever heard of a relationship between the rising sun, Kumukahi and this hill? Do you recall hearing anything about that? It is the eastern most point of the island and it's prominent for the sun rise.

AL: Well, I know that the sunrise in Kapoho is very nice. And the only thing I can remember my family telling me about, is Halekamahina. Because it talks about the moon.

During a preliminary interview meeting on November 14th, Mr. Lyman also shared the following recollections about some of the stones from the *heiau* of Kūkiʻi, and his personal interest in long-term protection of the site:

> The construction of the *heiau* was of a unique style, with large slabs of stone apparently cut to fit in place. Only a few of the stones can be seen on top of Kūkiʻi today. When he was a young boy, Mr. Lyman remembers that there was a pile of the cut stones set near his grandfather's ranch residence. At that time, no one remembered how or when the stones had gotten there. When "Sonny" Hall was working on development of Harry K. Brown Park at Kalapana, the elder Richard Lyman agreed to have the stones relocated to the Kalapana park where they would be protected with other sacred stones of the Puna District. Up until ca. 1990, there were large stone slabs (approximately 4'x8' in size) that were used as picnic table tops at the park; those stone slabs (table tops) had come from the *heiau* at Kūkiʻi.
>
> Arthur also lamented that his recent efforts at donating the *puʻu* to the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), in order to protect the remains of the Kūkiʻi Heiau, had been unsuccessful. As a result of his upbringing, he has long been concerned that the *heiau* be preserved through future generations. To date, his several offers to donate the site have generated no action (pers comm. November 14, 1997).

KM: Ahh. 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 Kumukahi 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: *ʻAe*. They call that *pūʻoʻa*, 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 Haʻehaʻe, 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 Haleʻōpelu 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 Haʻehaʻe Point here, directly across so that you could get to this other bay here.

KM: *ʻAe*, this Kamiloholo here. So there was a trail here?

AL: Under water.

On November 14th, Mr. Lyman commented that 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: Okay, I'm just going to mark it a little bit on the interview map.

AL: All the way, lined with stone.

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 Kumukahi.

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. Now, what we see is, there are areas where there are fairly well developed villages, communities. What's your understanding, did you hear anyone talk about this land once being well populated?

[Mr. Lyman's secretary comes in – tape off, then back on]

So I had been asking you if you'd heard that 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?

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 ʻŌpihikao.

KM: Ahh, so when you were a boy still yet?

AL: Yes.

In further discussion about fishing customs and use of *ʻōpae ʻula* [*Crangon ventrosus* – small red shrimp] as bait for *ʻōpelu*, Arthur added:

> The small *ʻōpae ʻula* was the important bait used by the Puna fishermen. People in other districts use pumpkin, taro, and *hauna* [stink baits], which can contaminate the *ʻōpelu*. But in this area of Puna—Kapoho, Pohoiki, and ʻŌpihikao—the fishermen only used *ʻōpae ʻula*. That way, the Puna people didn't need to be careful about how they prepared the *ʻōpelu*. Because the *ʻōpae* was a fresh, live bait, and a delicacy as well, they could even eat the *ōpū* [stomach].
> One of the important ponds for the *ʻōpae* was the pond called Waiʻōpae, near the Kapoho-Pūʻālaʻa boundary. The pond was large, and was filled with *ʻōpae ʻula*. The fishermen would go very early in the morning to gather the *ʻōpae* in preparation for *ʻōpelu* fishing. There was also the long green *limu* [seaweed] which grew in the pond, and that's what they used to keep the *ʻōpae* 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 ʻgathering rights for *ʻōpae ʻula* at Waiʻōpae to Hailama Kahaloa (Hailama used to work on the Puna road crew, and was a resident of the ʻŌpihikao 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 *ʻōpae ʻula* as life bait.
>
> It's really a shame that the *ʻōpae* 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 *ʻōpelu* 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 *ʻōpae* 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 *ʻōpae ʻula*. They were very plentiful (pers comm. June 17, 1998).

KM: 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 Kuamoʻos, also living at Pohoiki. Maunakea, who has [looking at the map] an area called Maunakea Pond...

KM: Uh-hmm. So this is the ʻAhalanui area, then here's Laepāoʻo and Oneloa.

AL: Correct.

KM: Kalauwaʻa or Kālaiwaʻa 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*. Then here in Grant 1001 to Makaʻimoku, is what's now called area of Maunakea pond.

AL: Yes. 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]. [cf. the interview of June 12, 1998, with John Hale and Gabriel Kealoha]

KM: So in Laepāoʻo and ʻAhalanui.

AL: Yeah.

Arthur recalled that the Hale family had land in the uplands at Puʻulena. It is his understanding that the family lived there at one time, and cultivated taro and other crops (this is described by John Hale; see interview of June 12, 1998). Arthur noted that the Puʻulena area was a very rich cultivating ground. The Puna Sugar Company railroad ran through the Puʻulena cultivating fields extending about as far as Kamāʻili, near the upper Puna Highway.
It is Arthur's understanding that there was some sort of 50-year plus, residency agreement between the Hale family and AmFac, granting the Hales a right of residency in the Pohoiki area in return for use of the Puʻulena agricultural field (pers comm. June 17, 1998).

KM: Was there any Makuakāne down here when you were young, that you remember?

AL: [thinking] The name is very familiar. The Makuakāne family, all of them that I know originally came from the Puna area.

KM: *ʻAe*. I think there are quite a number of people in the ʻŌpihikao area…

AL: ʻŌpihikao, that's Makuakāne's, and Kapoho, had Makuakānes. There was a Makuakāne that worked for the original Puna Sugar Company that never materialized, and later on, he worked for ʻŌlaʻa Sugar Company

KM: You also mentioned that you recognized, at least, the name Napalapalai, also, as someone that had one of the Government Grants in the ʻAhalanui-Laepāoʻo-Oneloa area I think?

AL: I remember that very well because of the figure that had 999 acres.

KM: Yes, uh-hmm. As we come a little bit back towards this way [towards Kapoho], were there any families living in Pūʻālaʻa 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 ʻAhalanui and Pūʻālaʻa, 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 Kaʻū has more salt along the sea coast than any place that I know of.

KM: Yes. Coming down here then, if you recall ʻAhalanui, Laepāoʻo, and Oneloa. You'd mentioned that you heard that Rycroft had cultivation operations in some of these *mauka* lands.

AL: Yes.

KM: What was he cultivating?

AL: I don't think he cultivated very much coffee. But he did have visions of a large coffee plantation. Because there are still some areas where you can see the projected railroad track bedding that was constructed prior to them going in there to raise coffee. As a matter of fact, Rycroft did bring in a steam locomotive, and I remember the thing rusting away, down at Kehena. It has now been covered by lava… [end Side A, begin Side B]

Arthur does not believe that railroad tracks were actually laid on the ground, it was in planning stages and the alignment may have been established during the latter period of Rycroft's residency (pers comm. June 17, 1998).

KM: So you saw what was left of the locomotive, and it was all the way down at Kehena rusting away?

AL: Yes.

KM: But now it's been covered by the lava flow [ca. 1955].

AL: I have no idea why it was in Kehena, but I remember the thing on the side of the road there. Whether the thing was brought in by ship and landed, or put ashore at Kehena, or whether the thing went on its own power to Kehena, I have no idea [chuckling].

KM: Now by your time, then, you'd mentioned you recalled the Maunakea family out here… [thinking], the Hale family at Pohoiki.

AL: Kuamoʻo

KM: Kuamoʻo, yes, thank you. Looking at this map [Reg. Map 1777], we see "Old Mill," and then "Rycroft's New Mill." What was the mill for?

AL: Processing coffee.

KM: Now the "Old Mill," you'd mentioned that you recalled hearing that they had processed jelly?

AL: I remember my dad saying that was where he [Rycroft] was going to make jelly [also marked as saw Mill on Reg. Map 1856].

KM: What kind of jelly?

AL: Guava jelly, naturally, there was so much guava in the area. The coffee mill is still standing. I would suggest that you go in there and look at it.

KM: Yes.

AL: And if you walk down towards the ocean, not too far away, you'll see the what I call the jelly factory. You'll see the toppled down smoke stack.

KM: Ohh!

AL: Whether he built that and found that it was too small, and said "I'm going to build a bigger one, and let's use this as a jelly factory," I don't know.

KM: Yeah, interesting. You can see the old road. You described to me that you would go off, follow the old road, and it would go right past the mill.

AL: Yeah, it goes between the two. Right down to the house.

KM: [looking at Reg. Map 1777] We can see also the Court House and Jail.

AL: Yes.

KM: Was that still functioning when you were a child?

AL: No.

KM: It was *pau* eh?

AL: Yes.

KM: We also see the old wharf down at Pohoiki. You mentioned that there's still one old rebar or something from that old wharf, still visible?

AL: Yes. If you go down there and you look, on the ocean side of where those tetragons are. You know where they put in the break water using those tetragons?

KM: Yes.

AL: You'll see that one rebar still standing.

KM: Ohh. Now Rycroft's house shows that it's enclosed by a stone wall. There's also some smaller houses, just outside of where the jail yard is, and that must have been Hale's place, or close to that area [identified as "Carpenter's Shop" on Reg. Map 1856]?

AL: Yes, I suppose so.

KM: I see there's an old boat shed, and a church. I also found a note for the old Pohoiki School Lot. Evidently, in the 1850s they had had a lot dedicated for a school out here.

AL: Uh-hmm.

KM: But that wasn't in operation when you were a child eh?

AL: No.

KM: There's also a school lot here at 'Ahalanui, but there was nothing going on there in your time?

AL: No. The kids that wanted to go to school, walked from Pohoiki to Kapoho.

KM: All the way to your mama's school?

AL: Yeah. Now, you don't walk more than a mile.

KM: Oh, a mile, that far [chuckles]? I don't think they walk far at all [laughing].

AL: [chuckles] One mile, then you get transportation.

KM: Yeah. So the families were Hale, Kuamoʻo, Maunakea. Do you think there were any other families that you recall off hand, living out here [ʻAhalanui, Laepāoʻo, Oneloa]?

AL: I can't recall.

KM: Uh-hmm. Now, I guess, as you were describing, the families were primarily fisher-people. They probably wove *lau hala*, and did some agriculture close to the houses. Out of curiosity, have you ever heard of family burials at any of these sites here? These lands Oneloa, Laepāoʻo, ʻAhalanui?

AL: Well, it's amazing, but I know for a fact that a lot of the Hawaiians buried their dead on their own property. Because even today, or during the period that I worked for the Puna Sugar Company, there were still graves, well marked graves in the cane fields.

KM: Ahh. When were you working for the sugar company?

AL: I worked for the sugar company from 1931 until 1960.

KM: Wow! You'd said also, earlier, before we got started, that it was your recollection that Rycroft was gone when you were a child.

AL: Yes.

KM: And that Puna Sugar Company? Was it Puna Sugar that bought this land?

AL: Yes, American Factors.

KM: American Factors, so the later Puna Sugar Company, not the Old Puna Sugar Company, yeah?

AL: Yeah, American Factors owned Puna Sugar Company.

KM: So they had bought this. [looking at both maps] I don't know which map is going to be easier for you to look at. It might be the little bit more recent one. How far down did the sugar cultivation come into the Laepāoʻo, Oneloa, ʻAhalanui area, do you think?

AL: [chuckles–thinking; gets up to look for a map from his collection]

KM: So this is a 1938 map (revised March 1939).

AL: Uh-hmm.

KM: Sugar Cane Fields of the Kapoho Section.

AL: [pointing to location at the map] This is where our little camp was.

KM: I see the camp above Kapoho.

AL: This is our house here. I think I put it in the right place on the other map.

KM: I think you did too. I'll go ahead and confirm that. I see, this one shows the tops of the Pohoiki, Oneloa, Laepāoʻo, ʻAhalanui. So the sugar is running quite a ways *mauka*?

AL: Oh yes, almost up to Pohoiki-Pāhoa junction.

KM: I see Honuaʻula hill here. So they didn't actually plant sugar down into the lower area of these three *ahupuaʻa* [native land divisions], Oneloa, Laepāoʻo, like that?

AL: No, no.

KM: But you mentioned to me, that you had actually bulldozed some of that land, cleared it for ranching or something, in the mid 1950s? Some of Oneloa and Laepāoʻo like that?

AL: Oh yeah, I went in there for papayas.

KM: Papayas. This is a beautiful map.

AL: [continues looking at map] See it shows all of the secondary railroad systems?

KM: Yes.

AL: See, this is the main one, filled in to Kapoho, and this goes all the way up to Malama. We had train tracks that ʻŌlaʻa Sugar Company, or Puna Sugar Company had locomotives that used to use their own tracks.

KM: Uh-hmm.

AL: This doesn't show them having anything over here. It doesn't show the hill, Kūkiʻi.

KM: No. You see the camp though, so the hill…well, here's the old school lot, so Kūkiʻi was just off on the side, right in here.

AL: Well, this is the road going down to Kumukahi.

KM: Yes.

AL: So it would have been here.

KM: Uh-hmm. So if we were looking at Laepāoʻo, the Oneloa-ʻAhalanui area, to the best of your recollection, there was no sugar planted *makai* [shoreward]?

AL: [shaking head – no]

KM: So when you bulldozed in 1955 or thereabouts, it was pretty much *hala* and guava mix, and stuff like that?

AL: For the papaya?

KM: Yeah.

AL: Oh yeah, it was guava, *hala*, *ʻōhiʻa*. [rolls up his map]

KM: Thank you for sharing your map. Out of curiosity, would it be possible for me to make a copy of that?

AL: …Yeah, just bring me back the original.

KM: …Yes, I promise that I will, and it's on the record [chuckles].

Now, do I understand that before you began clearing some of this *mauka* area here, that this land between Oneloa-ʻAhalanui, had not been cleared?

AL: I can't say that, because I don't know what Rycroft did.

KM: That's right, Rycroft was getting ready to do planting, the coffee and stuff.

AL: Yes. The only thing I remember going into those areas where we ran across some beautiful stone walls and the old railroad bedding. But no railroad tracks or anything, were ever found.

KM: Ahh. I see something interesting on this 1895 map, that says "Line of Cocoanuts and a Stone Wall," cutting right across here. There was a significant stone wall through ʻAhalanui. You'd also shared with me that you remembered when Keppeler [Bishop Estate surveyor] and [thinking]…

AL: Punini. Yeah, he went through here.

KM: Here's the boundary between Pūʻālaʻa and ʻAhalanui, and there's a cave eh, up in this area. That Punini and Keppeler got lost evidently in there for a while?

AL: Yeah, they got lost in there [chuckling], but they came out. They were only lost for one day.

KM: What might the old Hawaiians have used a cave like that for? Evidently, there were some walls and things inside, yeah?

AL: Well, the cave was used, I'm sure for habitation. Because, they did find where the cook area was and the pile of *ʻōpihi* shells and things like that. [looking at Reg. Map 1777] This one, I can't recall.

KM: The wall eh, can't recollect it?

AL: I wonder what happened back there?

KM: Interesting, it says that there is "Kipaepae Cocoanut grove" in here on the boundary of ʻAhalanui-Pūʻālaʻa. There's also a waterhole up here, above that stone wall.

AL: You see, this is right next to the trail there.

KM: That's correct. The trail is right there.

AL: And you know that wherever you find a *ʻulu* tree growing, a human being planted it. Because *ʻulu* trees don't grow wild, you have to plant it by root.

KM: *ʻAe*. So that's an indicator then that some was there, that there was some kind of activity?

AL: Yeah. So that's why, in bulldozing, if you have a Hawaiian operator on the bulldozer, he won't knock the fruit tree down. You tell him, "You've got to knock that tree down." The next day, he'll stay home.

KM: [chuckles] No come work eh?

AL: Yeah. So, in all my bulldozing, I tried to go by that same practice. You do not destroy any fruit tree, except for guava. But the mango and things like that. [looking back at the walled area in ʻAhalanui, on Reg. Map 1777] I wonder what that would be. And is that the Malama Trail?

KM: Well, this is the trail that comes down…let's see, it says "short trail from Kaniahiku."

AL: Kaniahiku?

KM: Yeah, to Rycroft's. That's what it says. And it connects back up here. See this is ʻAhalanui where Malama is a little further south-west yet.

AL: Hmm.

KM: You mentioned that the Malama Trail ran right down to the ocean also.

AL: Yeah.

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

AL: Uh-hmm. [see interview of June 12, 1998 with John Hale]

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 Kuamoʻo 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.

KM: Yes. It's so interesting. What's your sense about…when you see a Hawaiian site, say a house platform…and you never heard of a *heiau* out in the ʻAhalanui-Oneloa area. is that correct?

AL: No, I never heard of one and I never saw one there.

KM: What's your sense about caring for some of the Hawaiian sites and I guess, sharing some of the history with people today, so that they can know a little bit about the land? Is it worthwhile to try and do that, in your opinion? I know this is personal.

AL: I really don't know how to answer that.

KM: Uh-hmm. This is an interesting area, a beautiful place. So since the 1950s, when you began up in this area, up here, in the upper section of ʻAhalanui-Oneloa, how far down did you plant papaya?

AL: Oh, right down to the coastal road.

KM: So the papayas, in your time… And was it through these three lands right here, Oneloa, Laepāoʻo, and ʻAhalanui?

AL: Uh-hmm.

KM: You went right down to the coastal road?

AL: Uh-hmm.

KM: Now that's interesting, because, if that's the case. If the papaya went down to the coastal road, there are still walls and some platforms and sites that are standing here. So that means that they weren't cleared. That someone made a conscious decision not to clear some of these sites/

AL: I don't remember running into any.

KM: Uh-hmm. Were you one of the operators, or did you have people operating for you?

AL: No, I had people operating, but I was there daily. I was with my operators everyday (the main operators were F.M. Hanohano, John Aiona, and Barcilio Tagalicod).

KM: That's interesting. So your papaya fields came almost all the way down to the coastal road?

AL: Yeah.

KM: When did this start, how long did you run papayas through here?

AL: Well, there still are papayas in there.

KM: *Mauka*, but not on the *makai* side.

AL: No, there was nothing below the coastal road.

KM: But even on the *mauka* side of the road, it doesn't look like there's been any papaya in there for a while eh?

AL: There's still papaya in there. Where's Pohoiki here [Oneloa land, bounding Pohoiki is still cultivated]?

KM: Here's Pohoiki. It's still a little ways inland eh, not all the way to the landing?

AL: No, no. It'll go as far down as arable land is found. [pointing to area on Reg. Map 1777] See, some of this is lava flow.

KM: Yes.

AL: So if there's no lava flow, then it's all in papaya.

KM: So obviously, soil was a determining factor in what you would clear?

AL: That's right.

KM: Okay. Now this is the *makai* road, which they are going to have to relocate because of the high water and storms.

AL: Uh-hmm.

KM: It's submerged sometimes now. Did you have papaya in certain areas, growing all the way down to the *makai* road?

AL: No, that was dependent on the soil conditions.

KM: Yeah.

AL: It does show here, this is probably all *pāhoehoe*. And this is the area that you're interested in.

KM: Yes, this section, which goes down to the *makai* road.

AL: Yes. See, and this area here, there's nothing in here. But this is all in papaya.

KM: Ahh–so basically it's Napalapalai's Grant [No. 6845] area.

AL: Yeah.

KM: That 999 acres.

AL: That was almost all in papaya at one time.

In conversation on June 17, 1998, Arthur noted that papaya were not planted throughout all of the land of ʻAhalanui, thus, there is still some of the mixed native forest there[16].

KM: Hmm. Thank you.

AL: And the Makuakāne's had a lot in here too.

KM: Uh-hmm, when you were young, or older?

AL: No, this is…what is this [pointing to names on the map]

KM: This says Kuahewa and Kamakau. So what we'd have to find out is, who Makuakāne's, maybe, *kupuna* was.

AL: Makuakāne had 70 acres in this area.

KM: Okay. [referencing Reg. Map 1777] This is Kahananui here, in the Grant from the 1850s. So Makuakāne had 70 acres in there. Were they still there, when you were younger?

AL: Well, they still own the property. I never knew of any of them to live there because the Makuakānes that I mentioned here, used to live right in Kapoho.

KM: Hmm. Well, thank you. I really appreciate your sharing. I know your getting ready to go to the doctor's. Let me ask one last question if I may. You started with a wonderful description when you were going to school in Hilo. [opening a map] This is a ca. 1930 Key Map for the City of Hilo. You were sharing with me a little bit about when you went to school, and we're leaving Puna. Do you remember the Hilo Boarding School Ditch?

AL: The ditch?

KM: Yeah.

AL: That was the source of water?

KM: Yes.

AL: Yeah, that goes up along the Saddle Road?

KM: *ʻAe*, Kaūmana, *mauka*. The reason I'm asking is because here's the Hilo Boarding School lot.

AL: Uh-hmm, Hālaʻi Hill.

KM: Yes. Here's the Hilo Jail that was built, I think the same year you were born.

AL: It's still there.

KM: Yes. You see this line here, it says "flume." Another line running here on the Waiānuenue side of the jail, says "ditch." And this would run through, I guess Hilo Union School in here.

AL: But, if you were to go up to the Hilo Jail and walk down, you can see this ditch.

[16] At the time of this writing, the forested area near the ʻAhalanui-Pūʻālaʻa boundary is proposed to be established as a natural/cultural area preserve.

KM: Uh-hmm.

AL: There's some homes in here, and I think this ditch flows nearly all the time.

KM: Yes. Is this what you know as being the Hilo Boarding School Ditch?

AL: No. I don't know. But, I know where this is.

KM: Yes that's correct. I was curious, because there is a section of a ditch behind the jail here also. This map identifies it as flume, and interestingly thought, there's nothing that says ditch coming into Hilo Boarding School.

AL: Hmm.

KM: And when I was going through the records up at the family museum, I haven't found one good map that shows us where the Hilo Boarding School Ditch was. There are several that show different alignments identified as the ditch, but they are in different places.

AL: [chuckles]

KM: So this is before your time.

AL: But this ditch is still flowing.

KM: Yes.

AL: If you were to go there and look, I think some of them…a couple of Hawaiian families living here have planted a little taro. And then this other ditch on the other side of the jail, just dies someplace.

KM: Yes it does.

AL: There's some taro growing in that ditch there.

KM: Thank you so much for agreeing to take the time. I'll take the tape and transcribe it verbatim, and I'll bring the transcript back to you. If you feel like it, if you agree, we might take the time to revisit a few of the areas we discussed.

We can clarify some questions. I think we really touched on all the key issues about who the families were, land use that you remember when you were a child, up till the period when the land was being cleared for papayas.

AL: Uh-hmm.

KM: May I ask, did you own this, when you were clearing it for papaya, or was it leased.

AL: No, I didn't own it.

KM: So it was a part of American Factors?

AL: Yes, it was part of American Factors and a part of Kealoha and Napalapalai's land.

KM: Well, thank you–*Mahalo*…

If I didn't get it, what was your mama's name?

AL: [looks through his files for a Lyman family genealogy – handing me a book] This is my father's side.

KM: [looking through documentation for documentation on Arthur Lyman's mother and father.]

Oh, this is your mother's side.

AL: My mother's family.

KM: Kapapahe'enalu-o-Puaka'ilima, which ties them to Kawaihae by the name of the surf Puaka'ilima. Stewart 'ohana. Maua'e, Ka'ōhua, Inaina… Ka'anā'anā

AL: Yeah. And this is my Aunty.

KM: Ahh, Hannah P. Williams. Kahikina married James Williams, an Italian… and Uaia. Phoebe was the daughter of Kahikina and James Williams.

AL: That's correct.

KM: Kapapahe'enalu married Maua'e, and Kahikina was one of their children. And I'm trying to get up to your papa also…

AL: My father was the third generation.

KM: Ahh. Richard Jewell Kahekili Lyman, born August 13, 1872, at Hilo. Married October 22, 1902, to Phoebe Hoakalei Williams. She was born on October 7, 1883… [looking at his brother's and sister's names] How come they left you without a Hawaiian name?

AL: I don't know, but, that's okay [chuckles].

KM: *Mahalo*.

AL: So you can see, my grandma was Hawaiian-Chinese.

KM: Yes. Thank you very, very much. [end of interview]

Because of Mr. Lyman's life-long interest in the Puna District, and 30 years of working experience with 'Ōla'a/Puna Sugar Company, I also inquired of his knowledge about the old Puna Government Road which passes along the shore of Puna District. Arthur noted that the road predated his lifetime, and that he had only heard his father describe it as the main access used by his elders in reaching their Kapoho Ranch holdings during the 19th century.

Personal Release of Interview Records:
'Ahalanui, Laepāo'o and Oneloa Oral History Study

Prepared in conjunction with the proposed
A & O International Development (Puna, Hawai'i)

The interview referenced below was conducted by Kepā Maly (*Kumu Pono Associates*), under a contract with A & O International Corporation in conjunction with historical and archival documentary research as a part of a cultural assessment study for portions of the *ahupua'a* of 'Ahalanui, Laepāo'o, and Oneloa (the Puna study area).

Date of Recorded Interview: November 21, 1997 (with notes from discussions of November 14, 1997, and June 17, 1998).

I, C. Arthur Lyman, participated in the above referenced oral history interview with Kepā Maly, and hereby give permission to Kepā Maly to include the released interview transcript in the study he is preparing (KPA Report HiPu15-063098). This permission is granted, subject to any restrictions listed below:

(a) Quotes from the interview(s) may be used as a part of the final report on historic and cultural sites and practices in the Puna study area, or reference may be made to the information in the interview(s). Copies of the interview records may be made available to A & O International Corporation, the County of Hawai'i, and the Department of Land and Natural Resource-State Historic Preservation Division.

Yes or no: Yes

(b) The interview records may be referenced by Kepā Maly for scholarly publication.

Yes or no: Yes

(c) The interview records may be housed in a library collection for general public access, and a copy will be provided to the Lyman Mission House Museum.

Yes or no: Yes.

(d) Restrictions:

My answers may be disputed by other historians. My answers to questions, in the interview, are from years of handed down information from my elders and my longtime residence in the area.

C. Arthur Lyman (Interviewee)
7/8/98

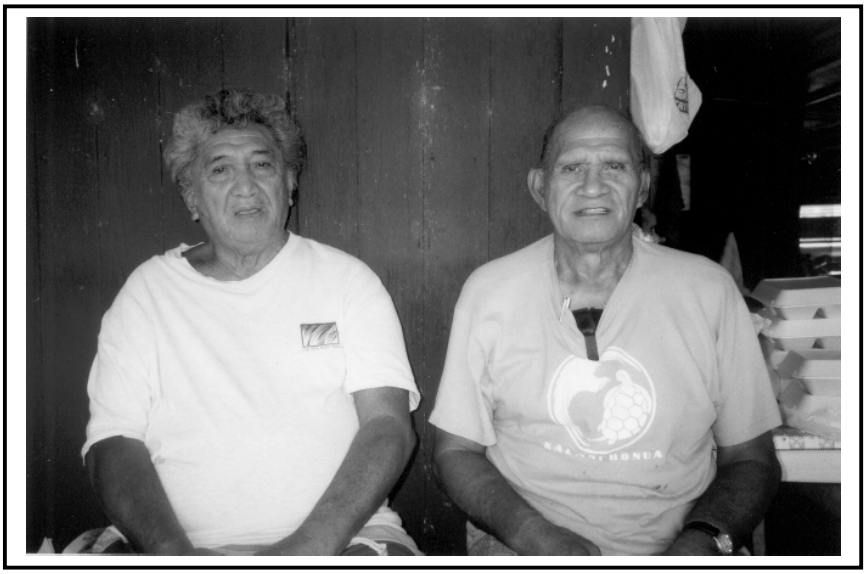
Address: c/o 26 Waiānuenue Ave.
Hilo, Hawai'i 96720

Kepā Maly (Interviewer)

July 9, 1998
Date of Release

Release of Interview

John Hale and Gabriel Kealoha
(with William Hale on June 5th; and George Enriquez)
Interviews at Pohoiki, Puna — with Kepā Maly
June 12, 1998, 9:15 a.m. (with notes from June 5, 1998)



John Hale (Uncle Hale) and Gabriel Kealoha

Introduction

This oral history interview was con-ducted 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. The English translations are set in square brackets, or in the case of large blocks of translated texts, are indented below the original text. During the interviews, Register Maps 1777, 1856, and 2191 were referenced, and certain places were marked while being spoken of. *Figure 2* at the end of this study is an annotated interview map, depicting the general locations of those sites. At the request of Uncle Hale and Uncle Gabriel, the text of the final released transcript supercedes the original taped interview (because of the confidential nature of some points of conversation, the tape recording has been retained from release).

As a result of their willingness to share some of their personal history and knowledge of the lands, people and practices of the Pohoiki-ʻAhalanui 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[17]. 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 *koʻa* (fishing grounds) and *ʻōpae ʻula* (*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.

[17] For further documentation on Kapukini-Hale family residency in the ʻAhalanui-Pohoiki vicinity, see the archival-historical report of this study.

Interviewee Background

- The Hale brothers were born and raised at Pohoiki. Uncle Hale was born in 1919, and was raised with his *kūpuna*. Because of his upbringing and age, he has first-hand knowledge the families, the cultural and natural landscape, and practices of the families who lived on the lands of the Pūʻālaʻa-Malama region of Puna. During our conversations, Uncle Hale showed me pictures of his *kūpuna* at Pohoiki. The pictures dating from ca. 1910-1915 show Uncle Hale's grandfather John Hale; the elder John Hale and his canoe in Pohoiki Bay; and Mele Hale, Isaac and Hannah Hale with some of Uncle Hale's older siblings in front of the Pohoiki house in which Uncle Hale still lives.

  When I arrived at the Hale home in Pohoiki on June 5th, William shared with me that they did not feel that they could speak in a formal interview at that time. While Uncle Hale is the oldest family member remaining in Puna, there are also two older sisters living in Honolulu, there is a strong sense of respect for the elder members of the family. Also, it was brought to my attention, that part of the difficulty in speaking was that in the past, people had spoken with Uncle Hale, and then used the information selectively (out of context or misrepresented). Understandably, there had been some hurt among family members because of that.

  Regardless of that difficulty, following our initial discussion, both Uncle Hale and his brother William expressed an interest in participating in an interview. They are very concerned about the misrepresentation of the history of the area that has occurred in the past; primarily from people who did not have long-term residency in the area. Both the Hale brothers expressed appreciation for the opportunity to speak, and as Uncle Hale said, to "It's good for you to get the history straight from the horses' mouth, not the other side…"

- 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 Kaʻōnohiokalā Makuakāne (who later became his father-in-law), gathering *lau hala* (pandanus leaves) and *ʻawa* (*Piper methysticum*) for sale, from the lands of Pohoiki-ʻAhalanui vicinity. As a result, Uncle Gabriel traveled throughout lands of the study area.

  Brought up with *kūpuna* in the country setting of Puna, Uncle Gabriel was taught native traditions of stewardship for land and fishery resources. His interview is of particular importance to understanding the relationships between fisheries, lands, and access to those resources. From his interview, Puna residents are given insight into how to reestablish native stewardship principles for Hawaiian fisheries. Like Uncle Hale, Uncle Gabriel felt that there was value in participating in an oral history interview.

Overview of information discussed:

- By the early 1920s, all the other families (e.g., Kālaiwaʻa, Maunakea, Nāpalapalai, and Makuakāne et al.) of the Pohoiki-ʻAhalanui area had left. There were no jobs, the children didn't want to live under the difficult

conditions of the time, and many of the families moved to Honolulu. Only members of the Hale family, including *kūpuna* of the of the Kapukini, Mānoa, and Ko‘omea lines remained. John Kapukini, cited in the archival-historical research section of the study, is the great grandfather of the Hale brothers. It was this Kapukini who applied for, and on paper, was granted a c. 2-acre parcel of land in Oneloa. Kapukini’s daughter, Mele, married John Hale.

- At the time Uncle Hale was born (1919), the family maintained residency along the shore and in the uplands. The Hale family had property with houses at Oneloa (in Grant 1001 — near what is known as Maunakea Pond — owned by Mele Hale), and at two locations in the Rycroft Oneloa-Pohoiki properties. The family sustained itself by fishing and cultivation of *kalo* (taro) and other crops in the uplands of Malama.

  There was regular travel via the trails to the agricultural fields and the coastal residence. He noted that in those days there was no idle time, everyone worked.

- William Hale noted that many of the mounds of stone seen in the study area property (and neighboring lands), which the archaeologists and others call *heiau* and burials etc., were actually planting and/or clearing mounds.

- Ko‘omea, Mānoa, and one other elder, were still actively practicing *lapa‘au* (medicinal healing) in the native custom. They were powerful healers. Uncle Gabriel shared a story about Mānoa’s medicine which was used to heal the young Kealoha’s broken neck. Following an accident, the conventional doctor told Kealoha that he would never be able to move normally, and would always need to wear a brace all his life. Kealoha’s mother went to Mānoa, who prayed, and then instructed her in how to make a medicine and apply it. The medicine was applied for two sets of five days [representing the five fingers of a hand—a complete entity—five was an important number in ceremonial and healing observances]. When Kealoha returned to his doctor, he was healed and the doctor was astounded. To this day, Kealoha still has full use of his body.

- 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 the gentlemen were youth. 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 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 *ʻōpae ʻula* which grew (and are still found) in the anchialine ponds of Waiʻōpae in Kapoho and in the pond at Keahialaka. In those early days, the *ʻōpae ʻula* were the only bait used for *ʻōpelu* 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 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 *koʻa* and brings the catch to distribute among the family.
- *Paʻakai* (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 *paʻakai* was still being produced at Kapaʻahu on the *pāhoehoe* flats.
- When asked about any *heiau* that they may have heard of, including the *heiau* in ʻAhalanui (written about by Geo. Kāne in 1929), no one remembered specifically hearing their *kūpuna* speak about a *heiau*. Though William Hale recalled a platform-like feature on the *mauka* side of the road in Oneloa-Laepāoʻo, where they used to gather *lau hala* with their *kūpuna*. While he did not hear it called a *heiau*, its size and features caused him to wonder if it may have been one. The Hale family also has a strong connection with the property around Mahina-akāka Heiau in Keahialaka; family burials are located on the property as well.
- While Uncle Hale *mā* are familiar with several areas at which *ilina ʻohana* (family burial remains) are present, only one of those sites is situated in the study area. That site is on the property that Mele Hale purchased in 1903 from Maunakea Makaʻimoku, near the present-day Maunakea Pond. Uncle Hale identifies the site as the resting place of a young female relative, and today, it is marked by coconut trees. They also observe that it was the custom of their *kūpuna* to bury loved ones on their property of residence, thus care must be taken when working on the land.
- It is the family's wish that all *ilina* (burials) be protected in place.

Formal Interview of June 12, 1998:

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

JH: *ʻAe* [yes].

KM: *Mahalo iā ʻoe; a me* Uncle Gabriel Luka Kealoha. [Thank you; and with Uncle Gabriel Luka Kealoha.]

GK: Kealoha.

KM: *ʻAe. Mahalo nui iā ʻolua i ka ʻae ana e kūkākūkā pū ana me iaʻu.* [Yes. Thank you both so much for agreeing to speak with me.]

JH: *ʻAe*.

GK: *ʻAe*.

KM: *Kupuna*.

JH: *ʻAe*.

KM: *ʻO wai kou inoa piha?* [What is your full name?]

JH: *Kuʻu inoa, ʻo John Hale*. [My name is John Hale.]

KM: *ʻAe. Hānau ʻoe 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: *ʻOia ka inoa o kēia wahi?* [That's the name of this place?]

JH: *ʻAe, ʻae, ʻae.* [Yes, yes, yes.]

KM: *Kēia hale, ka hale o kou poʻe kūpuna?* [This house, was the house of your elders?]

JH: *Kūpuna and the poʻe make. ʻOia, pau hele i ka wai, ka ʻuhane, hiki no, haʻalele. Komo i loko o ka hale, poʻe i make. Mamua loa. That's why, kēia hale, loʻa hale pule. The poʻe, 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, mamua i kēia hale?* [So before in this house?]

JH: *Ka poʻe make, poʻe 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: *ʻAe. So mana kēia wahi?* [Yes. So this place had power?]

JH: *ʻAe, mana. Mana.* [Yes, power. Powerful.]

KM: *Pehea kou manaʻo ʻehia mau makahiki kēia hale ke ku ia neʻi?* [What do you think, how long has this house stood here?]

JH: I tell you, *kēia hale* [this house]… I have one *kiʻi* [picture] inside, from 1913. My sister was one year old. My sister make [died] already. She was 82 years old. One year old, in 1913. That *kiʻi* I *loʻa*. [That picture I have.]

KM: *ʻAe*.

JH: The windows in the house all broken. That's why, the poʻe [people] come look, I think get 115 years.

KM: Yes. You see this house on the old maps like that, in the 1890s, 1880s .

JH: Yeah, old. Because in 1913, the picture shows the windows all broken. Now more nice [chuckles]. That's why, *kahiko* [old] this house. And all the evidence inside the *hale*.

KM: *ʻAe, kahiko loa* [yes, very old].

JH: Bum-bye, you *nānā* [look], you see.

KM: *ʻAe, nānā i kēlā mau kiʻi*. [Yes, look at hose picture (Uncle has several pictures from ca. 1910-1915 of his family and the Pohoiki area).]

JH: Yeah [chuckles].

KM: *Maikaʻi. ʻO 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 Hawaiʻi?* [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: *ʻAe*.

KM: *ʻO wai kou makuahine?* [Who was your mother?]

JH: *Hannah Kawaiaeʻa, no Kaupō, Maui.* [Hannah Kawaiaeʻa, from Kaupō, Maui.]

KM: Hmm, Kawaiaeʻa, from Maui.

JH: *Mai Kaupō, Maui, a male kuʻu pāpā i Hawaiʻi e.* [From Kaupō, Maui, and married my father at Hawaiʻi eh.] My mama *make* [died] in 1929. I was ten years, and *hānau* [she gave birth to] my brother Billy [pauses]…

KM: Ohh! And then *hala* [passed away]?

JH: *Hala*. There were eight of us.

KM: Hmm. *ʻO ʻoe ka keiki ʻekolu?* [You were the third child?]

JH: Wait [thinking], was my sister Luka; I was four. *ʻEhā* [fourth].

KM: Hmm. Now, *ʻo wai kou poʻe kūpuna, ka poʻe no kēia wahi?* [Who were your grandparents (elders), at this place?]

JH: [thinking]

KM: *ʻO wai kou kūpuna ma ka ʻaoʻao Hale?* [Who were your elders on the Hale side?]

JH: *O ʻike liʻiliʻi wale nō* [I only know a little].

KM: *ʻAe. Akā, ʻo Kapukini kekāhi kupuna e?* [Yes. But Kapukini is one elder eh?]

JH: *Kapukini, kupuna, ʻae* [yes, Kapukini is an elder].

KM: *ʻAe. Ua ʻike wau i ka inoa ʻo Kapukini ma kekāhi o nā palapala ʻāina.* [Yes. I saw the name Kapukini on some of the land documents.]

JH: Only I *hoʻolohe, aʻole wau ʻike* [I only heard about him, I didn't see him].

KM: *Aʻole ʻoe ʻike iāia?* [You didn't see him?]

JH: *Aʻole* [no]. Only Mele Hale. *Kuʻu kūkū au e ʻike.* [My grandmother, I saw.]

KM: *ʻAe. ʻO wai kona inoa?* [Yes. What was her name?]

JH: Mary.

KM: Mary Kapukini?

JH: Kapukini-Hale.

KM: Oh, so Kapukini, was your grandmother Mary's father?

JH: Kapukini, yeah. My grandmother's father.

KM: *O, mau makahiki lākou i noho ia neʻi e?* [Oh they lived here for many years eh?]

JH: Yes, *mau makahiki* [many years].

KM: *Like me Kahale, aiʻole Hale e?* [The same as Kahale, or Hale eh?]

JH: *Mau makahiki loa e.* [Many years eh.]

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

GK: Gabriel Luka Kealoha.

KM: *ʻAe. Hānau ʻoe i ka makahiki…?* [Yes. What year were you born…?]

GK: *Hānau Ianuali iwakālua-ʻumikūmāhiku, 1928*. [Born January 27, 1928.]

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

GK: *ʻAe i kēia makahiki.* [Yes, this year.]

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

GK: *Kaimū, Kumakaʻula. Hānau i ke kakahiaka nui, hola ʻewalu.* [Kaimū, at Kumakaʻula. Born early in the morning, at 8 o' clock.]

KM: *Aloha. A ʻano kamaʻāina ʻoe me nā ʻohana o kēia ʻāina o Pohoiki me Oneloa, Laepāoʻo, ʻAhalanui e?* [But you are familiar with the families and the lands of Pohoiki, Oneloa, Laepāoʻo, and ʻAhalanui eh?]

GK: *ʻAe*, yes. *Kamaʻāina i 1944; ʻumikūmāʻono makahiki. Hana au me Thomas Kaʻōnohiokalā Makuakāne.* [Familiar since 1944; 16 years old. When I worked with Thomas Kaʻōnohiokalā Makuakāne.]

KM: *I kou wā ʻōpio, ua hele ʻoe i kēia wahi a ʻohi 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: *ʻAe*.

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

KM: *ʻAe, o ka ʻawa, i uka o kēia ʻāina?* [Yes, the *ʻawa* was in the uplands of these lands?]

GK: *ʻAe*.

KM: Oneloa, me Laepāoʻo…?

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

KM: *A, ka ʻāina a Napalapalai* [oh, the land of Napalapalai].

GK: *ʻAe*. *ʻO wau maopopo* [I knew].

KM: *ʻAe*.

[asking *kupuna* John] *I kou wā liʻiliʻi, ua noho ʻoe i aneʻi?* [Did you live here when you were small?]

JH: *ʻAe*.

KM: *Heaha ka hana a kou poʻe mākua a me nā kūpuna?* [What was the work of your parents and grandparents?]

JH: *Mahiʻai, poʻe mahiʻai.* [Agriculture, they were cultivators of the land.]

KM: *I hea lākou i mahiʻai?* [Where did they do their cultivation?]

JH: *O, kai mālie, Pohoiki, hele lawaiʻa. Kai koʻo, hele mahiʻai, hele mauka.* [Oh, when the ocean was calm at Pohoiki, they went fishing. When the ocean was rough, the planted, they went to the uplands.]

KM: *Hoʻi lākou i uka* [so they went to the uplands]?

JH: *I Malama, all lepo for the poʻe mahiʻai.* [At Malama, it was all dirt for the agriculturists.]

KM: Hmm. *Heaha ka mea mahiʻai* [what did the grow]?

JH: *Kalo, maiʻa, ʻuala* [taro, bananas, sweet potatoes].

KM: *ʻOia* [Oh yeah]!

JH: Yeah! That kind of *poʻe* [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: *ʻOia. Paʻa hana lākou.* [Oh yeah. They were continuously working.]

JH: *Paʻa hana* [continuously working]. *Hana*! That's why, you look at the *kino, ʻoʻoleʻa* [the body was hard, strong].

KM: *ʻAe, ʻoʻoleʻa* [yes, fit]. [opening Register Map 1777] Uncle, this is that map from last week, that I was showing you.

JH: Yeah, yeah, I remember.

KM: Here is your *hale maʻaneʻi* [here's your house].

JH: Yeah.

KM: And this is the old mill.

JH: Right.

KM: And then has the new mill a little *mauka*. Where you folks went *mauka* to *mahiʻai*, how far up do you think you would go? A mile, two miles? Where was your *māla ʻai* [garden]?

JH: Well, about five miles I think, six miles. Follow the railroad, then turn left.

KM: Hmm, so way *mauka*.

GK: That was Malama.

JH: Malama.

GK: The *ala nui hele i Malama* [the trail the goes up to Malama].

JH: Yeah, that's the walking trail, that. The old trail.

KM: Oh, so up Malama trail, you would go?

JH: Yes.

GK: Yes.

KM: So not *mauka* here [Pohoiki]?

GK: No.

JH: Malama, Puʻulena. Where is the Puʻulena crater?

KM: Oh, more this side, so it's not on this map [not on Reg. Map 1777; see Reg. Map 2191]

JH: Yeah. It was right at the crater, a *kīpuka* [a vegetated area surrounded by more recent lava], we stayed in one *kīpuka*. All lava outside. The old railroad goes right through. All *lepo* [soil], no more *pōhaku* [stones].

KM: Hmm. So interesting.

GK: That's the Puʻu-hale-ka-manu. [perhaps descriptive of an old bird catcher's house, once situated in the forest; see study for details of such features]

JH: That name I don't know.

GK: That's up there.

KM: Hmm. So *ʻoia ka wahi māla ʻai a nā kūpuna?* [So that was the place that the elders cultivated?]

JH: Maybe that *māla ʻai* is a different place.

KM: *ʻAe*, so Puʻulena…

JH: Puʻulena crater, we stay down. Nice place, it's important.

KM: Hmm. So you and your *kūpuna, holo wāwae* [walk there]?

JH: Yeah, *holo wāwae*, and *loʻa* house over there, *hale*. [Yes walk, and had a house over there.] While *mahiʻai* [cultivating].

KM: *O, loʻa ka hale. I kekāhi manawa, inā ʻinoʻino, ʻōkaikai, haʻalele ʻoukou i kai a holo i uka, a kanu, a mālama i ka māla ʻai?* [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 ʻai*.

KM: *A, inā mālie ke kai, aiʻole, kū ka ʻōpelu paha…?* [Oh, so if the ocean was calm, or perhaps if the ʻōpelu schooled…?]

JH: *ʻAe, hele i kahakai.* [Yes, go to the shore.]

KM: *Ke hoʻi i kai?* [Return to the shore.]

JH: Yeah.

KM: *O ka ʻōpelu paha, ka iʻa nui o kēia ʻāina?* [So was the *ʻōpelu* perhaps the important fish of this land?]

JH/GK: *ʻAe* [yes].

JH: *A ʻoia* [that's it]!

GK: *Koʻa* [dedicated fishing grounds].

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

GK: *Koʻa*.

JH: *Koʻa*.

KM: Oh. [pauses – looking at Reg. Map 1777] I see down here, has various family names. Like Kamakaʻimoku [Grant 1001], had a *hale* down here. Peleʻula [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 [Kamakaʻimoku'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. And then I stayed Rycroft house too. I'd stay over there, then when my grand mama *make* [died] over there.

KM: Mele?

JH: Yeah, *pau*.

KM: But Rycroft them were gone already eh?

JH: Pau already, no had them.

KM: So *ua noho ʻoukou i ka hale o Rycroft?* [So you lived in Rycroft's house for a while?]

JH: Yeah, Rycroft. One down there, and then bum-bye, over here. 1928, broke the house. The old man *hemo* [removed] the *hale* I think.

KM: Who was living here in this *hale*, at that time?

JH: Us guys.

KM: You guys too. Big family, yeah?

JH: Uh-hmm. Big yeah. My grandfather guys.

KM: And then, here in ʻAhalanui…?

JH: Yeah, over there, my grandmother's place.

KM: That's where Kahale had also tried to get *ʻāina* back in 1850, like that. [see land record in main report]

JH: I think so, yeah.

KM: And up here, there is a water hole, a coconut grove, Kīpaepae? [pointing to locations on Reg. Map 1777]

JH: What place is that?

KM: This is ʻAhalanui, right on the boundary between Pūʻālaʻa and ʻAhalanui.

JH: Yeah.

KM: Had a coconut grove… Do you remember that coconut grove?

JH: Yeah, yeah.

KM: And had a lua wai [water hole]…?

JH: Yeah, *lua wai*, but I don't know if still yet.

KM: Yeah, kind of…

JH: *Paʻa* [overgrown].

KM: *Paʻa*. This trail goes all the *mauka*.

GK: The trail is there.

JH: What trail is that?

KM: The trail that runs *mauka*, goes up to Kākala, or… Did you ever hear the name Ka-hale-o-Lono, an old agricultural place?

JH: I don't know.

KM: Inside here, has plenty *pia* [arrow root] growing.

JH: Yeah. My brother Bill, he knows, he was working papaya. He went bull dozer up all the big trees. Papaya up there.

KM: Yes, all this area up here [pointing to the inland Oneloa-Laepāoʻo lands].

JH: Yeah.

KM: But you know, you go into here [pointing to ʻAhalanui], it still has all the *pā* [walls]…

GK: Right, yeah.

KM: The *puʻu, puʻepuʻe* [planting mounds] like that, and the little *māla ʻai* [planting areas].

JH: Yeah, *poʻe mahi ʻai* [for the planters].

KM: That was the life of these people down here?

JH: Yeah, *mahi ʻai* kind. But I hear, these people over here, Koaʻe, or what, they get, how they call today, "rock farmer." They make all rock, and they put…I don't know what inside, the leaves, I think. They *kanu kalo* [plant taro].

KM: *ʻAe, kīpulu* [yes, mulch].

JH: Yeah, put all that. And that place, you know, past Koa‘e, get one place, Kahuwai. Has one Hawaiian place, John Orr used to stay over there. He was a *haole*, *make* [died] already. Over there, you see plenty *puka* [holes], plenty *puka*. That’s where they *kanu* [plant] the *kalo* [taro]…

KM: *‘O wai ka inoa*? [What was the name?]

JH: John Orr, by Wa‘awa‘a. He *mālama* [took care of] the Hawaiian places. He lived there, that place was one Hawaiian village, Kahuwai, Wa‘awa‘a. That’s the place, number one sacred today. But *pohō* [too bad] that *‘āina*, I don’t know who takes care now.

KM: KSBE [Kamehameha Schools-Bishop Estate].

JH: The old man make, you know the 200 acres?

KM: Yeah.

JH: I go over there every time. *Minamina* [regretful], he went *make* [die].

KM: It’s so interesting that you see all the *‘ohana* [families] that were down here…

JH: Yeah.

KM: So it was very important to have the *mauka-makai* access, ‘cause the families would go *mauka* to *kanu ‘uala, mai‘a*… [plant sweet potatoes, bananas…]

JH: Yeah, *mahi ‘ai* [farm].

KM: How about *‘awa*?

JH: *‘Awa*, you see ‘um, you can see. They went plant that, that was common. When get *ma‘i* [sick], they went to go get that. Some for *inu* [drink], some for *lā‘au* [medicine], eh. The old people, some take the coconut juice, water, no?

KM: *‘Ae*.

JH: Because they *mahi ‘ai*, the *kino ‘eha* [body is sore], the *po‘e mahi ‘ai* [the farmers]. Soon as the *po‘e* [people] no *mahi ‘ai* [farm], ah no more *ma‘i* [sick], because no *hana* [work] eh? *Mahi ‘ai po‘e*, that’s different kind *po‘e* that.

KM: *‘Ae*.

JH: No can stay inside the house. That’s the kind breed we come from.

KM: *‘Ae*.

JH: You’re *‘ohana* too, *mahi ‘ai*?

KM: *Ku‘u po‘e kūpuna hānai* [my adoptive elders]…

JH: The same thing.

KM: *I ka ‘ōlelo o lākou, “Maika‘i ka hana a ka lima, ‘ono no ka ‘ai a ka waha”* [When the hands do good work, the mouth eats good food].

JH: Yeah [laughing]. 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 *iʻa*, I don't know where. They go too much.

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

JH: Yeah.

GK: *Loʻa* [had].

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

JH: Yeah.

GK: Yeah, plenty *ʻōpae* [shrimp].

KM: Plenty *ʻōpae ʻula*?

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 *ʻōpae* in here, this ponds too [pointing to Kamakaʻimoku's land on Reg. Map 1777]?

JH: That was our place. No more.

GK: No, no.

KM: So never had *ʻōpae* 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 *iʻa* [fish]. That kind *iʻa*, was just like a pet. Plenty *iʻa*, they keep that; *kahakai* [shore side] get plenty eh. That *iʻa*, no *ʻai* [eat]. [chuckles]

KM: Hmm. I see there's one place up here called Waiʻōpae [near the Pūʻālaʻa-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.

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*. *Mahope*, 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 *ʻōpae* with that, pull the bag…?

JH: Same thing.

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

KM: Ohh! What kind of *limu*?

GK: One kind of *limu*.

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

JH: Every time, every time.

KM: And you folks had *koʻa* [dedicated fishing grounds], you said?

GK: Oh yeah.

JH: Like these guys, they go ʻŌpihikao side.

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

JH: Them. Over here, different. Over get plenty *koʻa*.

GK: People over here, get boundary here.

JH: Yeah, we no go somebody else place *mahaʻoi* [be nosy or bold]. You stay in your own section. Me, I don't them, I don't take their *ʻōpihi* 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 *ʻōpihi*.

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 *ʻohana*?

GK: Yeah.

JH: Yeah, mostly all *ʻohana*.

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 ʻŌpihikao, we get Kalapana, Pohoiki…

JH: Us, we stay over here.

KM: And what, you *kūpuna* went out *hānai koʻa* [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 ʻum.] They take the *ʻupena* [net].

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

JH: Yeah.

KM: Some times, they would go out with the waʻa [canoe]…

JH: *ʻAe*.

KM: …and they'd feed the *ʻōpelu*, take care?

GK: Yeah, for make the *iʻa*. Some times, they take their *ʻōpelu* to the *poʻe mauka* [to the upland people]…

JH: *Mauka*.

GK: For the *poʻe māla ʻai* [farmers]. *Mamua, hele kahakai, e hoʻolauna 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 ʻai* like that…?

JH: Some *kaulaʻi* [dry fish].

KM: …and the *lawaiʻa* [fishermen] they get the fish for exchange? And you said, *kaulaʻi kekāhi* [some dried]?

JH: *Kaulaʻi, kaulaʻi* [Dried, dried fish].

GK: *Kaulaʻi*.

KM: *O ka ʻōpelu, ka iʻa nui?* [*ʻŌpelu* was the main fish?]

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

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

JH: Lae-kahuna.

KM: Lae-kahuna,

GK: *ʻAe*.

KM: *ʻOia kekāhi koʻa*…? [That's one fishing station (per conversation of June 5, 1998)…?]

JH: Yeah, over there.

KM: *ʻOia kekāhi koʻa?*

JH: And Pūʻālaʻa.

KM: Pūʻālaʻa?

GK: *Loʻa* [has].

KM: And Uncle Gabriel, *ua ʻōlelo ʻoe, loʻa kekāhi koʻa, mawaena paha?* [You also said that there was also a *koʻa* in between the two areas yeah?] *Loʻa kekāhi koʻa mawaho o ka loko*; has one *koʻa* outside of the pond area?

GK: Yeah.

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

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

JH: Plenty.

GK And Keahialaka.

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

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

JH: Yeah.

KM: *Noʻonoʻo lākou, inā mālama lākou i ka iʻa, 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: *Aʻole 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]. *Hoʻolako i ke koʻa.* [The fishing stations will be rich again.]

JH: Today, no can. If the *poʻe* like you, yeah.

KM: *Nunui ka poʻe, poʻe mai nā ʻāina like ʻole?* [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, *kūʻai ʻōpelu, maunu* [you buy *ʻōpelu*, bait]…

JH: They buy plenty.

GK: For the *iʻa* [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 *koʻa*.

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 ʻōlelo ʻoe, mamua, kou poʻe kūpuna, he poʻe kālai waʻa lākou?* [*Kupuna*, you said that before, your elders were canoe makers?]

JH: *Kālai waʻa* [canoe makers].

KM: *ʻOia. No hea mai ka lākou lāʻau, ke kumu?* [Where did they get the wood, the trees?]

JH: Mauna Kea.

KM: Mauna Kea?

JH: *ʻAe, 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 kūʻai iʻa.* [There was a lot of money in selling fish.]

KM: So, *ua hele lākou a kūʻai i kekāhi lāʻau?* [So, they went to purchase a log?]

GK: Yeah.

JH: You got to buy.

KM: *A halihali lākou i kēlā lāʻau, kēlā kumu nui ia neʻi?* [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: *ʻAe, holo wāwae* [yes, they traveled by foot].

JH: Kaʻilimaʻi, 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 waʻa i uka, ma Hakalau* [So they carved the canoe in the uplands of Hakalau]?

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

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

JH: *Hoihoi*.

KM: So *ua launa lākou me nā poʻe 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 waʻa* [and they carved the canoes].

JH: Because they *ma‘a* [familiar] all the families eh, because like the Mormons *mamua* [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: That’s right, Kālaiwa‘a went to Kona.

JH: Before, the *‘āina* was over here.

KM: Hmm. So before your time, only had the little pier here?

GK: Pier.

JH: Yeah.

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: *E kala mai iaʻu, e pili ana nā iwi, he iwi paha ko kēlā wahi, ʻo Laepāoʻo, Oneloa, a me ʻAhalanui? Ua ʻike paha ʻoe i kekāhi…?* [Pardon me, but about the remains, are there remains in that place, Laepāoʻo, Oneloa, and ʻAhalanui? Did you perhaps see any…?]

JH: I know of only one *iwi* [burial]. My *ʻohana* over there, one girl. She was about 16 years old. One girl.

KM: *I hea* [Where]?

JH: By Campbell's place.

KM: So Kamakaʻimoku's *ʻāina* [land], down by the pond?

JH: Yeah, the pond.

KM: So there, or was it on the *mauka* side of the road.

JH: On the pond, right next. I know that grave. I know.

KM: *Maikaʻi. Inā loli ka ʻāina, pono iā lākou e hoʻomaopopo, "he ilina kēia."* [Good. If the land changes, it's important for them to know, "this is a grave site."]

JH: Yeah, yeah.

KM: *Pehea kou manaʻo e pili ana nā ilina? Pono no lākou ke waiho, waiho mālie?* [What do you think about the burial sites? Should they just leave them, leave them alone?]

JH: Yeah!

KM: *Mai halihali i kekāhi wahi e aʻe?* [Don't take them some place else?]

JH: *Aʻale* [no], leave it marked with the coconut tree. That one is all covered.

KM: *He kaikamahine* [a girl]?

JH: *Kaikamahine*. Only one grave I know. The rest, I don't know, *pau*. That's our family that used to stay over there, *mamua loa* [long before]. They *kanu* [bury] that girl over there.

KM: *ʻAe*. Now, *mauka o ka ala nui, loʻa kekāhi hale mamua e?* [Before, on the inland side of the road, used to have houses before, yeah?]

JH: *Mamua loa*. [Long before.]

GK: *Mamua, ʻae.* [Before, yes.]

JH: That time, I was over here, only five, six years old [ca. 1925], those *hale* [houses], all old, already *hāʻule* [falling down]. Old houses. Big like this kind of house [gesturing his house at Pohoiki]. But one *poʻe* [person] did come inside the house, a *malihini* [stranger] from Maui. But the original owner, no more, only the old houses was.

KM: Hmm. So by the early 1920s, *pau*, all the families…

JH: Ahh—when I come [was old enough to remember], nobody was.

GK: *Pau*.

KM: Oh yeah, even when you were born, nobody?

JH: Nobody.

GK: Only the land marks stay.

JH: Land marks, that's the story, yeah.

KM: So the old houses and things?

JH: The old ones knew who this one, and that.

GK: The old foundations…

JH: Kālaiwa'a, Maunakea…they tell me only the story. But I don't see them. They went already, or make [died].

KM: Hmm. No more job over here?

JH: No more job, so they go move Honolulu. And our *'ohana* is the last one. All the others go away.

KM: How long, you guys have been on this land, yeah? A long time.

JH: Yeah. Maybe our *'ohana* was the last of the old people. The rest went go! And when I was young, we get one family that was over there [pointing across to the park area], Kuamo'o.

KM: Kuamo'o family.

JH: They were from Kaukulau, that's the original one, Kuamo'o… That's the head of the big family today, but plenty went away to Honolulu like that. But when I came back, nobody was here, only one son. No more the old ones, pau already.

KM: So you're here now, and your brother William, lives over by Lae-o-kahuna, Keahialaka?

JH: Yeah [chuckles].

KM: He lives by the *heiau*, Mahina-akāka?

JH: Yeah.

KM: And you folks told me last week, that you have *pā ilina* [grave sites] over there too eh?

JH: Yeah, that's one, and McKenzie Park, that's a big one. That's where they *kanu* [bury] twenty-seven (27), *kapu* [forbidden, no can touch]! That's our *'ohana* there. You can see from outside the *ala nui* [road] in the *lepo* [dirt].

KM: Yes. So that's your 'ohana too?

JH: Yeah.

KM: It's so important that they know, *kama'āina* to this *ilina* [burial sites]. Like this place Uncle, you knew Napalapalai eh?

GK: Yeah, but they all gone, they went back to Hilo. They lived on Hawaiian Home Lands.

JH: I think that when the Hawaiian Homes opened, they moved plenty people. And they went to Honolulu too.

GK: What's more, they get more advantage, living on Hawaiian Home Lands. More easy. But nowadays…

JH: That's why they left that place.

KM: Hmm.

GK: So I guess Jimmy Kealoha came in. I don't know the true story, but he said he bought the place.

KM: *'Ae*, Napalapalai's Grant 6845, from his *'ohana*?

GK: Yeah.

KM: Jimmy Kealoha is your relative, he's *pili* to you?

GK: No.

KM: No, different all together?

GK: Well, I'll tell you the story. His mother is Makanui. So his mother, and Kwong Chi Wong was going together…

JH: Oh, that's the one.

GK: They was going together, and that's how got Jimmy. So actually Jimmy, his name should be Makanui… But he took the name Kealoha.

KM: Oh, so he's not even *pili* [related] to you?

GK: No.

KM: But, *ua kūʻai ʻoia i kēlā ʻāina a Napalapalai?* [He purchased that land of Napalapalai's?]

GK: Yeah, he had money so he went for County Chairman eh. And he was there for eight years or something.

KM: Hmm. *A heaha ka lākou hana ma kēlā ʻāina ʻo Laepāoʻo, Oneloa i uka? Ka hana a Kealoha mā. Heaha ka lākou hana?* [What did they do on the lands of Laepāoʻo, Oneloa, in the upper area? The work of Kealoha them? What did they do?]

GK: *Kanu papaia* [Planted papaya].

KM: Planted papayas. I ka makahiki 19—? [In the year 19—?]

GK: [thinking] I think was somewhere in the 50s.

KM: Nineteen-fifties.

JH: Nineteen-fifties [nods head in agreement].

GK: Somewhere between the 50s and 60s.

JH: Yeah, that's why over here, all papaya. In the early 1950s had papaya.

GK: But first was John Cross. He use d to own that Fred Huff Agency in Hilo, and he opened a *lilikoi* [passion fruit] farm. That's where Bill, [pointing to John Hale], his brother worked.

JH: Yeah, he worked the papaya.

KM: John Cross.

GK: Then the *lilikoi* farm fold up…

JH: Fold up [chuckles].

GK: Kuwaye Trucking went open the land. Kealoha was afterwards.

JH: Then Kealoha took over.

KM: Oh, so John Cross, Kuwaye, and then Kealoha?

JH: Yeah. So my son-in-law worked with him.

KM: Oh wow! Now you'd said, that when you were young, you went to go *'ohi lau hala* [pick pandanus leaves]?

GK: Yeah, was with Thomas Makuakāne. I was young that time, I hadn't married his daughter yet. Thomas Makuakāne died in 1960, and my wife is his daughter. But we weren't married when I went with him to pick *lau hala*. I was single. We pick *lau hala*, and when I picked 1,000 leaves, I get $5.00. He had a contract. He got five cents per leaf, so he got $50.00 per 1000. I got $5.00, he got $45.00, so he made money.

KM: Hmm. You said that you *'ohi lau hala maka* eh, green *lau hala*?

GK: Yeah.

KM: And then what did you do?

GK: We would count them in tens and tie them up. And then you make 200. Then we'd make 1000 leafs. One time, I made 3000, $15.00 I made.

KM: Big money at that time eh?

GK: Yeah.

KM: And you also mentioned that you remember there was *'awa* growing *mauka*, in these lands too?

GK: Only *li'ili'i* [little bit – pointing around to spots], mostly at Oneloa.

KM: Hmm, scattered around, *kūka'ikāhi*?

GK: Yeah.

JH: Yeah, all over the place.

KM: Because evidently, Rycroft in the 1870s-1880s, his first business he shipped 'awa out from the pier, here.

JH: Yeah, you right.

GK: Yeah. Then, I think over here, if he take the *'awa* from over here, that's the reason the *'awa* was not big one, was still small. We used to go get 'awa down by Kali'u. Me and my mother, and my sister and brother. We go up to *'ohi* [pick] the *'awa*. Big kind [gestures circling arms around the root]! We bring 'um home…we had one wooden station wagon, Ford, and we put all the *'awa* inside there, and bring 'um home. The patch was about three miles from our house. So we pick 'um and take 'um down, and then we chopped 'um up.

KM: Hmm. *Kaula'i* [dried it]?

GK: Kaula'i. And the trust company, that's the one that bought that.

KM: Oh, so they bought the *'awa* and then shipped it out. From Hilo?

GK: Yeah, from Hilo to Germany.

KM: Ahh.

GK: I guess that's why the ʻawa not that much, only scattered around?

JH: When you take care, it gets big.

GK: And the stalk, they don't throw it away, they planted it.

KM: Ohh! So the replanted it to make new *ʻawa*?

GK: Yeah.

KM: That's how it should be, yeah? Otherwise, you only take, take, take, *pau, nele* [that's it, no more]!

GK: *Nele*!

JH: We replant that.

GK: Like that place we go, no more now, get one ranch now.

KM: At Kaliʻu?

GK: Yeah.

KM: Oh, *aloha*. [Speaking to *kupuna* John] You'd mentioned that your *Kūkū*, some of your elders, down here, they used that for *lāʻau* [medicine] too, yeah?

JH: Yeah, they go up here, and get for medicine.

KM: Last week, you mentioned Joe Mānoa.

JH: Yeah, he's a good *lāʻau* [medicine] man. *Hana lāʻau* [make medicine].

GK: Good for *lapaʻau* [healing].

KM: Uncle Gabriel, you said that when you were young, you had *haki ʻāʻī e* [broken your neck eh]?

GK: Yeah.

KM: And he healed you?

GK: Yeah. The doctor told me that I would never have a normal life again. My mother went to him, he offered prayers and he told her how to prepare the medicine. For five days, morning and night I took the medicine, and when I went to the doctor, he said it was a "miracle." Mānoa had the knowledge.

KM: *ʻAe*. So the people down here, were *kahuna lapaʻau* [healing practitioners]?

JH: Plenty of them. And one more, Kuamoʻo. Kuli, we called him, same thing. And Kupihē.

GK: Who was that *wahine* [woman], the girl married Wright. I forget her name. But this *wahine* she made *lāʻau* too.

JH: Smart this *poʻe* [people].

KM: You *kūpuna* were smart to *hoʻōla kino* [heal the ailments of the body]?

JH: Yeah.

KM: And last week, you mentioned that they made *lāʻau kahea* [healing by sending prayers only, they did not need to be there physically, or make herbal medicines to heal]?

GK: Yeah.

JH: Yeah. That kind of people different. You talk to them, they're *ʻoluʻolu* [kind]. They different, not like us. You can tell, you stay with them, you feel good, they get *mana* [spiritual power]. They live their life like that.

KM: Yeah, *aloha*.

JH: Any kind *poʻe*, they give free. They no charge for heal. Good!

GK: I remember Kamoku too, he was *lapaʻau* too. My mother told me the story, my hip had dislocate when I was real young. So My father brought him, and he made *lāʻau*, and it came back in straight.

JH: Yeah, they *huki* [pull] that. The main *lāʻau* I know, that morning glory, the white one.

KM: *ʻAe, kōwali* [yes, morning glory].

JH: *Kōwali*, yeah. Night time, *ulu* [grow]. But those guys get plenty *mana*. That's the *lāʻau*. Like you or use make, no work. They make, heal, *huki, pau* [pull, that's it], the *lāʻau ulu* [the medicine grow] eh.

KM: Amazing, *mana lākou* [they had power]. *Mana ka lākou leo pule* [their prayers had power].

JH: Mana ka leo [the voice had power]. They were different *poʻe*.

GK: The *pule* [prayer].

JH: You go their place, they give everything for free. They don't take *kālā* [money]. Giving.

GK: *Poʻe lapaʻau* [healers], they know, they understand your nature. If you get *manaʻoʻiʻo* [faith]…but not only *manaʻoʻiʻo* you can do 'um, you got to *hana* [work, make it], do something about it. I think this old people, *lapaʻau*, they understand that. And when they did their *lāʻau*, they also prayed.

KM: *ʻAe*.

JH: They *pule*.

GK: You must have faith that they can do something about the *lāʻau*. So this two [faith and medicine] together, *pono* [that's right]. If they only *walaʻau* [talk], and don't do, then nothing, no can.

JH: Yeah, I give you the same medicine, no work [chuckles]. That other one who only need to *walaʻau* [as in the practitioners of *lāʻau kahea*], that's the one, you have to work for that. For small stuff can; you make the *noni*, alright, but if you inside, no good, no work. Now, the *haole* medicine different [chuckles]. Anybody they touch, can work. Hawaiian one, no, bum-bye backfire.

KM: Hmm. *Mamua, kou poʻe kūpuna, ua hana lākou i uka i ka māla ʻai, a hele lākou i ka lawaiʻa?* [Before then, your elders went to the uplands to cultivate, and they went to fish?]

JH: *ʻAe i ka māla ʻai a lawaiʻa.* [Yes, planting and fishing.]

KM: And *ʻo ʻoe pū a me ʻoe uncle, ua hele ʻolua i ka lawaiʻa…*?

JH: [pointing to Uncle Gabriel] Him, he go *lawaiʻa* [fishing]. Me, I don't go, I go make *ʻōpae* for them.

GK: That's why, I asked Billy, he said he get plenty *talapia* now.

KM: Oh, so they eat the *ʻōpae* now?

GK: Yeah.

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

JH: Only I know, had *iʻa* [fish].

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

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

KM: Hmm. So you folks would get *ʻōpelu* out here?

JH/GK: Yeah, yeah.

KM: Were there other kinds of fish too?

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

KM: And what kinds of fish?

GK: *Ulaula, koaʻe* [snappers]; the Japanese call that *onaga*. *Ehu, paka, ʻōpakapaka,* and *kalikali, ʻukiki*.

KM: *Nui nō nā iʻa*. *Ola kēia ʻāina i ka nui o nā iʻa* [Many kinds of fish. This land, the people, had life in the many fish].

JH: Oh yes.

KM: *Pehea, o hoʻi i kahakai, ke haʻawi ʻoe ka iʻa i ka ʻohana?* [How about, when you returned to the shore, did you share fish with the family here?]

GK: *Haʻawi* [shared]. *Mamua* [before]. Now, *aʻale* [no], they don't.

JH: Nobody give.

GK: I give.

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

KM: [chuckles] *ʻOia ka hana a nā kahiko, inā hele lākou lawaiʻa*… [That was the practice of the old people, if the went fishing…]

[end of Tape 1, Side A; begin Side B]

JH: …like if I went to get *ʻōpae*, I get one share.

GK: Yeah, he get one share.

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

JH: *Kūpuna*, yeah.

KM: *Ke māhele ka iʻa, alaila, pōmaikaʻi lākou a loaʻa ka iʻa hou?* [By sharing the fish, they were blessed, and would get fish again?]

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

JH: And the *poʻe* [people], you go over there, they give you *iʻa*, when you *hāpai waʻa* [help carry canoe]. The old style no.

GK: Over here in Puna*, aʻole walaʻau* [they don't say], "*Hele kiʻi ka i iʻa* " (help yourself to the fish).

JH: Not like Kona.

GK: *Puna, aʻole. Hana ka lima a haʻawi.* [Puna, no. They take with their hands and give.]

JH: Kona different.

GK: This is *pololoi* [right].

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

KM: *Maikaʻi. ʻOia ka hana a ʻoukou i Puna nei?* [Good. That's the custom of you folks in Puna?]

JH: Yeah, Puna.

GK: *Mamua* [before], everybody use *ʻōpae* in Puna. In Kona the use *kalo, palaʻai* [taro, pumpkin], pear, any kind for feed.

KM: But Puna, *ʻōpae*?

GK: *ʻŌpae*.

JH: *ʻUlaʻula* [red], the *ʻōpae*. And when you *ʻoki* [cut] the *ōpū* [stomach], clean.

KM: *Pehea, ua hana pōpō, ka ʻaʻai, me ka limu paha?* [How about, did you make the bait ball, to spread the *ʻōpae* with the seaweed perhaps?]

GK: *Aʻole* [no], we'd just use the *ʻeke palu malalo* [bait bag underneath].

JH: *Kiloi* [throw 'um].

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

GK: *ʻAe*.

JH: They *ʻauʻau* [swim]; the *ʻōpae*.

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, *piʻo ka ʻupena* [the net is curved]. *A ka iʻa, komo i loko o ka ʻupena, a hāpai.* [When the fish come inside the net, you lift it up.] But the *ʻupena*, leave in the water. *ʻElua kaula, huki, mamua a mahape.* [The net is pulled with two ropes, one in front and one in back.] And the *ʻupena* is pulled up.

KM: *ʻEkolu poʻe ma ka waʻa?* [Three people on the canoe?]

GK: *Mamua a mahope. Hoʻokāhi hānai, hoʻokāhi mākaukau, a me hoʻokāhi hoʻopaʻa ka waʻa* [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 ʻupena, ʻae. A ka ʻōpelu, i loko*. *A kau i ka waʻa i waho*. [Pull the net, yes. And the *ʻōpelu* are inside the net, set on the outside of the canoe.] Kona, different. *Piʻo ka ʻupena, a komo ka iʻa i loko o ka ʻupena, a hāpai ka ʻōpelu i ka waʻa, huki ka ʻupena.* [The net is curved, but when the fish come in the net, they lift the *ʻōpelu* into the canoe, pull the net.] Outside, they *hemo* [remove] the *ʻōpelu*. 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.

KM: *I kou wā liʻiliʻi, a i ka wā a kou poʻe mākua, kou ʻohana wale nō ka poʻe o kēia ʻāina kahakai?* [So in your youth, and the time of your parents, it was only your family on this shoreward land?]

JH: Yeah.

KM: *Pehea, mamua, nui nā poʻe hele lawaiʻa?* [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 ʻino* [too many]!

KM: *ʻOia ka pilikia, hele lākou lawaiʻa mau, akā aʻole lākou hānai, aʻole lākou mālama i ka iʻa?* [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 *poʻe, aʻole mālama* [most people don't take care]. *Hele lawaiʻa, poʻe 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 *ʻōpelu*.

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

JH: Plenty.

GK: But today, the regulation now, changed. Kona, *ʻōpelu*, you no can go get *ʻōpelu*. *ʻŌpelu makau, ʻōpelu ʻupena* [hook or net *ʻōpelu*]. Over here, *hiki* [can].

KM: *A ua kaulaʻi ʻoukou i ka ʻōpelu , kaha a…?* [And you would dry the *ʻōpelu*, cut 'um and…?]

JH: *ʻAe, kaulaʻi*. [Yes, dried.]

KM: *No hea mai ka paʻakai*?

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

GK: Kekaha.

JH: Yeah, Kekaha.

KM: *Kekaha ʻo Puna* [Kekaha of Puna]?

GK: In the National Park side.

KM: *ʻOia Kekaha, he ʻāina maloʻo, a hiki iā lākou ke kaulaʻi i ke kai e?* [That Kekaha, it's a dry land, so they can dry the sea water eh?]

GK: *Kaulaʻi ke kai* [dry the salt water.] *Mahape, kūʻai*. [later on it was bought.]

KM: Hmm, *i kou wā* [in your time]?

JH: *Kūʻai ʻia* [it was purchased]. Over here, no more that kind. No more like Kalapana and past, the *pāhoehoe* flats.

KM: Ahh. *A ua kēia ʻāina.* [And this land has rain.]

JH: *ʻAe*. *Heheʻe ka paʻakai* [the salt would be all watery].

KM: *ʻAe*. So you'd said, that you'd seen some walled sites in this land over here [pointing towards the Oneloa-ʻAhalanui vicinity], where they would make *māla ʻai* [agricultural areas], and kahua hale [house platforms], yeah? You said still has the mark where they lived before?

GK: Yeah.

JH: It has, the stone they went hemo [remove – relocate] eh. The *māla ʻai*.

KM: So what do you think about them? Should they take care of the old Hawaiian places that are left over there?

JH: The papaya went *huki* already.

KM: But down the road side…

JH: The road, way down still get.

GK: Close to the road.

KM: And you know, ʻAhalanui, where it bounds Pūʻālaʻa?

JH: Yeah.

KM: Still has one section that they never go inside with the bulldozers.

GK: No, no, no. That' area they no touch.

KM: They no touch.

GK: No touch.

KM: So is it better to leave that, where all the old walls are…?

JH: Yeah, no touch.

GK: And plus, the trail goes up too.

JH: Yeah, it goes up someplace, up there [pointing to general inland area on the map].

KM: That's right. Had the place called, on the map, in your Tūtū's time, called Kahaleolono.

JH: Oh, yeah.

KM: It was an old cultivating ground they said. Did you ever hear that name?

GK: No, that's the first time I hear that.

KM: Hmm. There on the old map.

JH: That's where we go up the forest. My brother told me about that, a nice place. They went bull doze some of that, papaya. Billy said *ʻulu*, big kind trees! Was Cross guys time. That was a nice place.

GK: And then had some other growers too. Independent growers like my brother-in-law, Peter Hauaniʻo. P & S Hauaniʻo Farm. That's another independent grower.

KM: So that was still after the war, when Cross came in yeah?

JH: Fifties, I think.

GK: Before that, they didn't allow.

KM: So was only *nahelehele* [overgrown forest]?

JH: Yeah.

KM: And what, had *pipi* [cattle], had *pipi* around here?

JH: Here had.

GK: Was open range. *Pipi*…

JH: They went mark ʻum, and *puʻa* [pigs].

KM: Hmm.

GK: Animals, they go back and forth, Pānau and all the way.

KM: Oh, so back forth, all the way from Pānau to Kapoho?

JH: At my brother's place, get the water they drank, *wai*.

GK: That's how the grass stayed down.

JH: Good, clean the yard, clean. You no need clean the yard.

GK: Although, get plenty pie on the road [smiling].

KM: [chuckles]

GK: No problem.

KM: That's what you said the other day, this old *ala nui* [road] here, the pipi kept everything all clean.

JH: Yeah, was clean before.

GK: My grand-uncle, some times I'd see him going this way for find his cattle. Get plenty Hawaiians, own the cattle.

KM: So it was Hawaiian families, and then Lyman had down Kapoho too eh?

GK: Yeah, Lyman had. And after, when they opened the subdivision [Kapoho lots; ca. 1950] and the papaya farms, then had a little bit wild kind cows. So me and my father-in-law, went on the trail over there [the ʻAhalanui-Pūʻālaʻa trail] go up. We came on a different portion.

KM: So you folks used that old trail to go up the *ala nui* [road] side like that?

GK: Yeah, we used that old trail, go up, hit the railroad trail, then we go hit home. He was leasing the place up at Malama that time. *Mauka* Malama.

KM: And you said he was still planting taro too?

GK: Yeah.

KM: When did you marry your wife?

GK: Nineteen-fifty. Wasn't my father-in-law yet, at that time, but I was working for him.

KM: That's amazing, you folks were growing all dryland taro like that, *kalo*.

JH: Dryland.

KM: *ʻOno* [good]?

JH: *ʻOno*.

GK: *Maikaʻi* [good].

KM: *Heaha ke ʻano kalo?* [What kinds of taro?]

JH: Plentiful. *Kūoho, lehua*, all the good ones

GK: *Lehua*.

JH: *Mana*.

GK: *ʻEleʻele*.

JH: *Nunui nā kalo* [many taros]. *Pākeke* [gestures the corm as the size of a bucket]. The only thing, hard work, *ulu ka mauʻu* [the grass grew up]. The water kind, more easy. This kind, the *mauʻu* grow.

KM: Did you folks sometimes burn the fields a little bit and then *huli* [turn] the soil?

JH: [shaking head, no]

GK: No, no.

KM: So you make *kīpulu* [mulch] everything?

JH: Yeah.

GK: Yeah. We use *ʻōʻō* [digging stick] to make the planting holes round.

KM: So in all the places where had *lepo* [soil], like that?

JH: You keep the *mauʻu*, pile up.

GK: Because we use the *ʻōʻō* [gestures, prying up the soil to make an opening for the *kalo*], put the *lepo* up, make wide *puka* like this [approximately 8 inches], that's all. *Lawa* [enough]. Then put the *huli* [taro top] inside.

KM: *ʻAe. Māmalu o luna*; did the trees still grow over head for shade?

GK: *Aʻale* [no].

KM: So was a wide open field?

GK: Yeah, wide open.

KM: So there were no big trees for shade?

GK: No. And the leaf, make mulch.

KM: Hmm. So *hāʻule ka ua, he kēhau paha, ka mea hoʻopulu…?* [So the rains fell, the dew perhaps, to moisten…?]

JH: Yeah.

GK: And the *lāʻau* [wood], *ʻoki* [cut] for fire wood.

JH: Every day.

KM: Every day, *hana* [work].

GK: *Aʻale hana, aʻale ʻoe ʻai.* [No work, you don't eat.] [chuckles]

KM: *ʻAe, ʻoia ke ʻano o ka poʻe kūpuna*. [That was the nature of the elders.] And your *kupuna wahine*, 70s-80s, still went to *hana* [work]?

JH: She go *hana, poʻe mahiʻai* [work, the farmers]. No more fun those days.

KM: Were you folks the only children down here?

JH: We get some more.

GK: Had Kupihē.

JH: They come, and then bum-bye they go back. The guys from up mountain.

GK: And the Browns.

JH: Brown.

KM: *Ihea ʻoe hele i ke kula?* [Where did you go to school?]

JH: ʻŌpihikao that time.

KM: So this *kula* [school] at Pohoiki, was *pau* already.

JH: Yeah *pau*, our days, it was *pau*.

KM: And then what, *ua hele ʻoe i Pāhoa* [did you go to Pāhoa as well]?

JH: I never go. No more bus those days, you no can. You got to walk too far.

KM: Yeah. This road that comes down *makai*, here, was it still all *ala lepo* [dirt road]?

JH: *Lepo* [dirt], we walk. In the 60s, I think they went pave ʻum.

KM: *Pehea ke ala nui ʻaupuni ma ke kai? Lepo, aiʻole pōhaku wale nō?* [How about the Government road along the shore, only dirt or stone?]

JH: Yeah.

GK: The *ala nui* that's over here, that was *mamua* [in front — on the ocean side] more.

JH: Yeah.

GK: Was more *makai*.

JH: When I was young, the car, some times two weeks only one car come. Them days, no more car. No more car, Model A only. The people no can buy car [chuckles]. My grandmother had car, Studebaker, living the other side, the old lady had.

KM: Is that Mele Hale?

JH: Mele.

KM: Last week, you showed me that picture with Mele Hale, your papa Isaac, your mother, and some of your sisters?

JH: Yeah.

KM: So the land has changed, yeah?

JH: Yeah.

GK: Changed.

JH: *Mamua* [before] nice, because the *poʻe* [people] clean the place. Had the stone walls, the flowers, no! Today's people no take care.

KM: *ʻAe. ʻOia ka mea nui, inā hiki iā lākou ke aʻo i nā keiki i kēia moʻolelo kūpuna…* [Yes. That's and important thing, if the can teach the children these stories of the elders…]

JH: Yes, good.

KM: *Alaila, maopopo lākou, pono iā lākou ke noho ʻoluʻolu, noho lōkāhi e?* [Then they will understand that it's important for them to dwell with kindness, and live in unity eh?]

JH: *Noho lōkāhi. Lōkāhi!* [live in unity. As one!] Yeah, I stayed with my *kūpuna* how many years, I never hear them *walaʻau ʻino* [talk bad]. No more, *mamua* [before]. They don't talk like that, the Hawaiian words, no more.

GK: Yeah. My mama, *kumu kula*… [school teacher…]

KM: Ihea [where]?

GK: Kapoho. Then *hele* [go] Kalapana.

KM: *ʻO wai ka inoa o kou makuahine?* [What was your mother's name?]

GK: *Sarah Kaualalena. No Maui ʻoia* [she was from Maui].

KM: Ohh!

GK: *ʻHe keiki ʻoia na Poepoe*. [She was a child of Poepoe]

KM: Oh, J.M. Poepoe [a Hawaiian historian and educator].

JH: Who was that Poepoe, your mama's father?

GK: Mama's father. So that one you mentioned earlier, Kapukini.

KM: *ʻAe*.

GK: That's the line.

JH: Yeah.

GK: That's the line that comes to my mama.

JH: Yeah. Your mama was our line. We never know that, but his mama went tell me. They were the same line.

KM: So *pili ʻolua* [you two are related]?

GK: Hmm.

JH: The mama *mahi ʻai* [farm], and get *ʻōpihi*, no can sit down.

KM: *Hana mau* [always working].

GK: *Hana*.

KM: *Kou makuakāne, ʻo wai kona inoa?* [Your father, what was his name?]

GK: Gabriel Kealoha.

JH: *No Kalapana* [from Kalapana].

GK: He *hāʻule* [died] in 1935, July 13th.

KM: So you were young yet.

JH: *Keiki ʻōpiopio, makahiki ʻeono* [youngster yet, six years old].

KM: Hmm. *Pono iā ʻoe e hele i ka hana, kōkua i ka ʻohana?* [So you had to go work to help the family?]

JH: *Hana*, hard life.

GK: [nodding head] But my mama, *aʻole walaʻau, ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi* [mama didn't speak Hawaiian to us].

KM: *Haole, Pelekāne* [English], and mama taught school eh.

JH: *Mamua loa* [before], that word was *kapu* [forbidden], that's why.

GK: Kapu [forbidden].

JH: You no can *walaʻau* [speak] Hawaiian in school.

KM: *ʻAe*.

JH: No can, you get *pilikia* [trouble].

KM: *Mahope, hoʻopaʻi* [you get punished].

JH: That's why us, we no can, *kapu*.

KM: *Akā, kou poʻe kūpuna, kamaʻilio Hawaiʻi wale nō e?* [But your grandparents only spoke Hawaiian eh?]

JH: Yeah. That's why me, I have *pilikia* [trouble], my *kūpuna* [grandparents], they *make* [died] when I was *ʻōpiopio* [young], that's why I no can *walaʻau* good. Over here, nobody walaʻau. All plantation place, no more Hawaiian too much. Pau, my old folks no more. That's why we no can *walaʻau*. That's why we at a loss. When I was ten years old, *pau*.

GK: Now, my *moʻopuna* [grandchild], one of my *moʻopuna walaʻau*.

JH: *Akamai* [smart]. The daughter go school. My niece too, all go to school, go learn.

GK: *Moʻopuna, walaʻau Hawaiʻi, ke kupuna, aʻole. Hilahila.* [Grandchild speaks Hawaiian, the grandfather can't, shame.]

KM: *Aʻole. No ka mea, o nā kūpuna, nā mea, nā kumu nō hoʻi!* [No. Because the grandparents are the ones, they are the source!] *I kēia manawa, kekāhi loʻa ka ʻōlelo, ma ka alelo wale nō, aʻale ma ka naʻau…* [Nowadays, so have the language, but it's on the tongue only, not inside…]

JH: Yeah.

GK: *ʻAe* [chuckles].

KM: So *pono iā mākou, nā ʻōpio, e hoʻolohe iā ʻoukou, nā kūpuna.* [It's best for us, the young ones, to listen to you, the elders.]

JH: [speaking to Uncle Gabriel] You know, I listen to him, it's like my Kūkū talking. Yours is pure.

KM: Oh, *mahalo. Hemahema wau, akā, mahalo i nā kūpuna.* [I'm unskilled, by give thanks to the elders]…

JH: That's why, when you talked last week, I knew already, you come straight from the old school…

[further discussion on differences in spoken Hawaiian; not included with the transcript]

KM: …So beautiful this *ʻāina* down here. I see the *kamani* [*Calophyllum inophyllum* – an important Hawaiian introduction from *Kahiki*] trees…

JH: Yeah. We like them preserve that.

KM: Preserve those trees?

JH: Right.

KM: The old trees. And in the ʻAhalanui area, I see the *alaheʻe* [*Canthium odoratum* – a native tree in the drier Puna forests].

JH: Yeah.

KM: So you'd like to see them take care of the old forest and Hawaiian plants?

JH: Yeah.

KM: The *pū hala* [pandanus trees] are important too.

JH: Don't touch. In ʻAhalanui too. All those coconuts over there.

GK: The *niu* [coconut trees].

KM: Got to take care?

JH: The *niu*, I like.

KM: So take of the *niu*, the *kamani*, the *alaheʻe*, *lama*, *pū hala* like that?

JH: Yeah. For them, the *kūpuna*, even the *niu*, that's life. I no like them take those out.

GK: Before the missionary came, had some *poʻe lāhui* [people] bring the *niu* and *kanu* [plant].

JH: Plenty was.

GK: The vision was, they *kanu* for when they travel. They get coconut for eat. Coconut for *ʻai* [food].

KM: *ʻAe. Ua lohe paha ʻolua i ka ʻōlelo nane a nā kūpuna, "Kuʻu punawai, kau i lewa, heaha lā?"* [Yes. maybe you heard the riddle of the elders, "My spring is set in the sky, what is it?"]

JH: *Niu*.

KM: *ʻAe, he niu*. *Naʻauao nā kūpuna.* [Yes, a coconut. The elders were very smart.]

JH: Smart!

KM: So they planted for take care, when they traveled?

JH: Yeah. Just like Pūʻālaʻa before. You know that Pūʻālaʻa?

KM: *ʻAe*.

JH: You know the Pūʻālaʻa coconut, before and all at McKenzie Park. But that *haole*, he came here from Scotland, he was 18 years old, work for the plantation. He was one manager. Before he died, he went planted all that coconuts. I went plant for him. You seen that?

KM: Yeah, at Pūʻālaʻa.

GK: Yeah [chuckles].

JH: The three, and then the Hawaiian priest went pray. He thanked the haole for make this plant over here, make for the next generation. Plant this coconut trees. He dedicated. Was easy, I only put down. But now, they like *hemo* [take out] some trees eh. So every time they ask me, they *makaʻu* [afraid]. But the prayer part, I don't like. Inside that prayer, he said just like, you destroy the tree, you going pay the price. Just like no ʻoki [cut] the tree or what.

KM: Hmm. *Ua kau ka leo e* [the word was put down eh]?

JH: Yeah. That's what I went tell them. I went to a meeting for the County. I don't know if they believe, but if *hemo* [remove ʻum], and *make* [kill] the tree, the *pule* [prayer] I'm afraid. Mānoa went pray.

KM: Was Joe Mānoa?

JH: [chuckles] Yeah. I call him uncle. He went pule [pray], I went with him, ʻcause I went plant the tree. He thanked the *haole* for planting the trees.

GK: Mānoa was more older than him.

JH: Yeah. For think about the tree that the haole went give for the next generation for use, for eat. Not for make money. That's why when I hear them, I told the council what I think about the prayer. That kind, bum-bye they get trouble.

KM: Hmm. About when was that, do you think?

JH: About 1960.

GK: 1950s maybe.

JH: I went plant, was all barren before. Across the road, nice.

GK: That's his original house.

JH: Yeah, but he died, the old man.

KM: *ʻAe, nā kumu like ʻole, mea hoʻowehi ʻāina.* [Yes, the different trees are an adornment on the land.]

JH: Yeah, nice.

KM: *Pono iā lākou i kēia ʻāina ʻo Matsuura mā, pono iā lākou ke…* [It's good for them on this land, of Matsuura folks, good for them to…]

JH: Keep the old trees.

KM: *…mālama i nā kumu* […protect the trees]?

JH: Yeah, they know. And they like that, because they like for the golf course and what. No trouble. Over there get no more…like down the beach, coast. My brother and us, we no like touch the trees.

KM: And this *kamani* is so beautiful.

JH: If a park come in, bum-bye they going trim ʻum. They no like tree because all rubbish, so they cut. Like coconut trees, they no like too.

KM: Hmm. *Akā, no wai ka hewa? Inā noho ʻoe malalo o ke kumu niu a hāʻule hua…* [But who's at fault. If you sit beneath a coconut tree, and the nut falls…]

JH: [laughing] Yeah.

KM: *…no wai ka hewa? Aʻale na ka niu e?* […who's mistake was it? Not the coconut eh?]

JH: Yeah [laughing].

KM: *Na ka mea noho malalo. E neʻe mawaho.* [The one who sat underneath. So move outside.]

JH: Yeah. But about the car, they like the parking lot. So that one, I told them, If I didn't hear the prayer, would be alright. But me, I'm going to get jam up. It will hit me, ʻcause I hear.

KM: Hmm. That's right, because you heard your uncle.

JH: Yeah. He talk, he thanked the haole about the tree, for give new life. The next person's food. Then, you go kill the tree, you going pay with your life. Protect the tree. That's why, that kind of prayer, no good. The old man went pray.

KM: *Mana kona leo?* [His voice was powerful?]

JH: He work. He make, somebody got to replace that tree. That's the old custom. Hawaiian kind. That's why they say, "Don't kill the old tree." That's the reason I don't want to cut.

GK: Yeah, was something like 50 trees.

JH: Danger that one.

GK: I was over there, I was approached too, But I tell no. Even the outdoor circle, they went like for themselves.

JH: Don't touch.

GK: I tell them, "No, no, no. What ever you sell that coconut tree for, that money, got to use for the Hawaiian children, scholarship.

JH: Yeah, but no can cut that kind.

KM: So they have to give back then eh?

GK: Yeah, they got to give back.

JH: But them, I don't know if they going give back [chuckles]. This kind western style. That's why I don't trust. Bum-bye *hemo* [remove 'um], no can *hiamoe* [sleep] night time [chuckles].

KM: *Aloha*.

JH: Leave 'um, that coconut trees.

KM: So they're looking at using this *'āina*, that was bulldozed before, yeah.

JH: Yeah.

KM: They want to make a golf course, and some houses and things like that.

JH: Yeah.

KM: What do you think? If they use that area, what?

JH: It was bulldozed already.

GK: If they going use that for golf course are, I think they should look to the Hawaiian people. Provide jobs for the Hawaiian people.

KM: Yeah. For the people who are kama'āina [native] to this land.

GK: Yeah.

KM: That way, the families can stay home.

GK: The family can stay. But if they don't agree, then I don't agree too.

KM: I think that's what they are looking at, a way to use…

GK: Yeah.

JH: That's right.

KM: …to use the *'āina* and then have jobs for the families.

JH: Yeah.

GK: I know, I was talking to some of my children. I told them, "We stay working on the A & O golf course." First thing they come out, they say, "I opposed." I said, "You opposed, you come to the meeting. If you only oppose now, and you don't come to the meeting, and that thing go, hey! Next thing you say, 'I opposed this.' But I never see you." That been happen to the fishermen. I attend to the meetings, about regulation of the fish, management of the Kona one. I attend the meetings. So not too long ago, the legislature approved the regulation and the management for the fishery. Now the fishermen, they're angry. I said, "Where were you?" Not only me, I have to go. If everybody come and say their piece, they can listen to what's your idea. No come only, afterwards, "I oppose this." Too late already!

KM: *A'ole hiki iā lākou ke ku mahope a 'ohumu wale nō, pono iā lākou ke holo i mua.* [They can't simply stand in the background grumbling, they have to move forward.]

GK: *Holo i mua* [go forward].

JH: Right.

KM: Hmm. *Mahalo, nui ka hoihoi o kēia moʻolelo.* [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 *ʻōpae* ponds. I wonder, this water is *ʻano wela* [sort of hot], yeah.

JH: *Wela*.

KM: Maybe that's why no more *ʻōpae* in the Maunakea side pond.

JH: Maybe.

GK: Because, right now, it's open see. Open, so the ocean comes in, so no more *ʻōpae*.

KM: How about Waiʻōpae side in Kapoho? So think there are still *ʻōpae*, or no more?

GK: Still has.

KM: And brother's [Wm. Hale's] place at Keahialaka?

JH: No more.

GK: No more, has the *talapia*.

KM: Oh, so they ate the *ʻōpae*. 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 *ʻōpelu* fishing, no more *ʻōpae*.

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 *ʻōpae*?

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 *ʻōpelu*, with the *ʻōpae*, yeah? That was your livelihood.

GK: *ʻAe*.

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 *ʻōpelu*, you go *mahi ʻai* [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.

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 *ta‘ape*. *Ta‘ape* and *to‘au*, that’s the problem. This is the problem, the *ta‘ape* and *to‘au* 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 *ta‘ape*. Today, we no can make money with the *ta‘ape*. 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.

JH: Hoo—plenty *ʻōpelu*! *Piha ka ʻōpelu* [the ocean was full of *ʻōpelu*]. Just like rubbish.

GK: I think now has, nobody goes.

KM: No one goes for *ʻōpelu* now?

JH: Nobody goes. Before, somebody would go, throw *palu* [feed]. You got to feed the *ʻōpelu*, *hānai* the leader.

KM: Hmm, the *ʻōpelu auʻa* [the *ʻōpelu* that guards the *koʻa*].

JH: Yeah, then you go. But who going make ʻum. That's the style today. The old days, you make, somebody go make. Now, you make, everybody would go.

KM: Hmm. *Mahalo nui iā ʻolua i kēia kamaʻilio ana. Naʻu nō e kākau kēia…* [Thank you both so much for talking with me. I'll go write this out…]

JH: Yeah.

KM: *…a hoʻihoʻi iā ʻolua i ka moʻolelo.* […and return the story to you.]

JH: Yeah. *Lawa* [enough].

GK: But our days was [pauses], some times we use coconut, *lāʻau*, bamboo for put the canoe up. *Lona* [canoe rollers]. By the time you come with the skiff, we use ʻum. 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 *waʻa* [canoes]?

JH: Yeah, before. We *maʻa* [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 ʻum for make it smaller, I no can hold ʻum.

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. You know, inside some places, by this area [pointing to proposed project area in Oneloa-'Ahalanui], if they have *ilina* [graves] or *iwi* [remains], do you think that that must be from the old people?

JH: Cave?

KM: Yeah, and even they make *pū'o'a* [above surface burial mounds]?

JH: Yeah, get, get.

KM: So *pono iā lākou ke waiho mālie?* [So should the leave that alone?]

JH: Yeah, they leave that.

KM: And the *'ohana* is all gone then?

JH: Gone.

KM: Like Kamakau and Kuahewa [Grant 2466], no more family here now?

JH: No more. When I came, nobody was. From what I remember when I was about six-seven years old. I never see nothing. Only guys come, go, come, go.

KM: And you said, almost all your life you've lived here?

JH: Yeah.

KM: Except for that couple of years during World War II when the military went *kīpaku* [kick] you folks out?

JH: Yeah. Only me was.

KM: So where did you live during that time, 'cause the Navy or some one blocked it off eh?

JH: Oh they blocked this whole Puna coast.

GK: We had one outpost right there [pointing to location].

KM: Oh, they had an outpost right by the parking area for the park now [in the vicinity of the old Pohoiki school lot]?

JH: Yeah, if they going invade, they were going come over here. Kapoho had a landing strip too. But they never come after the December 7th attack.

KM: So you folks had to go live *mauka*?

JH: Kapoho, my father was the camp police [for the old Kapoho plantation village]. He was the police.

KM: So you stayed down by Kapoho side?

GK: They only thing, we had to black out the window.

JH: Yeah, the windows.

KM: So for a couple of years, you couldn't live down here?

JH: Yeah. Then pau, I came and stayed, my Aunty stayed, and my brother guys, my sister. Always somebody stayed. I come and go, but always the family is here.

KM: Hmm. *Nui kou aloha i kēia ʻāina?* [You have great love for this land eh?]

JH: *Nui ke aloha* [great love]…!

[end of Tape 1, side B; begin Tape 2, side A]

KM: [asked *kupuna* John if he knew of any old songs for the area]

JH: [answered — "*Manu ʻŌʻō*," which he thinks was originally written by Tutu Mānoa] … I told you about the Makuakāne *wahine*, the one who speaks Hawaiian. The grandfather told me. He comes from that place.

GK: It's a good song

KM: *Kaulana ʻo Puʻulena e?* [Puʻulena is famous, yeah?]

JH: *Kaulana* [famous].

KM: *I nā moʻolelo a me nā mele Hawaiʻi.* [In the stories and songs of Hawaiʻi.]

JH: Me, I think that mountain is for him. Underneath, get nice *lepo* [soil]. You've seen that mountain eh?

KM: *ʻAe*.

JH: You go across the crater, has one mango tree. That's where the trail goes down. It goes down like this [gestures, turning along the slope].

KM: And below there, is where the *māla ʻai* [gardens] were for you folks?

JH: Inside there was something, Hawaiian herbs and what. Hidden kind stuff. *Lāʻau* [medicinal plants], that the kind of *poʻe* [people] that live over there. Before the Christian time. *Mamua, kahiko* [before, ancient] time.

KM: *Pehea kou manaʻo, ua lohe paha ʻoe, he heiau paha kēia ʻāina ʻo ʻAhalanui, Laepāoʻo, me Oneloa paha?* [What do you think, did you perhaps hear about a temple in the lands of ʻAhalanui, Laepāoʻo, or Oneloa?]

JH: No.

KM: *Aʻole* [no]?

JH: No. They get, but these old *poʻe kahiko* [old people], when you talk to them, they don't talk. They tell, went *hala kēlā manawa* [that time passed], *hala* already. *Pau*, they stay on the Christian. But them two sides too eh. They tell *hala*. But they don't answer. Even my Aunty guys, they don't talk. So we don't know too much about this *heiau* [pointing towards Keahialaka].

KM: 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'ili'i, 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, *mahope, 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, paʻani 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 *walaʻau*. They use good words. No more swearing and that…

KM: *ʻAe. Mahalo nui iā ʻolua i kēia moʻolelo. Naʻu nō i hoʻihoʻi 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.

KM: Then I'll bring this back to you.

JH: You went go through this history already. You get good teacher, lucky.

KM: *Mahalo*.

GK: *Pono* [it good.]

JH: Old Hawaiians you go, it's the same thing. That's the old custom, no?

KM: Yeah.

JH: *Poʻe* before, they different than today.

KM: *Pono no mākou, nā ʻōpio ke noho me nā kūpuna e kūkākūkā…* [It's important for us, the youth to sit with the elders and talk story…]

JH: Yeah, I think so. That's why my family, I try to teach them, no *hakakā* [fight].

KM: *ʻAe, mahalo.* [tape off; end of interview]

While it was thought that the interview had reached an end, Uncle Hale *mā* continued reflecting on past times. It was during this conversation, that Uncle Hale shared what he had heard form his *kūpuna* about the ancient people of the Puna District (tape back on):

JH: …That's why before, because my kūkū them never go in the war, only they know the history. Yeah, Kamehameha days, they don't know who's coming back.

KM: So you think before, the people who lived here, were the *poʻe hana* [working people]?

JH: *Mahi ʻai* [agriculturists], yeah.

KM: Your *kūpuna* told you that the *aliʻi* [kings] by-pass Puna?

JH: Yeah.

KM: Go to Kona, Hilo?

JH: Yeah. Puna, they by-pass. You don't hear anything about Puna.

KM: That's why, you'll enjoy this paper that I'm writing as a part of this *moʻolelo* [history] here. Has some *moʻolelo*, that the *kūpuna* would write in the Hawaiian newspapers like that.

JH: Good. Every time , I meet guys here, they see this house open here, they don't see this kind of place now. Everything is all bulldozed down.

KM: That's right.

JH: This is the last home. Me I stay, I don't like them to bulldoze the place, or cut down the trees.

KM: You'd also mentioned that the little warm pond back there, you'd opened it up. It was closed before.

JH: That's right.

GK: He made that.

JH: I went *hemo* that stone…

KM: *Pehea, i ka moʻolelo a kou poʻe kūpuna, ua kamaʻilio paha lākou i kekāhi mea e pili ana iā ka wahine o ka lua, ʻo Pele paha?* [How about, in the stories of your elders, did they perhaps speak about the woman of the volcano, Pele?]

JH: They don't *walaʻau* [speak about that] They no *walaʻau*!

KM: Hmm. *Ai no lākou me ka ekalekia, e?* [They were a part of the church eh?]

JH: Yeah, they don't talk. But they respect the other one. They always tell me, "They got the same idea, different belief, but same idea. The two sides had good idea. But the other side [ancient Hawaiian ways], was more strict."

GK: That *ekalesia*, what year was it *pau*?

KM: By 1905, pau. You'll see in the write up, how Tūtū William Kamaʻu wrote about that. IT seemed like they were holding the services in the house here.

JH: Yeah, I think it was this house. That's what the old man Mānoa said. One minister, Kupihē, he lived in this room [pointing to the near shore side of the house], and one, Mānoa, stayed in that room [pointing to the *mauka* side of the house], when they come to this place. Was just like on temple. And the two guys, they stay on two side, they still get the other side [religion]. They respect the haole one too. "Same idea," they tell. Only the walaʻau different.

GK: You know, you said about 1905, the *hale pule pau, popopo* [church was finished, rotted out] already.

KM: Yeah.

GK: I know had some buildings over there [pointing to the old school and church lot], I don't know what kind was.

JH: My sister had.

GK: Had some other buildings over there. [thinking] Who was that? Kaluna? Ahh, Kobayashi.

JH: Yeah, Kobayashi house.

KM: Oh, yes, I saw the name Kobayashi on the lease from the government on that lot in about 1939.

JH: They went lease that old house. It was just like one government house.

GK: They was staying over there. Was Kaluna and Kobayashi, family.

KM: So Kobayashi, *male Hawaiʻi* [married Hawaiian]?

GK: Yeah, married Kuamoʻo girl.

KM: Ohh! So maybe when they got that, they went build a house over there.

GK: I think even in 1949, maybe '50, the building was still there yet.

JH: It was.

GK: And then Peter ʻIaukea was staying there with the wife and three children, I think. Then afterwards, they went move up to the mill.

JH: Yeah, in the 1950s, they stayed over there.

GK: I used to go fishing with him, the old man.

KM: ʻIaukea?

GK: ʻIaukea.

KM: Now, the mill wasn't running when you guys were alive eh?

GK: No, *pau*.

JH: Nineteen-o-three, the mill *pau*.

KM: Yeah. Rycroft had left about 1900.

JH: Yeah, the Brazil coffee went half price, here no can compete already. That's why he went move. Honolulu, they went buy land.

KM: Yeah, I found some information that speaks about this too. It's so good that you remember this history too…

JH: Kobayashi was pure Japanese, but the Kuamoʻo was Hawaiian.

GK: So the next generation was Hawaiian *hapa*.

KM: *Maikaʻi* [good]. *Mahalo*… It's so good that you stayed here and took care of the land all this time.

JH: I take care. I'm weak now, I know what's going to happen… You know, the old people always told me "*Mālama ka ʻāina*" [Take care of the land], that stuck in the head eh. I go work, but I come back here. Those kinds of words, no can remove.

KM: *ʻAe. Inā mālama ʻoe i ka ʻāina, na ka ʻāina i mālama iā ʻoe.* [Yes. If you take care of the land, the land will take care of you.]

JH: Yeah, they tell me "*Hoʻomanawanui, mālama i ka ʻāina*" [be patient, take care of the land]. Everybody move, nobody stay. When I first moved back here, no more two care in two weeks. Nobody. That's how was. Now, if those jobs come, bum-bye the people who are from the old families can have jobs, they can come home…

KM: *Mahalo, lawa paha kēia?* [Thank you , maybe this is enough]?

JH: *Lawa* [enough].

[end of interview]

Personal Release of Interview Records:
'Ahalanui, Laepāo'o and Oneloa Oral History Study
Prepared in conjunction with the proposed
A & O International Development (Puna, Hawai'i)

The interview referenced below was conducted by Kepā Maly (*Kumu Pono Associates*), under a contract with A & O International Corporation in conjunction with historical and archival documentary research as a part of a cultural assessment study for portions of the *ahupua'a* of 'Ahalanui, Laepāo'o, and Oneloa (the Puna study area).

Date of Recorded Interview: June 12, 1998 (with notes from discussion of June 5, 1998).

I, John Hale, participated in the above referenced oral history interview with Kepā Maly, and hereby give permission to Kepā Maly to include the released interview transcript in the study he is preparing (KPA Report HiPu15-063098). This permission is granted, subject to any restrictions listed below:

(a) Quotes from the interview(s) may be used as a part of the final report on historic and cultural sites and practices in the Puna study area, or reference may be made to the information in the interview(s). Copies of the interview records may be made available to A & O International Corporation, the County of Hawai'i, and the Department of Land and Natural Resource-State Historic Preservation Division.

Yes or no: yes

(b) The interview records may be referenced by Kepā Maly for scholarly publication.

Yes or no: yes

(c) The interview records may be housed in a library or historical Society collection for general public access.

Yes or no: yes

(d) Restrictions:

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John Hale (Interviewee)

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Kepā Maly
Kepā Maly (Interviewer)

July 6, 1998
Date of Release

Release of Interview

Personal Release of Interview Records:
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Yes or no: yes

(d) Restrictions:

Gabriel Kealoha (Interviewee)

Kepā Maly (Interviewer)

Address: RR3 Box 12226
Pahoa Hi 96778

7/23/98
Date of Release

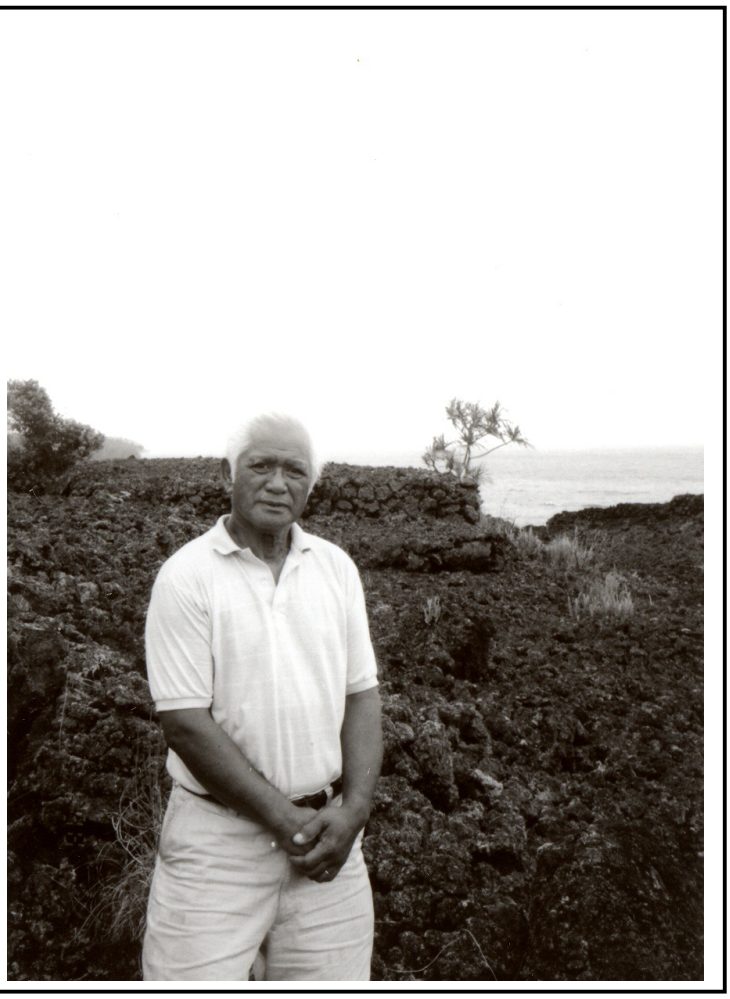
Release of Interview

Kahu[18] John "Kumukahi" Makuakāne
(With Violet Akamu Makuakāne and Joni Mae Makuakāne-Jarrell)
Oral history Interview of July 21st, 1998
at ʻŌpihikao with Kepā Maly

John "Kumukahi" Makuakāne (*Kahu*) was born in 1931, at Puʻukī (Kapoho uka), Puna. His father was Thomas K. Makuakāne, of ʻŌpihikao, and his mother was Hattie Makua-Makuakāne, who also had ties to ʻŌpihikao and neighboring lands in Puna.

While growing up, *Kahu* lived at several locations in Puna, including Kapoho, Pohoiki, Malama, ʻŌpihikao, 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.



Kahu John Makuakāne at the Kaueleau Cemetery, Puna

In his interview, *Kahu* describes the Hawaiian community of Puna, and their relationship with the lands 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

While some of Kahu's family on the Makuakāne line, owned a portion of the land at ʻAhalanui, he does not personally remember ever staying there. Though his interview provides readers with insight into residency and activities on the land between ca. 1935 to 1945. Importantly, Kahu's descriptions of subsistence practices—both on land and in the Kapoho – ʻŌpihikao fisheries—adds corroborative documentation to the interviews of Arthur Lyman, John Hale, and Gabriel Kealoha.

[18] *Kahu* – a Hawaiian word for minister. Following a family tradition that reaches back to the 1850s, John "Kumukahi" Makuakāne is the *kahu* of the ʻŌpihikao Congregational Church.

When asked about development on the lands of ʻAhalanui-Oneloa and care of Hawaiian burials and other cultural resources, *Kahu* expressed the feelings that the families who are of the land, "are the rightful ones to say yes or no…" To him, he believes that the important thing is to have *aloha* and respect for the land and the people who have lived on the land for generations.

During the interview, Register Maps 1777, 1778, and 2191 were referenced when discussing various sites. *Figure 2* is an annotated map identifying various places of interest mentioned during the interview. Kahu gave his verbal permission for release of the interview excerpts and their incorporation into this study on October 10, 1998.

KM: *Aloha, mahalo nui!*

JM: *Aloha.*

KM: We're going to talk about your *ʻāina aloha, Puna*. Some of your recollections, the things that you remember as a child, and in growing up. Your family's history on this land here. Would you please share with me… and you were just telling me the story of your name, so you may have to share with me several names. But, 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 Kumukahi Makuakāne. I was born at Kapoho, Puʻukī. 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. Then after high school, when I wanted to enter the service, I needed a birth certificate. When I applied for one, and it came and the name was not Pedro anymore, and there was no one born the day that I was registered. 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].

KM: Oh no!

JM: 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: *ʻAe* [yes], so you lost the Kumukahi, then, as far as the *palapala* [paper work] goes.

JM: Yes, right. When I came back here to Puna, most of my family was deceased; half of them call me Kumukahi, half of them call me Pedro, but never John. And even when I see friends now, they never refer to me as John, they always refer to me, either as Pedro or Kumukahi. And then I will know that that is a friend going way back.

KM: Hmm. That name stuck with you all through your school time, yeah?

JM: Yeah.

KM: You also mentioned, that at that time Puna was still isolated, when you were born, and there were only a couple of cars.

JM: Right. So that, probably was the reason that my name was changed. My Uncle John Hanohano was one of them that had a car. So I was told that when I was born and he was ready to go to Hilo, my mom gave him the information to register me at the Board of Health in Hilo. But not knowing that he changed the name. I am certain that my mom would not have given me that name and then called me under another name for eighteen years, under that and a different birth date. The year is the same, the month, except for the date. It's ten days different.

KM: Hmm. Do you have Spanish blood?

JM: My mother's mother, her second marriage was to a Spanish, Cotano was his last name… When I was growing up, I was raised by my grandma. Until I was about five or six years old, then she got sick, and I was sent back to my parents. That's the reason why that *ʻāina* [land] next to the ʻŌpihikao Church was given to me by my grandma. Then she only had life interest in that *ʻāina*.

KM: Who was your mother?

JM: Hattie Makuakāne.

KM: And her maiden name?

JM: Hattie Makua.

KM: Makua?

JM: Yeah.

KM: Ohh! And your papa?

JM: Thomas Kaʻōnohiokalā 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 Kamāʻili Road.

KM: Okay. These Grants with Makuakāne's name on them, go back to 1851 there abouts…

JM: [looking at Reg. Map 1777] And the other thing, you have here, the area from Kapoho out to Pohoiki eh?

KM: *ʻAe*.

JM: And in there, there is another piece that the Makuakāne family had, yeah.

KM: Yes, that's interesting. This is Register Map No. 1777, it's the partner to the other map I gave you for this area, map No. 1778, by Loebenstein in 1895.

JM: Okay.

KM: This is ʻAhalanui. There were some houses, Kawaimaka and a few lots here, that the families got. Kahananui, Maunakea…

JM: Uh-hmm.

KM: …was Makaʻimoku's son. Makaʻimoku (or Kamakaʻimoku) got Grant 1001 in 1852. So Makuakāne had a house somewhere in here also?

JM: Well it was in the Pohoiki area.

KM: Okay, this is Pohoiki *maʻaneʻi* [here]. [pointing to locations on map] Here's Uncle Hale's house.

JM: Right.

KM: This was Rycroft's house.

JM: Would you know more or less, where that Pūʻālaʻa pond is?

KM: *ʻAe*! This is the old school and church lot at ʻAhalanui, which is now the County Park. So here is the park and spring right here.

JM: The house should be right around here somewhere [indicating on the *mauka* side of the old Government Road]. Right around here, I understand was about 30-acres that was a part of the Makuakāne Estate.

KM: Uh-hmm. Do you know if they lived there at one time also?

JM: My understanding is that my grandfather was married twice. This *ʻāina* he gave to the family of his first marriage. And then all this down in the ʻŌpihikao area came to the *ʻohana* of the second marriage.

VM: See, his father is from the second marriage.

KM: Hmm.

JM: And this *ʻāina* over here, that we are staying on, is not Makuakāne, it came from my great grandmother's side, not from the Makuakāne side.

KM: [looking at Reg. Map 1778] I see some names here, like…

JM: Mokumaile.

KM: Mokumaile, *ʻae*.

VM: Uh-hmm.

KM: So that is the *ʻohana*?

VM: Yes. But this piece is like inside.

KM: Yes, it's within Grant 1359 to Mokumaile.

VM: See, Grant 1359, now we have all these spaces here.

JM: Uh-hmm, it's been all cut up.

KM: So this Mokumaile, is your *kupuna*?

JM: Yes.

KM: Now, coming back to ʻAhalanui.

JM: Uh-hmm.

KM: Where Makuakāne had *ʻāina* in here, this was originally awarded to Kahananui in Grant 1015. Do you recognize the name Kahananui or the name Kanaʻaukahi in your *ʻohana*?

JM: No, I don't.

KM: Kahananui died some time around the 1880s. But his son, Daniela Kanaʻaukahi, gave a portion of this land to Mele Hale in June 1900.

JM: Hmm.

KM: But the family had once held a larger area as well. So your *ʻohana* had *ʻāina* over here though?

VM: Uh-hmm.

JM: Yes.

KM: Do they still have this *ʻāina*?

JM: No, they sold it to that firm that is doing that project.

KM: So A&O, with David Matsuura them?

JM: Yes. My understanding is that it was supposed to have been 30-acres. And it was right next to Pūʻālaʻa.

KM: *ʻAe*.

JM: The *mauka* side. And there is a small little shack there now. I think they built that; they still had the property when the shack was put up. My first cousin, Daniel Makuakāne.

KM: Oh yes, I remember him.

JM: He was the one that was handling the estate there…

KM: …Hmm. Who was your grandpa?

JM: David.

VM: Kapuaaloha.

JM: David Kapuaaloha Makuakāne.

KM: Did you ever visit any *ʻohana* there? Did you stay down here at all with anybody when you were young?

JM: No. I never stayed there. Only visited here when my cousin *mā* [them], were cleaning this place.

KM: There's a name, Kawaimaka also. Do you recognize that name?

JM: No.

KM: Loebenstein's map shows their house here in the 1890s. You can see it here, an enclosed area.

JM: Yeah.

KM: Then in Pūʻālaʻa, this guy named Dickman, had a lease from Bishop Estate, and then he had *ʻāina kope* [coffee land] up in this area. [pointing to location on Reg. Map 1777]

JM: Oh wow!

KM: All the way up here. In fact, this is "Dickman's Coffee Patch" up here.

JM: Wow!

KM: So they were doing work up there. And the trail, you can see the old trail here.

JM: Uh-hmm.

KM: You can see Kīpaepae, the coconut grove and a spring *mauka* of here.

JM: Uh-hmm.

KM: Did you ever *holoholo* up there at all?

JM: No. No, I did not. Not too much that side. I was more this side [towards ʻŌpihikao].

KM: Yes, uh-hmm.

JM: We were over here and Kalapana side. My mama is from Kalapana.

KM: Makua?

JM: Uh-hmm.

JM-J: [looking at Reg. Map 1777] Here's Puʻukī.

KM: Oh, *ʻae*. This is were papa was born then. Now as a child, Puna, this area, were there a lot of families, or were most of the people your own relatives?

JM: No, there were different people. The Elias, the Kahaloas, Kumunui.

KM: Hailama Kahaloa?

JM: Yeah, Hailama's house was about 500 feet Kapoho-side of the Church on the mauka side of the road. [thinking] Not really that many families.

VM: Not many Hawaiian families, but there were the plantation families too.

JM: Oh yes, but they were further up. They were *mauka* at what we call Kaueleau. It's about three miles up from the beach. So no, there weren't too many families when I was growing up. But, I understand that at one time there were a lot of people. Because, when you look at the history of my great grandfather from 1855 to right around 1870, around there, he had membership in the church, 500 people.

KM: *ʻOia* [is that so]? At ʻŌpihikao?

JM: At ʻŌpihikao Church.

KM: Amazing! So your great grandfather?

JM: Yes.

KM: He was *kahu* down here at that time?

JM: Yes.

VM: Uh-hmm.

KM: Ahh, so you are carrying on a family tradition.

JM: Uh-hmm. Since we're talking about that, to me, I would like to say that my great grandfather… We don't have too many records of the church, it's beginnings, except for what we have at the Hawai'i Conference. Because of the walk of William Ellis. The time [1823], that he traveled all this *'āina*, right around the island.

KM: Yes.

JM: Outside from that, we did not have any written records of 'Ōpihikao until my great grandfather. I understand that he was one of the first educated Hawaiians in the area. So he started recording, and he became a deacon of the church, served the church. I am not sure what year it was, but at the *'aha* [meeting], of then, the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, that they ordained him as a *kahu* [minister]. He was not like the normal process of going through the college, or the seminary, but he was given that because of his outstanding work in the church here at 'Ōpihikao.

KM: Hmm.

JM: And 112 years or so later, I come along, and I got granted and ordained the same way. I was granted ordination through a resolution that was introduced by the Hawai'i Island Association. I just thought that I should share that.

KM: *'Ae, mahalo!* It is beautiful to see that your family tradition is continued. You see Makuakāne here in the 1850s. They were the kahu with the church, and that history has continued all this time. And in between, I understand that Reverend William Kama'u was *'ohana* as well?

JM: Uh-hmm, *'ohana*.

KM: So you see this family tradition continuing. I'll pull out some of the communication that I've located in the archives. Your great grandfather, because he was educated and writing, I see letters that he wrote in support of people to get their *'āina*, so that they could get their grant records. [cf. Interior Department Land Files; May 15, 1895]

JM: Ohh!

KM: He was active in the community, helping other *kama'āina* so that they had a home. It's very interesting to see this history.

VM: Hmm. One of the things about the old days, was that the church had a lot of power. So they looked up to the *kahu*.

KM: *'Ae*.

VM: It was also the church that penalized them for whatever mistakes they made.

KM: You're right. You'll see some very interesting accounts in the study that I'm preparing for the *'āina* that you were just talking about, 'Ahalanui, in your grandfather's times, is that right?

JM: Yeah.

KM: That your grandpa somehow had this *'āina* in 'Ahalanui. I'm preparing this historical study on that area, because there is the proposed development project here.

JM: Uh-hmm.

KM: It's A & O-Oneloa Development.

JM: Uh-hmm.

KM: May I just ask you, and take care of this part of the conversation?

JM: Okay.

KM: Do you have some thoughts about development on this land here [pointing to Oneloa-'Ahalanui on Reg. Map 1777], and things that should be cared for? Or things that should be done to retain some of the qualities of the land?

JM: I have not really put too much thought into it.

KM: Yes.

JM: But, the *'ohana* that comes to our church, fall on the Hale side. I was asked to do the blessing for this, when they first came over several years ago. And because of the opposition of this, from them, I refused to do it. I asked that they would seek out somebody else because the members of the church, namely the Hale family, were not in favor of the development, for what ever reason. But, I myself, had not really looked into it as a good thing or are there any historic sites in there that we should protect… I have not done any of those things. I was just not into it of doing anything. It's because the owner of the *'āina*, of the area is not in favor.

JM: He used to be at Malama, up *mauka* side eh.

KM: Adeline?

JM: Pā. She used to be a Pā. Joe Mānoa, her grandfather, lived *mauka* at Malama.

KM: Ahh, by Pu'ulena side?

JM: Yes.

KM: They had their *'āina māla* [cultivated land] up there eh?

JM: Yes. So, in as far as that, I really have not thought about it. I have spoken with some who oppose it. I know him by, Keiki they call him.

KM: Oh, do you know Keikialoha Kekipi?

JM: Yes, I met him several times. He stopped when I was doing some work on my parents grave, here. My cousin and I, he was helping me to cement my *'ohana* graves. And he [Keikialoha] stopped by because he was, I think at that time, trying to preserve this, and trying to tell us that there is a possibility that if we don't record it or do anything about it, that developers could come in and they could destroy it.

KM: Hmm.

JM: So he was very interested if I could do a survey of the 'Ōpihikao graves and kind of draft up something to name them.

KM: Ahh to name each grave site?

JM: Yes, more or less to do that. That's how I first met him. He stayed there for many, many hours helping me. And that's how I first met him. And he spoke about what he is doing at Pū'āla'a. I think he has a lease right next to there eh.

KM: Hmm.

JM: From Bishop Estate. He was telling me about some of the things that they were doing over there. Other than that, no, I have not really kept up with it.

KM: Uh-hmm. Do you know if there is a Kekipi *ʻohana* from Puna? That you recall?

JM: No, I don't.

KM: Hmm. You know, I spoke with Uncle Hale and your brother-in-law, I guess, Uncle Gabriel Kealoha?

JM: He's my brother-in-law, he married my sister, the one right below me.

KM: We had a really nice, nice time to talk story about the fishery and things here. And I asked them… See, with the Makuakāne parcel that they had in here, in 1929, a man by the name of George Kāne, he was from Kauaʻi, but his *kūpuna* were from here, from Puna and Kaʻū. And he wrote a series of articles in the Hawaiian newspaper Ka Hōkū o Hawaiʻi…do you remember that paper?

JM: Yes, right.

KM: He wrote about his "*Huakai Makaikai*," his site seeing journey to Hawaiʻi, the land of his grandmother *mā*. And one of the interesting things that he mentioned, was that after leaving Pūʻālaʻa, there was a *heiau* near the road side in ʻAhalanui. Did you ever hear anyone talk about that?

JM: No.

VM: The only one that I know of, is by where Billy Hale lives.

JM: Yes.

KM: Oh, Mahina-akāka, at Keahialaka.

JM: Yes, Keahialaka. And there was supposed to have been another burial cave just further down of Keahialaka, towards this side, on the *mauka* side of the road.

KM: *ʻAe*.

JM: No, I have not heard of that. I'm not really familiar with any of this area, as far as that.

KM: Hmm. 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: Hmm. Your *kūpuna*…like today, "if you have faith the size of a mustard seed…" Well, your *kūpuna*, the *poʻe kahiko* [ancient people], put that kind of faith in their *hoʻomana* [worship] too eh?

JM: Yes, that why we need to understand that. I'm not going to say that 'because it's not on the belief of Christ, that it is wrong.' I cannot say that. Although I believe we have one God.

KM: Yes, that was their way.

JM: Yes, because they knew not…

KM: …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…

…And as we got older, our responsibility was… As Hawaiians eat *poi*… I don't know why the *poi* today and the *poi* those days are so different. But our responsibility was to pound 100 pounds every Saturday.

KM: Hmm. Did you folks have *ʻāina, mauka*? Or where did your *kalo* [taro] come from?

JM: Oh, the *kalo* come from *mauka*, all in this *ʻaʻā* [clinker lava]. Only *hemo* [remove] the *pōhaku* [stones]. We take out the stones, cut all the *lau* [leaves] and put inside.

KM: So mulch the pukas eh?

JM: Yeah. And we get *ʻamaʻu* [*Sadleria* ferns]…there was not too much *hāpuʻu* [*Cibotium* ferns] down here, but we get *ʻamaʻu*. We just cut a few, just to start out the plant, and then we knock a lot of the old *lau hala* [pandanus] trees. *Maloʻo* [dry] then we cover the planting so the *mauʻu* doesn't grow either. So that's how we *māla* [plant fields] down this side, on the *pōhaku*.

KM: So on the flats out here. And what, no More trees over head?

JM: No, no.

KM: So it was wide open then?

JM: It was all open. All these trees…there were a few mango trees, but none of these trees were here. This *ʻāina* over here, was all planted by us.

KM: I see. So your *ʻāina* here, your *kalo*, was all plentiful, and it grew good in the *ʻaʻā* like that?

JM: Oh yeah!

KM: How big would your root (corm) come?

JM: Well, it's not as big as you would have it up in where they have all plenty dirt, but they were good size, maybe three pound size. It grew pretty big.

KM: Wow! What kind of *kalo* was the good *kalo* that you folks grew out here?

JM: I don't recall the names. But I know that we used to plant *mana ʻulu, mana ʻeleʻele, ʻōpelu* [thinking], I can't think of all the names.

KM: Hmm. But like the *mana ʻulu*, so you folks would eat a whitish, or yellow *poi*?

JM: Yes. See, the *mana ʻulu* always grow on one taro that has two *huli* [taro tops]. Most *kalo*, you have only one. But the *mana ʻulu*, most of it has two *huli* on it.

KM: Yes, that's what is said, that the *mana* means divisions like, branches?

JM: Yes.

KM: So your *kalo*, you folks would grow, cut the *ʻamaʻu* like that and *kīpulu* [mulch] with *lau hala*, and that would keep what ever moisture in the ground, and you'd said that the *mauʻu* [grasses] wouldn't grow?

JM: Right, it keeps the *mauʻu* down. So once we plant, we don't even bother it until…well, like the old folks, they know whether it's nine month *huli*, or one year *huli*, what ever. And when ever it is ready to be harvested, they'd come back *huki* [pull]. And generally, we don't plant too much *kalo* down here [meaning near the shore and house lot area], because there was too much *lepo* [soil], and then, too much weeds. And that would be more work. So we go up *mauka* where it is all ʻaʻā and that's where we plant.

KM: Oh that's so smart. Because you figure, if you come down where you get plenty *lepo*, and you're going to have more work. So you folks would seek out a more rocky area then?

JM: Uh-hmm. My mother's side family owned *ʻāina*, *mauka* side. My father's side is down this side. So my mother's side is *mauka*, and that's where we put the *huli*. And as I was saying earlier [before the interview], my father used to have his own business, cutting *lau hala*. That's what we do, we cut the *lau hala* and we plant too at that same time.

KM: Oh, so you could go *ʻohi* [cut] *lau hala, mauka* here then too?

JM: Oh yes, this whole coast.

VM: They owned all the land.

KM: All this *ʻāina* here?

JM: Yes, all going up *mauka*, and over here, till down at the grave yard, and we used to own way down Kamāʻili side.

KM: So when he was out *ʻohi lau hala* [harvesting pandanus], you folks would be planting *huli* also?

JM: That's right, certain places we do. See the planting is, you cannot plant too much one time, because then they come up all one time and you cannot use them all. So every month you plant so much and you go to a different place. With a little bit *lepo* over here, you put in five, fifteen, twenty, maybe thirty *huli*, and that's all you need.

KM: So there were planting pockets?

JM: Yes.

KM: And you staggered the planting times, so that way, all year round you had *kalo*?

JM: Yes.

KM: Oh, so *naʻauao* [intelligent]!

JM: The Hawaiians, oh yeah!

KM: So what, people didn't come and…like you know now, guys plant *kalo* and the next thing you know, someone *ʻaihue* [steal] this. No more problems like that?

JM: Before, no. But later that came about…

KM: …So you folks, with papa them, and your *kūpuna*, they would plant *kalo*…did they have *ʻuala* [sweet potatoes] down here too?

JM: Oh yes, plenty!

KM: So they planted *ʻuala*, *kalo*. Can you describe the process of when you would go out to *ʻohi lau hala*? And tell me about the man from Kona who your papa sold the *lau hala* to.

JM: Well, we started out by him [Matsuyama] wanting the green *lau hala*. It's not growing into a tree yet, it was just the single plant. The young one. I would say that the leaf would be anywhere from six to ten feet long. We would cut it off and we would put it together, ten in each stack. We would tie it and put it together in the bundle, 2000 per bundle. That's how we would sell it and take it to Hilo. Then later, and I'm supposing, though I've never seen the process, but they would bleach it eh. They boil it and they bleach it and it would come white. That used to be very popular during the second World War.

KM: Yes, nice and white, like the Panama hats.

JM: Right. And then later on, he started ordering the dry *lau hala*. So then we picked the dry *lau hala*.

KM: Hmm. And you folks would gather *lau hala* all through… Your brother-in-law, Gabriel mentioned that… And he was born in 1928, so he is a couple of years older than you.

JM: Right.

KM: Did you go with papa out to this *ʻāina* at Oneloa like that from here, ʻŌpihikao, out to Pohoiki?

JM: No, I didn't go to the other side. It was mostly this side. From here, going towards Kamāʻili.

KM: Ahh, so you worked this *ʻāina*. Do you remember hearing that papa went over to that side to gather also?

JM: [thinking] No, I didn't hear that, but it could have been in the period that I was not here.

KM: Hmm. What were some of the other crops that your *ʻohana* took care of? You've mentioned *kalo, ʻuala*, and of course, they were taking care of the *lau hala* as they gathered it. Did you folks clean the trees like that?

JM: Oh yes! This we do all the time. The first thing we do, the old folks know the good *lau hala*. So that, we have to climb the tree, strip and clean the tree. And we do that all over.

KM: Hmm. And you'd said that the *lau hala* was good for around your *huli* because it would keep the weeds down eh?

JM: Yes. Then, after you clean all of that… [end of Side A, begin Side B]

KM: [So did you always make mulch, or did you also burn] …the rubbish like that, or did you always kind…?

JM: I don't recall burning at all. We used most for covering. And the more you put out, then it turns to *lepo* [soil] eh.

KM: *ʻAe*.

JM: Several years later when we come back… The only grass that was easy to pull, easy to kill, is the *pua lele*, and it's easy for *huki* that. And that would be the only kind of plant that would come out where our *kalo* stay. And you know, it's one here, one there, so you don't even need to bother with it until you ready for *huki*.

KM: *ʻAe*. So when you plant your *huli*, after you plant them, and you *kīpulu*, mulch ʻum and cover it like that, *pau*, you don't need to do anything else? Or did you come back and turn the leaves?

JM: No, no, no. That's *pau* already, you let ʻum go. That's why I said, you know, the Hawaiians here were smart, they're not going to plant in the *lepo* [chuckles], they go up there to the *ʻaʻā*. In later years, I guess when I was in intermediate, and going to high school, we did move up to Malama where Joe Mānoa lived and we planted five acres of *kalo*. That was another thing that my father did, and then sell to Puʻueo Poi. That there, is totally different. There is work because the grass grew.

KM: Hmm. There was plenty of *lepo* up Puʻulena side like that, yeah?

JM: Hoo, the *kalo* is different. Five *puka*, fill one bag.

KM: Wow! So big?

JM: Big! [gesture with hands 16 inch diameter]

KM: Oh, 10 to 15 pound kind.

JM: From one *puka*, I can not describe how many pounds you can get out of there. But certain parts, especially in the gulch, the water used to run. And I guess, it's

really fertile over there. The water carries all the good kind *lepo* down, and it settles inside there. You get lost in there [gesturing the height of the *kalo* growth].

KM: So the *kalo* is more tall than you?

JM: Oh yes, definitely.

KM: You know the five gallon bucket size? One taro inside of one bucket, do you think?

JM: Kind of like that kind of size. Maybe a little smaller, but it is big! Big, big! I remember, and I've never seen *kalo* like that since. Before, nor after.

KM: Hmm. They also turned that area of Malama into sugar land too eh?

JM: Oh, we were behind of the sugar. There was sugar there already. Because of the sugar, we had the road for the plantation. They maintained the road.

KM: Yes. Let me pull out this other map, Register Map 2191. [looking at the map, getting bearings] Here, this is Pu'ulena here. You can see the railroad track.

JM: Right.

KM: Here's Malama.

JM: Okay.

KM: Where do you think you were? From the railroad, were you *makai* or…?

JM: No, *mauka*. I would say around here some where, we were further over from Pu'ulena.

KM: I see, so Kalapana side of Pu'ulena?

JM: Yes. I would assume, some where around here. The track would be down here yeah?

KM: Yes, that's the train track there.

JM: Well, almost half a mile *mauka* of the track.

KM: Oh. Did you folks walk this trail and come down? Is this how you came up to Malama, or did you folks have…?

JM: Oh, the plantation was already planting sugar, and they had roads all through there at that time, so we used to use those roads. Now, do you know where the Kuamo'o *'ohana* lived? Did you find them up there?

KM: Up here, I'm not sure, because the name isn't on here. But this is where The Hale family, Mele Hale, and her father John Kapukini had a place up here.

JM: Uh-hmm. Well, we were here [pointing to location on Reg. Map 2191].

KM: Okay. I know that Kuamo'o had one *hale* down here also, *makai*, by Keahialaka side?

JM: Right, it was further over, Kalapana side, right *mauka* of the road.

KM: [referencing Reg. Map 2191] I think it's this one here, in Malama.

JM: Yes. This is the beach road eh?

KM: Uh-hmm.

JM: Yes, that's the one that they used to own. I recall that. So we would be up here somewhere.

KM: Okay. [looking at Grant numbers on the map] This is Grant number 1887… I want to see if I can match the Grant number between *mauka* and *makai*. Oh, right here. You're right, in the exact location you were pointing to. This land was originally granted to Kamakau. And interestingly, there was a Kamakau who shared a Grant parcel with Kuahewa [Grant 2466], in the land of ʻAhalanui too.

JM: And the Kuamoʻo were all over here too. They grew up here [ʻŌpihikao vicinity]. I recall David Kuamoʻo and his second marriage, their children, I know them real well. Even though they were a little younger than I, they grew up here.

KM: So this land at Malama, was a rich *ʻāina*, with the *kalo* eh?

JM: Oh yes. Of course, it was real, real cheap those days. You know, even $5.00 a bag, that was big bucks those days.

KM: Uh-hmm.

JM: It was big money in those days.

KM: Yeah.

JM: And because of the way it grew, the work wasn't hard because it grew so fast too, that the grass never had a chance to keep up.

KM: Oh, so it shade over the weeds like that?

JM: It would shade, then *pau*. Just the beginning, maybe the first two three month, then after that, *pau*, the *kalo* would just cover everything. And what I notice different, the Hawaiian style, whether it's Hawaiian or whatever, today, they plant the *kalo* different. When they cultivate, they use machine and everything, but their *kalo*, they *kanu* [plant] single. Hawaiians, they all *kanu* double.

KM: Hmm.

JM: Two *huli* in each *puka*. Some, two or three. This is the way we plant. No less than two. I don't know the reason that they do that. So our *puka*, when time to harvest, is awesome, from one *puka*.

KM: So the *puka*, you think is about this big [gesturing]?

JM: Oh yes.

KM: About a foot and a half wide like that?

JM: Oh yes, when we dig, it's big. And generally we go with that flat *ʻōʻō* [digging stick]. We soften the *lepo* and then we poke two inside. So when they come out, Hoo!

KM: So the lepo, you don't have to put any mulch or anything?

JM: Nothing, just soften the *lepo* and put the *huli* inside.

KM: How about up there, were trees growing over some of the area?

JM: Yes, mostly guava.

KM: Oh, guava.

JM: So we cut it all off. We had to pull the root. That was hard, and we had what was called the old stump puller. It was like and a-frame with a jack and chain. So we'd cut the tree short, and we'd chain it and we'd crank it. That's how we would *huki* the roots.

KM: So the guava was pretty big then?

JM: Yes.

KM: Did you hear that Rycroft used to have a Jelly factory down at Pohoiki side? They made…you know, where Rycroft's house was, had the old coffee mill?

JM: Yeah.

KM: And had closer by Uncle Hale's house, had the old…?

JM: I think that was before my time. I hear the name, Rycroft, but I never knew them.

KM: Yes, he died in 1909.

JM: Yes, I heard the name, and I heard some stories about that, but when the coffee mill… [thinking] I wonder if we lived in there for a while. You know, we lived all over the place. But for some reason, I can picture us spending a lot of time there. Either because we knew someone there, or we were there ourselves. And that old man Joe Mānoa is supposed to have one *ʻāina* right *mauka* of Hale *mā*.

KM: Uncle Hale says that he remembers… See, Uncle Hale was born in 1919. He remembers the old man Joe Mānoa them coming down and that they would stay in the house there. He also mentioned *kūpuna* Kuamoʻo and Kupihē staying down there at times.

JM: Yes, Mānoa was *mauka* of where Uncle Hale lives now. I think they used to have a house there or something. See, my brother, is married to Joe Mānoa's *moʻopuna* [granddaughter].

KM: Ahh.

JM: My brother Sam, married to Adeline Pā. So that's why I recall that, because they used to come and spend time. I remember Joe so well, because he was one of the faithful pillars of our church.

KM: Hmm… … How about your *lau hala*? Do you remember what you folks got in sale of that?

JM: [thinking] Yeah, I think he got $15.00 per thousand leaves. So 1000 leaves were $15.00. And I think my father would pay the work men $5.00 per thousand. And I think it was $2.00…If we were deep in the forest, *mauka*, he would pay $2.00 for them to bring it down to the road.

KM: Ohh! And what, had a truck on this road? Would someone come by with a truck along the *makai* road here?

JM: No, those days, my father bought an army truck. So those trucks, we would haul it home.

KM: Did you folks have to dry it out?

JM: No, no. It can not be burnt [by the sun]. Every time we harvest, we had to cover it. Because when they cook it, the color would be different where the sun hit it.

So we had to take nice fresh green *lau hala*, so that when they cooked it, it would come out nice, white.

KM: Hmm. Now you'd mentioned earlier, that Matsuyama would come out here yeah? Did he stay here some times?

JM: He'd drive out on the weekends. He may have spent some time with us because we knew him so well. He was nice and an honest person to deal with. My work was…and that's why I say, I have mixed feelings about growing up. Because, a lot of times, I was kept home from school because the *lau hala* would be so far in the forest, the men did not want to…even for the $2.00 to haul it down, so I was the one to pack it down.

KM: And you don't get the money eh?

JM: No, no. That's right, exactly.

KM: [chuckles] Free labor.

JM: Yeah. But you know, funny that time. When you think about, we did not feel that way, that we should be paid.

KM: Hmm. It was different in your young time… …We mentioned some of the crops that your *'ohana* cultivated earlier, did you folks gather *'awa*?

JM: Yes.

KM: Could you tell me a little about that?

JM: My uncle gathered *'awa*. I was living with him at that time.

KM: Who was that?

JM: John Hanohano. We would gather *'awa* about three miles up the road. But, I do not remember the price that he got. We used to go in the forest, and sometimes, when I think about that, my heart is *'eha* [sore]. To how, now they come and…of course, they're out to make money for the papaya. And these *'awa* roots before, I tell you, 500 pounds, one root. We used to dig.

KM: Gee!

JM: Huge, bag after bag, only one *kumu* [trunk]. And to see those bulldozers come in and just destroy that *'awa*.

KM: So even when they started the papaya, the forest *mauka* here, had *'awa*?

JM: Oh yes, *'awa*! Even though we take, we take so much and leave back so much.

KM: Hmm, so that was your style?

JM: Yeah.

KM: You would take some, but you would…

JM: We no *'oki* [cut] all. Say if you have a big stump like this [gestures, arm's width across].

K:M Arm's width across?

JM: Oh, even more big than that.

KM: Ohh!

JM: You leave back so much, so that it grows again. So we *'oki, 'oki, 'oki* [cut, cut, cut] all the roots already, so you leave some back. You take this, and what's left will keep growing, yeah.

KM: *'Ae*.

JM: And then, we used to take it home and cut it in about two inch blocks. Real small [gesturing], well, maybe three inch blocks, and we would dry it with that screens all out side.

KM: So out in the yard, in the open.

JM: Yes.

KM: So in a screen box, like drying fish?

JM: Yes, similar to that. And we dry it, during the day, we *hulihuli* [turn it periodically] eh. Then when we dry it, we bag it and my uncle would handle all the marketing.

KM: How long did it take you to dry out the blocks like that?

JM: [thinking] Maybe one week.

KM: What if *ua* [rain]?

JM: I don't recall… I'm very amazed at the amount of rain that we have now. Because I don't recall, when I was growing up, having this much rain [it was pouring outside during parts of the interview].

KM: For real, you don't remember this much rain here?

JM: No, not like what we're having now.

KM: Was the rain more in set seasons? Did you have rain…?

JM: No, not in set seasons like the way we have now. Raining now and then dry. I don't recall it to be that way.

KM: For real? That's what I was wondering, if you don't have a cover, and you put your *'awa* out to dry, and then rain in the afternoon, *pau*, all wet again.

JM: Yeah. I don't remember us covering it too. I don't think we had that much roof. I don't recall if we gather it, stack it up, or if it was less time.

KM: But it wasn't in one *pāpa'i* or *lānai* [sheltered drying house]?

JM: No, no, no.

KM: It was just wide open?

JM: Yeah.

KM: That is very important, what you described about how you folks would gather *'awa*. Your Uncle John Hanohano, you, and I guess some other men?

JM: Yes, my brothers, my cousins them.

KM: Was the main area that you gathered *'awa* from , your own *'āina*? Or did you have access to various areas?

JM: We had access to various areas. My Uncle John had in his property, and then the next, we got from my Uncle Solomon Makua, the property right *mauka* side.

So there was an abundance of *ʻawa*. I don't recall going any place else. There was just an abundance of *ʻawa* there.

KM: So you didn't need to go down to Pohoiki or…?

JM: No, no, no. I never did. I don't recall going any place else.

KM: So your Uncle John was the one who handled the *ʻawa*. Was he driving the *ʻawa* into Hilo and shipping it?

JM: Yes, he had a dump truck. And he was also in the *lau hala* business like my father. But he had local weavers in Hilo. Different families in Hilo would order 1,000 2,000 leaves, or what ever. A lot of the Japanese families were weaving already at that time. So he had those local guys. My father would get as much as can, 20,000 leaves, 30,000 leaves a week.

KM: Oh, amazing.

JM: But he had one buyer eh. And that guy was the in between. He'd take it to Kona and then he would sell ʻum. So for us, it was easy. Like my Uncle John would have to go to this house, then drive a mile to that house and deliver what ever they wanted. But in my father's case, he only worked with Matsuyama. Matsuyama would load his truck full, just for take home *lau hala*. Full his truck!

KM: Amazing. And your *ʻawa* was primarily *mauka* of here?

JM: *Mauka*.

KM: Do you recall where the *ʻawa* was going? Do you recall hearing about that at all?

JM: No. All I understand is that it was to make something like novocaine. I'm not sure whether it was here in our country or was it to Germany, or where ever.

KM: Well see, you mentioned Germany, and that was one of the big markets historically. And like Rycroft and Elderts them… Evidently Rycroft, from the historical records, that Pohoiki landing, when he bought the *ʻāina* at Pohoiki in around 1877, *ʻawa* was one of the big things for them also. They were shipping *ʻawa* out of the harbor there.

JM: I am almost certain that I heard…that's the place that I understand that they turned it into medicine of some sort. But I am not sure who was the in-between that he would deliver to.

KM: 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 *ʻohi lau hala* [harvest pandanus], *kanu kalo, ʻuala* [plant taro and sweet potatoes] like that.

JM: I don't recall anybody working anywhere else, but doing that.

KM: I see…

KM: Could you talk to me a little bit about the ocean, what it was to your family?

JM: My father, when he did *ulua* [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 ʻūhā* 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 ʻūhā*, was big [gestures], I mean when you talk about *pūhi ʻūhā* those days, it's big, like your *ʻūhā* [thigh]!

KM: Oh, like your leg.

JM: Yeah, and that's probably the reason they call it *ʻūhā*.

KM: Oh, maybe so.

JM: So he'd pull it out. See, my father eat *pūhi*, all the family eat. 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 *ʻai 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-ʻōʻio, the point over here. I suppose that would be because there were plenty *ʻōʻio* [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?

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 *ʻupena* [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 *ʻohana* 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 Poʻokea.

VM: Poʻokea.

KM: Poʻokea. Did papa or anyone still have canoes here when you were a child?

JM: Oh yes, plenty.

KM: Did they go out *lawaiʻa* [fish]?

JM: Oh yes. We go all the time.

KM: *ʻŌpelu, ʻahi*?

JM: More was *ʻōpelu, kaweleʻā, ʻulaʻula, ʻōpakapaka*.

KM: Oh, so you would also go deep out to the *koʻa* [fishing stations]?

JM: Yes.

KM: So did they have set areas where they knew the *iʻa* [fish] would come?

JM: Yes, yes. *ʻŌpelu*, there were two *koʻa* right outside of the canoe landing, and further up by what we call the old school house, that's another *koʻa*.

KM: Ahh, so you would mark form like various spots on the land, where your *koʻa* was?

JM: Yes. See, usually when we go out…Like I know where there was a good *ʻulaʻula koʻa* down in Kehena. You go out, look at Kumukahi, 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 *ʻulaʻula*.

KM: For real? So that's how you would mark. You get far enough out, you see Kumukahi, and you look to Kalapana Point, and then you line up with the grave yard?

JM: Yeah. That's where you get the *ʻulaʻula*.

KM: Too good yeah. You know for your *ʻōpelu* out here? What kind of *maunu*, bait did you use?

JM: The small red *ʻōpae* [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 *ʻōpelu* wanted to go out, they'd always ask us. It was our job to go get the *ʻōpae*.

KM: So you would go get *ʻōpae ʻula* at Keahialaka, the pond not far from the *heiau* side?

JM: Right.

KM: And then Waiʻōpae at Kapoho?

JM: Yeah. Kapoho The ponds all over Waiʻōpae. 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 *ʻōpae* is alive yet. You take the *limu* [seaweed] and you put inside, and so the *ʻōpae* 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: *ʻAe, huki* [yes, pull].

JM: Yes, and the *palu* bag open. But with the *ʻōpae*, you open ʻum way high above, because the *ʻōpae* swim. So when you open on the top, the *ʻōpelu* see, and the *ʻōpae* go down. All the way to the bottom of the net and go outside of the net. So the *ʻōpelu* chase ʻum all the way down to the bottom of the net, and *paʻa* [stuck]. Then you don't have to worry, you just *huki* [pull] your net up.

But, when I went the other style of *ʻōpelu* fishing, with the pumpkin and the taro, you have to pound on the canoe because the *ʻōpelu* like come back up eh. But with the *ʻōpae*, they go down to the net, because the *ʻōpae* stay underneath the net.

KM: Ahh, so when they pound the canoe, the *ʻōpelu* are afraid…?

JM: Yeah, they go down.

KM: Ahh!

JM: With *ʻōpae*, you don't have to do that. They automatically go down, and stay down.

KM: Now in Kona, like Kaʻūpūlehu, Kūkiʻo, Mahaiʻula like that…?

JM: Uh-hmm.

KM: They would also gather lepo [dirt], they'd put the *ʻōpae* in with dark *lepo* so it was like shadows in the water. Did you mix your *ʻōpae* 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 *ʻohi ʻōpae*, 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 *ʻōpae*.

JM: And then we put the *ʻōpae* inside, she'd stay alive. And then, when you go out, they don't use that, they only put the *ʻōpae* in the *palu* bag. The *ʻōpae* no mix with nothing, just the *ʻōpae*. And that's why they don't have to use too much because the *ʻōpae* swim.

KM: Too good. And the *ʻōpelu* plenty?

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 *ʻōpelu*, 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 waʻa* [custom of division between those who help carry the canoes on shore].

KM: *ʻAe*.

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 koʻa* [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, Iʻve 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 Waiʻōpae side. They leased him, I guess, the rights to gather *ʻōpae ʻula*.

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 *ʻohana* you *aloha* eh? [greet one another and share the catch]

JM: Oh yes.

KM: And what, would you bring fish back it 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 waʻa*, 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 *ʻaumakua lawaiʻa* [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 Kumukahi, 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 *ʻōpelu* is day, but other fish like *kaweleʻā* 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 *kaweleʻā*. I've never heard, or never known for us to get *ʻūʻū* [menpachi]. We'd spear the *ʻūʻū*, but we would never go hook *ʻūʻū*.

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 Kauaʻi, Moke?

KM: Yes.

JM: I don't know his last name, but he was the one, that when he came from Kauaʻi 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 *ʻōpelu*, you folks would go out…? Was it all fresh, or did you *kaulaʻi* [dry] and sell some?

JM: No, it was all for *ʻohana*. I have never known them to go out and sell. They always go get their share. Some they dry. I guess, *ʻōpelu* is season, yeah. They come only certain time of the year.

KM: And your *ʻupena* [net] was a round *ʻupena*?

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 *koʻa ʻōpelu* is shallow over here.

KM: Hmm.

JM: So I've worked both the Puna style and the Kaʻū and Kona style, their style is easier to hemo the *ʻōpelu*. 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.

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 *mākua* 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 *ʻōpihi*, I have a hard time picking small kind *ʻōpihi*. 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 *paʻakai* 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.

KM: So ʻĀpua, 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 Kapaʻahu side, they could make *paʻakai*.

JM: Yes, that's right, but not this side.

KM: Was there interaction between the families? Like if you had a good *ʻōpelu* … [end of Tape 1, Side B; begin Tape 2, side A]

[would you folks work together and exchange resources] …much, or did you folks pretty much work within the *ʻohana*?

JM: We pretty much worked within the *ʻohana*, yeah. We would have the ʻŌpihikao group that goes out *ʻōpelu* fishing here, and the Kalapana group that goes for *ʻōpelu* at their canoe landing in Kalapana.

KM: *ʻAe*. 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 *ʻōpelu* fishing down there?

JM: No. No, we never needed to. The *koʻa* 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 *ʻōpelu*. But you know, because I did not them selling the *ʻōpelu*, 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 *ʻōpelu* 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 *kaulaʻi* [dry] the *ʻōpelu* 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, ʻawa, kalo* like that. The relationship between working *mauka-makai*. When the ocean was *ʻōkaikai*, 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. I was just wondering, did you see your *kūpuna*…did any of them use *ʻawa*, or drink *ʻawa* for medicine or anything like that?

VM: [laughing]

JM: [laughs] Drink, yeah. Us, we had to go chew it for them. Potato and *ʻawa*, we used to go chew and spit in the bowl, and they used to make it for drink.

KM: What kind of potato, *ʻuala* [Hawaiian sweet potato]?

JM: Yeah.

KM: Hmm, so like *pūpū ʻawa* for the taste?

JM: No, they make ʻum for swipe.

Group: [laughing]

JM: And it's us, the kids that have to go chew it. The *ʻawa*, the same thing, till all numb, your mouth. And then, I used to see them enjoy themselves, sitting. And then when they get argument, they like stand up, they no can stand up. They like throw blows, no can! I've seen that.

KM: Amazing. So you folks were still chewing the *ʻawa* for your parents or *tūtū* them?

JM: Yeah, but I think when we were in high school, that all stopped already. Liquor was easy to get.

KM: Yeah, but young time?

JM: Young time, yeah.

KM: [pauses – thinking] Did you ever see your *kūpuna* go take *ʻawa* down to the ocean maybe, to give to manō or something like that?

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 *iʻa* [fish] to you like that. Did you see anything like that with the old man Kahana *mā*?

JM: Not, that I never saw.

KM: Yeah. So, you really *aloha* this *ʻāina*, yeah?

JM: Yes, very, very much so.

KM: In general, about development…and at least here, you folks have this āina, it's country. But like down at ʻAhalanui and Oneloa, of course, much of that land was bulldozed for papaya.

JM: Right.

KM: And in fact, I should tell you, that the area on the other map [Reg. Map 1777] where your *ʻohana*, Makuakāne *mā* had some land in ʻAhalanui, there were names, Kuahewa and Kamakau, and Kahananui, were the three old grantees in 1852, there-abouts. That whole section of forest on the boundary between ʻAhalanui and Pūʻālaʻa, the project that A & O is proposing, that whole area is going to be preserved as is. In fact, you can still go inside the forest there and see the walls, the *māla* or little garden plots. There is still *pia* growing. They are going to protect and preserve that area and the historic sites.

But in general…and you'd shared earlier that it's important to take care of the Hawaiian places and things like that, yeah?

JM: Uh-hmm.

KM: Do you have thoughts about *ilina* [burial sites]? I know that you are taking care of your family cemetery down here. When the *kūpuna* bury somebody, is that where they belong?

JM: [pauses – thinking] I would say that it should not be moved. I think that when they were buried in that particular area, that was their own area, or that was…I guess in the olden days, their graves were in their property. They don't have private cemeteries like we do now. The laws were not the same. So almost every *ʻāina* that you have, you will find graves, and that's how they did it.

KM: Hmm, yes. That was their style.

JM: Yes, that was their style of doing it at that time. I do not have any feelings about if it was to be removed, you need to then move it with the consent of course, of the *ʻohana*, the family. If it's alright… Well, I feel that they are the rightful ones to say yes or no. If they say okay, then who am I on the side to say that it's not right.

KM: Right, so it should always go back to the *ʻohana*?

JM: It should go back to the *ʻohana*. That's where it belongs. I don't think that you can come in, just because you bought the *ʻāina* and you can just do what you like. I know it's yours, but there are certain things that are on that property that you shouldn't touch without giving respect to that person, at least to the *ʻohana* to say.

We had a big problem too, even in our church, in bringing back Ōpūkahaʻia. We had mixed feeling about moving him from Cornwell over to Nāpoʻopoʻo. There were many mixed feeling about that. "He should remain over there." "No, this is his *ʻāina*, he should be brought back, his wish was to come home." So I feel the same. The *ʻohana* said they want him over here, who are we to say "No!"?

KM: So if it's their descendants, their genealogy?

JM: Right.

VM: Uh-hmm.

JM: So if I had one grave over there, now I have in my yard here, I'm going to move it someplace, I'll put it in the front there. I'm not going to leave it there. I mean, it's nice to have it at that time, the most convenient place, or that was the proper place, that they felt at that time. But the time has changed, so if you ask me, there is nothing wrong with taking it.

KM: So you *aloha*, you always respect…?

JM: Right. Number one has to be, you have to have that *aloha*…

KM: …So you're saying that the idea is, "You respect. You take care and *aloha* the *kūpuna* where they are." If the family agrees…

JM: Sometimes, you get mixed feelings in progress and development. I don't care for the kind that just comes in and pushes everything all over the place. The law helps us so much today, with respect to archaeology studies, yeah. They have to have that. And if they see anything they have to make a study of it before they can even move it or do anything with it. And yet, if it's of any significance, then they need to look at it, whether we are going to leave it , or remove it, or find out it is.

Like when I was building this land over here, the same thing. My neighbor had to pay $600.00 for and archaeology study, and the guy came over and looked at my place, and he told me… Well, I had all kinds of walls in here. And I had one wall back here that was my pig pen. Before, no more fence, so we build a wall. The guy tell me, "You no can move this." I tell him, "that was my pig pen." "Oh." Then he comes over here someplace, *makai* side of this house. It was cemented and had a rock pile, and he tell "Oh, this, I'll have to make study." Well that was my *hale li'ili'i* [outhouse] [chuckles].

Group: [laughing]

JM: I tell him, "Don't come over here tell me this kind of stuff, there's no *heiau*, there's nothing here." "What about this rock pile over here?" I said, "Well, over the years…" See, this was all *lepo* [soil] in the front here. "As we dig, the stone come out and we take and we make one pile. That's what it's from. It's not one *heiau*. We made that stone pile just to remove the stones."

KM: You know, that's very interesting, and it's logical, because the families live on the land, and these old *'āina*. Even down at 'Ahalanui and Oneloa like that, where the houses were.

JM: Uh-hmm.

KM: You see these nice mounds, nice clearing mounds. Some of them are well made.

JM: Uh-hmm.

KM: It's not just throw, throw.

VM: They just pile up the stones.

JM: See like I do the same thing here. And on my pile, I don't just throw the stones. The foundation, I make it look nice underneath, and we throw the stones, you know, we keep throwing them. Make the next wall. So we don't just take stones and throw.

KM: Hmm. So is that how your kūpuna were, you just learned that growing up?

JM: Yes, right!

KM: So you would make it nice and neat.

JM: Make it look nice, everything I do, I make a walk way, even if it's nothing, I put a face, and I make it look nice.

KM: Sure, you take pride in your work, and what you do…

JM: Uh-hmm…

KM: …[discussing family lands in ʻŌpihikao vicinity] You were telling me too, there was a Catholic Church. We're here on Mokumaile's *ʻāina*, and we see…*Aia*! [looking at the map] This says Mauna…

VM: Kea.

KM: Yeah, Maunakea's [indicating – Maunakea's House]. See that house that's marked right there?

JM: Well, this property used to all be owned… This used to be the Kahana estate, Kahau, Hekekia [thinking]…

KM: See, there is another Grant in here, 1940 [awarded to Maua'e, situated in the ʻili of Pohoiki, *ahupuaʻa* of Kanane]. And this Grant, Number 1895, was awarded to Mohola, and then the Catholic Church is situated in this lot. [Bureau of Conveyances Liber 22:327 records that Mohola deeded his grant at Pohoiki, in Kanane to Louis Maigret of the Catholic Mission on December 5, 1866.]… Were the families in your time, mostly centered around here at ʻŌpihikao, and then down at Pohoiki side? Or were there people in between when you were a child?

JM: No, no in between. Only had this Kuamoʻo in between

KM: Kuamoʻo by Malama? [Grant 1887 awarded to Kamakau]

JM: Yeah, that side. That's the only one house that I remember, from here to Pohoiki. Except for that one at Keahialaka, that Hale had. And nothing again until you get down to Pohoiki.

Pohoiki, when I was growing up, there was really nobody there except for the Hales and Mānoa. That was the only two houses there.

KM: You'll be very interested, I've located some wonderful descriptive accounts, from the time of your great grandfather, with the church here. Even back to the 1840s. What was happening with the families here, and how the community was also changing…*ʻemi*, getting smaller.

JM: Uh-hmm…

JM: Yes. And as far as *ʻāina*, my wish is that…certainly, I respect the receiver, and hope that the receiver respects the giver as well. That this, what ever we have left here, would never be sold. This is my wish, to whom ever I leave it to.

KM: Yes. It is your heritage. There is a deep attachment to this land. How many generations have been here. At least you know that your great grandfather is here. Then you're the fourth generation on this same land. That's a long time.

VM: At least six generations.

KM: Yes, a long history.

JM: I know my grandma lived back here. Their house was on the top and we were raised right in the front here. Our house was…oh my golly, not one third of this building. That was our house [approximately 10 x 40].

KM: Yes, that's how it was in those days. They had enough room for sleeping like that, but most of the time, they were outside working all the time eh.

VM: Uh-hmm.

JM: Yeah. It was just for sleep, and then we had this small portion in the front of it that was our kitchen. And it was right on the ground. All they did was…our folks just put all *ʻiliʻili* [water worn pebbles].

KM: On the floor?

JM: Yeah. We didn't have no board floor, it was all *ʻiliʻili*. Right on the ground, just put *hāliʻi* [a mat covering] on it. And that's why we know the *pulume nīʻau* [coconut midrib broom], how good you can clean your place, real clean, and no even move the *ʻiliʻili*.

VM: Uh-hmm, that's the best broom.

JM: That's the best broom to clean. It can even take out the match sticks inside there. Amazing!

KM: So it was walled around, but the floor was all *ʻiliʻili* in the *hale*?

JM: Yeah. And then the house, that's why this place was known as the grass shack. Because all it was, was four posts in the corner, and it was all coconut leaves. And one frame with the window, glass window. And then metal roof.

KM: This was when you were very young?

JM: Yes, real, real young…

KM: …Were *pipi* [cattle] still running on this *ʻāina*?

JM: Oh yes, my grandfather, maybe was actually a grand uncle, used to be the only one that owned *pipi* over here. That *pipi* roamed all the way from Kalapana to Kapoho. Nobody else owned *pipi*.

KM: How about Lyman side them?

JM: No, no more nothing.

KM: What was this grand uncle's name?

JM: Jack Hamili.

VM: And nobody stole the cattle.

JM: No, nobody stole anything in those days. And he had good mules too….

KM: Hmm. So the fishing and the land was good…?

JM: It's still good. It's still taking care of us.

KM: Do people still use *ʻōpae* to go out for *ʻōpelu*?

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 *ʻōpelu* fishing anymore. ʻCause we no *maʻa* [not used to], like the Kona side, they *maʻa* 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 *makua* 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 *ʻōpae*. That was their way.

KM: Yes, and it's sad, when you go throw in the *hauna* [stink, meat bait], your *koʻa* 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 *ʻupena* [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 *ʻōpelu* 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 *ʻōpae*, you know, guaranteed, only *ʻōpelu*. 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 *ʻuhaʻuha* [waste]. Because food don't cry for you, you cry for it.

KM: *ʻAe* [chuckles].

JM: So they never did that kind of stuff. So probably, as far as I know, and I can understand it, once the *ʻōpae* was outlawed, *pau*.

VM: The *ʻōpae* have disappeared. Same thing with the *ʻōhua*, 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: *ʻAe*.

JM: Every season, we have season for *ʻōhua, moi liʻi*, down the line, all different kinds. It was put there for us at different times. When the *ʻōhua pau*, the *moi liʻi* come, when the *moi liʻi pau*, the *ʻoama* come. Right down the line. When that was *pau*, the *ʻōpelu* 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 *ʻōpelu* with *ʻōpae ʻula*, 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 *ʻōpelu*, I like clean 'um. I like the *ake* [liver] [chuckles].

KM: *ʻAe*. Just like you said, the *ōpū* like that, and when the *ʻōpae* 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 *ʻōpelu*, like the kind of *ʻōpelu* we have here in Puna. Because when we *kaha* [cut] the *ʻōpelu*, you see, you take the *pihapiha* [gills] eh.

KM: Hmm.

JM: Then you rub that all on the *ʻōpelu*.

KM: Yes, red eh.

JM: Yes, it comes red! Oh, the good looking!

VM: And the *ʻōpelu*, when it was dried before, it never got mildew. Now, when you dry the *ʻōpelu*, you have to keep ʻum in the freezer.

JM: We never had that.

KM: Yes, they don't dry ʻum good now, when you go to the store.

JM: No, ʻcause 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 *kaulaʻi* [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 *kaulaʻi* the fish too. They're sitting over there talking story, waiting for the clothes to dry, same time that the *ʻōpelu* drying.

KM: Hmm. So it would dry fast on the stone?

JM: Yes, yes.

KM: So *ʻono*, the *ōpū* with the *ʻōpae* and stuff?

JM: That's guaranteed, every time, you clean, all the *ōpū* is saved. All the *ōpū*, because that's all *ʻōpae*. No more *kāpulu* [dirty or contaminated bait] kind inside there. It's all clean with the *ʻōpae*.

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*. [pauses] Let me ask you a couple of questions. And if you prefer not to talk about it, that's okay too.

When you were young, did you hear any of your *kūpuna* still *ʻoli* [chant], call at the rising sun, or things like that?

JM: No.

KM: How about when *hala*, someone passes away? Would you hear *hōʻuwēʻuwē* [dirges]?

JM: Oh yes, yes.

KM: You'd hear that.

JM: Yes. My understanding is that they always had one chanter, and that always was my Aunt. You know when she comes, you're going to hear that. And to me, it was real scary, no. When you hear that, you no *maʻa* to that kind. You hear that, they understand what they are doing. For us kids, it was hard because we don't speak the language, so naturally we do not understand what they are saying. But you can hear uncle this, and aunty this, names and every thing that's coming out. Then I understood later, that this was just passing on the genealogy of the person. This is how they keep the family genealogy. Then whoever comes, they'd know the ties of the person.

KM: *ʻAe*.

JM: Oh yes, that I heard.

KM: Hmm. We're sitting here, of course, in Puna. *Mauka*, you have Kaliʻu, Puʻulena, Puʻukī, down to Kapoho, to Waiapele, Kūkiʻi… [end of Side A; begin Side B]

…I realize. But the *kūpuna*, the old people had their beliefs. Did you hear your *kūpuna* talk at all, about the *pele*, the eruptions. Did you hear…or what was the feeling about volcano, eruptions? Did you go *holoholo* to see them?

JM: No, we never did. But on my mother's side, my mother's family, all the children were named after Pele. They have what they call the "dream names."

KM: Hmm. *Inoa pō*.

JM: Yes. So my mother was named Ke-liʻi-wahine-o-Puna. My aunty's name was Hiʻiaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele. All were named after…there were twelve of them, only the four that were given such names lived. The rest all died.

KM: Oh, so the ones that were given the *inoa pō*, survived?

JM: Yes.

KM: The ones that they didn't give the names to, *hala* [died]?

JM: Yes. I guess, I would suppose because of my great grandfather being a *kahuna pule* [minister], some of these things were, as far as I know, when I came, my parents told me, "All that we *ʻoki* [cut], a long time ago." They *mālama* [keeping]

of those things had past. But, it is our culture, our way of life, and it is hard to get away from it. Because they say “Don’t sweep outside night time. No whistle. No throw *pōhaku*.” I grew up with that kind eh. It was still with us, yet…

KM: …Hmm. Thank you so much for sharing some of your recollections with me.

JM: I just thought I’d share some of those stories of my life, my time, and what happened to me and my family.

KM: *Mahalo!* [end of interview]

Personal Release of Interview Records:
'Ahalanui, Laepāo'o and Oneloa Oral History Study
Prepared in conjunction with the proposed
A & O International Development (Puna, Hawai'i)

The interview referenced below was conducted by Kepā Maly (*Kumu Pono Associates*), under a contract with A & O International Corporation in conjunction with historical and archival documentary research as a part of a cultural assessment study for portions of the *ahupua'a* of 'Ahalanui, Laepāo'o, and Oneloa (the Puna study area).

Date of Recorded Interview: July 21, 1998 (with notes from review of October 10, 1998).

I, John "Kumukahi" Makuakāne, participated in the above referenced oral history interview with Kepā Maly, and hereby give permission to Kepā Maly to include the released interview transcript in the study he is preparing (KPA Report HiPu15b-073198). This permission is granted, subject to any restrictions listed below:

(a) Quotes from the interview(s) may be used as a part of the final report on historic and cultural sites and practices in the Puna study area, or reference may be made to the information in the interview(s). Copies of the interview transcript (including maps and photographs – subject to restrictions) may be made available to A & O International Corporation, the County of Hawai'i, and the Department of Land and Natural Resource-State Historic Preservation Division and other appropriate review agencies.

Yes or no: yes

(b) The interview tape may be released for review by interested listeners.

Yes or no: NO

(c) The released interview transcript may be housed in the Hawaiian Collection of the University of Hawaii-Hilo, Mo'okini Library; public libraries; and Historical Society collections for review by the general public.

Yes or no: yes

(d) The interview records may be referenced by Kepā Maly for scholarly publication.

Yes or no: yes

(e) Restrictions:

John P.C. (Kumukahi) Makuakane
(Interviewee)

Address: 491 Makaala Cr.
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October 26, 1998
Date of Release

Kepā Maly (Interviewer)
Kumu Pono Associates
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Hilo, Hawai'i 96720

Release of Interview

Keikialoha Kekipi
Record of Limited Consultation
July 21, 1998 — Pūʻālaʻa, Puna
(notes prepared by Kepā Maly)

On July 21, 1998, from approximately 3:15 to 4:15 p.m., I met with Keikialoha Kekipi (Keikialoha) at Pūʻālaʻa, where he directs *Hoʻoūlu Lāhui*, a cultural education program. The contact was initiated in an effort to ask Keikialoha to consider participating in an interview/consultation process, in order to record his thoughts and recommendations regarding the proposed A&O International-Oneloa Development project.

I first met Keikialoha in the 1970s, and knew that he was an active member of the Hawaiʻi Island Burial Council. More recently, I learned of his work in Puna through communications with David Matsuura; Marc Smith of the State Historic Preservation Division; staff of Cultural Surveys Hawaiʻi (CSH); Bob Lindsey of Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estate; and area residents.

Being unable to obtain a phone number for Keikialoha, I sent a message to him July 8th, via one of the board members of *Hoʻoūlu Lāhui*. Not hearing from Keikialoha, I sought him out and met with him at Pūʻālaʻa on July 21st. Keikialoha agreed to speak in person, regarding the ʻAhalanui-Oneloa vicinity, but stated that he would not participate in a recorded interview. Explaining this further, Keikialoha stated that he felt an interview in which he had participated on January 28, 1998, was improperly reported, and misrepresented the documentation given[19].

Following our conversation, I drafted some notes, paraphrasing key comments, historical observations, and recommendations regarding the proposed development. Those notes were mailed to Keikialoha on July 27th, asking him to review them, make any comments or revisions, and to consider allowing me to include them as a summary of his concerns regarding the proposed project. The communication was retransmitted on August 14th, 1998. But because I did not hear back from Keikialoha, or receive his permission to include the paraphrased summary notes in this study, the documentation is not cited here.

[19] The interview mentioned by Keikialoha was conducted by T. Devereux and D. Borthwick of Cultural Surveys Hawaii (CSH), and is reported in an "Archaeological Inventory Survey for Two Proposed Hawaii County Parks, Ahalanui and Pohoiki, Puna Hawaii Island" (Devereux, Borthwick and Hammatt; March 1998). Doug Borthwick reports that Mr. John Hale was the primary interviewee. At the time of this writing, the CSH report is still under review by DLNR-SHPD, and not formally released (pers comm. D. Borthwick; July 23, 1998.)

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