

ARCHIVAL-HISTORICAL DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH, & LIMITED ORAL HISTORY STUDY

Ahupua'a of Kahului-iki, District of North Kona, Island of Hawai'i (TMK:7-5-19;5,38,40)

BY

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PREPARED FOR

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Historical & Archival Documentary Research • Oral History Studies • Partnerships in
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Programs

Executive Summary

At the request of Paul H. Rosendahl, Ph.D., Principal Archaeologist (PHRI), Kepâ Maly, Cultural Resources Specialist (Kumu Pono Associates), conducted a study of archival and historical resources for the ahupua'a (land division) of Kahului-iki (1st), in the district of North Kona, Island of Hawai'i (TMK:7-5-19;5,38,40). The work was done in conjunction with archaeological field work conducted by PHRI, on a parcel of land approximately 32 acres in size, within Kahului, and has been performed in compliance with recommendations and guidelines of the Department of Land and Natural Resources-State Historic Preservation Division (DLNR-SHPD). The study is presented in two primary sections, providing readers with the findings of: (a) archival and historic documentary research; and (b) a limited oral history study.

Both the historical research and limited oral history study, are the product of work conducted by the author over the last several years, portions of which were reported as a part of a larger ethnographic study for lands of North Kona, including the land of Kahului (Maly 1996). Additionally, as a result of recent archaeological findings within the study area, follow-up informal interview work was conducted with Mrs. Luciana Ka'ailehua Makuakâne-Tripp, whose family has resided on traditional kuleana land in, and neighboring the study area since before the 1840s.

As a result of the work completed, a detailed overview of ahupua'a history is reported here, though only limited site specific documentation could be recorded.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In this study, are recorded fragments of early Hawaiian histories; glimpses into the personal knowledge and experiences of area residents. The information within this study could only be recorded because the participants agreed to come together and share some of their personal history. Preparation of this study was made possible only through the contributions of many individuals, and to all of you —

Luciana Ka'ailehua Makuakâne-Tripp and family; Florence K. Kalawa-Tabag; Kalaniola Hamm; Joseph Gomes; Valentine K. Ako; Paul H. Rosendahl; June Gutmanis; Marvin Ting (State Survey Division); Kamakaonaona Pomroy-Maly; and archivists of the State of Hawai'i and Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum —

Mahalo nui nô, a ke aloha o ke Akua pû me 'oukou a pau!

While it is not possible to have recorded all that could be said about the land and traditions of Kahului, 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 recollections, thoughts, and recommendations of the people who contributed to this study.

'o wau nô me ka ha'aha'a — Kepâ Maly

O ka mea maika'i mâlama, o ka mea maika'i 'ole, kâpae 'ia
(Keep the good, set the bad aside)

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INTRODUCTION

Background

This report on historical and archival documentary research was compiled by Kepâ Maly (Kumu Pono Associates), at the request of Paul H. Rosendahl, Ph.D., Inc. (PHRI) in connection with archaeological field work conducted in the land of Kahului 1st, district of North Kona, Island of Hawai'i (TMK:7-5-19;5,38,40) (Figure 1). This study accompanies the report on findings of that archaeological field work.

The basic goal of this study was to seek out and identify culturally significant sites—associated with the practices, beliefs, and customs of native Hawaiians—that are within or adjacent to the study area. Research was conducted in the collections of the University of Hawai'i-Hilo Library, the Archives of the State of Hawai'i, the State Survey Branch, the Real Property Tax Office, the Bureau of Conveyances, the Archives of the Bishop Museum, and the collections of the Kona Historical Society. The study also includes two additional sources of pertinent information that have had only limited availability: (1) recently translated articles from early Hawaiian language newspapers, and (2) the personal knowledge of individuals familiar with the lore, history, cultural resources, and land use of Kahului. The latter was collected as a part of a series of oral history interviews conducted by the author and reported in a study on the proposed Ali'i Highway Alignment (Maly 1996).

It is noted here, that subsequent to collecting the oral history interviews in 1996, the present archaeological study has confirmed information on the presence of iwi kânaka (human remains) within the study area as discussed by Mrs. Luciana Ka'ailehua Makuakâne-Tripp (see interview notes of March-April 1996). Because Mrs. Tripp is descended from families with generations of residency in the land of Kahului, further interview work is to be conducted with her to gather any further information she may wish to share regarding family burials in the study area. This study also includes excerpts from interviews with Mrs. Florence K. Kalawa-Tabag (a descendant of native families of Kahului and relative of Mrs. Tripp's), Mrs. Kalaniola Hamm, and rancher, Mr. Joseph Gomes, former owner of the study area parcel.

Kona Kai 'Ōpua i ka La'i (Kona with its Billowing Clouds and Calm Seas)

Settlement Overview

Of significance to the land of Kahului, is the fact that a number of early historians (e.g., I'i 1959, Kamakau 1961, Ellis 1963, and Fornander 1917-1919) record that the area between modern day Kailua Town to Keauhou, was favored by the ali'i nui (high ranking chiefs) of the island of Hawai'i as a residence. Thus, the ahupua'a (a native land division) of Kahului is a part of this larger district that was a significant political seat and population center. It is generally thought that initial settlement along the Kona, or leeward coast of the island of Hawai'i was formalized around the 11th century, with communities being along sheltered bays with access to fresh water and rich marine fisheries. The communities shared familial relations and there was an occupational focus on collection of marine resources. By the 14th century, inland elevations to around the 4,000 foot level were being turned into cultivated fields of the early dryland Kona Field System. By the 15th century, residency in the dry uplands was becoming permanent, and there was an increasing separation of chiefly class from commoners. In the 16th century the population stabilized and the ahupua'a land management system was established as a socio-economic unit (cf. M. Tomonari-Tuggle 1985:15-19).

Ethnographic and archaeological texts (e.g., Ellis 1963, Thrum 1908, Stokes and Dye 1991, Reinecke ms. 1930, Kelly 1983, and Tomonari-Tuggle 1985) indicate that from the late 16th to 18th centuries, the Hawaiian population grew, and, concurrently, land use practices expanded. With the growing population came the development of formal land divisions which set the basis of Hawaiian land use and distribution through the early 19th century. Between the 16th and 18th centuries, extensive agricultural fields were developed and the people put every arable patch of land to use. The land provided the fruits and vegetables for the diet, and the ocean provided most of the protein.

In Kona, potable water (wai), was primarily provided by springs, water caves, rain catchment, and dew fall. Legendary and historic accounts document that various water sources were available, and furthermore, the forests were more extensive and thicker, and extended much further seaward. Although there is no direct evidence, it is logical that this means that rain- and dew-fall in the study area was greater during that time. Indeed the kēhau wind-born mountain dew was of great importance to agriculture on the kula, or lower slopes of the region (cf. legendary accounts and the oral history interviews with Mr. Joseph Gomes in this study; and additional interviews in Maly 1996).

Kona: An Overview of Dryland Agriculture and Native Land Management Practices

That extensive plots of land were cultivated and that rituals associated with the practices were integral to life in this area of Kona is well documented in several accounts. In *Native Planters in Old Hawaii* (1972), Handy and Handy provide readers with an overview of historical references and native accounts that describe agricultural practices in Kona. Handy and Handy record that:

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

In their discussion regarding the lore of Lono—a god of agriculture, fertility, and the rituals for inducing rain fall—Handy and Handy (1972) report that the worship of this god is plainly identified as centered in Kona. Indeed, it was while Lono was dwelling at Keauhou, that he is said to have introduced taro, sweet potatoes, yams, sugar cane, bananas, and 'awa to Hawaiian farmers. In Kona, the rituals of Lono “The father of waters” and the annual Makahiki festival, which honored Lono and which began before the coming of the Kona (southerly) storms and lasted through the rainy season, were of great importance to the native residents of this region (Handy and Handy 1972:14 and 523). The significance of rituals and ceremonial observances in cultivation and indeed in all aspects of life was of great importance to the well-being of the ancient Hawaiians, and cannot be over-emphasized, or overlooked when viewing ancient sites on the landscape.

In the later Hawaiian period (c. 1600-1800), leading to the eventual rise of Kamehameha I to power (c. 1791 A.D.), the ko kula kai and ko kula uka (coastal and upland-slopes) of this area came to be extensively cultivated with important staple and supplemental crops suited to dryland planting techniques and the Kona environment. The pu'epu'e (planting in built up mounds), mākālua and 'umokī (planting in mulched holes and pits) are three dryland planting techniques recorded as having been successfully used in the Kona District (Handy and Handy 1972:105-109). Additionally, kīhāpai, paukū, and māla, dryland garden patches or fields were delineated by kuaīwi or kuakua (rock wall alignments), that were formed while clearing planting sections. These alignments, generally running mauka-makai, served as field borders and provided protected areas for planting, where earth could be mulched and roots kept moist.

The earliest recorded foreign observations of Hawaiian agricultural practices in Kona are found in the Journals of Captain James Cook (Beaglehole 1967) and include descriptions from officers James King and Charles Clerke. Though Cook and his ships anchored at Kealahou, south of the present study area, the descriptions of residential and planting practices are applicable to interpreting certain archaeological features land use in the current study area. On February 27th 1779, King observed:

Not the smallest piece of ground was left uncultivated... passed thro fields of hay, with which they cover the young Tarro Grounds, to prevent the suns drying it up (ibid.:524).

And describing agricultural activities closer to the shoreward villages, Clerke reported on the use of stone walls to mark fields, and paths, or trails that extended through the fields into the uplands:

At the back of the villages upon the Brow of the Hill are their plantations of Plantains, Potatoes, Tarrow, Sugar Canes &c^a, each mans particular property is fenced in with a stone wall; they had a method of making the Sugar Cane grow about the walls so that the stones are not conspicuous at any distance, but the whole has the appearance of fine green fences. These Plantations in many places they carry six or seven miles up the side of the hill, when the woods begin to take place which diffuse themselves from hence to the heights of the eminences...in these woods are some paths of the Natives and here and there a temporary house or hut... (Clerke IN Beaglehole 1967:592)

David Malo, earliest of the eminent Hawaiian historians of the 19th century, was born near the shores of Keauhou Bay, Kona in c. 1793. In his writings ("Hawaiian Antiquities", Malo 1951) he offers the following comments on dryland planting practices, the importance of agriculture to the Hawaiian family, and specific practices in Kona, Hawai'i:

Agriculture

1. Agriculture was a matter of great importance in Hawaii, because by it a man obtained the means of supporting himself and his wife, his children, friends, and domestic animals. It was associated, however, with the worship of idols...
3. On the kula lands, farming was a laborious occupation and called for great patience, being attended by many drawbacks. On some of these were grubs, or caterpillars, or blight, hauoki (frost), or kahe (freshets), or the sun was too scorching; besides which there were many other hindrances...
8. The cultivation of kula lands was quite different from that of irrigable lands. The farmer merely cleared of weeds as much of the land as he thought would suffice. If he was to plant taro (upland taro), he dug holes and enriched them with a mulch of kukui leaves, ashes, or dirt, after which he planted the taro. In some places they simply planted without mulch or fertilizer.
9. Taro was constantly weeded until it had grown to be of good size, when it was fit to be made into poi or used as a food in some other way. It was twelve months before it was mature and ready for pulling to be made into food.
10. If a field of potatoes was desired, the soil was raised into hills, in which the stems were planted; or the stems might merely be thrust into the ground any how, and the hilling done after the plants were grown; the vines are also thrown back upon the hill. In six months the potatoes were ripe. Such was the cultivation of kula land.
11. On the kula lands the farms of the alii were called koele, hakuone, or kuakua, those of the people, mahina-ai...

14. There was kula land on parts of...Hawaii. Kona was the part of Hawaii most exposed to the sun, because of the prolonged dryness of the weather. They frequently suffered from famine in that district. In time of famine the people of Kona performed religious ceremonies with great diligence and carefully reckoned the months in which to plant.
15. There were different kinds of farmers. Those who really made a business of it and worked until sunset were called ili-pilo. Those who kept at it for only a short time and did not do much at it were called ili-helo (dry skin)... (Malo 1951:204-206).

He Mo'olelo 'Āina: Stories of the Land

The author of this study, has conducted a detailed study of resources available in various Hawaiian language newspapers, particularly, the Hawai'i island newspaper, Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i (published in Hilo, 1906-1948). Only a few legendary accounts that specifically reference the land of Kahului have been located to date. Perhaps the earliest account that references Kahului, is the legend named "He Ka'ao no ka manu 'Elepaio" (A tale about the 'Elepaio Bird) is set in the land of Kahului (ms. Maly, translator). The legend was published in 1862, in the Hawaiian language newspaper, Ka Hōkū o ka Pakipika. A verbatim translation of the narrative follows:

He Ka'ao no ka Manu 'Elepaio

I kekāhi lā, pi'i aku la kekāhi kanaka o Pi'iwai kona inoa, i ke kuahiwi i ka wai e inu, no ka mea, aia no ka wai 'oia wahi i ke kuahiwi, 'oia ho'i o Kahului, i Kona, Hawai'i. Mai ô a ô 'oia wahi o Kona, he wai no o kai, he wai kai na'e, he 'awa'awa ke inu, o ka wai hu'ihu'i 'ono loa i ka inu ana, o ko uka o ke kuahiwi, 'oia mau mai no a hiki i kēia manawa, ke ki'i o ka wai i ke kuahiwi. . .

One day, a certain man named Pi'iwai, climbed up the mountainside to get water to drink, this was because there was a place on the mountainside that fresh water was found. It was at Kahului, in Kona, Hawai'i. Indeed, all around this place of Kona, the water in the lowlands was salty, it was brackish and bitter to drink. The cool sweet water for drinking came from the uplands on the mountain. It is still the same to this day, the fresh water is fetched from the mountain.

Now when he climbed up, he reached the spring and dipped his water gourd into it, filling the gourd with water. Now as he returned, he reached a hillock and stopped there to rest. He set his water gourd down, building an area to set it, and then went over to the side to rest. At that time, a certain bird flew by, it was the 'Elepaio, and it perched itself on the spout of the man's water gourd. The bird then began pecking at the man's water gourd, and all the water was lost as it poured out. When the man returned to the place where he had left his water gourd, the bird flew a little ways off and set down.

Now the man saw this bird fly away, but he did not think that the bird had pecked at his water gourd. He bent down to pick up the water gourd, and as he lifted it, it was light. Looking for the reason, the man saw that there was a hole in the water gourd. It was then that he understood that the bird had pecked out the hole, and the man's anger at the bird welled up. He said within himself, "So that's it! You are a truly mischievous bird, and you are going to be killed by me."

The man then picked up a stone and threw it at the bird, striking it, but, it was not killed, and the bird flew away. Now the reason the bird flew off was because it was going to inquire of the other birds what they felt about his having been hit by the man's stone.

While flying, he looked around to see other birds, and after flying a little while, the first bird he saw was Pueo (Owl). He flew close to Pueo and called out like this, "Oh Pueo, say Pueo." Pueo heard the call of 'Elepaio, and turned to Elepaio, encouraging him with a question, "Oh Elepaio, say Elepaio, what can I do for you?" Elepaio then told him what he had done to the water gourd of the man, and explained it in the form of a chant, "Ua pā wau, i ka pōhaku, a ke kanaka" (I was struck with a stone by the man).

Pueo then asked 'Elepaio, "Whose fault is it." 'Elepaio answered in the form of a chant, "Na'u ka hala, i ka pao ana, i ka hue wai, a ke kanaka" (The fault is mine for pecking at the water gourd of the man). Pueo then responded in the form of a chant, "Ho'okolo ia, i ka nui manu, o kākou" (Go inquire of other birds of our kind).

'Elepaio then went in search of others. In a little while, he saw 'lo soaring above in the gentle winds. 'Elepaio called out, "O 'lo, hail 'lo." 'lo turned and asked, "What do you want of me?" 'Elepaio said, "I have been struck with a stone by the man." 'lo asked "Whose fault was it?" Elepaio answered, "The fault is mine for pecking at the water gourd of the man.." 'lo then answered with the same words as those of Pueo, "Go inquire of other birds of our kind."

'Elepaio then turned, flying away, he flew and came in the presence of 'Amakihi. 'Elepaio called, "O 'Amakihi, hail 'Amakihi." 'Amakihi turned and asked, "What do you want of me?" 'Elepaio said, "I have been hit with a stone thrown by the man." 'Amakihi then asked in a chant, "Who's fault is it?" 'Elepaio answered, "The fault is mine for pecking at the water gourd of the man.." This time, 'Amakihi shook his head, and rising above, he looked at 'Elepaio, and spoke in a chant:

'Elepaio—e, 'Elepaio—la	O 'Elepaio, 'Elepaio,
Hewa hā 'oe,	Indeed you have erred
I ka pao ana,	By digging
I ka hue wai,	Into the water gourd
A ke kanaka.	Of the man.
A make no 'oe,	It is right
A e pono,	That you should die,
He kolohe 'oe.	You are so mischievous.

When 'Elepaio heard what 'Amakihi thought, his anger rose and he chanted to Amakihi:

Kau pono ka ia,	This is what is just
Kêlâ 'Amakihi.	For that 'Amakihi,
Pûpû 'awa'awa,	That he be made into a condiment
	to go with the 'awa.
He hohono pāku'i,	The scent is unpleasant,
Ke pûlehu aku,	And when it is broiled,
He hauna e ke kai,	The gravy is foul,
I'o 'ole e ka mole.	There is no meat within.

This was the end of 'Elepaio's conversation with 'Amakihi; he then flew away. As 'Elepaio was flying, he was greatly saddened because 'Amakihi knew 'Elepaio's fault. So he flew with heavy thoughts. But he had not given up his thoughts of inquiring of the other birds about this. As he was flying, 'Elepaio saw 'Iiwimakapōlena and he called out as he had to the other birds. 'Iwi

spoke the same words as 'Amakihi had, "The fault was with 'Elepaio." This was the end of his inquiring of the birds, and 'Elepaio's thoughts were truly sad. He repented within himself, saying "I was indeed at fault" (S.W.K. Kamakela, Honolulu, Mei 12, 1862).

Another native historical account titled "Ka'ao Ho'oniua Pu'uwai no Ka-Miki" (The Heart Stirring Story of Ka-Miki), published in the Hawaiian paper, *Ka Hôkû o Hawai'i* (1914-1917) tells us that the lands of Kahului were associated with those of Puapua'a and Hinakahua, the kahua mokomoko le'ale'a (contest and game field) in Puapua'a. Also, within Kahului ran the stream of Wai'aha which filled the taro mounds of the sacred prostration chiefs Kalei'eha, Kapahu (or Kapahu-a-Lo'i), and Ka'alaea, who possessed the kapu (restrictions) of Lono-Makahiki... (IN *Ka Hôkû o Hawai'i*; April 9, 1914). Later, the same account includes a reference to an extensive "mâla 'uala" (sweet potato garden) that extended across the land from Niupalu (Kailua Bay) to Hinakahua (including the lands of Kahului) (ibid. May 24, 1917). Today, the area once known as Hinakahua—and presumably the ancient mâla 'uala—is on the same coastal elevation as the present study area.

Kona in the 19th Century

The Journal of William Ellis (1823)

One of the earliest records of a foreigner's visit to the lands between present-day Kailua to Keauhou is found in the Journal of British missionary, William Ellis, who traveled through the area in 1823. Ellis' writings (Ellis 1963) offer readers a glimpse into the nature of the coastline community in the vicinity of Kahului. On July 18, 1823, Ellis and his missionary companions traveled through the lands included within the current study area. Along the eight mile stretch of land between Kailua to Keauhou, Ellis counted 610 houses and 19 heiau, and estimated the uplands contained another 100 houses. Allowing five persons to a house, Ellis and his companions estimated that there were 3,550 persons in the area (Ellis 1963:76). Ellis' account provides further descriptions of the communities and agricultural field systems through which the group passed; he notes:

...The houses, which are neat, are generally built on the sea-shore, shaded with coconut and kou trees, which greatly enliven the scene.

The environs were cultivated to a considerable extent; small gardens were seen among the barren rocks on which the houses are built, wherever soil could be found sufficient to nourish the sweet potato, the watermelon, or even a few plants of tobacco, and in many places these seemed to be growing literally in the fragments of lava, collected in small heaps around their roots.

...[W]alked towards the mountains, to visit the high and cultivated parts of the district. After travelling over the lava for about a mile, the hollows in the rocks began to be filled with a light brown soil; about half a mile further, the surface was entirely covered with a rich mould, formed by decayed vegetable matter and decomposed lava.

Here they enjoyed the agreeable shade of bread-fruit and ohia trees... ...The path now lay through a beautiful part of the country, quite a garden compared with that through which they had passed on first leaving town. It was generally divided into small fields, about fifteen rods square, fenced with low stone walls, built with fragments of lava gathered from the surface of the enclosures. These fields were planted with bananas, sweet potatoes, mountain taro, paper mulberry plants, melons, and sugar cane, which flourished luxuriantly in every direction (Ellis 1963:31-32).

THE COUNTRY SOUTH OF KAILUA

Leaving Kairua [Kailua], we passed through the villages thickly scattered along the shore to the southward. The country around looked unusually green and cheerful, owing to the frequent rains, which for some months past have fallen on this side of the island. Even the barren lava, over which we travelled, seemed to veil its sterility beneath frequent tufts of tall waving grass, or spreading shrubs and flowers.

The sides of the hills, out for a considerable extent in gardens and fields, and generally cultivated with potatoes, and other vegetables, were beautiful.

The number of heiaus, and depositories of the dead which we passed, convinced us that this part of the island must formerly have been populous. The latter were built with fragments of lava, laid up evenly on the outside, generally about eight feet long, from four to six broad, and about four feet high. Some appeared very ancient, others had evidently been standing but a few years (ibid:72-73).

Unfortunately, Ellis does not record a particular site or feature of Kahului, though in neighboring Puapua'a, he describes the heiau Kauaikahaloa (ibid.:73).

Historic Land Use Records: The Mâhele 'Âina (Land Division) of 1848-1855

In 1848, a Western-style ownership system was set in place in the Hawaiian Kingdom. This event was called the Mâhele. It was a division of land between the crown, government, lesser chief's (konohiki), and native tenants of the land. Prior to that time, all land and natural resources were held in trust by the high chiefs, and their use was given at the prerogative of the high chiefs (ali'i 'ai ahupua'a or ali'i 'ai moku) and their representatives or land agents (konohiki), who were generally lesser chiefs as well. The Mâhele defined the land interests of the King (Kamehameha III), the high-ranking chiefs, and the konohiki (Chinen 1958:vii and Chinen 1961:13). More than 250 of the highest-ranking chiefs and konohiki in the kingdom joined Kamehameha III in this division. The first Mâhele was signed on Jan. 27, 1848 by Kamehameha III and Princess Victoria Kamâmalu, and by her guardians Mataio Kekûanaô'a and Ione [John Papa] I'i. The last Mâhele was signed by the King and E. Enoka on March 7, 1848 (Chinen 1958:16).

During this process all land was placed in one of three categories: Crown Lands (for the occupant of the throne), Government Lands, and Konohiki Lands. These were all "subject to the rights of the native tenants," (Kingdom of Hawaii, "Kanawai Hoopai Karaima..." 1850:22). The hoa'âina or native tenants were the common Hawaiian people who lived on the land and worked it for their subsistence and the welfare of the chiefs. Questions concerning the nature of these native tenants rights began to arise as the King, the government, and konohiki began selling parcels of land to foreigners. On December 21, 1849 the Privy Council attempted to clarify the situation by adopting four resolutions intended to protect the rights of native tenants referred to in the 1848 law (Chinen 1958:29).

These resolutions (IN Kânâwai Ho'opa'i Karaima no ko Hawai'i Pae 'Âina, 1850:123-124) authorized the 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, Lâhainâ, and Hilo (Chinen 1958:29). Before receiving their awards from the Land Commission, the native tenants were required to prove that they cultivated the land for a living. They were not permitted to acquire wastelands 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. The lands of the native tenants became known as "Kuleana Lands."

After native Hawaiian commoners were granted the opportunity to acquire their own parcels of land through the Mâhele, foreigners were also awarded the right to own land in 1850, provided they had sworn

an oath of loyalty to the Hawaiian Monarch (Kame‘eleihiwa 1992:300). This opened the door to foreign business interests, primarily American, and the stage was set for the full-scale development of a variety of businesses, including Kona's Ranches. By the time of its dissolution 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).

Mâhele Claims at Kahului

The ahupua‘a of Kahului was divided into two sections, Kahului-iki (1st), and Kahului-nui (2nd). The study area is situated in the land division of Kahului 1st, which in the Mâhele was retained as Government land. Kahului 2nd was awarded to Grace Kama‘iku‘i (LCA 8516-B:3), the daughter Ka‘ôana‘eha and John Young Sr. Kama‘iku‘i’s mother was of royal lineage, and her father was one of Kamehameha I’s haole advisors. Kama‘iku‘i adopted her niece Emma (daughter of Fanny Kakela) who was also born at Kahului 2nd. Later in her life, Emma became Queen Emma, wife of Kamehameha IV. The association of Queen Emma and her elders with the lands of Kahului, adds historical significance to the area.

As noted above, one of the requirements of the Mâhele was that commoners provide proof of their land use and tenancy on parcels being claimed. For the native tenants, this “requirement of proof” produced a series of volumes of registry of claims and testimony to confirm claims (i.e., the Native Register and Native Testimony). Today, these volumes—the Buke Mâhele—provide us with documentation of various aspects of land use practices, crop production, resource collection, and architectural site occurrences (i.e., the locations of house sites, walls, terraces, platforms, wells, and trails etc.) of the time. While the records of the Mâhele are of great value, it is also important to remember that at the time of the Mâhele, the Hawaiian population was declining and introduced herbivores and crop plants were leading to changes in residency, land use practices, and the landscape. Thus, the records provide us only a glimpse into what may once have been.

As a result of reviewing records of the Native Register and Native Testimonies, sixteen native tenant claims for land in Kahului were located. Eight of the claims were for land in Kahului 1st, including one that made a joint claim in both Kahului 1st and 2nd. One of the awarded kuleana (LCA 10374 to Nalawaia) is situated within the present study area, while one registered claim (Kialoa LCA 7350) made a claim for an agricultural parcel bounded by the “Pa Nui” (Great Wall). By reference to the parcel as being on the Kohala side of Niniha’s LCA (No. 10373), it likely that the parcel would also have been within the study area. The Pâ Nui parcel claimed by Kialoa, was not awarded. Three other kuleana parcels (LCA 7086 to Kalawa; LCA 7336 to Kuapuu; and LCA 10373 to Niniha) are situated directly makai (and south, or towards Puapua‘a) of the study area. Thus four kuleana are in or are adjacent to the present study area. All four of the Native Register and Native Testimony claims include references to cultivated fields on the kula flat lands mauka of their shoreward lots, with specific reference to the pâ ‘âina, pâ pipi (the land division wall, also called cattle wall), or Great Wall. This wall, now known as the Great Wall of Kuakini, is a significant land mark in Kona (National Register Site 6302).

Of particular importance to understanding land use in the study area, the four claims identify the wall as being on the makai (shoreward) boundary of their cultivated fields. As such, the claims demonstrate that land in and neighboring the study area, in the vicinity of this “land division” wall was used by native residents at least through the time of the Mâhele. Curiously, none of the claims for agricultural parcels in the vicinity of the wall were awarded. Table 1, provides readers with a summary of the kuleana claims and description of the broad ahupua‘a-wide use, extending from mauka to makai, in the middle 1800s (a complete review of both Native Register and Native Testimony books was done as a part of this study, in this case, the latter provided more detailed information and is the primary source cited below).

Table 1. Kuleana Awarded in the Ahupua‘a of Kahului 1st & 2nd

Table 1.					
Land Area	LCA Helu & 'Apana	Awardee	'Ili & Land Use	Zone	Documentation
Kahului 1st	10374:1	Nalawaia	In the ili of Halewaawaa: 1 - On mauka side is Hapaipapa; on Kau side is the ili of Naalapa; on the shoreward side is the pa aina (land division wall); on the Kohala side is the ili of Kauailoa. 1 pauku aina ua mahiia (one cultivated section of land) 2 - In the kaluulu, the trail of Kealakowaa (the trail on which canoes were dragged from the uplands) is on the mauka side; on the Kau side is the ili of Naalapa; the land of Ahuakahewa is makai; and on the Kohala side is Kauailoa. 1 pauku aina, ua mahi hapaia, aole hale (one section of land partially cultivated, there is no house)	[Kula] ¹ Kaluulu	NT Vol. 4:529

Table 1. (cont.)

Land Area	LCA Helu & 'Apana	Awardee	'Ili & Land Use	Zone	Documentation
Nalawaia (cont'd.)			3 - One cultivated pauku: Mauka is Kalua-pahee (punawai) [a spring]; on the Kau side is the ili of Naalapa; on the makai side is the ala loa (main trail); on the Kohala side is Kauailoa 4 - Enclosed house lot with two houses, one house for Nalawaia and one house for Kulou. The makai side of the lot is bounded by the road. Nalawaia received the land from his older brother, Maliu, who had received the land in the time of Kamehameha II	[Kula]	
Kahului 1st & 2nd	7086	Kalawa	In the ili of Puki, Kahului 2nd: 1 - One uncultivated kihapai. The pa pipi is on the makai side. 2 - One cultivated kihapai 3 - Enclosed house lot with two houses, one for Kalawa and one for Kaili (w). The Alanui Aupuni is on the makai side	[Kula]	NT Vol. 4:557
Kahului 1st	7350	Kialoa	Claim consists of 15 patches partly in cultivation. They all lie together in one piece, intersected by the road. ...Also, 14 patches in another piece makai of the first piece. Bounded on Kohala side by Niniha's land; on Kau side by Nalima's land; and mauka by a road. ...Also a piece of kula land near the Great Wall. Kohala side Niniha's land; Kau side by Nalima's land. (September 27, 1851)	Kula	NT Vol. 8:671
Kahului 1st	9944	Nalima	In the ili of Niukini, 2 apana pauku aina (land parcels) at Kukuipuloo, Kahului 1. The boundaries will be established by the surveyor.		NT Vol. 4:517

¹ [Bracket with Zone name] = Zone implied by association with name of ili or a particular feature.

Kahului 1st	10252	Maliu	In the ili of Kamuku: 1 - On the kula, one cultivated pauku. On the mauka side is the punawai (spring) of Kaluapahee; on the Kau side is the ili of Ililoa; on the makai side is Ohuahale, a cultivated kihapai; on the Kohala side is Niukini 2 - One cultivated pauku; Kealakowaa is on the makai boundary 3 - One cultivated kihapai. The punawai Umiwai is on the mauka side; on the Kau side is the ili of Lapalua; the hill Puukehoe is on the makai side; the land on the Kohala side is Papalanui 4 - In the ili of Halewaawaa. An alaloe is on the mauka side; Kealakowaa is on the makai side; and Waiaha ahupuaa is in the Kohala side 5 - At Kamuku 2, one cultivated apana, the alaloe is the makai boundary 6 - A house lot, not enclosed; there is one house, and three cultivated kihapai	Kula	NT Vol. 4:538
Kahului 1st	9126 & 9255	Kaiakaloea	Several pieces of cultivated land scattered over the ahupuaa. There are three kalo patches, three coffee patches, and two patches of uala. He has a house lot and three patches of kalo in another place also. The house lot is not enclosed The land is from his ancestors who received it in the time of Kiwalao [c.1782]		NT Vol. 8:677
Kahului 1st	7496-B	Keaweehu	In the ili of Lapalua: 1 - On the kula, one cultivated pauku. The konohiki's land is on the mauka side; Ililoa is on the Kau side; the makai boundary is the pa pipi; and the ili of Ohiki is on the Kohala side 2 - At the kaluulu, one cultivated pauku: The alanui (trail) is on the mauka side; Kahului 2 is on the Kau side; Kuaulu (a kaulana) the resting place is on the makai side; and the ili of Kukuipulua is on the Kohala side 3 - One cultivated pauku: on the mauka side is Papuaa, land of the Konohiki	Kula Kaluulu	NT Vol. 4:515
Kahului 1st	7083	Kaulua	At Kahului 1: 1 - A house lot with one house. The alanui [trail is on the mauka side; idle land on the Kau side; the beach is makai; Keaweehu is on the Kohala side. Kaulua died in 1848, the lot was left to his foster daughter, Kaeloa. Sections 2-7 are in the land of Waiaha		NT Vol. 4:513
Kahului 2nd	8516-B:3	Kamaikui	Ahupuaa		
Kahului 2nd	10373	Niniha	1 - Enclosed house lot with one house. on the makai side is the alanui and sand. [Stone wall on boundary; was formerly site of Komomua, Kahulamú et. al. Cemetery]		NT Vol. 4:533
Kahului 2nd	7336:1	Kuapuu	In the ili of Kahuki (Kahului): 1 - An enclosed house lot in the ili of Kahuki, the Alanui Aupuni is on the makai side 2 - Mauka of the pa pipi, one cultivated	[Kula]	NT Vol. 4:500

			<p>kihapai. On the mauka side is untended land, the pa pipi is on the makai side</p> <p>3 - In the kaluulu, one kihapai Kaluulu</p> <p>4 - At Kealakowaa, one cultivated kihapai; land of the Konohiki is mauka and makai, and the ili of Kahuki ia on the Kohala side</p> <p>5 - A cultivated kihapai along the alaloo; Kahuki is on the Kohala side</p> <p>6 - In the ili of Kikiaiole, one cultivated kihapai</p> <p>7 - One partially cultivated kihapai, the pa pipi is on the makai side Old land from his wife's parents, in the time of Kamehameha I.</p>	[Amau]	
Kahului 2nd	7073:8	Kapae	<p>In the Ahupuaa of Auhaukeae</p> <p>1 - An enclosed house lot with one house. The wall was built in 1829 by Kapae. The shore is on the makai side</p> <p>2 - In the ahupuaa of Kahului, an enclosed house lot with one house. The alanui Aupuni is on the mauka side; on the Kau side is untended kula; the shore is on the makai side, and on the Kohala side is untended land</p> <p>3 - A partially cultivated pauku of land on the mauka side of the pa pipi, in an ili of Kahului. On the mauka side is untended land; on the Kau side if the ili of Kahuki 1: the Pa pipi is on the makai side; and on the Kohala side the ili of Lapalua</p> <p>4 - A cultivated pauku of land on the kula. On the mauka side is untended lands, on the Kau side is the ili of Kahuki; on the makai side is untended land; and on the Kohala side is an ili aina.</p> <p>5 - At the kaluulu area, one cultivated pauku and one house for him.</p> <p>6 - One cultivated pauku; on the mauka side is Hulilau, a cultivated kihapai for the konohiki</p> <p>7 - A cultivated kihapai in the ili of Kahuki 1</p>	[Kula]	NT Vol. 4:501
Kahului 2nd	7690	Kulou	<p>In the ili of Kahuki. Kekipi, the konohiki confirmed that the testimony presented by Kulou in the palapala kuleana (kuleana register document) is as he has known. It is old land from the time of Kamehameha I</p> <p>1 - A pauku of land, mauka of the pa pipi, is 500 fathoms by five fathoms</p> <p>2 - A pauku in the middle kula, 500 fathoms by 5 fathoms</p> <p>3 - a pauku mauka of that that is 300 fathoms by 7 fathoms</p> <p>4 - At the kaluulu is a pauku that is 90 fathoms by 7 fathoms</p> <p>5 - A pauku above this is 82 fathoms by 5 fathoms</p> <p>6 - A pauku mauka of the ala nui is 240 fathoms by 6 fathoms</p>	[Kula]	NT Vol. 4:516
Kahului 2nd	7914	Kekipi	<p>In the ahupuaa of Kahului 2, a section of land. The ili of Waiapuko is on the mauka side and the alanui is on the makai side. 1 section of for the Konohiki within the lot.</p>	[Amau]	NR ² Vol. 8:445

² *Native Register*

Kahului 2nd	11073	Aikane	Land in the ili of Ohia and Papiha; the boundaries are surrounded by the Konohiki's land.		NT Vol. 8:651
Kahului 2nd	7335	Kaanaana	Land in the ahupuaa of Kahului 2. 1 - A pauku of land mauka of the pa pipi, it is 700 by 9 fathoms; 2 - A pauku mauka of the kula; 3 - A pauku mauka of that; 4 - A pauku mauka of the kaluulu. Kaanaana cultivated the land since he obtained it in 1840.	[Kula] Kaluulu	NR Vol. 8:423

Kahului 1st: Land Grant Number 1868

After the Māhele, the King continued his policy of making land available in fee to natives. This was done through grants taken from the Government's inventory of land. On September 10, 1855, Ka'upena was granted a parcel of approximately 97 ½ acres in Kahului 1st. A summary of the parcel's boundaries is presented here:

Beginning at the Southern corner of this land, at the shoreward trail (road), at an upright stone

marked with an X, proceeding:

North 52°, West 1123 chains along the trail to the corner (marked) #S;

North 58°30', East [=proceeding inland] 559 chains along the ancient boundary of Waiaha 2;

North 60°30', East 4 chains along the ancient boundary of Waiaha 2;

North 67°30', East 10.00 chains along the ancient boundary of Waiaha 2 to the "pa pohaku"

(stone wall [Kuakini Wall]);

South 59°30', East 2.82 chains along the pa pohaku;

North 68°45', east 6.50 chains along the ancient boundary of Waiaha 2...;

[description continues inland to upper boundary, noting]:

North 65°30', East 3.60 chains to the Northern corner adjoining the land of Kipola;

South 22°15', East 15 chains along Kipola's [land], to the Eastern corner; [turning towards the shore]

South 61°30', West 9 chains along the ancient boundary of Kahului;

South 70°, West 17.70 chains along the ancient boundary of Kahului;

South 68°30', West 16.43 chains along the ancient boundary of Kahului, to the stone wall [this is the ahupua'a boundary wall];

[the boundary description continues running south-west along the stone wall]

Back to the place of commencement. There are 97½ acres.

[Grant Book Volume 10:137; translated by the author]

The significance of this grant to the present study area, is that it identifies the native owner and resident of the larger study area parcel. While the kuleana owners cited in the preceding section had smaller parcels near the shore, Ka'upena owned the larger parcel, which, as archaeological field work has shown, includes a variety of cultural features, including prehistoric and historic period burials, possible ceremonial sites, residences, the Kuakini Wall, and other sites. The grant text also identifies Kipola as a land owner in the adjoining parcel. It is possible that Ka'upena, Kipola, and the kuleana awardees all have familial ties to individuals interred within the study area.

One additional point of historical interest is recorded in an oral history interview with Joseph Gomes, former owner of the study area parcel. Mr. Gomes notes that in c. 1930, his father purchased the parcel from a Hawaiian woman and her German husband (George Heeches). It is possible that that the Hawaiian woman (Mr. Gomes could not remember her name), was descended from Ka'upena who received grant 1868. For further details see the oral history interview with Joseph Gomes in the section titled "Kahului: Oral History Interviews."

Testimonies to the Commissioners of Boundaries

Further documentation on historic period land use, is found in the records of the Commission of Boundaries (Boundary Commission) that was established in 1862. It was the task of the Commission to set the boundaries of all the ahupua'a 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). The primary informants for the boundary descriptions were old native residents of the lands, many of whom had also been claimants for kuleana during the Māhele. The information were collected primarily between c. 1873-1885; the testimonies were generally given in Hawaiian and transcribed in English as they occurred (pers. comm. Jean Greenwell, Kona Historical Society, January 19, 1996). Rufus Lyman, D. Howard Hitchcock, and Curtis Lyons were among those individuals who collected surveys and testimonies.

The following narratives are excerpted from the Boundary Commission testimonies for the land of Kahului. The testimonies document ahupua'a land use patterns as recorded by native tenants at the time. Place names in boldface are names also used in Māhele claims, or are names of areas of historical interest. One observation made by the author while reviewing the testimonies was that the scribes sometimes used double vowels to lengthen pronunciation of single vowels in certain place names; this was done in place of macrons used today.

Kahului 2nd (August 11, 1873) Volume 1-A:327

Niniha^k. [LCA 10373], Sworn:

I was born at Kahului...at the time of Kaoku [ma'i 'ōku'u; c. 1804] and have always lived there. My parents pointed out the boundaries to me.

Boundary at the sea shore between Kahului 2 and Puapuaaiki is at the right hand side of Kakapa, a rocky point in the sea, thence mauka along an iwi aina [an ahupua'a land division wall] to **Governor Adams' wall**, thence to **Waiakalua** a water hole. Thence mauka to **Waiakekea** a waterhole near the iwi aina and a little above the Government road. Thence to Kaaipaka, a kulanakauhale ahua hulipali [a Residential Complex at a hillock from where one can view the cliff], thence mauka a short distance to where Puapuaaiki ends. Thence to **Puukoheo** a high hill outside of the woods, now overgrown with koa. There Holualoa comes at **Pohakuhanō**, thence along Holualoa to **Waikē**, a kahawai [stream]. Thence across said gulch and follows the gulch up to **Puokalōa**, a pali in the woods on the North side of the gulch. Thence to Palule where Holualoa and Puaa cut off Kahului. said place is a puu pohaku and kahawai. Thence makai along the boundary of Puaa to Popoulu, mauka corner of Kahului 1st, near the lower edge of the woods. Thence along Government portion of Kahului to **Papalanui**, a kihapai koele [garden field worked for the chief], below Puukoheo. Thence along iwi aina, makai to **Alau** in the fern above the Government road. There is a pile of stones set up there. I pointed out the boundaries of Kahului 1st when it was surveyed; thence along the land sold, to Kalalii a pulu lepo [literally translated as "damp-soil" a term used to describe an area in which soil has collected, used for cultivation] at seashore. Ancient fishing rights extending out to sea.

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Makuakane^k. [LCA 7086 under Kalawa], Sworn: (Rather a young man)

I was born a Hamakua Hawaii came to Kahului when I was young, and have resided here ever since. Know the boundaries of said land, Kapae former konohiki of the land, with whom I lived four years told me the boundaries and also pointed them out...[the boundary description follows that of Niniha above, with the following additions]

...thence to **Waiakekea** spring mauka of the road, said spring is on Kahului near the iwi aina. Thence to **Kaipaka** an ahupuaa kauhale kahiko [a hill with an ancient house site], boundary at the south side of it, thence to **Waikē**... Palule where Puaa and Holualoa cut Kahului off; thence makai along Puaa to Puuokaloa thence to Popoulu, the land is very narrow here. Thence makai to **Puukehoe** a hill in fern, thence makai along the iwi aina to **Waihuna** a water hole on the boundary between Kahului 1st and Kahului 2nd. Kahului 1st reaches to Puuokaloa at the foot of the pali; makai of the Government road, you come to Waiahuna which is the boundary of Kapae's land. The mauka corner of Kapae's land at **Kealaehu** sometimes called **Alau**, a koele. Thence the boundary runs along land sold, to the seas shore...

Pâ Kuakini: The “Great Wall” of Governor John Adams Kuakini (Site 6302)

As noted in the Mâhele and Boundary Commission testimonies above, one of the most prominent cultural sites of concern to the present study is a stone wall (Site 6302) that extends across the study area ahupua'a (and beyond on both the north and south sides). The wall is known by several names (discussed below), though today it is most often referred to as the “Pâ Kuakini” (Kuakini Wall) or “Great Wall.” Based on a number of historic references, it appears that construction of the Great Wall was begun in the early 1800s, though in some sections, existing walls may have been incorporated into the Great Wall. It is generally reported that construction of the wall occurred as a response to the growing population of introduced herbivores, primarily cattle and goats (cf. Handy and Handy 1972:526). During the early part of the 19th century, the European boar—introduced by Cook in 1778—was also becoming a problem in native agricultural field systems (cf. Kuykendall 1968:28). It is possible that the place name Pâ-pua'a (Pig wall, or enclosure) recorded in Mâhele records for Kahului indicates the presence of walls being used to keep pigs out of, or in particular areas.

In a reference to the pâ 'âina of Kona, Handy and Handy (1972) report that:

The walls (pa aina), seen today in Kona lowlands running across old boundary lines, were built up to keep cattle out of the planting areas after they became a pest early in the 19th century (Handy and Handy 1972:526).

Though no specific record of Governor Kuakini having ordered the work done has been located to date, by the mid 1800s, the final configuration of the Great Wall was attributed to him. In the mid 1860s, surveyors working in the study area ahupua'a were recording ahupua'a boundaries as pointed out to them by knowledgeable native residents and Konohiki agents. In the 1870s-1880s, the Boundary Commission was formalizing the boundary descriptions of the ahupua'a, and still had the benefit of hearing and recording testimonies from several native residents who had also been recipients of kuleana lands in the Mâhele. These individuals knew the land and lived upon it during the time of Governor Kuakini. At the time of the Boundary Commission work, they identified the wall as “Governor Adam's Wall.”

In the 1880s, J.S. Emerson mapped much of North Kona, and though Register Map 1280 does not identify the Great Wall or Kuakini Wall, Emerson's Register Map 1676—a detail of coastal portions of Kona from Lanihau to Puapua'aiki—does identify the Kuakini Wall. Additionally, Emerson's detailed Field Note Book No. 306, pages 51-52, use the name “Kuakini's wall” while describing the survey of Kahului 1st (in the collection of the State Survey Branch) (Emerson nd.). Subsequently, nearly every map reviewed,

up to and including the current TMK Maps, identify the wall either as “Great Wall of Kuakini” or “Pa Kuakini” (Kuakini Wall).

Kahului: Ranch Operations of the 20th Century

Formalized ranching on the coastal lands of Kahului did not occur until the 1920s (cf. Henke 1929; and Maly 1996). As noted above, cattle and other herbivores had become a problem, in the lowlands, but as ranching effort evolved in the late 1800s, the cattle were pushed to the uplands where pastures could support the herds. As recorded in an oral history interview with Joe Gomes (excerpts in this study), the lowlands didn’t have the grasses that could support intensive grazing until the late 1920s, early 1930s. It was at that time also, that Joe Gomes father, Manuel Gomes was able to purchase the lands of Wai’aha and Kahului from the defunct Kona Sugar Company (the coastal zone lands were never used for formal sugar cultivation as they were too dry).

On Hawai’i, one of the natural resources that was extensively used by ranchers was the abundant lava rocks. Holding pens and gates, paddock walls, boundary walls, and even shelters were all built of lava rocks and were used extensively. In Kahului, these features remained in use until recently. Interviews with Joe Gomes and other Kona Ranchers also record that many of the existing walls on the lowland pastures were made from stone that was obtained from earlier Hawaiian sites, or are features that were made by modifying previously existing sites (cf. Maly 1996).

Historic Archaeological Studies

A review of early historic records (e.g., Thrum, 1908; and Stokes and Dye, 1991) reporting on archaeological sites of Hawai’i (primarily heiau, or ceremonial sites), offers us no record of Kahului. In the period between 1929-1930, John Reinecke conducted an archaeological survey of sites in North Kona, on behalf of the Bishop Museum. The work remains incomplete, and because of the passing of time, the exact locations of many of the sites he described will never be known. Using the 1928 USGS Quad maps, Reinecke marked the general locations of the sites he recorded, but because of scale problems, the actual locations could be several hundreds of feet off (cf. Reinecke Maps pp.:41, 67, & 71; Figure 2, this study). Selected excerpts from Reinecke’s manuscript—identifying sites of Kahului 1-2—are included here, as they provide informant information no longer available.

Reinecke’s accounts are also of value as they provide us with an account of the general conditions of the land and sites, and informant knowledge of various cultural resources identified (e.g., heiau, dwellings, trails, walls, and burials, etc.). Reinecke’s opening statements in the section cited below, alerts readers to a particular method of construction, and also of the impact that grazing cattle and historic residences have had on features in the area between the Pâ Kuakini and the coastal road. Hawaiian terms used by Reinecke are translated, when necessary and possible, at the first occurrence of the word.

Sites from Kapalaalaea to Lanihau Inclusive [Kahului included in this section]

The most distinctive feature of this section is the use of coral fragments as a top dressing for the floors of dwelling sites. This is as characteristic as the use of iliili in the a-a section of Kahaluu.

A very large proportion of the dwelling sites and other structures along this coast must have been erected mauka of the government beach road; but it is practically impossible to penetrate the undergrowth to investigate even as far mauka as the **Pa Kuakini**; where I did so, the results were disappointing, as grazing of cattle and the demands of Kuleana walls have resulted in the destruction of many sites. Furthermore, this coast was rather densely populated until recently, so that most dwelling sites will be recent and of little interest [emphasis added].

- ...Site 55. On the border of **Kahului and Puapuaa**, perhaps a little south of its position on the map: apparently a triple-terraced house platform with other small platforms and ruins about. There are probably other house sites in the lantana. Here is a good papamu 14x13 rows. Two more platforms north, then a stone wall.
- Site 56. The wall is adjoined by an old house site paved with coral. Then comes what appears to be a walled house site or pen with a gate in front; a walled house platform adjacent.
- Site 57. A rather rough platform, probably a house site; faint ruins behind it. It is followed by a house platform with a wall around it and a pen to the south; adjacent on the north are two walled house sites or pens with coral floors. a wall in front, long since broken down.
- Site 58. Another wall about a yard which contains one old and one recent house site. Then follows a rough, old platforms in two sections. past it another rough, old platform. Back of them is a wall and much undergrowth This is followed by a mass of old platforms representing one or two house sites. Past this is a tangle of large stones.
- Site 59. At Puu Kini [**Puu Kani**], overlooking the sea 50' away is a fishing heiau, HALEOKOLIA... The makai side is broken down. There are puoa [burial mounds] near...
- Site 61. About 200 yards of boulders and platform-like ruins north of Haleokolia.
- Site 62. HEIAU HEKELINUI, a fishing heiau. It is a platform, fairly well built, about 4' high, 105' long, 40' wide at the sour end, but partly washed away at the north. A recent yard wall cuts of the N.E. corner. There are recent graves at the south end.
- Site 63. Two papamu [checker boards] flanking the gate to a graveyard, one wholly indistinct, the other 10x?, broken rows.
- Site 64. Old dwelling site. Pen with remains of older heavier-walled pen in front. Then a row of beach boulders, probably some old dwelling sites between it and the road. Last, a large, old house site.
- Site 65. A very small, earth covered platform on the shore, on which is a heap of large water-worn pebbles. They may possibly be offerings for luck in fishing, and this a sacred spot... [Reinecke n.d.:59-60]

Kona Field Work by Henry Kekahuna and Theodore Kelsey

In the 1940s-1950s, Henry Kekahuna and Theodore Kelsey collaborated in studies of Hawaiian lore and cultural sites in Kona. Kekahuna was also skilled cartographer who produced and left to future generations a valuable record—annotated drawings of cultural sites in Kona. Selections of the work done by Kekahuna and Kelsey, are found in the Hawai'i State Archives, personal collection of historian, June Gutmanis, and the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum. The collections include both handwritten and typed sheets, ranging from single-page entries to

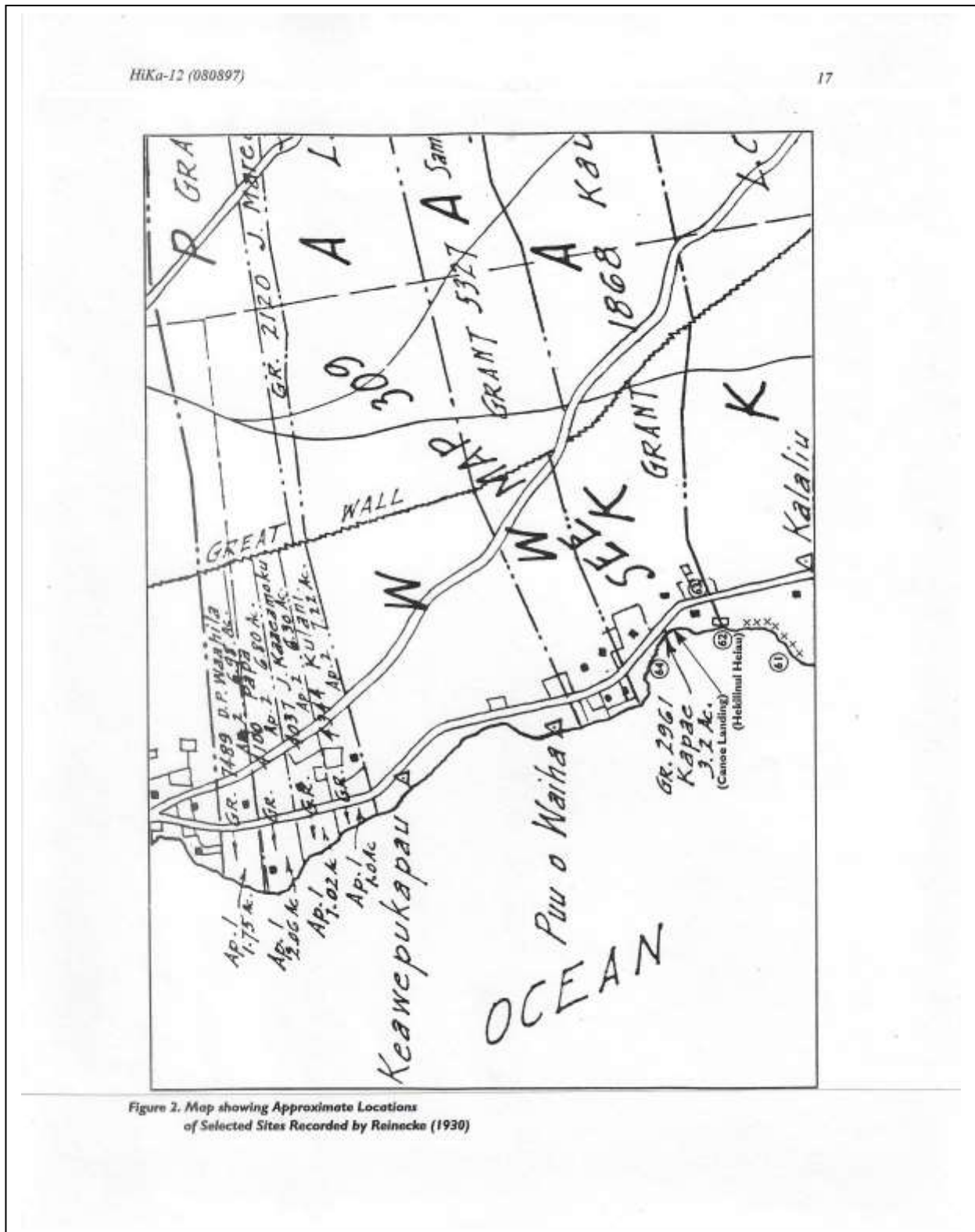


Figure 2. Map showing Approximate Locations of Selected Sites Recorded by Reinecke (1930)

multiple-page manuscripts. To date, the review of manuscripts Kekahuna-Kelsey collections, has provided only limited documentation of the Kahului area. The following notes are excerpted from the collections:

[T. Kelsey: written by hand]

**From Kapala-alaëa 1 to Poo-Hawaii
With Na-luahine**

6/13/50

...**Ka pa o Kua-kini**, a stone wall built by Kua-kini, noted governor of Kona, and brother of King Kamehameha's favorite chiefess Ka-ahu-manu. The wall extends as far as mauka of a large rubbish dump near Kai-lua on the Ka-û side of the road to Ka-wai-hae...

**North Kona, an Upland Trip
Names from Mr. Naluahine Ka-ôpua, of Kahaluu [nd.]**

Wai-a-kekea, a stream in Pua-puaa. (Also written Wai-a-keakea.)

Ka-hului I, with Wai-a-kekea on the upland side...

[hand written notes; May 3, 1950]

...Wai-a-kekea. He punawai keia mamua pono iho o ke kahua-hale kahi i hanau ai o Queen Emma ma ka aoao akau (north), a mai laila mai ka inoa o ke kuono, aiolo hono i kapa ia wa kahiko o Wai-a-kekea. [Wai-a-kekea. This is a spring directly in front of the house site where Queen Emma was born, on the north side, it is from there that the little cove or bay received the name Wai-a-Kekea in ancient times {translated by the author of this study}.]

[hand written notes, nd.]

...Kahului

Ke Kula o Kâhelo (The plain of K.), where there was horse racing before. It adjoins Puapua'a-iki (Puapua'a I), where the house of Mr. Bryan is, on land now called "Kai Olu"...

The next narratives are excerpted from a typed manuscript by Kelsey and Kekahuna written following their 1950 site visits to Kona with Nâluahine Ka'ôpua. Titled "Historic Satellites," they form the basis of a series of articles published in the Hawai'i Island newspaper, the Hilo Tribune-Herald.

[At] ...Pua-pua'a... lies Ke Kula o Kâhelo - The plain of Kâhelo - where races between horses of the Parker Ranch, in Waimea, and those of Kona ranches, as well as foot-races were held in the 1880s, and patronized by King Ka-la-kaua and members of his court. In the lower part of this plain now lives Curtis V. Crellin, who in November, 1947, completed a restoration of an important heiau, said to have been called Ka-ua-i-kaha-ola, that lies on his land by the seashore, and which the public may visit.

It is related that when King Kamehameha I, on the advice of a kahuna of the island of Kaua'i, decided to restore the old heiau in his day, he approached it by canoe. From a distance he saw several people about the place, but when he drew near not a single person was to be seen. The reason, he learned later, was because there is at the shore, near the southwest corner of the heiau, the submerged entrance of a cave leading upland, through which the people had fled.

Today a large boulder known as the Queen Emma Rock, as it is said to have been cast up by the sea during a severe storm at the time of Queen Emma's death, April 25, 1885, stands just north of the hidden cave entrance ... [Kelsey and Kekahuna, Ms., c. 1950:1-7]

KAHULUI: ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

The following oral history interviews were collected as a part of a larger oral history study, conducted for the district of Kona, and reported in Maly (1996). The interview process was conducted in compliance with the guidelines and standards of 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); and 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 Chapter §6-E). The interviews were gathered as a part of a participatory process between the interviewees and the interviewer, and the information has been included here with the permission of the interview participants. Further details on interview methodology and curation are documented in Maly (1996). Also, copies of the archival-historical and oral history components of this study have been given to the interviewees as well. Table 2 below, presents a general overview of a few key points covered in detail in the following interviews.

Table 2. Overview of Documentation Recorded in Oral History Interviews

Interviewee	Residency in Kahului	Records General Knowledge of Cultural Sites and Practices in Kahului	Knowledge of Historic (19 th -20 th Century) Residents in Study Area	Records Knowledge of Burial Site(s) in Study Area	Knowledge of Heiau in Study Area (Site 6322)
Luciana Ka'ailehua Makuakâne-Tripp	Yes (lifelong)	Yes	Yes	Yes (Site 6481)	No
Florence K. Kalawa-Tabag	Yes (in youth)	Yes	Yes	No	No
Kalaniola W. Hamm	Yes (in youth)	Yes	Yes	No	No
Joseph Gomes	Yes (lifelong)	Yes	Yes	Yes (could not locate now)	No

Luciana Ka'ailehua Makuakâne-Tripp, at Kahului Informal Oral History Interviews with Kepâ Maly March 4 & 12, 1996, and July 16, 1997

Luciana Ka'ailehua Makuakâne-Tripp (Aunty Luciana) was born on November 8, 1932, and is one of thirteen children of John and Elizabeth Makuakâne. She was raised on her family's kuleana land (LCA 7806), situated just mauka of the old Kahului Bay canoe landing, in North Kona (now fronted by Ali'i Drive). Aunty and her children still live on their 'âina kuleana. Aunty Luciana's father, John Makuakâne, was descended from several family lines associated with the lands of Kahului, Hôlualoa, and Pâhoehoe. During his life, he was a fisherman, who also worked at various jobs, and he retired as a security man at the old Kona Inn. Luciana's mother, Elizabeth Kaho'opi'i-Makuakâne, was raised in Kahalu'u by her kûpuna, the Keli'ikuli's. Mrs. Makuakâne was a lauhala weaver and well known genealogist (both of Aunty Luciana's parents have passed away).

A series of interviews were conducted with Aunty Luciana, at her home in Kahului (March 4 and 12, 1996, and again, as a part of this study on July 16, 1997). Because Aunty Luciana did not feel that she had much knowledge pertaining to old customs or traditional sites, she was hesitant to do a recorded interview. Aunty Luciana did allow me to take notes while we were speaking. The following narratives are a paraphrased summary of the discussions with Aunty Luciana. During the several meetings, clarifications, corrections, and additions were made to the typed narratives. Aunty Luciana gave her verbal permission for use of the 1996 interviews on March 30, 1996, and gave her personal release of the July 16, 1997 interview record on August 4, 1997.

Aunty Luciana felt that the basic content of the paraphrased narratives was correct and that it reflected the family's concerns. She did not feel it was necessary sign a formal release of interview narratives. I have attempted to report as accurately as possible, the information shared by Aunty Luciana. While there may be a few incomplete, or small contextual errors, the general content is accurate, and adds otherwise unavailable information to the historical record.

March 4 & 12, 1996

- KM: Thank you so much for taking the time to speak with me, and to share some of your recollections about your family and the land here.
- LT: Yes, but like I'd said, I don't know too much about the old ways, so I don't know if I can help.
- KM: Well that's okay, we can just talk story and see where we go from here. You know, there is a proposal to put the Ali'i Highway from Keauhou to Kahului, and mauka of your land. This oral history project is meant to try and collect information about some of the Hawaiian sites and places that are important to the Hawaiian families like yours. Your family has lived here for a long time, yeah?
- LT: Yes.
- KM: I'd seen in some old land documents that in 1873, a Makuakâne provided testimony to the Boundary Commission, regarding the boundaries of the ahupua'a of Kahului [(August 11, 1873) Volume 1-A:328]... The testimony mentions that Makuakâne came from Hâmâkua, but that he lived with Kapae, the Konohiki...
- LT: Yes, there are some Makuakâne who came from Hâmâkua, and Kapae's land is right there [pointing to the northern boundary wall of her land], right on the other side of this property, next door to our lot.
- KM: Now in the records of the Mâhele, this land is identified as kuleana Number 7806 awarded to Kalawa.
- LT: Yes, the deed shows that too.
- KM: So the Kalawa-Makuakâne side of the family has resided on this property for many generations, to at least the early 1800s?
- LT: Yes, and my grandmother gave this property to my father when he was 15 years old.
- KM: Do you remember hearing your kûpuna talk about any old Hawaiian sites or practices associated with the land of Kahului, or around your kuleana?
- LT: [thinking] No, not really. By our time, they weren't talking too much about those kinds of things to us. We were brought up early as Catholics, and then in about 1940, converted to the Mormon church. You know, when we were kids, we'd walk barefoot all the way to Kailua school, by the Court House [Hale Halawai]. We were supposed to go for catechism, also, but sometimes we didn't like the way we were treated, so we would go to the Mormon Church to hide. The priest came and told our mother, and we told her why, and after the Mormon Elders came, we eventually converted.

- KM: What did your father do? Was he a fisherman?
- LT: Yes, father was a fisherman, but he also worked other jobs. But he loved fishing, and caught all kinds of fish.
- KM: Do you remember if papa or tûtû them ever kept a Kû'ula, or made offerings of their catch, like in the old way?
- LT: No not in our time.
- KM: Was fishing an important part of your family's support and diet?
- LT: Oh yes. You know, the shore was very different here, even when I was young. The beach came up with sand and rocks into the yard, and there used to be an old canoe and boat landing in front here. You know Kahului was an important landing, before days. I have this picture from the Kona Historical Society, from about 1890. Over there [pointing to a thatched house in the picture on the north side of the landing] that's where the Kona Tiki Hotel is now. You see, they've filled all this in to make the road and hotel. The landing is all changed now. But look, there are so many people, all Hawaiians down on the shore. Now almost all the families are gone. Our house would be just off the picture here. Now, all these walls and house sites are all gone too.
- KM: Yes, you can still generally make out the alignment of the shore though. Look at this beautiful thatched house [pointing to the picture]; I guess that is the general area of the hotel now. And I guess this [pointing to a cluster of coconut trees and a building behind them, on the north] must be the location of the old Protestant Church.
- LT: Yes, It's my understanding that the Komomuas, Kahulamû, and Hendersons had the place. You know, before, over here had all coconut trees. Not too much any more, and no more nuts. Now they cut them all. Sad.
- KM: Yeah, people are all afraid of liability now, no one takes responsibility for their own standing under the coconut trees... Okay, and your mother, what was her name, and where was she from?
- LT: My mother was Elizabeth Kaho'opi'i, she was born in Honolulu, but when she was nine months old, she was brought back to Kona and raised at Kahalu'u by her Tûtû Keli'ikuli. You know where the Keauhou Beach and Kona Lagoon Hotels are?
- KM: Yes.
- LT: Well where they lived, was near the tennis courts between the two heiau, Hâpaiali'i and Mâkole'â.
- KM: Oh, so mama's family was from the Kahalu'u area?
- LT: Yes. My mother also told me that her tûtû had another house on the side of Kahalu'u Bay, where she had also lived for a time. You know where the Painted Catholic Church is?
- KM: Yes, St. Peter's.
- LT: Yes. There is the heiau Ku'emanu there.
- KM: Oh yes.
- LT: Well, when I would go past there with my mother, she would point that heiau out to me and say that she was also brought up in a house that was right on top of that heiau.
- KM: Right on top of the heiau?

LT: Yes, my mother said that Ku'emanu was a good heiau, one for the ocean. I think my mom's cousin Julia Keli'ikuli (Elizabeth Kalâ) would remember that too [we were unable to make arrangements to meet with Elizabeth Kalâ]...

My mom was a well-known genealogist. People from all around the islands, even Hawaiian families from the mainland would come to see her for help about the families of Kona. I remember that after my mother passed away, the whole family gathered at Judge Kimura's office, and Judge Kimura told us that my mother had been a "gold mine of information." She had often been in the courts as a witness on family lands and relationships.

KM: What did mama do while you folks were growing up?

LT: She was a lauhala weaver, and we would help as we were growing up. We had hala trees growing all around our land [gesturing around the kuleana parcel]. We used to take care of the hala.

KM: Did you folks grow 'uala [sweet potatoes] and other things around the home also to supplement the fish your father them caught?

LT: Yes, mama had mounds of 'uala growing right over there [pointing to the south side of the house], and we had some chickens and other vegetables too.

KM: Where did you folks get your water from?

LT: Oh, we had our own brackish water well in our front yard, near the shore. Dad had even lined the well with stones, it was a square shaped well, and we had a ladder to go down into it; sometimes us kids would drop the pâkini [bucket] into the well and have to climb down to get it. The hotel is right next to the area, but the water still comes out. It was good water, and cold. No more pollution like today. That was one of our jobs, to carry the buckets of water from down by the shore up to water the plants. We also caught some rain water off of the metal roof, but the well gave us most our water. Everyone here had their supply. Ka'ilikini there [pointing to the lot just south and makai of the Kahului bridge] had their own spring, we had ours, Upchurches had theirs, and our other family, Makuakâne had theirs, all natural water springs. The Simmons, on the other side of Ka'ilikini, dug a well for themselves.

KM: You know, when Valentine and I were here several weeks ago [January 9, 1996] we'd spoken about the Komomua family and the cemetery that was just on the other side of Kahului stream above Ka'ilikini's place.

LT: Yes.

KM: Where does the Komomua family come in?

LT: Well, my old tûtû Makuakâne was the brother of Komomua [and] his sister, Moekai Makuakâne-Komomua; the family line is tied there. From Lunapule Road, there were several lots and families. There was Makuakâne, Komomua, then two empty lots, then there was Kapae, and then here, the Kalawa family with us. The cemetery there [on the south side of the Kahului stream bed] had Komomua and Ka'ilikini. My father was buried there too, but we moved him mauka. One of the Komomua descendants wanted to sell the land, so the graves were all supposed to be removed and taken up to Hualâlai Cemetery.

KM: [brief conversation about the Komomua tie to Môkapu Peninsula and work with the Catholic Church at Môkapu, and later St. Ann's.] The kuleana records for that land show that it was awarded to Niniha (LCA 10373).

LT: Yes, Niniha was one of the tûtû of the Komomua line.

KM: Oh, so they were family?

- LT: Yes.
- KM: You know, up behind your place is the Great Wall they call Kuakini Wall. Have you heard of it?
- LT: Yes, but I've never gone there, though. My brother did.
- KM: Did you ever hear your tūtū or parents them talk about the wall or what it was made for?
- LT: [thinking] No, I don't think so.
- KM: When you were young, were there still cattle in behind your place?
- LT: Yes, I think Gouveia and Gomes kept the cattle back there, and all around here. As a child, we were always having problems with the rancher. We built and fixed walls around our place to keep the cattle out, and they'd always get busted down. We always had to chase the cattle out of our area.
- KM: Do you know of family burial sites on your land, or in the area?
- LT: See that wall between us and the Kapae's kuleana?
- KM: Yes.
- LT: Well, just on the other side of that wall, not too far from our house, is a small rock platform that's built up. That's a Kīpapa family grave, my dad's family. We also have family graves from the Kīpapa and Kekapahaukea side of our family in the land of Pâhoehoe 3. Kīpapa and Kekapahaukea married and had my Tūtū Kina. They lived on their land in Pâhoehoe...
- ...You know, in the old Makuakâne-Komomua lot by Lunapule Road, my dad's grandfather, Mukini, was buried at the mauka corner of the lot, on a pâhoehoe flat. Someone went in and bulldozed that lot and they hit our Tūtū's burial. Fortunately we heard about it and we were able to go gather Tūtū's iwi and we reburied them mauka.
- I also remember that as a child, I went with my father to some of the burial caves in Kahalu'u and Keauhou. Papa would sometimes take visitors to some of the caves...There were many burials and all kinds of things buried with some of the people. Some areas were sealed to protect them. My father always made sure that everyone knew that they were not to touch any thing. He always taught us, "Don't touch, respect these places, and leave them as they are..."
- KM: ...Dad was very strict about protecting the sites, yeah?
- LT: Yes, don't mess around, you have to respect...
- KM: What do you feel about the old Hawaiian places behind here and the development of the road?
- LT: I hope that they will respect those places, and work around them. It's important to take care of the past too.
- KM: Mahalo...

July 16, 1997

This follow-up interview was conducted to collect any further information that Aunty Luciana might recall regarding families, sites, and practices associated with the study area parcel which also borders her kuleana on its northern and mauka sides. During the interview we looked at two maps, one was Register Map 1676, a portion of which depicts Kahului in c. 1885 (survey by J.S. Emerson), and a field map of the study area parcel showing archaeological sites recorded by PHRI. The two maps have been combined

together as an annotated figure, showing archaeological sites, kuleana and residences, land grant parcels, and features described by Aunty Luciana (Figure 3). The documentation below is presented in an interview format, with basic questions and paraphrased answers.

1. Register Map 1676 records the names of several families in the area around your kuleana; are those families related, and are there any that are still alive today? (Specific questions were asked about Nālawai'a, Ka'upena, Kipola, and Heeches, identified as being associated with the study are parcel.)

LT: All of the families named here [on the map] are related. The connection comes together between my great great grandparents to grandparents generations. Kapae is a common ancestor. Tūtū Kalua Kialoa (the name was Ka-wa'a-kialoa-o-Kamehameha) is my father's grandmother (not to be confused with my father's aunt who was her name sake), she brings together the Kapae and Kialoa lines. Kialoa is also where the Ka'ilikini tie comes in. Keawe Ka'ilikini was her last husband. Ka'ilikini still lived on Kapae's land across from us on the ocean side, when we were young. Through Kialoa we are also tied to Niniha, Kuapu'u, Kalawa, and Nālawai'a. Where the map (RM No. 1676) shows the house for "Makuakane," that's where my grandfather Moses Kawa'akialoaokamehameha Makuakāne lived. My grandaunt Mukini (M. Makuakāne's sister) married Moekai Komomua, and that's how the Komomua line came into that land. The lot between M. Makuakāne and Nālawai'a is where some of the Komomua family lived as well. They also lived on a portion of Kapae's land across from here.

My father's uncle, Simeona Mi'oi, who married into the family was tied to Ka'upena and Kipola mā [folks], whose names are shown on this land [the present study area].

2. Shared with Aunty what Joe Gomes remembered about his father purchasing the study area parcel from a Hawaiian woman and her German husband, George Heeches, and asking if she'd hear the name Heeches, or knew if the woman may have been Ka'upena's grandchild; thinking for a while, she responded:

LT: I don't remember the name Heeches, I don't think I ever heard it. Maybe my cousin Paul Mi'oi, who lives in Honolulu might know something.

3. Did you hear who lived around the study area in your grandparents and parents time? And were any of the families still here when you were a child?

LT: The family members I mentioned, but by the time I was born in 1932, there was no one living on the property next door (the study area). The only house I remember except for our, was the old one that looked like it was being taken apart when I was a child. My grandfather Moses K. Makuakāne's house was gone when I was a child, Tūtū Mukini's line with Komomua had moved away from Kahului, and the Kalawa's lived mauka. Keawe Ka'ilikini still lives makai for a while, and my grand aunt, the younger Kalua, my father's aunt lived on the Kapae property as well. Kuapu'u's descendants are from Nuhi Kāne, tied to my family who lived at Pāhoehoe-La'aloa, and Hannah Kāne-Reese is still here in Kona. On the Komomua side, there's a Glen Komomua, who's around 60 years old, that lives in Honolulu. He may know something more about the family as well.

4. There are several burial sites that were located during the recent archaeological survey, one of them (identified as Site 6481), you told me about when we met last year. What do you know about the family and possibly about the remains in that site?

LT: No one was living on that lot by the time I was born. I remember as a child, that there were always cattle running in there, I think it was Gouveia and Gomes who had the cattle here. Other than that, there was thick growth of kiawe and other plants through the lot, you couldn't see across the land.

This grave here [pointing to the area of Site 6481] I always understood that the property was tied to Kapae, and Nālawai'a who had the kuleana is our family as well. Right off hand, I don't recognize the name J. Maio that's on the map, but maybe that was Nālawai'a's descendant. My father told me a story that he'd heard from his parents about the family that had lived there, and the death of one of the residents, but I don't know the name of who was buried there. According to my father, he'd heard that one of the people who lived in the house had died. When the family found out, they kept his body in the house, praying for three days, to bring him back to life. On the third day, he awoke and sat up. He told everyone that he had died, but he met his kūpuna who told him to come back, "Ua hele a ho'i mai." He also said that he'd been given a book to bring with him, but when his spirit came to the door of the house, he couldn't bring the book in, he had to leave it outside. He died sometime later, and this might be the person who is buried at the platform there.

I also remember, that my older brother John told me that the person buried there was tied to our Kīpapa family line; that's another line that the Makuakāne's descend from [see preceding section of interview additional details].

5. Other sites were identified as having, or having had burials, are you familiar with these? [pointing out locations on the map]:
 - a. Site 6489, several bone fragments were found;
 - b. Site 6488, one burial was found, and there is a record that one burial was disinterred and relocated to Site 6322 back around 1978;
 - c. Site 6487 is a pāhoehoe capped lava blister, enclosed by a wall; remains were located in the lava blister;
 - d. Site 6482 is an enclosed "Hawaiian mortar" above ground crypt; the remains have been previously disinterred (there is no record of that disinterment)

LT: Other than my grandfather, M. K. Makuakāne's grave, the grave next door (Site 6481), and the Komomua-Ka'ilikini grave yard across the Kahului Stream (next to Niniha's kuleana), I never heard about any other burials here. I do know that our families buried loved ones where they lived, but I don't know any specific names.

Like I said before, the Komomua grandchildren wanted to sell the graveyard lot, so we took my father out of his grave there and relocated him. I think it was in the late 1970s, that Alfred Asing was contracted to remove all the other graves.

6. Last year you shared with me that your grandfather's grave had been situated on the old family home site closer to Lunapule Road, where was that site on this map? And, when was the area bulldozed?

LT: [pointing to the map] Grandfather Moses K. Makuakāne's grave was situated at the far mauka corner of the lot where his house is shown. The grave was set in a hollow area, covered with pāhoehoe, like a little platform. It was around 1973, when my youngest daughter was born, that Teru Matsumoto was contracted to bulldoze the land there [the lot including the study area]. That's when we had to move my grandfather's grave. He bulldozed the property all the way from Ali'i Drive up to Kuakini Highway.

[pointing to the back of her yard] That wall there, used to run all the way across the property, marking the back of Nâlawai'a, Komomua and M. Makuakâne's lots. A lot of the wall was busted down so the cattle could get through, but the rest went down when the bull dozing occurred.

[The wall is identified on RM No. 1676; the wall's boundaries coincide with the makai configuration of the study area parcel.]

7. Did you ever hear of a heiau (Site 6322) in the area behind your house, near what is now the Kuakini Highway?

LT: I never heard of a heiau back there. I never knew about any heiau in the Kahului area.

8. Did you ever hear of a cave somewhere behind your kuleana?

The only thing I heard about, was my father saying that there was a cave up there, and that if there was an emergency we could go hide in it. This was around the time of World War II. I think the cave would be below the Kuakini Highway, but like I said, I never saw the cave, I don't know if there's anything in it or how big it is.

9. What do you feel about burial sites?

LT: The iwi were there for many years, and put where they are for a reason. People have to think about that, and before anything happens, they got to pule [pray]. If someone needs to be moved, they have to ask the iwi, and talk about what they're doing and why [see also comments in preceding section of the interview].

**Elizabeth Kalaniola Wilson-Hamm
and Florence "Charlie" Kalihilihiokeânuenuekapûnohulilaikekai Kalawa-Tabag
Formal Oral History Interview (May 23, 1996) with Kepâ Maly, at Kealakehe**

Elizabeth Kalaniola Wilson-Hamm (Kalani) was born in 1942, in Kohala (her father was working for Kohala Plantation at the time). On her mother's side of the family, she is descended from the Kahulamû and Kahinu families, of Kahalu'u, and was primarily raised in Kahalu'u and Kahului, North Kona. As a child, Aunty Kalani was blessed with the opportunity to live with her kûpuna, and from them, she learned some of the history and beliefs of her family and their relationship to the land.

Florence Kalihilihiokeânuenuekapûnohulilaikekai (Okeânuenue) Kalawa-Tabag (affectionately called "Charlie") was born in 1942, at Keôpû, North Kona. She is closely tied to families of Kona and Kohala, but the Kalawa line of Aunty's family has resided at Kahului since at least before the Mâhele of 1848. Throughout her childhood, Aunty was surrounded by her elders and kûpuna from whom she learned firsthand some of the history, beliefs, and customs of her family. Her family instilled in her the importance of family and its relationship to the lands of her ancestors.

The Kahulamû and Kalawa families share common components of their genealogy, and through their extended families, are related to many other families of Kona. Both lines have expressed deep concern about the protection of all cultural sites, including 'ilina (burial sites). In her interview, aunty Okeânuenue shared something that she had learned from her father regarding the importance of burials and the relationship shared among families, their ancestor's remains, and the land:

(Counter #649) Burials are important! ...Burials in one's own yard had a significant value, a completely Hawaiian value as to why they buried in the yard, on the family 'âina... The purpose for burying...for my 'ohana, they taught us it was returning one's deceased to the "'âina" — the Tûtû. My 'ohana accepted the 'âina as part of the family—'ohana. In this sense, you had the pili [closeness], the mâlama [caring for or cherishing], and the aloha all in one... [#658] ...My father says they knew, when they were young that from their grandparents, the 'ôlelo [words spoken], they knew that you could not desecrate, you were not supposed to, you know, touch the deceased wherever they were buried. This was a form of letting the future know that this is our 'âina. You see, because there were no surveys done, so this is where I put my kûpuna to rest, and for the future...Like daddy always said, "You pono [do right in] your 'ohana from the day they born until they make. And then you can go on, your generation lives on and on." And they always...if they go away from the 'âina, they can always come home. That's what it was!

Following reviews of the transcripts, including making clarifications and adding further documentation, the final transcript was released by Kalani Hamm (Aunty Kalani) on June 6, 1996 (including the informal interview transcript of June 1, 1996). Aunty Okeânue gave her final release (with clarifications) of the transcript on June 14, 1996.

[Tape 1, Side A; back ground laughing]

Name and

Counter #

KM: 398 ...You were living at Kahului?

KH: Across from Makuakâne's place. I was there for a while.

KM: Oh, is that by the Ka'ilikini's?

KH: Yes, I was living at Ka'ilikini's for a while. And I remember the grave yard right across the street.

KM: Yeah, which someone took out.

KH: Yeah [chuckles], someone took out. The families took it out.

KM: I understand why aunty mâ [Luciana and folks] took their papa them out of the cemetery, because they saw that change was going to happen, and they didn't want to get suddenly stuck.

KH: Yeah, yeah.

KM: It was a hard decision. You know, with your kûkû, Keawe Ka'ilikini mâ, did you ever hear about a heiau that was just makai of their place on the rock promontory?

KH: 409 Yeah, on the left, on the left side. That was kapu, we couldn't go there. But, it was amazing, because as a little girl, I used to walk along the beach with my uncle, you know. We'd be fishing and all that, and there was an area that we went to, that heiau that we talking about, and I remember that heiau, I remember the altar. That altar was still in operation then.

KM: When you were a child in the 40s?

KH: When I was a kid, yeah.

KM: Well, what's interesting is, and the reason I bring it up...

KH: Because the shack was still there and the altar was still up, you know, they ho'okupu [make offerings], and it was still in operation.

- KM: 423 That heiau is gone now.
- KH: Yeah.
- KM: The Sea Village condominium is built right...
- KH: Right on top of 'um. So when we used to go over with uncle, I used to be his bag girl, to go with him. And then he said, that's off limits, that heiau, for me as a kid. It wasn't for him, because he went in [chuckles]. He took what ever he had, he went in and he came back with an empty hand. So he went in, and after that, we caught a lot of fish [chuckles].
- KM: Yeah. Well, you see, uncle Val Ako had shared with me that as a child, he remembered your uncle Ka'ilikini them, and taking care of that. And then I was talking with cousin Al Kaleio'umiwai Simmons last week.
- KH: Yeah.
- KM: And he was describing just what you were, that it was an active heiau when you were young.
- KH: Yeah, young.
- KM: He says that kûkû Ka'ilikini them would still 'oli [chant].
- KH: 'Oli, yeah.
- KM: And take their ho'okupu.
- KH: 439 Yeah, so when I would walk with him, and he told me for us kids, "That's off limits." Oh, that was a nice place, I thought that was really nice. I could have asked him why I couldn't go there, and teach me what he was doing, you know. So I used to go by the stone wall and watch [chuckles], and watch him, what he had in his hand. When he came back, his hand was empty. So I knew he left it in there.
- KM: Uhmm. And then, go lawai'a [fishing]...?
- KH: And oh, the fish we caught. And what was amazing, is that he never took anything to catch the fish. He use his hand [gestures reaching out to snatch the fish as it passed by].
- KM: Oh yeah, hâhâ [to catch fish with the hands].
- KH: 449 And he would just come home with the fish. I said, "Uncle, are you going to teach me how to do that?" He didn't have any boys eh. And that's the way he did it, that was his way of fishing. I was really disappointed when I didn't see that [heiau] no more. In the 40s, it was there.
- FK-T: 459 Good example yeah, of what can happen.
- KH: We had a well, eh, we had a well right at the house site. A deep well.
- KM: Yeah, that's one of the things that you've seen eh.
- FK-T: Uhmm.
- KM: We've just mentioned, that this heiau that you are describing is gone now.
- KH: Uhmm.
- KM: The condos were built on top of it. In your folks life time, you've seen a lot of change here in Kona.
- KH/FK-T: Uh-hmm.
- KM: Many of your Hawaiian places, places that your parents and kûkû them held important to them, are gone. Is it important to care for Hawaiian places and sites, and history, now?

- KH: 470 Oh, what ever is left, yes!
- FK-T: Of course, of course!
- KH: Like that area, that heiau when uncle went and did his offerings, it must have been one of the last ones on the coast. Probably from Keauhou down to Kailua. It was the last there, 'cause we always went there first.
- KM: 'Oia, well, see, that was his 'âina yeah.
- KH: Yeah.
- KM: He was kama'âina to that land. Cause you know, look at Kahalu'u...
- KH: 482 Ka'ilikini, he was...uncle Herman Keawe Ka'ilikini, he's from Honalo, his 'âina, that's where he was born, Honalo.
- KM: Oh.
- KH: The beach area. But, I had a cousin that I met, the first time in Maui, his name is Francis Brown, and Francis Brown used to come up all the time to Ka'ilikini's. This was where grandpa Ben Kahulamû resided, there.
- KM: At Kahului?
- KH: At Kahului, because he was married to tûtû Kalua [Kialoa]. And when we were sharing in Maui, cousin Francis, he said, "You know Kalani, I finally realized who that old man I seen a long time ago, as a child." It was his tûtû man, tûtû Kalua's papa. He was always clothed in a red malo, and had a spear. All he wore was a red malo. And he refused to do anything in the white man's way.
- [One of Kalani's cousins {tûtû Kalua's mo'opuna} told her that tûtû Kalua would get up every morning and go outside before sunrise and 'oli {chant} until the sun rose. She did this until the day she died {pers. comm. June 11, 1996}.]
- KM: [opening a map] You know, this is an 1880-some odd map, by Emerson, based on his 1880s surveys. And I was just looking, because you made me think of something. [looking at the map to locate Kahului] Here's Kahului.
- KH: Yeah.
- KM: Makuakânes, here's where Luna Pule Road would be. And then it says Kahului Church. Do you know where the Kahului Church is now, who's place it is?
- KH: [thinking]
- KM: Henderson, you know the old stone...?
- KH: Yeah, right, the Kanewa's used to live there.
- KM: I'd heard, that James Ako mâ...
- KH: James Ako.
- KM: 519 Bought that from Kahulamû. It's interesting, what I'm curious is, cause you'd mentioned... we're looking at the old Kahului Church, Ka'ilikini used to live basically right over here [pointing to the general location on the map].
- KH: Yeah.
- KM: So Kahulamû was tied to Ka'ilikini?
- KH: Oh no. Ka'ilikini's wife is Elizabeth Kahulamû.
- KM: So by marriage.

- KH: By marriage. And her step mother, Kahulamû's wife is Kalua [sound of map being folded up], Ben Kahulamû's wife is Kalua. [looking through family genealogical records] Kalua, Elizabeth Kialoa.
- KM: Oh, the Kialoa...
- KH: 539 Kalua Kialoa. [The name Kialoa was shortened from the name Nâ-wa'a-kialoa-o-Kamehameha {pers. comm. Kalani Hamm, June 11, 1996}.]
- KM: Oh I see. The Kialoa family were old kuleana lands. Kialoa had big 'âina at Kahului.
- KH: So that's the one, the 'âina.
- KM: So that's how Ka'ilikini came in...
- KH: Through Kahulamû, because he married her, that's his second wife. He married a Kialoa. Ben married Kialoa, so that was their property.
- KM: [looking at the genealogical record] Oh, they're Kimiona, Simeona also. Because her father, Kalua's father was John Kialoa, the mother was Kuanui Simeona. Oh interesting, the families are so inter-related, so many connections yeah...
... I think that you'd shared a little bit with me, there is concern about the care and preservation of Hawaiian places. And the burials are important.
- FK-T: 649 Of course, burials are important! Dad related to us about these things. Burials in one's own yard had a significant value, a completely Hawaiian value as to why they buried in the yard, on the family 'âina. [modified from the recorded text]
- KM: I see.
- FK-T: Okay, a long time ago, it was done in the caves, according to daddy. Right [looking at Kalani]?
- KH: Yeah, in the caves.
- FK-T: The purpose for burying... Now, not all Hawaiian families may have had the same reason, but for my 'ohana, they taught us it was returning one's deceased to the "'âina" — the Tûtû. My 'ohana accepted the 'âina as part of the family—'ohana. In this sense, you had the pili [closeness], the mâlama [caring for or cherishing], and the aloha all in one. [modified from recorded text]
- KM: 'Ae, a 'oia! [Yes, that's it!]
- FK-T: 658 You know. Okay, now, in the future, like say for example now. This was because they knew, like my father says, they knew, when they were young that from their grandparents, the 'ôlelo [words spoken] goes, they knew that you could not desecrate, you were not supposed to, you know, touch the deceased wherever it was buried. This was a form of letting the future know that this is our 'âina. You see, because there were no surveys done, so this is where I put my kûpuna to rest, and for the future.
So you were supposed to tend to it, everything was done within that enclosure like, for the 'ohana. Like daddy always said, "You pono [do right in] your 'ohana from the day they born until they make. And then you can go on, your generation lives on and on." And they always...if they go away from the 'âina, they can always come home. That's what it was!
- KM: Ohh, mahalo! It's so logical too, because of the pili and the 'âina, as you said, "They returned back to this earth that gave them birth.
- FK-T: Right, yes, yes...
- 673 ...There's always a reason, you know, for everything that they did.
- KM: So, the 'ilina, the family graves...

- FK-T: 'Ae.
- KM: ...and the iwi [bones] are important...
- FK-T: Of course.
- KM: The idea that your papa them handed down to you is that you were responsible...families should take care...
- FK-T: Right.
- KM: ...But, as you said, how interesting that whole idea of, "There's always a place that you can come home.
- FK-T: 678 According to Dad, that's what was passed down in order to answer the question, "Why the dead were buried in one's own yard." So daddy would talk about that. [modified from recorded text]
- KH: Can you tell brother here [Kepâ], how old daddy was before he passed on?
- FK-T: Daddy was 89 [born in 1898].
- KH: See, how wonderful, her daddy was 89 and he was passing on the knowledge to sister.
- KM: 'Ae.
- FK-T: 682 Yeah, we were born and raised with that mana'o [thought and feeling] from both our parents. No electricity, no modern things. So in the evenings the mo'okû'auhau was told over and over. We memorized the names of the 'ohana who lived afar, but personally knew of those in Kona. Of course, at that time, we were thinking, "Oh no, here it comes again." But daddy and mama wanted us to know that by heart if possible. Today, I feel so 'olu'olu [good] and ha'aheo [proud] of being Hawaiian because of these teachings. I know where I came from, where I'm at, and these are a part of where I'm going. [modified from recorded text]...
- KM: ...What year did your papa die?
- FK-T: He died in 1987.
- KM: So he was born in about...?
- FK-T: 1898.
- KM: What was papa's name?
- FK-T: 694 He was born Ôpûkaha'ia Kalawa. When he went into the army, he used his father's haole name, which was John Keawe Kalawa.
- KM: Ohh. And mama's name?
- FK-T: My mama's name was Ella, like my sister.
- KM: Was sister the oldest?
- FK-T: Yes. She [my mother] was born in Kawaihae, she was a Lono, her papa was Lono and her mama was Pai...
- KH: ...[pointing to a photograph of Kahului landing and vicinity, c. 1890] I just wanted to point out, this is the way Kahului Bay used to look.
- KM: Kahului eh?
- KH: Uh-hmm.
- KM: Aunty Luciana showed me also. So, their house is...
- KH: Behind here.

- KM: Yeah, just in behind here yeah.
- KH: And our house was over there [pointing just off of the photograph].
- KM: Ahh, so Ka'ilikini mâ?
- KH: Yeah. And the church is right there [pointing to the edge, at the right {northern} side of the photograph]. Right in that area.
- KM: Look at all the ulu niu [coconut grove]. This is about 1890, it's Kahului Bay, there are canoes at the landing, the sand was up. Look where all the people are standing. And there are thatched house here. This is where the Kona Tiki Hotel is now.
- KH: Yeah.
- KM: And look, the 'aho [perkins], lâ'au and 'aho from the thatched house, no more pili [grass] on top, but... Yeah amazing.
- KH: Then they built up the bridge.
- KM: Your 'ohana?
- KH: Yeah, they helped build that bridge.
- KM: Oh, because where aunty Luciana is living, is Kalawa's kuleana [land from the Mâhele].
- FK-T: Yes.
- KM: In going through the Mâhele records and in the 1873 testimonies of the Boundary Commission, your great kupuna Kalawa was a Konohiki, overseer of the lands for the chiefs of Kahului. And evidently, Makuakâne lived with...in the 1840s, lived with Kalawa according to some of the records. That's how Makuakâne learned the boundaries of the land. It so interesting, how far back this relationship goes.
- FK-T: 727 Yes, you know, that's why Dad did not know his mama's genealogy. We thank our 'ohana, the Makuakâne's for the information. Dad knew his father's genealogy, and the Konohiki was my great, great kupuna kâne, Kalawa. At this time, I'd like to mention, for my cousin Kalani and I, our deepest gratitude to the family of cousins, John, Luciana, Jack, and all of them, for their mama's work. Their mama did so much, and gave so much time remembering us, she helped to make nâ po'e o Kona [the people of Kona] one again. We say "Mahalo, mahalo nui loa" to Aunty Elizabeth. [modified from recorded text]
- KM: I understand that there is evidently a cave some where mauka of aunty's place [Makuakâne's residence], a cave and I guess some iwi, 'ilina inside there too. But you haven't heard...
- FK-T: [shaking head]
- KM: ...You folks didn't live at that 'âina.
- FK-T: Yeah.
- KM: You were at Keôpû?
- FK-T: Right. We were always familiar with the Kalawa estates. Dad was given the lands of his mama, Mokihana Kânehailua in Keôpû. Dad was satisfied with this and some people wondered why he did not live on the Kahului lands, but, his answer would be "Even if my home is not there, I know that I belong to that 'âina." He would say "A'ole, mai 'ânunu" [No, don't be greedy]. He would say, "The Kalawa 'ohana is huge, there are plenty of descendants, those who live on the 'âina, belong to that 'âina, right on down to the present..."

**Joseph Gomes, at Kahului
Oral History Interview with Kepâ Maly
March 13, 1996 (9:00 a.m.)**

Joseph (Joe) Gomes was born in 1916 at Hôlualoa mauka. His father, Manuel Gomes, came to Hawai'i from Portugal in about 1883. After having lived and worked in Ka'û for a time, Manuel Gomes moved to Kona and was able to lease land in Honua'ula and Keahuolu for his own ranching operations. When the Kona Sugar Company went out of business in 1927, the elder Mr. Gomes was able to purchase the lands of Kahului 1 and 2, and Wai'aha 1 and 2, which he developed into ranching operations. Following his father's death in 1959, Joe Gomes inherited the family's Kona ranch lands, and he and his family still run cattle on portions of their land.

Mr. Gomes has clear recollections of land use—associated with ranching activities—on the kula, including the makai lands of the present study area.. He describes the construction or modification of rock walls, use of the Kuakini Wall, development of paddocks, and some sites from earlier Hawaiian occupation of the land. His interview also describes the differences between walls of early Hawaiian construction and later work done for the ranches. Additionally, Mr. Gomes' interview provides a colorful description of ranching activities throughout this section of North Kona. Of particular interest to the study area, Mr. Gomes noted that he and others had seen house sites and artifacts mauka of the Kuakini Wall, in Kahului (possibly in the vicinity of Sites 9802 and 9803).

On April 10, 1996, Mr. Gomes and I (Kepâ Maly) met to review the interview transcript. He noted that the information was correct, as he remembered the history, and was similar to information he had shared in an oral history interview conducted by the Kona Historical Society. Mr. Gomes agreed that the information could be used, so long as it wasn't altered, but stated that he had been advised not to sign a formal release of the information (in case a descendant of someone he mentioned got angry). The following narratives are pertinent excerpts from the interview with Mr. Gomes.

[Tape 1, Side A]

Name and

Counter #

JG: [When Manuel Gomes moved to Kona, he established his family in upland Hôlualoa, and began leasing land for cattle ranching] ...Then we had this land from Keahuolu, which is Lili'uokalani Estate, from the airport right up to the mountain.

KM: All Keahuolu

JG: All Keahuolu. And up mauka, Palani Road, they had the sisal; way back, sisal mill. Old man Aungst used to run the sisal. And then we had cattle below there when we had cattle mauka, mountain. And the we had Honua'ula, government land, another 3,000 acres about 7,000 acres [total].

KM: Oh, I see. Was this lease land, then?

JG: Lease. That was lease, all lease.

KM: Keahuolu and the Honua'ula land was all lease.

JG: All leased.

KM: You were running cattle both makai and mauka.

JG: Mauka and down here too.

KM: Oh yeah, down in Hôlualoa side?

- JG: 050 Yeah right here [the land of Kahului]. We bought this is, my father bought this in 1927, sugar plantation.
- KM: Oh, oh. Did he buy it from the Japanese hui?
- JG: Yeah, yeah.
- KM: So like up where the old mill is...
- JG: Yeah, that's up here.
- KM: That's, your place is mauka there too yeah?
- JG: We go right up to the reserve here.
- KM: Oh right up to the reserve, forest reserve.
- JG: Reserve, reservation. And right down, right down to the beach at one time.
- KM: So 1927 Dad bought this whole section. Now we're in the land of Kahului here. Is that right?
- JG: Kahului 1, 2 and Wai'aha 1, 2.
- KM: Ah, so this whole section, Kahului and Wai'aha Dad bought.
- JG: Then we bought some more pieces. Like we bought another 90 acres from George Heeches right over here. Heeches, a haole guy [a German] was married to Hawaiian [woman who had land below here in Kahului], eh. And then my mother bought from Amarino over there about 100 or so acres at Hienaloli. All for cattle, too, eh.
- KM: Oh, and in Hienaloli side. Oh.
- JG: 063 And I don't know what year, but my father had a dairy here and the boats come in too slow for 'em. The boats only come in once a month. So he went Honolulu. He bought 18 acres right below Diamond Head...Then he took his cows down there.
- KM: Oh, so he would ship cattle
- JG: Ship the cattle yeah.
- KM: Dairy cattle?
- JG: Dairy, and go down and milk.
- KM: Oh, oh. So he ran operation for dairy then out of...below Diamond Head side?
- JG: Yeah, yeah, yeah...
- KM: ...Okay. So here in Kahului, we're sitting at your house, and just above Ka'ahumanu Highway, the proposed road, the new Ali'i Highway, is going to puka out just a little ways below here, yeah?
- JG: Up here.
- KM: Oh, just about here.
- JG: Over here [pointing to the location].
- KM: Okay.
- JG: Going come that side of Hill Crest.
- KM: Okay. So this is Hualal'ai Road yeah, that you're basically on here.
- JG: Yeah.

- KM: 130 So right, right down there. Ah, your land from Kahului is all the way makai before eh, down to the ocean.
- JG: Yeah.
- KM: As a child, do you remember where...well course you folks picked this land up in '27, your dad them so...were there Hawaiian families living anywhere here, or mostly down the ocean or...?
- JG: ...Kailua only had about eight houses from Ocean View, down to, oh hell to till about Banyan Tree. You know where Banyan Tree is [Hôlualoa 1-2]?
- KM: Yeah, uh-huh.
- JG: Well only about eight houses, that's all. 'Cause only few Hawaiians was working American Factors. Couple of guys. No Japanese down there, no haoles. They couldn't build down there, no more water. They had to get tank you collect little bit water eh. In those days all outside toilets. You no going get toilet inside eh.
- KM: Yeah, yeah. This is a...now did you have a little land in Puapua'aiki...?
- JG: 145 No get nothing. Down there Kahului and then we get Hôlualoa, 45 acres the other side.
- KM: Hôlualoa, okay. Do you remember hearing about any...particularly with the Ali'i Highway realignment area...like makai Kahului side. And you know the pâ, the Kuakini Wall as an example. Did you folks use that wall for anything? Did you ever puka through, you know, it was access. Did you run cattle makai?
- JG: Oh yeah, yeah. We got cattle yeah that is open. When we had cattle it opened. Down here where we sold. Down here we had opening and right here by...you know where Hualâlai Center is?
- KM: Yeah.
- JG: Kamehameha wall [the Pâ Kuakini] is there, too. We have an open from mauka come makai.
- KM: So you folks ran cattle down that side like that too?
- JG: Yeah, yeah. I still running cattle that side yet. And I still run cattle over here. But over here now, the wall is, down here this section, the wall is all below Kuakini [Road]. There's nothing above Kuakini...
- KM: ...Do you remember any old Hawaiian sites or anything before, you know?
- JG: Ahh well, there's a few graves here and there. And when we used to drive cattle...ah what you call rope cattle in the lava too eh, you find that checkerboard the Hawaiians made, eh. You know holes where they could play checkers eh. I guess when they watch an enemy or something coming they play checkers [chuckles]. But if you ask me where it is today ah [shaking his head; couldn't remember]...
- KM: ...Okay, I see. Did you folks have to build paddock walls and stuff.
- JG: Oh yeah yeah, yeah...all these walls here [pointing above his yard].
- KM: So this wall behind your house.
- JG: Yeah, this wall go right up.
- KM: Is that your wall or is that old wall?
- JG: No that's old wall, from Hawaiians. You see what the Hawaiians did, they divided their land. You had this size piece, I don't know how they make 'em. They build the wall. When you bought, they build the wall. The walls only some were too big, we made paddocks or

something, then you make a new wall. And then like Hôlualoa never had wall one side, then we build the wall. We had, hired guys build side.

KM: You hire a...

JG: 180 But the rest, mostly were built long time before.

KM: Old, old walls already. Was anyone in the makai section like below Kuakini Wall? Was anyone living down that area?

JG: [shaking his head]

KM: No more.

JG: Not in my time, no. Only way down by the beach makai yeah.

KM: Way down by the beach side sure, sure.

JG: By Yama's. You know Yama?

KM: Yes, yes, Yama side [Lunapule Road].

JG: Right over side had one house and when Makuakâne came.

KM: Yes, Makuakâne

JG: Those people living there. And one more house this side [north of Makuakâne's].

KM: Now you ran cattle by the that Makuakâne, right down there too, yeah.

JG: Yeah, yeah.

KM: You had to make...was there, is there sort of a difference in the workmanship you think between the old earlier Hawaiian walls and the walls that you folks had to make?

JG: 189 Oh yeah, yeah, yeah...You see these guys don't know how to make this cowboy wall. Like we call this cowboy wall. You know, you set the rock. Today they get...like make mason wall. You know, they stand up the rock and this, no you only lock the rock.

KM: They locked in, okay so there's...

JG: Not too many guys can build this kind wall.

KM: So there's a difference yeah. And which wall last better?

JG: This one [pointing up to the old wall behind his house].

KM: The one where they lock the stone in. So they're not so worried about the facing...?

JG: Yeah. No, you don't have to make the wall real straight, look nice eh. But it's strong. You can run on top em. Oh yeah.

KM: Ah, let's see. So we had spoken a little bit, you know, makai by the Kuakini Wall, did you folks ever build walls or paddocks up against there too or stuff, or you pretty much used the wall as a boundary wall and...?

JG: 203 No. We made one big one down here, by the coconuts, you know down here?

KM: Yeah.

JG: Made a wire kind. Just made a wing eh. We didn't care whether cattle, you know go out or not. Just...but no we didn't build no walls down in here [pointing to the section below house, below Ka'ahumanu Highway].

KM: Used to have pigs and stuff, wild pigs down here, too or...?

JG: Oh in the old days they had tame pigs.

- KM: Tame.
- JG: Tom Gouveia used to raise pigs down here. And he used to...they'd set the traps and the pigs come in and they you take whatever you wanted and send to Honolulu, eh.
- KM: Tom, now, is different. Tom Gouveia is different than the Frank Gouveia them yeah.
- JG: Yeah, yeah, yeah. Yeah. They not even brothers.
- KM: What...what land did Tom Gouveia them have?
- JG: Tom Gouveia had Hôlualoa there.
- KM: Ah, Hôlualoa.
- JG: His house is right where the where the Hôlualoa School is, that big house makai. Where the...That's him.
- KM: Okay. Ah, let's see.
- JG: 217 Had a lot of pigs. The pigs used to run wild, and they crossed the roads, always night time.
- KM: Oh yeah. Oh, did they make enclosures, too, to keep the pigs inside...that you remember.
- JG: [shaking head]
- KM: Just wild all over?
- JG: The pigs were all over. Even right now pigs are all over.
- KM: Oh yeah, up you're side here?
- JG: And so was the cattle...down here was all open range, you know [below the Kuakini-Ka'ahumanu Highway]. The cattle used to roam all through the roads. The first guy had cattle down in this area was old man Hind. He had the windmills pump the water, eh.
- KM: Oh, down below here.
- JG: Yeah, yeah, by Hilton, get one right at the Hilton. And had one right beside where that Huggo's is.
- KM: Huggo's.
- JG: Leased place there. We had that under the lease. And we had built that windmill there.
- KM: So you guys...the brackish water pretty much? But enough for the cattle.
- JG: Brackish water yeah.
- KM: But enough to take care of the cattle like that.
- JG: Yeah. That's the only choice, you know...
- KM: ...you know when you were out in the field, particularly working makai, you'd mentioned sometimes some areas you would see the checkerboard like that. Did you see other old, did you ever come across you know poi pounder or old stuff in the field sometimes?
- JG: 480 Well someplace we found, down here [gesturing in the vicinity below his house], some chisels, had houses, I know had houses there. Hawaiian chisels, one other place found one broken poi pounder.
- KM: So in the field, around, lower, below Kuakini Wall or mauka?
- JG: No, mauka. But hard, hard because see in the old days they never had bottles, never had nothing so no more cans, no more bottles no more nothing. It's hard to find where the

house was. Only when you find a little rock and when you find maybe shells. They go down catch opihis and they bring it in the shells. Even broken glass you no find.

[Records of archaeological field work identify Sites 9802 and 9803 as residences and agricultural complexes in the general vicinity being described by Mr. Gomes above.]

KM: Did you sometimes see...so you mentioned like sometimes occasionally house sites and things. How about planting walls or mounds or pits or anything?

JG: [shaking head]

KM: No?

JG: 489 Well, they pile up all the rock down here. Why they pile up the rock I don't know. But I guess like they said, they must of planted sweet potato. I don't remember, but...

KM: You don't remember.

JG: But you can see the rock all been piled up eh. The Hawaiians they piled 'em up eh. And you know they always pile the rock on top the pāhoehoe, eh. With solid rock they pile the loose rock on top there so they can save the rest for the good land, eh. Plantation did the same thing, eh.

KM: Ahh...where were they planting sugar mauka you place?

JG: From there, from there, railroad up, from there.

KM: From the railroad up.

JG: Yeah. This down here is too low already...

KM: ...Yeah. How many cattle you folks would have on your lands at one time?

JG: Oh, we had about 2,000.

KM: Wow. And all this acreage, yeah all this like you said Kahului, Wai'aha. So several thousand acres?

JG: Ah no, now we only have about 1500 acres.

KM: Ah, 1500...

KM: 580 ...So down your land makai, did you have the access right to the ocean?

JG: Oh yeah, yeah.

KM: Do you remember...did the old fisherman...do you remember any old Hawaiian fisherman?

JG: Oh yeah, fisherman used to go out. But they no bother. They go out from Kailua and there. They used to leave the canoes right there in the sand.

KM: Right at the white sand. Ah, so did you ever interact with any of those old fishermen or anything. Did you remember, did they have any place where they would maybe leave fish offering or...?

JG: 591 Had one wahine used to, by the old airport, used to lease from us for the 'opaes [shrimps], you know.

KM: Oh, by the old airport...

KM: ...Well, you know if we come back to the land real quickly, like this wall on the side here, your place, that you said was old wall. So most of the ahupua'a, like the old, the mauka makai walls had quite a bit on the land yeah.

JG: Uh-hmm.

- KM: Like between Wai'aha and Kahului like that. Some of the walls ran across or you made most of the walls to run across to make paddocks.
- JG: 671 No, not too many.
- KM: Not too many. Not too many you had to make or that you didn't have?
- JG: No, not too many we had to make. But those days too, you make stone wall, you go by the fathom line, six feet. Only about forty cents.
- KM: A fathom?
- JG: A fathom, six feet.
- KM: Wow, amazing yeah!
- JG: And that's three feet on the bottom, two and a half feet on top, and four and a half feet high. Today, this wall that come here, cost about \$28.00 a foot to make stone wall.
- KM: Yeah amazing eh. And the wall not strong like...?
- JG: No, no.
- KM: ...How about, like you mentioned, you saw an old house site or something like that. Did you folks pretty much leave those older things alone, or did you sometimes collect rock, rebuilt and stuff?
- JG: 694 No, we left it alone, we never collect it. Never.
- KM: Who did most of your rock work when you were younger? What nationality?
- JG: We hired Japanese, Hawaiians, whenever they worked together get three or four guys take the contract. Four guys make wall. No hurry. They could take their time eh. It's contract so they like work they work, you know. They work long hours they work, eh. Same thing mountain, we used to do the same thing. We have up there, you go...wire fence, the mountain all wire fence. You go with your contract, twenty-five or thirty cents a post...

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