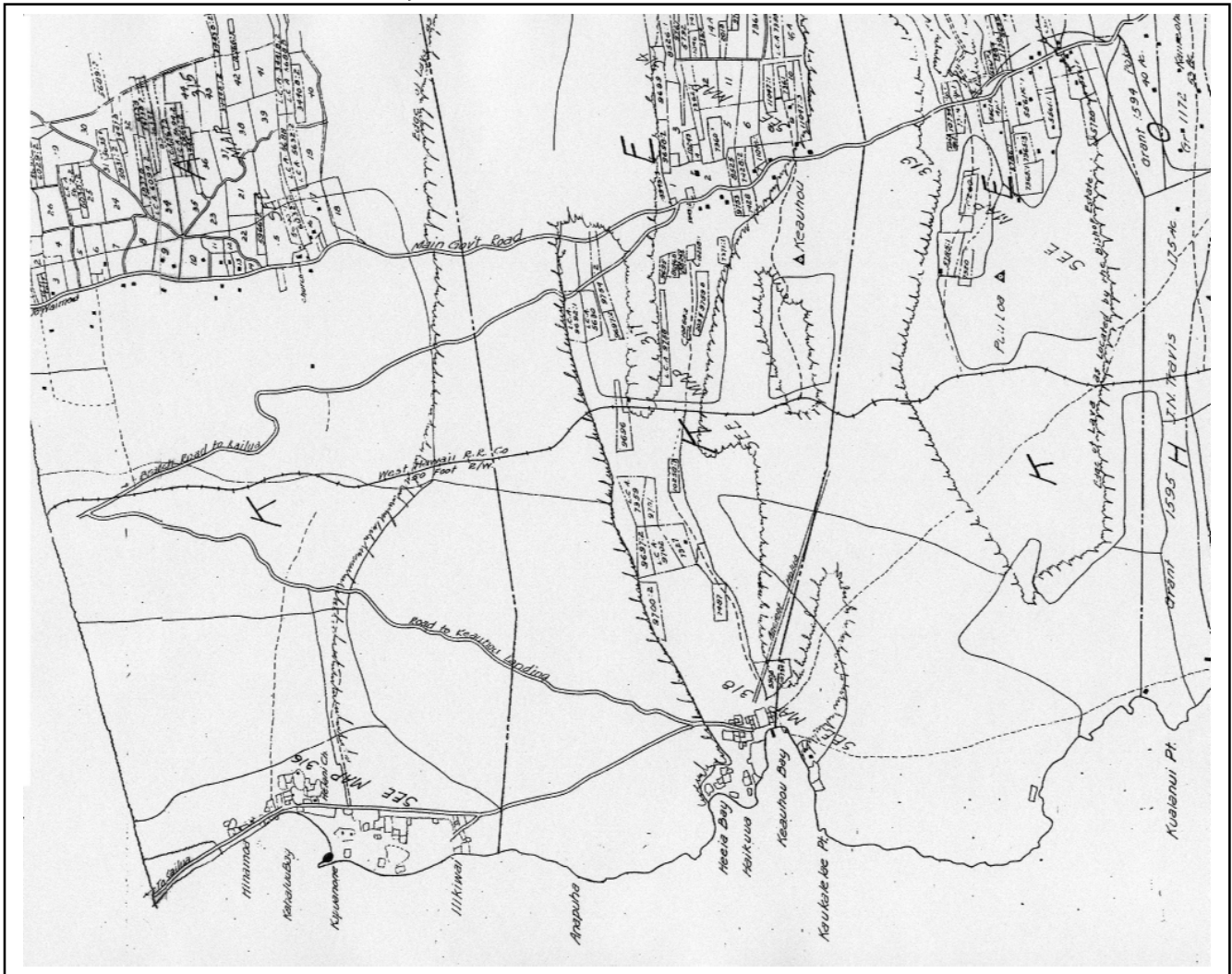


APPENDIX A– ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS:

‘ĀINA LEI ALI‘I – KEAUHOU A ME KAHALU‘U MA KONA, HAWAI‘I A CULTURAL SYNTHESIS FOR THE ROYAL LANDS OF KEAUHOU AND KAHALU‘U, DISTRICT OF KONA, ISLAND OF HAWAI‘I



Portion of the ‘Āina Lei Ali‘i of Kahalu‘u and Keauhou, Kona District, Island of Hawai‘i; Depicting Locations of Kuleana, Trails, Features on the Cultural Landscape, and Residences (Territorial Taxation Map, July 1930)

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

APPENDIX A– ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS:

‘ĀINA LEI ALI‘I – KEAUHOU A ME KAHALU‘U MA KONA, HAWAI‘I

A CULTURAL SYNTHESIS FOR THE ROYAL LANDS OF KEAUHOU AND KAHALU‘U, DISTRICT OF KONA, ISLAND OF HAWAI‘I (TMK Overview Sheet 7-8-10)

By _____

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April 1, 2004 _____

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Management Planning · Preservation & Interpretive Program Development*

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INTRODUCTION

Background and Acknowledgements

The interviews cited in this volume, were conducted by Kepā Maly (*Kumu Pono Associates LLC*), as a part of earlier historical and ethnographic studies for the lands of Kona, extending from Kahului in the north, to Kealahou in the south. The interviews were conducted in a manner conforming to Federal and State rules and guidelines for such work, including, the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, as amended in 1992 (36 CFR Part 800); the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's "Guidelines for Consideration of Traditional Cultural Values in Historic Preservation Review" (ACHP 1985); National Register Bulletin 38, "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties" (Parker and King 1990); the Hawai'i State Historic Preservation Statue (Chapter 6E), which affords protection to historic sites, including traditional cultural properties of on-going cultural significance; the criteria, standards, and guidelines currently utilized by the Department of Land and Natural Resources-State Historic Preservation Division (DLNR-SHPD) for the evaluation and documentation of cultural sites (cf. Title 13, Sub-Title 13:275-8; 276:5); and the November 1997 guidelines for cultural impact assessment studies, adopted by the Office of Environmental Quality Control (which also facilitate the standardized approach to compliance with Act 50 amending HRS Chapter 343; April 26, 2000).

It is important to note here, that the excerpted oral history interviews cited in this volume, were conducted prior to the present application of the Kamehameha Investment Corporation (KIC) (Maly, 1996 & 2001). Thus, only a few specific questions about the 489 acre parcel were asked. This said, detailed information about the lands of Keauhou and Kahalu'u—including documentation of traditional sites and trails, and historical land use on the *kula* lands that make up the application area—was recorded from elder native residents and *kama'āina* of the lands.

The interviewees ranged in age from their 60s to late 80s, and were either descended from traditional families of Keauhou and Kahalu'u, or had lived on and worked the lands most of their lives. At the time of recording the interviews—generally from 1996 (with follow-up interviews through 2003)—a series of historic maps were used, and when appropriate specific locations, features, and other resources were referenced. These sites and other locations may be located by reference to place names, or cultural-historical features identified during the interviews. The interviewees shared their personal recollections of the land, and also discussed things learned from elders, describing practices observed in the past, or on-going within their families. The cited transcripts cover topics ranging from the fisheries fronting the lands, to the near shore residences, and continue inland. They describe native trails and agricultural practices, and historical ranching activities on the *kula* lands which make up the KIC application area. The interviewees also describe the upland region, which formed the inland community of residences and agricultural resources of native families in the Keauhou-Kahalu'u vicinity. And importantly, through these descriptions, we learn of the relationship shared between the families of the near-shore and uplands regions; including the regular use of several of the *mauka-makai* trails.

The interviewees graciously granted their release of the interview records for historic purposes, in an effort to ensure that knowledge of the land, the history of the people, and that protection of the cultural landscape would occur. It is requested here, that readers keep in mind that the excerpts of interviews cited in this study are taken from a larger collection of oral history interviews, and focus only on selected references from those interviews. Except for notes from March 5th 2004, the excerpts are not meant to represent any interviewees' thoughts on the proposed Kamehameha Investment Corporation application, but reflect an historical overview of the landscape and past activities—both traditional and those associated with development—up to the time of recording.

Please do not reference the interviews out of the above cited context, and respect the kūpuna and kama'āina who have given us an opportunity to learn something of their history and recollections.

Furthermore, interviews with individuals as those cited within this volume, should be undertaken to better understand the cultural history and landscape of the KIC application area.

For their *aloha* and willingness to share their recollections and history, we are indebted to *kūpuna* and *kama'āina*:

(in alphabetical order):

Valentine K. Ako
Julian Gouveia
The late, James Greenwell
Sherwood Greenwell
Mitchell Fujisaka
Lily Nāmakaokai'a Ha'ani'o-Kong
Makaleka Kahulamū-Alapa'i
The late, Luciana Ka'ailehua Makuakāne-Tripp
The late, Rosina Haumea McComber-Smith
Josephine Hakaleleponi Nāhale-Kamoku
William Johnson Hawawakaleoonamanuonakanahale Paris, Jr.
David Kahelemauna Roy, Jr.
Roy Allen H. Wall
Camellia Kapuaianahulu Kahiwaaiialii Wall-Heuer
The late, Helen Kīna'u Wight-Weeks
A me na makamaka me nā kalo pa'a o ka 'āina.

Mahalo a nui – Na wai ho'i 'ole ke akamai i ka 'ike a 'oukou, nā kūpuna!

Kama'āina Recommendations

Elder *kama'āina* who have been interviewed by Maly since 1996, have offered their thoughts pertaining to the significance and care of cultural sites in the lands of Keauhou and Kahalu'u. The following comments are among those previously recorded with individuals with cultural attachments to the lands of Keauhou and Kahalu'u:

- *Iilina* (burial sites) are believed to be sacred and require respect. It is the general wish of all individuals interviewed that *iilina* be protected in place. If *iilina* are discovered while some form of land work is occurring (termed "Inadvertent discoveries"), such *iilina* should be handled in consultation with native families of the land, and in compliance with state law.
- *Heiau* should be protected.
- Kāne'aka (the Royal *Hōlua*) and Pu'u o Kaomilā'ō should be protected from any further impacts.
- *Ala hele* (native trails) are an important part of the cultural landscape and life-way of the people, and should be preserved whenever possible. Use of the *ala hele* should be informed, so as to foster respect of the history, traditional sites and property rights of present-day owners/residents.

The Keauhou Trail and the Mākole'ā-Kahalu'u Trail are believed to be of particular importance to the history of the people and the land. Formulation of treatment and access plans focusing on traditional knowledge and responsibilities should be done in consultation with elder *kama'āina* of the Keauhou and Kahalu'u lands.

- Caves, such as those used for burial practices, refuge, habitation, and other traditional occupations should be protected. Care must be used when using heavy equipment in the

vicinity of cave openings, and when over subterranean extensions of the lava tube systems. There is also concern about the intrusion of water and chemicals into the caves from irrigation and other activities.

- Final treatment of *ilina* features and caves—such as: left open? closed? buffers? and who may visit? etc.—should be determined in consultation with elder *kama'āina* of the Keauhou-Kahalu'u lands.
- Restoration of sites should only be undertaken with care and in consultation with elder *kama'āina*. It is generally believed by many *kūpuna* that stabilization rather than restoration is a preferred treatment. Once restoration occurs, the signature and hand-work of the people of old is erased, and the story of the place is new.
- Wherever possible traditional sites should be protected, and incorporated into the landscape, thus preserving not only those sites which have been determined significant under the law, but also those sites which were important to those who came before us.
- When possible, it would be good to use the natural lay of the land and lava flow formations as assets in the development setting, rather than knock everything down, only to build it up again.
- *Mauka-makai* view planes, particularly those associated with the *hōlua*, Kāne'aka and Pu'u o Kaomilā'ō, and the *mauka-makai* trails, should be protected, allowing for an *ahupua'a*-view of the resources in their cultural context.
- Educational and interpretive opportunities should be developed in order to help future generations understand and appreciate the cultural resources protected on the Keauhou-Kahalu'u landscape. A part of such an interpretive program should include the *ahupua'a* concept, looking at the relationship of the elevational zones, to the life-ways of the traditional and historical families of the land.
- Review of the interview excerpts will also provide readers with leads to other families with generational ties to the lands of the Keauhou and Kahalu'u vicinity. Such individuals could be contacted to further document the history and places of significance on these *'āina lei ali'i*.

On March 5th, 2004, Maly and Maly met with members of the KIC Cultural Advisory Committee, and reviewed the above treatment recommendations. *Kūpuna*, Lily Nāmakaokai'a Ha'ani'o-Kong and Josephine Hakaleponi Nāhale-Kamoku, concurred with the above recommendations and summary of treatment proposals. Both *kūpuna*, observed that they were committed to working with KIC, to ensure that site preservation and educational programs would be developed to foster the knowledge and history of Keauhou and Kahalu'u for future generations.

The following notes were taken by the authors during the March 5th meeting, and reflect some of the details discussed while reviewing the cultural study and summary of general recommendations. During the meeting, selected locations were referenced on a historic map (Bayless, July 1930), of the lands from Kahalu'u to Ke'eke'e (in the collection of the Real Property Taxation Office).

March 5th, 2004

Notes from Consultation Interview with Lily Nāmakaokai'a Ha'ani'o-Kong (Aunty Lily) and Josephine Nāhale-Kamoku (Aunty Jojo)

Kuleana No. 9696 and one other parcel a little further *mauka* (in the study area), were formerly owned by the Ha'ani'o family. During her childhood, Aunty Lily's father and a Mr. Kuramoto (who also owned a soda works) operated a dairy on the land and

in neighboring parcels. The *kuleana* (9696) was crossed by the West Hawaii Railroad alignment, and situated along the Keauhou Trail. Sugar had also been cultivated on the Keauhou-Kahalu'u lands with enough soil to support the growth, up to around the time of Aunt Lily's birth. Both aunties recall cane still growing on the Kahalu'u-Keauhou *kula* lands during their youth.

Following closure of the sugar plantation operation, various families kept cattle on the land of the study area, and on lands both *mauka* and *makai*; the *makai* section extending down to Keauhou Bay.

In addition to the Ha'ani'o-Kuramoto operation which ran from around the early 1920s to about 1941, other ranchers included Frank and Tony Gouveia, Robert Chai, a Mr. Yoshioka, and the Hind family. The latter, holding the lease from the 1940s to around 1960. The elder Nāhale also had cattle on Kahalu'u.

From their youth, until around 1948-1950, both Aunt Lily and Aunt Jojo regularly traveled the Keauhou Trail between the families beach home, the *kula* land (*Kuleana* 9696), and the uplands. A number of people traveled the Keauhou Trail, the Keauhou-Kāināliu Trail, and the Mākole'ā-Kahalu'u Trail.

In the years prior to her birth, and while she was a child, Aunt Lily's father, had been the trail-roads supervisor, he kept the Keauhou Trail open and clean for community use.

On the Keauhou Trail, at the intersections with the railroad, there was formerly a gate, that was always closed to keep cattle from getting out of the pastures. Just *mauka* of the railroad in Keauhou, an area forming a *pali* was planted with avocado trees by an old Korean man named Park, who worked with Tomo Ishikawa.

On small parcels of land—*kuleana* and leasehold parcels—in the Keauhou section, several individuals also undertook farming activities. Nakamoto had a chicken farm. A man by the name of Nakashima (who married a Hawaiian woman) also cultivated cash crops. Watermelons, pumpkins, tomatoes, and avocados were among the crops grown. Ishikawa was the “tomato man.”

It is the recollection of both *Kūpuna* Kong and Kamoku, that during their youth, the weather was cooler and the rains were more reliable. You knew when it was going to rain and when the dry period would set in, thus you planted accordingly.

Kupuna Kamoku feels very strongly that protection of the Mākole'ā-Kahalu'u Trail is important. It was the trail used by many families when traveling between the coastal residences and beach, to the *kula* lands, and upland houses. People from the community, and those from outside, who were visiting the area, all used the trail. This was also the trail that connected the Nāhale family residences between the *makai* and *mauka* lands.

Both *kūpuna*, confirmed their desires that cultural sites be cared for—*ilina* (burials) are very important, and preservation in place is preferred, but if partial remains are located, and consultation with family members concurs, the possibility of relocating partial remains to a better location, can be considered. They also feel that if the native trails are to be used by the public, the use should be respectful of the cultural resources and private property rights of Kamehameha Schools and the new home owners.

They believe that there is great value in the cultural history of the lands and encourage educational programs to help inform Hawaiian youth, and others of the land and families who came before us.

When asked if they recalled people going onto the *kula* lands of the study area to gather *lā'au* (plants and medicines) or other resources during their youth, or if they knew of anyone doing so in the present time, both *kūpuna* answered “no.”

They shared that in their youth, their own families, and those they knew, grew many of the *lā'au* necessary for healing and other purposes. Other rare plants were gathered in the upland forests, reached by the main trails, or collected from the ocean, depending on the type of *lā'au* needed. The *kula* lands had been significantly altered by their time, and plantation and ranching activities did not make for good environments from which to seek out and gather *lā'au*.

In regards to the question of people gathering *lā'au* in the present time from the study area lands, the *kūpuna* doubted it, as the land is overgrown with alien weeds, or too arid and rocky, and very difficult to travel through. It is easier to gather *lā'au* from other areas. (pers comm., L. Kong and J. Kamoku, March 5, 2004)

EXCERPTS FROM ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

The late, Luciana Ka'ailehua Makuakāne-Tripp Consultation Interviews with Kepā Maly March 4th & 12th, 1996, at Kahului

The late, Luciana Ka'ailehua Makuakāne-Tripp (Aunty Luciana) was born on November 8, 1932, and is one of thirteen children of John and Elizabeth Makuakāne. 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). Until shortly before her passing away, aunty and her family still lived on their *'āina kuleana*. Aunty Luciana's father, John Makuakāne, was descended from several family lines associated with the lands of Kahului, Hōlualoa, and Pāhoehoe. During his life, he was a fisherman, who also worked at various jobs, among which was a guide to the caves of Kahalu'u and Keauhou. Aunty Luciana's mother, Elizabeth Kaho'opii-Makuakāne, was raised in Kahalu'u by her *kūpuna*, the Keli'ikuli's. Mrs. Makuakāne was a *lauhala* weaver and well known genealogist.

March 4 & 12, 1996

KM: ...The Kalawa-Makuakāne 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: 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 *tūtū* them ever kept a *Kū'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...!

KM: ...Okay, and your mother, what was her name, and where was she from?

LT: My mother was Elizabeth Kaho'opii, 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 *Tūtū* 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*, Hāpaiali'i and Mākole'ā.

KM: Oh, so mama's family was from the Kahalu'u area?

LT: Yes. My mother also told me that her *tūtū* 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 Kalā) would remember that too.

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*...

...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 [see also the interview with Helen Kīna'u Wight-Weeks; March 15, 1996]. You know there were various entrances, some *mauka*, others *makai*, and you could go in one area and come out at another area. You could go in *mauka* and come out at the ocean. 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 anything. He always taught us, "Don't touch, respect these places, and leave them as they are."

One of the places was a little above the new Taniguchi store [KTA] area, just on the side of the old road...

KM: Have you ever heard the cave called 'Ōhi'a Cave?

LT: [thinking] No, I don't think so. I remember one time, my father and I took a *haole* man from the Kona Inn to that cave on the Keauhou road (Kamehameha III Road) going *mauka*. We got the man and went there, and you know we looked, looked, and looked, and couldn't find the cave. Just like it was hidden. We had to take the man back to the hotel, he never did see the cave. We then waited for the boys to come home so we could go back and look. We drove right to the place, there was a papaya tree growing right there, and looked, and there was the cave. Dad said, "Oh that *haole* must have been *kōlohe*—the cave didn't want him inside." So sometimes, it was just like the caves could hide themselves.

KM: Oh that's so interesting, yeah. But Dad was very strict about protecting the sites, yeah?

LT: Yes, don't mess around, you have to respect...

Lily Nāmakaokai'a Ha'ani'o-Kong
Oral History Interviews and Site Visits with Kepā Maly
March 7 & 27, April 18, and May 1, 1996, at Keauhou

Lily Nāmakaokai'a Ha'ani'o-Kong (Aunty Lily) was born in 1927, at her family homestead overlooking Keauhou Bay. Her mother was Mary Ahlo (also written "Alo")-Ha'ani'o, and her father was Harry Ha'ani'o. Aunty Lily's *kupuna* was Tūtū Beni Ha'ani'o, and her family has lived in Keauhou for generations (one of their property holdings, includes *Kuleana Helu* 9696, situated within the proposed KIC project area). As a child, Aunty Lily was surrounded by the *kūpuna* of her immediate family and those of the community. As a result, she became familiar with many aspects of the history of Keauhou and the neighboring lands. One of Aunty Lily's goals in the present day is to foster good stewardship and understanding of the cultural and natural resources of the Keauhou-Kahalu'u lands, by KIC, Kamehameha Schools, and others who touch the land.

Informal Interview March 7th & July 24th, 1996
(Paraphrased from Written Notes)

[Regarding the alignment of the proposed Ali'i Highway in the Keauhou vicinity; and protection of traditional Hawaiian sites.]

LK: I've noticed the new signs they put below the new shopping center, calling it "Ali'i Highway." The road has come out in a different area than I thought it was supposed to. I'm very concerned about how it looks now, like it's also going *mauka* [pointing south into Keauhou 2]. I want to know if they're planning to take the road farther out, how are they going to protect the *Hōlua* and other Hawaiian places¹?

Over the years, Bishop Estate development has already destroyed portions of the *Hōlua*, what's left must be preserved.

At one time, Bishop Estate Staff (Bob Lindsey and Joe Spencer and others) asked me if I would restore the *Hōlua*, and I told them "No, every rock was originally laid in place with a prayer, we don't know the right way to build it, but we should clean the area around it and take care of it."

KM: You express an important thought here about the difference between restoration and protection of ancient Hawaiian sites.

LK: Yes, we don't know all the things that the *kūpuna* did, we don't live in their way. And when we go mess around with things and restore them, it's like we are rewriting the story. It's no longer their work, their story, but our work. And if we don't do the right thing, it can come back to you, and be very heavy. Protecting the places as they are, keeps what's left of our old people's work.

KM: *Mahalo...*

[Family background – describing residency and activities on lands of Keauhou and Kahalu'u.]

LK: I was born in 1927, in the little village of Keauhou. My father, Harry Ha'ani'o was a fisherman, and we also had *kuleana* land at Keauhou *mauka*, where we grew *kalo*, *'uala*, and all kinds of crops. We also kept cattle *mauka*, mostly for personal use, though for a while, dad also went into dairy business with Mr. Kuramoto. My mother was Mary Ainakoakoa Ha'ani'o and she was a housewife. When I was growing up, there was only about 13 or 14 families around us on Keauhou: my Aunt Ida Akana-Chai; Robert Kahalioumi (the brother of Thomas and Ben Kahulamū); Kalani Kinimaka; the Woods, Hinas, Whites, Roy Wall, and James Ko'omoa (from Keaukaha [descended from a Keauhou *Māhele* land recipient]); Alika; Henry Akā Kawewehi; Kahale Ka'imihana; mother Ka'aha'āina (who lived to be 115 years old); Alice Hoapili; and the Walkers. It was a very close community. Most all of the Hawaiians were either fishermen or farmers.

KM: Where did your family plant its crops?

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

¹ On July 24, 1996, Aunt Lily called me regarding the proposed Ali'i Highway development, and observed that at a meeting with community members and OHA on July 23rd, she had spoken about the southern extension of the road that is planned to go to the Hōkūkano 1250 development. Aunt Lily has spoken with representatives of Bishop Estate about the rich cultural sites that may be impacted by this 1250 road, and is particularly concerned that "The proposed 1250 road runs too close to the sacred burial area of Lekeleke. This is not a good idea!" (pers. comm. July 24, 1996).

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

Another thing that's happening now that I'm against, is they are trying to sell the old Ka-'ili'i-nehe Church lot. That land was given to the church by my Aunt and Uncle Helena and Henry Kawewehi, and it was meant for the church, not to be sold. The church was closed in 1935, but it is still an important site in the history of Keauhou.

KM: Do you know if there may be graves on the church lot?

LK: Yes. Among those buried there are Helena and Henry Kawewehi; Tūtū Pu'unoni; Julia Kawewehi-Alika (Helena's *hānai* daughter); and Mr. Alika's son Clifford Alika...As a child, I remember that *kahu* Willie Upchurch, Steven Desha, Walker, and Henry Kawewehi all served as *kahuna pule* at the church. You know, Ka-'ili'i-nehe is a famous site on the shore of Keauhou Bay, where you could hear the *'ili'i* (pebbles) rustle with the movement of the waves. Now, they've put a wall across the shore in the water, so the *'ili'i* are left dry. There was also a place on the shore at Ka-'ili'i-nehe where the fresh water would come out in the *'ili'i*. I remember that the *pua'a* (pigs) used to go down there to drink the water. The Keauhou church was named for this place. You know the song Kona Kai 'Ōpua?

KM: Yes.

LK: It was Henry Kawewehi who wrote that song, even though someone else's name is on it today. He mentions Ka-'ili'i-nehe in the song, as well.

The old man Kahale Ka'imihana was blind and had only one leg by the time I was born, but you know, he would still go fishing. He lived just above the shore at Ka-'ili'ilinehe, and he was the only one that kept his canoe at Ka-'ili'ilinehe. He would crawl down to the canoe from his house, remove the *piula* (corrugated metal) and push the canoe into the water. He'd go out fishing, and when he'd come back, his canoe would be filled half way to the top with fish. I told him one time, "*Tūtū, a'ole makapō 'oe*" (*Tūtū*, your not really blind). And he laughed, saying "*He makapō au*" (I am blind). You know his yard was always so clean, he'd take his *nī'au* (coconut midrib broom) and sweep [gesturing a flicking motion]; and you know how small the *'ōhai* (monkey pod tree) leaves are, well he'd get them all. His yard was always neat.

My father, Harry Ha'ani'o was a well known *akule* fisherman [points him out in a picture]. This is him in his canoe in Keauhou Bay (in approximately 1930), when he would come in like this, he would drum the side of his canoe, driving the school of fish in towards the nets. Dad kept his canoe at the place called Awa-wa'a, the next little inlet west of Ka-'ili'ilinehe, and just on the side of the place, there was also a good *papa'ula* (slipper lobster) ground Ka-'ili'ilinehe side of that area. Kinimaka and my dad were also among the few old fishermen to still keep a *Kū'ula*. Dad would always take his *ho'okupu* (offering) to his *Kū'ula* after fishing. And when the catch was brought in, he would then divide the fish between the helpers and families, and then some would be taken to market. There were so many fish, the net would be over flowing, and some fish would die because there wasn't enough air. After those who had worked, got their share, he would release the school, and those which had died would float to the surface, then anyone who needed fish could take more. This way there was always plenty of fish, because you only took what you needed, and released the school, and dad always made his *ho'okupu*. At the Keauhou Surf, they have *Kū'ula*. It's my feeling that it is the one that my dad and Kalani Kinimaka kept.

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

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

One of my favorite places in Keauhou to this day, is Lekeleke. I love to go on the cliff above that area and look down. From up there, you can see all the old *pū'ō'a* (burial markers), it's a very important place. And just on the north of Lekeleke is the place called Kahō'e'e. My mother told me that that place was used in the 1800s as a holding area for people with leprosy. There is a *pā* (enclosure) there that you can still see today, but not too many people know the history of these places any more. I'd also asked my mother why they named the area on the bay "Kauikeaouli," and she told me that Kamehameha III had been born there. When he was born, he was stillborn, but he was brought back to life, and the name Kauikeaouli describes the dark clouds that were in the sky when he was born.

KM: *Mahalo*, you've shared very rich information, about places and practices you remember as being important. May I ask you a couple of names of places?

LK: Yes.

KM: Since we're sitting up here looking out across Keauhou 1 and Kahalu'u, do you recall ever hearing about a *heiau* named Keahiolo? It's supposed to be along the boundary of Kahalu'u-Keauhou, near the road going *mauka*.

LK: [thinking] No.

KM: You'd mentioned Thomas Kahulamū and Robert Kahalioumi earlier, and in 1930, they were both informants for an archaeologist named Reinecke. Mr. Kahulamū had told Reinecke about some *heiau* in Kahalu'u, one of them was named 'Alainamona; do you remember hearing about that *heiau*?

LK: No, but the *kukui* growth, would have been more *mauka* ['Ala-inamona (Fragrant *kukui* nut relish)], so maybe it was further upland.

KM: At the time that the *heiau* was being recorded, it was not too far from Halelā'au.

LK: I have heard about Halelā'au, Pā-o-'Umi, and the old Mākole'ā trail.

KM: Kahulamū had also mentioned one other *heiau*, a little distance above his *kuleana*. Did you ever hear anything about that that you recall?

LK: No.

KM: Where was Kahulamū's lot?

LK: Do you know where the St. Peter's Church is?

KM: Yes.

LK: Well there's a little road that goes just *mauka* of there, in back of Kahulamū's *kuleana*. There's also a graveyard there. Today people mostly think that it was used only by the Kahulamū family, but it was a community cemetery, and there are other people there too.

KM: So Kahulamū's place is just *mauka* of St. Peter's?

LK: Yes.

KM: There's also a cave that Kahulamū pointed out, the 'Ōhi'a Cave.

LK: Yes, I know that place. The boundary between Keauhou and Kahalu'u is Noni point, and the *makai* entrance to the cave is *mauka* of there. There's another entrance just above here [indicating where we were sitting]. You know, that old man Tom Kahulamū, he was

the one that took people into the cave. He had so much *mana* though, that everyone else would have their lights, but him, he'd go and *pule*, and the area around him would light up. He could go any where and the light would go with him. This cave had several *ana* (cave extensions). One is supposed to go to Maui, one to Kailua, and one to Hualālai. People from the uplands could go in the cave and come out down at the shore. They could go fishing and then go home again.

KM: The cave is called 'Ōhi'a Cave, is that the name that you are familiar with?

LK: Yes, but you know, I think that down on the *makai* side it was called Noni, and on up through here, because of the *ulu noni* (*noni* tree growth). But at the *mauka* side, it came out in the *ulu 'ōhi'a* ('*ōhi'a* forest), and I think that's why it has that name today.

Bishop Estate asked me about re-burying *iwi* in there, and told them they had to be careful. To re-bury, you got to go *ho'omana*, you got to ask permission because what if the people there don't want these new people. Maybe they don't belong there. That's why I told them when they went to re-bury those *iwi* that they took out from their other developments, don't place them next to the original burials, keep them separate. You know before days, they would go at night time, they *hūnā* (hide) when they bury, because they didn't want people to know.

KM: In a little while, we'll come back and talk some more about the protection and preservation of Hawaiian sites, but another site of interest, particularly to the study for the proposed Ali'i Highway project, is the Pā Kuakini. Are you familiar with this wall, and how do you feel about it?

LK: Yes. It's sad so many parts of the wall have already been *hāne'e* (removed). What's left should be saved. It's important to our history. I think we need to take care of all our historic sites. We shouldn't restore, but take care of what's left, leave it be. Like we were talking earlier, sites like this and the others should be saved for our history, if its rebuilt, we lose the foundation, the story is changed. I believe that this must become an important concern of the Hawaiian people.

KM: In around the area of the Pā Kuakini, do remember if there were cattle grazing when you were young?

LK: Yes, Gouveia had cattle between Keauhou and Puapua'a. Julian Gouveia had the area by Casa de Emdeko, then Hind took over some of the low areas, I think.

KM: *Mahalo*. ...So what do you think about the proposed development of the Ali'i Highway?

LK: I would like to see things preserved and protected. Don't restore, our *mana* is not like the old people. It's not for us to *kolohe* [be mischievous], preserve the places as is. Like the old trails, save them and some can have the *mauka-makai* cut-offs alongside them.

Aunty Lily Nāmakaokai'a Ha'ani'o -Kong
March 27, 1996, with Kepā Maly at Keauhou Bay

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

LK: This [area] was owned by Alice Wood once upon a time. Right *makai* of this [ocean-side of the launching ramp] place is called 'Ala'ihī Point, and it came right here to this *kiawe* tree. This whole area here where this [present] boat ramp is, all the way to *mahape nei* [behind here], in the back here of the club house, by the Yacht Club, that was; to me it's called Ho'okūkū. This is where Kamehameha's still born was revived.

KM: 'Ae, Kauikeaouli.

- LK: Yes. Because there was a rock *mauka* by the club house and then that rock, we used to pound [wash] clothes on, and it was almost like a large platter, you know, a plate. So this is why it is supposed to be...Ho'okūkū.
- KM: *Ma'ane'i* [here]?
- LK: *Ma'ane'i*, yes, yes. By the Yacht Club. Yes, it's called Ho'okuku. It's supposed to be Ho'okūkū [pronunciation emphasized], if I'm not mistaken. Because of the reviving of the Kamehameha the Third, Ho'okūkū bring back to life. And then...come in the back here [walking towards the side road access that goes behind the Yacht Club building]. In the back of this, right here by this banyan tree, we had a big *lauhala* bush over here. So the pond Kū-hala-lua is right here, right inside here.
- KM: So where the banyan is sort of in there?
- LK: Yes. Right in the banyan tree, and had big *lauhala*. See this *loulu*?
- KM: 'Ae.
- LK: It's still standing. This is where the spring stood, in this area.
- KM: Oh. So Kū-hala-lua.
- LK: Kū-hala-lua because of the *pali* [cliff], and then the *lauhala* tree. That's why I think, "Kū-hala." "*Hala*" is the pandanus and then the "*lua*" is the cave. You see that *ana* over there. [When I was young, my mother them used to pick the *hua* [fruit] of this *hala* and make it into leis as well. It was also gathered and used for medicine. It was an unusual *hala*, an orange-red, color, with small individual keys or sections. It was very beautiful when strung into leis (pers comm., April 11, 1996).]
- KM: 'Ae. This is also, then, where they eventually made a holding pen and held cattle for a while before transporting?
- LK: No, not in my time. But this is where the Hawaiian people picked the '*alaea* [red ochrous earth].
- KM: '*Alaea*?
- LK: '*Alaea*, the red dust for medication, right here.
- KM: Oh, right in the cliff side.
- LK: Yes, so we walk down.
- KM: Now, '*ala'ihī* is a type of fish too, yeah?
- LK: Yes it's a type of fish. Very thorny, sharp needles, a lot of people don't...but '*ono* to eat, you know, '*ai maka* [eaten raw]. But a lot of Hawaiian people don't want to...like today, nobody want to catch that because it's stings. [pointing to the cliff side] This is the *pali 'ula* [red cliff; also known as Pali 'Ahu'ula].
- KM: Oh, I see the '*alaea*.
- LK: Yes, all this *pali* over here. But we have bats in here, Hawaiian bats. Yes, we have them in here too. And this is where, when you sit on the pier, night time, they come out, *ahiahi*, just about sunset. So this is where the '*alaea* is from.
- KM: So where the Yacht Club house and the boat launch area is was basically, Ho'okūkū and...
- LK: That's all, and Kū-hala-lua is *mahope nei*. So that Kū-hala-lua...what you call feeds Ho'okūkū spring. That's where we had fresh water over here. See. this is the end of Tommy White's wall right here [pointing to a wall between the clubhouse and Tommy White's lot boundary], it used to come out to here.

KM: Oh, right in the driveway [to the club house].

LK: Yes, that driveway over here. And then that stone [the flat stone of Ho'okuku] was *makai* there. And then...come [walking onto the Yacht Club property]; then *makai nei* [shoreward] there's that *pali* they call Kohe Point. *Makai*, see, they blasted that stone, they broke it up. But that stone was right in the corner over here. And it was a *pu'u*, you know, like a hat-shape-like. And the water came all inside here.

KM: Oh, so the water was in here. So where they put the little Yacht Club picnic area.

LK: The platform, it's all water.

KM: It was like a pool inside here?

LK: Yes. This whole area.

KM: And this comes to Kohe Point?

LK: Yes, this area here. I know because we used to come on top that stone and hook fish. 'Ala'ihī point is right by that *kiawe* tree.

KM: Okay, so just past the cement pier [on the side of the present boat launch ramp].

LK: Yes. Over here, there, there, that stone, is part of the Kohe Point. This whole area, it came like this, up like a hat, and then down like this. It was a big rock and we used to hook fish on top. And then Tommy White's corner, and right over there, we used to come and then...because the road by that corner [pointing to the corner between White's lot and the present Yacht Club lot] went up like this, you know, kind of slope and dip down like this. Over here, had all *ulu 'ōhai*, monkey pod trees. And then *haole koa*, that was the only kind trees we had around here. But this area, I know had that *loulou* trees still standing over there.

KM: Yes, it's wonderful to still see it.

LK: Yes, and that's the marker of that pond.

KM: Kū-hala-lua?

LK: Kū-hala-lua. And I think that that name was supposed to be opposite, you know, instead... Because of that *pali* and that *lau hala*. [referencing the September 20, 1954 map of H. Kekahuna, which shows Ho'okūkū and Kūhalalua in reversed locations]

KM: I see, so Kū-hala-lua was behind...

LK: Behind.

KM: And Ho'okūkū...

LK: Was in the front. Because when I think of Kamehameha, you know, when they brought Kamehameha [III] back to life...See you "*ho'okū*." "*Kūkū*" means to stand, to rise, to bring up, bring to life.

KM: And I guess that's what he did...

LK: Yes he was healed back to life. So this is my *mana'o*.

KM: Now this little old house here is that where Tommy White's house was?

LK: This was Tommy White's house. And then in the front over here, where this [Yacht Club] flag is...see, he had a *lanai* right around, and he had *lau niu* [coconut leaves] on top, and we used to sit on the wall and hook *upāpalu*. And this area was all clay...mud under here, under the pier. We had the *'oama*, we had clam...that's where I used to dig my clam, I used to watch for the bubbles and then the *puka* and I used dig down and pick up my fan clam. Was right under that pier. Then we go down...walk down, and I'll show you where

the professor... Where Kamehameha, Kauikeaouli is, then we go down to *mea*, Professor Jagger's warehouse. Because, even the people from Kahalu'u used to come and pick up *'alaea*. [walking]

KM: Well. just to have the *'alaea* is...there's not plenty around, yeah.

LK: No.

KM: So this was an important...

LK: That's right, this is a very important *pali*. A lot of Hawaiian people know of this *'alaea* over here, so they come here and get. But, if you note over there, *hāne'e*, *hāne'e* the *pali* [the cliff has collapsed]. All *hāne'e*.

KM: Oh, so that's all collapsed and covered over that side [southern section of the cliff].

LK: And even this now, this wasn't here before. This was all open, it all fell down from...

KM: Did you ever hear of a cave that has been referenced as Mo'ikeha, or perhaps a sanctuary place in here too?

LK: Well, I think it was on the top. You know, and then I'm trying to think of where that is. The only thing that I could think of, could be a certain area of the cave where they used to drape the capes. Is that the one that you're talking about? That's what I read.

KM: Oh, yes.

LK: Because Kahalio'umi was that side. Robert Kahalio'umi, he owned that side. So I was thinking, it could be on the top here. And this is Kamehameha's [III] birth place. This is where he was born.

KM: The Daughter's of Hawai'i take care?

LK: Yes they still, but Mama was the only one who took care of this for 30-something years. And I remember we used to come with the *pulume nī'au* [coconut mid rib broom] and clean this place. Right here, there's...the road goes up like this and then there was a little cove over here. When high tide, the water used to run on the road, and all *'ili'ili*.

KM: So, right almost up to the [Kamehameha III] plaque?

LK: Yes. But it was *'ili'ili* you know. When high tide, the water come on the road and go back. But this side had all stones and then had the pier down that side.

KM: The old pier?

LK: The old pier, yeah. But this here, next to Kamehameha's birth place, used to be the old shipping cattle-pen.

KM: Oh, so this was the pen, *ma'ane'i* [here].

LK: Yes, *ma'ane'i*.

KM: And look, there's a little *ana* [cave] in behind here too.

LK: Yes. But that *ana* I don't know what that *ana* is, but anyway, that could be one of the caves.

KM: I think that's the one that they were referring to as an *ana* back here. It was a low...Reinecke had spoken with the, Papa Kahulamū *mā*, and they had recorded an account in 1930 about this being a *pu'uhonua*, a sanctuary, *ana pu'uhonua* [sanctuary cave].

LK: Well, that I never hear, I never heard of. But, it could be, because I know Kahalu'u, they do have *mauka*, in the back of the Kahulamū's, like about one mile, two mile up. That they do have a sanctuary place, whenever there's high tidal waves, that they used that. But, I don't think that you would use this for sanctuary, because it's too close to the water.

- KM: Sure, close, yeah. Just a hiding place maybe? [Kekahuna 1954, identifies the cave as Mo'ikeha]
- LK: Maybe. But that I'm not sure.
- KM: Oh, so interesting. See though, like you were describing, I'd never heard of the *'alaea* being here, in all of these little *haka* [clefts].
- LK: Yes, that whole area. [continue walking]...So when you come this way, you go over this side, then the cattle pen came till over there and then the gate was here. And then they took the *pipi* out this way and went that way.
- KM: To Ha'ikaua originally?
- LK: My time, it was right here, but mama's time, it was down at Ha'ikaua.
- KM: 'Ae. So this is the building...Sea Paradise Scuba Diving...
- LK: The old Fairwind used to own this, or had the lease on it. [walking up to the small parking lot in front of the building] This is where the old pier was. See, if you note, the pier was right here, and then the dry-dock was right here. That's why you see this ramp.
- KM: So this was the old dry dock area *ma'ane'i*?
- LK: Yes. And then, see this is a part of the pier here going outside, and that dry dock was right alongside. Professor Jaggar's warehouse was right over here, where the volleyball court is, right in here. Then when Professor Jaggar used to come up, and then he used to drive inside his place...this is where he created the first military tank on wheels. And it sank right outside there in front of Alice Wood's place [about 100 feet out from the ramp], and then they helped bring it back up. Papa *mā* pulled it in with the canoe and then brought it up here. So anyway, that's where he created the military tank. In the back here, I have a picture of the old Keauhou warehouse. We had windmill over here, that pumped the water into the cattle pen, the *pā pipi*.
- Then like I told you, *ma'ō aku* [over there], you had the pond, *'ōpae* pond, *'ōpae 'ula*. And then over here, was all *pōhaku noho'i* [stones], next to the pier, and then *'ili'ili* and *one* [pebbles and sand]. Then *makai* by Hoapili corner, there was two large ponds over there. That wall don't belong over there, and the wild *pu'a* [pigs] used to come down and feed their babies and drink water over there. This was all brackish water under here. Fresh water from the mountain... And then *hele a ma'ō aku* [going on further over], Hoapili, and then Awa wa'a *makai*.
- KM: Awa wa'a where papa used to...
- LK: Park his canoe.
- KM: And before they put this stone wall up here now, the *'ili'ili* used...?
- LK: Yes, there was *'ili'ili* in the pond, down to the pond and then sometimes instead of walking this far, we used *hōloi lōle* [wash clothes] over there. It depends you know, we don't wash all one place. So we take turn here and there. But anyway, this is Keauhou Bay.
- KM: Oh, *mahalo*. Well, you see, that's why caring for and gathering these histories is so important.
- LK: Yes, it is very important.
- KM: Bye-and-bye, *nalowale* [it'll be lost].
- LK: Yes, well that's why I tried to explain to our *kūpuna* that we have to share what you know now, because otherwise, *nalowale*, they're lost, and people won't care, you know.
- KM: Yes.

LK: And they say, “Oh, the Hawaiian people don’t care, why should we care?” You know. So but now the *kūpuna* really open up to me, I have no problem, and then...I think it’s our time to meet Makaleka [Kahulamū Alapa’i].

KM: ‘Ae mahalo...!

[At He’eia Bay]

LK: ...That *pali* over there, you see like a path, like?

KM: Yes.

LK: That’s where the step was, by where the green bushes are hanging over.

KM: Yes, the *naupaka*.

LK: Well Papa, Walker and Kinimaka *mā* all cut in that *pali* over there and made a trail that comes down into He’eia. And they put a holding rope alongside, so that nobody would fall over.

KM: Yes, sort of like *ala haka* [a cliff side trail with rope guards].

LK: *Ala haka*, yes. Then over here, by the coconut tree [pointing to the flats just below the southern cliff line], that *pā hale* [house enclosure] over there.

KM: Yes, you can see the *pā* [wall].

LK: The *pā* is still standing, used to have *lauhala* bushes in there, growth about three or four *lau hala*, big *lau hala* trees, and a couple of coconut trees, but only one stands today. But that ‘*āina* was actually owned by Kālaiwa’a. But I see, lot of Hawaiians before, they tried to claim that place because of being in He’eia, and that’s the only family I know that used to come down and pick *lau hala*, were the Kālaiwa’as. And when we were little, when papa used to come ‘*upena ku’u* [set net] down here in He’eia, *ma’ane’i* [right here pointing in front of the area where we were standing], this pebbles used to be all outside. We had little pebbles and they taper to little bigger ones and little bigger ones down this side [northern side of the bay]. We used to slide on those pebbles, you know. Run, and because you stood up so high, then the bell tower, the continuation of the Royal Slide, *Hōlua*, if you look between [pointing] that *ulu niu*, and the Norfolk pine, *mauka* of that side is a mango tree.

KM: Oh yeah.

LK: Okay, there’s a bell tower over there, the *hōlua* slide continued there, *puka makai* [opening out shoreward] on that *pali* over there. Over that *pali* before, was way outside here. Now, *hāne’e* [the cliff has slid down], you see, all this stone before, wasn’t over there. So it was all ‘*ili’ili* like that and then this is where the end of the slide was. Over there.

KM: So right down to the water, almost, or the edge of the cliff?

LK: Edge of the cliff, came to the water. This bay was deep before, but now, ‘*ano* [somewhat] shallow now. The cliff falling down, of age and all. And I notice, *makai* there, where the cement wall [midway along the southern cliff, the lot owners have cemented, like stucco, the whole face of the cliff], see that is all *pa’a* [solid] now. Before, there were a lot of ponds underneath there. See, this is how, when they put that wall up, then the contour of the land changed, you know. Because the water, bang here, bang there, the current changes too. So then we come this side, *makai* [pointing to the northern point of the bay], notice that *kiawe* tree?.

KM: Yes, on the...this is the northern point.

- LK: Northern point of He'eia, so you come down here and you have all this *heiau*. See, this *heiau* is up there by that *kiawe* tree. And if you go further over, you find the *ala hele* [trail] that the rocks, the walkway trail the stones, some of the stones are still intact over there. Then, to Anapuka...
- LK: I would like to see all...see, this here, where you cannot do nothing with the preservation of the ending of the *hōlua* slide, because all the *hale* [houses] inside here. When Bishop Estate had open up for homes. But what's left, I think it should be preserved and kept, because if we don't, or we try to restore, then you loose the history, like I said, "There's no story to talk about." You know.
- KM: You rewrite when you...
- LK: Yes, you rewrite the whole thing. You know like, I said every rock was blessed when it was set down, it was because it was for the *ali'i* [royalty]. If it was a common person, for the common people, they just would put it up. There was no nothing like sacred to them you know. So that's the way I feel about preservation, preserving what's left and not restoring.
- KM: So it's important to take care of?
- LK: Oh, it's important to take care, like I said to the Bishop Estate committee. They asked me if I were to restore the Royal Slide and I told them "No." I said, "Clean it up and give it a farewell *lei*." I said "Because you folks had destroyed three-quarters of it." I said "All what we have is what's left." And I said, "Then if you preserve it the way, you know, giving it a farewell *lei*. You look up and you would still see this black spot in the center, with bougainvillea hedges." Maybe a three feet, six feet wide, what ever, I said "Give 'em a big *lei* and then you look up, and you have a story to talk about."
- KM: It will be prominent?
- LK: Yes, and that's the way I feel. Everything should be preserved that way. Then you know, you have some history of the old Hawai'i. Otherwise it's lost forever...
- KM: *Hiki paha ia'u ke nīnau kekāhi* [May I perhaps ask you something]..?
- LK: Ah.
- KM: About the proposed Ali'i Highway.
- LK: Ah.
- KM: And the preservation...like, there's the talk about...and only if you feel *maika'i* [okay] to answer...
- LK: Ah.
- KM: But you know, like they talk about Pā-o-'Umi, Halelā'au, and what about the *'ilina* [burial sites]? Do you feel, as a native of this land...?
- LK: That it should be kept?
- KM: Yes.
- LK: Yes. Every, every *heiau*, every *iwi* [bone or burial] that they find, or *hale pā* [house enclosure], there's a story on everything. Like I always said, you can tell if you're familiar with the way that the wall is built. If it's built with the *papamū*, which is flat rock, you know, layer on the top, that you know is a *heiau*. And then if it's a wall with *papamū* and *'ili'ili*, then it's a house-lot. Because those days, the Hawaiians never had floor, they used *moena* [mats] on the *'ili'ili* you know. And that *pā pu'a* [pig enclosure] is rough outside, but inside it's steep so that the *pu'a* no can jump out.
- KM: I see, so the *pu'a* no can jump up, they make it steep inside.
- LK: They can not climb. Yes, steep inside straight, so that the *pu'a* cannot climb out.

- KM: I see, but outside the wall?
- LK: They pile it all up. So that's the way I visualize, or that I know the *pā pu'a*, our *pā pu'a* my days, you know, because of the dairy. Papa had wire *makai* because he went into partnership with *mea*...Kuramoto on the dairy. Then the, what do you call...but the other *pā*, you know, *pā pu'a*, the main wall inside is kind of rough, 'cause the *pu'a* run in six acres, but the one outside where we *hānai* [feed or take care], it's straight, and then outside is rough. But I guess it's just my common sense about how the wall is, you know, why the wall is built that way. And then to me it makes sense, because like I said, the Hawaiians had no floor, a wood floor, and then the *moena*, *hāli'i* [spread] the *moena* on that [surface]. Because before the Hawaiians used to have three-inch-thick *moena*.
- KM: You remember, or you said, your mama even...?
- LK: Yes, my mama had that, and I remember that very clearly. It was a big *moena*, and I think it was only like half-inch eye [describing the weave mesh].
- KM: Ah, small then even.
- LK: Yes, half-inch eye. I would say, about my little finger. But fine weave *moena* and then that's what we slept on. But we had floor though.
- KM: 'Ae, *papa hele* [yes, a wooden floor].
- LK: Uh-hmm. So this is why I say, "What's left of our history, should be kept" because otherwise, our grandchildren, you know, won't know anything and then they have to go and do research. You know, the research to me, it's either over written, or not enough to talk about, added in, you know that kind of thing.
- KM: 'Ae, *kuhihewa* [yes, flawed].
- LK: Yes, mistaken. Because why I say this is because I found this to be true with Tūtū Charley Kai'aiki's history. Because we buried *tūtū* Charley Kai'aiki up *mauka*, Helani Church in Kahalu'u *mauka*. Now he didn't die in a grass shack like, was taken out by the tidal wave. He was caretaker of Kalākaua House up in Kahalu'u *mauka*. He was also as I hear, like a guide for Kalākaua, but some say that he was tax man for Kalākaua, which mama never mentioned to me. But as I read that, it was told that he was a tax collector for Kalākaua. But I know that he was keeper of Kalākaua House.
- KM: So *kahu* [steward or guardian] to this *āina* [land], this place, yeah.
- LK: Yes, right. So in place of that, before Kalākaua died, Kalākaua gave him a 24-acre lot up Honalo, and the property in Kahalu'u *mauka* where Kalākaua house was. So when...before Tūtū died, Tūtū Charley Kai'aiki died, he gave that 24 acre to my mama. But he said that the one up *mauka* Kahalu'u, he will not give that to mama, it will be for his wife. So that's how we got that *mauka* land.
- KM: Because that was your godmother?
- LK: It's just like my godmother, Makuahine. My namesake, Lily Makuahine Kai'aiki, that was her name. So they [Bishop Estate] did *hana kōlohe* [do bad] to *Tūtū* lady, that I know, because when I was in high school... And I still say this, that Tūtū called Mama, because she didn't understand, she didn't know how to read and write, you know. When she *ho'olaha* [made known] to mama that she didn't understand what he [names the Bishop Estate agent who handled the unorthodox paperwork] came for; but I have written this all in my book. I didn't use his name though, I used Mr. X...

May 1, 1996 Walk from He'eia to Kahalu'u Bay

On May 1, 1996, Aunty Lily took me on a walk along the coastline between He'eia Bay and Kahalu'u, to show me areas that had been shown to her when she was young, or at which her family collected marine resources. Among the places visited were Kumaha'ula, Anapuka, Nā'ili'ili, Malihini, Noni Point,

Paniau, the *heiau* of 'Inikiwai and Mākole'ā, the former house sites of Nāluahine Ka'ōpua and Keawe Alapa'i, the *heiau* of Ke'ekū, Hāpaiali'i, and Kapuanoni, the Po'o Hawai'i pond and Kuakini and Kalākaua residences, and former house site of Tūtū Charley Kai'aiki. Crossing Ali'i Drive, we went to the Helani Church site and 'Ōhi'amukumuku Heiau. Continuing south along the road, we then went onto the 'a'ā flow *mauka* of the Keauhou Surf and Racquet Club, and walked along the Keauhou section of the Pā Kuakini. Traveling further *mauka*, aunty mentioned a large, round boulder that had been important to the *kūpuna*. The boulder was moved during construction of Ali'i Drive. According to Valentine Ako, also interviewed, the boulder was known as Pōhaku Keiki (pers. comm. May 9, 1996). We then went to the *heiau* in the 'a'ā, situated about 200 feet below the proposed Ali'i Highway, near the intersection below the Keauhou shopping center

***William Johnson Hawawakaleoonamanuonakanahale Paris
Oral History Interviews with Kepā Maly
Recorded Interviews of March 7, and April 24, 1996
and Supplemental Notes from Conversations of May 15,
and June 4, 1996, at Lehu'ula-nui***

William Johnson Hawawakaleoonamanuonakanahale Paris (Uncle Billy) was born in 1922, at the Honolulu, O'ahu home of his maternal grandfather, Robert Hind. When he was three weeks old he was brought home to the Paris homestead at Ka'awaloa, South Kona. Uncle Billy is descended from several prominent Hawaiian and Caucasian families that have generations of residency in Kona and Kohala. Various lines of his family have been active in ranching in Hawai'i since at least the 1830s, and have worked cattle on the lands Kahalu'u and Keauhou. Uncle Billy is a noted Kona historian, and gifted story teller, with knowledge of lands, sites and families throughout the region.

Uncle noted that he was very disturbed about the desecration of burial sites that has gone on throughout Kona in the past. Uncle noted that he would like to see the *heiau* and Hawaiian sites preserved, but also acknowledged that final treatment of sites was the *kuleana* of the Hawaiian people who were descended from families of the affected areas.

BP: ...My name is William Johnson Hawawakaleoonamanuonakanahale Paris.

KM: Hawawakaleoonamanuonakanahale. Oh, *maika'i*.

BP: [chuckles].

KM: What year, and month, date were you born?

BP: I was born December 18th, 1922.

KM: Okay. Where were you born?

BP: I was born in Honolulu, but it was always just a custom then, people who had means usually went and got on the old tramp ships that went between the islands and went to Honolulu and my mother went to...I was born in the, my grandfather Hind's home on Ke'eaumoku Street. And Doctor Milner, he was associated with Straub for many years, was the...did the delivery. And so at three weeks old I came back to Kona, and I stayed at the Paris homestead at Ka'awaloa.

The home was built in 1854. And it's still...and still in a pretty good state of repair.

KM: Was that your grampa, that built that house?

BP: No, my great-grandfather built the house.

KM: And his name?

BP: John D. Paris...

- KM: There's so much to talk about, but...When [pauses] have you heard for down in the area between Keauhou to Kailua, where were the cattle roaming early? Were they, you know...have you heard anything about...or does it seem to be that it was always *mauka*, or that maybe, until the forest started getting cleared they were more *makai*. Have you heard?
- BP: No, but like the Pā Kuakini, that was one of the reasons for it being built, to exclude livestock. Another great menace was *kekake* [donkeys] too. My father says more so in this area. Oh, he said, they were...boy, one of the droughts...that the donkeys killed all the...even stuff like *koa haole*, which is not a native plant, but brought in. And he said he remembered. So you see, you have a break in that Kuakini Wall at Keauhou, doesn't come through. But when you come into our land from Mā'ihī, Kuamo'o, and that wall is there again.
- [See also interview of April 24, 1995, comments regarding impenetrable growth of lantana, and use of fire to clear portions of *kula* pastures]
- KM: So it's really an extension of the wall...?
- BP: Yes.
- KM: And then the walls running *mauka* again up here.
- BP: *Makai*, above the bay. Yes.
- KM: So it comes all the way up the hill from Keauhou and...?
- BP: Doesn't come up the hill. It extends at the...you see the wall comes as far as Kahalu'u.
- KM: Oh, oh. Okay. Yes, yes that's correct.
- BP: And then it picks up again in our area, in the land of Mā'ihī.
- KM: Okay, at Mā'ihī.
- BP: Mā'ihī, Kuamo'o, Kawanui...then you have Lehu'ula, Honua'ino. It continues and goes through Ackerman's property, and goes all the way to Greenwell, all the way to Kalukalu. So you have that wall extended *makai* here.
- KM: What do you understand about the work? How...who built the wall? Do you recall?
- BP: All I know was a commission, it was called Pā Kuakini. It was done by Hawaiian people. 'Cause you can tell the way the stone, eh... The Japanese their wall, they had a good facing, but their walls are not strong because they turn those pōhaku sideways. Hawaiian walls, the long end is in, you know...
- KM: Could you describe that again, because this is very important, particularly when we're in the field looking at walls. The Hawaiian walls are built with the stone...?
- BP: Unless the stone has pretty good width, like a lot of your neater stone got good width and they're big, they're sideways. But your top walls, your stone, the lengthwise goes in.
- KM: Pokes in to the...?
- BP: It's not tying on only tying on to the rock it's on, it's tying into the fill, in what we call the *unau* [cf. *papaunu*: fill], whatever inside.
- KM: Yes, yes, oh. And the Japanese wall...?
- BP: They have a tendency, they like to have a fancy looking outside. But not always *pa'a* [secure]. But we had a Japanese man work for us, Ryonosuke Nishihara,

and then another one by the name of Kawakami. Those men were taught when they lined the tunnels in Ka'ū, for the waterworks. They worked there. They were taught by whoever was in charge how to build the wall *pololei* [correct]. And they built good walls. But most of these I noticed when we'd have earthquakes or something we'd contract out to Japanese gangs. And you had to supervise 'em because they wanta... We say "Never mind the eye so much. We want it to be *pa'a!*"

KM: You know that's something interesting that you notice in some of the clearing mounds, even, in some of the sugar fields. It looks nicely faced but what you see is, as things deteriorate...

BP: Yes.

KM: You know the old 1890s, turn of the century, those walls...it's faced on the outside, but inside is not too good, yeah. So it falls away easily.

BP: They all *hakahaka* [filled with gaps] you know.

KM: Oh, interesting.

BP: Then a lot of...so you gotta watch contract work, because a lot of times they'll, you know, if you don't, if you're not with 'em, they'll start throwing *hāpu'u* [tree ferns] and *'ōhi'a* [tree logs] and anything in to fill the inside. So cheap or quick fill. So that thing it decays after awhile then the center of the wall goes down and the sides go out see.

KM: Oh boy. So that explains why you see certain things out in the field now...

BP: Yes.

KM: Kind of soft, *palahē*...

BP: Yes, *popopo*, *pau* [rotten and no longer good], eh. So you know, these are things I know about our old land at Ka'awaloa...He [Ryonosuke Nishihara] was my grandmother Paris's handyman for years, and then he stayed on with my aunt Ethel. And he said, he'd tell you look out that this family *habunai*, you know, danger [laughing]. That the stone wall danger you know, he tell you look out, they'll cheat on you, you know. No *polorei* [laughing].

KM: Well, well that's good. That's very helpful, you know...

...Okay, what lands were you folks running your cattle in?

BP: We ran our cattle *mauka*, in the land of Lehu'ula and the *ahupua'a* to our north. We had a portion of the *ahupua'a* of Honalo.

KM: Okay, so within Lehu'ula and Honalo was your main area, and *mauka*. About how many acres do you think you folks were...?

BP: We have about...up *mauka* we have about 1,300 acres up there. Then we had the lowlands of Mā'ihī and Honalo [that] we used to lease from aunt Carrie Robinson.

KM: Now, when you mention the lowlands, what sort of area are we talking about...maybe elevation-wise?

BP: Well, the lowlands in Kona are referred to as the *kula*.

KM: So the *kula* is this lower section down here...

[pointing to the lowlands identified in the 1924 "Kainaliu Quad"]

BP: Yes, yes. And what they call *pā kula* [lowland pastures] is usually from about your 1,200-foot elevation, below.

KM: Okay. So, that was an area that you folks were running cattle.

BP: Cattle in.

KM: When you would run...where did you ship you cattle from here?

BP: Keauhou.

KM: You went down. Can you describe the process of taking the cattle from *mauka* down to the landing?

BP: What we, when in the old...when we first drives I went to as a kid, to get the *Humu'ula* to come into Keauhou, we had to guarantee a certain number of cattle. So, usually my father, my Uncle Johnny Johnson, Roy Wall, Tommy White, sometimes Walter Ackerman, we'd get together so we could have a boatload of cattle out of Keauhou. And we'd...originally...cattle that came from *mauka*...we'd take them down the old Saint Paul's trail [St. Paul's Church, situated in the land of Kawanui] till we got to the top end of the *ahupua'a* of Mā'ihī 'Ēkāhi, or small Mā'ihī, then down to the beach trail at the beach, and across to Keauhou.

KM: So this was across the old trail, through the 'a'ā.

BP: Yes. And, you know, there's one thing I...to me a great wrong was done when Bishop Estate... I was away at service school at the time. I was in the National Guard, and I was up at advance career course at Fort Benning, Georgia, when they had the hearing where the State surrendered their right in their...those trails. 'Cause we had two trails that were used by people to go to the landing at Keauhou. You had the...see the Saint Paul's trail, well, because it's called that because it goes down by the Saint Paul's church, here. Got down to where the old railroad was, and right below the railroad, you had one branch went to Keauhou. And the other branch went down to the beach at Honalo, where there were a lot of *kuleana* in those days. And so, now, that trail was used by all the Hawaiian people to go back and forth to...between Ka'awaloa and Keauhou. *Makai* trail. But when Bishop Estate came in with this development plan, they wanted to put the golf course on that southern end. Now, they abandoned those trails. And they said they would, then they put that Ali'i Drive extension around the top end, comes down by the...by the one of the burial grounds.

KM: *Lekeleke*, yeah.

BP: *Lekeleke*. But even then they play games with you. Because to cross over their land to get to the trail, they wanted us to sign an easement, a waiver with them. But heck, to me that is our right. We had used that trail for generations. So I wouldn't sign it. I said, "See you in court." I mean, that fast. So they dropped it like a hot potato. And it was a wrong...because...[I]know the people who raised produce like the Kobayashis and Hawaiian people who raised pumpkins and everything else on these lowlands would transport their produce...Honey time, they'd ship the honey out of Keauhou to Honolulu and places like that. And plus the Keawe Ka'ilikini, and all those old...Nāholowa'a and all those old people, they used the road. And the people from Nawawa, that is, down by Red Hill or Pu'uohau.

KM: So they used all that *makai* section?

BP: They all used that trail to go back and forth. 'Cause you had...you had two kinds of trails. You had the common right-of-ways, such as those, then you had your *ahupua'a* trails that went *mauka-makai*.

KM: So the trail that you would run cattle down from here was part of an old trail.

BP: Yes, but then we'd cut in to my Aunt Carrie Robinson's *ahupua'a* of small Mā'ihī, go down to...we had a pen there at the beach. And then we'd rest the animals, and we'd go across in the evening to Keauhou.

KM: Oh, evening, because cooler.

BP: Cooler 'cause that was a hot...that open area. And our shipping pen was...when you go to Keauhou today, they have that pier, the paved pier, God that was, I mean I wanted to cry when I saw that put in. To me, that is a sin, because that was a crescent-shaped beach, Keauhou Bay. Beautiful beach, and our shipping pen was right up against the *pali* [the cliff of 'Ahu'ula], just on the northern side of where Kamehameha III's birthplace.

KM: Your Uncle Tommy White place is...?

BP: *Makai*, there. *Makai*, that one that's built up out in the water. So our shipping pen was there, and at where you have the small-boat ramp, the palis there where all the restrooms, was a big water pen there. And we used to hold cattle underneath that *pali* at night. Then we'd bring em across a few at a time to the shipping pen. We come right in front of Kamehameha III's birthplace. Bring 'em across.

KM: Were you...in your time, you were shipping right out of there, is that correct?

BP: Yes.

KM: I understood that by Ha'ikaua, just past Hoapili's place, going a little, right, you know where Doc Hill's place is...?

BP: Yes, yes.

KM: There was an earlier...?

BP: Yes they did there, but the bottom was lousy there. You had a quick drop, so often your horse would...was pulling the animal [*pipi*] would be going out and he'd start swimming before the animal. And if the animal jumped, it jumped right on top of the horse, the and horse and rider. So whereas inside there [in Keauhou Bay], you had a very gradual...so easy. By the time your horse was swimming the animal would also be swimming, because usually animal was smaller than those big horses we used to ship with. Cause most of our shipping horses were part heavy, part Percheron, part Belgian or something.

KM: Oh so the draft horses, big...?

BP: Part, not...draft was too...no draft was too clumsy, so we used about a quarter heavy and three quarter other breed. Part Morgan, part Thoroughbred or something like that. But the most of our shipping horses had some heavy blood in them.

KM: So you folks...what was the average number of cattle that you'd be able to put onto the *Humu'ula* or something?

BP: She could hold about 220 head.

KM: So you you'd mentioned you, some of your papa's brothers, or uncles and other families...

BP: We all *hui* [join]. Maybe this one 30, this one 40, like that. This one 50, stuff like that.

KM: Now you folks... There it sounds like at Keauhou you were pretty much just hauling a cattle out, was it one at a time with the horse, you know, did you...did they use little row boats to...?

- BP: No you had your whaleboats come in. First thing they would do on a shipping day the *Humu'ula* or *Hawai'i* or whatever boat would be out there by the [area fronting the] Kona Surf, in the deeper water. Then...as the first launch and whaleboat came in, they would bring a hawser from the ship and they would anchor that to a coconut tree or a big rock [anchored to the stone called Moku-kani-kaula] or something. We had a big *pōhaku* down there, with a chain around it. Then they'd winch the *Humu'ula* tight to that so she'd be kept steady. And you would always load the cattle into the ship on the lee side, so you wouldn't have a surge pushing the whaleboat into the ship.
- KM: You would go around and put em on the lee side?
- BP: I mean, this is when they loaded from the whaleboat to the mother ship. In this boat would come along the lee side and then have a rope paralleling the ship, just above the water, and their ship, and the whaleboat would tie that. Then they'd have the winch come over with a hook and a sling. They put the sling around the pipi's *ōpū* [stomach] and lift 'em up, then down. So when you ship the animal, usually you load it ten at a time on those whaleboats. You pull 'em in, you throw your rope to the helmsman, he throw back the empty rope that they just taken off the other animal in front of you. Then he'd pass that on the side of the ship so you'd have a team on either side of men. They put a halter on the animal, keep his head out of the water and then have a 4x6 down the middle of the boat that was lashed. And then tie that end of the halter rope to that boat. You had to keep his head up on the side so they wouldn't drink salt water. They get pneumonia and *make* [die]. So that was the way you did it, you took ten head at a time, turn, take 'em out to the mother ship. They unload then, because that was a...Keauhou was a long pull. I mean, because you were outside. It was a...so they would use three lifeboats. Then you'd have the launch take...they had a little launch with a motor that would pull 'em out, but often they would start rowing if he was slow coming back. And this went on until the shipping was *pau*.
- KM: About how long did it take you get say 200 head of cattle out to the ship.
- BP: Probably about an hour and a half.
- KM: For real? That fast. Wow. Even for winching 'em on to the ship?
- BP: Yes. Hour and a half, two hours. It depends. Lot depend on the sea. If it was rough, it would take more time.
- KM: Real intense work, I guess though, yeah?
- BP: Yes..
- KM: ...Now, you've described some of where you were running cattle...
- BP: Yes.
- KM: And how you were getting down *makai*. Now, in between Keauhou and, say, Kahului area basically or Wai'aha, you know, where the sugar, old sugar mill was. There was ranching going on in those lands, also, if I recall. There's some cattle activity or...
- BP: Well it's there because you had my Uncle Tommy White had the lease on Bishop Estate lands at Kahalu'u and Keauhou for a while. Before that, Tom Gouveia and my Grampa Hind leased those lands. Then, as the Pacheco family and the...Tom Gouveia...after old man Pacheco and Tom Gouveia passed away in the 1950s, the Hinds starting, we started leasing those lands before that. We started leasing in the late '40s, Pu'u Wa'awa'a. Those lowlands of Hōlualoa and...which were Pacheco lands and Tom Gouveia lands.

KM: Now what were you using the Hōlualoa lands for with Pu'u Wa'awa'a?

BP: To fatten our cattle.

KM: Okay. So there was a good feed, *kiawe*...?

BP: Lowland pasture, *koa haole*, guinea grass. So we converted Pu'u Wa'awa'a into...instead of fattening there, we used to fatten up on the mountain paddocks, up in Halepiula [Poho'o'o] and Waihou, all those lands...Henahena *mauka*, Kīleo. Oh, we used to fatten on the upland and ship those cattle out of Kīhōlo. But then we decided when these lands became available and they were good fattening lands, and then after Uncle Tommy gave up the lease on Kahalu'u and Keauhou we got that; grampa got that back also. So we ranched all the way from the lands of Hōlualoa to Keauhou.

KM: So, this was Grampa Robert Hind?

BP: Yes.

KM: So you folks were leasing that land?

BP: From the Gouveias and the Pachecos, and also leased the lower end of Kaumalumu from the Greenwell family.

KM: Oh. Where were you running pasture at that time, and did the Pā Kuakini serve as a boundary?

BP: We used a portion of that, too. We went right down to Ali'i Drive.

KM: You did go right down to Ali'i Drive.

BP: Yes. As I was telling you, that area of Kaumalumu, you know, when we, especially my cousin Bobby, when he'd go in there and we'd have to go in on foot in that area, because of the old Hawaiian village in there. You got little alanuis [trails] and everything. He'd say, "You can feel those buggers." He used to tell me, you know, he said, "My hair used to stand up."

KM: Kaumalumu, the old village site, now this is *mauka* of Ali'i Drive.

BP: Right *mauka* side.

KM: Right *mauka* side of Ali'i Drive...

[Discusses cultivation of sugar in Kona, and the West Hawaii Railroad alignment.]

BP: ...They tried raising certain amount of sugar below the old railroad level. But in the end, they gave that up. Most of the sugar when I was a boy, they had given up even down here where we had pretty good soil and everything, given up raising sugar *makai* and had gone all *mauka* of this Māmalahoa Highway.

KM: And so it was all *mauka* of Māmalahoa?

BP: By that time.

KM: Ah, interesting. Now sugar went out, I guess the company Kona...

BP: The last harvest was nineteen...they stopped operation of planting in 1926. They took the last harvest out in 1927, and the main place where they brought the sugar down was over here in between the Nombriga's pasture and our nut field. There was a place there, an alleyway. They called it Trusseau Road. And they had their...cane came down on a cable. You had a roller with a hook, and then you had friction stops along the way and cane came down on rollers, all the way to the railroad down below here. So you would have sugar trains... They'd have the train would come all from Hienaloli, where the mill was. And would come

along the way and where below Kaumalumu there were, they'd have these sidings and you'd drop off a few flat sugar carts there. Then he'd continue along the way down here, below by Yamagata areas, and Hōkūkano another. Get over to the Kalukalu and the...turn around was at 'Ōnouli.

KM: Oh, so the turnaround, so the track ended at...?

BP: 'Ōnouli. Then these...he'd drop all these carts off along the way. By the time he came back, the gangs that were working down there, would have it all loaded already.

KM: So they were like cinching it down slope?

BP: Yes.

KM: Gravity, basically, was loading it onto the carts.

BP: Well, they would come down there, and then they would hit the stop. They'd have a kind of a bank, and it would trip and jump off the track so it would come down. We didn't go right into the cart. It was all hand-loaded. But you see, they would...they wouldn't come every day, but this...so they would have enough. And I can still see those things coming down. So us *kōlohe* kids, when my older cousins and everything, every summer my grandma, grandmother Paris would have all the Paris mo'opunas up. My cousin Dexter and them would be 'ono for *kō* [sugarcane] so we'd take a chain and we'd throw it over the cable, when that thing came [laughing], it would jump the whole sling would [laughing]. Then you'd have all these old Japanese men—everyday they would come down to check and see if any cane had fallen or anything. They'd come down and you'd hear 'em, "Son a ga bitchy *haole* boy, *kōrohe* no!" [laughing].

KM: Drop the whole load then?

BP: Drop one whole sling, you know. Ah damn kids. Kids are kids the world over.

KM: Innocent. Having fun, yeah.

BP: Having fun...

KM: ...You know, if we come back here to when did you folks stop grazing this land here at Hōlualoa, Kaumalumu?

BP: We stopped when...you see my mother's family, in 1959 they decided that they were all well along in years. And they decided to [get] out of ranching, and they sold their whole estate, Pu'u Wa'awa'a and Honomalino ranch operations, and Captain Cook Coffee Company...

KM: Yes, yes, oh, oh, how interesting. So, your sense that...coming back once, one more time here and then I, we'll kind of wrap it up. Am I missing anything of importance here, any sites or places that you think that...?

BP: Well I'd say in the...I cannot talk, I'd say I have great remorse against what was done by Kamehameha Development Company in Keauhou. To me they screwed up a lotta Hawaiian places there, especially in the early stages when they had that guy Johnson and them working there. Oh [#!#!#!], I mean, what they did at Kahalu'u and you know. There were significant places. I guess you get that from Lily Kong too, yeah.

KM: 'Ae.

BP: Some of us are kind of *kaumaha* [saddened, feel burdened] about that, you know. Then there...just about the beach trail and other things. I, well, maybe we—those of us that used it—we have a great deal of *aloha*. But maybe as the

younger ones come in, they'll forget about it. But I think that should have been preserved. And our end when you get over here, Mā'ihī, over here you...Kuamo'o Point, right up in here, is where Kekuaokalani is buried.

KM: The Lekeleke area?

BP: No, right here at Kuamo'o.

KM: Oh, at Kuamo'o okay, I'm sorry.

BP: Right here. It was *makai* side of the beach trail. So we...there's some, quite a few burials right in here. This land has some heiaus, some refuge caves, so Kuamo'o side. Yes, this...in this area there's signs of, in the lower end, that there was...must of had quite an extensive Hawaiian population at one time.

KM: So Mā'ihī, Kuamo'o side, and you see even throughout here, you see a number of these *pā 'āina*...

BP: Yes.

KM: The land division walls, yeah. Those are part of the history, I guess.

BP: Yes.

KM: The story of the land...

[Discussing sugar plantation and ranching activities, and families who lived in the area.]

KM: ...Now who were the primary workers for the sugar plantation?

BP: Well you...sugar plantation in this area we had...I'd say 50% were Japanese. And then we had some Hawaiians, some Portuguese, and, of course, mostly your lunas were originally when the...first started before what's his name, Kunno took it over, Kondo or whatever his name was; before he took it [Kona Sugar Company] over, the bulk of your lunas were all the different nationalities. Wassmans and others.

KM: So I guess German and...

BP: Yes. Like we had a lot of part-Chinese work, the Kas, Robby Chai, others work on the plantation. They worked...Robby was some blacksmith. He came in, he became Dad's foreman for many years.

KM: Is that the same Chai that had a place down on Keauhou Bay, also? You know, there was Ida Chai and...

BP: Yes, that's Ida Chai and Helen. Helen Weeks is related, oh, that's...Her mother was Heilani, yeah...

KM: *Mahalo nui*, I thank you so much.

BP: ...You know one thing you were asking, I think I've told some people this, but the movement of cattle and the great distances... My father, he was probably the last trail boss from this side. We pick up cattle from Kona. My grandfather Hind and Pu'u Wa'awa'a would have good seasonal pasture up in the uplands before that lousy fountain grass came into Pu'u Wa'awa'a. That's a darn...it's ruined that place. And we take...feed the cattle from Kona. We take them up to Palena'āina, up *mauka* here, or Pūlehua. We start out early in the morning and go up by 'Umi's temple to...when we'd get by Pu'u Ika'aka, we'd cut across to Kahuahō'ikeokanaka, and then we'd go up to near the summit of Hualālai, but kinda staying just on the side. We'd go up on the back side. Yes, and the Pu'u Wa'awa'a cowboys would meet us up there with a bunch of bulls. My grandfather used to have purebred bulls. So there we'd swap *pipi*. We'd give them the feeder

cattle and then we'd bring the bulls to Kona, because people like the Greenwells and everything would order. Then we'd drop the bulls off along the way to the Wall Ranch, and everything. But that was something, you know. You going starting maybe sometimes four o'clock in the morning on horse and getting home at nine o'clock at night. God.

KM: So in that one day's time you drive, the cattle go *mauka* like that?

BP: Well, we leave 'em up there at Pūlehua, so they're up pretty high already. And then we'd go up by 'Umi's temple and cut across on the Judd Trail, and then at Pu'u Ika'aka we'd go across the lava there. There was a trail to Kahuaohō'ikeokanaka. Kahuahō'ikeokanaka is what they called the race track up there. And that's where 'Umi took all the people who built the mounds, those pyramids [*'ahu*] up there, and he had a review there. That's why they call that Kahuahō'ikeokanaka. He had...they...he had all his people stand just like a military review.

[As a child, Uncle heard his father talk about the misfortune that had fallen upon the guys that made *pā kao* (goat pens) within the features of 'Ahu-a-'Umi. They were all dead a short time later {pers. comm. June 4, 1996}.]

KM: Now if you look at Ahu-a-'Umi, and Hualālai is now so my back is sorta to Mauna Kea, now...

BP: But we...from Hualālai we'd...I mean from 'Umi we'd come *makai* little bit, and then Pu'u Ika'aka, we'd cut across, over...

KM: So that Kahuahō'ikeokanaka is below Pu'uika'aka, or where...

BP: Where it's *mauka*...a little...it's a little, I would say, northeast of Pu'u Ika'aka.

KM: So upslope?

BP: Yes there's a big cinder flat there with cinder cones on the *makai* side.

KM: And so you'd go, you guys would get over the other side of Hualālai and you would swap cattle...

BP: Yes, above Kīleo.

KM: Above Kīleo, and just turn around and come back. You guys go back down the other way.

BP: Yes. Swap stories along...the Hawaiians and all say, "You tell those Pu'u Wa'awa'a guys you were lucky. You got...you have *pipi holu*." In other words, young cattle move. "You giving us *pipi molowā*." [laughing] The lazy buggas. They say we'd have to fight these buggas all the way to Kona, except when we got down to *ka 'āina o Kinue* [the land of Greenwell]. Hoo, mahope *honi* [later the catch the scent]... ..Maybe before you go you can take a look at this chest [a *koa* chest made on the east coast by his grandfather].

KM: Oh, okay. So you...by the time they get down to Kinue's place

BP: Kinue them "*Honi ka 'a'ala nā kumulau me nā 'ohe mane'o*" [Get the scent of the heifers and then the bulls would get all wild] Then we'd have trouble, you know.

KM: You gotta hold 'em back.

BP: [laughs] Get that smell. [chuckling] You hear, those kinda words you never forget, *pa'a!* [talking to Laddie]...

KM: Oh *mahalo*...

William Johnson Hawawakaleoonamanuonakanahale Paris
(Follow up Interview with Kepā Maly, April 24, 1996)

[Discussing *ahupua'a* access, rights, and collection practices.]

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

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

For medicinal purposes, they would go *makai* to gather the herbs and plants that were used in their various medicines. That time, you took care of colds and infections and things like that by using the native plants. Most Hawaiian people, you used *laukāhi* for infections and things of that nature. You used *pōpolo* plant, both the fruit and the leaf, pound the leaf with a little *pa'akai*, you have a sore throat, that's good medicine. So, they had the right to that. Get *'uhaloa* for sinus and things of that nature. these rights they had. Go down the beach to pick *lau hala*.

KM: So the Hawaiian families were still practicing within the *ahupua'a* these *mauka-makai* accesses?

BP: That's right.

KM: Now, you'd shared with me, if you don't mind, a little earlier, a story that your father had told you. I had asked you, "What *'āina* is Waihou in?" And you had explained that the house was actually in one *'āina* and that the spring was in another.

BP: Yes.

KM: Your father had told you a story that he had heard about how the *ahupua'a* of Kona, I guess, were made by the *ali'i*.

BP: Well, his version is that the chiefs had their runners start on either side of what were considered their land at the ocean and they ran towards the mountains. Of course, you know, your uplands were where you did your farming and things of that nature. Your forests, you got certain items that they used, like your *mamaki*, and other plants that were used in making *tapa*, fibers, and things of that nature. And so they started these runners off, the weaker ones were cut off by the stronger ones.

KM: Ahh, so as they *pi'i i uka* [ascended the uplands]?

BP: Yes.

KM: Going to climb the mountains, the stronger one cut off... So that's why your father was explaining that some of the *ahupua'a* were...?

BP: Much larger than others. Some of them only go up a short ways, and they're chopped off. That is his description of the *ahupua'a*, when they were first started. They were divided by runners. Of course, you notice some of them were disproportionate to begin with. Some of the *ahupua'a* are much wider at the ocean than they are at the top. And so...and he said that's what he gathers, at that time this was to prevent the squabbling and everything up *i uka* [uplands], it was less defined than they had started out with.

KM: Did Papa give you any indication when, or who's time this may have been?

BP: No.

KM: May have been 'Umi or...no?

BP: I have a hunch it would be in that era, because 'Umi loved the mountain, just like he did at Hale Lā'au and Ka 'Ahu a 'Umi, and Kahua-hō'ike-o-kanaka. They knew how to live in the mountains; they knew where the drip-caves were and where you could lift the *pōhaku* and there would be water underneath. And those guys were...I mean they were *akamai*. He loved *mauka*.

KM: So in 'Umi's time *paha* [perhaps]?

BP: *Paha*. I think so.

KM: You know, you were describing, like in your *ahupua'a* here at Honua'ino or Lehu'ula, the *mauka-makai* accesses that residents within the *ahupua'a* maintained, yeah?

BP: Yes.

KM: What was the practice between inter-*ahupua'a*? Like in, you know, do you recall hearing, did people just go take what they wanted, where they wanted?

BP: They always asked. But like you had the main areas, like this Māmalahoa. Okay, cause Kamehameha gave the right for free passage on this, any body could go. They wouldn't be molested. Then you had the trail like, what they call the King's Trail, the coastal trail.

KM: How about the *ala loa*, did you hear that term, *ala loa*?

BP: Uh-hmm.

KM: *Makai*?

BP: Yes.

KM: How about, like your *'āina* before? I think you were even sharing that from like Keauhou, there is a trail that ran *makai*, all the way...

BP: To Ka'awaloa.

KM: Ahh, what is that trail, what kind of access do you think?

BP: That was for free access, you passed through, that's how the people lived, say at Nawawa, that is, by Pu'uohau, or our area, Honua'ino, all the people who lived, they had free access to Keauhou or wherever they wanted, and that's...Ali'i Drive was all a part of that same *ala nui*.

KM: The old *ala loa*, 'ae.

BP: You know, so those trails, the trail that went to...all the way to Kawaihae along the... But what I get from like my father and Sam Hook, and those people, when they went from Kona to say, Kawaihae, they never went along the coastline.

They went to Hu'ehu'e where John Maguire was, and then from there they had a trail that went on a diagonal down to Kīholo. Then they would go across. But they said the trail, because of the 1801 flow, and others, that in the northern part of Kona, from Kīholo, south, the trail was not too good *makai*.

KM: I see... So people, in your recollection, were respectful of resources within an *ahupua'a*? If you were traveling from one area to another, would you just go and take what you wanted?

BP: No.

KM: No.

BP: We were always...like all of us ranchers, we had more or less the right to pass through other people's property, but we always, the old timers, we'd always call on the telephone, "We plan to move cattle through your area, tomorrow, at a particular time," or next week. We'd give them...so we didn't want to interfere with their internal operations. So, it was not just go. We always asked.

KM: Is this your understanding that this is a carryover from earlier practices...?

BP: That's right.

KM: You respect...

BP: Respect. My grandmother Paris, she pounded it in your head, "If you don't know whose land that is, don't go until you find out," you know. She was...they were... My aunt Carrie Robinson, my Grandmother Paris, all those sisters, Mary Shipman, married to William Shipman, those sisters, boy, they believed in that! It was not just boom [striking the table]. But in the *ahupua'a*, there was great freedom for the people who lived within. And I wish it would be that way today. Then the *ahupua'a*, the people who lived there in, would take good care of their resources, they would have plenty.

KM: That's right. How about even going into the ocean for fishing, was there kind of respect of the land area fronting...?

BP: In the old days, you owned right to the *limu* line. You go look at our property markers, they're right...your high tide washes right over some of those "Xs" in the stone... But that has all changed since statehood. Once we became a state, seems... In the Territorial time, boy, a lot of that *ahupua'a* tradition was practiced...

KM: 'Ae. What do you think about the preservation of sites like those, particularly...and I'm going to pop back to the road as an example, for a moment., because where the road alignment for the Ali'i Highway is proposed...

153 Have you heard the name Pā-o-'Umi, a *heiau* up that Mākole'ā Road, just *mauka* of the old Helani Church?

BP: Yes, uh-hmm.

KM: The road is going to pass through those, or, go back to Keākealaniwahine. Value in caring for those sites, or is it time to move forward, and you know...?

BP: Well, what are they going to... I mean, the access, is it going to destroy that one?

KM: It's going to impact the perimeters at least on some of those areas you know.

BP: I'd hate... You know, the *heiau* proper, the prominent ones, if they can bypass them and everything and preserve them, that's fine. Like, there are many, many *heiau* that are... Well, it's hard for us to say. They would pertain more to the people who were in that area, of that time.

KM: That's correct. And that's a very Hawaiian attitude, that you just stated.

BP: Yes.

KM: Because it's their *'āina*, their land...

BP: Yes.

KM: So they should speak for it.

BP: Yes.

KM: I see what you are saying.

BP: But like myself, and others, we've been pretty good about taking care of what is significant in our own property.

KM: Additionally, so many families are gone now, so sometimes there is no one to speak.

BP: Yes.

KM: So *kānaka*, people of care and concern, need to speak out at other areas too.

BP: Yes. So that land there, I don't know what has [been] stated... The highway is definitely needed. There is a great need for a new corridor in that area, because that Ali'i Drive is very dangerous because of the dual use of swimmer, and the resident, and then the through traffic.

KM: You know, one of the interesting things that you see in some of the old documents, like from the *Māhele* or the Boundary Commission, there is the discussion about the *ala pi'i uka*, or *ala pi'i mauna* [trails that ascend to the uplands, or mountain], those *mauka-makai* trails. One of the trails that the proposed road alignment would cut through is what has been referred to for a long time as the Judd Trail, are you familiar with that?

BP: Well, the Judd Trail was started at that time to have a direct access between this side of the island and Hilo. And the 1859 lava flow brought that to a screeching end. I know when we used to go...

...Originally, that trail was not vehicular. That's the part that bothers many of us. It was for foot traffic and donkeys, horses, and things of that nature. You know, many of those trails were paved with *'alā* stones, the steppingstones. But they caused the *lio*, especially shod horses, they'd trip on 'em and everything. And in many places, those stones are thrown on the side.

KM: Oh, how interesting.

BP: Yes.

KM: So purposefully, they took the *'alā* off, because the shod horse...?

BP: Would trip on them, so slip. So, they'd take those out, that was more for humans. Because you go down in South Kona, down Okoe, Kapu'a, you see the old stones still on the *'a'ā*, the crossing. But I know, in our area, in many places, the trail between Kāināliu Beach and Māihi, especially where we used to use, you'll see most of those round stones on the side. They were purposefully removed.

KM: That's important for the historical record, also, because it tells us about the time that this may have occurred, and that the function of the trail changed.

BP: Yes.

KM: No longer by foot, but *holo lio* [ridden on horse].

BP: *'Ae, holo lio*. But they were not built for wagons and everything else..

KM: ...Now let's see, oh, one thing I wanted to ask you about, additional, one of the many things I'd like to ask you about, you know, on the *makai kula*?

BP: Ahh.

KM: In that area, Kahalu'u to Kahului, and even on towards Lanihau, as I drive along the Ka'ahumanu-Kuakini Highway, where it connects, like in the land of Hienaloli, Honua'ula, and coming over to Pua'a. If you look from the road, *makai* or *mauka*, you see under some of the *kiawe*, mounds of stone, that have been just kind of thrown, like toss-piles in there. And I was wondering...

BP: [thinking]

KM: ...You look underneath there, there are these toss-piles of stone. I was wondering if you'd heard of a practice *makai*... Now, I know like you described last time, when we were just talking story, in the *mauka* sugar fields, the Japanese would gather, and actually made some beautiful stone mounds.

BP: Yes.

KM: How about *makai*, in some of the *kula* pastures, do you recall hearing about a practice of maybe gathering some stone and just tossing it into piles...?

BP: Wherever we...like our lands in Māihi and Kuamo'o, where we gathered our cattle to hold them before we went along the trails to go over, many places, we'd make those piles, to open up, and help us hold the cattle. Remove the stone from those areas so we could move better and keep better control. So we have those kind of practices, and I'm sure it would be done if they decided, to plant something especially in a soil pocket or something, they remove the stone and pile it around. And it's a great practice, even we do it if you have a *pā kuni* [branding pen] or anything else and there's a tree growing in it, we make, cleaning the stone and pile it around the tree. We even do that today...

Julian Gouveia
Informal Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly
March 8th and 20th, 1996, at Hōlualoa

Julian Gouveia was born at Honomalino, South Kona in August 1923. His parents were John and Gussie Gouveia, but shortly after birth, he was given in the Hawaiian custom of *hānai* to his uncle and aunt, Frank and Virginia Gouveia (acknowledged as his parents). The larger Gouveia family was actively involved in ranching at various locations on the island of Hawai'i, including ranching the lands of Kahalu'u and Keauhou.

JG: I was born at Honomalino in 1923. A few years later my dad went up to Hu'ehu'e Ranch. You know, when I was small, we were always around the Hawaiian cowboys, and even when I went to school at Kalaoa, and being with all the Hawaiian families, I used to speak Hawaiian. As a kid, I could talk pretty good, I could even read and write Hawaiian, but it's been 50 years since I used to speak, and now I can hardly remember anything...

KM: When did your father get his land in this section of Kona?

JG: In February 1935. I think it was around Washington's birthday, if I'm not mistaken.

KM: Did you folks run cattle down in the *makai* section of Puapua'a-Hōlualoa, in the vicinity of the Kuakini Wall?

JG: Yes, we had that whole area. Our land ran from the *makai* side of the old Kona Sugar Company railroad, to the shore. The lower land was really rocky and often too dry, and we would rotate the cattle in different areas. Over the years, we had to build paddock and

corral walls because there weren't too many walls before our time. We also had openings through the Kuakini Wall to provide *mauka-makai* accesses.

KM: So you folks had to build walls for pens and paddocks?

JG: Yes.

KM: Who did your rockwork; who built the walls?

JG: Mostly Japanese and Korean workers. My dad too, he worked all the time.

KM: Did you folks rely mostly on the *pā pōhaku*, or did you do some post and wire fencing too?

JG: In the lowlands, below Kuakini Highway, we used a lot of stone walls, and the old boundary walls, and occasionally some wire fencing...

KM: Were there other families ranching the lands neighboring you?

JG: Yes, Joe Gomes them were in the Wai'aha-Kahului area. We had the Puapua'a Iki-Puapua'a nui, and some of Hōlualoa. My father's uncle, Tom Gouveia, had the land situated *makai* of the Hōlualoa School, and he had also held a lease for a while on Bishop Estate land in Kahalu'u-Keauhou. Greenwells had Kaumalumalu. There was also a Pacheco that had land, and then my uncle Tony Gouveia had land, I think, in the Pāhoehoe-La'aloa area. Tony Gouveia also bought some of the Nāhale estate lands. There were cattle throughout all of these lands *makai* by my time. There also used to be a lot of *pānini*, but that bug they brought in killed it all...

***The late, Helen Kīna'u Wight-Weeks
and Curtis Tyler III, at Keauhou
Oral History Interviews with Kepā Maly
March 15, 1996 and April 11, 1996***

Helen Kīna'u Wight-Weeks (Aunty Helen) was born in 1919, in Honolulu. On her mother's side of the family, she is descended from the Kauwē-Kaukamoā-Davis-Akana lines of Kona. That side of her family resided in Keauhou since around 1839, and is tied to several families, including the Paris' and Walls. Aunty Helen married John Douglas Weeks, a Kona native, and moved to Kona in 1946. J.D. Weeks was a surveyor, and aunty Helen worked with him on a number of Kona surveys.

Aunty Helen's interview presents readers with a colorful, and at times, candid view into some of the heart-break and history of change in Kona's Hawaiian community. She also has fond recollections of tūtū Nāluahine Ka'ōpua of Kahalu'u, from whom she heard stories, and learned more about the importance of Hawaiian cultural sites. Through experiences like those with tūtū Nāluahine, and her own tūtū Apō, she expresses a deep concern about the impact of development on Hawaiian resources. She also observed that her late husband was always warning against over development along Ali'i Drive. She notes that customary accesses have been severely limited as a result of development.

In the interview excerpts cited below, Aunty Helen spoke about the importance of the Pā Kuakini, 'Ōhi'a Cave, and other sites in the region. She notes that she feels that Hawaiian burials, wherever they are found should be protected in-place.

KM: It's March 15th, about 10:20 a.m., and we're here with Mrs. Helen Weeks; I want to say *aloha!*

HW: Helen Kīna'u Wight-Weeks.

KM: Wonderful, *mahalo*. I know, you...

HW: Don't forget my Hawaiian name.

KM: Kīna'u, and we're also here with your nephew Curtis Tyler, and we're gonna talk story.

HW: Well, a lot of people when they do meet me, "How did you get the name of Kīna'u?" And I said, "Well, when Doctor and Mrs. Judd had the first white child in the islands, they were the third company of missionaries, and Princess Kīna'u came in and she said, "I want your baby." He said, "We don't have babies and give them away." "I don't care, I want the baby." "No, you may not have the baby." So she walked out indignantly and then when she was being baptized at Kawaiaha'o Church, "We shall call the baby Elisabeth." And just then Kīna'u walked in. "Well since I can't have your baby, you can at least name her after me. And each generation, the first daughter will be Kīna'u." So that's how we got the name as Kīna'u. And so she became Elisabeth Kīna'u. Her daughter became Helen Kīna'u and then down all the Kīna'us and then finally I came along and I was named Helen Kīna'u...

KM: Wonderful! ...What was dad's name, your father's name?

HW: Frank Hastings Wight, W-i-g-h-t.

KM: And Mama?

HW: And Mother is Kahikaheilani. Kahikaheilani is a family name. There's no translation.

KM: Oh. And her last name?

HW: Akana.

KM: Akana. Oh, and is that tied to the Kona Akanas also?

HW: No, no relation.

KM: Oh, a different Akana, oh.

HW: 'Cause my grandfather was Ing Den, I-n-g D-e-n. But the Hawaiians had such a time with that so they dubbed them Akana. So he became Akana.

KM: Oh. You'd mentioned I think that your grandfather was pure Chinese, came to Hawai'i...

HW: That's my mother's father, yeah.

KM: Yes, so your mother's father came to Hawai'i, fell in love with a...?

HW: My grandmother.

KM: A Hawaiian...?

HW: She's three quarters Hawaiian and a quarter *haole*.

KM: And grandma's name again?

HW: She was Tamar Kamala Keōpūolani-Akana Born in 1860 at Keauhou, died in 1936.

CT: And then Tūtū Kauwē [pointing to a picture]?

HW: This is my grandmother Kauwē, and this is her name, this whole thing.

KM: Kauwēakanoaakawelonahaleakalakauwēakekinia'oko'olau Kaukamoā.

HW: Yes. So she became Tūtū Kauwē.

KM: Tūtū Kauwē...

KM: ...Now you'd mentioned also that Grampa Akana had come to Kona, yeah?

HW: He came to Kona. He was the first Chinese to come to Kona. He came in 183-[thinking]-7. And they say that he got married in 1838-39. And so each of the children—he had six girls—and he said to my grandmother, "I want a boy." She said, "Okay, we'll have another one." So she got pregnant and one month before the baby was born, Akana, my

grandfather, died. And it was a boy that they had. It was the only boy in the family. Which was sad.

KM: Now Akana you said had opened a store at Keauhou?

HW: Yes he opened the first store at Keauhou Bay. And you come down and you go underneath the monkey pod tree, and then you go over to the to the church where he was married.

KM: Oh, you mean the little Ka'ili'ilinehe Church at Keauhou?

HW: Yes, yes. And some of my family's buried there.

KM: At Ka'ili'ilinehe?

HW: Yes.

KM: So what do you think about the proposed sale, like that, of Ka'ili'ilinehe? They're trying to sell that lot, I'd heard.

CT: The HCC is trying.

HW: Stupid.

KM: Yes.

KM: Aunty Lily Kong is very upset about that.

HW: Oh everybody at Keauhou is upset about it. It's terrible...

KM: ...Now your husband's name was?

HW: ...Oh, John Douglas.

KM: John Douglas Weeks. And you moved up here, I think you said in...?

HW: Forty-six.

KM: Forty-six. And you folks...well, your husband was a surveyor?

HW: Surveyor, engineer.

KM: ...Did you folks talk sometimes about some old Hawaiian places that may have been in amongst the lands that were being surveyed?

HW: Yes.

KM: How about *makai* lands? So, you familiar with sites...

HW: Down *maka'i*? The beach area?

KM: Keauhou, Kahalu'u...

HW: Oh Keauhou to Mā'ihī and Kāināliu beach, 'cause that's where his grandfather is buried, and his brother is buried down there.

KM: His grandfather being...?

HW: Henry Weeks.

KM: Okay.

HW: He was buried down there [Kāināliu]. Wilama's ashes were scattered there. And that was the old place where he lived, and it was Kāināliu Bay...

KM: ...Now yesterday, you and your nephew were talking about the 'Ōhi'a Cave?

HW: Oh yes. Okay. You go down, you know, where this Keauhou shopping center is, and then the road used to go down like that, and right at the curve of the road was a cattle guard. And so...

KM: This is *makai* of the new shopping center, or...?

HW: No, no...*makai*. And so [John] Makuakāne stopped there and he walked up the cattle guard about a quarter of a mile, maybe not that much. So the two of 'em walked up and, God I wish I could remember his name...He said "We can't get in there. Look at that big rock, round rock." And he said "Don't worry about it." So he touched it and the rock turned, and in they went. And there was this woman with beautiful red hair lying in the canoe. And he said, oh, he said to me to tell 'em in Hawaiian... I say, "You know I can't speak Hawaiian." "Oh okay." Whenever he found a body in an open canoe uncovered, means that they're part of the royal blood. And so there were calabashes, and there were, oh, all kinds of things. So he took his camera out and Makuakāne said "What you going do?" "Take pictures." "Nah, they not gonna come out." "What you mean they not gonna come out? I brought two rolls." He say "Okay take 'um all." So he took two rolls, 72 pictures, and not one of 'um came out. So he asked if he could go through again. And Makuakāne said "For what?" "Take some more pictures here." "And they aren't gonna come out." And so he did. He took another 36 pictures and not one of 'em came out.

KM: Now you'd mentioned earlier that this was, was this a little after your son Bobby was born?

HW: Yes. Bobby was born in '50, so this would be... 'cause I couldn't go walking around with a great big stomach and falling down. So it had to be in the early '50s.

KM: Early '50s. Now, it was the old man, John Makuakāne. Now I was just with his children this morning...and they had also remembered that the father sometimes took people to the cave. Now, the way you were describing, this was a lower entrance *makai*?

HW: Yes.

KM: Sort of below then the shopping area, but you'd said towards Alapa'i's place?

CT: Ah yes. Well, she's speaking about that cattle guard. The cattle guard was very near where Keawe Alapa'i's family lived.

HW: Yes.

CT: And that cattle guard was *mauka* of that roadway going down to Nāluahine Ka'ōpua's house [near the road side of the closed Kona Lagoon hotel]... So Nāluahine's place was right down by that wall there, okay. And then wall went *mauka*, and that's where the cattle guard was, right there.

KM: Okay, okay. So right inside there.

CT: There's a low spot., you know, as you're coming down from the Keauhou Shopping Village and you come down and there's a sharp turn, and the road goes straight. And you look, you look *mauka* and you see a depression in there. That's where the cattle guard was, over there.

HW: Yes but they they've covered it up, 99%.

CT: What, the cave?

HW: Yes. I told...I said to Joe, "What you cover it up for?" He said "Well, we didn't know anything was there." I said "Don't give me any of that. Quido Jacamay knew it was there. He's been through it."

KM: Is that Joe Spencer with Bishop Estate?

HW: Yes.

KM: Well that's why it's important that you folks, you know, share some of the history and stuff so that...kinda holding people accountable you know, taking care of these things. You'd mentioned that someone went with you. Was it John Makuakāne and that photographer, reporter guy, or...?

HW: Gee, I wish I could remember his name.

CT: John Wright eh?

HW: Huh?

CT: John Wright?

HW: No, no, no, no. He was...he was a...no, he was a nice looking, nice looking person.

KM: *Haole* guy?

HW: *Haole* guy.

KM: The one that did a series of articles, yeah on the *heiau* Ke'ekū and stuff like that?

HW: Uh-uh [Gene Wilhelm], who wrote for the Hilo Tribune-Herald...

KM: ...This is a perhaps an important thought, what's the difference between preservation, preserving something as it is and stabilizing it or remaking it, restoring it.

HW: Well, they rather have it stabilized and leave it as is, just pick up the rocks that have fallen off and put 'em back, you know, nicely, and that's what they [KOC] would rather do. "What do you want to go dig the thing up for?" "Well there two graves under there." I said "Well so what? The two graves under there, just leave it." I hate when people go digging up graves. For what?

KM: Yes, best to leave it alone.

HW: It's best to just to leave it alone and do the best you can with what's there.

KM: What do you think about Hawaiian burials, particularly, you know, that...as you're saying, I guess, is that preserve it, take care the area, leave it, leave it alone. You know, are burials important?

HW: Oh, I think they are. I think they are. I would hate to be buried and think, "Oh you know, I think, I think she was buried with her gold bracelet. I think we ought to dig her up and get that gold bracelet." I'm not kidding you.

KM: Hmm...

CT: ...So do you think, Aunty Helen, that the *iwi*, they find *iwi* or they find sites, you think they should be ah...

HW: They should be taken care of because that's our history, you know, that's all old, old stuff. Keauhou to White Sand beach...

KM: Did you ever hear anyone talk about how, in fact, how was the Kuakini Wall used? What, what have you heard about that? If you have.

HW: Well it was wartime. They would come and get behind the wall so that they wouldn't be killed or anything, you know. And then after that wartime went, then they left it. "Oh that's my property, that's my boundary," you know. And yet it couldn't be, because it would be feet and feet off from their ah...

KM: Real property line.

HW: Yes.

KM: How about, are you familiar at all with it being associated with cattle and protecting garden areas or anything?

HW: Oh, yes. They had a lot of cattle, a lot of cattle. Tommy White was one of the cattle ranchers. And who else? Tommy White I know, 'cause he was also up here.

CT: He had the lands in the area of Keolonāhihi. He did some cattle ranching there. Yes, Tommy White.

HW: He's W-h-i-t-e.

KM: Yes.

CT: And then that went to Roy Wall.

HW: Yes.

CT: Then it was sold to Skipper Kent. And then, subsequently, they were gonna build a resort there. What they call Kamoia Point. But that's...he was a rancher.

KM: Ah, so Tommy...now when would Tommy White's ranching activities have been going on, do you think?

HW: Hmm.

KM: Around. Early this century?

HW: Tommy White was here turn of the century...

KM: ...What do you feel about Kona and the changes you've seen?

HW: Aren't they terrible? I think they're just awful. What are you smiling at [speaking to Curtis]?

CT: Well, I agree. [chuckling]

HW: ...What are they gonna do with all the archaeological sites they're gonna find?

KM: What do you think they should do with them?

HW: I think they ought to preserve 'em...

CT: ...Aunty Helen, you know, in the Keauhou area, you've seen a lot of changes in that area., you know, you mentioned that your family had that store down there.

HW: Yes.

CT: By the church. That whole area it seems to me, as I recall, has changed dramatically. A lot of sites were...

HW: Oh, they put in the condominiums, in other words that four- or five-story condominiums. And then Hola, a Hawaiian woman, lived in the back of where my mother and them had their store and where they stayed. And there were quite a few changes, and she said, "No, you can't do that." And she would tell 'em, she said "No, you can't do that." But they did it anyway.

CT: Wasn't David Malo born right in that area?

HW: Yes, yes.

CT: Right by the Ha'ani'o's house [in the vicinity of J. Ko'omoa's place]?

HW: Yes.

KM: I have a rough, a very rough, sketch. I can't draw for nothing, so don't laugh when you look at this. But when I went down with Aunty Lily [Ha'ani'o -Kong; March 7, 1996]. Okay, when I went down with Aunty Lily, there was the road that comes down. Mary Ha'ani'o mā's house was right here. Alike, Judy Alike. Okay. There was a Ko'omoa over here, Aka Kawewehi, Ida Chai.

HW: Well that's my aunt, my mother's sister.

KM: So Ida Chai was your mom's sister.

HW: Uh-hmm.

KM: What was her maiden name?

HW: Akana.

KM: Akana. So it was Ida Akana-Chai. Okay. Then Ka'imihana, an old man. You remember Ka'imihana. He was *makapō* [blind]? And one leg no more. But he kept his canoe down here on Ka'ili'ilinehe, on the shore.

HW: Oh yes, yes right.

KM: Down here. And that's something else, the name, yeah, Ka'ili'ilinehe as an example. It describes the rustling of the stones and the waves.

HW: Uh-hmm.

CT: 'Ae.

KM: Aunty Lily was saying "Oh they put this wall here and now that *wahi pana* [famous place] is destroyed. It's gone."

CT: 'Ae.

KM: Now here's Ka'ili'ilinehe Church, basically above Ka'imihana's house...

HW: Uh-hmm.

KM: The lot. You said, where was, are we in an area where Akana Store might have been? Alice Hoapili's place would have been here.

HW: See this...is this the road that goes...?

KM: This is the little drive that goes down, yeah, uh huh.

HW: That goes, that goes down, yeah. The church...the church and cemetery was right on the right-hand side of the road, right?

CT: Sharp turn.

HW: Yes.

CT: Actually it was kind of like a 90-degree turn. It came out there.

KM: Okay.

CT: The church was.

KM: And where, where would the store have been, Akana Store?

HW: Akana Store would have been ah...

KM: If this is Ka'ili'ilinehe, the Chais lived...

HW: Chai. Ah right, right in the same area.

KM: Oh, okay. So there was a little store in this area...

HW: ...But the store was very unusual because they had a huge verandah on the top. And that's where the family lived. And then the store was underneath the verandah. I have pictures of it someplace...

CT: I think I remember that store, 'cause I lived down there when I was about four years old. We used to play down there, and I...and I think that the store was just down the road a little ways from this two-story house, the red house with all the shutters on the window.

HW: Yes, that was his house. [Alika's house; pers comm., April 11, 1996]

CT: Was a good friend of uncle Wilama's...

CT: Right behind there was where David Malo was born.

HW: Yes, and then right next to that house was the store.

CT: Yes, that's what I remember. And then Aunt Mary Ha'ani'o lived across.

HW: Yes, and the store, the store was just a little ways down and across from the...yeah.

KM: Oh good.

CT: Wasn't there a trail that went, went *mauka* from there, all the way up and came out by...

HW: See, the thing is that spoiled this, when Bishop Estate put the golf course, okay. And we wanted to leave the old cemetery [Kau Cemetery] because they had beautiful stones, regular like in the smooth stones and then the names carved out and then all over the place. And then they had a beautiful wrought-iron fence that went around and we wanted to keep it. Bishop Estate said no. Now all of this area that they bulldozed, got ready for the golf course, they have never gone through with it.

KM: This area *mauka* here, yeah?

HW: Yes. Because if you go down and look at it now as a...the bushes are high. They never did anything.

KM: But the graves got destroyed first.

HW: But the man, Mr... ah. what ever his...I can't remember his name. I said to him "What are you going to do with the graves?" He said "Oh well, we'll just cover them up." I say "You better not, 'cause You ain't gonna live too long if you do that." He said "What shall I do?" I say "You call each of the families and tell 'em they're taking the graves out, 'what would you like us to do?'" So we put all the graves up at Mākole'ā.

KM: Oh, Mākole'ā.

HW: Yes, yes.

KM: The cemetery.

HW: Yes, yes, so we put everybody up there. And when they were doing my mother's family...

CT: They were buried there too?

HW: Yes. We came across a stone, steps, and one skeleton and two skeletons. Hmm. So we went down, further down, and we found two more. We found twelve altogether. And they were all...and I said to them "You don't take anything away from these graves. You put 'em in the redwood box." And "How do we put the names?" I said "I don't know where the names. I just put 'em one, two, three, four as you find em." And so they're all moved up to Mākole'ā. Anyway, up there.

CT: That's the cemetery I was talking to you about the other day [speaking to Kepā].

HW: And so their...

KM: So was it a little like *ana*, a little small cave or...?

HW: No, no. It was just, it was just steps, went down.

KM: Little, like terraces, and *iwi* all on the top?

HW: Yes, yes. And when they got down to the bottom, they figured it must have been my great-grandfather because they found him and he still had his, what do you call those things they wear, spurs? Yes.

KM: So what would great-grandfather's name have been?

HW: Akana.

KM: Okay.

HW: Yes. So we figured that must have been him. And then, next to him must have been his wife, because in those days they put either gold quarters or fifty cents pieces in the

eyeballs, right? So they didn't find any on him but they found on her and figured this was another man, another man and two woman because of the things that we found. And I say "You put 'em in the box and you put 'em in. Don't you keep anything.

KM: About what year was this?

HW: Hmm.

CT: Middle '60s eh?

HW: Somewhere around there, yeah. Whenever the golf...whenever the ah...

KM: So that area where the cemetery was.

HW: Hmm.

KM: Nothing ever got built on top of it after all the graves were...

HW: They all, all moved except one. 'Cause they couldn't find any family.

KM: So there's one grave there, then?

HW: And then, when they opened up for the golf course, Mrs. Carlsmith and Pat Peacock were coming down, and they went across right below the, you know, the other trail there? The golf cart turned over and they were both very badly injured. And that was over part of the property that they took. Why did, they have to take it? The stones they had there, you would never see in any cemetery. They were just beautiful. And then they even took down the beautiful wrought iron gate and things. Gone.

CT: What did they do with the stones?

HW: The stones?

CT: They took em up at Mākole'ā?

HW: Mākole'ā. But it was such a beautiful site...

HW: Now, the Kahalio'umi family lived down here too [at Keauhou].

KM: Yes, yes.

HW: Kahalio'umi family. Tommy White lived there, right down at the beginning of the bay. And Charlie Machado.

CT: Oh, he was down the other side.

HW: Huh?

CT: Charlie Machado lived down the other side, eh.

HW: Well, the bay is like that. And they lived over there.

KM: Let's see. Do, you know, Joseph Nāhale?

HW: Uh-uh.

KM: No.

HW: I probably would recognize him if I saw him, but... Have you talked to Lily Kong?

KM: Yes.

HW: Have you talked to Alapa'i's family?

KM: I'm trying to make arrangements to meet with Margaret Alapa'i. I believe she's a Kahulamū also.

HW: Yes...

CT: ...Did you ever hear anything about that, you know, that... across from Kahalu'u Bay, there's an old church in there?

HW: Kahalu'u Bay, you mean, down here.

CT: Yes, where Lofty Cook's house was. You know, yeah. And, you know, right next to his house, there's that old...that old church in there.

HW: Yes.

CT: There's not a lot of houses around.

KM: Is that the old Helani Church lot?

CT: I think so.

HW: No, I don't know, Martha Lang, Lofty Cook's sister-in-law, owns that place. She put a house up.

CT: Oh okay. Because I think, I think the church grounds are owned by Mokuaikaua. I think that's...

KM: Yes. Helani. Uh-huh.

CT: Helani, yeah. I just wondered if that was built on an old site or...

KM: Right next to it is an old *heiau* called 'Ōhi'amukumuku. And so it is, the old *heiau* is right...it bounds Helani.

CT: Weren't some of these *heiau* and where churches were built, they were *wahi pana*, I think.

KM: 'Ae. Well they are, you know, they are storied or, you know, legendary places... ...Were you involved at all with when they did the reinterment of the burials that KIC took out of Keauhou 14 years ago and finally reburied last year? Did you get involved at all with ah...

HW: Is that that Kau Cemetery? [The Kau cemetery was just *mauka* of the Ha'ani'o's residence on Keauhou Bay; pers comm., April 11, 1996.]

KM: No this is the...I think it went back into an area in 'Ōhi'a Cave, you know, *mauka*, by the new overlook?

HW: No, I only handled the golf course one... ...You know, the old-timers that would know anything are all gone.

KM: We're too late, yeah.

HW: Yes, too late. That's right [chuckles]. Hard to remember. But Kahalu'u was such a beautiful place, there were only a couple of homes, and area, the church, and the *heiau*, and the people fishing, and et cetera. And all of a sudden boom! House, house, house, house.

KM: Kahalu'u just exploded.

CT: You...you remember who used to live back there? Kini Kā. Remember that.

HW: Yes.

CT: Kini Kā. He lived across from Kuimona. Kini Kā and that whole family, Annie Kā. And that's where they lived, where they used to go to school with me. Oh, now I remember Kini Kā. They lived in that place.

HW: He was born in China.

CT: Really.

HW: Kini Kā. And then came back to the islands.

CT: Kini and Joe and all them. And George Paxey...

HW: ...And it seems to me that woman I'm trying to think of her name was Kāne. She came, she was on the commission, too. And she knew all about Kahalu'u and the...and the fishing. Because when John was surveying the Keauhou Beach Hotel, we used to go and move the rocks that were in that little bay and we found the yellow shells that they use for money in the Marshalls... They were just loaded, just loaded with yellow shells. The kids, "Come. Let's go daddy, let's go down and find some shells." So was very interesting. No more, now...

Helen Kīna'u Weeks
April 11, 1996

HW: ...Lily Kong should have some real interesting things, because she lived at Keauhou, where, you know, they had a lot of things down there. They knew all the families and what have you.

KM: Yes, we've had some really good conversations, and she's been very helpful. ...It's April 11, 1996, about 8:45 a.m., and I'm back with Aunty Helen Kīna'u Weeks...

...So, you know, we've been reviewing the earlier transcript, and you've been sharing with me rich, rich stories about your recollections in your childhood of Tūtū Apō and some of the healing... And even your story about how...your family's relationship to the *manō*, to the shark.

HW: Uh-hmm.

KM: As your *'aumakua*, like that. Could we go back and you just tell us a little bit about Tūtū Apō and some of these stories?

HW: Well, she always told my mother, "You always be good to that shark." Not the other ones, just to that one, that's got a flat back. A great big mouth and no teeth. And then it has a little fin that comes back towards you [gesturing], hold to that fin, and you won't ever fall off. And she said, "If you fall off a boat and there are a lot of sharks around..." There's a Hawaiian word [the name of the shark] you say, "And then that shark will come and put you on his back, and he will take you to safety..." The shark's name was Moana-liha-i-ka-waokele... Tūtū Apo told me whenever you're in trouble in the ocean, that's what you say, the shark's name, and the shark will come and help you...

KM: Oh, Moana-liha-i-ka-waokele, and that was what she told you to call out, the name of the shark?

HW: Yes.

KM: So this was your family *'aumakua*?

HW: Right...

HW: [looking into her genealogical book] This is Nāluahine Ka'ōpua, such a wonderful person. "Why don't you speak Hawaiian?" I said, "Because Mama don't teach me, that's why."

KM: So Tūtū Nāluahine; Aunty Kapua [Heuer] let me borrow a picture of her in 1927, down at Keauhou Landing, and Tūtū Nāluahine is one of the *paniola*.

HW: Isn't he a fine looking man?

KM: Yes, so *kanaka*, yeah.

HW: I have a whole bunch of his pictures...

KM: Now your mama was also tied...you folks were closely tied to David Malo's family?

HW: We were related.

KM: And I guess by Alike's house [at Keauhou Bay], right across from Ha'ani'o them, and just above your aunty's house, was where David Malo was...?

HW: That's where he lived, yeah.

KM: That's an important place, historically.

HW: Yes...

KM: You know, you have *'ohana* buried down at Ka'ili'ilinehe church, at Keauhou, yeah?

HW: Yes.

KM: What do you think about the proposal to sell that and move the graves from there?

HW: NO!

KM: No.

HW: For what? That's what they did with the old Kau Cemetery, the ones that they couldn't find descendants, they just covered 'um up you know. That's why that cemetery isn't cleared. It's all full of bushes and everything.

KM: Which cemetery, the one at Keauhou?

HW: Kau Cemetery.

KM: Where is that?

HW: That's the one that they took out and moved everybody up to Mākole'ā.

KM: That is the one just down by...in Keauhou.

HW: Yes. But they should have left it, because they didn't have [tapping at the table] people making tombstones. What they did [for the original burials at Kau Cemetery], they took nice smooth rocks and then banged in the name. And beautiful, beautiful stonework, but they've never used [the land from] that cemetery.

KM: So they dug everybody out, and the land just sits there.

HW: Yes.

KM: 219 So you think that Ka'ili'ilinehe, you would like to see it kept as is?

HW: I'd like to see it as is, and cleaned. And leave it as is.

KM: Who's there in your *'ohana*?

HW: Let's see, my mother's sisters, Caroline and Emma, I think her name is Hana, she's buried down there. But, when they were digging up my grandfather's people [at Kau Cemetery, Keauhou Bay], they found the quarters in the eyes, and then it must have been my great grandfather down there, he had the silver spurs, and the belt was still in good condition, and there were... They went down in steps, one step, two steps, one skeleton, two skeletons, and they went down until they found the 24. Twelve here, and twelve there. And so I told them, "Whatever you folks find, you leave, put it in the box and take it up to Mākole'ā. So that's what they did. But they took a lot of stuff out.

KM: As a child, do you remember... What's the sense you get about family burials and grave sites? You know, were they important, did the family...?

HW: 247 Well, I think after a while they become important. When they did become important, was when people were doing roots. Where do my roots come from? So look for all these old places and put down the names and so forth, and I think a lot of them are like that.

KM: Ah, so it's hard when the old places are gone then?

HW: Oh yes, yes. Because nobody knows what they did with them. My whole family, including my... My grandfather is down here...but they're all moved to Honolulu, to Pu'ueo...

KM: ...How about for the Hawaiian families? Are burials, do you recall...?
HW: They stayed here.
KM: And they're important to the family?
HW: Yes, 'cause if you go down to Hāwī, Kohala, you'll find all the old, old graves. Kau Cemetery was the same way, but the Bishop Estate went and dug 'um all up. Another bunch of "destroyable" people.
KM: Hmm.

**David Kahelemauna Roy Jr., at Keauhou
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly
March 19, 1996, with additional notes from April 24, 1996**

David Kahelemauna Roy Jr. (Uncle Mauna) was born in 1925, and raised in Honua'ino, North Kona. On his father's side of the family, Uncle Mauna is tied to several Hawaiian and *hapa-haole* families with generations of residency in Kona, in lands ranging from Hōluāloa to Honua'ino. In Kona, his family is also tied to the Paris, Johnson, Wall, White, and Robinson families, and has been involved with ranching across a large portion of Kona. Uncle Mauna's mother descended from Ka'aimoku of Nāhiku, Maui.

As a child, uncle spent a great deal of time with several of his elder Hawaiian relatives, and he has fond memories of Nāluahine Ka'ōpua, Ka'aha'āina, Kinimaka, and Ka'iliinu. Between his time with these *kūpuna*, and the time he spent fishing and traveling with his father, Uncle Mauna had a sense of the value of his Hawaiian heritage instilled in him in his formative years. It is to these people, that Uncle Mauna credits the early seeds of interest in stewardship and preservation of Hawai'i's cultural resources. In the interview, Uncle Mauna noted that the entire coastal *kula* that extends from Hōluāloa to Kahalu'u-Keauhou, is of great cultural significance. He also emphatically notes that to him, Hawaiian remains are "sacred," that "*iwi*—bones and burials—be left alone. They are to be left where they are."

KM: *Aloha mai.*
MR: *Aloha mai.*
KM: ...I'd like to ask first is if you would please share with me your full name and date of birth.
MR: My name is David Kahelemauna Roy, Jr. The name Kahelemauna goes back three generations so far, that I know of, but I think there are about five instances that bear the name in different family lines, so far. Anyway, my forebears really followed Kilinahe down here, and so my grandmother Kilinahe in my line.
KM: 'Ae, they are one of the recipients of the *kuleana* land during the *Māhele*, yeah?
MR: That's correct... I've also found a Molale...that is included in the family.
KM: 'Ae, that's good. I've seen that name too.
MR: Molale and Maka'ike... So we've got a long history here. And they're all situated around Honua'ino, Lehu'ula, Kawanui, and Kāināliu. The family was connected for many generations, I guess, with the land *mauka* (Kilinahe and Maka'ike both received *kuleana* awards in Keauhou 1st in 1848). I'm related to the Johnsons, and we're all from the same *kumu* [source or family tree]. And so today the Johnson side has all the ownership of property, vast areas. So William Paris is the representative of that family... Well anyway, as far as I'm concerned, that's the basis of the whole thing, where I come from.
KM: 'Ae...
MR: ...When I was a kid, I used to live with the Kinimakas.

KM: Oh, down Keauhou Bay?

MR: Keauhou.

KM: Kalani Kinimaka?

MR: Kalani Kinimaka and the other one, her husband. And when I came back from Kamehameha... I think that was the greatest error that was ever made. When I came back from Kamehameha, they were gone. So I lost my contact with the old folks. Cause that was at a time when they could have given me an awful lot of information. Too bad.

KM: What year and date were you born?

MR: I was born in 1925. April 26, 1925. So I'm not that old. I realize that I've missed a lot.

KM: ...As a child, if we start talking some of the history and things now, you know. You'd mentioned earlier that you were *kama'āina*, you were a *keiki*, and there were these *kūpuna*, like Kinimaka *mā*, and I suppose Ka'aha'āina, perhaps...

MR: Oh Ka'aha'āina was [chuckles]... My memories of her were something else. Oh boy, she'd see me, as old as she was, hunchback as she was, she'd be floating around in Keauhou Bay picking up *hawa'e* [urchins] and things like that for her to eat you know. But she would sit at that stairway of hers and she'd call me by name, across the bay. I'd be down at Tommy White's house looking for crab or something. She'd call me and, boy I tell you, she'd scare the devil out of me. I didn't want to get near her. In those days, *kahuna* was important you know.

KM: 'Ae.

MR: And we all thought of her that way. But actually she was something else. But she was one of... as I can recall, from the old system. When she would bend over, hunchback, and she spoke Hawaiian only, and her son Kahale, why he used to go fishing. He had only one leg, but he'd make it. And he'd find the *ko'a*, blind as he was.

KM: So Kahale was Ka'aha'āina's son?

MR: Nephew.

KM: Oh, nephew. So, *hānai*, like, in the family.

MR: Yes.

KM: Oh, that's Ka'imihana? Kahale...

MR: Oh I didn't know their last names.

KM: Okay, Kahale. But he...you said he was...one leg no more and *makapō* [blind]?

MR: *Makapō*.

KM: 'Auwē. And he'd go out fishing anyway.

MR: Yes, he'd find a *ko'a* outside, and he'd come home with his catch and somebody would help him with the canoe². Unreal. But those people, they were something else.

They were...Keawe Ka'iliinu, he was a cowboy over here for the ranchers of *mauka*. The guy used to go home and change, take off his civilian clothes, cowboy clothes, end up in a *malo*. He's the only one remaining at that time who would be doing that. He stuck with the old system, you know. But like I say, too bad that I was too young at that time to really

² On May 15, 1996, Kepā met with Uncle Al Kaleio'umiwai Simmons, a nephew of Tūtū Ka'aha'āina *mā*. He recalled that when he was a youth, he would go out with uncle Ka'imihana and help him with his canoe fishing. Departing from Ka'ili'ilinehe, Ka'imihana would ask Uncle what their position was in relation to particular *ko'a* on the land. By hearing their location based on land marks, Ka'imihana found the *ko'a* for the type of fish he wanted to catch. They always came home with more than enough fish to supply the family's needs (pers. comm. May 14, 1996).

appreciate what I was dealing with. Today, I look all over the place...I have some people I know were our relatives, and some of the names are just precious. You know the way I look at it, 'Ilikaualoa, Kūali'i, Ulukou, are 'ohana descendants of Kuakuma. And I try to piece these things together, but I don't have enough information to go on. But I have a hunch they're my relatives.

KM: 'Ae, thank...*Mahalo ke Akua* that you were able to 'a'apo, embrace, and take what you did, because...

MR: Yes, well you know, I'm very happy about that...

KM: I guess, a lot of the Hawaiian families, for a variety of reasons, the economic depression and things, had been forced to abandon their lands?

MR: Oh, yes.

KM: Was Keauhou-Kahalu'u really a stronghold, when you were a child, of the last remnants of the Hawaiian community?

MR: Yes. Because you know, the reason for that is that old families were located here. These people were from this area and not imports you know. And so they were they were hanging on as much as they could. Like Kahulamū and all those, they were all people, friends of ours. Kawewehi was a friend of mine. And I was small, of course, but his style of speaking was such...it was...it magnified his proportions to me. Oxford all the way. Well, you don't find that nowadays. Now we had some real educated Hawaiians at that time. Some of them were real good. Kahulamū was one of 'em. But even him, he's not like Willie Nāhale and others who were notary public, you know, in literary style. But Kawewehi and Ka'ai and Homer Hayes' father and mother, they were terrific.

KM: So Homer Hayes's mother [Flora] was a descendant of the Ka'ai family?

MR: Yes, she was, and her sister, Emily Ka'ai-Thomas, was on the Kaloko-Honokōhau Commission, together with Homer. And Flora Hayes...remember she was a representative, you know, well to do. But he was educated in California, and he was always interested in Hawaiian things...

MR: I have, in my possession an anecdote from Keohohiwa's genealogy. And it was how the *kapu wohi* [a sacred class of chiefly taboo; the holder was exempt from the *kapu moe*, or prostration *kapu*] was brought to Hawai'i. And this was in the time of Keawe and Keākealani and Kauleleiāiwi, those people. And that anecdote told us where Keawe lived, who Keawe's sons were, and Kauleleiāiwi, and how she figured out...and how the *kapu wohi* came here. They used to have only one *kapu* here, called the *kapu moe*, all right. But when Kāneikauaiwilani, from O'ahu, came over and married Keākealani his half sister, he brought with him the *kapu wohi* and gave it to her. And she was the recipient and the holder. And so when... Keawe went to Keākealani and asked his mother for a *kapu* for his son Ka-Ī-i-mamao, that's how he got the *kapu wohi*. Because the *kapu wohi* was...

KM: Tied to this place, all tied to that place, then?

MR: Yes. That whole legend is there. And what it says is that...that it even describes the He'ulu going up through Pāhoehoe and La'aloa, come on down to go through the ceremony of passing that *kapu wohi* to Ka-Ī-i-mamao, who was his lord. And Ka-Ī-i-mamao was the recipient, and they practiced with a canoe, going all the way down to Kāināliu to proclaim that he was the holder of that *kapu*. And they enacted the features that went with that *kapu*. They had to go down with the men naked and all that, you know. All the men down and all the people were warned that he was coming and they had to prostrate themselves. Well anyway, that kind of thing centered right around Kahalu'u, also. So the corridor goes from Keākealani's place right on down to Keauhou. So the way that Ali'i Drive is being handled now is...everything we might have had connected with that strip... Keawe lived right close to the ocean you know...would disappear.

KM: So 'oki [cut], going 'oki all?

MR: Yes. I think it's destruction more than anything else. I don't...oh well, kids are losing sight of that thing also but...that's too bad.

KM: 'Ae... ...Do you think that the ranches, particularly like Keauhou through Kahului...you know, there was who?...

MR: Well there's Greenwell. Then there's lots of Portuguese people there. Gouveia, Gomes. And there are lots of Gouveias of different families, also. And like Anthony Gouveia and I went to school with him.

KM: Frank?

MR: Frank Gouveia, yeah. Frank Gouveia, I went to school with...his son went to school with me.

KM: Oh, oh.

MR: But they owned down by Kahului.

KM: 'Ae.

MR: Now, those people, hung on to the land as long as ranching was important. Now, as long as ranching was important, that land was valuable for the 'ēkoa that it grew. Because that was their fattening country. And of course, those two activities are not compatible with our historic sites either because...

KM: So the ranching activities themselves, as you had described earlier, they used the land to make money...

MR: That's right.

KM: And so the historic sites were impacted even during the ranching?

MR: Oh, yes. And cattle would destroy a lot of sites by their presence around there you know. And so right now, I would hope that [historic] corridor would be maintained and developed for its potential as a historic area. The Hawaiians lived not...they didn't live down by the beaches exclusively. But as you pointed out to me in this little anecdote, they lived down at the beach. But when they proclaimed something important like that, they covered the ground. They went up *mauka* and they let all the people up there and then because it was cultivable land and arable land, the people lived there accordingly. And it had that kind of impact. Not only that, it was the gathering point for feathers, the trappers and things like that.

KM: So there were *mauka-makai* accesses...?

MR: Oh, yes.

KM: ...as well then throughout these various lands?

MR: Oh, yes. And I had one, I have a case where I'm trying to extract my *kuleana*, and they're trying to lock me in. And it amused me that this Honolulu lawyer, David Ka'apu, his son, came up here and he was an attorney for the other guys. He tried to tell them that there was no road, necessarily. That they did not document any evidence of a road into that area. It was the practice [said with emphasis] for people who live in that area in the kuleanas to have access to the beach through the owner's property.

KM: The Kuleana Act specifies it.

MR: That's right.

KM: You have these accesses.

MR: Well he doesn't know those things... Anyway, that's the way it was with those people down there. And when I found out that these 'āina were handed down through the generations, the people were all related, and *mauka-makai* access was maintained... Well I wish we knew a little bit more about what those people had down there along that whole corridor.

KM: 'Ae... When you come into Kahalu'u, I think you'd said the old man, Kahulamū.

MR: Yes.

KM: And there are sites like Halelā'au, a *heiau*.

MR: I didn't know much about it.

KM: Okay.

MR: At that time I was, you know passing by, I wasn't concentrating on that kind of thing.

KM: So Pāo'umi is another *heiau*?

MR: Pāo'umi that came out during that study [Ching et al., 1973], and prior to that I didn't know it. But you see, right where the racquet club is, all those historic sites were destroyed. And it's a shame, because they were impressive. You have the, where they had the place in Rome, what is the amphitheater?

KM: Yes, coliseum and things like that.

MR: Coliseum and the Parthenon and all the places like that. They stood out and they preserved it. Our people don't. This thing is too...couldn't make any money while they were standing up, so they got rid of it.

KM: So all of those sites like Hāpaiali'i, Kapuanoni, the Lonoikamakaiki, 'Inikiwai, those *heiau* and the other house sites that are in that Kahalu'u complex...

MR: Yes.

KM: Now, so today...and I mean it becomes obvious, I think, to Hawaiians, it is important to care for what's left?

MR: Yes. Because you know when I was a kid, I used to travel the 'a/lā stone trails right across where ah... [thinking]?

KM: Mākole'ā, the trail by Pāo'umi...?

MR: I used to go there. I did all my spearing down here with my fishing. I went down to Kahalu'u.

KM: Oh, so you would go down from *mauka*, you would go down and...

MR: I swim all the way down [along the shore]. And that is part of our lifestyle over there, what we did for fun.

KM: Sure.

MR: And I would say that it's unfortunate the kids don't have that opportunity today.

KM: Yes.

MR: But that was the beauty of this area. The only danger or threat to our welfare really were the wild cattle that were in the...at large in here. We were always on the lookout for them. But there was no, nothing to endanger us really. Heck as I say [laughing], my mother couldn't... My mother must have had a hell of a time with us [laughing]. Today, people would scream. But we'd take off a week at a time and subsist on what we have in the countryside.

KM: *Makai* like that?

MR: Right, go *makai*, dry the fish. We eat that and *poi*, and we get along. We learned how to be resourceful at that time.

KM: So you folks also found little *lua wai* [water holes] and stuff along the shore and stuff like that?

MR: That's right.

KM: Is water an important resource?

MR: Oh yes. Very, very. And while we could find a lot of springs, they were always brackish to our taste. So we used coconuts as much as we could. But if we couldn't, we used that water. So we learned how to take what was there and make out with as much as we could. And we got along pretty well. I [chuckles] imagine the old folks were screaming their heads off once in a while.

KM: Where are these kids now, yeah?

MR: We'd be down there looking for wild pigs and whatever. The owner of the pigs, oh boy. They had problems. Cause we learned how to *kālua* them early [chuckles].

[Discussing right of access, and practices associated with collection of resources.]

KM: Oh...!

MR: ...We would more or less stay within our areas.

KM: Well now, that's an interesting thing 'cause you...there's a great deal of discussion, almost controversy about access and the right to gather fish. If you went fishing in some other area, did you, was there a protocol you *aloha*, you go and...

MR: If you knew them. But no, we didn't have any such thing.

KM; Not in your time.

MR: It was always open to us.

KM: So you folks all...

MR: We assumed that it was all right to go, you know, for those things. And as long as we weren't taking somebody else's property that was on the beach, well there's no problem. We went hunting, we were fishing, we traveled the area. We never once asked for permission. And so we felt it was...

KM: Even crossing, ah, the ranch lands like that?

MR: That's right. We knew whose land it was, just so we didn't fool around with their gates.

KM: *Hana 'ino* or something eh.

MR: Yes. And it was all right. And I think we got the impression that it was all right to go across the people's property anyway as long as we weren't taking their things.

KM: Well then, on the line of taking, and this is just important, it's again one of those things to share, I think, with the future generations, when you know, the stories that you're sharing now are going to be handed down, you know.

MR: Uh-hmm.

KM: When you go fish, or when you went to the mountain to *'ohi kekāhi mea kanu* [gather certain plant items], you know, or *'ohi i'a* [gather fish], did you just take, take, take, or did your father, did the *tūtū* them talk to you about the care and responsibility for ah...?

MR: Ahh, we just didn't take. We took just what we needed and whatever we took, we ate. If we couldn't eat it, we gave it back. And we practiced that all the way through. And so we didn't hunt indiscriminately and or pick things up in...and it really pleased me, no kidding.

One of my good friends was Jesse Mahi and [chuckles] we were talking about oh, picking Hawaiian medicine and things like that. And he comes up to me and he says, "You know, when you take Hawaiian medicine, you be sure now. You don't own anything. If you go somebody's house you no take 'em do you?" I said no, no. Well same thing. Even if you in the pasture. Somebody owns that property, that plant. So if there's nobody around here you gotta ask *Akua*. And you take after you ask 'em. Cause that don't belong to you." So I was pleased, real pleased when I heard that because that was something of the old time that I thought had passed away. But no, there were people around who still felt that way...

...He's gone now but he was one of the oldest to hang on to that. I really admire him. But you know, that's the truth. If you have that attitude, you don't just go ahead and get rid of things, you know. And I think that that practice was carried on for quite some time. Even my grandmother used to do it. Her name was Sara Jacobs, you know. And she's mentioned by Handy in some of the things that he's located in Hāna. And she was an informant. But my grandmother was very, very careful about those things. She was. She'd take from the ocean and the shoreline and all of the things, but she followed her culture very well.

KM: So you ask first, you don't just take.

MR: Right. That's right! And when you take, if you don't ask, if you can't use it, if it's by luck you catch something that you can't use, you put it back and, you know, you say your apology. But my father taught me that. Never to take things and just throw it away. And so we never did. And I could see the reason why.

KM: Sure, resources management is what we call it today.

MR: Right, yeah. That's right. They got all kinds of hard names. Very few practicing.

KM: Yes. What do you think about the proposed Ali'i Highway...roadway now running from Keauhou to Kahului?

MR: The present road is adequate, but the reason why it's felt to be inadequate, they had to change it, I guess, it's because of all the building that's going on the side and encroachment, and increased population. But to me, they don't need another highway. They can use that road as it is now, provide the egresses that we need and that will do it.

KM: Okay, so go *mauka-makai*.

MR: Right, right. They can follow the stone walls and... [pauses]

KM: Just like the road at Pāhoehoe you were describing, the old road. Cause it, those, a portion of those *pā pōhaku* are still there you know.

MR: Yes, they had that at Kahalu'u also.

KM: Mākole'ā side?

MR: Yes.

KM: The old trail road there.

MR: Mākole'ā runs up, right next to me.

KM: Oh, yes, comes *mauka* right up here?

MR: Right here. My friend and I walked all the way down to the terminus and it ends up at *pā 'ilina* [the burial site] up at Mākole'ā, up here.

KM: Oh, yes. Oh, so that *pā 'ilina* is *mauka* of here?

MR: Here. And it's above the highway. So they could do that all along, you know. Even down to South Kona. I think they could do that with every *ahupua'a* almost. So you know, I see no need for another road. I see a need for egress, and it would certainly serve the

purposes of the government. But they don't need another highway alignment. To me that's a...that's an awful huge amount of money. But it's waste. Even if it's federal money, it's waste.

KM: [chuckles] Eh, the color is all green now.

MR: [laughs]...

KM: ...*Mahalo*, thank you so much for sharing that because it brings to life some of what's there on that land and how important it was and families, yeah. ...You'd mentioned Mākole'ā. It made me think of another feature, another cultural site that runs *mauka* to *makai*. Are you familiar with the 'Ōhi'a...what they call 'Ōhi'a...?

MR: The cave, yes. Where they're planning a subdivision and a lot of burials were made in that area. It's a network of caves, lava tubes. And I think they have protected it now. As a matter of fact, I was involved in some of their discussion on that, and I told 'em I said, "Hell they ought to seal up all the openings they've got there and ah just leave it alone that's all."

KM: Some people don't respect, yeah?

MR: That's right. [On April 23, 1996, Uncle Mauna re-emphasized his *mana'o* [thoughts and feelings] that *iwi*—bones and burials—be left alone. They are to be left where they are {pers. comm.}.]

KM: That's the way. If it's got openings, it's like people go in.

MR: Oh, yes. So I'd say, just close 'em up...

KM: ...I think we've covered a lot of ground this morning. What I'll do is, I'll get the transcript and then there may be some more questions that...and also if as you go through it, if you find that we should talk about, or you want to, [KM speaking as if he were the informant:] "Oh yes, I remember that there are some place that I'm very concerned about." Like the treatment of *iwi* [burials] as an example. What...and I should ask you that now. How do you feel about the *'ilina*, the remains and their treatment and care?

MR: Let's put it this way, we have a whole bunch of newcomers coming over here building homes and all that. When they go to the graveyard it's fine. And then it's a place they've bought or selected and so fine, they want to be there. Supposing time comes when they want to take that all away from them and put it somewhere else. Would they have the same frame of mind?

KM: So if it was their remains?

MR: That's right. They wouldn't want people to touch around and handle it in their own way.

KM: So what, leave it alone?

MR: They should leave it alone. To me, that's sacred. They shouldn't touch it. Now *iwi* is the last place where the soul remains and I think it's not something that should be in the hands of strangers.

KM: Yes, a family matter.

MR: Right.

KM: Well several of the *tūtū* had mentioned that even in the old *pā hale* [old house sites] like that, you know, so you going along and get *pā hale*. Many of the *tūtū* would always put the remains, yeah, by the *pā hale*, because they kept the family close.

MR: That's right, that's right.

KM: So you're going to expect to find *'ilina* even inside.

- MR: I would. I would expect that. But nowadays, you know, they buy a piece of property, the *'ilina* might be well covered or indistinguishable, and so they would go right along with 'em, build on it. But that's no problem. It's when they take out the stuff that's in there and try to relocate it. I don't go along. Even with the 'Ōhi'a Cave, for example, they've already moved things a lot. But the fact is, if they seal it up and then prevent it from being desecrated, I think they're doing as much as they can now.
- KM: Umm. Do you remember that the Tūtū Kahulamū would sometimes take people to 'Ōhi'a Cave? Did you hear about that or...?
- MR: I heard no such thing. No. Lily Ha'ani'o, she might know.
- KM: 'Ae, yes.
- MR: But they were in the area. They lived down there.
- KM: How is...you'd mentioned when you were talking about Tūtū Nāluahine, his *hānai*, yeah, Alapa'i, or his...
- MR: Well, it could be, because you see Alapa'i, Keākealani, all those people were close together. In fact the Kahulamū's daughter is married to an Alapa'i.
- KM: Okay, Margaret, yeah? I wonder how she is. I should try to...
- MR: Well, I understand she's fine.
- KM: Good, good. We'll try and talk to her.
- MR: Go down and talk to Ralph. He was closest to Keawe I think.
- KM: Keawe Alapa'i, yeah? Yeah, oh.
- MR: And Keawe was oh, I can remember him as a kid, because...ah...he was always around here with the Hind Ranch...

Josephine Hakaleleponi Nāhale-Kamoku
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly
April 12, 1996, at Hōlualoa

Josephine Hakaleleponi Nāhale-Kamoku (Aunty Jojo) was born at Kahalu'u in 1935. The Nāhale side of her family has lived in Kahalu'u for generations, and she is related to many families that are tied to various lands of Kona. Aunty Jojo has been actively involved in preservation and conservation activities in the Kahalu'u-Keauhou area, and has been in the forefront of Hawaiian community efforts in stewardship of Kahalu'u Bay—maintaining traditional and customary Hawaiian fishing and collection rights.

While growing up, Aunty Jojo and her brothers and sisters lived with their parents and *kūpuna*, residing at various times, either *mauka* or *makai*. Aunty remembers walking the trails between the upland *kalo* (taro) fields and homes that were kept *makai*. She notes that in her childhood there was a protocol that was practiced, involving an active sharing of resources between *mauka* and *makai* families. Aunty's interview provides rich insight into the nature of land use and fishing practices of Kona, as handed down through the generations. She also shares her personal experience with the changes that were occurring in Hawaiian families at the time. It is interesting to note that while certain practices and values were being passed down in her family, the elders also chose not to let the children speak the Hawaiian language, and in the Nāhale family, they rarely spoke of *heiau* or early forms of worship and ceremonies.

Most of the Hawaiian cultural sites that aunty Jojo recalls learning about as a youth, were situated near the shore and the coastal residences. Of the sites situated within the Ali'i Highway study area, she only recalled family use of the Kahalu'u Trail. She heard a little about the Kuakini Wall, but of other sites, such as the 'Ōhi'a Cave and the *heiau* of Pā-o-'Umi and Halelā'au, she learned only more recently. Aunty believes that it is very important to perpetuate Hawaiian history, and care for Hawaiian cultural sites. She believes that there is a value in caring for "...Hawaiian places, like the caves, the heiaus, the fishing areas. ...They should be taken care of and preserved for whatever they were used for."

KM: ...I just want to say thank you so much... *Aloha*.

JK: Well, it's good. I mean you'll probably learn something; I'll probably learn something too [chuckles]. So it's good both ways...

KM: ... Could you please give me your full name?

JK: My full name is Josephine Hakaleleponi Nāhale-Kamoku.

KM: I see. Now, is the Hakaleleponi...?

JK: Hakaleleponi is Queen Kalama...I guess I was named after a grandaunt. I think my grandaunt was...there may be a connection to that because we were all in Kona and Queen Kalama was also in Kona.

KM: 'Ae. And this Queen Kalama was the wife of Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III?

JK: Kamehameha III.

KM: Oh wonderful, what a blessing to carry that name still today. And what's the date of your birth, please?

JK: February 9, 1935.

KM: Ah, okay [chuckles]. Were you born here in Kona?

JK: Yes.

KM: What area?

JK: Kahalu'u *mauka*.

KM: Oh, Kahalu'u *mauka*. Okay, so the family... Now your family, papa's side is Nāhale?

JK: Uh-hmm.

KM: What was Papa's name?

JK: My papa, my father?

KM: 'Ae.

JK: Is Charles Leimamo Nāhale. Charles Nāhale is...There's so many, now especially. My father...people hear about the sheriff, Charles Nāhale...well, my father is the nephew of the sheriff.

KM: Oh, I see.

JK: Not to be mistaken with the sheriff [laughs].

KM: Yes uh-umm.

JK: And he died young, so I think he died about 25, I'm not sure, but I think that was his age.

KM: Oh, so you were quite young, yourself?

JK: I was one year old.

KM: Oh, so you never really knew your papa?

JK: No. I never knew him, I've heard of course, about him. And one of the outstanding things that I heard was that he was tall. My mother said he was 6'11", which I, at the time, I used to say, "No ma, that can not be, I think it must have been 6'7" ...But apparently, I think she was right, because his grave was really long. You know, it's an unusually tall person.

KM: Is papa buried *mauka* at...?

JK: He's buried at Mākole'ā...On the *kula* area, in the middle.

KM: Ahh...so in the mid section. Was he originally buried at Mākole'ā?

JK: Yes.

KM: Oh, okay. I knew that Bishop Estate had exhumed the Kau Cemetery, at Keauhou.

JK: Yes.

KM: And moved them...

JK: And they put them up at Mākole'ā.

KM: Oh, but papa was originally buried there?

JK: Yes.

KM: What year was this, about then, 1936?

JK: It was 1936.

KM: Okay. What was Mama's name?

JK: Ida Wahine'aukai Ka'ai Uaia, I think it was U-a-i-a, Uaia. It's a Kohala name. And although my grandfather didn't carry the name Uaia, he just carried the name Ka'ai which was his middle name. You know, like a lot of our ancestors did, they dropped certain names and just carried certain names.

KM: Yes. So the family, the Uaia, was from Kohala?

JK: Kohala.

KM: But the Ka'ai...is there also a Ka'ai for a fairly long time at Keauhou?

JK: Yes. I know, that there is another family Ka'ai. We may be related, I'm not sure. And also, I notice there is a Ka'ai on property in the area. But it wasn't my grandfather. It may have been a relative, I'm not sure right now.

KM: How many...were you your father's only child, or did you have...?

JK: No, actually I have three brothers and one sister, so my father had five, three boys and two girls... No, you see he had four boys and one girl. My father Charles, then my mother remarried and had another five, four boys and one girl again.

KM: Did she marry a Hawaiian of the area?

JK: She married my father's younger brother.

KM: Oh, oh. You know, that's very typical, yeah?

JK: Yes.

KM: Of Hawaiian families.

JK: Uh-hmm. So my father was the oldest boy, and my uncle, which became my step-father, he was the younger brother, so he was sort of the baby sitter. He used to take care of us when we were young.

KM: So what was this step-father's name?

JK: His name was John Nāhale... My stepfather's name is John Nāhale. John Lokea actually, the middle name. And he's still living today.

KM: Yes, I called, but he is *ma'i* [ill], yeah?

JK: Yes, he's not well. He's not as sharp mentally now.

KM: Yes, *'ano poina* [forgetful].

JK: *Poina*.

KM: I guess his second wife, 'cause your mama has passed away, and his... I spoke with her, and she felt really [interested] about the possibility, but she also said that he had a hard time to talk now.

JK: Yes.

KM: Because of a stroke. So *aloha*. You know, that's the value of doing these kinds of programs, because when you, our *makua* and *kūpuna* pass, your experience, the life, the people you knew, go.

JK: Yes.

KM: So often, and then we lose that. So now, you were born at Kahalu'u, can you give me an idea of the location, what's there now?

JK: Actually, my brother lives on that *'āina* now. It's a Bishop Estate lease, and it's Kahalu'u *mauka*.

KM: Oh, that's right. But, your family was associated with *makai* lands, yeah?

JK: Uh-hmm. I lived there certain...when I was young. And of course now, I work there also, so I'm still associated with the place...all my life.

KM: Now, brother [Joseph] lives just below Helani [2] Church *mauka*, yeah?

JK: Right.

KM: So I know where that is.

JK: That's where I was born.

KM: Oh, so you were born right at that house, there. Your brother had told me that there's a *heiau* on the *mauka* property.

JK: Yes.

KM: That was...do you know a little bit about that?

JK: No, in fact, I didn't know anything about heiaus when I was young. My mother was more on the...I guess the Christian side, and so anything pertaining to heiaus or sacrifices or stuff like that, we didn't learn. During that era, it was, I guess, stressed...Strongly stressed during that time of the negative side of our kupunas. And one of those was connected with *heiau*, sacrifices, and things like that. So we were sort of led the other way, you know, not to check on that kind of history, but learn American history.

KM: Yes. Mama spoke Hawaiian?

JK: No, she spoke English. She spoke Hawaiian if she had to, when she was speaking to some other *kupuna*.

KM: Oh, 'ae. So Hawaiian wasn't encouraged for you at home, yeah?

JK: No, not by my mother. When she was young, she went to Kohala Seminary; she was the first graduating class for the students. And then she worked for the teachers as a maid, went to clean their home, and iron clothes and things like that. So I think she kind of

adapted to their way of thinking. On my father's side, I never learned too much from them. They were with the police department, and so I got kind of shortchanged on my Hawaiian history, actually; I think, because our parents were not...didn't talk to us about the Hawaiian. And then, we were told all the negative things about our history, so we were kind of even *hilahila* [shame] of our nationality. And I'm glad that we are now coming out of that shell and realizing all the values that we have. And all the values of our ancestors, which I never even knew.

KM: Was your papa's father or *tūtū* still alive when you were young?

JK: Yes, both grandfathers were. My grandmothers were gone, but my two grandfathers were alive.

KM: Did you hear them in conversation at times in Hawaiian?

JK: Oh yes, I used to hear the old folks talking and it's so interesting. Especially during the second World War. You know, the neighbors would come and they would talk about the news in Hawaiian. You know, I could catch pieces of what they were talking about. "Oh you know the plane went bomb over there..."

KM: Did *tūtū* them still get Hawaiian newspapers at that time, do you remember, *Ka Hōkū o Hawai'i...?*

JK: No. I remember as far back as I could remember, we had the *Hilo Tribune Herald*...is what they were having. But the other grandparent, he was not too much into the happening of that time.

KM: Umm, Uaia?

JK: Yes, he's more the humble farmer, God-fearing type. He was one of those that...well, all of my grandparents, anyway, were into the habit of waking up early.

KM: 'Ae. Wake up early, *Aloha ke Akua*.

JK: Yes, right.

KM: They really...that's the *tūtū*. They, as you said, that humility, humbleness.

JK: Uh-hmm.

KM: Was your *tūtū* them growing *kalo* and *'uala mauka*?

JK: On my mother's side, the farmer *tūtū*, he had coffee on his place, he had planted some potatoes, some taro, some sugar cane, you know, pineapple, and little bit of each, and all kinds of vegetables.

KM: Sure, things to take care of the family like that.

JK: Yes. And the other one, they were more into...not into farming...they were into business, I think it was. Of course, they were also into ranching.

KM: Ahh. So what was your grandfather's name?

JK: Well, one was William Nāhale, and the other was Apela Ka'ai.

KM: Apela Ka'ai, so they had dropped the Uaia?

JK: Right. But strangely, one of his sisters carried the name, and that was the one that went to school. So she used to say, "Well they never went to school, that's why they dropped the name." It maybe that she was thinking ahead and knew the importance of carrying the full name. Which...and she was right too. So I have one...two different sides. Friends used to say... And one was wealthy, and the other was poor. My mother's family were the hard workers. They really...you know, they were poor financially maybe, but they were hard working, and they were rich spiritually.

KM: Yes, yes, really *aloha* yeah, they take care.

JK: They worked hard and farmed, and they earned very little, but they were rich in spirit, always. My grandfather was, on the other side, their family was wealthy.

KM: Nāhale?

JK: Yes. And I was surprised, looking into the genealogy, you know, we never heard of things like servants, you know. And so they had two servants, but you know, we can't.

KM: And they were living *makai* at that time?

JK: They were living both sides. Well, they had three homes, one on the beach.

KM: At Kahalu'u?

JK: At Kahalu'u, one. And further up, below *kula* side there was one other house. And up *mauka*.

KM: Māmalahoa side?

JK: Yes. And those houses were big. But they were kind of falling down at that time. So I think I was privileged to live in those houses. They were big, and we still had chandeliers, you...which...I didn't bother, I didn't know what it was anyway. And they had that nice *koa* table, you know, at the beach, and the *koa* closet.

KM: What was the name of the beach house, the area where you folks...do you recall?

JK: Kahalu'u.

KM: Kahalu'u. Was that in the property associated also with Isaaka Lana'i?

JK: Right. It's the house... Well they've remodeled the house now. They rebuilt the Kalākaua House.

KM: Oh, so it's the Kalākaua House there.

JK: And that was the house that we lived in when we were at the beach. Also, we had another house. My grandfather, when he married his third wife, her property was in the park area.

KM: Oh, what was her name?

JK: Julia Kālaiwa'a.

KM: Oh Kālaiwa'a.

JK: But she was also a Kīpapa.

KM: Oh, so she's Kīpapa.

JK: That's the same family at Magic Sands.

KM: Yes, Pāhoehoe.

JK: Pāhoehoe.

KM: Okay, so we need to talk a little bit about that because of the *iwi*, the *'ilina*, yeah, the burials that are at Pāhoehoe. 'Cause that's family.

You were sharing, it was almost *kapu* to talk...There wasn't a lot of talk about *heiau*, or about old practices you know.

JK: Yes.

KM: And things like that.

JK: Yes, in my family.

- KM: In your family. Now, but as a child growing up, did you occasionally... Were there important Hawaiian places that were pointed out to you, or that you over heard. And the reason this is important, we looked at the map [interview map of the proposed Ali'i Highway corridor] yesterday, and particularly because of the proposed road alignment. When you start, like at Keauhou Road [pointing to locations on the map] and you come, Mākole'ā Road, just *mauka* of Helani Church, as an example, the road is going to cut through that area, there's the line of *heiau*, coming to Pāhoehoe with the family Kīpapa's *'ilina*, graves there. You know, coming like we were mentioning, just *makai* of your house here...
- JK: Uh-hmm.
- KM: The lava tube [Site 2037] with the family burials [Site 6315] in the *kuleana* to Pupuka. There are places along here...so, as a child, though they weren't openly perhaps talking about old forms of religion, or *heiau*, were you occasionally hearing about...or was there a sense of respect, pride, or stay away, don't bother, kind of things that you recall?
- JK: I'm not sure, the only thing is ah... I remember when I was young and living down there, I didn't know anything about *heiau*. But, I don't know how I learned, you know, certain places were *heiau* at first. But we used to when we went fishing at night, my brothers and I, because then my mother was married to my uncle. And we used to go torching at night. Just the kids, and we were young—I must have been about five, six [years old]—and especially nights, not every night, and not the same place, but we used to go, and then... In fact, all of us used to have that same feeling of... We would go make *kūpe'e*, crab, you know, on the rocks, and then all of the sudden, there's a funny feeling. You know how when you get cold, like spooky?
- KM: *'Ōkakala* kind.
- JK: Yes. And we would look to see where we were, and it was always about the same place, the same area. And it became like, we got know, this place is kind of spooky, we didn't know why it was. And so, sometimes when we got home, we'd mention to my mother, "You know there's a funny kind feeling we had when we went down over there fishing." And the only thing she would say is, "When you feel like that, come home." So it didn't really answer my question [chuckles]. But that's how it was those days, you listen, you don't ask, so. Until recently you know, when I grew up, then I learned that over here was a *heiau*, over there is a *heiau*. And I said "Funny thing, that's all the spots where we used to feel spooked, you know.
- KM: A place like Hāpaiali'i, the *heiau*, or Kapuanoni?
- JK: Not really all the *heiau*, certain ones. Like the one at Kona Lagoon [Ke'ekū], right outside, that one was really spooky [laughs], you really get it bad. But because we used to go, busy bending, the [torch] light is...you know, you can only see so far, and so we never noticed really where we were until you feel that funny... Then you look, "Oh, no wonder, I'm over here." You know, so we'd turn around and go home. It doesn't happen every night, every place, but certain places it bugs you all the time. And that was one of the ones.
- KM: So in front of Kona Lagoon?
- JK: Yes.
- KM: Now that's the property that is closed now, yeah?
- JK: Yes. But it's right on the corner there, also, the other one at where, the *hau* bush, which is Hāpaiali'i. And I think there is another *heiau* over there. That *heiau*, once in a while you'd feel a little funny...It's not, there's a sort of like a step to all the *heiau*, some are not too bad, you know, you get a little bit funny, but not too bad. Some are really bad. And some are good, certain times, it's only certain nights that it's funny.

KM: Sure. Now brother had mentioned, your brother Joseph had mentioned, that the *heiau mauka*, as an example, was for planting, I think. He thought associated with...

JK: Agriculture.

KM: Yes, agricultural things.

JK: Uh-hmm, the one up at his place.

KM: 'Ae.

JK: I think that's probably it, because it makes sense that you make a *heiau* where you farm so that you can give thanks, and that's all agricultural area.

KM: Do you recognize the name Ke'ekū?

JK: Yes, is that the one by Kona Lagoon?

JK: Yes.

KM: That's the one, yeah; and has petroglyphs down by there, too?

JK: Right on the *papa* [flats].

KM: Ah, how interesting that you note that, because it was one that was prominent, yeah, in history.

JK: Yes.

KM: For the occasional sacrifice and offering, and the petroglyphs supposedly... There's a story about the battle between the chief of Maui and Hawai'i, Lono-i-ka-makahiki.

JK: 'Ae. And for that, you know, when I take out the children on that excursion, I tell them that story, you know, the way it was told to me. And at first, it's unbelievable because they said, "As far as you could see, it was covered with canoes," you know. And I thought, "Nah! Impossible, the ocean is..." How can it be, you know, that it is covered with canoes? And then recently, when they have that Lili'uokalani Canoe Race, you know, they have all the canoes come. And you looking from there, at sea level, and you look out, and it looks, just a few more canoes, would cover the whole ocean you know, from your view.

KM: The vantage point?

JK: Yes, the vantage point, and I thought, "Oh, that makes sense." You know that they said, "As far as you could see, it's covered with canoes." And I thought, at first when you hear somebody say something, you think, "Nah! They're pulling my leg." But really, it's not, because I noticed that myself when they had...and I think to myself, there's so much canoes out there, imagine, at the time of the invasion, you know, with the war, it's possible. Really possible to have to have that many canoes that you...as far as your eyes could see, it would be covered with canoes. And I...you know, there's a lot of things that is a puzzle. You hear things now, maybe next week, maybe ten years from now, you hear something else that matches.

KM: Ahh, the pieces come together?

JK: Right. Like genealogy, history is like that too, because you know, you like to prove is it true, or is it something that is really not true. But you find proof as you go along, and I think like this, it's really..., you know, if you think about it, and try to find proof, "Was this right?" You find it. Like now, I was surprised, you know, when I looked myself, and I saw all that canoes, it was almost covered. Wherever I could see, it was all canoes.

KM: You know, as you mentioned the word genealogy, something came to my mind. Nāhale, do you know a longer version of that name?

JK: The closest thing I could put it to from what I've read, and from names that I've heard, the only thing I could think of is Ka-lua-i-Konahale. You know, to get the name Nāhale.

KM: Yes, for Kuakini. Have you heard, now, and I'm sorry, I'm working off of memory, and it's not family, so pardon me if I make a mistake, Nā-hale-lau-niu-o... And I want to say Lana'i; I was trying to think of the connection between...

JK: That's possible.

KM: Lana'i and Nāhale. Because there was a Nā-hale-lau-niu-o... and I was trying to think of the connection for your *'ohana*. How your great grandfather, how they got the *'āina* from Lana'i, and you'd heard that there'd been some talk...

JK: Yes. That was my great grandfather, that they were talking about.

KM: His name?

JK: Joseph.

KM: I was just thinking, and I'll try and look that up. There's, see in the Māhele records, if I recall, from 1848-1852 thereabouts, I believe that a son or *hānai* of Lana'i... because you see Nāhale came about was because it was Nā-hale-lau-niu-o... [information was collected from Nāluahine Ka'ōpua; see section at end of interview.]

JK: It's possible.

KM: And what happened was there were house thatched with the *lau niu* [coconut leaves], that belonged to this *alii*, in the Po'o Hawai'i area, which is Lana'i's land, yeah?

JK: Uh-hmm. That's possible, because somebody else had said... I'm trying to find, you know, who his father was; also, where the name came from. Because, I don't see that name prior to my great grandfather.

KM: And the timing fits. I'll look, I've done some pretty extensive archival work and things... And as you mentioned genealogy, I was trying to tie the Nāhale and Lana'i...together.

JK: Well, it could be possible that Nāhale was there already... Pa'iniu, some people mentioned the name Pa'iniu, so when you say...

KM: Yes, that's correct, you see, "*pa'i*" in this case means thatched, to set, strike the *niu* [coconut] there, and so, that's just like what you're saying. Because there were, and it's even recorded in the Māhele testimony, and I could go get it.

JK: That's interesting, get the Māhele testimony.

KM: I'm going to turn this off [tape off, and back on] This is my draft of the archival work, I was just trying to take a quick look; I see Lana'i, "five houses enclosed, *makai*, the Kahalu'u lot, the beach is on the *makai*..." It references "In the *'ili* of Po'o Hawai'i." I'll have to go back, What I'll do is a computer search for [looking through other pages]. there was one area, I don't remember whose it was then. But that name, if I recall, Nā-hale-lau-niu...
[looking at the record for LCA 6071 to Ho'opale] ...they had mentioned the *heiau* Ku'emanu, and then also...I'm sorry, I thought I may be able to locate it real quickly, but... Once we finish the report, we finish doing the oral history interviews and stuff like this, we'll get you a copy of this because it's going to...because you've contributed to it, but also, it's important for the family and it's history with the *'āina*.

JK: Yes, like I say, you learn something from me, I'll learn something from you [chuckles]. It works both ways. But, it's really possible, I kind of put it with Kuakini, because they were close with Kuakini also.

KM: Yes, exactly. And that house I believe, yeah, that you lived in as a child, the Kalākaua house...

JK: Yes, the house now, it's a rebuilt it, a replica. I wasn't asked when they built it. Of course, the people that did it, didn't know me anyway. So, but, I wish they would have. I would have described it exactly what it was. The front looks the way it was, the back is not the same.

KM: Ahh, so there are some discrepancies.

JK: It's very different.

KM: From what you remember?

JK: Oh yes, a lot of discrepancies on the back part. But maybe they had a purpose for doing it, maybe they just wanted the front [chuckles].

KM: [laughing] only half the story eh?

JK: [laughs]

KM: Ahh, so now, how did you folks come from *mauka* to *makai*. Did you sometimes walk old trails, or did you pretty much ride car?

JK: Well, we did the trails, and we did the car also.

KM: Do you remember what trails you... Yesterday we had spoken a little bit about the Mākole'ā trail and the old Kahalu'u trail...

JK: Uh-hmm. The Kahalu'u trail was the one that I used. I think the Mākole'ā... Oh well, I don't know where that Mākole'ā trail would go up *mauka*. I know there's a trail that went from Lily's [Ha'ani'o -Kong] place down, but I think that's further over.

KM: Yes, Keauhou.

JK: And we're next, the Kahalu'u trail. We used to walk, my father used to walk to school when he was a child.

KM: Where did papa go to school?

JK: Keauhou, from the beach.

KM: From the beach, oh, going *mauka*.

JK: Yes, on the trail, and then go over to Keauhou School. I used to walk that trail with my grandparents.

KM: What was that like? Were they talking Hawaiian, and were you...

JK: No. You know my grandfather always spoke English to us [laughs].

KM: Oh.

JK: My father's father and my mother's father too. They always speak English to us. We used to walk and they'd...sometimes, we'd just walk. We never had horse, and then after that, we got a horse and so we rode up and down the trail.

KM: What were the purposes of the trips? Were you folks living *mauka* and going to fish or...?

JK: We were... We lived *mauka* sometimes. Then, when we were living *mauka*, we didn't... I don't remember going too often down the trail to the beach. When we were living on the beach, we would walk up a lot. The grocery stores were up there see [chuckles].

KM: Oh, the stores were *mauka*, and I guess...were they keeping some of the vegetables, the *'uala* and things *mauka* too?

JK: Yes, when we were living up *mauka*, we used to farm. When we lived down the beach, we used to fish. We had some Japanese people, from when we were friends would come down and they would bring pickles like *daikon* and all that good stuff. And then they

wanted fish, so when they came, we went fishing for them, and in exchange... There wasn't too much money being passed, it was more, you give me something, I give you what you need.

KM: So that was even shared amongst the Japanese people then?

JK: Yes, yes. And also, this other family, and I think it was told...I think Luciana [Makuakāne] told me this. When they were living over there...see, they're related to Kahulamū also, and she said, what they would do, they have a friend that would come from *mauka*, and bring down vegetables and things. And so her uncle, I think it was at the beach, he would leave fish, even if he wasn't home. His friend from up *mauka*, would come down with the vegetables, leave it you know, maybe in the kitchen, on the side some place, and he would check, where he knows that they'll leave for him something. So he would go pick up the fish where it was left, then take it up.

KM: Return home *mauka*.

JK: Yes. Even if nobody was home. That's...and we always used to go fishing for friends. And the thing about it is, and my brother used to mention that, my oldest brother. He would say, "You know, when we were young, we used to go fishing, and we'd come back with the fish, and you'd take off all the fish," you drop them off on the *papa* [shoreline flats], and then my father would say to his friends that came from up the hill, "Pick all the ones you want." And so they picked all the good ones, you know [chuckles]. And so my brother said, "And we always left with all the junk; they always took the best ones, and we were always left with the balance" [chuckling].

KM: *Koena* eh?

JK: *Koena*, right. [laughing] I never noticed that, that he thought that way. So that was interesting.

KM: Well, that was an interesting value too, isn't it? You share the best, yeah?

JK: Right. When you give something, you give the best.

KM: That's how your *tūtū* were, yeah? Your papa's time even.

JK: And that was gramps, my stepfather, he's still living. And another thing, you know, I noticed of our days, compared to this days, this time, we sort of... You know, I guess there's a connection, a mean sense of obedience, and after a while, you learned to; just by looking, my father never said, "Come on, let's go fishing." Like we do now to our kids. He'd pick up his goggles, he'd pass us, he'd pick up the net, and we automatically change our clothes, grab our goggles, you know. Pick up the fish bag, that's our thing to carry, and then we follow, we don't say nothing, we just followed. Then you get to the beach, and say, okay, take out the net, [pointing] you carry half, you carry half, and you walking, and you just follow in the back. All he says is [gesturing, pointing down to the location to set the net, meaning], you stay over here.

KM: So he'd point like that?

JK: 'Ae. And then the next one, he'd [point] over here.

KM: So you folks would *'upena ku'u*?

JK: Right.

KM: Out in Kahalu'u Bay?

JK: In Kahalu'u Bay.

KM: Has the bay, has the shoreline there changed significantly...?

JK: Oh drastically! Drastically!

KM: Could you describe that, because...and the reason I ask is because your brother was sharing with me a little bit about what happened once they started modifying the shoreline, put the wall up and stuff like that. Could you share that?

JK: Well, right now, you know, I don't know if it's the weather... I know a lot has to do with the way they walled the place. But I know that we've lost between 50 and 75, maybe, 100 feet in certain places.

KM: Of sand?

JK: Yes.

KM: Where there was sand, it's not now?

JK: Right, and they were trying to get the...trying to do the wall down there, and we were trying to tell them, "Don't put up a rock wall over there. Try to do the way the old folks...the way it was." And I don't think it was done by anybody, I think it was done by nature. Like in front of the church, the Catholic Church.

KM: St. Peter's?

JK: Right. It was that way for years, and years...as long as I could remember. Once in a great while, I think once in my lifetime, before this modern times, the water came up and lifted the church. And recently, it's been moving it more often. But after they made that wall over there by the *heiau* [speaking of the sea wall fronting the small pavilion at Kahalu'u Beach park, by Waikua'a'ala pond], I don't know what happened, but that wall is now level. Right by the pond, you know, on the side of the church there, there was a pond, and it's completely covered now. And somehow, I think that wall at the other side, had something to do with the right next. It...[thinking]

KM: It changes the flow of nature, yeah?

JK: Right.

KM: Brother had described how they set the rock without cement, and the water can *puka* through.

JK: Right.

KM: And it absorbs the shock, yeah?

JK: Well, some of the places they... You know, they don't really build up, but even if you do build, the water can go through because it has pukas in side. Now, they put the cement in, and it can not go through. But, some of those rocks in the front is nature. They're pushed up from the ocean and it gradually goes up like this [gesturing—up steep on the ocean side, then level on to, sloping inland]. The water never, never breaks that kind of wall 'cause it's porous, so much pukas, it goes right in.

KM: Do you remember by the St. Peter's church, and the *heiau*, Ku'e...?

JK: Ku'emanu.

KM: Do you recall a family living on that *heiau* or right next to it?

JK: No, not during my time. There was a house on the right side of the *heiau*, it was a Japanese house that was more modern.

KM: Were they still using the little canoe landing there when you were a child? By the church, Keawaiki side?

JK: Right at that little inlet?

KM: Yes.

JK: Yes, they had canoes. When I was young, passing on the beach, there were canoes all over the place along the shore.

KM: So all along Kahalu'u. All the Hawaiians and perhaps some others?

JK: Right. We had a canoe house in front of the Kuakini Hale, where the Makai Bar is now. And then, we had canoes, and the Kauilas had canoes, the neighbors would bring their canoe over there because canoes, you cannot go in and out of any... You know, you need a landing area. So wherever there is a nice landing area, that's where all the canoes go in and out, so it would make sense to park the canoes over there. And then when they walk the trail, come over there, get their canoe and go out. Come back, park their canoe and then walk back to their home through the trail. And so there was canoes over there, right next door at the Kahalu'u Park. You know, the sand was ohh, so much sand.

KM: So by where the big pavilion at Kahalu'u Park is, it was mounds, *pu'uone*, like dunes, or was it...?

JK: Actually, right where the pavilion is, is a swamp, was.

KM: The big pavilion, or the little one?

JK: The big one.

KM: Oh, the Po'o Hawai'i pond area?

JK: It's just a swamp area, so is the parking lot. But, right in front of that pavilion, which is, I think, just about in the ocean now, there was a huge, nice high mound of sand. And there was monkey pod tree that grew on that mound, a really nice big monkey pod tree. So they would go over there through the back side and go and park, right up on the mound, and use that way back. Of course, there were *kiawe* trees, and everything around, and *'ekoa*. And right next, which was right in front of the...a, let's see, that's between the big pavilion and the small pavilion. The sand was so high. When you stand in the back where our house was, which is up, you couldn't see the bottom you couldn't see the ocean you couldn't see anyone that was standing by the water.

KM: Wow, so the mound was that high the, *pu'uone*.

JK: It comes up like this [gesturing] the sand and goes inside like this, and there were canoes over there also, parked over there its a nice area to go in and out. And then right next door at the end of the...its not the end of the park though, the park goes to the other side, but where the other...on the side of the pavilion where there's a wall, you know, on the side .

KM: The little pavilion, where they put the wall?

JK: Where the bathroom is on the side, that's another canoe...

KM: Landing right there. So the walls knocked it all out then.

JK: And there were always canoes. Now there's no more. Anyway, you know, the times past and so people using cars now instead of canoe, because they make roads. Way back there, wasn't any roads, so you traveled on the canoe, so everybody went...that's a car, its like cars now. So everybody had a canoe, jump on the canoe go here go there, you know, on the trail up and down and right next at the church also, you see canoes.

KM: At the Catholic Church, yeah. Now you know the little pond, the little pavilion and there's a pond Waikua'a'ala, the little pond, yeah, was that a fresh, living pond when you were a child?

JK: It was a big pond, yeah. It's a big pond. I think it was bigger than Po'o Hawai'i.

KM: Oh, for real now. You were talking about the road, the road that runs now sort of in front of Helani Church. you know, Ali'i Drive, was that paved or pretty much just sand-rock road.

- JK: No. When I was a...when I could remember, it was already paved, but before then, it was.
- KM: So when you folks were fishing—out of curiosity—did your stepfather John or your Tūtū them, when they went...did they still, was there still some practice of the first catch, you give something back or...if you recall.
- JK: No, not that I noticed, you know, but then like I say, our family was not too much into the practice of it.
- KM: I think it's interesting, though, that idea about sharing that you described. It was like come take what you like, yeah.
- JK: And then, not only that, any time you went fishing...and that's what I try to share with people now...anytime you went fishing, the courtesy, I guess, what they call that Hawaiians have that protocol, protocol of certain things. Well, there was a protocol of fishing also. Everybody...like if this was your home that frontage, that was more or less yours. And the next house that family their...right in front of them is their area. But I notice you can go into the house on the other side will come fishing in front of my side but when they do they always offer us, "Would you like some fish here?"
- And then if we want we take whatever we want and then they take the rest. If we don't want we say no thank you, and so they... That was that... I think it's a Hawaiian protocol thing and the other people on this side they go fishing way out, and go fishing out there, and they would...anytime I wanted to go, if there were fishing, even if it wasn't in front of my place, if I wanted to I'd just jump in and help, and then they would give me anyway.
- KM: They would share.
- JK: They're going to share fish with me. And the courtesy of, if you're fishing, I don't go. You know, if the neighbor is *holoholo*, you want to go, you go with them, but you don't go take another net and start going over here, you know. That's...they're fishing, let them say "You want to fish you go this afternoon or tomorrow?" And I didn't think much about it then, but now, you know, I think my it would be nice if we did that now.
- KM: Sure, see it was a way of life for you, yeah?
- JK: Right it was a way of life that, you know, I didn't think "Wow this is special" because we didn't know anything else but what we did.
- KM: How you lived. Umm
- JK: As you get older, things change, places change, people change, and there's a lot of changes in all things, and one of them is fishing. And one of the things that is happening right now is that when we go to fish there's so much tourist, and they feel that they come here and they've spent money, and this is part of the what they're spending for, to have the rights to the beach. And so they'll come and they'll, eh! Practically want to fight you to chase you out of water. "How dare you come and take some of this beautiful fishes?" "Yes, they are beautiful—in my plate" [laughs].
- KM: Yes! You'd mentioned protocol and some of the custom, the practice. Was there a strong sense when you were a child and young adult growing up with these excursions to the ocean, fishing... You take, you know, today one of other problems is sometimes they go and they wipe out,—*pau* everything's gone, yeah. How did you folks...?
- JK: During our time we took what we could eat, you know, which is how it should be. And there was never a problem of running out, so...
- KM: Your brother [Joseph] had mentioned to me that there's been some talk in the past about even making Kahalu'u Bay into a fish preserve or something?
- JK: Oh yes, there's been a lot of talk about that.

- KM: Share with us, 'cause, I think its important as a family, as a native tenant of the land, that that feeling...What do you think about that to *kapu* so that you folks can't go down into the ocean?
- JK: Well, the funniest thing was, I try to get involved with anything that pertains to Kahalu'u Beach or shoreline fishing, where that's my thing and I want to save that privilege for...especially the local people are so used to and not only that they need it. They need to have...to know that they can find food somewhere, you know, rather than to stay on the street, the street and ask, or beg for something, or steal, or something else this is our... It's a guarantee; that beach is especially, because I know that beach so well. Its like a ice box for us, really. Because when we go down and my brother used to always say that start the fire, if we wanna go down we want to eat *manini* start the fire so they start the fire, and he'll just walk to the *papa* [reef], you know. One throw, oh come back, put it on the fire, and ting, ting, the fish still jumping yet [laughs].
- KM: Your cousin, when I was speaking with your brother, your cousin, kind of balding, he was throwing net, and just like what you're describing, the *manini*, you know, right there and some little too small throw *'ia*.
- JK: Yes right. Even when we fish, we surround, we go through the net and anything we feel we're not going to eat we'll flip em out, you know. Yet sometimes, there's lot of fish, so you flip out, you know, all the aquarium type, we call that, the nice colorful kind [laughs], *kihikihiki* and all that kind. And then sometimes there's not too much, you know; certain times there's not as much fish, so we keep, we gonna go eat those. We never got that much, you know. There's not that much fish. So you know, that's the difference. Sometimes we used to, when I was young, we used to go when the water was rough, we used to go catch *āholehole*, the young *āholehole* used to come way inside, so we used to go catch 'em and throw 'em in the pond.
- KM Behind the little pavilion, that little pond there?
- JK: Yes, and the other one.
- KM: Waikua'a'ala and the other one to. So you folks would kind of *hānai*, take care of inside there?
- JK: Yes!
- KM: Oh, so you really used it as a fishpond also, then?
- JK: Right. We...there was mullet in there we went fishing in there when I was young. My grandfather would go, stretch the net right across the pond 'cause get mullet, and so we'd chase 'em. I would open my eyes, nothing but brown, it was mud, you know, [laughs]. Even had the canoe in the pond, in the other pond.
- KM: The big, so was that large eh?
- JK: Po'o Hawai'i, we left the canoe anchored inside. Sometimes the little young ones, take them riding in the pond. But fishing, boy, that's life to be able to go down the beach and fish. Now it's pretty hard. We don't fish as often as we used to, because there's so many people.
- KM: And, and I guess, there's a change. People from away, even if they're not just *malihini*, tourist trying to swim or see the pretty fish, but other people from away come and fish, yeah too, and so...
- JK: Oh yes, what is bad is when they come and fish commercially. That's why sometimes we need to make rules. But then, you know, it hurts some, some people. It depends what kind of rule you make.
- KM: If you know one thing, and I'm sorry, this is leaving fishing in a way now, you'd mentioned that your grandfather was William Nāhale, is that correct?

JK: Yes.

KM: And, was he a rancher, was he using some of the *kula* lands at a time?

JK: Yes, he and his brother, Charlie, Charles. It was before my time, but I think they had quite a bit of land, so they...

KM: Was it the Kahalu'u-Keauhou, sort of the *kula* from the Ali'i Drive going *mauka* to the railroad area or...?

JK: I don't know if they had that portion. When I remember, that was with Hind already, Hind Ranch. But they were, I think, up in the middle, more in the middle *kula* area.

KM: So, is that close to the railroad berm, or *mauka* of that?

JK: Yes, *kula* is right...The railroad tracks kind of run right through. And also I think some of that Gomes property now is part of their property. The Portuguese bought, you know, quite a bit of property.

KM: Yes. What's your sense and, you know, this is, you know, the...as we noticed and I can, let me just pull out that map again [Proposed Ali'i Highway Alignment]. In fact, if we're looking at the Keauhou-Kahalu'u section right now, are you familiar...we'd had a little conversation yesterday about the caves, and you said that your brother was *kama'aina* to many of the caves, yeah?

JK: Uh-hmm.

KM: Did you ever go to the 'Ōhi'a Cave?

JK: Recently.

KM: Ahh, was it the *makai* Kahalu'u side or *mauka* by Kamehameha III Road?

JK: Oh I didn't go travel through the cave, I just went to see. Yes.

KM: So, by this Kahalu'u area. Is that, and I guess this gets, you know, really to the nitty-gritty, is that...the *tūtū*, *kūpuna* in your grandparents, great grandparents generation were making use of some of these *kula* lands [pointing to areas along the proposed alignment], but as you come along here, you know, that in the ancient times there are *heiau*, like at Mākole'ā Trail.

JK: Uh-hmm.

KM: The *heiau* Pā-o-'Umi is on the side and KIC has developed a nursery basically on, or right next to, that area.

JK: Uh-hmm.

KM: Where Kahulamū lived, *mauka* of St...?

JK: St. Peter's.

KM: St. Peter's. There was...in fact Kahulamū in 1930, to a guy named John Reinecke had said that there was a *heiau* in his *mauka* portion of his *kuleana* lot that was an agricultural *heiau*. And there is Halelā'au, did you hear, and I know you'd kind of shared that the *tūtū* them, your mama them didn't want to talk too much about those things.

JK: Uh-hmm.

KM: At some point did you become familiar with any of the sites along here? And then, what's your sense of care for sites today?

JK: Well, that man Kahulamū, I knew him, so he must have been young when he, you know, he was an informant it says on some of the reports. I've been up to their place, but not very often to that house. I know they have their family [cemetery] plot in the back [along the Kuakini Wall].

KM: Yes, ah-huh.

JK: But I don't...I'm not familiar with that place, but I think his mo'opunas might be.

KM: Yes.

JK: I'm not sure if John Allen would be. He had a son that is...he had two sons, Kahulamū, that I know of. The older one I heard is the one that he wanted to teach, show him about all these caves so when he passed [away], someone would know. And they said this the older son didn't want. See, like some, you know, like interested in that, some are not. So he wasn't interested, but his younger son he was really interested in that. In fact he went to it but his father didn't want to give him the knowledge, you know, didn't want to show it to him. I don't know why. Maybe he was too radical [laughs]. But, I haven't been to those caves.

KM: Well, okay. So there's the *heiau* and things now, as you've... By the way if a *heiau*, was there a *heiau* by the small pavilion at the Kahalu'u Beach Park?

JK: Yes there was, very definitely where that pavilion, is the Kailua side, was a high, you know, there was a trail that went right on the side of the wall. You know, through...well that's the beach trail that goes right straight down to Keauhou, I think it ran through there.

KM: Oh I see, yes.

JK: In the middle of the Keauhou Beach Hotel. And the point of the *heiau*, the *heiau* was, you know, kind of falling apart already, but it was high in the front, high up.

KM: On the water side?

JK: Yes, and then it kind of tapered down this side.

KM: Back towards the pond Waikua'a'ala?

JK: Towards the...right . And I have a picture I wouldn't want to hassle to dig 'em out now, because even though it's all...I'm just in the midst of trying to change my things over. I have a picture that was taken way back, and they have that up in the Historical Society. And one of the friends that was doing the archaeological survey of Kahalu'u, talked to me, and he gave me one of those pictures. It was taken right in front of that *heiau*... On the front of that *heiau*...

KM: Ahh, so on the *makai* side.

JK: And there's another one [picture] way up on this side. And they took it facing Keauhou, and it got the Kuakini Hale, you know. It caught that too, on that side. Was really nice.

KM: Was there a difference between Kuakini Hale and the Kalākaua...?

JK: No.

KM: They're the same, correct. Okay.

JK: 'Cause it belongs actually to both of them.

KM: Kuakini, first

JK: Then Kalākaua.

KM: Then later passed on to Kalākaua. Okay.

JK: When Kuakini...when he was...it was a stone building it says, and then when Kalākaua used it, I think it was, you know, a wooden...

KM: Yes. What's...your sense, is there an importance as a Hawaiian today, and knowing who you've known in your past, your family, and then thinking of your future of your children, the *mo'opuna*, what's your sense of the value of caring for Hawaiian places?

JK: Well, like I said, you know, all Hawaiian places, like the caves, the heiaus, the fishing areas, I think they should be noted, they should be taken care of and preserved for whatever it was used for. Some of them, like the caves, I think should be sealed...not sealed, but it should be locked where...Secured.

KM: Secured, yes, that's what you were saying yesterday.

JK: Yes, but available, so that the children can have a chance to see what it was like...

KM: So families that were related perhaps to the land like that too, yeah?

JK: Right. Yes. People also...I mean our children, also, that are taking a study, those that are trying to study, going to school for that [phone ringing tape turned off and back on]

...Encourage, you know, them to save that because a lot of times some people want to seal 'em off. They want to seal it off, cover it, but what would that do? This not going do anybody, you know...Of course they say, "respect for whatever is in there," But, I really think, to me, I think it's stupid.

KM: Well, there's also a history, and like yesterday, when we were talking, I mean, the old man Kahulamū took people in there. And you'd said that "he was like the *kahu*." Is that right?

JK: Uh-hmm, right.

KM: And it was his privilege almost, or right to... You know, there is a history of going and sharing some of that place.

JK: Well, see like now, we read about it in the books, "Mr. Kahulamū was the informant," but the person writing the story is maybe somebody like Reinecke, somebody...So our children go read the book to find out about what he said. And so you got to use your imagination...well, this is what it is. And they're writing what they want to write. Now maybe there's something else in there that they didn't feel they should write about, and so you don't really have the picture of what it is. How they...you know, even if there's a...you study how they preserved the people or, you learn about how they lived. You know, there's a lot of things you can learn on site. Like the Chinese say, "A picture is worth a thousand words." Well, if you see it in person, it's worth way, way more than that.

KM: So you would...and this becomes quite important...

JK: ...If there's a chance to save our history, where we, us and generations after us can learn from it, we should save. We should save. Of course, there's so many different kind of people now, that you have to lock it down really good. But, I would say, "Save the caves as much as they can." If it's possible, you know, of course, if it's in a place where it would stall the building of something like this, then, you know, we do the best we can. Maybe if you have to seal it off...

KM: So the first priority you think, might be to...it sounds like take care of, preserve, keep the history?

JK: Right.

KM: But then, you say that we're changing, and it needs to be a priority to look at the over all benefit.

JK: Right... We need to save whatever we can, but then, we cannot be greedy and say "I want to save everything we have, we're not going give nothing!" You know, you have to. But then, we have to keep an eye on what's going on, yeah?

KM: Absolutely, *maka'ala* [be alert, watchful].

JK: 'Ae.

KM: Which...what I think you're doing at Kahalu'u now, yeah?

JK: I try to. But, it's so hard, every year, it's not like... It started way back, people would approach me and say "Well, I think they're over doing the fishing. I think they should close this up, make a sanctuary." I said "No, no, no, no, no, no! This is not a snorkeling area, this is a fishing beach, you have to remember."

KM: I have a great suggestion, and I'm sorry, this is [chuckles]... If they want to make *kapu* [restrictions], that's okay, they make *kapu* for everybody else, but the native families retain their right.

JK: Right. That's what...in fact, they even approached me on that. Maybe we grandfather in the...you know.

KM: That's correct. The National Park did it for the families at Kalapana, with that extension...

JK: Nāpo'opo'o.

KM: Nāpo'opo'o, see then you don't impact the traditional native rights. So there's an idea [chuckles].

JK: Yes.

KM: And that whole sense of *ahupua'a*...and you were describing not only the larger *ahupua'a*, but the even to the households, the families on the shore. The water fronting your house, you'd said, yeah, the frontage like that?

JK: Yes.

KM: They respected; they knew that this was that family. You ask, if you come over into here a little bit, before you go home, what? They would bring fish?

JK: Oh yes.

KM: And ask if you'd like...?

JK: Some of them would bring it to your house if you were not on the shoreline. But, if you were out on the beach, oh yes, you go out and help yourself.

KM: Interesting.

JK: Yes, but it's really nice. It's a courtesy. It's not a written thing, but it's a courtesy that you don't see very often now. And like I say, it's not written in the laws, but you know, you have to have the courtesy.

KM: Yes, you'd said "protocol," and in the long run, it's resources management. It's caring for the resources, and making sure that tomorrow there'll be something.

JK: Right.

KM: Like you said, "the ocean was your ice box," eh.

JK: Yes, and like they say, we're going to deplete that. I guess it's possible to deplete, but you know, you got to remember, it's open. It's not fenced in, so the fish comes in and it goes out.

KM: Speaking of fencing-in, though, real quickly, do you remember hearing anyone as a child, talk about...there's the story about "Ka pā o ka menehune," or the building... The old people were actually considering making a fishpond in Kahalu'u Bay?

JK: Well, that's what they say, but you know, I really don't agree with that, and the reason that I don't is that if they closed that, why would they have Ku'emanu Heiau, the surfing *heiau*? Yes. They would have to leave it open for them to surf that area. So, it would be hard to really enclose that without taking away that surfing area over there. Also, you have to leave an opening, because that's where the canoes go in, eh. It's their highway actually. So I have a different feeling. I think it was done purposely, it was planned to be

that way. The tale...you know the story about the rooster crowing early, and that's why they stopped, I don't agree with that. I think it was planned to be that way. When they built that wall, I noticed that the openings, where ever there's a little opening, that is where the *papa* [reef] went out, it was shallow further out. So the waves break outside before it gets to the area so they could leave it open. And the area that they built was where it was deep outside. And I think they also built it to protect that beach because that's where the *ali'i* were, and all the important *heiau*. So they kind of help to protect that.

KM: So it was really...

JK: I thought. And also on the other side, there's an opening, that's where the canoes went in and out also.

KM: On the...?

JK: On the Keauhou side.

KM: By Kapuanoni?

JK: Way over on the last...there's another *heiau* way on the other side that I forgot the name now.

KM: 'Inikiwai? Sort of by the boundary between Kahalu'u-Keauhou?

JK: You know where that racquet, surf and racquet is? [Mākole'ā Heiau is situated in the mid section of the sandy cove.]

KM: Yes, yes.

JK: Over there. I had another grandfather that lived right over there, right over there. Where the black sand he went up to the lava field.

KM: Who was that grandfather?

JK: Ho'olapa.

KM: Ho'olapa, I've heard that name.

JK: Lu'ukia Ho'olapa.

KM: I think maybe 'Inikiwai. Was it a fishing *heiau*? Do you recall?

JK: I'm not sure what kind of *heiau* it was, but it was a *heiau* over there. Well, they ran off one *heiau* when they built the golf course over there. They just took 'em right off. It was a nice high *heiau*, round. But that's how some of them...down this side, I tried to save the trail, but all millionaires down there. Down Kailua, that's where the park is, the old airport.

KM: Oh yes.

JK: The million dollar homes.

KM: Yes. Well, what would you hope for the future of Kona and your *mo'opuna*. and for the people in general? As development occurs, do you have some feelings, hopes, and thoughts for the future?

JK: Well, I have hopes [chuckles], but it's hard to say what happens in the future, but I have confidence that the next generation and generation after will be more prepared to handle this developments. Because they're going to school and getting educated. And that's why I have that confidence... Well, I have a nephew going to college, and I think now, more and more of the local people are getting a chance to go to college with the help of OHA, you know. They have financial assistance, and from different places, and they're coming back very *akamai*, and concerned about their race, the people, and their culture, the history. And because of that, I think there'll be wiser decisions made than what was made earlier.

- KM: So we may not lose as much, you think now in the future, or you hope?
- JK: Well, I think what they're doing right now is perpetuating the history. So I think this is going to be a time bringing back what ever they can and teaching it to the children. And I think other nationalities other people that live here also want to help to preserve what they came here for in the first place. So that helps, that helps. 'Cause we need all the help...and then they're intermarrying, a lot of people are intermarrying into different nationalities, that want to do something for their partners and for their children. So that's all going to be beneficial to the generations coming.
- KM: *Mahalo*. Is there something that I should have asked you, or that you would like to say, that I haven't?
- JK: No, not that I know of right now. But I'm really interested in keeping that cave accessible, you know. It's one of my important concerns...

Josephine H. Nāhale-Kamoku
Follow-up Interview, April 12, 1996

In follow up to our conversation regarding the familial relationship between Lana'i and Nāhale, we discussed information collected by Henry Kekahuna and Theodore Kelsey, in interviews with Aunty's grand uncle Nāluahine Ka'ōpua. The information confirming the relationship between Lana'i and Nāhale came from handwritten pages of the Kekahuna-Kelsey files, located at the Archives of the State of Hawai'i. On a visit by Kekahuna and Kelsey with Tūtū Nāluahine, at Kahalu'u, they reported:

...Now turn down the driveway of the recently-built eating-house named Ka-lani-kai, to the beach. To southward, right beyond the end of the beach, a dense grove of hau-trees juts out into the sea, concealing with its peaceful gloom the scattered ruins of the long-destroyed heiau of Ka-pua-noni, of which La-na'i, great grandfather of Mr. Na-luahine Ka-'opua, sole remaining patriarch of Kaha-lu'u, was the last to officiate as high priest...

...Now occupied by the eating-house is the land of Po'o-Hawaii, a former abode of royalty, adjoining the pond of the same name. At the south end of this pond may be found house-foundations of ancient royalty. On its north side renowned Governor Kua-kini erected a stone residence for himself near a place named Moku-ahi-'ole just north of Ka-lani-kai, where once dwelt his famed father Ke'-au-moku...Near the Governor's stone dwelling he erected some large open buildings, or halaus, used as dining halls, which were collectively named Na Halau (or Na Hale) Pa'i Niu – The Cocomat-leaf Thatched Halaus (or Houses) – on the site of their modern successor Ka-lani-kai. Thus the son of High-Priest La-na'i's foster son Na-palapala was honored by the name of Na-hale, which is the esteemed family name of his descendants in Kona today...

Mitchell Mikeala Fujisaka
Oral History Interview with Kepā Maly
April 25th, & June 1st, 1996, at Hienaloli and Kahalu'u Site Visit

Mitchell Fujisaka was born at Kahalu'u in 1936 and is descended from the Kahulamū, Kahinu, and Ka'ainoa families, who have resided in Kahalu'u for generations. Mitchell traveled the land with his father, Mitchell Aki Fujisaka, and elder uncle, Keawe Alapa'i, and from them learned about many sites on the Kahalu'u-Keauhou landscape. Of particular importance were such locations as the Halelā'au Heiau and the Refuge Cave at Kahalu'u (Site 2077), and the Pā Kuakini. During the formal interview, and a Kahalu'u site visit on the June 1st, Mitchell expressed his feelings about the importance of caring for Hawaiian cultural sites. He noted that it was important to "respect" Hawaiian burial sites. He had been taught "*Mālama ka po'e kahiko*" (take care of the ancient people). They used to live there and they're still there... They always say '*A'ole hana 'ino ka hale o ka po'e kahiko*' (Don't desecrate the houses and places of the old people)."

KM: [looking at the c. 1930 Strip map, Keauhou-Kahalu'u section, from the Real Property Tax Office (RPTO)]...it's misspelled, yeah? That's the *heiau* of...

MF: Okay. That's right on the side, and then there's a brackish water pond. That's what we used to call 'Inikiwai.

KM: I see, so you remember the site?

MF: Yes.

KM: There are still the remnants between the condominium buildings, yeah?

MF: Right, they built right on it. If you look good, you can see a big rock, I don't know if they covered it up.

KM: Yes, it's still on top, like a *Kū'ula*...

MF: Yes.

KM: I see that you have a nice *pōhaku* [stone] *makai* also.

MF: Well, you see that *pōhaku* out there, you know, people see me and give.

KM: Yes. It's 6:00 p.m., Thursday, April 25, 1996. I'm here with Mitchell Fujisaka, and I want to say *aloha*. Thank you being willing to participate in this Kona oral history study, *mahalo*.

MF: Okay. It's my pleasure.

KM: What we're going to do is...I'd like to start...and we've already spoken some...We were just speaking a moment ago about 'Inikiwai [*heiau*].

MF: 'Inikiwai.

KM: We're going to talk story about some of your memories, recollections of Kona. I'd like to start first, with a little of your background, your full name. If you could please share your full name with me?

MF: Okay, my name is Mitchell Mikeala Fujisaka, I was born and raised in Kahalu'u.

KM: 'Ae. What is your birth date?

MF: October 8, 1936.

KM: Okay. Now, your family is tied to an old family of the Kahalu'u, Kona area yeah?

MF: 'Ae.

KM: Who was your father?

MF: My father was Mitchell Aki Fujisaka.

KM: I see, so papa of...

MF: He was of the Kahulamū line.

KM: So papa was from the Kahulamūs?

MF: Right.

KM: Who was mama?

MF: Mama was Violet Kahinu. She's from the Ka'ainoa family.

KM: Ahh, and these families are of Kona?

MF: Yes, Kona *mauka*. Kahalu'u *mauka*.

KM: So Ka'ainoa...

MF: Kahinu. Great-grandma was Eliza Kaholo.

KM: Oh. Was that the Kaholo from Pu'u Anahulu also?

MF: Right.

KM: Ahh, so uncle Sonny would have been?

MF: Sonny was her brother.

KM: About how old was your father? I know that he passed away a little while ago.

MF: He was 87.

KM: So he would have been born maybe around 1910, about?

MF: I think it was 1909.

KM: Okay. And you'd mentioned that you were raised at Kahalu'u. We're looking right now at a map, it's about 1930, it's what they call a Strip Map. They pre-date the TMK maps, and we're looking at Kahalu'u Bay. Where did you live as a child?

MF: Okay, at the Kahulamū residence [pointing to the map], which is right above this area.

KM: Okay, so where you are pointing is, we're just *mauka* of St. Peter's Church.

MF: Right.

MF: Kahalu'u Bay and the *heiau*, Ku'emanu.

MF: Ku'emanu. Okay, it's *mauka* and to the right. [in the pre-interview discussion, Mr. Fujisaka, recalled that members of the Keli'ikuli family had previously lived at the site of Ku'emanu. See also the interview with Luciana Makuakāne-Tripp]

KM: Okay, *mauka*, to the right. Okay, let's see. On the map there is a trail shown, and so would your house have been—if we're looking at the map, on the right side of the trail?

MF: On the right side.

KM: Now, you'd shared with me that your father, I think, had told you that in his time, this trail had already fallen to disuse.

MF: Right.

KM: Were there other families living around you at that time?

MF: Okay, I remember there was the Kunipo family that lived to the left of the church [Helani], looking *mauka*. And my grandfather, the Ka'ainoas were adjacent to the Kunipos. And as you come down more towards the south there was Nāluahine.

KM: Have you heard the name Po'o Hawai'i?

MF: No.

KM: No. Was Nāluahine's in the area of...do you recall the area that they call Kalākaua House, or Kuakini House?

MF: [thinking] No, I don't remember that, anybody mentioning that [During uncle Mitchell's lifetime, Tūtū Nāluahine lived on the *mauka* side of the now-closed Kona Lagoon Hotel. The description below is of that vicinity.]

KM: I see. Was there an interesting feature in this area that you recall, water or...?

MF: There was a water well, it was lined with pebbles and beach rock, you know.

KM: Ahh. And so *makai* of Nāluahine's was the *heiau* [Mākole'ā]? Is that correct?

MF: Okay, where Nāluahine...yeah, it was on the *makai* side. If I'm not mistaken, part of the house was on the *heiau*.

KM: Ahh, okay. Now, and I'm sorry, and I think we skipped this. So Lopeka Kahulamū was your...?

MF: Okay well, Lopeka was my...would have been my grand-uncle.

KM: Okay. And this is Robert Kahulamū?

MF: Robert Kahulamū.

KM: So his brother was your grand...?

MF: His sister was my grandmother.

KM: And what was her name again?

MF: She was Hattie Kahulamū-Fujisaka.

KM: She married Fujisaka.

MF: Yeah, from Japan.

KM: Okay. Kahalio'umi is family also to Kahulamū, yeah?

MF: Kahalio'umi, what I understood, you know, from my aunty folks, at one time was a Kahulamū. But, somehow they did something wrong, so he carried his middle name, which was Kahalio'umi, John [Robert] Kahalio'umi Kahulamū.

KM: Ahh, I see.

MF: So he dropped the Kahulamū, and he carried Kahalio'umi.

KM: Now, he lived at Keauhou?

MF: He lived at Keauhou.

KM: Was he still alive when you were...?

MF: Yes, he was a policeman.

KM: Oh, do you remember his wife, Pelekaluhi?

MF: No, I don't. You know, funny, at that time the women were very [gestures, on the side].

KM: Ahh. Do you know Aunty Mary Kapua Kamaka? Frank Kamaka's wife.

MF: Right.

KM: The reason, I'm just curious is, because you bring up an interesting point. Aunty Kapua is 84 now, and I did do an interview with her. Her father was Kauha'ihao, from the area by Kobayashi Store, in Hōlualoa.

MF: Right.

KM: And as a child, Aunty Kapua lived at Kahalio'umi's. Her grandmother was evidently Kahalio'umi's mother-in-law. But Aunty Kapua never knew her mother's maiden name, so I was just curious if you happened to remember Kahalio'umi's wife.

MF: No...

KM: ...So anyway, you were living here... And by the way, up the road a little ways, or up the trail from your home, when you were a child, grand-uncle took care of the cemetery?

MF: Right, it's a family cemetery there. There's a...I think it's a Kahulamū Cemetery.

KM: Now, what I understand, and this is from talking story with you and Aunty Makaleka [Alapa'i]...who is your cousin? I guess your uncle Keawe Alapa'i's wife?

MF: Yes.

KM: That Grand-uncle Kahulamū had modified the Pā Kuakini, do you recall that?

MF: [smiling] Yes, he modified, going around the cemetery, on the *mauka* side of the cemetery.

KM: To enclose it?

MF: To enclose it. You see, what they told me, at one time that a portion of the cemetery was on the *makai* side of the wall.

KM: Ohh, so they had to cross over or something?

MF: Yes. So instead of crossing over, they diverted the wall around it.

KM: I see, oh. Now you'd also shared that 'til about the time that you were 10 years old, you'd lived at Kahalu'u, and then you lived for a few years, you went to Honolulu?

MF: Right.

KM: And then you came home, you were about 15?

MF: Fifteen.

KM: Were some of the *tūtū* still with you...?

MF: No. At that time they had all passed away.

KM: So...you were born in '36, so by 1949 or so...

MF: *Tūtū mā* had all passed away.

MF: Yeah, right.

KM: Now, we were talking a little earlier about the trail, and you're familiar with the Helani Church, the old Helani.

MF: Yes.

KM: And you knew that there was a *heiau*...

MF: Right.

KM: It was on the side there.

MF: Ah-hmm.

KM: Now, your father told you that the Mākole'ā Road side, where the trail is now...

MF: Right.

KM: There was an old trail there?

MF: Yes.

KM: And the family used that trail?

MF: Yeah, the family used that trail a lot.

KM: What did they do?

MF: Well, when they went up to farm, that was the trail that they took, that trail.

KM: Ahh, so they would go *mauka*...

MF: They would go to Kahalu'u *mauka*.

KM: In the area of the present Helani, or lower than that?

MF: [thinking] *Mauka* and to the south of Healani.

KM: I see. Now, looking at this 1930 map again, it shows a rock wall here [pointing to the location on the map], along side sections of the trail. And you were told something about the vicinity of this rock wall?

MF: Yes, my dad told me that there was a man that was farming gourds over there. And watermelon and pumpkins.

KM: So *pala'ai* like that?

MF: Right, in the vicinity there.

KM: And so, did you hear... In 1930, when your grand-uncle Lopeka Kahulamū went around John Reinecke, who was doing an archaeological survey, that there were a number of trails and other agricultural, *mahina'ai*, planted fields that had been here before days... Did you know?

MF: No, no, not that I recall.

KM: Okay.

MF: The only one I knew is about that man [did not know name].

KM: So, it's close to the area of this wall?

MF: Right.

KM: Between the trail and the wall?

MF: On the north side of the wall.

KM: Ahh, okay. So, what I'm going to do is [marking an area on the map], is this the rough [general] area?

MF: Yeah, it's in this area.

KM: Ohh, I see. So on the north side of the wall, in about this area.

MF: This wall [running *mauka-makai*, parallel to the trail] is still in here, if you come up, I think it's around this area here. You see another wall going down, a flat area, and that's the farming area.

KM: Okay, I think I'll mark, roughly, this area then, like this. And just mark here initials, that way I can sort of locate it on the project map, also. So that we can know, it's possible that there may be remnants of some old *kuaiwi* walls.

MF: Yes.

KM: Or other features up there. *Mauka*, in 1930, in fact, where Mākole'ā Trail, basically, where the road is... Although, Mākole'ā Road, now, runs on the Keauhou side of Helani church, yeah.

MF: That's right.

KM: So, just up in this area here, is a *heiau*, Pā-o-'Umi, by KIC Nursery.

MF: Ah-hmm.

KM: Did you hear of any of the *heiau*, *mauka* here, at all when you were young, that you recall?

MF: No, not *heiau*. Not in this upper area.

KM: Okay.

MF: Where I...you know, we walked in this area here [pointing above the Kahulamū property and cemetery area]. In this area here, and there is *heiau*, but, the names, I don't know.

KM: Okay, so the names really weren't being spoken when you were a child?

MF: No, no.

KM: You'd...and looking...

MF: I can remember where they are at, as far as that.

KM: Ahh. Cause Grand-uncle had mentioned to Reinecke, that *mauka* of the *kuleana*...

MF: Right.

KM: On his *'āina*.

MF: Ah-hmm.

KM: There was a *heiau* that was dedicated to agricultural practices. I guess, they may have been planting *'uala* or something in here at one time. Do you remember?

MF: No.

KM: No, not by your time.

MF: The only planting I remember was around the house.

KM: Oh, I see.

MF: But, there is two or three *heiau* on the top of the *pali*, on the side of the *pali*, that I can still remember [see interview notes of June 1, 1996].

KM: Is this a short distance, or some distance up?

MF: No, it's a short distance.

KM: Ahh, so not too far above the house?

MF: No, no, not too far above the house.

KM: Looking at the project map for the proposed road, you'd seen a note that I had made just above the Kahulamū property. You'd said, "Oh, confirmed burial, is that a cave?"

MF: Uh-hmm.

KM: Evidently, you remember that Grand-uncle used to take care of, and he sealed that... [see interview notes of June 1, 1996]

MF: Yeah, I remember my dad telling me that he had sealed a burial cave in this location.

KM: So *mauka* of the house basically?

MF: Yes.

KM: Okay.

MF: He'd say, "It's *mauka* of the house and close to this trail."

KM: Ahh, okay.

MF: I know the exact location.

KM: You do. On the ground, yeah.

MF: Ah-haa.

KM: Good. May I ask you real quickly, what is your sense about Hawaiian burials and their presence in the ground? Is it...?

MF: Respect!

KM: Respect. Best to take care...?

MF: Take care.

KM: Do you think that leaving them in place is important, or is there, with care, an appropriate way to relocate, if it's best?

MF: Yeah, if it's best to relocate, but do it in a proper way.

KM: With *aloha* yeah?

MF: Yes.

KM: Also, your family, the Kahulamū side at least, has a strong history, relationship with the place called the 'Ōhi'a Cave?

MF: Right.

KM: Did you...are you familiar with that. Have you gone in there at all?

MF: Yes, I'm very familiar with that. That's the first cave I went in.

KM: I understand that your grand uncle Lopeka, and perhaps others, would occasionally take people there. Have you ever heard any stories?

MF: Yeah, I heard stories, you know, that grandpa takes people in the cave, and then if you go inside and you *hana 'ino* [desecrate], you know, anything in there, that you would get lost. So that's the story that I've heard. You know, they would walk, and somebody would call from the back, and then who ever *hana 'ino* in the cave, would [pauses]...

KM: Be drawn back?

MF: Yes. And that's the story I've heard.

KM: May I ask, and if you prefer...if at any time I ask something that you would prefer not to answer, just let me know.

MF: Sure.

KM: Did you ever hear your grand uncle them chant?

MF: No, never.

KM: I heard a little story from Auntie Lily [Ha'ani'o -Kong], that your grand uncle would... That he could go to that cave and he would *pule* [pray], and that it would light up around him. Other people would need *kukui hele pō* [flashlights or lanterns], but that he didn't need. Have you ever heard...?

MF: No, I never heard of that.

KM: Okay. Could be, and then again, could be, you know, how stories sometimes grow.

MF: That's right.

KM: Okay. What are some of your recollections as a child of the Kahalu'u area, and the families? Was there camaraderie, were the families close, and was there *kōkua*. Were people taking care of one another, and what were some of the activities?

MF: The families were, you know, at that time, were very close. They would go fishing and they would all share with the whole community. Whether they could fish or not, they would share whatever they caught.

KM: So, what they catch, they bring back and they would divided?

MF: That's right. Everybody would have a share.

KM: You'd mentioned that you recalled, not the names any more, but that there were many *ku'una* [net-fishing stations] in Kahalu'u Bay. And those were areas where nets would be set?

MF: Right. Where the nets would be set, there would be the fish trail, that's where the fish would run.

KM: Oh, I see. So you know that the fish follow sort of set...?

MF: Right, a set trail that they would follow. That's where they *ku'u* [set] their nets.

KM: Oh, smart yeah. They would watch and observe...

MF: Yes.

KM: Was there a sense of *aloha*, care for the ocean, the land, and the resources, still, when you were...?

MF: There was, yeah.

KM: And I know that you folks, your generation, people still feel that *aloha*.

MF: Yeah, ah-haa. Well, you know, at that time, we for example, we being from Kahalu'u, if we were to go to, let's say, La'aloa, you know, we cannot just go over there and catch their fish. We have to ask permission to see if we can go fish.

KM: 'Ae. So you folks were exercising the traditional *ahupua'a* rights of...

MF: Right.

KM: You take care, you fish your *ahupua'a*, if you go to somebody else's...?

MF: You ask permission. And if somebody come into your *ahupua'a*, they ask, and if you say, "yeah," then okay.

KM: Was there a custom of giving some back to the people, if you were in a different area. you would share back?

MF: That's right. You know, at that time, it was always shared. Whether you have two or three. You know, if you had one, then you would share that one [chuckles].

KM: Yes. And I guess, at least in your father's time, they were still using the trail to go *mauka*, and so they were keeping *māla 'ai*, or cultivated fields *mauka*?

MF: Yeah, yeah, taro fields.

KM: Did they live up there sometimes, or was it more like trips for a couple of days or things?

MF: Well, he would say that it would be a day's trip. They would go up work for the day, and then come back.

KM: Were there families up there? Was there sometimes trade that went on between the *mauka* families that you recall, and *makai*? Like, I give you fish, and they give taro or things back?

MF: Well, you know, the Kahalu'u families, you didn't hear very much about that, because, you know, they had *mauka* houses.

KM: I see. So they had their own resources?

MF: Right. I remember, you know, their sharing *poi* and 'ulu...

KM: Good. In your time then, while you knew about these *heiau*, like Kapuanoni, Hāpaiali'i, and Ke'ekū?

MF: Kapuanoni, Hāpaiali'i, and Ke'ekū.

KM: And there were some petroglyphs...

MF: The petroglyphs, yeah, this whole area here [pointing to the map], outside of this *heiau* [Kapuanoni] there is also petroglyphs.

KM: So, sort of in the mid area, Hāpaiali'i...

MF: It's outside of this one.

KM: Oh, I see, Kapuanoni side.

MF: It's right on the rock, along the bay. On the *pōhaku*, all of that. There's a lot of petroglyphs underneath this area.

KM: Did you ever hear stories about any of those places, or were... What was the attitude at that time even? "*Heiau*, no go *maha'oi* [nosy]," or go, but you respect?

MF: *Mālama* [care for], they always told me, "*Mālama ka po'e kahiko*" [take care of the ancient people]. They used to live there and they're still there.

KM: Oh, so their spirit, presence was still there?

MF: Yes. They always say "*A'ole hana 'ino ka hale o ka po'e kahiko*" [don't desecrate the houses and places of the old people].

KM: Now, I guess if you came back home about 1949, some of the tūtū had already passed away, like that. In your childhood time, you stayed pretty much at Kahalu'u?

MF: Yea, Kahalu'u.

KM: When did you become familiar with some of these other *'āina makai*, or Kailua side, like Hōlualoa and things?

MF: Okay, that's about the 50s, I was working for the Hind Ranch.

KM: So you were working from Hinds at that time, with your uncle?

MF: With my uncle, Keawe Alapa'i.

KM: Was Tūtū Nāluahine still alive?

MF: Tūtū Nāluahine was still alive at that time.

KM: I see. Do you recall that there was a *heiau* at Puapua'a, that Tūtū Nāluahine helped to restore, rebuild in the 50s? [dedication of the restored *heiau* took place in November 1948]

MF: No.

KM: So, working the ranch, you would be out...cattle were all *makai* here?

MF: Yeah, cattle were all *makai*. Cattle would be from Keauhou all the way to Hōlualoa.

KM: And was that primarily under Hinds, or were there a couple of other families you think at that time?

MF: It was mostly Hind, and Gouveias I think.

KM: Yes, Frank Gouveia.

MF: Right.

KM: Julian's *hānai* father. While you were out in the country down here, do you remember the Pā Kuakini, what they call the Great Wall?

MF: Right, right, yeah, I remember that.

KM: Did you ever hear any stories about how that wall...what it's function was?

MF: [thinking] No.

KM: It's a pretty big thing yeah?

MF: It is a big wall, but you know, what my uncle used to tell me about that wall is that, by looking at the wall, you could tell something about the people that lived in the district. By the workmanship and the thickness of the wall. He said, "If they were hard workers, the wall would be thick and high." Well put together.

KM: Interesting, so it was kind of like a signature.

MF: That's right...

KM: So what your uncle was telling you, there is record of it in the legendary account also. It's interesting, yeah, how the history...

MF: It is, yeah, fragments of that, how it was passed down.

KM: Yes... ..Well, there's the plan to put this road through this area here. What's your sense about the road itself and the historic sites? Particularly, close to your home area at Kahalu'u? It's almost that we may need to make sure that those burial caves that your grand uncle sealed, are not hit by mistake.

MF: Yes.

KM: And I suppose they were closed for a reason, to take care...?

MF: Yes.

KM: What do you think about the road itself, and the preservation of the cultural sites?

MF: Well, you see, the road to me, is okay. The main thing is to protect the cultural sites. Because it's going to change. Once the road goes through, everything is going to change. But protect the cultural sites. If you can't protect the cultural sites, don't put the road.

KM: Ahh. You know, you've seen a lot of change in Kona yeah?

MF: 'Ae.

KM: Just in your stomping ground as a child at Kahalu'u.

MF: Yes.

KM: A lot, you know, what was there, is now gone. And I guess this idea about protect the sites if you can, and maybe we don't need the road...

MF: That's right.

KM: Reflects many years of seeing change.

MF: That's right. You know, I think the changes were good, but if they could have preserved most of what was there, it would make it better. You know, then I could say, "Oh I went to swim in that pool over there." Now, it's not there, it's covered up.

KM: Oh, I wish that I had had the privilege of being able to know, even to meet your father. I'm sorry that we were too late. Because you'd said dad used to know a lot, and tell you a lot.

MF: Yes.

KM: His time, they still walked feet a lot.

MF: Oh yeah.

KM: And covered a lot of land. Well, can you think of anything...?

MF: No, I can't. If I can just [thinking]...

KM: ...I had forgotten that you had shared with me, a really interesting part of your history. That in the 1950s, Kenneth Emory was here in Kona. And in fact, Tūtū Nāluahine...

MF: 'Ae.

KM: ...was still alive, and you remember Kekahuna?

MF: Right.

KM: And Papa Kelsey?

MF: Yes.

KM: You went out in the field a little bit, or you hung around with them some?

MF: Yes, we went down to Hōnaunau, the City of Refuge. We did some exploring in the caves down there. And we walked the trail to Ho'okena.

KM: Oh, wow. Now, did Kekahuna them go on that? Or was this you and Emory...?

MF: This was Emory, myself, Fred Seymour, Kana'i[aupuni] Kahulamū...

KM: Who was your uncle?

MF: Is my uncle...and another fellow name Husted. There were a few other people there.

KM: When Emory was doing some of his work in Keauhou, Kahalu'u, did you happen to go out also?

MF: No, not when he did it in Kahalu'u. When they were doing work in Kahalu'u, I went out with Kelsey and Kekahuna.

KM: Ahh, was Tūtū Nāluahine...?

MF: Tūtū Nāluahine was there, too.

KM: So you folks actually did go visit some of the *heiau* that you were showing me?

MF: Yes.

KM: Like Hāpaiali'i or Kapuanoni and where Tūtū Nāluahine lived?

MF: Ah-hmm.

KM: So you folks were going around some of those areas like that?

MF: Yes, we also went across Ali'i Drive. There are some *heiaus* in the back.

KM: Ahh, so in Kahalu'u?

MF: In Kahalu'u, yeah. That *heiaus* were below the Great Wall.

KM: I see. Oh, well that's good to remember. So in the vicinity of Helani Church, *makai*, and your family place, where would you place those *heiau* that are below the Kuakini Wall?

MF: They would be on the south side of Keauhou Gardens, what is now Keauhou Gardens.

KM: And Keauhou Gardens...

MF: It is within that Keauhou Gardens.

KM: So there were some *heiau* there?

MF: Right.

KM: So much of that is no longer present?

MF: I don't know, I haven't gone back there.

KM: Because Keauhou Gardens is a parking lot now kind of, right?

MF: The *heiau* wasn't in the parking lot area, it was more south. It's probably still there.

KM: Okay, that's good to know.

MF: Yes. And then there was also a big living cave back there. The name, I don't know, I don't remember. They were talking about it, but I don't remember.

KM: Do you remember Tūtū Nāluahine, and Kelsey and Kekahuna them speaking in Hawaiian?

MF: Yes.

KM: Did dad speak Hawaiian?

MF: Yeah, he was very good.

KM: Then your generation, you'd hear...?
MF: Yes. Me, I can understand, but to speak... [chuckles]
KM: So you recall that sort of south of the Keauhou Gardens, but below the Kuakini Wall area...
MF: Right.
KM: That there was...
MF: There were several small heiaus.
KM: And the cave, habitation...and that's not 'Ōhi'a Cave, though?
MF: No, no, it's a separate cave. Separate from 'Ōhi'a Cave.
KM: Okay, a big lava tube?
MF: It was a big lava tube.
KM: *Mahalo.*
MF: You're welcome.

Mitchell Fujisaka

June 1, 1996, Kahalu'u Site Visit with Kepā Maly

Following the interview of April 25, 1996, it was determined that a site visit, *mauka* of the *makai* portion of the Kahulamū Estate at Kahalu'u, should be conducted. Mitchell Fujisaka and his cousin Kalani Hamm had both discussed *heiau*, burial sites, and caves that were of both personal and cultural importance to their family. Several of the sites visited, had also been recorded by J.F.G. Stokes, after discussions with the family, approximately 1907 (Stokes and Dye 1991), and by John Reinecke, about 1930 (Reinecke Ms.). The following notes describing the site visit and historical commentary by Mitchell Fujisaka.

Kahalu'u—Vicinity of Ali'i Drive:

Facing the ocean, on the right side of the entrance to St. Peter's Church, is a small (approximately eight feet wide) walled, C-shaped enclosure (there are presently *milo* trees fronting the open end of the enclosure). Within the enclosure is the remains of a rock-lined spring that has been modified into a well. Mitchell pointed out the well as the spring called Waiku'i, a spring for Kahalu'u that was famed in legendary accounts. During dry seasons through about the year 1950, the Kahulamū family and other area residents relied upon Waiku'i as a source of drinking water. *Makai* of Waiku'i, a little toward Ku'emanu Heiau, was a larger pond with brackish water that was used for washing clothes and bathing. At the time of this writing, one native *loulou* (*Pritchardia* palm) grows between Waiku'i and the *heiau*. Mitchell recalls that as a child, five *loulou* marked the area.

Just *mauka* of Ali'i Drive, across from the *heiau*, is a boundary wall, that runs *mauka* (situated c. 40 feet north of the Kahulamū driveway access). The old Kahalu'u Trail runs alongside this wall toward the uplands. Mitchell recalled that he had heard the trail referred to as the Kahalu'u Trail, but he had also heard a name like "Kaholalele" or "Koholālele" used for the trail. Interestingly, the account of Kepaka'ili'ula, included within the historical documentary and archival research for this study (and translated by the author), includes a reference to the cliff of Koholālele. The events in the legendary narratives take place on the shore of Kahalu'u, following Kepaka'ili'ula's descent from the uplands.

Kahalu'u—Cemetery and Pā Kuakini

On the *mauka* side of the Kahulamū Estate (presently the residence of Willie Kahulamū) is a cemetery plot that was provided for the use of Kahalu'u families by the Bishop Estate. There are approximately 20 marked graves in the cemetery (one of which is marked by a *kū'ula* that had been kept by the *kūpuna*). As recorded in several of the interviews, the Pā Kuakini originally, cut through the cemetery parcel. Sometime around the 1930s, John Robert Kahulamū and members of his family modified the Pā Kuakini, creating a C-shaped curve upland (c. 75 to 90 feet wide at the open end), so that the family's graves would all be on the same side of the wall.

The cemetery is well maintained and of great importance to the family. They are concerned that no future development impacts the site, and several of the elder- and younger-generation members of the family want to be buried with their *kūpuna* in the cemetery (pers. comm. M. Fujisaka, K. Hamm, and A. Kahulamū-Funk et al.; June 1, 1996).

Kahalu'u—Sites in the Vicinity of the Proposed Ali'i Highway Corridor

Crossing the Pā Kuakini, behind the Kahulamū residence and cemetery, Mitchell pointed *mauka*, and said "The cave is in that direction." He had not been back in this area since c. 1960. At that time, Hind Ranch was still grazed cattle on the *kula* pastures of Kahalu'u, and there was a lot less *'ekoa* vegetation (*koa-haole*). As a child, Mitchell had traveled throughout this area with family elders and with cousins close to his age. Much of the information that Mitchell related during the site visit, was learned from his grandparents, grand-aunt, and father.

Following remnant cattle paths leading *mauka*, we passed several small outcrops or collapsed lava blisters and cracks that had been modified in some way, generally with a fill of smaller rock built up around, or within, in the features. The first PHRI tagged site we saw was Site 7892, Feature L. Mitchell's first observation was that the site was a burial, although it appeared to him that bulldozing had impacted the site. We then continued *mauka* and came to an area that Mitchell had been told was a *heiau* (identified as State Inventory of Historic Places Site 6414). He did not recall hearing a name for the site (note: Reinecke records that J. Robert Kahulamū told him of "A *heiau* for planting sweet potatoes, behind Mr. Kahulumū's *kuleana*" [Reinecke Ms. 1930:66]).

Leaving Site 6414, we then went directly to what Mitchell had been told was a "refuge cave" (Site 2077). Though Mitchell had not heard the name "Hale Lā'au Refuge Cave," this site had been recorded as a refuge many years ago. Several important pieces of information relayed by Mitchell, are recorded here, paraphrased from Mitchell's recollections and his observations of the site as it appears today:

During World War II, my parents' and grandparents' generation kept five-gallon water containers and supplies at the cave in case of an emergency. Approximately 20 feet into the lava tube, the opening is blocked by a thick wall, from floor to ceiling, with a smaller entrance for access into the interior of the cave. This thick wall and small entryway is not the original work. Portions of the older wall that closed off the cave and restricted entryway had collapsed by the c. 1930s, and repair work was in done in the early 1940s. The original opening had been close to the south side of the lava tube wall—it is now closer to the northern side. Thus, the interior feature reflects modifications made to the site by older Hawaiians in the late 1930s to the 1940s. The old water worn stone "*kuula*," (possibly a guardian of the cave) described to Reinecke by Kahulamū, is still present within the cave.

One disturbing observation of June 1st was that "pot-hunters" had recently been digging pits into the floor of the cave. Two pits were observed, and small artifact fragments (a bone pick, adze fragment, hammer stone, and coral abrader) were cast to the side of the interior pit. The shovel left behind by the robbers, was removed from the location that day.

Outside the cave entrance, on the *makai* (or western) side, Mitchell pointed out the area that had been shown to him as an extension of the lava tube. Earlier this century, his *kūpuna* sealed the *makai* entrance into the lava tube in order to protect the family burials within that portion of the cave. This sealed-off area is the section of the cave that runs *makai*, and it is likely that the lava tube passes underneath the proposed highway route (identified as a part of Site 2077). The cave was reportedly lined, or faced, with rocks, and is the resting place of several, if not many, burials. This site is of considerable importance to the family, and is one that they do not want to be destroyed by the proposed development of the highway (also described in and interview with elder members of the Kahulamū family, on June 1, 1996).

Mitchell also recalled that at one time, there was a wall that ran from some distance *makai*, up to the side of the outer entrance of the refuge cave. Joe Jimenez noted that it was the collapsed remnants of that wall that he had followed up to the cave. When Mitchell was young, the feature was clearly a wall, several courses high.

Departing from the refuge cave, we traveled south. Mitchell noted that there was a *heiau* a short distance from the cave, where his grand-aunt and other *kūpuna* went to meditate when he was still a child. This *heiau* (Site 3822) is an impressive feature on a low *pali* with a commanding view out to the sea. Mitchell did not recall hearing the name Hale Lā'au, by which this site is now known. He noted that several of his elders would go to the *heiau* to meditate, pray, and observe the ocean. The *heiau* is directly *mauka* of the Kahulamū estate. Looking out to the ocean, he commented that the large stone Poko-wa'a nui was also directly in front of the *heiau*, at the northern end of the stone alignment (Ka pā o ka Menehune) fronting Kahalu'u Bay. Mitchell felt that there had been some significance in this alignment, to his *kūpuna*. (A stone Poko-wa'a li'ilii is south of Poko-wa'a nui, along the alignment toward the shoreline.)

Departing from the *heiau*, we then began our descent back to the Kahulamū property. Along the way, we revisited Site 6414. Mitchell noticed a terrace wall that he thought was similar to a burial site. Thinking about this, he remembered that one time, as a child, he and some cousins were playing in the general area. The children came upon a rock wall, and upon closer investigation they saw some bones exposed. The boys looked into the opening and saw a photograph of someone who looked like an Englishman, with a date of sometime in the 1800s. The boys ran home and told an elder, but upon trying, they were unable to locate the site again.

The late, Roseline Haumea McComber-Smith³
Oral history Interview with Kepa Maly and Lily Kong
November 16, 1996, at Kahalu'u

The following interview was conducted at the home of Tūtū Haumea, situated near the shore of Kahalu'u, on land that has been held by the family for generations. The 'āina is a part of the *kuleana* of tūtū's *kupuna*, Isaaka Lana'i, as recorded in the *Māhele* of 1848 (*Helu* 6026). Isaaka Lana'i was a royal steward of Governor Kuakini and the Hawai'i chiefs, and was charged with the responsibility of preparation of Kuakini's bones for burial in December 1844.

During the interview Tūtū Haumea shared her recollections of traditional sites in the Kahalu'u vicinity, and described the practices of families living on, and traveling across the land. Her *kūpuna* planted crops on the *kula* lands behind the near-shore *kuleana*, and in the uplands. They tended land resources at various elevations seasonally, and regularly traveled various trails between the shore and upper Māmalahoa Highway elevation. Her *tūtū*, Ekau Lana'i was also the head fisherman of Kahalu'u, and her family, along with others, regularly exchanged goods between the uplands and shore.

Tūtū also shared her understanding of the sacred nature of the lands in the Kahalu'u vicinity, and what she learned of her family's tie to the lands. She felt strongly about the importance of protecting Hawaiian sites, and passing on the history. At the time of the interview, Tūtū Haumea was about the oldest living native resident of Kahalu'u, remaining on *kuleana* land.

- KM: We're here with Aunty Roseline (Rosina) Haumea Smith, and Aunty Lily Nāmakaokai'a Ha'ani'o-Kong. Tūtū, *mahalo*, thank you so much for being willing to talk story. Could you please share your full name and your maiden name with me, please?
- HS: My full name is Rosina, I take Roseline Haumea McComber, and I was married to Rufus Hu, my first husband.
- KM: Hu?
- HS: Hu.
- KM: *He Hawai'i* [Hawaiian]?
- HS: Hawaiian, yeah. His father was Albert Hu and I don't know his mother too well, she died, then, my second marriage was with Everett Richardson Iwikau Smith...
- KM: 'Ae. When were you born?
- HS: I was born September 28th, 1913.
- KM: Oh, *pōmaika'i 'oe* [your blessed], eh, you're so blessed. Were you born here in Kahalu'u?
- HS: Yes, but *mauka*.
- KM: *Mauka*. Who was your father?
- HS: James Ka'uhane McComber.
- KM: Ka'uhane, oh. And mama?
- HS: Harriett, actually she goes on Hattie, then she takes Harriett Ekau Lana'i.
- KM: Ahh Lana'i?
- HS: Yeah, but she always goes by Ekau, so I'm so used to, when they ask me who's my mother I said "Harriett Ekau."

³ Tūtū's sons Richard and Delbert were also present during portions of the interview.

KM: Oh, now that name Lana'i is a very well known name, yeah, here. Who was mama's father?

HS: Was Ekau Lana'i.

KM: Ekau?

HS: [also pronounced] Esau.

KM: Esau, oh so its from the biblical name, yeah?

HS: Yeah, Esau.

KM: Who was Isaaka.

HS: I think he was my mother's grandfather. Something like that, I'm not sure [chuckles], I heard about that, but...

KM: Yes, 'cause Isaaka Lana'i, was a close friend of Governor Kuakini's yeah, did you hear that? That they used to be back in the 1800s 'cause your great *tūtū*.
[Tūtū's son Delbert comes to join us] *Aloha*, how are you?
[speaking to Tūtū Haumea] Did you hear that your *'ohana* on Lana'i side used to help take care of *ali'i*, yeah?

HS: Yes, I know that...you know my Grandparents, you know where the Keauhou Beach hotel?

KM: 'Ae.

HS: That *pukini hau* and all that, down to the end of that water. I know that my grandparents used to take care of the *ali'i*, that's where they used to come and that pond there that's where they keep the fish.

KM: By Kuakini house, that little pond in there?

HS: Yes, the pond, that's where the fish for the *ali'i*.

KM: For the *ali'i*?

LK: That's why Ekau was very close, you know with the *ali'i*, at that time. Even like Tūtū Charlie Kai'aiki, they were about the same age.

HS: Yes, I think so.

KM: So your *tūtū*, *kūpuna*, had a lot of *'āina* here?

HS: Yes.

KM: In fact your home here, is some of the old family *'āina*, yeah?

HS: Yes, and all that way to *mauka* too.

KM: All to *mauka*?

HS: But after that the Bishop Estate came, take, take, take, now Harry [thinking], Harry next to Delbert... *makai*. [chuckles] Oh, I know him...

LK: Delbert, who your neighbor? *Makai*?

DS: Hasegawa.

HS: Yeah, Hasegawa. Harry Hasegawa. That's from our *kuleana* the other side where my daughter is, till this side, that's the trail to go down the beach. All, my grandfather owned. From the *mauka* Māmalahoa Highway, to the road *makai* here.

KM: Oh so this road, the old road.

HS: Not this one, up *mauka*, *kula* [the flat lands below Māmalahoa Highway].

LK: Up Māmalahoa, the *kula* road.

KM: The middle road.

LK: The middle road, where I was showing you, where Mākole‘ā [cemetery], the graves are, that’s the road, she’s talking about. Hawaiian people had quite a few lands you know, once upon a time.

HS: Yes. My grandfather used to own all that, *mauka* Māmalahoa to *makai*, *kula*, the middle road.

KM: To the middle road.

LK: Tūtū Ekau.

HS: My grandfather.

KM: And they had the other ‘*āina* down here too, yeah?

HS: From over there by Keauhou Beach, to the lagoon.

KM: To the lagoon, yes, so had the *heiau* inside front there to, yeah?

HS: Yes, the *heiau*.

KM: Did you ever hear that your Tūtū Isaaka, took care of Kuakini’s bones when the Governor Kuakini died in 1844?

HS: [shaking her head, no.]

KM: Never hear? That was what your Tūtū Nāluahine had recorded, back in the 1940s with the old man Henry Kekahuna...

HS: Yes.

KM: When Kekahuna and Papa Kelsey them came and were recording your... ‘Cause Tūtū Nāluahine is your family somehow yeah?

HS: Yes, yes...

HS: [thinking] ...Yes, I heard about that, my grandparents, my grandfather, grandmother used to take care all the *ali‘i*.

KM: You shared with me a story last time that when you were young they used to say that it wasn’t something to talk about.

HS: Yes.

KM: How come?

HS: My grandparents used to tell me, don’t mention that “we are *pili ali‘i*” [related to the chiefs], because people going jealous ,and they going hit you.

KM: Hmm, the old kind ‘*anā‘anā* [sorcery]?

HS: The old days, the old days when they jealous of you, *mana* [spirit power] the people, olden days, was sacred and power. *Mana!*

KM: ‘*Ae, mana ka leo* [yes, the voice had power].

HS: *Mana ka leo*. So, my grandparents used to tell... I was the oldest besides my half-sister, but they always talked to me in Hawaiian... How stupid I am, I couldn’t speak real good Hawaiian.

KM: It wasn’t encouraged, yeah, they didn’t encourage you.

HS: Yes.

LK: Those days, those days, my time school days that they stressed English, you know, than other languages.

KM: 'Cause you were born in 1913?

HS: Yes.

KM: You were *mauka*, but sometimes, did your father or mother them, still have the *'āina* down by Kuakini house or were you living over here already?

HS: Oh, we were living here already.

KM: You were in this place, is this the old...

HS: [pointing to the location] On the foundation up here, this is our old foundation house.

KM: That *kahua*, the stone platform?

HS: The foundation is still there, but the house gone.

KM: Yes, ohh.

HS: I wish I took pictures of my...of the old house, but eh.

KM: So that was grandpa, grandparents old house then before? Was it a wooden house, too, like this one?

HS: Yes, oh yes, it was better than this.

KM: Oh, big house too?

HS: Yeah, it was one, two, three ,and a big living room, and then we had the whole, like how the house is big that's how the *lānai* [verandah] was in the front. Then wide step you know in those days used to get wide steps, not like this.

KM: How, had *hale 'āina* behind or had cooking house somewhere?

HS: In front.

KM: Oh in front.

HS: Yes, we had the outside cooking, and then...all the time we had outside cooking, then when I got married, then I made one [chuckles] part of the house you know I don't want to come out, night time for cook [chuckles]. Scary.

KM: [laugh] How come scary? [laugh]

HS: [chuckles] I, I'm scare crow. [laugh] I'm really scare crow. That's why when, you know somebody dies like that, I never go to the funeral. I never go, I keep thinking and thinking, thinking, and I never attend. Even my own family, they feel funny because I don't go, 'cause I keep thinking. I imagine all these things and I'm very, very scared.

KM: When you were a child did you know...because by tūtū's place, yeah down *makai*, by Kuakini house, has the *heiau*, yeah. Kapuanoni and other places there. Did you ever hear stories about the *huaka'i po* [night marchers] or anything like that?

HS: Oh yes, I've seen.

KM: You've seen? Even *makai* there?

HS: Uh-hmm. You know from our house, the old house, *makai*, certain time of the night, my grandparents used to live there that at time, even after they died... then where Delbert's staying now, the trees wasn't that big, you know, no macadamia trees could see all down the beach, clear. Sometimes...you know we get big *lānai*, you could see, "ahh, *huaka'i*."

KM: Oh yeah, torches?

HS: Torch, yeah, all from Kahalu'u, going, yeah.

KM: So you would see the *huaka'i* going down...?

HS: Yeah, going over the other side.

KM: What did your *tūtū* them say about that?

HS: They said, "When certain part of the night..." I think that was the dark night..."

KM: *Pō Kāne*, eh?

HS: *Pō Kāne*, "...that we not supposed to go down."

KM: So you no make noise, no go down like that.

HS: But if you are *pili ali'i* [related to the royalty], even if you go, and the *huaka'i* going, my grandparents said you can hear them. They...the *huaka'i*, say, or talking, "No, don't touch, don't touch these people."

KM: 'Ae, 'ohana [yes, family].

HS: They are your 'ohana.

KM: Ahh.

HS: "Don't touch," so you safe, you are safe that night, otherwise they just...they going find you dead.

KM: Yes. So even when you were a child still you would hear that?

HS: Yeah, I was about 12, 13, yeah, 10, I understand all these things they used to tell us, you know.

KM: Yes. So you were *makai* house or where does...?

HS: No, this was *mauka*, the *hale* [house] *mauka*.

KM: Oh so its the *mauka* house, when you would look down, no more all the trees, you could see all the way to the ocean?

HS: Yes.

KM: So Delbert, are you living *mauka*, now, on the old 'āina too, on the old family land?

DS: Yes.

HS: So was clear, you can see it.

KM: Oh so the *kula* everything was clear, no more all *nahelehele* [bushy growth]?

HS: No, it had *nahelehele*, but not overgrown. *Kukui*, *kukui* trees and mango, but not like today.

KM: *Ēkoa* and all this other 'ōpala come in.

HS: Yes, yes no more *ēkoa*, no more nothing, you can see the people going fishing.

KM: Wow, on the canoe like that?

HS: Walking [down the trail and along the shore].

KM: Walking? Amazing.

HS: Go down here.

KM: How did you used to go from *makai* house, *mauka* and back and forth?

HS: Walk.

KM: You walked? On the trail, which trail?

HS: Right over there.

KM: By Helani, the church, just past Helani, right past, so is that Mākole‘ā?

HS: Yes. But Mākole‘ā Heiau is further over.

KM: But, right above the park, now, is the trail mama would walk up?

DS: Right next to the Kona Gardens, right that wall right there, that’s the trail.

KM: That’s the trail.

HS: That’s the trail for go up and then we come down.

KM: Did the *huaka‘i* go *mauka* too, or the *huaka‘i po* or did you just see them along the shore?

HS: No I just saw them down the beach, it was.. no more house before. You know where the Kona Resort is?

KM: Yes.

HS: When you go from here, I tell you when you make the turn go up all the houses down there, never had houses.

KM: Never had nothing.

HS: Yes. So, the *huaka‘i* start from Mākole‘ā.

KM: So from by the *heiau* Mākole‘ā and go down?

HS: Yes. Get Kapuanoni, and then the next in front of, on the side of, of the Keauhou Beach...
...I forget what that *heiau* [Ke‘eku], and then one more *heiau* [Hāpaiali‘i], way this side, where the Lagoon is down side. That *heiau*, my sister when she was born. Only when boys born, that *heiau* the drums start to beat.

KM: *Kani?*

HS: *Kani, kani.*

KM: Which *heiau* is that? [brief discussion on heiau in vicinity]...

HS: Not Kapuanoni, Kapuanoni is where we lived.

KM: By your house.

HS: Is by Kuakini and down, we used to live where the coconut grove is, that’s Kapuanoni.

KM: ‘Ae, and remember where Tūtū Nāluahine was, and *makai* was...*Heiau* there but the *heiau* in between Kapuanoni and Mākole‘ā used to *kani*?

LK: Mākole‘ā was right *makai*, Tūtū Nāluahine’s house, you know by the lagoon [hotel], on the Ka‘ū side, beside that, over there, you get the beach eh?

HS: Yes, well that’s the other side, the other one, I don’t know, I know this side.

KM: So the *heiau*, past Kapuanoni?

HS: The lagoon, this is lagoon and right next, you see this *pa* [wall].

LK: Hāpaiali‘i.

KM: That’s the one.

HS: I think so.

KM: Yes, that’s right, thank you.

HS: It’s right, right next to lagoon.

LK: Yeah, Hāpaiali‘i.

HS: Yes.

KM: And *kani ka pahu* [the drums sound out]?

HS: Oh, yes.

KM: *Ua hānau kou kaikaina* [your sister was born]?

HS: My sister, when she was *hānau* [born], my mother said, and my grandmother and my grandfather was alive; so when my sister was born, when my mother gave birth to my sister, she was face down.

KM: Ohh.

HS: Yeah, she was face down and the *heiau*, only boys, that *heiau*, (the drums) start beating [tap, tap, tap, tap; done in quick succession]. If boys born from Mākole‘ā to over here. Someplace around here, this is the area of Kahalu‘u, so when my mother gave birth to my sister, she was faced down so the *heiau*, started beating, so they when turn my sister over, oh was girl, the *heiau* stopped beating.

KM: For real.

HS: Yes.

KM: *Kupaianaha* [so wondrous]!

HS: Yes, funny, right?

KM: And your sister was, this is your older, half-sister?

HS: No.

KM: No, younger?

HS: My own, my own sister, second to me.

KM: Oh below you, oh.

HS: I’m the oldest in McComber, then my sister Ethel, she come after, and she has a name so long, 38 letters, I think. Her name is Ka-pa‘ihi-ku‘i-ākea-huli-i-ka-pahu-he-hānau-wahine.

KM: *‘Auwē, he inoa ho‘omana‘o* [oh, a commemorative name], remembering that event, oh.

LK: Yes.

HS: Yes. That’s my sisters name because it tells about the *heiau* too.

LK: Yes. It’s a beautiful name.

HS: It recalls about the *heiau* too, Ka-pa‘ihi-ku‘i-ākea-huli-i-ka-pahu-he-hānau-wahine.

KM: Born a woman, or a female.

LK: Because when they turned her over, they found that she was a woman.

HS: The *heiau* went beat, ‘cause thinking that was one boy... the *heiau*.

KM: That shows the *pili* [connection] of your family too because like you said, Tūtū Isaaka, Lana‘i *mā* [them], they were *kahu* [stewards] for that place, you know?

LK: For the *ali‘i* at one time.

KM: Oh, amazing, *hoihoi* [interesting].

HS: Funny yeah?

LK: Not funny.

KM: No, *hoihoi*.

LK: It's nice. Because it does, it matches, you know the *heiau*, it's very interesting.

HS: Yes, because, funny... and then *mauka* of the *heiau*, that's my grandmother, my grandma's sister lives there.

KM: What was her name?

HS: Tūtū Mele. She married to Uncle Noa Keli'ikuli's father.

KM: Oh, Keli'ikuli, oh.

HS: My grandma' sister married to his father, I forget his father's name. Tūtū Mele went marry...but the son was, Uncle Noa Keli'ikuli, that was Tūtū Mele's son.

KM: Oh, so was Mele, Lana'i's child?

HS: No.

KM: Oh, different family.

HS: My grandma and that grandma was different.

[another of Tūtū's children comes up from the beach]

LK: Richard, come and meet Kepā, Kepā this is Aunty's son, this is her oldest boy Richard.

HS: My son Richard.

KM: *Aloha*. We're talking story, recording some of the history for the family, so take care, real important.

RS: Yes. Every time they tell us stuff we forget afterwards.

LK: Yes, but this going to be all typed out.

KM: For the future.

LK: For you to keep.

KM: Yeah, oh good to meet you... So Mele and your grandmother were...

HS: My grandmother are two sisters, yeah.

KM: What was their name, last name do you remember?

HS: My grandmother was Halo'i... Halo'i, I don't know I say Halo'i, but my half-sister said Holo'i.

KM: Oh Holo'i.

HS: Holo'i.

LK: I think Holo'i is...

HS: Holo'i [chuckle].

KM: Maybe it's a *mahele* of a longer name, maybe...

KM: ...Now your father was James McComber?

HS: James Ka'uhane.

KM: Ka'uhane McComber. Was he born in Kona or did he come from Ka'ū?

HS: He was from Ka'ū.

KM: Ahh, now your great-grandfather, you said, Luther McComber.

HS: Great-great-Grandfather.

KM: Great-great-grandfather, had *'āina*...?

HS: Had this *'aina* over there where Bali Kai is, Hōlualoa...

KM: Yes... ..So when you were growing up, *tūtū*, you folks grew, how did you...did were some of the family did they go fishing and other people live *mauka* and *kanu 'uala* [plant sweet potatoes] and *kalo* [taro], and things like that?

HS: Oh yes, my grandfather used to do that. And then they used to come down. But all my grandparents used to...I don't know I can't explain because when he comes down, my grandfather, the whole Kahalu'u here, they all come to our house.

KM: Come together, ahh, they *aloha*.

HS: Yes. Then everybody go fishing, my grandfather had net from Pukawa'a [in Kahalu'u Bay]. Pukawa'a to the other side, one net, just lay the net over there. We were small, but I could see it. *Kapeku* [splash the water to scare the fish] from inside here one time, one time go out, one time set the net one time catch all the fish, come back, divide all the fish.

KM: Ahh, so they *māhele 'ia* [divide up] everything?

HS: Yes. Before [chuckles], I used to wonder why they never catch fish, but the fire is lighted. They make the fire ready, and I used to tell my grandmother "Why she make the fire?" You know, burning the fire, and she said "When she come back the charcoal is hot and everything is ready, just throw the fish on charcoal, and its ready, not wait until the fish come back and then light the fire. Then you have to wait until the fire, the charcoal, the wood get down to charcoal then." But this, when they go, you prepare. You prepare the fire and make... because you going get. And we never eat small fish!

KM: Oh yeah, big fish?

HS: My grandfather gets big fish [gesturing].

KM: Foot, foot and a half kind yeah, big kind fish.

HS: Yes, because the small fish get bones.

KM: So he throw back.

HS: Yes, only big kind fish.

KM: Was grandpa like a *konoiki* [land manager], kind of, he take care, you know he oversee the fishing?

HS: Yes.

KM: He would oversee?

HS: Yeah, and he doesn't go out fishing, he just stays up on land [gestures, pointing to locations].

KM: And he *kilo*, he point?

HS: And he just tell them [gestures. pointing] over here, over here, but you know I was young, but I could just judge the way he...before they go, he tell them where and where and what and what to do.

KM: So is Pukawa'a an opening in the reef like, where the *wa'a* [canoe] can come inside?

HS: Yes.

KM: Ohh.

HS: They have that, that's why, when rough, you count the waves, when the waves come four, four waves, one, two, three, four, when the waves make four, that's when you go out.

KM: Oh, so they watched the ocean like that?

HS: Yes, and so it's the same when you come in you wait, you wait until the waves, one, two, three, four. I didn't realize that until one day, a couple years back, I went to Honokōhau Harbor for the day and it was rough, there were boats outside waiting to come in, to come in to Honokōhau, so Charlie Spinney came, he look at the wave, counting, talking on the thing.

KM: Oh, the bullhorn like?

HS: Yeah, one, two, three, four, come in.

KM: Uh-hmm.

HS: The boat just glide in on number four wave.

KM: Wow.

HS: I was thinking, I wonder if they going make it [chuckles], because the waves are so big, yeah. That's the first time, I ever see the waves like that coming in. Pukawa'a, well I know and I don't go outside there, you know.

KM: But the *tūtū* them had *wa'a* and they would go out.

HS: Yes, yes, they go, they go fishing.

KM: 'Cause Pukawa'a yeah, it's like the "canoe entrance" yeah? How it comes in.

LK: Yes, get the two stones, the canoe come in, that's where the trail is.

KM: So how they come in and out. Did you hear, did they call this place Ka-pa-o-ka-menehune?

HS: Yes.

KM: That wall, did you hear anything about that when you were growing up?

HS: Oh yes, I know that's a *menehune* wall, I know.

KM: So the *menehune* built that?

HS: Yes, yes.

KM: How come?

HS: I don't know.

KM: Don't know. Someone said that they were going to try and make a fish pond yeah? Did you hear?

HS: Yes, yes, I heard that, but [chuckles], they say the rooster crowed before they had finished [chuckles]. And that's the story.

KM: Interesting, yeah?

HS: I know that, the *menehune* over there.

KM: Yes. So papa, grandpa them would fish and he also kept *mauka* land so that like you get fish, but you would get the taro or sweet potatoes and things?

HS: Yes.

KM: How, did he grow, no more water eh, how did he grow his taro and things?

HS: I don't know how, but taro grow, potato grow, even down here.

KM: Oh yeah, down here, *makai*?

HS: Yeah, when my grandpa was living in the back there he used to plant potato, he used to plant pumpkins, and all grow.

KM: *Mauka*, one of your lots, one of the *kuleana* lots had water, had a spring or something you said?

HS: I think had the spring, though, because my grandpa never take water up.

KM: Amazing.

HS: So, I believe they had spring for water.

KM: Did *tūtū* or anyone have a *kū'ula* [fish god or shrine] out here, that you remember hearing about?

HS: [pauses thinking]

KM: [based on an earlier conversation] But you heard yeah, about one stone, I think that the fish, did you hear did you remember hearing about a stone that...?

HS: Oh, I don't know what's over there, towards... [Kapuanoni]

LK: Tell him the story about Tūtū Makuahine catching 'ū'ū [menpachi] daytime.

HS: Oh yes.

KM: [chuckles]

HS: Was over there...

KM: By Kapuanoni side?

HS: Yes. There was one big stone, one flat stone. So they...we never used that we don't know what, you know, our days, we used to go swim, go on top the [chuckles], and then, I've seen the small stone like that inside where the *makai* bar [of the hotel].

LK: Where *tūtū* man used to keep his canoe.

HS: Something like that, yeah. And then get the...They said that's for the fish or something.

LK: I heard that too.

HS: Yes. I see that, and then they would move, when the Bishop Estate took over and then they sold it to I don't know who else...

LK: Amfac.

HS: ...and they moved that stone, that stone cracked because I went down one day, *holoholo* and then, "Hey, what happened, this stone is for the fish?" Yes, everybody used to go in the olden days, and they used to go fishing, first fish there.

KM: To that stone?

HS: To that stone, yeah. The first fish went to that stone, the rest is for everybody.

KM: Always eh?

HS: Yes. But that stone, they had moved the stone, the stone had broke in half, so I don't know where the stone is, whether the stone was still there.

KM: So the stone may be gone now. Aunty [Lily], is that stone still around do you know or *pau*, *nalowale* [lost]?

LK: *Nalowale*. But there are some stones there that I don't know if that's actually, the *kū'ula*. But it's right by the club house, they say one is supposed to be the bath platform, for the *ali'i*, you know. A big flat one that they stood up.

DS: That's the one that was in the water.

HS: No, they had one stone, big flat stone, so that was in the water.

LK: Ahh, I see.

HS: Was in the water, where this kind you know where half of the water. The stone was half in the water, half out.

LK: That's the one they lift up and then the crane broke.

HS: Yeah, the crane broke or the stone broke or something.

LK: No the crane, the crane broke, twice. [thinking] What was his name the old man's name? Papa, I used to call him Papa, long time ago, that was when American Factor's first started to build Keauhou Beach Hotel. When they tried to fix up that, clear the pond and the crane broke. Then this old man, the crane operator when he went down that *ahiahi* [evening], he went home and he seen this lady standing up by this stone and then from that time he never touched that stone. He left it, he just put it on the side and left.

HS: I don't know if that stone is still there because I never go down there for a long time.

KM: Yes. So your papa them, fish and they get things to grow yeah, even behind here in the [on the *kula*]?

HS: Yeah, my grandpa used to plant all in the back here.

LK: Those days, I think mostly pumpkins, watermelons.

HS: Pumpkins, potatoes.

LK: Sweet potatoes. The sweet potatoes down here is beautiful, sweet.

KM: So were there planting areas back behind here then?

HS: Yes, back of this house.

KM: 'Cause you heard, they want to build a highway, right behind here a little ways, not too far?

HS: Yes.

KM: You know where the cemetery is behind Kahulamū?

HS: Yes.

KM: And then has the *heiau*, get the *heiau mauka*, Halelā'au is *mauka* of here...?

HS: I don't know.

KM: ...and get the cave, there's the old burial?

LK: Yeah get the cave, get the cave.

KM: The old burial the refuge cave yeah?

HS: Yes.

KM: The old refuge cave, did you ever go up to that refuge cave?

HS: [shakes head "no."]

KM: No. I was with Mitchell Fujisaka, Aki's son yeah.

HS: Yes.

KM: We went up one time and he was saying that the *tūtū* them, even during, up to coming up to World War II that they used to keep water and stuff even up there then, you know.

LK: I believe.

KM: Up at that cave. So the road from where the *heiau* is, the road is *makai* its Kahulamū Cemetery... I'm going to look at this map, this is about a 1930, 1928 map. The road, I'm trying to think which side, so Kahulamū Cemetery or the Cemetery.

HS: It's not the Kahulamū's cemetery.

KM: Who's cemetery is that?

LK: Community.

HS: It's the community.

KM: Who gave that cemetery?

HS: Bishop Estate.

KM: Bishop Estate, gave it to the community, but the old man...did you hear about the Pā Kuakini, the old Kuakini wall, did you hear that the old man Kahulamū moved the wall to go enclose the cemetery?

HS: Uh-hmm, yes.

KM: So, it's not a family, its a community cemetery.

HS: It's a community one.

KM: Okay, so from the community cemetery and then the *heiau*, is just like up here.

HS: Oh.

KM: [pointing to locations on the map] The road going to come right through, right? So if you house is over here, here's Helani Church over here your house is right about here, you know. In kind of the middle area of the bay, so this is kind of your house here, you know has these walls back here. So I guess *tūtū* must have planted back in behind here if the house is here, get a wall yeah.

HS: Yes, yes, the wall is still there, and my grandfather planted, the wall is still there and I have couple potatoes, right Delbert?

KM: Oh, you still growing some stuff up there?

HS: Yeah, I planted and I ate the potatoes, and my grandchildren and my son ate, and then up there, and I guess I still have some more potatoes up there.

KM: Oh, Hawaiian, *'uala*?

HS: *'Uala*.

KM: Oh, wonderful.

HS: And, pumpkin.

KM: *'Ae, pala'ai* [pumpkin].

HS: *Pala'ai*.

KM: *Pehea, 'ono...* [good]?

HS: *'Ae...* We had good food, we don't eat the kind rubbish and icebox and all that stuff, we eat fresh, everything fresh.

KM: And plus you walk a lot, yeah. You said before, *tūtū*, you would you go up with *tūtū*, up to the *mauka* lands to, go to the farm like that.

HS: Yes, yes, we had a donkey [chuckle].

KM: Oh, so *tūtū* would walk up and you ride donkey. [everybody laughs]

HS: I ride, I ride the donkey because I used to be his pet.

KM: Ah, *punahele*, eh?

HS: *Punahele*, I was carrying his mother's name.

KM: Oh yeah? So your Tūtū Esau or Ekau mother was Haumea also.

HS: My Tūtū Ekau's mother was Haumea.

KM: And Tūtū Ekau was Lana'i?

HS: Lana'i.

KM: So, Isaaka and Haumea perhaps were husband and wife? And then Esau was born?

HS: I think so.

KM: I think so, because I heard a story too, you know from one of the old things that Tūtū Nāluahine recorded that, in fact in the *Māhele* records too. See there was a house for Kuakini yeah, the old, old one was Ka hale, or Na hale lau niu. Na hale lau niu o Kuakini and so there's some story about how maybe that Isaaka had *hānai* [adopt] one of these children that they called Nāhale. Did you, do you know at all?

HS: Oh, that is Charles Nāhale's brother.

KM: Oh.

HS: His son was Jack. So my grandfather took care of him, this boy and he had a girl and a son... So, this guy...I forget her name too, and, and then the son Jack, so when he died the father, I think his name was Jack too, and his brother, the uncle Charles Nāhale, just took over the place...

KM: ...Did your *tūtū*, did they talk about the *heiau* across the road, Ku'emanu?

HS: They never say nothing.

KM: They never say nothing. Did you folks go play over there? Had a spring yeah?

HS: Yeah, oh yeah.

KM: Is that Wai...?

HS: Waiku'i.

KM: Waiku'i, is the little spring there? Oh.

HS: Yeah, we used to go over there wash clothes.

KM: Oh yeah?

HS: Wash clothes.

LK: Hang 'em on the side.

HS: Take a bath, hang on top the, we take our clothes hang em on top the *heiau* [chuckles], yeah.

LK: I remember seeing all the clothes. all over there.

HS: Yes, we know it was one *heiau* and you know we have to take care of the *heiau*, but we went to wash clothes. Some wash clothes, wash, wash clean, then we fly 'em on the other side maybe you over there with the clean water you rinsing the clothes, rinsing the clothes, *pau* you hang up the clothes on the stone. Those days...

KM: So real *aloha* that time, yeah, *aloha*.

HS: Yeah, can't beat those days.

KM: So the *'āina* took care of you folks as families eh?

HS: Yes.

KM: You had your *mea kanu o uka, na mea 'ai o uka* [plantings in the uplands, foods from the uplands]?

HS: Yes.

KM: *I'a o kai* [fish from the sea]?

HS: Yes. *I'a* down there And we no eat small kind fish, big kind fish, because the *iwi* [bones], my grandparents said only the big kind fish for the mouth of my *mo'opuna*, so we had the fish. As soon the fish cooking, peel off the skin, take off all the meat, put in the plate.

KM: Nice, so he real *hānai punahele* yeah.

HS: Ohh.

KM: Did the people respect one another in the ocean...?

HS: Of course, yes.

KM: Did people have *ko'a* [fishing stations] like or things so they don't go bother one another's fishing area?

HS: Everybody together.

KM: Everybody together, just like how you described, they lay the net all the community come together.

HS: Yeah, everybody together, no such thing as this is mine, this is mine, everybody together.

KM: It was a community, and if everybody takes care of it, it will always be good yeah. If someone *hana 'ino* [desecrate], *pau*, run away.

HS: Today, you go outside there fishing, the haoles over there, they call up the fishing warden, all size of fishing. Why, was there before, before everybody came the sea, the water was there, the fish was there.

KM: 'Ae, and the families were there, yeah?

HS: And the families were there.

KM: That's how they lived. So do you think that it's important to take care of the old practices and the old fishing rights and things like that?

HS: Yes, I feel it is.

KM: Yes. How about for the *'āina* back here you know and where the old *iwi* [bones i.e., burials]. where the *'ilina* [graves] are or the *he'iau*, the old trails and house sights some people they just knock...like Bishop, look where the shopping center went up, yeah. How much stuff knocked out and the *iwi* and everything there. Is it important to take care of Hawaiian places or just let 'em go.

HS: It is important, it is important. But what...

LK: History.

HS: ...looks like our word, don't mean anything, right?

KM: So you talk, talk, talk, no more nothing.

HS: Talk.

LK: Got to keep.

KM: *Ho'omau, ho'omau* [keep on, keep trying], and that's why *ho'omau ana ka mo'olelo* [perpetuate the history]. So you think it's important that we should take care of things...?

HS: Of course.

KM: Yes.

HS: We have too.

KM: Good, yeah.

HS: Today's life is, I don't know, I not happy. I'm not happy.

LK: Would be history for your *mo'opuna*, you know that they can look back and say oh, "I didn't know my great, great, great *tūtū* used to serve the *ali'i*, you know at time, and owned down there once upon a time.

KM: Yes.

HS: Yeah, my grandparents.

KM: You know the little fishpond, the little pond by over here, Waikua'a'ala?

HS: Yes, Waikua'a'ala.

KM: So did they have fish in that pond when you were a child?

HS: Of course they had fish, lot's of fish.

LK: And that pond was bigger.

HS: And that pond was big. I don't know why the county doesn't clean it.

KM: Ahh, well when they built the wall too, yeah, changed everything, yeah. They put a wall up in front yeah and so things fill up.

HS: No...

LK: Actually, I think the wall was there but the ground was higher, you know was higher up.

HS: The sand, the sand in the front was high.

LK: This whole area was all sand.

KM: Had sand in front here all in front, big sand?

HS: Yes, when we were little girls, we used to...first thing we have to do our work at home.

KM: 'Ae, was this house here.

HS: Was this house.

KM: Right there.

HS: And then after everything done, then my parents say "Oh you folks can go *'au'au*." So we used to run, we used to run from here over the road, never have this road, we used to jump right over because there was nothing but sand.

KM: So up here was *lepo* [dirt], or sand up here?

HS: Up here was *lepo*.

KM: Up here was *lepo*, how about the road?

HS: The road was old road, not this.

KM: Was it paved or just dirt?

HS: No, no was just old road.

KM: Sandy, gravel? Sandy, like?

HS: Not sand.

KM: No, okay.

LK: Regular rock road.

HS: Just regular old road, no more pave, no more nothing, 'cause no car. Only few people had car, some we had only donkey, so we used to, run, jump over the wall [laughs] run on the sand.

KM: *Kao lele pa* [fence jumping goats].

Group: [laughs]

HS: Yes, and then go swim, yeah. Those days even the cow, the pigs all go down the beach, they go eat *limu* when low tide, the water fresh you know.

KM: Oh so the water comes up, fresh water.

HS: Yes, fresh water, all over here, all fresh water.

LK: You can see 'em all by the sand you see em coming up.

KM: So had *limu 'ele'ele* and stuff like that, or no more?

HS: When the tide go down...

LK: Yes, had some.

HS: Over here, hardly, get the...

LK: Green one.

KM: *Pāhe'e* or *lū'au*?

LK: *Limu 'ele'ele*.

HS: No, no, had that green *limu*, but not the kind for eat, yeah. Get, but little bit only. We don't know what is *limu*, we never, my grandparents, what they get, that's what we eat.

KM: That's right.

HS: What they bring, that's what we eat, we don't know. Before, I don't even know how to go fishing.

KM: Oh, they never take you go fishing?

HS: No.

KM: He just go fish for you.

HS: They just go fish for us. Not only me, my sister, I don't know how to fish, I don't know how to go catch, I see the '*ōpihi*, I go, oh, I get so excited [laughs] "Look at all the '*ōpihi*" I love that. [gestures pounding the '*ōpihi*]

KM: *Ku'i* [pound].

HS: Yeah, *ku'i*. Dad I going in get '*ōpihi*." I get so excited, because we weren't taught. We only...my grandparents only get and bring home and then you eat, I don't even know how to clean fish, yeah. But when they died, my father said, "Now you learn to clean fish. Now you learn to go down the beach." And I don't know how to go diving, scared of the water [sighs]. So my sister in law used to boil the...

LK: Oh, yeah, yeah.

KM: Is that Hu or Smith?

HS: No that's a, my sister in law that's my brother's wife and she's Hawaiian, and they all lived down the beach and they too good.

LK: She's a Makini.

KM: Oh Makini, like Hattie's..

LK: Hattie's older sister.

HS: So I used to go with her and she, she picks any kind 'ōpihi and pipipi...

LK: *Leho* [cowry].

HS: So I used to go, then she come back, she clean it, cook the pipipi, and make gravy and that way [smacking her lips]. Ohh, no such thing as that, 'ono.

KM: *Mūkikī* [smacking the lips, drinking up the juice] eh [laughing].

HS: But that was those days.

KM: *Hoihoi* [interesting] So you aloha this 'āina, yeah?

HS: Yes—*aloha!* Of course, because I never get this 'āina, but from my grandparents. Without them, I no more place to stay, yeah. All the 'āina down there, because my sister, my older sister half-sister my brothers and my own sister, she died, but the kids she get five children. They all wanted money, they all wanted money. All the Keauhou Beach Lagoon all that 'āina over there, we get big 'āina. They all wanted money, yeah.

KM: And now no more nothing.

HS: Now no more nothing. No more 'āina, no more nothing.

KM: Only you?

HS: Only me.

KM: Blessing, good. *Mahalo ke Akua!*

LK: Yes.

HS: Yes.

KM: Do you remember too, that there was a cave yeah, by Tūtū Nāluahine's place?

HS: Yes.

KM: An old cave, sometimes they call that 'Ōhi'a, did you hear they called that 'Ōhi'a Cave or something?

HS: [shakes her head "no."]

KM: No. But was an old burial cave, did you hear about an old burial cave?

HS: [shakes her head "no."]

KM: No?

HS: I never used to go out anyway. You know my grandparents, when we were young, they always say, "don't go across" like my Aunty, "don't go over there when you not invited." You stay in your own place. Stay in your own land.

KM: Yes, that's an old Hawaiian value though, too.

HS: Yes, my grandparents that's how strict they were, very, very strict.

LK: Yes, my mother too.

KM: Did you folks go to the old Helani Church?

HS: Oh yes.

KM: You did, did you ever hear that there was a *heiau* by Helani Church too?

HS: Not that I know.

KM: Not that you heard of, by that time they weren't talking about that old *heiau*. There was a name 'Ōhi'amukumuku.

HS: I don't know.

KM: Never hear. Now you were in your teens when *tūtū* man passed away? Were you...Lana'i Esau, Ekau? You were a teenager already?

HS: Yes.

KM: So for the first...for all your formative years, you were living with your *tūtū* them, yeah?

HS: Yes, I was.

KM: But they were strong in the church yeah?

HS: All of them was strong in the church...

KM: ...So, Kahalu'u has been a good land for you, yeah? Did you folks used, did you used to weave *lau hala* [pandanus leaves]?

LK: She still does.

KM: You still weave, oh wonderful. Where did your *lau hala* come from?

HS: We had big *lau hala*, bush.

KM: Right here in this area?

HS: Not here, *mauka*.

KM: Oh *mauka*.

LK: Delbert get the *lau hala* on the car.

KM: So in the *kula*, or more...?

HS: More up of *kula*.

KM: More *uka*, by Helani.

HS: By Helani Church, then we have our house down here, then about oh just like from here to Keauhou Beach, that far from our house to our bush we had big bush of *lau hala*. We have red *lau hala*, we had the *lau hala moena* [pandanus for making mats], long kind *lau hala*, and *lau hala papale* [pandanus leaves for hats].

KM: 'Ae, so different trees for different kinds of weaving?

HS: Yes, and my grandmother, I was young, in our house was all Hawaiian mats.

KM: *Moena* everywhere.

HS: *Moena, moena*.

KM: Did you folks used to ever go down to La'aloa?

HS: Oh yes, my uncle folks used to live.

KM: Your uncle them would live down La'aloa side?

HS: Yes.

KM: Cause has the *heiau* down there too, and I heard used to have some *lau hala* down there.

HS: Oh yes, yes, plenty *lau hala* too over there, we used to go over there.

KM: So you would go to La'aloa to gather too?

HS: Yes, yes. I don't know where that now, maybe all gone.

KM: *Nalowale pau* [no more lost].

HS: Yes...

KM: ...So you folks did, some of the Kahalu'u families then, did go to La'aloa.

HS: Yes, we used to go La'aloa and pick *lau hala*.

LK: Like cousin says, our parents were very strict. Our parents were very strict, and you cannot go from...you can go from here to there, but you hear my whistle, you going get lickers...

HS: Yes, and my grandparents were very, very strict.

KM: They were very strict, yeah.

HS: I grew up like that, and I grew up telling my children. But now I have grandchildren, great grandchildren, they have all different ways...

KM: ...So how do you feel about all the change here, you see?

HS: Well, I'm not too happy.

KM: Hmm. So in your *mana'o*, it's important to take care of these things, yeah, the Hawaiian places like that?

HS: Oh yes, I would say so. I would say take care of Hawaiian, like my place here I would say... Don't do away with the land because it's not ours, through our grandparents we get, so we should be thankful. Money you see today, gone today.

KM: *Puka* in the middle [laughs].

LK: Yeah [laughs]...

KM: ...*Mahalo, mahalo nui*, [thank you, thanks so much]. You know, this is only a little bit of the story but it's so important to record... [tape off; *tūtū* started to speak of her grandfather]

KM: So when Grandpa goes fish, he takes just one time?

HS: One time set net, *lawa* [enough], the fish...

KM: How often would they set net?

HS: Once a week.

KM: Once a week, once a month, *paha*?

HS: Maybe one month, maybe two months one time.

KM: And they would *kaula'i* [dry] some of the *i'a* [fish].

HS: [shakes head] No, never dry. Because we don't stay here, we just come for the weekend.

KM: So most of you folks were *mauka* then?

HS: Yes, so when we come down, maybe come down Friday, or Thursday, we going come down, Thursday we gotta walk up go school, Keauhou.

KM: How long did that walk take you?

HS: Oh, we go in the morning 4:00 o'clock, with the lantern, go Keauhou, from Keauhou.

KM: Oh so you would walk down to Keauhou?

HS: Yes.

KM: And then take the Keauhou trail go?

HS: Yeah, the Keauhou trail to go up, nearer to school.

KM: Yes, that's right.

HS: So, if we come down Friday, *pau* school Friday we come, Sunday go home.

LK: Keauhou Trail was wide, that a buggy could go up, it's wider than Kahalu'u.

KM: So Kahalu'u Trail...Now, this trail by Kahulamū's place go all the way *mauka* too?

HS: They go all the way up to their place up there, that's all.

KM: Okay, how about the trail on the side of Helani Church, old church here?

HS: Yes, same thing go, there's houses behind before, all the '*ohana*, so my uncle Kahulamū, Uncle Lopeka, he went and sell the '*aina*...

KM: How was Kahulamū tied to Lana'i?

HS: I don't know.

KM: Don't know.

HS: We call each of them uncle.

KM: That's how *aloha kekāhi, kekāhi, aloha* [love and respect one another]. And then from Helani Church, the trail there had one more trail or was.

HS: Yeah one more trail for go up.

KM: Where is Mākole'ā Trail?

HS: Mākole'ā Trail, way over.

KM: Way over, but doesn't it come out *makai* here by the *heiau*, or by the...

HS: [shakes head "no."]

KM: No, not that you remember?

HS: We used to go Mākole'ā and then we used to go up and then go down to Keauhou. Then we get the Keauhou Road to go up to school because nearer otherwise we going up over here Kahalu'u, then we gotta go Keauhou.

KM: Go way across, yeah.

LK: Only come home time, we take the long way cause we no like reach home early [laughs.

HS: But if we go Keauhou, straight up, we passed their house, go just like from here to ..

LK: Fast.

KM: So your beach house down by the Keauhou pier?

LK: *Makai* and *mauka*.

KM: The trail went.

LK: The *mauka* house, you know the family house, the trail right in front the house.

KM: Oh, oh that house.

LK: Yeah, the one up *mauka* I was telling you with the '*ulu* tree.

KM: And the *heiau* is down there.

LK: Where Bishop Estate claim the road going in the back the park, volleyball court in the back our '*aina*. That is state land, that no belong Bishop Estate because that was part of the trail that goes behind the road, go behind Kahalioumi. The trail is on the Ka'ū side of our property down here, you know, that leads all the way down to ...

KM: Did you ever hear a name Alainamona? A *heiau* back here?

HS: [shakes head "no."]

KM: No. How about Pāo'umi, the *heiau* over just up Mākole'ā Road, you know where by Helani Church the corner get the road go up by the garden KIC yeah. There's a *heiau* up there, you never went to those *heiau* place yeah?

HS: [shakes head "no."]

LK: You boys never go any place? You went up here the *heiau* up here behind the church, Lanakila, the caves?

RS: We went in the caves.

LK: You went in the caves. No more nothing in the caves.

RS: The caves, no.

LK: Kana'i, I hear Kana'i went remove it, that's what I heard.

RS: Get one cave right above, by the Keauhou shopping center.

LK: Oh yes, that's the Noni from *makai* to the highway Kamehameha III then from there. They went seal 'em out, when they put that road inside Kamehameha III, all that cement area you see, that is all part of the cave they when cement '

RS: No, get one more.

HS: Where?

LK: Yeah, they get one down here, that's the Noni [as Aunty Lily refers to the cave]. Before, you could walk inside from the shoreline all *'ili'ili* [pebbles] before now big boulders.

KM: Some of the old caves [speaking to Tūtū] .

LK: By the Noni. Where Pako used to stay before.

RS: Inside, get one *puka* in the ground. One person can go at a time, and a big ramp goes down. You reach down the bottom, get two ways, you go this way, or you go this way. and you go, you could hear waves. Get the kind coffin inside, *wahine* and man, man, man. When you go down inside, get the tapa cloth inside.

LK: *Kapa*.

RS: Mat too. I went when I was young, 10, 11 years old.

KM: You went by yourself, our you went with...?

RS: About three of us.

KM: But not with your *tūtū* our somebody?

RS: No. We went to look and then came out. I think I was the oldest one to go in. And I came out last, everybody else scared. And when you go down *makai*, get one *puka* like, and you can follow that *puka* out.

LK: Oh yes, that one there, that's where *makai*, where I call that the *waha*, towards the ocean. That's where Chu's boy got killed, when he went pound *'ōpihi*.

RS: And across from Keawe them's house, straight up.

KM: Yes, that's the cave [*makai* entrance of 'Ōhi'a].

LK: That's the cave he was talking about... [end of interview]

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